

TEXTS FROM CUNEIFORM SOURCES
VOLUME V

TEXTS FROM CUNEIFORM SOURCES

EDITOR

A. LEO OPPENHEIM

IN COLLABORATION WITH

MIGUEL CIVIL, ERICA REINER, EDMOND SOLLBERGER



J.J. AUGUSTIN PUBLISHER · LOCUST VALLEY, NEW YORK

ASSYRIAN AND BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES

by

A. K. GRAYSON



J.J. AUGUSTIN PUBLISHER · LOCUST VALLEY, NEW YORK

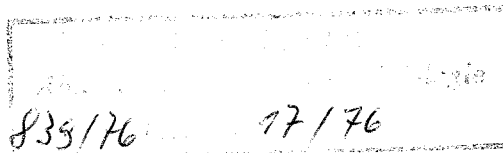
1975

COPYRIGHT UNDER THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT UNION 1970

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

BY J.J. AUGUSTIN PUBLISHER, LOCUST VALLEY, NEW YORK

Serie



LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOG CARD NUMBER 66-25697

PRINTED IN GERMANY *at* J.J. AUGUSTIN, GLÜCKSTADT

TO MY WIFE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.....	Page ix
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
TABLET SIGNATURES	xvi

PART I: STUDIES

1	INTRODUCTION	1
2	THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES	8
	i) NEO-BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES	10
	a) CHRONICLE 1	14
	b) CHRONICLE 2	17
	c) CHRONICLE 3	18
	d) CHRONICLE 4	19
	e) CHRONICLE 5	19
	f) CHRONICLE 6	20
	g) NABONIDUS CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 7	21
	ii) LATE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES	22
	a) CHRONICLE FRAGMENT OF THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD: CHRONICLE 8	24
	b) CHRONICLE OF ARTAXERXES III: CHRONICLE 9	24
	c) CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE DIADOCHI: CHRONICLE 10	25
	d) CHRONICLE FRAGMENT CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS THE CROWN PRINCE:	
	CHRONICLE 11	26
	e) CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE END OF THE REIGN OF SELEUCUS I:	
	CHRONICLE 12	27
	f) CHRONICLE OF THE SELEUCID PERIOD: CHRONICLE 13	27
	g) SELEUCID CHRONICLE FRAGMENT: CHRONICLE 13a	28
3	OTHER CHRONICLES OF CATEGORY A	29
	i) ESARHADDON CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 14	30
	ii) SHAMASH-SHUMA-UKIN CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 15	32
	iii) AKITU CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 16	35
	iv) RELIGIOUS CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 17	36
4	CHRONICLES AND KING LISTS	40
	DYNASTIC CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 18	40
5	TWO CHRONICLES CONCERNING EARLY TIMES	43
	i) WEIDNER CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 19	43
	ii) CHRONICLE OF EARLY KINGS: CHRONICLE 20	45
6	BIASED HISTORY	50
	i) SYNCHRONISTIC HISTORY: CHRONICLE 21	51
	ii) CHRONICLE P: CHRONICLE 22	56
7	TWO ECLECTIC CHRONICLES	60
	i) CHRONICLE OF MARKET PRICES: CHRONICLE 23	60
	ii) AN ECLECTIC CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 24	63

	Page
8 CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS	66
i) ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS	66
a) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ENLIL-NARARI	66
b) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ARIK-DIN-ILI	66
c) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ASHUR-RESHA-ISHI I	66
d) FRAGMENT CONCERNING TIGLATH-PILESER I	67
ii) BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS	67
a) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ISIN I	67
b) FRAGMENT CONCERNING THE SEALAND	67

PART II: TEXTS

1 CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE PERIOD FROM NABU-NASIR TO SHAMASH-SHUMA-UKIN	69
2 CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE EARLY YEARS OF NABOPOLASSAR	87
3 FALL OF NINEVEH CHRONICLE	90
4 CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE LATER YEARS OF NABOPOLASSAR	97
5 CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE EARLY YEARS OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR II	99
6 CHRONICLE OF THE THIRD YEAR OF NERIGLISSAR.....	103
7 NABONIDUS CHRONICLE	104
8 CHRONICLE FRAGMENT OF THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD	112
9 CHRONICLE OF ARTAXERXES III	114
10 CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE DIADOCHI.....	115
11 CHRONICLE CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS THE CROWN PRINCE	119
12 CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE END OF THE REIGN OF SELEUCUS I	121
13 CHRONICLE OF THE SELEUCID PERIOD	122
13a CHRONICLE FRAGMENT OF THE SELEUCID PERIOD	124
14 ESARHADDON CHRONICLE.....	125
15 SHAMASH-SHUMA-UKIN CHRONICLE	128
16 AKITU CHRONICLE	131
17 RELIGIOUS CHRONICLE	133
18 DYNASTIC CHRONICLE	139
19 WEIDNER CHRONICLE	145
20 CHRONICLE OF EARLY KINGS	152
21 SYNCHRONISTIC HISTORY.....	157
22 CHRONICLE P	170
23 CHRONICLE OF MARKET PRICES	178
24 AN ECLECTIC CHRONICLE	180
ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS	184
BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS	190
APPENDIX A: AN ANALYSIS OF THE LITERARY PATTERNS IN CHRONOGRAPHIC TEXTS	193
APPENDIX B: PERSONAL NAMES WITH HISTORICAL NOTES	203
APPENDIX C: NAMES OF PEOPLES AND PLACES	251
APPENDIX D: BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHRONOGRAPHIC AND RELATED SOURCES	267
APPENDIX E: NOTE TO THE TRANSLITERATIONS	273
ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA	275
INDEXES	296
PLATES	

PREFACE

The writing of a book has sometimes been compared to giving birth to a child. In my case a more apt metaphor would be giving birth to an elephant. For the gestation period of that mammoth is about twenty-one months and this is closer to the ten years that have elapsed since I first became interested in the chronicles. Portions of this study were originally a doctoral dissertation for The Johns Hopkins University completed in 1962. In the intervening years I have expanded my research to include all the published chronicles and whatever unpublished documents I could find. The final manuscript was completed and sent to the editors in August of 1967. During the two years that have elapsed since then important progress has been made in this field. More textual material has come to light and new insights have been achieved. A complete revision of the entire manuscript in accordance with new discoveries is impractical and so I have placed most of the information that has come my way since August of 1967 in the *Addenda et Corrigenda*.†

In selecting texts for this volume my working definition has been that an ancient Mesopotamian chronicle is a prose narration of events in chronological order normally written in the third person. That this definition requires qualification in detail will be obvious to anyone who reads my first chapter. This book is essentially a text study. My main concern has been to establish the wording and meaning of the original document and chronological and historical problems have been investigated only when necessitated by my principal task. Thus there are numerous questions, particularly of a chronological nature, that have been ignored. For dates I have generally followed Professor J. A. Brinkman (for bibliographical details see the *Addenda* to Appendix B). Relevant to establishing the text are historiographical questions

and these are discussed in Part I. There is also a brief description of the content of each chronicle and the reader should note that these sections are purely descriptive and not attempts to write history. In Part II will be found the texts with bibliography, transliteration, translation, and commentary. In this part the measurements of the tablets are also given. These are based on the maximum length and breadth. Hand copies of all previously unpublished chronicles as well as of Chronicle P (of which no adequate copy has ever been published) are presented at the end of the book. All of these copies are mine except for Chronicle 13b which was done by Mr. Douglas Kennedy (see the *Addenda*). For the other chronicles adequate copies are available and I saw no necessity to recopy them. In any case I have presented in the plates photographs of virtually all the chronicles.

Every text published here (except Chronicles 13b and 19, A and B) I have examined in the original and I am grateful to those who have made this possible. In particular I wish to express my gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum, to Dr. R. D. Barnett, to Dr. Edmond Sollberger, and to their staff in the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities. Not only did they provide me with every facility to collate the published documents, I am indebted to them for permission to publish for the first time Chronicles 11, 12, 13, 13a, 13b, and 23. My thanks also go to Professor Doctor G. R. Meyer, Director-General of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, for allowing me to collate the tablets in Berlin. In connection with the Assyrian Chronicle Fragment in the Yale Babylonian Collection I appreciate the cooperation of the curators, Professor Ferris J. Stephens and Professor William W. Hallo.†

The help I have received from individuals is multifold. To Professor W. G. Lambert I owe my chief debt of gratitude. Not only did he introduce me to Assyriology, he has fol-

† = See *Addenda et Corrigenda*.

lowed with keen enthusiasm every step of my research on chronicles. So many observations and readings incorporated here originated with him that it would be impossible to give him credit in each instance.

My thanks also go to Professor J. A. Brinkman who has co-operated closely with me while writing his *Political History of Babylonia* and who generously provided me with the manuscript of his study long before publication. The free exchange of information which has taken place between us for years has been invaluable in preparing this volume and I have not attempted to designate the numerous statements which were influenced by him.†

To Mr. Douglas Kennedy I am grateful in connection with the new chronicle (Chronicle 13b) published in the *Addenda*. He first drew this chronicle to my attention, placed his notes and copy (the latter is included in the plates) at my disposal, and did collations at my request. My research on the Seleucid Chronicles has benefited considerably from consultation with Professor Abraham J. Sachs and I wish to record my gratitude to him.

A few years ago Mr. A. R. Millard generously sent me the manuscript of his "Another Babylonian Chronicle Text" (Chronicle 15) for which I am thankful. Professor Doctor W. Röllig has placed at my disposal the manuscript of his *Materialen zur Chronologie Vorderasiens im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* which I very much appreciate. He also read my

manuscript in draft and made several significant suggestions. Mr. Peter Hulin kindly provided me with his new readings of the Shalmaneser III statue from Nimrud (see Appendix B sub Shalmaneser III) for which I am grateful.

For his interest and encouragement I am indebted to Professor W. W. Hallo. My work has also benefited from the time I spent with Professor W. von Soden in Vienna and from my association with the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary Project. The research facilities of the dictionary project were of great assistance and I also appreciated the opportunity to consult with the editorial staff, notably Professors Gelb, Oppenheim, and Reiner.

To the various bodies which have assisted me financially I express my gratitude: to the Canada Council and the Samuel S. Fels Foundation for pre-doctoral fellowships; and to the Humanities Research Administration of the University of Toronto which has borne the cost of two trips to Europe as well as stenographic and photographic expenses. For assistance in typing the manuscript I wish to thank Mrs. Hughdene Ponick.

Finally, to my wife and daughters tribute is due for the fact that I have remained sane and healthy throughout the decade I have worked on this volume.

Toronto

July, 1969

ABBREVIATIONS†

- AAA Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology
AASOR The Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
ABL R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters (London and Chicago, 1892–1914)
ABRT J. A. Craig, Assyrian and Babylonian Religious Texts (Leipzig, 1895–97)
ADAW Abhandlungen der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse
ADD C. H. W. Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents (Cambridge, 1898–1923)
AfK Archiv für Keilschriftforschung
AfO Archiv für Orientforschung
AGS J. A. Knudtzon, Assyrische Gebete an den Sonnengott (Leipzig, 1893)
AHw W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch
AJA American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
AKA E. A. W. Budge and L. W. King, Annals of the Kings of Assyria (London, 1902)
AL⁵ F. Delitzsch, Assyrische Lesestücke, 5th edition (Leipzig, 1912)
ANET² J. B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 2nd edition (Princeton, 1955)
Annuaire Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves
AnOr Analecta Orientalia
AnSt Anatolian Studies
AOF H. Winckler, Altorientalische Forschungen (Leipzig, 1897–1905)
AOTAT² H. Gressmann (ed.), Altorientalische Texte zum alten Testament, 2nd edition (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926)
ARAB Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago, 1926–7)
Arch. Archaeologia
ARM Archives Royales de Mari
ARMT Archives Royales de Mari (texts in transliteration and translation)
ArOr Archiv Orientalni
ARU J. Kohler and A. Ungnad, Assyrische Rechtsurkunden (Leipzig, 1913)
AS Assyriological Studies
ASGW Abhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse
Asn. Ashur-nasir-apli
Ass. K. L. Assyrian King List
ATHE B. Kienast, Die altassyrischen Texte des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Heidelberg und der Sammlung Erlenmeyer – Basel = ZA, Ergänzungsband I (Berlin, 1960)
Aynard, Asb. J.-M. Aynard, Le Prisme du Louvre AO 19.939 (Paris, 1957)
BA Beiträge zur Assyriologie
Bab. Babyloniaca
Bab. K. L. Babylonian King List
Bagh. Mitt. Baghdader Mitteilungen
BAL R. Borger, Babylonisch-Assyrische Lesestücke (Rome, 1963)
Balkan, Kassitenstudien K. Balkan, Kassitenstudien I. Die Sprache der Kassiten = American Oriental Series 37 (New Haven, 1954)
BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Bauer, Asb. T. Bauer, Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals (Leipzig, 1933)
BAW B. Meissner, Beiträge zum Assyrischen Wörterbuch = AS 1 & 4 (Chicago, 1931 & 1932)
BBK Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung
BBSt. L. W. King, Babylonian Boundary-Stones and Memorial-Tablets in the British Museum (London, 1912)
BE The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts

- Belleten Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten
 Bezold, Cat. C. Bezold, Catalogue of the
 Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik
 Collection (London, 1889-99)
 BiOr Bibliotheca Orientalis
 BJV Berliner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Früh-
 geschichte
 BL S. Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies (Pa-
 ris, 1913)
 Böhl, Op. Min. T. H. L. Böhl, Opera Mi-
 nora (Groningen and Djakarta, 1953)
 Borger, Asarh. R. Borger, Die Inschriften
 Asarhaddons Königs von Assyrien =
 AfO Beiheft 9 (Graz, 1956)
 Borger, Einleitung R. Borger, Einleitung in
 die assyrischen Königsinschriften
 (Leiden, 1961)
 BoSt Boghazköi-Studien
 Brinkman, Dissertation J. A. Brinkman,
 A Political History of Post-Kassite
 Babylonia (unpublished Ph. D. disser-
 tation, University of Chicago, 1962).
 For reference to the published form
 of this work see my Addenda et Corri-
 genda.
 BRM Babylonian Records in the Library
 of J. Pierpont Morgan
 BSAW Berichte der Sächsischen Akademie
 der Wissenschaften
 BWL W. G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom
 Literature (Oxford, 1960)
 CAD The Assyrian Dictionary (Chicago)
 CAH The Cambridge Ancient History
 Chron. Chronicle
 CIRL E. Sollberger, Corpus des Inscrip-
 tions Royales Présargoniques de Lagaš
 (Geneva, 1956)
 CRRRA Compte Rendu de la Rencontre
 Assyriologique Internationale
 CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tab-
 lets, etc., in the British Museum
 Cyrus J. N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von
 Cyrus
 DA A. Boissier, Documents Assyriens Rela-
 tifs aux Présages (Paris, 1899)
 DAB R. C. Thompson, A Dictionary of As-
 syrian Botany (London, 1949)
 Dar. J. N. Strassmaier, Inschriften von Da-
 rius
 Dilleman, Haute Mésopotamie L. Dilleman,
 Haute Mésopotamie (1962)
 Divination La Divination en Mésopotamie
 Ancienne (Paris, 1966)
 DN Divine Name
 Driver and Miles, Ass. Laws G. R. Driver
 and J. C. Miles, The Assyrian Laws
 (Oxford, 1935)
 Driver and Miles, Bab. Laws G. R. Driver
 and J. C. Miles, The Babylonian Laws
 (Oxford, 1952)
 EA J. A. Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna-Tafeln
 = VAB 2 (Leipzig, 1907-1915)
 Ebeling, Glossar E. Ebeling, Glossar zu den
 Neubabylonischen Briefen = Sitzungs-
 berichte der Bayerischen Akademie
 der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse,
 1953/1
 Ebeling, Handerhebung E. Ebeling, Die Ak-
 kadische Gebetsserie „Handerhebung“
 = Deutsche Akademie der Wissen-
 schaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orient-
 forschung, Veröffentlichung Nr. 20
 (Berlin, 1953)
 Edzard, Zwischenzeit D. O. Edzard, Die
 Zweite Zwischenzeit Babyloniens
 (Wiesbaden, 1957)
 En. el. *Enūma elīš*
 Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden A. Falken-
 stein, Die Neusumerischen Gerichts-
 urkunden = Bayerische Akademie
 der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse
 Abhandlungen N.F. Heft 39 (Munich,
 1956)
 Figulla, Cat. H. H. Figulla, Catalogue of
 the Babylonian Tablets in the Bri-
 tish Museum I (London, 1961)
 Forrer, Provinz. E. Forrer, Die Provinzein-
 teilung des Assyrischen Reiches (Leip-
 zig, 1920)
 Frankena, Tākultu R. Frankena, Tākultu
 de Sacrale Maaltijd in het Assyrische
 Ritueel (Leiden, 1954)
 GAG W. von Soden, Grundriß der Akkadi-
 schen Grammatik = AnOr 33 (Rome,
 1952)
 Garelli, Gilg. P. Garelli, Gilgamesh et sa
 légende. Études recueillies par Paul
 Garelli à l'occasion de la VII^e Ren-

- contre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris, 1958)
- GN Geographic Name
- Gössmann, Era P. F. Gössmann, Das Era-Epos (Würzburg, 1956)
- Goetze, Kleinasien² A. Goetze, Kleinasien, 2nd edition (Munich, 1957)
- HEI G. G. Cameron, History of Early Iran (Chicago, 1936)
- Heidelberger Studien Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient. Adam Falkenstein zum 17. September 1966 (Wiesbaden, 1967)
- Hinke, Kudurru W. J. Hinke, Selected Babylonian Kudurru Inscriptions, No. 5, pp. 21-27
- Hinz, Elam W. Hinz, Das Reich Elam (Stuttgart, 1964)
- HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual
- IAK E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, E. Weidner, Die Inschriften der Altassyrischen Könige = Altorientalische Bibliothek 1 (Leipzig, 1926)
- IEJ Israel Exploration Journal
- JA Journal Asiatique
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies
- JESHO Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- JSOR Journal of the Society of Oriental Research
- JSS Journal of Semitic Studies
- JTV Journal of the Transactions of The Victoria Institute
- KAH L. Messerschmidt and O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts = WVDOG 16, 27
- KAJ E. Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur juristischen Inhalts = WVDOG 50
- KAR E. Ebeling, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur religiösen Inhalts = WVDOG 28, 34
- KAV O. Schroeder, Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts = WVDOG 35
- KB Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek
- KBo Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi
- King, Chron. L. W. King, Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings (London, 1907)
- K. L. King List
- König, Elam F. W. König, Die Elamischen Königsinschriften = AfO Beiheft 16 (Graz, 1965)
- KTAT³ H. Winckler, Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament, 3rd edition (Leipzig, 1909)
- Kupper, Les Nomades J. R. Kupper, Les nomades en Mésopotamie au temps des rois de Mari = Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège 142 (Paris, 1957)
- Labat, Calendrier Babylonien R. Labat, Un Calendrier Babylonien des Travaux des Signes et des Mois = Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, IV^e Section, 321 Fascicule (Paris, 1965)
- Landsberger, Brief B. Landsberger, Brief des Bischofs von Esagila an König Asarhaddon = Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. Deel 28/6 (Amsterdam, 1965)
- Landsberger, Fauna B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamien nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR-RA = *hubbullu* = Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften VI (Leipzig, 1934)
- LBAT T. G. Pinches and J. N. Strassmaier (ed. by A. J. Sachs), Late Babylonian Astronomical and Related Texts = Brown University Studies 18 (Providence, 1955)
- Lie, Sar. A. G. Lie, The Inscriptions of Sargon II (Paris, 1929)
- LIH L. W. King, The Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi (London, 1898-1900)
- LKA E. Ebeling and F. Köcher, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Assur (Berlin, 1953)
- LKU A. Falkenstein, Literarische Keilschrifttexte aus Uruk (Berlin, 1931)

- Lyon, Sar. D. G. Lyon, Keilschrifttexte Sargon's (Leipzig, 1883)
 MA Middle Assyrian
 MAOG Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
 MCS Manchester Cuneiform Studies
 MDOG Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
 MDP Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
 Meissner, BuA B. Meissner, Babylonien und Assyrien (Heidelberg, 1925)
 MIO Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientalforschung
 MN Month Name
 MSL B. Landsberger et al., Materialien zum Sumerischen Lexikon
 Musil, Middle Euphrates A. Musil, The Middle Euphrates = American Geographical Society, Oriental Explorations and Studies 3 (New York, 1927)
 MVAG Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft
 NA Neo-Assyrian
 NB Neo-Babylonian
 Nougayrol, Présages Historiques J. Nougayrol, Note sur la Place des "Présages Historiques" dans l'extispicine babylonienne = École Pratique des Hautes Études, Section des Sciences Religieuses, Annuaire 1944-1945 (Meylan, 1945)
 NRVU M. San Nicolò and A. Ungnad, Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden (Leipzig, 1929-37)
 OA Old Assyrian
 OB Old Babylonian
 OIP Oriental Institute Publications
 OLZ Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
 Oppenheim, Dream-book A. Leo Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East = Transactions of the American Philosophical Society N.S. 46/III (Philadelphia, 1956)
 Or. n.s. Orientalia, nova series
 Pallis, Akîtu S. A. Pallis, The Babylonian Akîtu Festival (Copenhagen, 1926)
 Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C. — A.D. 75 (Providence, 1956)
 PBS University of Pennsylvania, The University Museum, Publications of the Babylonian Section
 Piepkorn, Asb. A. C. Piepkorn, Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal = AS 5 (Chicago, 1933)
 PN Personal Name
 PSBA Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology
 R H. C. Rawlinson, et al., The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia
 RA Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale
 RISA G. A. Barton, The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad (New Haven, 1929)
 RLA E. Ebeling, B. Meissner, et al., Reallexikon der Assyriologie
 RN Royal Name
 Rost, Tigl. III P. Rost, Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III (Leipzig, 1893)
 RT Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes
 Salonen, Hippologica A. Salonen, Hippologica Accadica = Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae B 100 (Helsinki, 1956)
 San Nicolò, Prosopographie M. San Nicolò, Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie Neubabylonischer Beamten = Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Abteilung, 1941/II/2 (Munich, 1941)
 SB Standard Babylonian
 Schmidtke, Chronologie F. Schmidtke, Der Aufbau der Babylonischen Chronologie (Münster, 1952)
 Schmökel, GAV H. Schmökel, Geschichte des Alten Vorderasien (Leiden, 1957)
 Sg. Sargon
 Shalm. Shalmaneser
 ŠL A. Deimel, Šumerisches Lexikon
 Smith, BHT S. Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts Relating to the Capture and Downfall of Babylon (London, 1924)

- SPAW Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften
- SSB F. X. Kugler, Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel
- StOr *Studia Orientalia*
- Streck, Asb. M. Streck, Assurbanipal = VAB 7 (Leipzig, 1916)
- STT O. R. Gurney, J. J. Finkelstein, and P. Hulin, *The Sultantepe Tablets* (1957-1964)
- Studies Landsberger *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-fifth Birthday* = AS 16 (Chicago, 1965)
- Studies Oppenheim *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim, June 7, 1964* (Chicago, 1964)
- Symb. Koschaker *Symbolae ad Iura Antiqui Pertinentes Paulo Koschaker Dedicatae* = *Studia et Documenta* 2 (Leiden, 1939)
- Synch. Hist. *Synchronistic History*
- Tallqvist, APN K. L. Tallqvist, *Assyrian Personal Names* = *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae* 48/1 (Helsingfors, 1918)
- Tallqvist, Götterepitheta K. L. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* = StOr 7
- TCL *Textes Cunéiformes du Louvre*
- Thureau-Dangin, RAcc. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels Accadiens* (Paris, 1921)
- Tigl. Tiglath-pileser
- TLB *Tabulae Cuneiformes a F. M. Th. de Liagre Böhl Collectae*
- TSBA *Transactions of The Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- UAG H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889)
- UET *Ur Excavations, Texts*
- UVB Vorläufiger Bericht über die von dem Deutschen Archäologischen Institut und der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft aus Mitteln der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft unternommenen Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka (Berlin, 1930ff.)
- VAB Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
- van Dijk, Götterlieder J. J. A. van Dijk, *Sumerische Götterlieder* = *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* 1960/1 (Heidelberg, 1960)
- VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königl. Museen zu Berlin
- VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii*
- VT *Vetus Testamentum*
- Weidner, Tell Halaf E. F. Weidner et al., *Die Inschriften vom Tell Halaf* = AFO Beiheft 6 (Berlin, 1940)
- Weidner, Tn E. F. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger* = AFO Beiheft 12 (Graz, 1959)
- Winckler, Sar. H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons nach den Papierabklatschen und Originalen neu herausgegeben* (Leipzig, 1889)
- Wiseman, Chron. D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings* (London, 1956)
- Wiseman, Treaties D. J. Wiseman, *The Vassal-Treaties of Esarhaddon* = Iraq 20 (1958), pp. 1-99 and pls. 1-53
- WO *Die Welt des Orients*
- WVDOG *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*
- WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
- YOR *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*
- YOS *Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts*
- ZA *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*
- ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

TABLET SIGNATURES

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>a) British Museum, London</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">AH Abu Habbu (Sippar)</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">BM British Museum</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Bu Budge</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">DT Daily Telegraph</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">K Kouyunjik</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Ki King</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Rm Rassam</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Sm Smith</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Sp Spartoli</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Tablets given a Registration date only
(e.g. 80-11-12, 3) are also British Museum tablets.</p> <p>b) Excavation Numbers</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">ND Nimrud — either in the Iraq or British Museums</p> <p>c) Friedrich-Schiller-Universität, Jena</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">HS Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung</p> | <p>d) Iraq Museum, Baghdad</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">IM Iraq Museum</p> <p>e) Musée du Louvre, Paris</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">AO Département des Antiquités Orientales</p> <p>f) Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Ass Assur</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">Ni Nippur</p> <p>g) University Museum, Philadelphia</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">CBS Catalogue of the Babylonian Section</p> <p>h) Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">VAT Vorderasiatische Abteilung Ton-
tafel</p> <p>i) Yale University Library, New Haven</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">MLC Morgan Library Collection</p> <p style="padding-left: 20px;">YBC Yale Babylonian Collection</p> |
|---|---|

PART I

1

INTRODUCTION

Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles are an integral part of ancient Mesopotamian chronography which in turn is an integral part of ancient Mesopotamian historiography. Properly, therefore, one should first discuss the subject of historiography in detail, then deal with the chronographic aspects of it, and finally turn to a full discussion of the chronicles. In general this plan will be followed in this study but since one's primary concern here is with the chronography and especially the chronicles, only these subjects will be dealt with in great detail. In particular a detailed enquiry will be launched into the origin and purpose of the chronicles.

A word must also be said about the temporal and linguistic boundaries. As the title of the book indicates, the task that the author has undertaken is to present a study and edition of Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles. This obviously excludes all other Assyrian and Babylonian historical texts, even king lists, as well as Sumerian historical texts. But it must be emphasized that this is an arbitrary decision dictated by practical considerations of time and space. Many kinds of historical texts from ancient Mesopotamia are very closely connected with one another and it is impossible to study one genre in complete isolation. This is particularly true of the chronographic texts which not only show some affinities with other kinds of historical texts but in particular display a very close interconnection with one another despite the fact that they cover a time span of over two millennia and are written in Sumerian or Akkadian. Thus the study of chronography to be presented will deal with all chronographic

texts although in subsequent chapters one will be concerned only with the Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles.

Before describing ancient Mesopotamian historiography a word should be said about the nature of historiography and particularly chronography in other ancient Near Eastern civilizations. Turning first to Egypt¹ it is interesting to note that the annals of the Egyptian kings evolved from date lists² and from the annals, king lists were later extracted.³ Of equal importance with the annals and king lists are the "diaries". The diaries were records of each day's activities during a campaign and were dictated personally by the king.⁴

In the books of the Old Testament historiography reaches an unprecedented height. The clarity and beauty of style found in the ancient Hebrew narratives is unique among historical documents from the ancient Near East. Of particular interest among the texts found at Ugarit is a king list which is inscribed on the reverse of a tablet, the obverse of which contains a religious text.⁵ There is a list of kings from Elam in which only the names of early rulers are given.⁶

¹ The author is indebted to Professor Hans Goedicke for help with the Egyptian material.

² W. Helck, "Untersuchungen zu Manetho und den ägyptischen Königslisten," *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* 18 (Berlin, 1956), pp. 1f.

³ *ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴ H. Grapow, "Studien zu den Annalen Thutmosis des Dritten und zu ihnen verwandten historischen Berichten des neuen Reiches," *ADAW* 1947/2, pp. 50-54.

⁵ C. F. A. Schaeffer, *AfO* 20 (1963), pp. 214f.

⁶ V. Scheil, *MDP* 23, p. IV and see *RA* 28 (1931), pp. 1-8; König, *Elam* p. 1; and Boehmer, *Or.* n.s. 35 (1966), pp. 345-376.

The Hittites also deserve mention here since they wrote royal annals which are distinguished by their clarity. It has been suggested that the Hittite royal annals have greatly influenced the Assyrian royal annals.⁷ But Hittite chronographic texts are unknown.⁸

Ancient Mesopotamian historiography is an exceedingly complex and badly neglected subject. Its complexity is not surprising when one remembers that it evolved over a period of more than two thousand years and was written in two languages, Akkadian and Sumerian. Inevitably ideas about history altered frequently during these millennia and, furthermore, subtle changes were effected by the gradual substitution of Sumerian by Akkadian. That such an intriguing subject should have been generally neglected by modern scholars is mystifying. It is true that a few have attempted to deal with certain aspects of the subject such as Olmstead who, at the beginning of this century, concerned himself with the Assyrian Annals⁹ and Güterbock who, many years later, presented an excellent, if brief, treatment of the historical tradition of Babylonians and Hittites.¹⁰ More recently Speiser¹¹ and Finkelstein¹² have provided valuable sketches of Mesopotamian historiography. But apart from these few studies no one has concerned himself with the broad questions of origin

and purpose in Mesopotamian historiography and a comprehensive treatment of the subject as a whole is still lacking.

Briefly stated, ancient Mesopotamian historiography may be divided into categories entitled: chronographic texts, pseudo-autobiographies, prophecies, historical epics, royal inscriptions, and miscellaneous historical texts.¹³ The term "pseudo-autobiographies" is used here as a designation for a class of texts, the characteristics of which are a narrative of historical events told in the first person by a king or god. What distinguishes these from royal inscriptions is the fact that the autobiographies are composed not at the king's command but by scribes, presumably some time after the king's death, on their own initiative. Thus they are pseudo-autobiographies in contrast to the royal inscriptions which are, in one sense, genuine autobiographies. The term "*narā* literature" has been used by some scholars for this same class of texts.¹⁴ The

⁷ Goetze, *Kleinasien*², pp. 174f.

⁸ The "chronicle" mentioned in Goetze, *Kleinasien*², p. 174, is actually a kind of magical text. See Güterbock, *ZA* 44 (1938), pp. 81–84.

⁹ A. T. E. Olmstead, "Assyrian Historiography" in *The University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series III/1* (Columbia, 1916).

¹⁰ H. G. Güterbock, "Die historische Tradition und ihre literarische Gestaltung bei Babyloniern und Hethitern bis 1200," *ZA* 42 (1934), pp. 1–91; 44 (1938), pp. 45–149. Additions to this study are found in *AFO* 13 (1939–40), pp. 49–51.

¹¹ E. Speiser, "Mesopotamian Historiography," in R. C. Dentan, *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven and London 1955), pp. 35–76.

¹² J. J. Finkelstein, "Mesopotamian Historiography," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), pp. 461–472.

¹³ These categories apply primarily to historical texts written in Akkadian. However, since Sumerian texts are inevitably included in most of these categories the term "Mesopotamian historiography" rather than "Akkadian historiography" is preferable. For a special study of Sumerian historiography see S. N. Kramer, *IEJ* 3 (1953), pp. 217–232. For the singular genre called "royal correspondence" see C. J. Gadd, "Babylonia, c. 2120–1800 B.C." = *CAH I*, Chapter XXII, pp. 12f. and 20–24 and the references there. A few representatives of this genre are also known in Akkadian. See E. F. Weidner, *AFO* 10 (1935–36), pp. 1–9, and B. Landsberger, pp. 140–144. The letters *ABL* 924 (cf. E. Weidner, *Tn.* no. 42) and 1282 also belong to this group.†

¹⁴ These texts were recently discussed by the author in *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 8. There is the Sargon Birth Legend discussed by Güterbock, *ZA* 42 (1934), pp. 62–65. To his bibliography in n. 1 on p. 62 add *K* 7249 published by W. G. Lambert, *CT* 46, 46 and the English translation by E. A. Speiser (revised by Grayson) in *ANET*³ p. 119. Concerning the motif of the Birth Legend and its spread to other cultures see P. Jensen, *RLA* 1, pp. 322–324. Another pseudo-autobiography is *BRM* 4, no. 4 (cf. Güterbock, *ZA* 42 [1934], p. 64, n. 3) which is also about Sargon of Akkad. The Cuthaeon Legend of Naram-Sin also belongs to this category. For all references see O. R. Gurney,

pseudo-autobiographies represent a genre which goes back to Sumerian times. Essentially these compositions have a didactic purpose as is evident from one of the best known of the pseudo-autobiographies, the Cuthaeen Legend of Naram-Sin. After a lengthy description of the misfortunes that were supposed to have befallen Naram-Sin the author concludes with an exhortation to a later prince to heed the document which has been written and therefrom learn how to conduct himself.^{15†}

Many might balk at including a genre called "prophecy" in a discussion of historiography and the present author therefore hastens to explain what is meant by this term. It is a title given to a small group of texts which contain a generalized description of various periods in Mesopotamian history in prophetic terms.¹⁶ These texts are, therefore, not genuine prophecies in the Old Testament sense of the word but neither are they histories. The phrase "*vaticinium ex eventu*" aptly describes this kind of composition. The reason for composing these pseudo-prophecies after the events had occurred and the origins of the genre are unknown.

The Mesopotamian historical epic¹⁷ is Sumerian in origin and the reason for its creation is obvious. The composition of poetic narratives retelling the deeds of famous kings such as Enmekiri¹⁸ or Gilgamesh was a natural development in a society which was already well advanced in the arts of civilization. It is true that the Gilgamesh Epic contains large sections of mythological material which make one hesitate to classify it as an historical epic. Nevertheless it is certainly from this general background that the later Babylonian and Assyrian historical epics spring. In these epics one finds intense national pride and lavish praise of the monarch and state deities. This is particularly evident in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic which, due to its blatant pro-Assyrian prejudice, was for many years regarded as a propagandistic tract.

Royal inscriptions also go back to the early days when Sumerian was the spoken language in the Babylonian plain and find their origin in the ancient monarch's penchant for self-glorification.¹⁹ Down through the centuries the royal inscriptions under-

AnSt 5 (1955), pp. 93-113, and J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 11 (1957), pp. 83-88. A pseudo-autobiography which describes events in the Kassite period is III R 38, no. 2, which has been edited by H. Winckler, AOF 1, pp. 534-538, and, more recently, H. Tadmor, JNES 17 (1958), pp. 137-139. The document edited by Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), pp. 77-79, may be a pseudo-autobiography but it is too poorly preserved to be certain. It was discussed by A. Poebel, AS 14, pp. 23-42, and cf. E. Sollberger, JCS 5 (1951), p. 20 under 6.4. The discovery of a duplicate of this text from Mari was announced by G. Dossin, Syria 20 (1939), p. 99, but the document has not been published. Further cf. the Hittite text edited by Güterbock, ZA 44 (1936), pp. 66-80. Further texts which may belong to this genre are K 2599 + 3069 published by W. G. Lambert, CT 46, 49 and the Senacherib text published by H. Tadmor, Eretz-Israel 5 (1958), pp. 150-162.

¹⁵ AnSt 5 (1955), p. 106:147 — p. 108:175.

¹⁶ A. K. Grayson and W. G. Lambert, "Akkadian Prophecies," JCS 18 (1964), pp. 7-30.

¹⁷ A survey of Akkadian historical epics will be presented in the discussion of Chronicle 22 in Chapter 6.

¹⁸ For the reading of this name see Appendix B sub Enmekiri.

¹⁹ A bibliography of studies of royal inscriptions has been given by R. Borger, Einleitung I, pp. ix-f. The bibliography of texts which Borger has begun to publish for the Assyrian royal inscriptions (Einleitung I — the bibliography is accompanied by critical remarks) will fill a wide gap in Assyrian historiographical studies. It is to be hoped that someone will do the same in the near future for the Babylonian royal inscriptions. For a comparison of the style of Middle Assyrian and Middle Babylonian royal inscriptions see E. Reiner, BiOr 19 (1962), p. 159. Forged royal inscriptions have been discussed by I. J. Gelb, JNES 8 (1949), pp. 346-348 and n. 12. To his bibliography add the Ashur-uballit I forgery which has been discussed by W. von Soden, Or. n.s. 21 (1952), pp. 360f. The typology of Sumerian royal inscriptions of the Ur III period has been studied by W. W. Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962), pp. 1-43. For the Sumerian material further see T. Jacobsen, AS 6, pp. 20-28.†

went considerable change partly due to internal development and also, perhaps, due to Hittite influence.²⁰ Among the miscellaneous historical texts are the poetic account of the third campaign of Shalmaneser III²¹, a composition from the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II²², the account of a royal campaign to Emar (usually called "An Old Babylonian Itinerary")²³, some literary texts concerning Sargon of Akkad of which only the titles are preserved²⁴, and the genealogy of Ammisaduqa.²⁵

Having outlined briefly the general nature of ancient Mesopotamian historiography it is time to turn to a detailed discussion of one of the most important groups within this sphere, the chronographic texts.²⁶ The term "chronographic" is used here to describe a group of texts which have, in the past, been called either king lists or chronicles. By definition the word chronographic denotes documents which are composed along essentially chronological lines. This is certainly a characteristic of ancient Mesopotamian king lists and chronicles which makes them a distinct entity. It is, moreover, essential to have one term for these two categories since in ancient Mesopotamia the king lists and chronicles are so interrelated that it is not always possible in a particular

instance to decide if a text should be classified as either a king list or a chronicle. Such is the case with the so-called Assyrian King List. The beginning of the text simply lists one ruler after another and therefore can be classified as a king list. But there are some narrative sections in this document which belong to the classification chronicle.²⁷ Thus the Assyrian King List illustrates quite well the fact that it is impossible to study chronicles in isolation from king lists. As a result one must first treat all chronographic documents in detail before going on, in subsequent chapters, to study only the Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles.

Rather than superimpose some modern classification on the chronographic material it is best to discuss them in terms of the ancient literary patterns which they follow. It will be seen that this is not only an excellent means of viewing the close interrelationship of these texts but also an aid to elucidating the problem of their origin and purpose.

Before describing the literary patterns, however, some observations are necessary. A fact which is to be kept in mind when investigating the form of the chronographic texts is the manner in which these are preserved. Although a given text may have been composed in the fifteenth century B.C. it may be known to us only through a copy made in the seventh century B.C. In such a case one must allow for scribal errors that have crept into the text down through the centuries. Another possibility is that a particular cuneiform tablet known today may contain only an extract from a larger, more detailed composition. In such a case one must allow not only for scribal errors but also discover whenever possible the reason the extraction was made. In connection with the problem of the form in which a text has been preserved the size and shape of the tablet should always be considered.²⁸ In gen-

²⁰ See Goetze, *Kleinasien*², pp. 174f.

²¹ The text is published as STT 1, no. 43 and edited by W. G. Lambert, *AnSt* 11 (1961), pp. 143-158.

²² The text was published and edited by W. G. Lambert, *Iraq* 27 (1965), pp. 1-11.

²³ For a full discussion and bibliography see W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 57-88.

²⁴ The titles are preserved on Rm 618 (cf. C. Bezold, *Cat.* 4, p. 1627) and read:

Šarru-kīn šu-pu-u (line 5)

Šarru-kīn šarru dan-nu (line 22)

²⁵ J. J. Finkelstein, "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 95-118.

²⁶ Specialized studies of chronographic texts will be referred to in appropriate places. An incomplete and inaccurate article which will not be mentioned again has been published by G. Morawe, "Studien zum Aufbau der Neubabylonischen Chroniken in ihrer Beziehung zu den chronologischen Notizen der Königsbücher," *Evangelische Theologie* 26 (1966), pp. 308-320.†

²⁷ A. Poebel, *JNES* 1 (1942), p. 281, in fact preferred the title Chronicle for this document.

²⁸ H. Winckler, *OLZ* 1907, 575f.

eral large tablets which contain carefully written inscriptions formed an integral part of a permanent library. Small tablets, particularly those shaped like business documents, were made for a particular reason and would not normally be intended to form part of a permanent collection. Since the large tablets were intended for libraries they normally have colophons and, in cases where they are parts of a series, catch-lines.²⁹ They are sometimes referred to as "official" documents. The small tablets which are composed for various private purposes and may be called "private" documents, may or may not have colophons and catch-lines.

Before discussing the various categories of chronographic texts it is advisable to strike a note of caution. There is a danger in a study of this kind of becoming so immersed in the details of how a particular text fits into a certain scheme that one might forget the overall pattern and purpose of this kind of research. In fact one might be so far misled as to twist and contort a given text in order to force it into a category into which one, *a priori*, feels it should go. The author has tried to avoid this pitfall by bearing in mind at all times the purpose of this study. We are concerned after all with the very important problem of the origin and purpose of Mesopotamian chronographic texts.[†]

A detailed analysis of the literary patterns in chronographic texts is given in Appendix A. Only a summary of that discussion will be provided here. Four categories can be distinguished on the basis of literary patterns. Of the texts in one category (A), the oldest are the date lists (Ur III period) and the youngest is the Eighteen-year Interval List (ends in 99 B.C.). The oldest text in a second category (B) is the Sumerian King List (Ur III or Isin-Larsa period³⁰) and the latest is the Ptolemaic Canon (second century A.D.).

In a third category (C) the contents of the texts are a little closer in time, the period being approximately the beginning of the third to the beginning of the second millennium B.C. Only two documents are known in the fourth category (D), both of which were written during the latter part of the Neo-Assyrian period (c. 783–627 B.C.).

These categories are distinguished by the literary patterns which they employ. There are two patterns characteristic of category A. One is "The year when . . ." The other is "N (were/are) the years of the king". The pattern of category B is "The king ruled for N years". The pattern of category C is simply that of royal name followed by narrative. Category D is characterized by a synchronistic pattern. That is, the names of two contemporary rulers of two different countries are put side by side. The use of titles (e.g. "king") and genealogies (e.g. "son of . . .") in these documents is usually haphazard and therefore of little significance for a study of literary patterns. Only where a consistent pattern is evident has this matter been considered.

The following is a chart of the documents divided according to the categories to which they belong (see Appendix A for an explanation of the symbols):

A

MU Narr.

N MU RN

Date Lists

Larsa Date List

Babylon I Date List

Larsa King List

Ur-Isin King List

Babylonian King List A

Babylonian King List C

Uruk King List

Chronicles 1–17

Astronomical Diaries

Eighteen-year Interval List

Eponym Lists

²⁹ E.g.: Chronicles 1, 3, and 5.

³⁰ M. B. Rowton, *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 156–162, favours an Ur III date but F. R. Kraus, *ZA* 50 (1952), p. 49, favours an Isin-Larsa date.

B

RN MU N Pred.

Sumerian King List
 Dynastic Chronicle
 King List of the Hellenistic Period
 Babylonian King List B
 Ptolemaic Canon
 Assyrian King List

C

RN Narr.

Tummal Chronicle
 Weidner Chronicle
 Chronicle of Early Kings
 Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1

DRN₁ RN₂

Synchronistic History
 Synchronistic King List

Unclassified:

Chronicle P, Chronicles 23–24, Assyrian
 Chronicle Fragments 1–4, Babylonian
 Chronicle Fragment 2

A study of the literary patterns helps solve the problem of the origin of the chronicles of category A. It will be demonstrated in Appendix A that date lists (lists of names given to each year for the purpose of dating records) and the late chronicles (Chronicles 1–17) have literary patterns which are virtually identical. This suggests that by the time year names and date lists were being replaced by dating according to regnal years (c. 1500 B.C.) the scribes continued to compile such texts, although the original purpose for them no longer existed. There are no documents from this transitional period (the earliest chronicle of category A deals with the twelfth century B.C.) so that this suggestion is nothing more than hypothesis. But assuming the hypothesis to be correct, why the scribes should have continued to compile such texts is an

intriguing question. It has been suggested that divination was the reason in some cases but to date the evidence that omens and chronicles are closely connected is very sparse and uncertain. This matter will be discussed in detail in Chapters 3 and 5.³¹ Another possibility is that the Babylonians recognized an intrinsic value in these records and therefore compiled them out of an interest in history for its own sake. This suggestion will be discussed in Chapter 2. Yet a third factor that may well play some part is the conservative nature of Sumero-Babylonian civilization. It could be that the scribes were reluctant to abandon a particular genre even though it had outlived its usefulness. These suggestions with regard to the reason for the compilation of the chronicles of category A do not exhaust the possibilities nor are they mutually exclusive. All three factors, as well as some unknowns, may have played some part in motivating the scribes to write these important documents.

In category B the Sumerian King List has close similarities to the other texts and in one case, the King List of the Hellenistic Period, there is concrete evidence (the use of an archaic sign form) that the scribe was conscious of following the tradition of the Sumerian King List. As evident as the origin of the category is, however, the reasons for the composition of the various texts within it vary considerably and are not always clear. The purpose of the Dynastic Chronicle will be discussed in Chapter 4.[†]

Whether or not there is any real connection between the Tummal Chronicle and the other texts in category C is an open question. The similar literary pattern and the early period of history with which they all deal may be attributed to coincidence. It is particularly important to bear in mind that the Tummal Chronicle has a very complex literary pattern which, only when it is reduced to its simplest form, can be compared to the patterns in the other texts. There is, however, a close connection in content between the Weid-

³¹ Also see Grayson, *Divination*, pp. 69–76.

ner Chronicle and the Chronicle of Early Kings, a matter which, together with the purpose of these texts, will be discussed in Chapter 5.

The synchronistic pattern followed by the two texts of category D is an obvious one and its occurrence in both texts may be coincidental. The purpose behind the Synchronistic History, however, merits some discussion and this will be found in Chapter 6.

The remainder of this book will be concerned with a detailed examination of Babylonian and Assyrian Chronicles. In this examination our attention will be particularly concentrated on establishing the source material used by each chronicler, his purpose in writing the chronicle, and the reliability of his composition as a source for modern historians.

THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES

Among the chronicles which belong to category A are some texts which, although related to the other chronicles, represent a distinct entity. This category, the Babylonian Chronicle Series, includes Chronicles 1–13 a. It is the largest group of ancient Mesopotamian Chronicles and the one which most properly deserves to have the name Chronicle applied to its component parts. The time period covered by this series extends from the middle of the eighth century B.C. to the third century B.C. But within this era of approximately half a millennium there are many gaps due in part to the limited time span of the individual texts and in part to the poor state of preservation of some of them. These documents, although exhibiting various isolated peculiarities, are definitely related not only from the point of view of typology but also in terms of source material, outlook and phraseology. The tradition from which these chronicles stem represents the highest achievement of Babylonian historians with regard to the writing of history in a reliable and objective manner.†

There are, no doubt, those who would deny that such a prosaic narrative of the bare events without any attempt to explain causes or effects should be called "history". One can only reply that without such sober, factual accounts as found in these texts it would be impossible for modern historians to write their more profound reconstructions of Babylonian history. For this group of chronicles is the very backbone of our knowledge of late Babylonian history. Letters, business documents, religious and literary texts provide insights into various aspects of Babylonian history and culture but a consecutive narrative of the history as a whole depends almost entirely on these few products of the Babylonian scribe's interest in history.†

The Babylonian Chronicle Series may be subdivided into two parts called respectively the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series (Chronicles 1–7) and the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series (Chronicles 8–13 a). This subdivision, the dividing point of which is c. 539 B.C., is somewhat arbitrary since the series, so far as one can tell, continued uninterrupted from the eighth to third centuries B.C. Nevertheless the fact that there is a large chronological gap after 539 B.C. (over half a century) before examples of the series are again preserved and that the latter texts have one or two peculiarities not evident in the earlier documents makes it advisable to draw this dividing line. Of the two groups the texts of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series are by far the best preserved.†

That Chronicles 1–7 belong to or are extracts from one series is evident from the fact that all seven texts complement one another chronologically and they employ the same characteristic phrases. There is no doubt that Chronicles 3–5 belong together as the catch-lines show. Chronicle 1 claims to be the "first section (of a series)."¹ Since Chronicle 1 and Chronicles 2–7 have similar characteristic phrases for battle,² defeat,³ retreat,⁴ and death,⁵ and complement Chronicles 3–5 chron-

¹ Chron. 1 iv 34 and see the commentary.

² *šalta (ana libbi) . . . epēšu*. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 7f. Outside of chronicles this phrase occurs in a NB letter, a SB omen, and the inscriptions of Darius I.

³ (KI.) *BALA . . . šakānu*. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 35. Outside of chronicles these words are replaced by words such as *dāku* and the phrase *abikta/dabda . . . šakānu*.

⁴ *ina pāni . . . nabalkutu*. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 35. Outside of chronicles this phrase is replaced by such words as *tāru* and *saḥāru*.

⁵ *šimāti*. This is used passim in Chronicle 1 and it also appears in Chronicle 5:10 (death of Nabon-

ologically,⁶ there is little doubt that all seven of these chronicles belong together.⁷

The second group of chronicles, the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series (Chronicles 8–13a), is really a continuation of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. That Chronicles 8–13a are closely related to one another is evident from certain features which they have in common and their close chronological relationship. Despite the poor state of preservation of all of these chronicles one particular feature that most of them have in common is evident, the use of the singular phrase “MN, that same month.”⁸ Although the chronological position of these documents cannot be determined accurately in every case there is no doubt about the general time range with which each deals. In chronicles 8 and 9 events of the Achaemenid period are described; Chronicle 10 deals with the succeeding era, the time of the Diadochi; Chron-

icles 11–13 are concerned with the next historical period, the Seleucid era. Thus, although the fragmentary nature of these chronicles deprives one of numerous examples of similarities, there is sufficient evidence to conclude that these Late Babylonian Chronicles are very closely connected to one another.[†]

The Late Babylonian Chronicle Series, as stated above, is really a continuation of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. As the scribes compiled the chronicle series during the period before Persian and Seleucid control, so they continued to do in the subsequent historical eras. In attempting to illustrate the close relationship between the two groups, however, one is hampered by the fragmentary condition of the late texts. Not one complete sentence is preserved of the Seleucid Chronicle fragments. Nevertheless, phrases characteristic of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series are found in the best preserved of the Late Babylonian Chronicles, Chronicle 10. Expressions similar to the unique phrases used in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series for waging war and retreating are also found in Chronicle 10.⁹ One should further note the statements concerning launching a campaign that occur at the beginning of two sections in Chronicle 12 and which commonly occur in the same position in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series.¹⁰ Thus, despite the mutilated condition of the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series, there is sufficient evidence of a close relationship to conclude that the two groups are really part

polassar). No other deaths of ruling monarchs are mentioned or, at least, preserved in Chronicles 2–7. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 11. Outside of chronicles it is replaced by *mātu* or *šadāšu emēdu*.

⁶ There is a gap of 41 years (from the accession of Shamash-shuma-ukin to the accession of Nabopolassar) between Chronicles 1 and 2. Six regnal years of Nabopolassar are missing between Chronicles 2 and 3; 37 years are missing between Chronicles 5 and 6; and one year is missing between Chronicles 6 and 7.

⁷ Note that Chronicles 1 and 7 are slightly different from the other chronicles in that they are divided into two columns on each side rather than one. This is not surprising when one considers that it is probable that both texts were copied by the same scribe. See Wiseman, Chron. p. 3. Further note that Chronicle 1 contains less detail about each king. Chronicles 2, 4, and 6 are inscribed on tablets which have the shape of Neo-Babylonian business documents, a feature also exhibited by the Late Babylonian Chronicle, Chronicle 9. Note that Chronicles 2 and 6 were written by the same scribe (see Wiseman, Chron. p. 3). Finally, it is noteworthy that Chronicles 3 and 5 are inscribed on larger tablets and were written by the same hand (see Wiseman, Chron. p. 3).[†]

⁸ [†]MN [†]ITI BI. The phrase is attested in all Seleucid Chronicle fragments except the tiny piece, Chronicle 13a. It does not appear in Chronicles 8–10. For references see n. 143 below.

⁹ “to do battle” is expressed *šalta itti . . . epēšu* which is to be compared to *šalta (ana libbi) . . . epēšu* in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 7f. “to retreat” is expressed with the verb *nabalkutu* in Chronicle 10 and in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 35.

¹⁰ “He mustered (his troops)” — . . . *idkēma*. Chronicle 12:4, r. 2. The common occurrence of this phrase in the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series (e.g. Chronicle 3:1, 16, 38, etc.) was not listed among the phrases peculiar to the series since it commonly occurs in other types of historical texts. For examples see CAD 3 (D), pp. 127f.

of one continuing series which, if it were completely preserved, would represent a native history of Babylonia from the middle of the eighth century to the third century B.C.†

In the remainder of this chapter each series and each chronicle within each series will be

discussed in detail. Technical matters, which are of interest only to the specialist, are omitted from the discussion and may be found in the introduction to the edition of each text in Part II of this book.

i) NEO-BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES:¹¹ CHRONICLES 1-7

Seven chronicles have so far been discovered of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. The Series began with the reign of Nabunaser (747-734 B.C.) and continued at least until the Persian conquest of Babylon (539 B.C.). Since the chronicles are so closely connected, they are usually treated here as one text.¹² The text is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length and each section usually deals with the events of a single year of a Babylonian king's reign. Due to the fact that most of the preserved chronicles have major lacunae and that some chronicles have been completely lost, there are many gaps in the narrative. The account of the end of the reign of Sargon II and the beginning of Sennacherib's reign is largely missing.¹³ The narration breaks off after the accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin (669 B.C.)¹⁴ and does not resume until the accession of Nabopolassar (626 B.C.).¹⁵ Nothing is preserved of six regnal years of Nabopolassar (years four to nine inclusively).¹⁶ The narrative is again interrupted at the end of Nebuchadnezzar's tenth year (595 B.C.)¹⁷ and does not resume

until the third year of Neriglissar (557 B.C.).¹⁸ The account of Neriglissar's fourth year as well as the three month reign of Labashi-Marduk is missing.

The Weltanschauung of the authors of this series is parochial in that they are interested only in matters related to Babylonia and, in particular, her king. But this narrow outlook does not affect the manner in which the events are narrated. Within the boundaries of their interest, the writers are quite objective and impartial. This is evident from the numerous times they mention defeats of the Babylonians at the hands of their enemies. The raid on Babylonian cities carried out by Tiglath-pileser III in Nabu-nasir's third year is only one example of many defeats at the hands of the Assyrians which are mentioned.¹⁹ The objectivity of the writers provides a useful rule to follow in instances where other sources contradict the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. Two notorious examples of this are the battle of Der in 720 B.C. and the battle of Halule in 691 B.C. In each of these cases, as the present author has argued elsewhere, the chronicle's account is to be regarded as the most reliable of all the accounts available.^{20†}

Further, the authors have included all Babylonian kings known to have ruled in this

¹¹ The main points in this section were presented in a paper to the one hundred and seventy-fifth meeting of the American Oriental Society in Chicago on April 15, 1965.

¹² The fact that Chronicles 1 and 7 are slightly different from the other chronicles must be kept in mind (see n. 7 above). But this does not vitiate a treatment of these texts as one group.

¹³ Chronicle 1 ii 6'-18.

¹⁴ This is found in the last section of Chronicle 1 (iv 34-38).

¹⁵ This is where Chronicle 2 begins.

¹⁶ Chronicle 2 breaks off during the account of the third year and Chronicle 3 begins its narration with the tenth year.

¹⁷ This is where Chronicle 5 stops.

¹⁸ This is where Chronicle 6 begins.

¹⁹ Chronicle 1 i 3-5. Other defeats at the hands of the Assyrians are: Chronicle 1 i 19-23; ii 25-30, 45-iii 6; iii 22-24; Chronicle 2:7, 23 f.; Chronicle 3:17 f., 37, 66-68. One defeat at the hands of the Egyptians is mentioned (Chronicle 4:16-18). The conquest of Babylonia by Cyrus II is found in Chronicle 7 iii 12-20.

²⁰ For a full discussion see Grayson, *Studies Landsberger*, pp. 340-342.

period and there is no evidence that they have omitted any important events which have a bearing on Babylonia during their reigns. Every significant event known in this period from sources other than the chronicles (eponym canons, royal inscriptions, letters, business documents, foreign documents) which affects Babylonia is referred to in the chronicle.²¹ Thus one may conclude that the parochial outlook of the authors of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series, although it limits the scope of their narrative, does not in any way distort it.

The conclusion that these are impartial historical documents leads to the question of why they were written. They were certainly intended to be more than chronological aids since a king list would be sufficient for this purpose. As was just stated there is no apparent prejudice or attempt to propagandize in these documents. The writers are obviously not trying to convince their readers of some particular idea as the author of the *Synchronistic History* was. Thus one is tempted to conclude that the documents were compiled from a genuine interest in writing history. It appears that the scribes simply wished to record what had happened in and around their land. We have, therefore, what seems to be history being written for history's sake as early as the eighth century B.C. Of course this history-writing is parochial. But it is not chauvinistic. That is to say, the interest of the scribes is confined to the events that concern Babylonia and her king (thus parochial) but these events are recorded dispassionately (whether shameful or honourable) without any distortion due to national pride.

It now remains to discuss the manner in which this series was compiled. It may be stated immediately that there is no evidence for any connection between this series and royal inscriptions. This is not surprising since Babylonian royal inscriptions are concerned primarily with religious, not secular, events

—the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series is, in a sense, the political annals of the Neo-Babylonian monarchs—and it would be unheard of for a Babylonian scribe to copy information from an Assyrian royal inscription. There is one instance in which Chronicle 1 and the Eponym Canon C^b 6 are strikingly similar. This is the account of the destruction of the cities Larak and Sarrabanu in 704 B.C. by Sennacherib. Although Sennacherib lists many conquered cities, thirty-nine including these two, in his account of the campaign, both the Eponym Canon and Chronicle 1 have chosen to mention only two, the same two!²² This may indicate borrowing on the part of one of these documents or, and this is more likely as will be shown, it may indicate that the two texts had a common source.²³ Although there is another instance in which the text of an Eponym Canon and the text of Chronicle 1 have some similarity, the discrepancies between the two accounts are sufficient to dispel any suspicion of a direct connection.²⁴

There is little evidence of a connection between the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series and the Ptolemaic Canon as far as content is concerned. The only evident similarities are that both documents begin their list of Babylonian kings with Nabu-nasir and both documents use the same short form of Nabu-nadin-zeri's name.²⁵ The fact that the Ptolemaic Canon omits Nabu-shuma-ukin II;²⁶ uses the Babylonian name of Shalmaneser V

²² See Chron. 1 ii 22, C^b 6 in RLA 2, p. 435, and OIP 2, p. 53: 42–47.

²³ It cannot be argued that of the 39 Amukkanite cities mentioned only Larak and Sarrabanu are important. Certainly S/Shapia, which is listed by Sennacherib, is important. In an earlier period it was the centre of the Nabu-mukin-zeri rebellion. Parakmar(r)i, another city mentioned, appears in two letters, CT 44, 67: 4 and Iraq 27 (1965), p. 23 LXXVI: 6, 11. It is possible, however, that Sennacherib in fact only conquered Larak and Sarabanu and the remaining 37 names in his inscription might be sheer embellishment.

²⁴ See the commentary to Chronicle 1 ii 5'.

²⁵ See Appendix B sub Nabu-nadin-zeri.

²⁶ See Appendix B sub Nabu-shuma-ukin II.

²¹ In fact practically every regnal year of each king is mentioned.

while the series uses his Assyrian name;²⁷ does not recognize the rule in Babylonia of Sargon as the series does;²⁸ and reckons the number of years of the interregnum before Esarhaddon and the number of Esarhaddon's regnal years differently from the series²⁹ shows that the source or sources used by Ptolemy certainly had a different point of view from the author of the series.

With regard to other chronicles there is evidence of a close connection between the Esarhaddon Chronicle and Chronicle 1. The relevant portions of the two texts generally agree word for word. However, in some cases Chronicle 1 has additional information which the Esarhaddon Chronicle does not have³⁰ and in two cases the Esarhaddon Chronicle contains no mention of defeats suffered by Esarhaddon (sacking of Sippar in his sixth year³¹ and defeat in Egypt in his seventh year).³² Thus, although there is a definite affinity between the two documents, the Esarhaddon Chronicle is a little more concise and has a definite bias in favour of Esarhaddon. One concludes from this that the author of the Esarhaddon Chronicle used Chronicle 1 as source material or else the authors of both texts had a common source. The second of these two alternatives is the more probable.³³

That the two texts are based on a common source is indicated by the fact that there is some connection between them and the Akitu Chronicle. In the sections of each of these chronicles which appear at the end of Esarhaddon's reign and the beginning of the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin there is a very close connection. In some cases all three texts have lines which are exactly parallel to one another. In other cases the Esarhaddon Chronicle and Akitu Chronicle have lines not

found in Chronicle 1 (this is virtually the only passage in which the Esarhaddon Chronicle has more information than Chronicle 1).³⁴ Thus none of these three texts could have been the sole source from which the other two derived their information and yet there is a close connection between them.³⁵ One is inclined to conclude, therefore, that there was a common source used by the writers of these three documents.

It seems probable that in fact all of the late chronicles of category A had a common source and that this source was a running account of all important events affecting Babylonia.³⁶ Further, it is probable that this running account is identical with a genre known as astronomical diaries,³⁷ a term which

³⁴ The following chart indicates the points of contact and discrepancy:

CHRONICLE 1	ESARHADDON CHRONICLE	AKITU CHRONICLE
omits	31 f.	= 1-4
omits	33 f.	omits
iv 34-36	= 35 f.	= 5-7
omits	37	8
iv 37 f.	= 38 f.	omits

³⁵ Note that the Akitu Chronicle and Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle also have one line in common (Akitu Chronicle 12 = Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 6). It is also possible that the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle has one line in common with the portion of Chronicle 23 that belongs to category A (see the commentary to Chronicle 23 r. 6 f.).

³⁶ A similar proposal was made by Landsberger and Bauer, *ZA* 37 (1927), pp. 61-65, who thought all chronicles belonged to one series, the evidence being the tendency of the Babylonians to canonize all their learned literature. Wiseman, *Chron.* pp. 3 f., went farther by suggesting that the preserved chronicles are in fact extracts from one original running account. His evidence was the difference in character between Chronicle 1 and Chronicles 2-6. The former is more comprehensive in period of time but less detailed while the latter are quite the opposite.

³⁷ Cf. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 4.

²⁷ See Appendix B sub Shalmaneser V.

²⁸ See Appendix B sub Sargon II.

²⁹ See Appendix B sub Sennacherib.

³⁰ See the commentary to Chronicle 1 iv 21, 23-28, 30-33, 38.

³¹ Chronicle 1 iv 9 f.

³² Chronicle 1 iv 16.

³³ Smith, *BHT* p. 2, came to the same conclusion.

must be explained before elaborating upon this suggestion. Astronomical diaries are records of various phenomena, each text recording the events of half a specified year. The diaries are divided into sections, each section covering the almost day-to-day events of one month. Most of the phenomena recorded are of an astronomical or meteorological nature but at the end of each section there are statements about market prices, the height of the river, and matters of historical interest. There are several reasons for regarding the diaries and the chronicles as being closely connected.

One reason has to do with the "Nabunaser Era". There is a tradition that from the time of Nabunaser (747–734 B.C.) official records, particularly of astronomical observations, were available in abundance. This tradition is best attested by Ptolemy who not only began his list of Babylonian kings with Nabunaser and used the Nabunaser Era in his writings for dating, but also said at one point that astronomical observations were preserved from Nabunaser's time onwards.³⁸ The tradition is also alluded to in a curious statement attributed to Berossus by Alexander Polyhistor and quoted from the latter by Syncellos: "Nabunaser collected and destroyed the (records of the) deeds of the kings so that the reckoning of Chaldaean kings might start with himself."³⁹ On the basis of this evidence Winckler claimed that the reign of Nabunaser marked the introduction of a new calendar.⁴⁰ Kugler later pointed out that such an assertion was unjustified since no mention is made by either Ptolemy or Berossus of a new calendar. Kugler instead argued that one could only conclude from

the evidence that the reign of Nabunaser marked the beginning of an era in which detailed records were kept of astronomical phenomena. He attributed the cause of this sudden interest in keeping records to the singular astronomical phenomena which occurred in the first year of Nabunaser's reign.⁴¹ Actually the evidence supports the conclusion that detailed records of various things and not just astronomical phenomena were kept from the reign of Nabunaser.†

The evidence that astronomical records were sedulously compiled from the reign of Nabunaser onwards implies that astronomical diaries (being astronomical records) were diligently written starting with this period. It is now important to note that the Babylonian Chronicle Series begins its narration in the reign of Nabunaser. It appears that scribes began compiling astronomical diaries (among other astronomical records) and the Babylonian Chronicle Series about the same time. Or, to be more precise, the astronomical diaries and the source of the Babylonian Chronicle Series began to be compiled in great detail beginning with the reign of Nabunaser. This in itself would suggest that the source of the series was astronomical diaries.⁴² Also to be considered is the fact that typologically the two genres are similar (see Appendix A) and in phraseology there are several points of contact.⁴³ Thus there is

³⁸ K. Manitius, *Des Claudius Ptolemäus Handbuch der Astronomie* (Leipzig, 1912) I, p. 183: 6–8. Also cf. O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Princeton, 1952), p. 93.

³⁹ F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* 3. Teil, C. (Leiden, 1958), pp. 395 f. The passage is also quoted and translated (into German) by F. X. Kugler, SSB 2, p. 363.

⁴⁰ H. Winckler, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Leipzig, 1892), pp. 121 f.

⁴¹ F. X. Kugler, SSB 2, pp. 362–371. The Saros Tablet discussed by Kugler is treated in Appendix A.

⁴² The fact that the later portions of Chronicle 23 belong typologically to category A (see Appendix A) suggests that the source of the Babylonian Chronicle Series is at least as old as the earliest period dealt with in this portion of the text. The pattern of category A is first used in Chronicle 23 in the entry that deals with the reign of Merodach-baladan I (1173–1161 B.C.). There is no reason to reject the idea that documents similar to astronomical diaries were compiled as early as the twelfth century B.C.

⁴³ Phrases which the historical narratives of astronomical diaries and the chronicle series of category A have in common are:

a) *ina pāni . . . nabalkutu*. Examples are cited in the note to Chronicle 1 i 35.

good reason to believe that the source of the Babylonian Chronicle Series (Chronicles 1–13a) as well as the other chronicles in category A (Chronicles 14–17) and the later portion of Chronicle 23 is astronomical diaries.[†]

On the question of who wrote these documents there is unfortunately no clear indication but on the question of the material upon which they wrote there is some interesting evidence. This is contained in the colophon of Chronicle 15, the beginning of which reads: "Nonintegrated lines from a writing-board of Urshidazimēni."⁴⁴ This statement shows that at least some chronicle material was inscribed on writing-boards.⁴⁵ The existence of writing-boards was suspected for some time and was finally confirmed by the fortunate discovery of some of these at the bottom of a well at Nimrud. The writing-board consisted of several short boards attached by hinges. On the inner surface of each board was spread a thin layer of beeswax for the inscription. In his publication of these, Wiseman⁴⁶ drew attention to the evidence for various types of texts being written on writing-boards (omens, reports, rituals, administrative documents, etc.). To the types of texts known to have been written on writing-boards may be added chronicles on the basis of the statement quoted above. Since the earliest king mentioned in Chronicle 15

is Shirikti-Shuqamuna (984 B.C.) it also indicates that writing-boards were used as early as the beginning of the first millennium B.C. for the composition of a chronicle of the type within category A.

In conclusion it may be stated that Chronicles 1–7 represent only a small part of a series of late Babylonian chronicles which, like all chronicles of category A, were probably résumés or extracts made from running accounts which were sometimes kept on writing-boards and these running accounts were probably identical with astronomical diaries.⁴⁷ The narrative exhibits a narrow outlook restricted to matters of concern to Babylonia, but within these confines the authors are objective. Their main concern is to record what actually happened. Thus one may use these documents as source material for the history of the period with considerable confidence in their reliability.⁴⁸

a) CHRONICLE 1

The text of Chronicle 1 covers the period from the reign of Nabu-nasir (747–734 B.C.) to the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin (668–648 B.C.). It is preserved in three copies. There are some serious lacunae in the best preserved copy, and although the other two tablets which are smaller fragments assist in the restoration, not all of the text can be reconstructed. The text is divided into two columns on each side as is Chronicle 7. The fact that this differs from Chronicles 2–6, which have no division into columns, is to be noted and attributed to the fact that both tablets were probably copied by the same scribe.^{49†}

The narrative begins with a broken passage⁵⁰ that may be a statement concerning

b) *ṣalta* . . . *epēšu*. Examples are cited in the note to Chronicle 1 i 7f.

c) *NAM*^{meš}. See the note to Chronicle 1 i 11.

d) *ITI BI*. See n. 143 below.

Further note the occurrence of the phrase *alteme umma* in Chronicle 13 r. 5 which is a common idiom in astronomical diaries but most peculiar in a chronicle. Also interesting in this regard is the list of commodities and the phraseology in Chronicle 23 (also note Chronicle 10 r. 31 and 35) which is virtually identical with passages in astronomical diaries. See the relevant commentaries for details.

⁴⁴ Chronicle 15: 23.

⁴⁵ In this connection note the interesting statement in copy A of Chronicle 1 i 8 that an event "is not written" and the fact that the section is omitted in copy B. This in itself suggests that these texts are extracts from another source.

⁴⁶ Iraq 17 (1955), pp. 3–13.

⁴⁷ That the chronicles were résumés or extracts from another source provides an explanation for the slightly different format of Chronicles 1 and 7.

⁴⁸ There are, of course, minor scribal errors: Chronicle 1 i 23, 25, 28; iii 7, 13, 31; iv 10, 12, 19–22, 25 f.; Chronicle 2: 21; Chronicle 7 ii 3, 9, 10, 12. See the commentary to these passages.

⁴⁹ Wiseman, Chron. p. 3.

⁵⁰ i 1*.

the interruption of the Akitu festival. The first fully preserved section⁵¹ describes the accession of Tiglath-pileser III to the Assyrian throne and a raid which he made in Babylonia in the same year. Although the introductory formula is broken away, it is reasonably certain that this is the third regnal year of the Babylonian king, Nabu-nasir.

The following three segments⁵² concern the events of three regnal years of Nabu-nasir. The first of these⁵³ is undated and the explanation for this singular omission is provided by the chronicler who states that the event he mentions "is not written."⁵⁴ The event itself concerns a rebellion in Borsippa. The entry for the fifth year of Nabu-nasir⁵⁵ contains merely a statement regarding a change of monarch in Elam. The final section⁵⁶ for Nabu-nasir, his fourteenth year, records this king's death from natural causes, a statement concerning the total number of years he had ruled, and the name, in an abbreviated form, of his successor, Nabu-nadin-zeri.

Nabu-nadin-zeri was doomed to reign for only two years and his murder during a revolution in his second regnal year is recorded in the next section.⁵⁷ The usurper, Nabu-shuma-ukin II (whose name is also abbreviated), fared even worse for after only one month and two days on the throne he was deposed by an Amukkanite called Nabu-mukin-zeri (the name is again abbreviated).

According to the narrative in the subsequent segment,⁵⁸ Nabu-mukin-zeri was able to hold the throne for three years. Then the Assyrian king, Tiglath-pileser III, attacked Babylonia, captured the usurper and himself took the Babylonian throne. But this powerful Assyrian monarch must have been getting on in years when he took the Baby-

lonian throne and it is not surprising that the next section⁵⁹ records his death in the second year of his rule in Babylonia which is his eighteenth year of rule over Assyria. The successor, Shalmanaser V, is named and there follows a terse statement at the end of the section: "He ravaged *Samaria*".

This is the only information provided by the chronicle for the reign of Shalmanaser V for the following entry⁶⁰ records his death in his fifth year and the usual summary formula stating that he had ruled for five years. With his death, as can be seen from the chronicle, the thrones of Assyria and Babylonia were again separated with Sargon II becoming the Assyrian monarch and Merodach-baladan II the Babylonian.

The next four sections⁶¹ concern the twelve-year rule of Merodach-baladan II, viz. his second, fifth, tenth, and twelfth regnal years. The account of the second year⁶² narrates the battle of Der (720 B.C.). The section on the fifth year⁶³ has to do with a change of monarch in Elam and for the tenth year it is said that Merodach-baladan went on a plundering raid in an unknown district (the narrative is fragmentary).⁶⁴

The battle between Sargon and Merodach-baladan which caused the latter to abandon Babylonia and flee to Elam is narrated in the section for the twelfth year.⁶⁵ The narrative of this portion of the text concludes with a statement of the number of years, twelve, that Merodach-baladan had ruled in Babylonia and the information that the Assyrian, Sargon II, now ascended the Babylonian throne.

The next few sections⁶⁶ of the text deal with the period during which Sargon was in control of Babylonia. The entries are brief, mentioning the participation of Sargon in the

⁵¹ ii 1-5.

⁵² i 6-13.

⁵³ i 6-8.

⁵⁴ *ul šatir*.

⁵⁵ i 9f.

⁵⁶ i 11-13.

⁵⁷ i 14-18.

⁵⁸ i 19-23.

⁵⁹ i 24-28.

⁶⁰ i 29-32.

⁶¹ i 33-ii 5.

⁶² i 33-37.

⁶³ i 38-42.

⁶⁴ i 43f.

⁶⁵ ii 1-5.

⁶⁶ ii 1'-18.

Akitu festival and his capture of the southern Babylonian stronghold Dur-Yakin in his thirteenth year;⁶⁷ his inactivity in the fourteenth year;⁶⁸ the return of the Sealand pantheon to its home and a plague in Assyria in the fifteenth year;⁶⁹ and the campaign against Tabal in his seventeenth year.⁷⁰ At this point the text is very fragmentary and it is only after a gap of several lines⁷¹ that a coherent account is possible. In this gap there was a change of monarch for when the text is again readable, one finds the successor of Sargon II, his son Sennacherib, on the throne.

A large portion of the text⁷² is devoted to the period during which Sennacherib exercised control over Babylonia through a series of puppet rulers. The first, fragmentary section⁷³ concerns a Babylonian campaign by Sennacherib, his dealings with Merodach-baladan II who has reappeared, and Bel-ibni's appointment by Sennacherib to the Babylonian throne. The next two segments concern, respectively, the first⁷⁴ and third⁷⁵ regnal years of Bel-ibni. Sennacherib campaigned in the East Tigris region in the first year and then into Babylonia in his third year. Bel-ibni and his officers, apparently guilty of treason, were led away to Assyria and Sennacherib's son, Ashur-nadin-shumi, was placed on the Babylonian throne.

The six-year reign of Ashur-nadin-shumi is covered by two sections.⁷⁶ The first⁷⁷ concerns a change of monarch in Elam which took place in the first year of Ashur-nadin-shumi. The second⁷⁸ concerns a campaign of Sennacherib into Elam in his son's sixth regnal year and the cunning simultaneous attack of the Elamite king on North Baby-

lonia which resulted in the capture of Ashur-nadin-shumi. The Elamites placed their own appointee, Nergal-ushezib, on the Babylonian throne.

There follows a lengthy segment⁷⁹ in which the events of the first (and only) regnal year of Nergal-ushezib are narrated. In a battle between the Assyrian army and the army of Nergal-ushezib, the latter individual is defeated and captured. A rebellion takes place in Elam of which Sennacherib takes advantage by again campaigning into that country. The section concludes with a statement that Mushezib-Marduk ascended the throne.

Two segments⁸⁰ are now devoted to the four-year reign of Mushezib-Marduk. In the entry for the first year⁸¹ is found an account of another change of monarch, through revolution, in Elam and the battle of Halule. The section on the fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk⁸² mentions that the Elamite king was struck with paralysis and Mushezib-Marduk was deposed. The section concludes with a narration of a change of monarch in Elam. Nothing is said as to who took the throne in Babylon after the deposition of Mushezib-Marduk and the subsequent section,⁸³ which covers the remainder of the period during which the Assyrian, Sennacherib, exercised control over Babylonia begins: "The eighth year of there not being a king in Babylon." In this segment mention is made of the return of the Uruk pantheon from Elam to Uruk and a change of monarch in Elam. Sennacherib is murdered by his son and after a period of political turmoil in Assyria, Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, ascends the Assyrian throne.

The remainder of the chronicle,⁸⁴ with the exception of the last section, is concerned with the reign of Esarhaddon.⁸⁵ All of his

⁶⁷ ii 1'-2'.

⁶⁸ ii 3'.

⁶⁹ ii 4'-5'.

⁷⁰ ii 6'.

⁷¹ ii 7'-18.

⁷² ii 19-iii 42.

⁷³ ii 19-23.

⁷⁴ ii 24f.

⁷⁵ ii 26-31.

⁷⁶ ii 32-45.

⁷⁷ ii 32-35.

⁷⁸ ii 36-45.

⁷⁹ ii 46-iii 12.

⁸⁰ iii 13-27. The scribe mistakenly omitted the dividing line between these two portions.

⁸¹ iii 13-18.

⁸² iii 19-27.

⁸³ iii 28-38.

⁸⁴ iii 39-iv 33.

⁸⁵ For a comparison of the content with the Esarhaddon Chronicle, see the study of that text.

twelve regnal years are mentioned, apart from the ninth,⁸⁶ in these eleven sections. The first segment⁸⁷ records the abortive attempt of a Sealand governor to capture Ur and his subsequent flight to and execution in Elam. The remainder of the passage, which is fragmentary, concerns the gods of Der.

The entry for the second year⁸⁸ is almost entirely missing. In the third year⁸⁹ two high Babylonian officials were executed in Assyria. In the fourth,⁹⁰ Sidon was captured and troops were conscripted in Akkad. The entry for the fifth year⁹¹ concerns the capture of Bazza and the decapitation of the kings of Sidon, Kundu, and Sisu. An Elamite attack on Sippar in North Babylonia took place in the sixth year⁹² and the Assyrian army campaigned to Milidu. There follows a notation of a change of monarch in Elam. At the end of the section is recorded the transportation of two important Babylonians to Assyria. The Assyrian army suffered a setback in Egypt in the seventh year.⁹³ In that same year the pantheon of Agade was returned to its home from Elam. The capture of Shubria is recorded for the eighth year⁹⁴ and the entry of its booty into Uruk. At the end of the entry the death of the king's wife is mentioned. The entry for the tenth year⁹⁵ records in some detail an Assyrian campaign into Egypt which resulted in the capture and sacking of Memphis. In the eleventh year⁹⁶ the king executed many of his officers in Assyria. Finally, in the twelfth year⁹⁷ the king died in the course of a march to Egypt. He was succeeded by his sons, Shamash-shuma-

ukin and Ashurbanipal who took the thrones of Babylonia and Assyria respectively.

The remaining section⁹⁸ of the chronicle concerns the accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin in which the Babylonian pantheon was returned from Ashur to Babylon. Kirbitu was captured in that year and a Babylonian judge was executed. A colophon is found at the end of the text in which it is stated that this text is "the first section (of a series)." According to the colophon it was written in the twenty-second year of Darius I.

b) CHRONICLE 2

This portion of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series covers the period from the accession of Nabopolassar (626 B.C.) to his third regnal year (623 B.C.). The previous part of the series ended in 669 B.C. There are probably several tablets missing that would have covered the intervening forty-one years. There is a large piece missing from the upper left-hand corner of the tablet on which Chronicle 2 is inscribed which means that both the beginning and end of the text are fragmentarily preserved and therefore poorly understood. The tablet on which the text is inscribed, like the tablets on which Chronicles 4, 6, and 9 are inscribed, has the shape of a late Babylonian business document.

The first section of the chronicle,⁹⁹ which deals with the events leading up to the accession in Babylon of Nabopolassar, begins with the narration of hostilities between Babylonia and Assyria. After an initial Assyrian setback resulting in Sin-sharra-ishkun's flight to Assyria, the Assyrians launched a major attack on Nippur. Nabopolassar retreated before this onset to Uruk. Here a battle took place which resulted in an Assyrian withdrawal. Another major confrontation took place outside Babylon and again the Assyrian army was defeated.

After the narration of these events it is stated: "For one year there was no king in

⁸⁶ The Esarhaddon Chronicle also omits this year. It is therefore not to be regarded as a scribal error. See the commentary to Chronicle 1 iv 23-28.

⁸⁷ iii 39-47.

⁸⁸ iii 48-50.

⁸⁹ iv 1 f.

⁹⁰ iv 3 f.

⁹¹ iv 5-8.

⁹² iv 9-15.

⁹³ iv 16-18.

⁹⁴ iv 19-22.

⁹⁵ iv 23-28.

⁹⁶ iv 29.

⁹⁷ iv 30-33

⁹⁸ iv 34-38.

⁹⁹ 1-17.

the land (Babylonia).” This is followed by the information that Nabopolassar now ascended the throne in Babylon. The last few lines of this section begin: “The accession year of Nabopolassar.” It is recorded that the gods of Susa, which had been carried off by the Assyrians, were returned to Susa.

The following segment concerns the first regnal year of Nabopolassar.¹⁰⁰ There was panic in Babylon (no reason is given) and the gods of Shapazzu were brought to Babylon. The Assyrian army attacked Sallat, the gods of Sippar entered Babylon, and Nabopolassar led his army to meet the Assyrians. But the Babylonians were forced to withdraw.

In the second year¹⁰¹ the Assyrians invaded Babylonia and in the ensuing battle “*achieved nothing*.” The narration of the third year¹⁰² is badly broken and no consecutive sense can be obtained. However, from the fragmentary lines it is obvious that hostilities continued between Assyria and Babylonia. A rebellion of Der against Assyria is mentioned. On the left edge of the tablet are found a few fragmentary lines¹⁰³ about a rebel.

c) CHRONICLE 3

The period of time covered by this chronicle extends from the tenth to the seventeenth regnal year of Nabopolassar (616–609 B.C.). Between this text and the preceding there is, therefore, a gap of six years which means that only one and possibly two tablets are missing at this point. There are several breaks in the tablet, particularly on the reverse, which fact hampers the reading.

The description of the tenth year¹⁰⁴ is entirely taken up with the military campaigns of Nabopolassar. The Babylonian army marched up the Euphrates and received tribute from the Suheans and Hindaneans. In a pitched battle with the Assyrians, the latter were defeated and their allies, the Manneans,

were captured. Towns further up the Euphrates were plundered. The Egyptians appeared on the scene as allies of Assyria and attempted, unsuccessfully, to overtake the Babylonian army as it returned to Babylon. In the East Tigris region another battle took place between Assyria and Babylonia and the Assyrians suffered yet another defeat.

In the eleventh year¹⁰⁵ the Babylonians attacked the heart of Assyria, beginning with a siege of Ashur. A counter-offensive was launched by the Assyrians who pushed the Babylonians back down the Tigris to Takrit where the Babylonians fortified themselves. The Assyrians were defeated in their attempt to dislodge the Babylonian army and withdrew. The section concludes with a broken sentence referring to a Median attack on Araphu.

The Medes are again mentioned at the beginning of the section for the twelfth year.¹⁰⁶ They campaigned in Assyria, threatening Nineveh and capturing Ashur. It is stated that the Babylonian army had gone to assist the Medes but had arrived too late. Nabopolassar, king of Babylonia, and Cyaxares, king of the Medes, met and concluded an entente cordiale.

Most of the thirteenth year¹⁰⁷ was spent in campaigning along the Euphrates. The purpose was to quell a Suhean revolt and the campaign involved a siege of Anat. At the end of the section, where the text is broken, the Assyrian army is mentioned.

The section for the fourteenth year¹⁰⁸ is badly preserved. The Babylonian army went off on campaign and the king of the Umman-manda approached the Babylonian king. Cyaxares is mentioned. Then there is talk of a joint march up the Tigris and a siege of Nineveh. After three months the city is taken, looted, and destroyed, and its king, Sin-sharra-ishkun, apparently (the text is broken) dies. At this point Cyaxares returned home

¹⁰⁰ 18–24.

¹⁰¹ 25–28.

¹⁰² 29–37.

¹⁰³ 38–41.

¹⁰⁴ 1–15.

¹⁰⁵ 16–23.

¹⁰⁶ 24–30.

¹⁰⁷ 31–37.

¹⁰⁸ 38–52.

but the Babylonians campaigned in the vicinity of Nineveh. The last paragraph of the segment is very poorly preserved and the only meaningful statement concerns the accession of someone "in Harran to rule Assyria."

The beginning of the portion for the fifteenth year¹⁰⁹ is badly broken and concerns another Babylonian campaign in Assyrian territory. In the same year the town Ruggulitu, on the Upper Euphrates, was captured by the Babylonians. In the sixteenth year¹¹⁰ the Babylonians again campaigned in Assyria. They were joined by the Umman-manda and a joint attack was launched against Ashur-uballit II, the Assyrian king in Harran. Ashur-uballit II and his Egyptian allies abandoned Harran and the city was taken and plundered.

The Assyro-Egyptian coalition launched a counter-offensive in the following (seventeenth) year¹¹¹ and laid siege to Harran. The siege was eventually lifted with the arrival of the main Babylonian army. Afterwards the Babylonians campaigned as far as the Urartian border but the details of the campaign are lost due to the broken state of the text. At the end of the tablet is found the catch-line (which is the first line of Chronicle 4) and a colophon which is, in effect, a prayer that the tablet might not be lost.

d) CHRONICLE 4

The narration of Chronicle 4 begins where Chronicle 3 ended which is the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar (608 B.C.) and continues to his twentieth year (606 B.C.). There are virtually no breaks in the tablet. In the eighteenth year¹¹² a plundering raid was executed in the border district of Urartu. In the following section¹¹³ two Babylonian armies are mentioned, one led by Nabopolassar and one

led by his son, the crown prince Nebuchadnezzar. The name of the destination is broken away but it may have been Urartu. While Nebuchadnezzar carried out plundering raids in this area, his father returned to Babylon. When the crown prince returned to Babylon, the king again went out at the head of his army and captured and looted Kimuhu on the Upper Euphrates.

Kimuhu is still the centre of attention in the following (twentieth) year¹¹⁴ when the Egyptians captured it from the Babylonian garrison. Then the Babylonian king campaigned up the Euphrates, capturing several cities south of Kimuhu. As soon as the Babylonian king withdrew, the Egyptians moved down the river and forced the Babylonian army, which was camped there, to withdraw. The tablet ends with the catch-line for the next chronicle.¹¹⁵

e) CHRONICLE 5

Chronicle 5 picks up the narrative at the point where it was left by Chronicle 4, that is in the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar (605 B.C.), and continues until the tenth year of Nebuchadnezzar II (595 B.C.). The text is poorly preserved since, over and above numerous small flaws throughout, the bottom of the tablet is broken off so that the last few lines of the obverse and the first few lines of the reverse are entirely missing.

The first line of the first section¹¹⁶ in which the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar is introduced is a repeat of the catch-line found at the end of the preceding text, Chronicle 4. While Nabopolassar stayed in Babylonia, his son and successor, Nebuchadnezzar II led his troops up the Euphrates and battled with an Egyptian army at Carchemish. The result was a resounding defeat of the Egyptians who were slain to a man. In addition, Nebuchadnezzar conquered Hamath. The notice of Nabopolassar's death and the accession of

¹⁰⁹ 53-57.

¹¹⁰ 58-65.

¹¹¹ 66-75.

¹¹² 1-4.

¹¹³ 5-15.

¹¹⁴ 16-26.

¹¹⁵ 27f.

¹¹⁶ 1-11.

Nebuchadnezzar II to the throne is given at the end of the section.

In his accession year,¹¹⁷ which is really the same calendar year as the preceding, Nebuchadnezzar returned to the West after the coronation and campaigned with success. In the month Nisan he participated in the Akitu festival. The next section¹¹⁸ contains the narrative of the events of his first full regnal year. Another successful campaign to the West is recorded in which all the western kings ("all the kings of Hattu") presented tribute to the Babylonian monarch. The conquest and looting of a city, the name of which may be Ashkelon, is recorded in the last part of the section. The account of his second year¹¹⁹ is badly broken but presumably concerns another campaign to the West. Enough of the next section,¹²⁰ which concerns the third year, is preserved to recognize that yet another successful campaign was launched against the West.

In the fourth year¹²¹ the king marched through Palestine to Egypt and in the ensuing Egypto-Babylonian conflict both sides suffered severe losses. The Babylonian army returned to Mesopotamia and in the entry for the following (fifth) year¹²² it is stated that the Babylonian king stayed home and refitted his cavalry and chariotry. A campaign to the West was again conducted in the sixth year¹²³ and in the course of this activity, an attack was made on the Arabs in the desert.

The capture of Jerusalem ("the city of Judah") is the highlight of the entry for the seventh year.¹²⁴ The Babylonian ruler placed his own appointee on the Judaeian throne. The entry for the following (eighth) year¹²⁵ is broken but concerns a western march as

far as Carchemish. Similarly the next section is poorly preserved.¹²⁶ A march up the Tigris and an encounter with a king of an unknown place (the name is broken but it may be Elam) is recorded for the ninth year.

The last section of the chronicle,¹²⁷ which concerns the tenth year, is poorly preserved. There was a rebellion within Babylonia which involved military elements and resulted in mass executions. Towards the end of the section another western campaign is recorded. At the end of the text is found the catch-line¹²⁸ for the next, lost, tablet. It concerns another western campaign in the eleventh year.

f) CHRONICLE 6

This text concerns the third regnal year of Neriglissar (557 B.C.). This means that between Chronicles 5 and 6 the narrative of the eleventh to forty-third years of Nebuchadnezzar II, the two years of Evil-Merodach, and the first two years of Neriglissar have been lost. This gap of thirty-seven years represents a loss of several tablets. The text is reasonably well preserved, there being only one major flaw at the top of the tablet. There is no colophon or catch-line and the text is inscribed on a tablet in the shape of a late Babylonian business document. It is similar, therefore, to Chronicle 9 which also concerns only one regnal year, the fourteenth of Artaxerxes III; has no colophon or catch-line; and is inscribed on a tablet of similar shape. Both documents were probably extracted from the running account of Babylonian History for a particular purpose. In this case someone, possibly the king, wanted to have the facts of this campaign in a convenient form.

The narrative of the third year is entirely taken up with a Babylonian campaign against the Anatolian state, Pirindu. The attack was occasioned by a plundering raid carried out by the king of Pirindu in Syria. Despite the

¹¹⁷ 12-14.

¹¹⁸ 15-20.

¹¹⁹ 21-r.1.

¹²⁰ r. 2-4.

¹²¹ r. 5-7.

¹²² r. 8.

¹²³ r. 9f.

¹²⁴ r. 11-13.

¹²⁵ r. 14f.

¹²⁶ r. 16-20.

¹²⁷ r. 21-24.

¹²⁸ r. 25f.

Anatolian's employment of ambush, his army was defeated by Neriglissar's troops. The king fled to his mountain capital, Ura, where he was overtaken. After the capture and looting of this city, yet another mountain stronghold, Kirshi, was taken and burned. A Mediterranean island fortress near the coast was taken by means of boats. The chronicle concludes with the statement that the king of Pirindu was never captured and the Babylonian monarch returned to Mesopotamia.

g) NABONIDUS CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 7

The Nabonidus Chronicle is a narration of events beginning with the accession of Nabonidus in Babylon (556 B.C.) and ending sometime after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus (539 B.C.). The text, which is preserved on one tablet, is divided like Chronicle 1 into two columns on each side. The peculiarity (Chronicles 2-6 have no division into columns) is to be attributed to the fact that both texts were probably copied by the same scribe.¹²⁹ Also noteworthy is that matters of a ritual nature appear more commonly in this text than in Chronicles 1-6. The tablet is broken in such a way that most of the first and fourth columns is missing while the bottom of the second and the top of the third columns are missing. There appears to be a colophon at the end of the tablet which mentions Babylon but the rest of it is broken away.

On column one the first dividing line is visible at the end of line eight. But the text is so mutilated that one does not know for certain if there was another line drawn before this. This is highly probable, however, since this first portion presumably dealt with the accession year and first full regnal year of Nabonidus. Only one event of significance, a campaign to Hume, is legible. In the section for the second year¹³⁰ only the place name Hamath is preserved. The mutilated narrative for the third year¹³¹ contains a de-

scription of a campaign to the West. There follows a large lacuna in which the fourth and fifth years are entirely missing.

When the text is again preserved, the author is describing events of the sixth year.¹³² The battle between Astyages and Cyrus II, which resulted in the latter's victory, is recorded. The looting of Ecbatana, the capital of Astyages, is mentioned at the end of the segment. In the seventh year¹³³ since Nabonidus was in Tema the Akitu festival was not celebrated but offerings were made to the gods of Babylon and Borsippa. The next section¹³⁴ begins: "The eighth year." It is followed by a blank space. The scribe apparently did not have the entry for that year at hand and so left a space, planning to fill it in later.¹³⁵

For the ninth year¹³⁶ the sojourn of Nabonidus in Tema and the interruption of the Akitu festival is recorded as for the seventh year. Also recorded in detail is the death of the queen mother and the extensive mourning for her. A campaign of Cyrus, which may have been his attack on Lydia and the capture of Sardis (the text is broken), is recorded at the end of the section.†

In the tenth year¹³⁷ the king was still in Tema and the Akitu festival was not celebrated. An event is recorded at the end of the segment but the text is so broken that no connected sense is possible. Again in the eleventh year¹³⁸ the king was in Tema and the Akitu festival was neglected. There follows a large lacuna in which the twelfth to fifteenth years are missing.

In the next preserved portion,¹³⁹ which concerns the sixteenth year, only a few words are legible. There follows a long section¹⁴⁰ which, although the number of the regnal year is not preserved, must concern the seven-

¹²⁹ See Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 3.

¹³⁰ i 9f.

¹³¹ i 11-22.

¹³² ii 1-4.

¹³³ ii 5-8.

¹³⁴ ii 9.

¹³⁵ See the commentary to ii 9.

¹³⁶ ii 10-18.

¹³⁷ ii 19-22.

¹³⁸ ii 23-25.

¹³⁹ iii 1-4.

¹⁴⁰ iii 5-28.

teenth (and last) regnal year of Nabonidus. The first fact recorded is the celebration of the Akitu festival. It is then stated that the gods of various Babylonian cities entered Babylon in a certain month but the gods of Borsippa, Cuthah, and Sippar did not enter Babylon. The Persian defeat of the Babylonians at Opis and the capture of Sippar is mentioned. Babylon was taken without a battle and Nabonidus captured. The chronicler notes the mild treatment afforded the Babylonians by the Persians. Cyrus was received with joy in Babylon where he ap-

pointed local governors. The gods which had previously been brought to Babylon were returned to their homes. The death of the wife of the king was an occasion for extensive mourning. The text now becomes mutilated again but the name Cambyses, son of Cyrus, is legible and just before another large lacuna the divine names Nabu and Marduk (Bel) are discernible. In the remaining (fourth) column only traces are visible. It may have been a continuation of the preceding section or a new section. A mutilated catch-line¹⁴¹ is found at the end of the text.

ii) LATE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES: CHRONICLES 8-13a

Six distinct chronicles and one fragment have been recovered for the period after the capture of Babylon in 539 B.C. by Cyrus, a period which is called "Late Babylonian" in this discussion. The term "series," which was used for the previous group of chronicles, has also been employed here. There can be little doubt, as shown earlier, that all these texts belong to one series which was a continuation of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series.¹⁴² Although the preserved texts do not appear to begin before the reign of Xerxes I (485-465) it is safe to assume that this series picked up where the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series came to an end, c. 539 B.C., and continued at least as far as the reign of Seleucus II (245-226 B.C.). Indeed, there is really no break in 539 B.C. or any other time. The two categories, the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series and the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series, are really the same series. When the Babylonians lost their political independence to Cyrus in 539 B.C. they still

retained their ancient culture. In the conservative learned circles the literary traditions were maintained and scribes continued to compose and copy texts in the Akkadian and Sumerian languages although Aramaic was the common tongue. Among these scribal traditions was the running account of Babylonian history already discussed in connection with the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. The Late Babylonian Chronicle Series is a group of extracts from this running history the same as the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series was an extract from the earlier sections of the same source. However, over the years minor changes took place so that these later chronicles exhibit certain peculiarities not evident in the earlier texts. In particular the singular phrase "MN, that same month" which is found in the Seleucid Chronicles and is probably derived from astronomical diaries¹⁴³ is to be noted. It is, in part, because of these minor changes and because of the gap of more

¹⁴¹ iv 8f.

¹⁴² This is despite the fact that, due to the fragmentary condition of these tablets, in no case is a catch-line preserved that is also found as the first line of the subsequent tablet as in the case of Chronicles 3-5. In fact only one catch-line is apparently preserved. The traces on the left edge of the Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi may well be the remains of a catch-line. Chronicle 9, like Chronicles 1 and 6, has no catch-line.

¹⁴³ References to ITI BI in the chronicles are: Chronicle 11:3, r. 12, 16; Chronicle 12:3, r. 8; Chronicle 13:12, r. 9 (?). Note that the passages in astronomical diaries which deal with market prices, flood levels, political events, etc. regularly appear for each month after a description of astronomical phenomena and are introduced by ITI BI. In extracting information for these late chronicles the scribe simply copied both the name of the month and the introductory phrase "that same month", omitting what had appeared in between.†

than half a century between the last preserved portion of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series (539 B.C.)¹⁴⁴ and the first preserved portion of the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series (c. 485 B.C.)¹⁴⁵ that appear in the later period that it has been deemed advisable to subdivide the series into the two groups.†

What has been stated concerning the text of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series applies to these texts as well, including the fact that in this study the component parts of the series will be treated as one text. Throughout this discussion it must be kept in mind that the text is very fragmented with many gaps. It is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length. Each section deals with the events of a single year of the monarch's reign.¹⁴⁶

As with the authors of the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series, the authors of this text have presented Babylonian history in an objective and reliable manner. Thus one finds, in a broken passage, the description of the ravage of Babylonia by Antigonos.¹⁴⁷ One of the documents, Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi, is sufficiently preserved to be compared to a foreign source, Diodorus Siculus, and the comparison has shown that the Babylonian chronicle is far more reliable than the Greek author.¹⁴⁸ Perforce there is a certain broadening of the Babylonian historian's horizon. This was inevitable in a time when there were major events in the ancient world that affected all parts of it, including Mesopotamia. Thus events that took place far away from Babylonia, such as in Macedonia or Bactria, are mentioned. This is a natural

development and it must be borne in mind that even the earlier chronicles included such far away events as the battle of Carchemish (605 B.C.).¹⁴⁹ There is, then, no basic change in the outlook of the Babylonian historians. They still narrate only those events of immediate concern to a Babylonian but, due to the changed situation, those events might have taken place far from Babylonia. There is certainly no evidence that they omitted any major events that fall within the scope of their outlook. Thus one may conclude that these are impartial and reliable documents. The purpose of writing this history is the same as the purpose behind the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series. The scribes wished to record, to the best of their ability, the gradual unfolding of Babylonian history. Similarly the documents from which these chronicles were extracted are probably identical with astronomical diaries.¹⁵⁰

There are chronological gaps in the series which are to be attributed partly to the fragmentary nature of the documents and partly to the complete absence of texts in some cases, particularly during most of the Achaemenid period.¹⁵¹ In fact, for the period of Achaemenid Persian control in Babylonia only two texts are preserved, Chronicles 8 and 9. Chronicle 8 is only a fragment which apparently mentions Xerxes I (485–465). Chronicle 9 is a very small text which deals with the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes III (345/4 B.C.). Then there is a gap until the next chronicle, Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi, picks up the narrative at least as early as the fourth year of Philip III (320/19 B.C.) and continues at least as far as the ninth

¹⁴⁴ Chronicle 7.

¹⁴⁵ Chronicle 8 may deal with Xerxes I (485–465).

¹⁴⁶ Since Chronicle 9 concerns only one regnal year there are no dividing lines. The tiny fragment Chronicle 13a is so badly preserved that no lines are visible except for a line at the end which may mark the end of the text and the beginning of a colophon or catch-line.

¹⁴⁷ Chronicle 10 r. 21ff.

¹⁴⁸ Smith, BHT, pp. 129–138. On the unreliability of Diodorus also see T. W. Africa, "Herodotus and Diodorus on Egypt," JNES 22 (1963), pp. 254–258.

¹⁴⁹ Chronicle 5:1–8.

¹⁵⁰ The absence of scribal errors in these chronicles is to be attributed to the fragmentary state of preservation of most of them.

¹⁵¹ It seems unlikely that the original running account was ever seriously interrupted due to political disorder for it is with just one of these chaotic periods that one of the texts, Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi, is concerned. Also note the Nabonidus Chronicle which belongs to the same tradition and covers the period of Cyrus' conquest of Babylonia.

year of Alexander IV (308/7 B.C.). With the remaining four chronicles, all of which deal with the Seleucid period, there is considerable uncertainty as to chronology. Chronicle 11 may describe the period, or part thereof, of the coregency of Seleucus I and Antiochus (294/3 B.C. – 281/0 B.C.). In Chronicle 12 the thirtieth year (282/1 B.C.) of the Seleucid Era and perhaps the thirty-first year (281/0 B.C.) are mentioned. It is possible, but by no means certain, that the reigns of Seleucus II (245–226 B.C.) and Seleucus III (225–223 B.C.) are described in Chronicle 13. The chronological position of the fragment, Chronicle 13a, is extremely uncertain. Chronicles 11–13 are fragments of three different tablets while Chronicle 13a may belong to any of them or come from yet another tablet.†

a) CHRONICLE FRAGMENT OF THE
ACHAEMENID PERIOD: CHRONICLE 8

The only certain clue to the chronological position of this fragment is the apparent reference to Xerxes I (485–465 B.C.) in line 7. Prosopographic studies do not assist in establishing the date of the document since those names mentioned, Kidinnu,¹⁵² Nabubulli . . .,¹⁵³ and Merodach-baladan,¹⁵⁴ are fairly common in the late period. The fragment is in a very bad state of preservation with the result that not one entire line can be reconstructed.

In the first section which is at all legible¹⁵⁵ there is mention of armies, fighting, and the Hanaeans. The section concludes with what appears to be a reference to Xerxes, son of Darius. In the following, succinct section¹⁵⁶ it is stated that Kidinnu was slain. In the succeeding portion¹⁵⁷ a city called Yanu is mentioned and called "the city of the Guti." What is preserved of the following section¹⁵⁸

is primarily concerned with a religious festival which is, presumably, the Akitu festival. Nothing of importance can be deciphered on the remainder of the obverse. In the first section of the reverse in which anything can be read¹⁵⁹ there is mention of weapons, armies, and the waters of the Euphrates. Passing over four more sections which contribute little, one finds a section¹⁶⁰ in which a military defeat is recorded. The remaining line is too fragmentary for comprehension and thereafter the text is entirely missing.

b) CHRONICLE OF ARTAXERXES III:
CHRONICLE 9

This small text is a brief account in late Babylonian chronicle style, of the fate of prisoners taken from Sidon in the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes III (345/4 B.C.). It is written on one side of a small tablet which has the shape of a late Babylonian business document, a feature also exhibited by Chronicles 2, 4 and 6. The other side has been left blank. A similar feature is exhibited by the Akitu Chronicle and Chronicle 23, neither of which have colophons and in each case only half of the reverse is inscribed. That any of these three texts are practice documents is out of the question since all are well written. Rather, the brief narrative of each is to be attributed to their being private documents, copied for particular reasons. This is the only similarity, however, between Chronicle 9 and the Akitu Chronicle and Chronicle 23. Apart from this the text is similar to Chronicle 6 which also concerns only one regnal year and is inscribed on a tablet in the shape of a business document. With the exception of a slight break on the upper left-hand side, the tablet is well preserved and only a few signs are missing. No scribal errors are evident.

The reason for the extraction of these few lines from the chronicle of late Babylonian history must have some connection with the Sidonian prisoners since that is the sole con-

¹⁵² line 8.

¹⁵³ r. 9.

¹⁵⁴ r. 10.

¹⁵⁵ lines 3–7.

¹⁵⁶ line 8.

¹⁵⁷ lines 9f.

¹⁵⁸ lines 11–13.

¹⁵⁹ r. 2–5.

¹⁶⁰ r. 12.

cern of the text. It is impossible to conclude definitively from the available evidence what the exact connection was but one may conjecture that someone, perhaps the king himself, wished to know the details concerning these prisoners at some date subsequent to their capture. It was, for some reason, inconvenient to bring the whole chronicle into this man's presence and so this extract was made.

Despite the damage to the surface of the left-hand side of the tablet, the content is quite clear. In the fourteenth year of Artaxerxes III (who is also given the name Umasu) the prisoners from Sidon were taken to Babylon and Susa.¹⁶¹ Details follow as to the precise dates upon which two groups of the prisoners, the troops and the women, entered Babylon. Upon arrival the women were taken to the king's palace.

c) CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE DIADOCHI: CHRONICLE 10

The Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi is a narration of events beginning at least as early as the fourth year of Philip III (320/19 B.C.) and going at least as far as the ninth year of Alexander IV (308/7 B.C.). There are therefore as many as twenty-four regnal years missing between the beginning of the preserved portion of this document and Chronicle 9. The text is preserved on two fragments of the same tablet which do not join. Altogether, probably less than half the number of original lines has been preserved and even those sections which are preserved are very mutilated. After a lacuna at the beginning, the first five sections¹⁶² concern the fourth to eighth regnal years of Philip III. When the section on the fourth year¹⁶³ is legible there

is talk of a battle between the king and the satrap of Egypt. There is then a military disturbance and the section concludes with the information that the satrap of Babylonia entered Babylon and dust which had accumulated around the ancient temple of Esagil was removed.

In the fifth year¹⁶⁴ Antigonus is mentioned in a broken passage and then the crossing of Antipater (the name is not actually preserved) to Macedon is recorded. The concluding, broken, sentence refers to Seleucus, the satrap. The satrap of Babylonia is mentioned in the sixth year¹⁶⁵ in connection with silver (the context is not clear) and a sheep-fold for some (the name is broken) place. "Philip (III) in Macedon" appears in the last sentence. Military activity is the concern of the section on the seventh year¹⁶⁶ and Antigonus, the satrap, is mentioned at the end. Antigonus is again mentioned in the segment, which is almost totally lost, for the eighth year.¹⁶⁷

After a large lacuna in which four regnal years of Alexander IV are entirely missing (note that his first regnal year is the eighth and last year of Philip III), the text describes several regnal years of that king. Only fragmentary lines are preserved of the first section¹⁶⁸ which presumably (beginning and date of the section is missing) deals with the sixth regnal year of Alexander IV since the next section deals with his seventh year. Seleucus is mentioned in connection with an attempt to capture a palace and the fact that he did not dam the Euphrates. After a few more fragmentary lines a statement concerning removal of the dust from Esagil concludes the section.

The only information found in the mutilated segment on the seventh year¹⁶⁹ is a description of the battle between Antigonus and Seleucus. There follows another lacuna

¹⁶¹ There is some dispute about the date of the capture of Sidon (see CAH 6, pp. 22, 152f., and 249) and it should be noted that this text provides nothing more than a *terminus ante quem*. Although the captives were brought to Babylon and Susa in October of 345 B.C., their actual capture obviously took place earlier.

¹⁶² 1-21.

¹⁶³ 1-6.

¹⁶⁴ 7-9.

¹⁶⁵ 10-13.

¹⁶⁶ 14-18.

¹⁶⁷ 19-21.

¹⁶⁸ r. 1-13.

¹⁶⁹ r. 14-17.

and when the narrative again resumes events of the following (eighth) year are described.¹⁷⁰ The narrative concerns Antigonos's harsh treatment of Babylon and his appointment of the satrap there. After a note that he left Babylon, a notation of removal of dust from Esagil concludes the section.

The segment on the ninth year¹⁷¹ is very poorly preserved. The king and Seleucus are mentioned as well as the city Borsippa. There is reference to "weeping and mourning" and to the plundering of the countryside. Towards the end of the section the first regnal year of someone (the name is broken away) is mentioned but the context is too broken to understand what is meant. It cannot be the beginning of a new section for the regnal year is given in the middle of the line.¹⁷² On the left edge two lines are preserved which refer to a battle between Antigonos and Seleucus and this may be a catch-line.†

d) CHRONICLE FRAGMENT CONCERNING
ANTIOCHUS THE CROWN PRINCE:
CHRONICLE 11

On both the obverse and reverse of this fragment "Antiochus, the (crown) prince" is frequently mentioned. This could refer to any of the Seleucid crown princes of that name. There is some indication in this text, however, that favours Antiochus, the son of Seleucus I, as being the relevant prince. Antiochus, son of Seleucus I, was made coregent in 294/3 B.C. and put in charge of the Eastern Satrapies. Presumably he would have had his administrative headquarters in Babylon and later at Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Thus one expects texts from Babylonia during this period to be more concerned with the crown prince than with the monarch, Seleucus I. Such a situation fits the present text. Further note the frequent mention in this fragment of the Babylonians and Babylon¹⁷³ as well as the mention of Seleucia.¹⁷⁴ It is Antiochus,

while crown prince, who established Seleucia and moved the administrative centre there from Babylon thus condemning the ancient city to neglect and eventual obscurity. It is in the period of Antiochus's coregency that both cities would have existed as important centres. Finally it should be remembered that only one Seleucid royal inscription is known from Babylonia and this is one of Antiochus I.¹⁷⁵ Thus there is some indication that this chronicle describes at least part of the period when Antiochus, son of Seleucus I, was coregent, the whole extent of which was 294/3 B.C. to 281/0 B.C. Since Chronicle 12 begins at least as early as 283/2 B.C., the two documents may well have been chronologically consecutive.

The Chronicle is actually only a small piece from a large tablet, the reverse of which is badly worn. Due to its fragmentary condition no connected sense can be derived from any given passage. Snatches of the last two lines of a regnal year appear first and concern the removal of dust from Esagil. The remainder of the obverse concerns the next regnal year and most of the preserved portion has to do with Egishnugal, the temple of the god Sin at Ur. It sounds as though Antiochus re-established the regular income of the temple.¹⁷⁶ Then, with the mention of Bit-Gura and Seleucia, the text breaks off. Did this broken passage describe the creation of Seleucia? Chronicle 13a (see below) may also contain a description of the building of Seleucia and may therefore be a fragment of the same tablet as Chronicle 11.

The fragmentary reverse also contains the descriptions of two regnal years. In the first passage Babylon is mentioned twice as well as Bit-Gura, a Greek, and a treaty. In the last passage preserved the Babylonians are mentioned as well as sheep for offerings.¹⁷⁷ Unfortunately the reverse is so poorly preserved that one can say nothing further with regard to the content.

¹⁷⁰ r. 21–33. See Smith, BHT p. 128.

¹⁷¹ r. 34–43.

¹⁷² See the commentary to r. 42.

¹⁷³ r. 7, 8, 13.

¹⁷⁴ line 11.

¹⁷⁵ See Appendix B sub Antiochus I.

¹⁷⁶ line 6.

¹⁷⁷ r. 12f.

e) CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE END OF
THE REIGN OF SELEUCUS I: CHRONICLE 12

There is no difficulty in dating Chronicle 12 since on the obverse the second section that is preserved is dated in the thirtieth year of the Seleucid Era (282/281 B.C.) which means that the earliest preserved portion of the piece dates to 283/2 B.C. The only regnal year preserved on the reverse is mutilated and could, in theory, be any year of the Seleucid Era from thirty-one to thirty-nine (i.e. 281/280–273/2 B.C.). In fact it almost certainly is the 31st year of the Seleucid Era. The first statement¹⁷⁸ in this section concerns the launching of another campaign and in the account reference is made to Sardis, crossing the sea, and the suggestive phrase appears “to Macedonia his land”. Considering the context one event fits these clues admirably and that is the invasion of Europe by Seleucus I in the thirty-first year of the Seleucid Era (281/0 B.C.). Thus there can be virtually no hesitation in identifying this section as the thirty-first year of the Seleucid Era (281/0 B.C.). The minimum period covered by the original tablet to which this fragment belonged was, therefore, 283/2–281/0 B.C. and it may have continued the narration of Chronicle 11 without any intervening gap.

The chronicle is preserved on two small fragments which do not join. The first section preserved,¹⁷⁹ which is presumably the twenty-ninth year of the Seleucid Era,¹⁸⁰ is so broken that only a reference to a procession can be discerned. The next section¹⁸¹ concerns the thirtieth year of the Seleucid Era (282/1 B.C.). It is stated that in the month Sivan (June 10–July 9 of 282 B.C.) a military campaign was launched and in the next line the Greeks are mentioned. This must refer to the campaign

of Seleucus I into Asia Minor that culminated with the battle of Corupedion in Shabat of the thirtieth year of the Seleucid Era (February of 281 B.C.).

The content of the reverse concerns one of the years of the Seleucid Era from 31 to 39 (the numeral is broken). As shown earlier, the year is almost certainly the thirty-first. Thus the launching of a campaign, the reference to Sardis, the crossing of the sea, and the statement “to Macedonia his land”¹⁸² would refer to the invasion of Europe by Seleucus I. The remaining lines¹⁸³ are very fragmentary. A rebellion is mentioned, a Greek or Greeks, some construction on the Euphrates, eating inside some (the same?) building, and Bactria. There seems to be no reference in the preserved portion to the assassination of Seleucus.

f) CHRONICLE OF THE SELEUCID PERIOD:
CHRONICLE 13

The date of Chronicle 13 is extremely uncertain. On the obverse a certain “Seleucus, the district officer” is mentioned but whether he is identical with any of the royal Seleucids is unknown. On the reverse an accession to the throne is mentioned but unfortunately it is unknown to whose accession this refers. The name of a king who was the son of “Antiochus” is broken away from the beginning of a line on the reverse and since there were several Seleucid kings who were sons of men called Antiochus this is of little help. It does, however, indicate that the contents of the reverse deal with a period of time later than the contents of Chronicles 11 or 12 since the earliest king who was the son of an Antiochus was Seleucus II (245–226 B.C.). The reference to a “[Seleuc]us, son of Seleucus” in the next line of the reverse sheds little light on the problem. There is no indication that either of these men was a king. If, however, we assume that both were kings, the only possibility is Seleucus III (225–223 B.C.),

¹⁷⁸ r. 1–3.

¹⁷⁹ 1f.

¹⁸⁰ This conclusion is based on the assumption that every regnal year was mentioned, as was the case with the Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Series, and since the next section concerns the thirtieth year the preceding must be the twenty-ninth.

¹⁸¹ 3–8.

¹⁸² r. 3.

¹⁸³ r. 4–9.

son of Seleucus II (245–226 B.C.). This fact taken in conjunction with the evidence that the previous line could deal with any king who was a son of an Antiochus from Seleucus II on might indicate that this passage deals with the period of Seleucus II and III. However, this is extremely uncertain.

The fragmentary state of the text invalidates any attempt to obtain connected sense from the fragment. The obverse concerns only one regnal year since no horizontal dividing line is visible. In this broken passage an officer called Seleucus, the Tigris, the king's canal, and a boundary are mentioned. It appears that a territorial agreement is involved. Then Antiochus is mentioned, a slaughter, and many people. The last three lines contain a reference to the appointment of a new priestly official, someone's flight, and a date.

Mutilated descriptions of three regnal years are preserved on the reverse but the numbers of the years are broken away. The first passage ends with the mention of placing something (an offering or plunder) in Esagil. The next section, which consists of only two lines, refers to an accession to the throne. In the last preserved section a king (his name is broken), son of Antiochus and "[Seleuc]us, son of Seleucus", are mentioned.

g) SELEUCID CHRONICLE FRAGMENT:
CHRONICLE 13a

This fragment seems to come from the bottom central portion of a large tablet but since the identification of obverse and reverse

is uncertain (see the commentary) this matter is in doubt. The obverse(?) is terribly mutilated so that only a few fragmentary signs are visible. No coherent context is available here. The reverse(?), although in a better state of preservation, is still very fragmentary. The first discernible word is "Ishtar."¹⁸⁴

In the following three lines¹⁸⁵ a Greek and the king are mentioned. The pair of lines after that,¹⁸⁶ in which gold and an orchard are mentioned, apparently concern beautification of some area. This may refer to the construction of Seleucia-on-the-Tigris by Antiochus in which case the fragment might come from the same tablet as Chronicle 11. A military enterprise in which the name of either Antigonos or Antiochus appears is mentioned in the next three lines.¹⁸⁷ It is unfortunate that there is no indication which famous individual is meant since this would provide a more precise chronological period for the fragment.

With regard to relations with the other Seleucid chronicle fragments it is possible that this piece might belong to the same tablet as Chronicles 11,¹⁸⁸ 12, or 13. Unfortunately it is not possible to decide this crux on the basis of script or tablet texture. It is possible that it is not even a fragment of a chronicle but failing any proof that it is not, it has been included here.†

¹⁸⁴ r. 3.

¹⁸⁵ r. 4–6.

¹⁸⁶ r. 7f.

¹⁸⁷ r. 10–12.

¹⁸⁸ Note ^{1a}*E-man-n[a]-[a-a]* in Chronicle 13a r. 5 and ^{1a}*E-man-na-a-[a]* in Chronicle 11 r. 2.

OTHER CHRONICLES OF CATEGORY A

Apart from the thirteen texts of the Babylonian Chronicle Series there are four chronicles remaining in category A, the Esarhaddon, Shamash-shuma-ukin, Akitu, and Religious Chronicles. Of these, two, the Esarhaddon and Akitu Chronicles, have derived their information entirely from the running account of late Babylonian history. But in each case the purpose of the author was not simply to present a résumé of the events. As will be shown, the author of the Esarhaddon Chronicle rewrote the history of Babylonia during that king's reign, using the detailed account as source material, in order to show the monarch and Babylonia in a better light. The author of the Akitu Chronicle was interested in only one thing, occasions when there was an interruption of the chief festival of the Babylonian year, the Akitu, and the background to these interruptions. Thus neither the Esarhaddon Chronicle nor the Akitu Chronicle belonged to the Babylonian Chronicle Series. Their authors utilized the same source but for a different purpose.

Most of Chronicle 15 concerns the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin and for this reason has been called the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle in this book. There can be no doubt that the portion of the chronicle which concerns this king as well as the earliest part which concerns Ashur-nadin-shumi is derived from the late account of Babylonian history. However, the last few lines of the chronicle concern a period of time much earlier (tenth century B.C.) than the first preserved tablet in the Babylonian Chronicle Series (eighth century B.C.). The fact that the typology of this portion of the chronicle still belongs in category A indicates that there is a close connection with the series. Chronicle 15 provides, therefore, an indication that a running account of Babylonian history was kept as early as the tenth century B.C. The sparsity of

information in this chronicle for the early period would suggest either that the account was not very detailed¹ or that, by the time the extract was made, the account was poorly preserved. That the Chronicle is not a part of the Babylonian Chronicle Series is evident from its departure from chronological order. It, like the Esarhaddon and Akitu Chronicles, was composed for a specific purpose which was not that of simply presenting a brief portrayal of the events.

The only connection between the Religious Chronicle and the Babylonian Chronicle Series is in typology. Both belong to category A. It is not, however, surprising that no other similarities can be shown for the Religious Chronicle treats a period which is much earlier (eleventh and tenth centuries B.C.) than that dealt with in the series (eighth to third centuries B.C.) and its author displays interests different from those of the authors of the later group of texts. Neither of these factors is inconsistent with regarding the Religious Chronicle and the series as part of the same tradition. This chronicle would suggest, therefore, even if it does not conclusively prove, that the running account of Babylonian history was compiled as early as the eleventh century B.C. This statement is corroborated by the evidence of Chronicle 23 which will be discussed in a later chapter. The author of the Religious Chronicle, unlike the authors of the Esarhaddon, Akitu, and Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicles, appears to have had no singleminded purpose in compiling his text. Rather, like the authors of the Babylonian Chronicle Series, he seems to have

¹ Perhaps the evidence presented in the previous chapter that detailed records of Babylonian history were kept beginning in the reign of Nabunassar indicates an expansion of the scope of the running account or the extraction, for the first time, of the Babylonian Chronicle Series.

wished to note events which appeared to him important. The fact that the events he chose to include in his text are quite different in nature from those found in the series indicates that the scribe had an entirely different outlook from the authors of the later texts. In conclusion, one must confess that although it

is possible to see a general similarity in form between the Babylonian Chronicle Series and the Religious Chronicle, nevertheless the latter document is unique, as a chronicle, but just as unique, in their own way, are the Esarhaddon, Akitu, and Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicles.

i) ESARHADDON CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 14

The Esarhaddon Chronicle is a narration of events which took place in Mesopotamia during Esarhaddon's reign (680–669 B.C.) and the early part of the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin (668–648 B.C.). The text is divided by horizontal lines into four sections of unequal length. The first section deals with the reign of Esarhaddon, the second section deals with the accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin, and the third and fourth concern the first and second full regnal years of Shamash-shuma-ukin. A peculiar feature of this tablet is a scribal note on the left edge which says simply "battles." A similar notation is found at the end of text A of the Chronicle of Early Kings.² The text is preserved on a single tablet which is not divided into columns. A large piece is broken away from the top of the tablet and a smaller piece is missing from the lower right hand corner. The date and provenance of the tablet are unknown. There is no evidence of scribal errors.

The chronicle, in the large section which deals with Esarhaddon, displays a definite bias in favour of this king. Not one single defeat or disgrace of Esarhaddon is mentioned. Yet it is known that the Elamites sacked Sippar in Esarhaddon's sixth regnal year³ and that his army was defeated in Egypt in his seventh regnal year.⁴ The author of the Esarhaddon Chronicle omits both these events. Whether or not the chronicler was biased in favour of Shamash-shuma-ukin is uncertain because very little concerning him is preserved in the text. Since Esarhaddon was

officially recognized by the Babylonians as their king the bias of the chronicler is compatible with Babylonian authorship. Thus, in contrast to the Babylonian Chronicle Series, the Esarhaddon Chronicle rates very low as a reliable historical source. Whereas the Babylonian Chronicle Series is a sober and objective document the Esarhaddon Chronicle is a biased and unreliable source of information. This is despite the fact that the two had a common source as shown in the discussion of the Babylonian Chronicle Series.

With regard to the intent of the author of the chronicle the bias which has already been illustrated is a major clue. The fact that the chronicle is essentially an extract from the running account of Neo-Babylonian history with significant changes indicates that the author was re-writing history for the purpose of propaganda. He was trying to obliterate the disgraces suffered by Esarhaddon and possibly other kings of Babylon.

The reason for the choice of this particular period of time is fairly obvious. The era about which the chronicler writes is virtually identical with the era dealt with in the Akitu Chronicle. The Esarhaddon Chronicle begins just before Esarhaddon's first regnal year (680 B.C.) and the Akitu Chronicle begins with Sennacherib's sack of Babylon (689 B.C.). The Esarhaddon Chronicle breaks off during Shamash-shuma-ukin's reign (668–648 B.C.) and the Akitu Chronicle ends with the accession year of Nabopolassar (626 B.C.). It will be shown in the introduction to the Akitu Chronicle that this was a distinct period of time in Babylonian history. It was the dark period following the sack of Babylon (a terrible atrocity in Babylonian eyes) and immediately

² See the commentary to the Esarhaddon Chronicle.

³ Chronicle 1 iv 9f.

⁴ Chronicle 1 iv 16.

preceding the powerful Neo-Babylonian dynasty. It appears that the author has chosen to re-write a disgraceful period of Babylonian history in a light more favourable to his native land and thus the information found in this text must be regarded with scepticism by the historian.

As stated above, the chronicle is divided into four sections, the first section⁵ being devoted to the reign of Esarhaddon. It is noteworthy that the scribe in this section does not follow the usual practice of dividing each regnal year by a horizontal line, but in the latter part of the chronicle that deals with Shamash-shuma-ukin, he does. Due to a major break at the top of the tablet, the beginning of the first section, which concerns the first year,⁶ is very poorly preserved. The king of Elam as well as Esarhaddon, and the gods of Der are mentioned. From the parallel passage in Chronicle 1⁷ one concludes the reference to the king of Elam must refer to the fact that he ordered the execution of the rebel, Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir, when he fled from the Assyrians to Elam. Movement of the gods of Der is also referred to in Chronicle 1.

The section on the second year⁸ records the conscription of Babylonian troops, the only fact which is preserved in the parallel but badly broken passage in Chronicle 1.⁹ The capture of Arza is mentioned as well as a slaughter of the Cimmerians. In the third year¹⁰ the execution of two Babylonian officials is recorded in exactly the same words as in Chronicle 1.¹¹ Similarly the account of the capture of Sidon and the conscription of Babylonian troops in the fourth year¹² agrees word for word with the entry in Chronicle 1.¹³

The section for the fifth year¹⁴ mentions, in precisely the same words as Chronicle 1,¹⁵ the capture of Bassa and the decapitation of the Sidonian king. But the decapitation of the king of Kundu and Sisu, recorded in Chronicle 1,¹⁶ is omitted from the Esarhaddon Chronicle.

In the account of the sixth year¹⁷ there is some discrepancy from Chronicle 1¹⁸ although in essence the two versions are so close that there is obviously a connection. An Assyrian campaign against Milidu and its leader Mugallu is recorded. In Chronicle 1 the name Mugallu is omitted. A change of throne in Elam is then mentioned which is also found in Chronicle 1 where, however, there is a discrepancy in the date of the event and the number of years the dead king had ruled. The last entry for the sixth year in the Esarhaddon Chronicle is virtually identical with a statement in Chronicle 1 and concerns the abduction of two officials to Assyria. It is noteworthy that no mention of the Elamite attack on Sippar, recorded in Chronicle 1 for the sixth year, is found in the Esarhaddon Chronicle.

The entry for the seventh year¹⁹ records an Assyrian march to Sha-amile and the return of the gods of Agade from Elam. The account agrees virtually word for word with that of Chronicle 1²⁰ with one major exception. Instead of recording an attack on Sha-amile, the author of Chronicle 1 states that the Assyrian troops were defeated in Egypt. The death of the king's wife and the capture of Shubria is recorded for the eighth year.²¹ The account in Chronicle 1²² agrees with the exception of the dates and the additional information, not found in the Esarhaddon Chronicle, that the booty from Shubria was taken to Uruk.

⁵ 1-30.

⁶ 1-5.

⁷ Chronicle 1 iii 42-47.

⁸ 6-9.

⁹ Chronicle 1 iii 48-50.

¹⁰ 10 f.

¹¹ Chronicle 1 iv 1 f.

¹² 12.

¹³ Chronicle 1 iv 3 f.

¹⁴ 13 f.

¹⁵ Chronicle 1 iv 5-7.

¹⁶ Chronicle 1 iv 7 f.

¹⁷ 15-19.

¹⁸ Chronicle 1 iv 9-15.

¹⁹ 20-22.

²⁰ Chronicle 1 iv 16-18.

²¹ 23-25.

²² Chronicle 1 iv 19-22.

The ninth year is omitted as it is in Chronicle 1. In the tenth year²³ the Assyrians launched a campaign against Egypt. The version in Chronicle 1²⁴ of this event is much fuller, including mention of the capture of Memphis and some royal personages. In the eleventh year²⁵ the king executed many of his officers. There is verbatim agreement with the entry in Chronicle 1.²⁶ The account of the final (twelfth) year²⁷ of Esarhaddon states that the king died on his way to attack Egypt and provides a summary statement of the number of years he had reigned. The account agrees word for word with the version of Chronicle 1.²⁸

The end of the reign of Esarhaddon is followed by a section,²⁹ undated at the beginning, which contains information concerning the statue of Marduk (Bel), the accession of Ashurbanipal and the events of the accession

year of Shamash-shuma-ukin. The narrative has close affinities with the accounts in both Chronicle 1 and the Akitu Chronicle. The significance of these affinities was discussed in the preceding chapter. It is interesting to note here that the statement concerning the number of years the statue of Marduk resided in Ashur (and therefore the number of years the Akitu festival was not celebrated) occurs before the statement: "The accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin." The same order is followed in the Akitu Chronicle. The remainder of the text, which is badly broken, contains two sections dealing with the first³⁰ and second³¹ years of Shamash-shuma-ukin. In the section on the first year kings of Egypt are mentioned. Virtually nothing is preserved in the last section. At this point the tablet breaks off completely.

ii) SHAMASH-SHUMA-UKIN CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 15

The Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle consists of extracts from at least two different chronicles and deals with events in and around Babylonia. Most of the chronicle concerns the reign of Shamash-shuma-ukin (668–648 B.C.) but mention is made of Ashur-nadin-shumi (699–694 B.C.), Shirikti-Shuqamuna (984 B.C.), and Nabu-shuma-ishkun (760–748 B.C.). Like the other late Babylonian chronicles a horizontal line is drawn after each regnal year.³² The text of the chronicle is preserved on one tablet which is in rather bad condition. The lower left-hand corner is missing and there is a large gouge in the obverse.

Certain features of the text indicate that it was intended for private use. These features are the eclectic nature of its content and the small size of the tablet. There can be no doubt about the eclecticism of the chronicle's editor. Of thirty-nine Babylonian kings (from Shirikti-Shuqamuna to Shamash-shuma-ukin) he mentions only four. Of these four, only the reign of one king, Shamash-shuma-ukin, is treated in detail and not all of his regnal years are mentioned. Besides being very selective in choosing his extracts the scribe has arranged them in a most unusual way. The text is divided into two parts with a blank space in between. The first part³³ is later, chronologically, than the second³⁴ and covers three quarters of the tablet. In the first part is a statement concerning Ashur-nadin-shumi and then the remainder concerns Shamash-shuma-ukin. The second part consists of two sections about two earlier kings, Shirikti-Shuqamuna and Nabu-

²³ 25 f.

²⁴ Chronicle 1 iv 23–28.

²⁵ 27.

²⁶ Chronicle 1 iv 29.

²⁷ 28–30.

²⁸ Chronicle 1 iv 30–32.

²⁹ 31–39.

³⁰ 40–44.

³¹ 45.

³² The only exception is the lack of such a line between lines 1 and 2. See the commentary.

³³ 1–19.

³⁴ 20–22.

shuma-ishkun.³⁵ Such an arrangement of the material is unparalleled in other chronicles.³⁶ The scribe was, of course, aware of the fact that he was selecting and arranging his facts in an unusual way. Thus he begins his colophon with the comment: "Non-integrated lines from..." The small size of the tablet is a feature exhibited by several other chronicles and is, in itself, an indication that this is not an "official" document.³⁷

Since the scribe extracted these facts for private use, one naturally wonders what the nature of this private purpose was. It was primarily neither a religious nor secular one since the chronicle includes both kinds of information in about equal proportion. Neither is there any pattern of alternating "bad" and "good" times as found in Prophecies.³⁸ To ascertain the purpose of the chronicle the most obvious line of enquiry is to ask what these four kings had in common and why they should be divided equally into two groups. But so little is known about the two early kings that no definite answers can be given to these questions.

It is noteworthy that both Ashur-nadin-shumi and Shamash-shuma-ukin were native Assyrians placed on the Babylonian throne by their respective fathers, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon. One naturally wonders whether the two earlier kings were native Assyrians. In the case of Nabu-shuma-ishkun it is known that during his reign there were many native Assyrians in high office in Babylonia. This indicates that either Nabu-shuma-ishkun was

a vassal of Assyria (which is improbable³⁹) or that he was favourably disposed towards Assyrians, which in turn might be indicative of his Assyrian origin.⁴⁰ In the case of Shirikti-Shuqamuna there is simply no evidence as to what his origin might be other than the fact that he was a descendant of Bazi.⁴¹ Thus one cannot conclude with any certainty that the four kings had Assyrian ancestry in common.⁴² Similarly, there is no clue as to why the kings should have been divided into two parts. Did the scribe intend a contrast or comparison? Since the document was meant to serve a private purpose, the possibilities of

³⁹ During the reign of Nabu-shuma-ishkun, there were two successive kings in Assyria, Ashur-dan III and Ashur-nerari V. It was a period of weakness for Assyria with rebellions at home and enemies (particularly Urartu) on her borders. Ashur-nerari V did subdue Matilu of Arapha. But there is no indication of any Assyrian conquest of Babylonia.

⁴⁰ It is possible that he was prejudiced in favour of Assyrians because of their administrative abilities. But there is no indication that the Assyrians were any better at administration than the Babylonians.

⁴¹ Bazi, a place somewhere on the Tigris, is a name which is associated with Babylonia. See Appendix B. It is noteworthy, however, that one of the early Assyrian kings was called a Bazeen (Assyrian King List ii 18 and Synchronistic King List i 6).

⁴² Since the scribe who compiled this chronicle came from Borsippa (see Millard, *Iraq* 26 [1964], p. 32) one wonders if the four kings had some special importance for this city. The strongest evidence points to Nabu-shuma-ishkun since most of the important information about him comes from documents from Borsippa. But this is probably due to the accident of discovery. Borsippa played a major role as the chief ally of Babylon in the Shamash-shuma-ukin rebellion. But if this is what interested the scribe, surely Borsippa would be mentioned somewhere. With regard to the other two kings, nothing is known of their relationship with Borsippa. It is striking that Ashur-nadin-shumi was carried off by the Elamites who placed their own appointee on the throne, for Shirikti-Shuqamuna was also followed by an Elamite king. One might conjecture that the reason for his short reign is conquest and abduction by the Elamites. Shamash-shuma-ukin killed himself when his revolt failed. Nothing is known of the death of Nabu-shuma-ishkun.

³⁵ The colophon follows immediately with no intervening space. Despite this, the very length of lines 20–22 rules out the possibility of their being a catch-line. There is also the valid objection that a tablet beginning with Shirikti-Shuqamuna would not follow a tablet that ended with Shamash-shuma-ukin.

³⁶ The Synchronistic History has its first two sections reversed but this was certainly an error on the part of the scribe. In the Religious Chronicle iii 8 ff. the nineteenth year of a king is placed before the sixteenth year due to scribal laziness.

³⁷ See Winckler, *OLZ* 1907, 575 f.

³⁸ See Grayson and Lambert, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 7–30.

what that purpose might have been are as unlimited as the Babylonian imagination.†

There is no doubt about the source material used by the author. He states in the colophon that he extracted at least some of the information from a writing-board. The verbal parallel of one line in this chronicle and the Akitu Chronicle shows that they both used the same source, at least for information on the sixteenth regnal year of Shamash-shuma-ukin. This common source, as argued earlier, would be the running account of Babylonian history.

There is one serious error in the text. It is stated that the brother of Shirikti-Shuqamuna was Nebuchadnezzar. For reasons given in the commentary⁴³ this is probably an error and should read Ninurta-kudurri-usur I. Thus, although the author of the tablet drew on an unimpeachable source — the running account of Neo-Babylonian history — the odd chronological arrangement, the eclecticism of the document, and the one serious error require one to exercise extreme caution in dealing with this document as an historical source.

The text is poorly preserved, there being a major lacuna on the obverse and in the lower left-hand corner, and several minor flaws on the surface. Nevertheless, the content is usually clear on general lines if not in detail. The first line, which is inscribed on the rounded portion at the top of the tablet — an unusual feature — is an entry for the sixth regnal year of Ashur-nadin-shumi. It records the removal of the god of Der to Assyria. This event is not mentioned in the entry for the same year in Chronicle 1.⁴⁴

The next six segments of the chronicle⁴⁵ are concerned with six regnal years of Shamash-shuma-ukin, viz. the fourth and fourteenth to eighteenth. The first section,⁴⁶ dealing with the fourth year, is not divided,

as one might expect, from the preceding entry about Ashur-nadin-shumi by a horizontal line.⁴⁷ For the fourth year the flight of the Elamite prince to Assyria is recorded. In the fourteenth year⁴⁸ the former bed of Marduk (Bel) is removed from Ashur to Babylon and in the fifteenth year⁴⁹ the same is stated of Marduk's new chariot. For the sixteenth year⁵⁰ a withdrawal of the Babylonian king inside the walls of Babylon in the face of the "enemy" (i.e. Ashurbanipal) is recorded. Exactly the same entry, with the exception of the day and month, is found in the Akitu Chronicle.⁵¹ Shamash-shuma-ukin captured Cuthah in his seventeenth year⁵² and defeated an Assyrian army. The remainder of this section is very poorly preserved but obviously describes events in the civil war that was waged at this time. A rebellion of Assyrian noblemen is mentioned as well as, apparently, the Sealand governor, Nabu-bel-shumati. A Babylonian triumph over the Assyrians is recorded in the last few lines. The entry for the eighteenth year⁵³ mentions briefly that Assyria ("the enemy") laid siege to Babylon.

There follows a blank space and then two more sections which deal with a much earlier historical period. The first section⁵⁴ states simply that Shirikti-Shuqamuna, brother of Nebuchadnezzar (sic!), ruled Babylon for three months. In the second segment⁵⁵ it is stated that Nabu could not participate in the procession of Marduk in the Akitu festival in the fifth and sixth regnal years of Nabu-shuma-ishkun. Perhaps these same years are referred to in a badly broken section of Chronicle 23.⁵⁶ The text concludes with a colophon.

⁴³ Commentary to line 21.

⁴⁴ Chronicle I ii 36–45.

⁴⁵ 2–19.

⁴⁶ 2f.

⁴⁷ See the commentary to lines 1f.

⁴⁸ 4.

⁴⁹ 5.

⁵⁰ 6.

⁵¹ Akitu Chronicle 12.

⁵² 7–18.

⁵³ 19.

⁵⁴ 20f.

⁵⁵ 22.

⁵⁶ See the commentary to Chronicle 23 r. 6f.

iii) AKITU CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 16

The Akitu Chronicle is a description of interruptions in the Babylonian Akitu festival beginning with Sennacherib's sack of Babylon (689 B.C.) and ending in the accession year of Nabopolassar (626 B.C.). The text is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length. Each section deals with a single year except for the first section which covers twenty years. The document is preserved on a single tablet with no division into columns. It is in an extremely good state of preservation so that only a few signs of the whole text are missing. There is no colophon and half of the reverse of the tablet is uninscribed. It is a private document composed for a specific, individual purpose. The date and provenance of the tablet are unknown. There are no scribal errors.

The document is solely concerned with interruptions in the Akitu festival. Every event mentioned in the chronicle has some relation to this important festival in the Babylonian calendar. Rebellions and wars are included only because they were the reason why the Akitu festival could not be celebrated. Interruptions in the Akitu festival are also mentioned in the Nabonidus Chronicle, the Religious Chronicle, and Chronicle 24, but in none of these documents are they the sole concern of their authors.

The singular nature of the chronicle's contents poses two problems. Why should a scribe wish to record the interruptions of the Akitu festival and why should he choose this particular period of time? The latter question will be considered first. The author chose a very significant point of time with which to begin his narration. He began with the sack of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 B.C., one of the most terrible events in Babylonian history. The temple of Esagil was sacked and the statue of the god Marduk carried off to Assyria. Marduk's statue remained in Assyria during the rest of Sennacherib's reign and all through Esarhaddon's reign — a total of twenty years in which the Akitu festival could not be celebrated. This was indeed a

dark moment in Babylonian history and a fitting period in which to begin a narration of interruptions in the Akitu festival.⁵⁷

The narration ends with the accession year of Nabopolassar. The major events in Babylonian history are well known to us starting at this time thanks to the Babylonian Chronicle Series. The second chronicle in this series (Chronicle 2) begins with Nabopolassar's accession year and confirms the testimony of the Akitu Chronicle that there was a great deal of political disturbance during this period. Afterwards, however, Nabopolassar and his successor gained and held firm control over Babylonia. There were frequent skirmishes with hostile armies, particularly Assyrian armies, but most of these took place outside of Babylonian territory. Beginning with Nabopolassar the Babylonians were on the offensive and not the defensive. It is unlikely that there were any interruptions in the Akitu festival during this time. Thus the author of the Akitu Chronicle has no need to continue his narration beyond the beginning of Nabopolassar's reign. One presumes, of course, that the text includes all interruptions of the Akitu festival in this period from 689–626 B.C. but there is no means of verification.

Having considered the significance of the period of time about which the author chose to write, the question of why he wrote such a chronicle must be considered. There is no apparent pragmatic reason for such a chronicle. Thus one must conclude that the scribe composed his history out of sheer interest in the subject-matter. History for history's sake was not unknown in the late period in Mesopotamia. It may be the basic principle underlying the composition of the Babylonian Chronicle Series. The writer of the Akitu Chronicle shows no bias in his history of the interruptions of the Akitu festival. He mentions a battle between the Assyrians and Babylonians and, although a Babylonian,

⁵⁷ Cf. Chronicle 24 which may possibly have ended its narration at this point.

states quite frankly that the Babylonians lost.⁵⁸

In the study of the Babylonian Chronicle Series the close relationship of Chronicle 1 with the Esarhaddon Chronicle and the Akitu Chronicle was discussed and it was shown that there was evidence that all three had a source in common, a detailed running account of Babylonian history. The Akitu Chronicle, which is based on the information in the contemporary account, is a reliable and objective historical source.

In the first section of the chronicle⁵⁹ a summary statement is given of the number of years, twenty, that the statue of Marduk (Bel) stayed in Ashur and thus the extent of time during which there was no Akitu festival. Exactly the same statement is contained in the Esarhaddon Chronicle.⁶⁰ The statement is followed by the introduction, still in the same section, of the accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin, in which the statue of Marduk was returned to Babylon. The same

statement, with minor variants, is found in Chronicle 1⁶¹ and the Esarhaddon Chronicle.⁶²

In the following segment⁶³ events of the sixteenth year of Shamash-shuma-ukin are narrated. The conscription of Babylonian troops and the beginning of the civil war between Shamash-shuma-ukin and Ashurbanipal are mentioned. There is a verbal parallel with the only sentence entered for this year in the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle.⁶⁴ A Babylonian defeat at Hirit did not bring the conflict to an end.

In the seventeenth year⁶⁵ there were rebellions in Assyria and Babylonia and the Akitu festival was not celebrated. The next three sections⁶⁶ concern the eighteenth to twentieth years of Shamash-shuma-ukin and record, in abbreviated form, the interruption of the Akitu festival. In the last section⁶⁷ the accession year of Nabopolassar is described in which there were rebellions and warfare and the Akitu festival was not celebrated.

iv) RELIGIOUS CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 17

The Religious Chronicle is a narration of events which occurred in Babylonia in a period which began at least as early as the reign of Nabu-shumu-libur (1032–1025 B.C.) and extended as far as the reign of Nabu-mukin-apli (977–942 B.C.). Thus the time span covered is roughly one century. The text is preserved on a single tablet with two columns on each side. Only about one half of the tablet has been preserved. On the preserved portion no dividing horizontal lines are visible with the exception of the fourth column where a horizontal line divides the text from the colophon.

The author of the Religious Chronicle was concerned with two things, interruptions in the Akitu festival and bizarre phenomena

(such as wild animals appearing in the city, statues moving, and astronomical phenomena). Political events are mentioned only as a background to the reason for interruptions in the Akitu festival and, in fact, this happens only three times. This is in the seventh, eighth, and nineteenth years of Nabu-mukin-apli when the hostile activity of the Arameans disrupted the important festival. The interest displayed by the author of the chronicle in the interruptions in the Akitu festival is common to many Babylonian Chronicles as indicated in the discussion of the Akitu Chronicle. Both Chronicle 24 and the Religious Chronicle mention interruptions in the Akitu festival in the reigns of Eulmash-shakin-shumi and Nabu-mukin-apli. But it is unknown if they agree as to which years the inter-

⁵⁸ lines 13–15.

⁵⁹ 1–8.

⁶⁰ Esarhaddon Chronicle 31f.

⁶¹ Chronicle 1 iv 34–36.

⁶² Esarhaddon Chronicle 35–37.

⁶³ 9–16.

⁶⁴ Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 6 = Akitu Chronicle 12.

⁶⁵ 17–19.

⁶⁶ 20–23.

⁶⁷ 24–27.

ruptions occurred since the relevant portions of the text are broken. The Religious Chronicle and the Nabonidus Chronicle deal with two totally different periods of time in Babylonian history but the phraseology used to describe the interruptions of the Akitu festival is very similar.⁶⁸ The phraseology of both documents is very much like that of the Akitu chronicle. This is in contrast to Chronicle 24 where a completely different idiom is used.⁶⁹

In the preserved portion of the text almost twice as much space is devoted to the bizarre phenomena as to the interruptions in the Akitu festival.⁷⁰ Thus it is obvious that the bizarre phenomena were a major concern of the chronicler. The bizarre phenomena seem to have some similarity to omens. There is a major difference, however, between their omen character and that of the content of a chronicle which definitely finds its origin in prognostic literature, the Chronicle of Early Kings. The Chronicle of Early Kings, as will be shown, consists of omen apodoses whereas the content of the Religious Chronicle is similar to omen protases. The author of this text diligently records appearances of wild animals, movements of statues, and astronomical phenomena visible in and around Babylon. But he does not mention any events which could be construed by a Babylonian as results of the protases. One expects the apodoses to be mentioned (e.g. "On that day the king became ill" or "At that time there was a rebellion"). A further oddity is the fact that there are no omen protases known which are exactly like those found in the chronicle. Certainly the style is similar and certainly there are many omen protases which are approximately identical. But there are no exact duplicates as there are in the case of the Chronicle of Early

Kings.⁷¹ Thus one wonders if there is really a close connection between this text and omens. The similarity appears to be only a superficial one as it is in the case of some other kinds of historiographical texts, namely the Akkadian Prophecies, the Fürstenspiegel, and the Autobiography of Marduk.⁷² All of these texts are similar in that they employ omen style but this is their only connection with prognostic literature. It should be noted in passing that the omen-like phrases in the Portents of the Fall of Akkad⁷³ are very similar to those in the Religious Chronicle. But the apodosis is mentioned at the beginning of the Portents of the Fall of Akkad. Thus one should probably reject the suggestion that this chronicle has a close relationship to divination.⁷⁴

What is the purpose of the mention of the bizarre phenomena? It is not surprising to find the interruptions in the Akitu festival mentioned since other chronicles regularly note this but why this other odd information? In this connection it is perhaps significant that the chronicler carefully notes the date (day, month, and year) of each bizarre phenomenon. This feature might suggest a close relationship with hemerologies. However, a study of the hemerologies and menologies reveals no similarities at all.

One can only conclude that this document reflects the interest of its author and the author was interested in two things, interruptions in the Akitu festival and various odd

⁶⁸ See the commentary to ii 4, 5, and iii 5f.

⁶⁹ See the commentary to Chronicle 24:14 – r. 1.

⁷⁰ The following thesis was originally presented to the XIV^e Rencontre Assyriologique in Strasbourg in July 1965 as part of a paper entitled: "Divination and the Babylonian Chronicles." The paper was subsequently published in *Divination*, pp. 69–76.

⁷¹ This statement is based upon an examination of the CAD files. Some examples of specific omens which are similar to phrases in the Religious Chronicle are quoted in the commentary to ii 15, 19f.; iii 11f., 17.

⁷² See the author's comments in *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 8f. There is no apparent similarity in purpose between the Religious Chronicle and these texts.

⁷³ CT 29, 48f. For a duplicate to this text and editions see Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952–53), p. 262.

⁷⁴ The suggestion was originally advanced by L. W. King, *Chron.* 1, p. 213, and has been recently supported by J. J. Finkelstein, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), p. 471, n. 41.

occurrences in and around Babylon. His interests are really not surprising. One need not elaborate in the case of interruptions in the Akitu festival. The importance of this to a Babylonian is obvious. But similarly, one need not elaborate with regard to the sudden appearance of a wild beast in the centre of a city, a movement of a statue, or an eclipse of the sun. These are incidents which any modern daily newspaper would record (whether in the Occident or Orient) and certainly would arouse general interest, as indicated by a late letter the whole concern of which is to report to the king that a fox had wandered into Ashur and been killed.⁷⁵ Why should it be surprising, therefore, for a chronicler to record these phenomena? An analogy is provided by some mediaeval English chronicles in which odd occurrences both on earth and in the skies are recorded. Thus Florence of Worcester in his account of the year A.D. 1132 spoke of a comet, a fire in London, an eclipse, a ship moving by itself in the harbour, and the strange appearance of the moon.⁷⁶ There appears, then, to be no lofty idealistic motive behind the Religious Chronicle. It is a private document, as its small size indicates, written by a scribe whose interests were similar to the interests of the majority of his fellow citizens.

The chronicler does not seem to be biased nor does he seem to be guilty of factual errors. But since his work contains few details of relative importance and the sources for this period in Babylonian history are very sparse there are no opportunities to check his facts with other documents. For the same reason there is no direct evidence of the source material employed by the author. However, since this text belongs to category A one suspects that it would draw on the same source material as the other chronicles in

this category. It has been shown in the discussion of the Babylonian Chronicle Series that there is good reason to believe that a running account was kept of Babylonian history. This practice, which gained special impetus in the reign of Nabu-nasir (747-734 B.C.), goes back at least as far as the reign of Shikri-Shuqamuna (984 B.C.)⁷⁷ which is in precisely the century about which the Religious Chronicle is concerned. Thus it is quite possible that the chronicler drew on this Babylonian history. That the bizarre phenomena would be included in this running account, is indicated by the fact that similar details are found in astronomical diaries, and these may be identical with the running account.⁷⁸ If the suggestion as to the source material of the chronicler is correct this means that the chronicle is a trustworthy historical source.

Because the document seems to stop at the end of the reign of Nabu-mukin-apli one may conclude that the original was composed at his death or shortly thereafter, which would be during the short reign of his son Ninurta-kudurri-usur II (942 B.C.) about whose rule nothing is known. The copy of the text which has been preserved is written in Neo-Babylonian script. There are no scribal errors but either the original scribe or a later copyist is guilty of laxity at one point. In order to save himself the trouble of writing out a description of the interruption of the Akitu festival twice, once for the eighth year and once for the nineteenth year, he places the narration of the nineteenth year immediately after that of the eighth and simply says: "ditto." In doing this he displaces the account of the sixteenth year which follows that of the nineteenth. Such a departure from chronological

⁷⁵ ABL 142. Of further interest is the letter, ARM 2, 106, which has to do with the capturing of a lion.†

⁷⁶ See J. J. Bagley, *Historical Interpretation: Sources of Medieval English History, 1066-1540* (Pelican, 1965), pp. 39f.

⁷⁷ This is evident from the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle.

⁷⁸ The astronomical diaries contain not only astronomical observations but also notations of prices, water level of the river and important events. Cf. Sachs, JCS 2 (1948), p. 286. Particularly note the text quoted in the commentary to ii 6 in which the entrance of a wolf into Borsippa is recorded.

order is very unusual in Mesopotamian chronicles.⁷⁹

Since only about one half of the text is preserved, the content is not always clear. In the first column only traces of the ends of twenty-six lines are preserved. The remains of the name of the king Nabu-shumu-libur are visible in this portion which allows one to assign at least part of this mutilated section to this king. The fact that the names of several deities as well as phrases like "They killed it (a lion)" are preserved indicates that the content was similar to the remaining columns.

The text is well preserved at the beginning of the second column which begins with a passage⁸⁰ in which the celebration of the Akitu festival and the king's activity in connection with it are described. This is followed by a series of statements (each statement accompanied by an indication of the month) concerning the appearance of a wolf, a badger, and a panther.⁸¹ In the following paragraph,⁸² on a specific day of a specific month in the seventh year two deer entered Babylon where they were killed and on another date in the same year a fire appeared in the sky. In a certain month of the eleventh year⁸³ water flowed in the wall of the lower forecourt.

There follows a passage⁸⁴ in which further interruptions of the Akitu festival in the thirteenth to fifteenth years are mentioned. The movement of a wall is reported for the seven-

teenth year.⁸⁵ In the eighteenth year⁸⁶ something (the text is broken but presumably another animal was named) entered Babylon and was killed by two soldiers. The remainder of the second column⁸⁷ is badly broken. Doors of temples are mentioned as well as something falling into a pit, the fourteenth year, goddesses and troops.

After a lacuna the text again becomes comprehensible at the top of the third column. In the first few legible lines⁸⁸ the appearance of a wolf and deer is recorded. An interruption of the Akitu festival is entered for the seventh year⁸⁹ and the reason given is the hostility of the Arameans. Similarly for the eighth and nineteenth years of Nabu-mukin-apli the same is recorded with the added information that the Arameans captured a certain bridge thus preventing the king from crossing over to participate in the festivities.⁹⁰ The appearance of a lion in Babylon is recorded for the sixteenth year.

An interruption in the Akitu festival for nine years in succession, beginning in the twentieth year, is recorded.⁹¹ The movement of the genius at the door of a shrine was entered for the twenty-fourth, twenty-fifth, or twenty-sixth regnal year as well as the appearance of a demon in another shrine.⁹² Thunder and lightning are recorded for a specific day and month in the twenty-sixth year of Nabu-mukin-apli.⁹³ At the beginning of the fourth column there is a lacuna and then the remains of ten lines in which Nabu-mukin-apli is mentioned twice.

⁷⁹ For further details see the commentary to iii 10 f. Also note that in the Synchronistic History the first two sections are chronologically reversed. In the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle the second part of the document describes the reigns of kings who ruled before those mentioned in the first part.

⁸⁰ ii 1-5.

⁸¹ ii 6-11.

⁸² ii 12-14.

⁸³ ii 15.

⁸⁴ ii 16-18.

⁸⁵ ii 19 f.

⁸⁶ ii 20-23.

⁸⁷ ii 24-29.

⁸⁸ iii 2-4.

⁸⁹ iii 4-6.

⁹⁰ iii 6-10.

⁹¹ iii 13-15.

⁹² iii 15-17.

⁹³ iii 19.

CHRONICLES AND KING LISTS

It has been pointed out much earlier in this study that in ancient Mesopotamian chronography it is not always possible to draw a sharp distinction between chronicles and king lists. This is obviously due to the fact that the ancient Babylonians recognized no such dichotomy as was shown in the study of typology presented in a previous chapter. A good example of a document which defies precise classification as either chronicle or king list is the Dynastic Chronicle, a text which also contains some mythological material.¹ It was demonstrated in the first chapter that this text springs from the tradition of the Sumerian King List. In fact it is so closely related to the Sumerian King List that Jacobsen in his edition of the King List included the Dynastic Chronicle as a late offshoot of one version of the text.² It should be noted that other texts in the same category, category B, defy precise classification

as chronicles or king lists. These texts are the King List of the Hellenistic Period and the Assyrian King List. The decision to include only one of these texts, the Dynastic Chronicle, in this study of chronicles is, admittedly, slightly arbitrary. In defence of his decision the author would point out, however, that the Dynastic Chronicle contains a good deal of information which is chronicle material. On the negative side it should be remembered that Sumerian texts are not included in this book, thus excluding the Sumerian King List, nor are Greek texts, thus excluding the Ptolemaic Canon. The Babylonian King List B contains no chronicle material and the Assyrian King List has very little chronicle material. Finally, of all texts in category B, the Dynastic Chronicle is the one which most requires a new edition in contrast to the King List of the Hellenistic Period, an excellent edition of which was recently published.

DYNASTIC CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 18

The Dynastic Chronicle is a concise narration of events which took place in Babylonia from the antediluvian period³ down to the eighth century B.C. or later. The last name preserved is Eriba-Marduk but there was room for many more kings after that. The text, which is really only a small part of a large

tablet, is in very bad condition. It comes from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh and consists of three fragments which probably belong together although they do not join. The tablet was divided into three columns on each side. The language of the document is a peculiar mixture of Akkadian and Sumerian. Apart from the figures for the regnal years which will be discussed below there is only one scribal error in the text.⁴

With regard to the purpose of this document there is at least one clue. The interest in one portion of the text, the fifth column, in the place of burial of the king after his death is noteworthy. Of the seven kings mentioned in this passage the burial place of

¹ The name given to the text by its first editor, L. W. King, is therefore inaccurate but since it has gained general acceptance it has been maintained.

² For details see Appendix A.

³ The fact that fragment A (see Part II) probably represents the first part of the Dynastic Chronicle shows that the early portion of this text dealt with the antediluvian period. See L. W. King, *Legends of Babylon and Egypt* (London, 1918), p. 31, n. 4; A. Poebel, *PBS* 4/1, p. 84, n. 1; and T. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 56.

⁴ See the commentary to v 7.

only one is omitted.⁵ All of the kings were buried in a palace with the exception of Ea-mukin-zeri who was buried in the swamp of Bit-Hashmar from which he originally came. One wonders if the author, at least in this portion of the text, had some theory about the relationship between the legitimacy of a king and his place of burial. Note that he calls Ea-mukin-zeri a usurper and says he was buried in the swamp of Bit-Hashmar. A swamp is certainly an ignominious place for anyone to be buried. The statements that Simbar-shihu and Mar-biti-apla-usur were buried in the palace of Sargon have the ring of ancient tradition about them for Sargon, more than any other king, held a prominent place in Babylonian lore.⁶ The place Kar-Marduk, in the palace of which Eulmash-shakin-shumi was buried, is otherwise unknown. But the fact that he, as well as the other kings, was buried in a palace indicates that he had a final resting place befitting royalty. In this connection it should be noted that in the Old Testament it is customary to name the burial place of patriarchs, judges, and kings. Also noteworthy is a bilingual excursus describing the flood, the beginning of which is preserved on one piece of the text. Where the author of the Sumerian King List was content simply to note the occurrence of the flood, in this text a description was included. Why this was done is unknown.[†]

Sources other than this chronicle for the periods covered are scant and there is no indication of the source material used by the chronicler. As source material for the modern historian the chronicle is reliable in that it does not omit any king known to have reigned in the periods for which it is preserved. But the actual figures which it gives for the number of years each king reigned are not to be trusted. Not only does the chronicle disagree with Babylonian King List A but it also disagrees with itself. There are two examples of

this latter kind of discrepancy. The summaries of the number of years which the Sealand Dynasty and the Bazi Dynasty lasted do not agree with the actual total of the years ruled by the individual kings in each dynasty as given by the chronicle.⁷ Thus, although the relative chronology of the text appears to be reliable, the exact figures given are not to be trusted.

Very little of the Dynastic Chronicle is preserved. The first column deals with the antediluvian rulers. The dynasties preserved are those of Bad-tibira, Sippar, Larak, and Shuruppak respectively. Note that this order is different from the one found in the Sumerian King List: Bad-tibira, Larak, Sippar, and Shuruppak.⁸ In the second column the names of three kings who ruled shortly after the flood are mentioned in a broken context. The third column is entirely missing. In the fourth column the name "Babylon" appears at the beginning of the first line preserved followed by the names of early members of the first dynasty of Babylon.

The fifth column is by far the best preserved. It is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length. Every other section deals with a dynasty and each of the intervening sections contains a summary stating the number of kings mentioned in the preceding section, the name of the dynasty, and the total number of years it existed. After a badly preserved line at the beginning, the first section⁹ deals with the three members of the Sealand Dynasty. For the first ruler mentioned, Simbar-shihu, his lineage, manner of death, length of reign, and burial place are given. For the second, Ea-mukin-zeri, the name of his father, his length of reign, his burial place and the fact that he was a usurper is recorded. For the third, Kashshu-

⁷ See the commentary to v 3.

⁸ Also note that Ziusudra is included in the Dynastic Chronicle although he does not appear in all versions of the Sumerian King List. For a discussion of the various traditions about antediluvian rulers and a useful chart see J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 17 (1963), pp. 44-46.

⁹ v 2-7.

⁵ GN *qibir* "he was buried (in the palace of) GN" is mistakenly omitted by the scribe at the end of v 7.

⁶ H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), pp. 1-91 (*passim*).

nadin-ahi, the father's name and the length of reign is recorded. The name of the burial place is mistakenly omitted. The section is followed by a horizontal line and a summary¹⁰ stating the number of kings in the dynasty, the name of the dynasty, and the total number of years, which is incorrect, that it lasted.

The following section¹¹ concerns the dynasty of Bit-Bazi. Three rulers are mentioned and for each the father's name, Bazi in each case, and the length of reign is given. In two instances the names of the burial places are given. The section is followed by a horizontal line and a statement¹² concerning the number of kings, the name of the dynasty, and the number of years, again incorrect, it existed. The next segment¹³ concerns the dynasty

of Elam of which there was only one member whose lineage, regnal period, and burial place is recorded. It is followed by a horizontal line and a statement¹⁴ similar to the previous dynastic summaries. The remainder of the column is missing.

The first section¹⁵ of the sixth column is almost entirely missing. In the second section¹⁶ and the following summary¹⁷ one king is mentioned. The next portion of the text concerns a Sealand Dynasty,¹⁸ of which Eriba-Marduk was a member. The last preserved portion¹⁹ concerns a Chaldaean dynasty. Then the text becomes so mutilated that nothing further can be learned from it.

¹⁰ v 8.

¹¹ v 9-11.

¹² v 12.

¹³ v 13f.

¹⁴ v 15.

¹⁵ vi 1f.

¹⁶ vi 3.

¹⁷ vi 4.

¹⁸ vi 5-8.

¹⁹ vi 9-11.

TWO CHRONICLES CONCERNING EARLY TIMES

The two chronicles discussed in this chapter, the Weidner Chronicle and the Chronicle of Early Kings, are concerned with a period of time that may roughly be described as the third millennium and the early part of the second millennium B.C. although the text of both is preserved only on late copies. There is a close relationship between the two documents both in terms of typology, as illustrated earlier, and in terms of content for, as will be shown, it appears that the author

of the Chronicle of Early Kings on occasion used the Weidner Chronicle as source material. Both texts also exhibit some affinity with prognostic literature. The Weidner Chronicle is a particularly interesting document since it, like the Synchronistic History, is a blatant piece of propaganda. Thus as source material for the historian it is not particularly reliable. In this regard the conclusion to the study of the Chronicle of Early Kings is somewhat more favourable.

i) WEIDNER CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 19

The Weidner Chronicle is a narration of events which began at least as early as the Early Dynastic period of Sumerian history (first half of the third millennium B.C.) and came down to at least as far as the reign of Shulgi (2094–2047 B.C.). The text is preserved on three copies, one Neo-Assyrian and two Neo-Babylonian. The most complete text is found on the Neo-Assyrian tablet but even here the state of preservation is very poor, the obverse being virtually illegible. A photograph of this fragment which was published in Güterbock's edition is the only means by which one can examine the original since the tablet itself cannot be located. There are a few minor scribal errors.¹ The reading and understanding of the text is not assisted by what appears to be a fragment of a commentary to the text.

The document is unique in several respects in comparison with other Babylonian Chronicles. To begin with, it concerns a period of time much earlier than that dealt with by the majority of chronicles, with the exception

of the Dynastic Chronicle. Further, in this text one finds direct speech, a phenomenon which might be compared to Chronicle P.² However, in Chronicle P it is human beings who are talking while in the Weidner Chronicle it is divine beings. Moreover the content of the chronicle is unusual. In so far as the text is preserved, it is exclusively concerned with the importance of the city Babylon and its patron deity, Marduk, and in particular with the provision of fish for Marduk's temple Esagil.³ In fact the whole point of the narrative is to illustrate that those rulers who neglected or insulted Marduk or failed to provide fish offerings for the temple Esagil had an unhappy end while those who did concern themselves with these matters fared well. It should be noted that not all rulers are mentioned, particularly in the Early Dynastic period, a fact which presumably has some relation to the author's theory about the Esagil cult. The text, therefore, is a blatant piece of propaganda written as an admonition to future monarchs to pay heed to Babylon and its

¹ There are two errors in the Neo-Assyrian version (see the commentary to lines 53 and 63) and one in one of the Neo-Babylonian versions (see the commentary to line 59).

² See Chapter 6.

³ Note that an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (VAB 4, pp. 154–156) also mentions the provision of fish for Esagil.

cult. This is to be compared to the *Synchronistic History*, an Assyrian chronicle, whose author also was intent on propaganda. It is interesting to note that both texts had a prologue (both of which are unfortunately badly preserved), a feature not exhibited by other chronicles. Since the *Synchronistic History* has an epilogue it is also possible that something similar was inscribed at the end of the *Weidner Chronicle*. The description of reigns as either "good" or "bad," a practice not common in chronicles, is to be compared to the *Akkadian Prophecies*, a literary genre in which this is normal.^{4†}

The period when the text was written is unknown but it obviously cannot be any earlier than the first dynasty of Babylon. There is a close relationship between parts of the *Weidner Chronicle*, the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, and the omen collections upon which the latter is based. This problem is more easily discussed in connection with the *Chronicle of Early Kings* and its source material. The results of that discussion, which will be found in the section on the *Chronicle of Early Kings*, will be anticipated here. There is some indication that in one or two cases the author of the *Weidner Chronicle* may have used omens or omen collections as source material. But on the whole there is no similarity between the contents of the text and omens. It is interesting to note that in one instance the author of the *Chronicle of Early Kings* has apparently used the *Weidner Chronicle* as source material.

Apart from these considerations it is unknown what source material the author of the *Weidner Chronicle* utilized for the information about the fortune or misfortune of the rulers mentioned, but certainly his or some previous writer's imagination was the source of the information about each monarch's attitude towards the provision of fish for Esagil. Babylon and its chief temple Esagil were not sufficiently important before the first dynasty of Babylon to merit such special

attention from Mesopotamian rulers. Leaving aside this fanciful portrayal of the history of the cult of Esagil, there is no indication that the author has departed from historical facts. Nevertheless, considering the propagandistic motive behind the composition, the historian would be well advised to use caution when dealing with this text.

Most of the mutilated obverse⁵ is concerned with what appears to be a prologue in which, in divine counsel, it is decreed that a certain cult, obviously the cult of Marduk at Babylon, should always be respected and cared for by earthly rulers. In the badly broken passage which follows⁶ two early rulers, Akka and Enmekiri, are mentioned. It is this portion of the text with which the ancient commentary is apparently concerned.

In the next few lines⁷ the attitude of Puzur-Nirah, king of Akshak, towards the fish cult of Esagil is described and, although the passage is poorly preserved, it is apparent that he is guilty of mistreating the cult. In contrast it is next stated⁸ that Ku-Baba fostered the cult with the result that Marduk granted her sovereignty over all lands. This description of a "good" reign is followed by a "bad" reign,⁹ that of Ur-Zababa who ordered Sargon to alter the provisions for the Esagil cult. Sargon refused to obey the order and the god Marduk therefore granted him sovereignty over the world. But the remainder of Sargon's career¹⁰ was not so blessed. He is accused of having erected in front of his capital, Agade, a duplicate of Babylon. As a result Marduk turned against Sargon, his subjects rebelled, and he was inflicted with insomnia.

This description of an unfortunate reign is followed by yet another, the sovereignty of Naram-Sin.¹¹ This king is accused of destroying the population of Babylon, an accusation

⁴ See Grayson and Lambert, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 7-30.

⁵ 1-30.

⁶ 31-37.

⁷ 38-41.

⁸ 42-45.

⁹ 46-48.

¹⁰ 49-52 b.

¹¹ 53 f.

which was also levelled at Enmekiri in an earlier passage.¹² As punishment, during Naram-Sin's reign Babylonia suffered two attacks from the barbarian Guti. Then sovereignty was granted to these invaders. But their reign¹³ was also a "bad" time. Their rule was oppressive and they were ignorant of proper religious observances.

Thus sovereignty was taken away from the Guti and given to Utu-hegal.¹⁴ Utu-hegal won favour at the beginning by offering a fish, which had not been previously offered to any other god, to Marduk. The Guti unwisely

took the fish away from Utu-hegal and as a result, Marduk took the sovereignty away from the barbarians and gave it to Utu-hegal. Utu-hegal's reign was to end unhappily, however, for he mistreated Babylon and was, therefore, drowned in the Euphrates. The last reign mentioned in the preserved portion of the text is that of Shulgi.¹⁵ Marduk gave the sovereignty to him but he was guilty of profaning Marduk's purification ritual. In the remaining broken lines of the text Esagil is mentioned as well as the New Year's festival.

ii) CHRONICLE OF EARLY KINGS: CHRONICLE 20

The Chronicle of Early Kings is a narration of events which occurred in Mesopotamia from the reign of Sargon of Akkad (c. 2334–2279 B.C.) to the reign of Agum III (c. 1450 B.C.). The chronicle is divided into sections of unequal length by horizontal lines. Each section deals with the reign of one king. The text of the chronicle is preserved on two tablets (A and B), one tablet partially duplicating the other. Both texts have approximately the same number of lines¹⁶ but text A is much better preserved (only a few signs are missing) than B. They are both late Babylonian copies,¹⁷ and there are scribal errors in each.¹⁸

As stated already A and B partially duplicate one another. The duplication occurs in

the account of Erra-imitti's reign.¹⁹ There is a discrepancy between the two tablets after this section. While A has a catch-line introducing a section about Ilushumma, king of Assyria, B has a section about Hammurapi, king of Babylon.²⁰ Chronologically Ilushumma lived before Hammurapi. Was Ilushumma omitted by text B or its forerunner by mistake or by intention? Or, to put the question in a different way, why was Ilushumma added to text A or its forerunner? Is this evidence of Assyrian influence exerted on text A at some time during its history? In this regard it should be noted that the catch-line about Ilushumma is peculiar in form. It follows a pattern similar to one found in the Synchronistic History, an Assyrian document, which belongs to category D and not the pattern of the Chronicle of Early Kings which belongs to category C.

Source material for the early part of this chronicle was provided by omens and the Weidner Chronicle.²¹ The majority of the omens used are found in omen collections.

¹² 32.

¹³ 55–57.

¹⁴ 58–62.

¹⁵ 63 ff.

¹⁶ B had a few more than A but some lines in B are now missing.

¹⁷ Text B was part of a miscellaneous group of tablets which was acquired by the British Museum in 1902. The Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle was also a part of this collection. See A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), p. 14.

¹⁸ In four cases in A (lines 3, 4, 6, and 14) there is a discrepancy of importance between the chronicle and the Neo-Assyrian omen collection. Since the omen collection probably provided the source material for the chronicle, as will be shown later, the chronicle is in error. In text B r. 13 the sign *ia* has been copied for *āš*.

¹⁹ A 31–36 and B 1–7.

²⁰ Also note that at the end of text A a notation appears which is discussed in the commentary to Chronicle 14 Left Edge.

²¹ This problem was discussed by the author in a paper entitled: "Divination and the Babylonian Chronicles." It was presented at the XIV^e Rencontre Assyriologique in Strasbourg and subsequently published in *Divination*, pp. 69–76.

There are two such omen collections known, one from the library of Ashurbanipal²² and one which is a late Babylonian copy.²³ The former is much better preserved and since the poorly preserved late Babylonian text is a duplicate, the two tablets will be treated as one text in this discussion.

A close connection between the chronicle and the omen collections is evident from certain facts. All of the information about Sargon and Naram-Sin found in the chronicle (with the exception of four lines²⁴) is also found in the omen collections and the information is arranged in the same order.²⁵ It should also be noted that in most cases there is verbatim agreement. Thus one concludes that the author of one text used the other as source material or that the authors of both had a third, common source. Since there is no evidence that there was a third source it will be assumed here that it did not exist.²⁶ One must now consider which came first, the chronicle or the omen collections. L. W. King²⁷ and H. G. Güterbock²⁸ believed that the omen collections were derived from the chronicle. But they expressed this opinion before it was generally known that omen collections were attested at least as far back as the Old Babylonian period.²⁹

It appears that in fact the omen collections did precede the chronicle. To begin with, omen collections did appear at least as early as the Old Babylonian period.³⁰ Secondly, the information in the omen collections is more detailed than that in the chronicle.³¹ Third, the phrase "in the reign of Ishtar" which appears in the chronicle is an expression characteristic of prognostic literature but not of chronicles.³² Finally, if one were to assume that the chronicle came first, this would mean that the compiler of the omen collections would have to invent protases to match the information extracted from the chronicle. This is extremely unlikely. It is far more probable that sometime after the compilation of these omen collections, a need was felt for a com-

³⁰ See n. 29.

³¹ In the case of four passages which are found in both, the omen collection has a longer description of the events than the chronicle has (A 18f. = King, Chron. 3:8-11; A 7 = King, Chron. 3:28f.; A 9f. = King, Chron. 3:31-34; A 11-13 = King, Chron. 3:37 - r. 2). The omen collection also has five sections which are completely missing from the chronicle (King, Chron. 3:1-6, 12-21).

³² "In the reign of Ishtar" is written *ina palē Ištar* in A 1 and although the pertinent passage in the Neo-Assyrian omen collection is broken it may be restored with confidence: *amūt^{ut} Šarru-kīn (gi.na) šā ina šēri(uzu) an-ni-[i ina palē Ištar] i-la-am-ma šā-ni-na maḥīra(gaba.ri) ul(nu) iši (tuku)*³² King, Chron. 3:22f. Some examples of the phrase *palē DN* in omens are: CT 20, 32:78, 37 iv 18; CT 27, 3:19, 9:27, 11:10; CT 38, 35:54; TCL 6, 1:16 (all of Nergal); CT 27, 22:10; YOS 10, 56 iii 12 (both of Enlil). Also cf. *nādin ḥaṭṭi u palē ana Anu u Enlil* "He who gives the scepter and rule to Anu and Enlil" (of Marduk) Craig, ABRT 2, 13 r. 8, and *uṣṣibūšu ḥaṭṭa kussā u palā* "They added to him (Marduk) the scepter, the throne, and rule" En. el. IV 29. For an interpretation of the meaning of the phrase see Jacobsen, JNES 2 (1943), pp. 170-172. For the use of the term *bala* in Sumerian see Hallo, JCS 14 (1960), pp. 89-96, and J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), pp. 103-106. For its Akkadian equivalent *palū* see Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), pp. 26-33. With regard to the close connection between Sargon and Ištar (and between Eannatum and Ištar) see Hirsch, Studies Oppenheim pp. 136-139 (a reference to *ina palē Ištar* in the Chronicle of Early Kings is missing on p. 138 in the discussion of the "historische Tradition").

²² K 2130 which was published as King, Chron. no. 3.

²³ BM 67404 which was published as King, Chron. no. 4.

²⁴ A 8, 20-23. See below.

²⁵ The only exception is the "Babylon-Agade" incident (A 18f. = King, Chron. 3:8-11). In the chronicle this appears almost at the end of the Sargon section but in the Neo-Assyrian omen collection it appears almost at the beginning. This passage presents other problems on which see n. 37.

²⁶ The content of both documents, of course, derives originally from individual omens. But the similarity in the selection of the omens shows that these are not two independent compositions.

²⁷ King, Chron. 1, p. 28.

²⁸ ZA 42 (1934), p. 17 (cf. AfO 13 [1939-40], p. 50).

²⁹ Cf. the Old Babylonian liver models published by Rutten, RA 35 (1938), pp. 36-52, and plates I-XVIII, and the Old Babylonian omen collections published by Nougayrol, RA 38 (1941), pp. 67-88; 40 (1946), pp. 56-97; 44 (1950), pp. 1-40, and plates I-IV, and by Goetze, YOS 10.

prehensive version of the omen apodoses which concerned Sargon and Naram-Sin. Thus a scribe composed such a document, following an ancient chronicle pattern, that of category C, and the result was the Chronicle of Early Kings.³³

It must be pointed out that there are four lines in the portion of the Chronicle of Early Kings which concerns Sargon and Naram-Sin that are not found in the omen collections. One of the four lines is similar to (but not a duplicate of) omens independent of the collections and simply states: "He (Sargon) ruled equally the tribes of the lands."³⁴ The other three lines are duplicated by the Weidner Chronicle and contain a condemnation of Sargon for having desecrated Babylon.³⁵ This theme, which does not appear elsewhere in the Chronicle of Early Kings, is the predominant one in the Weidner Chronicle. The logical conclusion is that the author of the Chronicle of Early Kings copied these lines from the Weidner Chronicle.³⁶ Thus, the main source of the author of the Chronicle of Early Kings was the omen collections and a less important source was the Weidner Chronicle.

It should be noted in passing that the two lines in the Chronicle of Early Kings which immediately precede the passage containing the condemnation of Sargon are parallel to

the two preceding lines in the Weidner Chronicle and are also found in the Neo-Assyrian omen collection³⁷ (the passage concerns the "dust" of Babylon and the founding of the city Agade). This fact raises the problem of the relationship between the Weidner Chronicle and the omen collection. The author of one could have copied from the other or both authors could have had a third common source for this passage (i. e. the original omen which has so far not been discovered). Further note that there is one statement (concerning Utuhegal's drowning) in the Weidner Chronicle which is reminiscent of an omen.³⁸ But there is only a similarity between the two, not close parallelism. Apart from these two doubtful instances the statements in the Weidner Chronicle are not similar to omen apodoses. Thus there is little indication of a close affinity between the Weidner Chronicle and omens.

Possible sources for the later part of the Chronicle of Early Kings³⁹ are not nearly so obvious. It is conceivable that there was a close connection between this chronicle and Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 but the latter document is so badly preserved that this cannot be substantiated.⁴⁰ The damming of the Tigris by Abi-eshuh mentioned in the Chronicle of Early Kings is also known from a year date of Abi-eshuh⁴¹ and this may be an indication that the compiler of the chronicle sometimes used year dates as source material.

The purpose of the Chronicle of Early Kings is not apparent. The early sections on Sargon and Naram-Sin are, presumably, the product of a scribe's interest in putting together omen apodoses in pseudo-chronicle form. But why he should have done this and why he should have added the later reigns is not known. There is no obvious reason why the chronicler should have started his narra-

³³ Cf. Meissner, BuA 2, p. 372, and Finkelstein, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 107 (1963), p. 470, n. 37, who also felt that the omen collections preceded the chronicle.

³⁴ A 8. Cf. *a-mu-ut Šar-ru-ki-in ša ki-ša-tam i-be-lu* "Omen of Sargon who ruled the universe" YOS 10, 59:9 and note the similar (but broken) passages YOS 10, 13:5; CT 27, 23:19. Also cf. *amūtut Šar-ru-ki-in ša māta i-be-lu* "Omen of Sargon who ruled the land" AAA 11 (1924), p. 113 (cf. Nougayrol, *Présages Historiques* p. 7, no. 12). Also cf. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), p. 255, and Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 8.

³⁵ Cf. A 20-23 to the Weidner Chronicle 52-52 b.

³⁶ Note too that part of the passage in the Chronicle of Early Kings (A 29 f.) about Šulgi is similar to part of the badly broken passage about the same king in the Weidner Chronicle (63 ff.). This passage, which they appear to have in common, is also a condemnation of the king for having desecrated Babylon.

³⁷ Cf. A 18 f. and the commentary.

³⁸ See the commentary to the Weidner Chronicle 62.

³⁹ A 31 - B r. 18.

⁴⁰ Erra-imitti (see Appendix B) is mentioned in both.

⁴¹ See the commentary to B r. 8-10.

tion with Sargon and ended with Agum III nor why he should have omitted many kings altogether from his text. He devotes approximately the same amount of space to each king mentioned with two exceptions. The section about Sargon of Akkad is very long and detailed and so is the section about Samsuiluna. Why the writer devoted special attention to these two rulers is a mystery. The fact that two of the kings, Sargon and Shulgi, are condemned for having desecrated Babylon is no indication of the writer's purpose. None of the other kings mentioned are said to have done good or bad things to Babylon. Besides, the passages in which these kings are condemned are copied from the Weidner Chronicle, a document which regularly condemns kings who did not treat Babylon with respect. It should be noted in passing the possibility of Assyrian influence on text A or its forerunner, a matter which was discussed earlier in connection with the partial duplication of texts A and B.

From the point of view of a modern historian this chronicle is reasonably reliable but its statements should be accepted as fact only when they can be proven by other sources. The sections on Sargon and Naram-Sin are almost exclusively based on omen material which is fairly trustworthy as an historical source.⁴² But the story about Erra-imitti and Enlil-bani sounds more like legend than fact and Edzard has justifiably doubted its historicity.⁴³ Edzard has also drawn attention to difficulties in the statement in the chronicle about Ilushumma.⁴⁴ So little is known of this period of history, however, that one cannot prove or disprove the chronicler's statements. The historian may therefore use this document as source material but he would be well advised to exercise caution.

As stated at the beginning of this discussion, tablet A is much better preserved than tablet B. Tablet A begins with a long

section⁴⁵ which concerns the reign of Sargon of Akkad. It is said that he came to power during the reign of the goddess Ishtar. His numerous accomplishments then follow which include campaigns to the east and west, the conquest of Kazalla and the establishment of an efficient administration. He then puts down a major rebellion and by means of a ruse repels an attack of the barbarian Subartians. The section concludes with a statement that he built a city next to Agade which was a counterpart of Babylon. This angered Marduk who caused famine and rebellion and inflicted insomnia on Sargon.

The second section⁴⁶ concerns the reign of Naram-Sin, the third ruler of Akkad after Sargon. His conquest of Apishal and Magan is recorded. Shulgi is the subject of the following segment⁴⁷ who is said to have provided food for Eridu but to have plundered Esagil and Babylon. The concluding statement which no doubt described his punishment is virtually illegible. The next section⁴⁸ of A, which is duplicated by B,⁴⁹ deals with the reign of Erra-imitti. This king placed a gardener, Enlil-bani, on the throne as a substitute and when Erra-imitti died from sipping hot broth, Enlil-bani kept the sovereignty. Tablet A concludes with a catch-line⁵⁰ which states that Ilushumma was king of Assyria at the time of a certain Suabu.

Tablet B begins with a segment⁵¹ which is a duplicate of the segment in A concerning Erra-imitti. The second section⁵² in B concerns Hammurapi and tells of the capture and plunder of Ur and Larsa and the removal of Rim-Sin I to Babylon. There follows a badly broken section⁵³ concerning Samsuiluna in which Rim-Sin II is mentioned as well as Iliman but no connected sense can be

⁴² See J. J. Finkelstein, *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 107 (1963), pp. 461-472.

⁴³ Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 140 f.

⁴⁴ Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 92 f.

⁴⁵ A 1-23.

⁴⁶ A 24-27.

⁴⁷ A 28-30.

⁴⁸ A 31-36.

⁴⁹ B 1-7.

⁵⁰ A 37.

⁵¹ B 1-7.

⁵² B 8-12.

⁵³ B 13 - r. 7.

gained from the passage. Abi-eshuh is the subject of the next portion⁵⁴ of tablet B. This king attempted to defeat Iliman by damming the Tigris, a fact also recorded in a year date of this king, but he did not capture his opponent. At this point there is a later insertion on the tablet in small script concerning the Hittite attack on Babylon in the reign of

Samsu-ditana.⁵⁵ The next section⁵⁶ concerns Ea-gamil, a king of the Sealand, who fled to Elam and was replaced on the throne by the Kassite, Ulamburiash. The final portion⁵⁷ of the chronicle deals with the reign of Agum III who is said to have campaigned successfully in the Sealand.

⁵⁴ B r. 8-10.

⁵⁵ B r. 11.

⁵⁶ B r. 12-14.

⁵⁷ B r. 15-18.

BIASED HISTORY

The question of bias in writing history is a favourite subject of those who are interested in historiography and it is a rare historian, be he ancient or modern, against whom the charge of prejudice has not been laid. It is unfortunate that enquiries into biased history do not usually go back any farther than Herodotus, the so-called father of history, for there are many interesting problems in this regard in ancient Near Eastern historiography. In the present book it has already been shown that the Babylonians were responsible for the creation of a reasonably objective and accurate history of their own nation, the Babylonian Chronicle Series. But bias was noted in Babylonian historiography in such works as the Esarhaddon Chronicle.

One of the most notorious examples of biased history from ancient Assyria and Babylonia is an Assyrian document, the Synchronistic History. The pro-Assyrian prejudice of the author of this text is so blatant that a modern reader might wonder how any sensible person would ever accept the facts as narrated in the chronicle. One need not depend entirely upon one's own judgement in this matter for there is preserved a fragmentary Babylonian text, Chronicle P, which presents in some instances a version of the events which is entirely different from that found in the Synchronistic History. Thus one has both an Assyrian and a Babylonian version of certain historical periods and these versions disagree. This contrast is neither surprising nor unique and it is worth mentioning that the same type of phenomenon is attested time and time again in history writing right up to the present day. Recently a committee of English and American historians published a report on the results of their examination of bias in the treatment of such topics as the American Revolution, the War of 1812, and the First World War in English and

American textbooks.¹ As an introduction to the present study it is worthwhile to quote from a preliminary report of this committee written by Charles F. Mullett:

In its work the committee soon discovered that bias is not what it used to be; it is more subtle, even more various. Rooted in assumptions that are seldom turned on their back, textbook authors unwittingly deny their Muse by selecting, arranging, and, not least, illustrating their facts to produce a series of judgments in line with those assumptions . . . They see no contradiction in declaring one fact and concluding a *non sequitur*. Omissions, spacing, loaded language are more disastrous than overt distortions. We cannot assume that bias loses much of its evil when it loses all its animus.²

Among ancient Assyrian scribes bias certainly did not lack animus but its effects are not always obvious and are particularly treacherous to the modern historian. In a period when sources are sparse it is not always an easy matter to note where an author has omitted a significant fact because he does not like it. Indeed, in the Assyria of the first millennium B.C. it was acceptable practice to distort unsavoury incidents so that they might be included in the official history of the period. The attitude of the author of the Babylonian text, Chronicle P, is not so easily ascertained but one fact can be stated with certainty. However prejudiced the author of Chronicle P may have been, his bias did not have such a disastrous effect on his composition as did the bias of the author of the Synchronistic History.

¹ R. A. Billington, *et al.*, The Historian's Contribution to Anglo-American Misunderstanding: Report of a Committee on National Bias in Anglo-American History Textbooks (New York, 1966).

² American Historical Association Newsletter IV/2 (December, 1965), p. 3.

i) SYNCHRONISTIC HISTORY: CHRONICLE 21

The Synchronistic History is a concise narration of Assyro-Babylonian relations from the reign of Puzur-Ashur III (first half of the fifteenth century B.C.) to the reign of Adad-nerari III (810–783 B.C.). It is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length each section dealing with one Assyrian king and his Babylonian contemporary or contemporaries.³ There is an introduction, of which only traces remain, and a conclusion which is almost perfectly intact.

The text of the Synchronistic History is preserved in three copies from the library of Ashurbanipal. Only one copy is well preserved with a little more than one third of the tablet missing. The other two copies are small fragments and where there is duplication of the large piece there is exact agreement which is evidence that they were either copied from the same original or that one was copied from the other. The language of the document is Standard Babylonian with some Assyrianisms⁴ and there are some noteworthy phrases which are particularly common in this document.⁵

The interest of the author of the Synchronistic History is confined to relations between Assyria and Babylonia. From other sources for the period no Assyrian kings other than those mentioned in the Synchronistic History are known to have had dealings with the Babylonians.⁶ Kings who had no relations with the Babylonians are omitted from this document. Even the mighty Ashur-nasir-apli II finds no place in the chronicle since, except for his capturing some Babylonian auxiliary troops at Suru,⁷ there is no record in his inscriptions of any dealings with the Babylonians.⁸

[1958], p. 27, n. 39) it is sometimes used in chronicles as a terminus technicus of approximate time when no precise date is known. This usage is best illustrated in Chronicle I i 6–8 where a battle between Borsippa and Babylon is said to have occurred “at the time of” (*ana tarši*) Nabu-nasir and about which it is stated: “not written” (*ul šatir*). This is the only occurrence of the phrase in the chronicle (otherwise precise dates are used) and the only time it is said that an event is unrecorded. It is evident that, since the event was not recorded, the author of the chronicle had no precise date for it and instead used the phrase *ana tarši*. Also note its use in the early portions of Chronicle 23. In the later parts of this document, which concern a better known period of history, precise dates are given. This is the only phrase for “at the time of . . .” which occurs in chronicles (*ina ūme/palē* does not occur). The occurrences of the phrase in chronicles are: Chronicle I i 6; Chronicle 20 A 37, B r. 11; Chronicle 22 iv 12, 14(?), 17(?); Chronicle 23:1, 4, 7, 8; and Chronicle 24 r. 2(?), 3(?), 7. Also note its appearance in the chronicle portions of the Assyrian King List i 39 and ii 9. The phrase is further extensively used in the Uruk Sage List published by van Dijk, UVB 18, pp. 44f. Cf. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954), p. 71, n. 184 and Edzard, Zwischenzeit, p. 92, n. 452.

⁶ One possible exception is the omission of Tukulti-Ninurta II. This king did undertake an expedition through Babylonian territory but the exact nature of this trip is a mystery. See Appendix B sub Tukulti-Ninurta II.

⁷ AKA, p. 351:19 – p. 352:24; Iraq 14 (1952), p. 33:17f.

⁸ It appears that Babylonia under the rule of Nabu-apla-iddina was strong enough to discourage Ashur-nasir-apli II from undertaking a major

³ The reign of an Assyrian king usually covers only one section. The one exception is the reign of Ashur-uballit which is described in the sections i 8' – 12' and i 13' – 17'. The horizontal line between 12' and 13' is almost certainly a mistake. Cf. the commentary to i 12'f.

⁴ The Assyrianisms which occur here are *pū'āgu* (i 27' and ii 6'), *ištu* “with” with a noun (ii 35' — it is never used with a noun in Babylonian — cf. CAD 7 [I/J], p. 283), and *taḫūmu* (see the commentary to i 7'). The military terms *ḫalluptu* (ii 12') and *nēpešu* (ii 3' and 6') which are only attested in Assyrian sources also occur here.

⁵ Note: *mišra taḫūma kunnu/šakānu* (see the commentary to i 7'), *ṭubta sulummā gamra itti aḫāmeš iškunū* (see the commentary to ii 1'), *nišū Aššur Karduniaš/Akkadī itti aḫāmeš ibballū* (ii 36'f.; iii 19, 3'; iv 21), and *ina tarši* (i 8', 18'; ii 9, 25', 29'; iii 1, 22, 25). Also note two peculiar forms which occur side by side: *an-ni-me mi-šir-re-šu-nu* in i 28'f. See the commentary to this passage. The temporal sense of *ina/ana tarši* deserves special comment. Although it appears in other genres such as Assyrian royal inscriptions (e.g. Weidner, Tn. no. 1 iii 32, no. 60:9; AKA, p. 289:100; etc.) and business documents (see Tadmor, JCS 12

That the author of the Synchronistic History was biased in favour of the Assyrians is evident from his conclusion: "May the praises of Assyria be lauded for[ever]. May the crime of Sumer and Akkad be bruited abroad through every quarter."⁹ To illustrate Assyria's superiority he makes an arbitrary selection of the facts, omitting those events in which Assyria suffers disgrace and including those in which Babylonia is humiliated. The document is replete with examples of the defeat and humiliation of the Babylonians at the hands of the Assyrians but no mention is ever made of an Assyrian setback.¹⁰ But it appears that he is guilty of an even more serious offence. There is some evidence to suggest that his prejudice carried him beyond biased selectivity to actually altering the facts. In two instances the author of the Synchronistic History has ascribed a victory to Assyria over Babylonia when in fact it appears that the Babylonians won. One of these battles took place at Sugaga. In the Synchronistic History it is stated that Assyria won but the fact that Chronicle P, a reasonably sober and unbiased document, seems to say the opposite causes one to become suspicious. Upon close examination one finds that the boundary-line agreed upon at the end of the conflict indicates a loss for Assyria and it should also be noted that the battle itself took place in Assyrian territory. All of these factors lead one to conclude that the author of the Synchronistic History is lying in his account of the battle of Sugaga. In another instance, a battle between Adad-nerari II and Nabu-shuma-ukin I (who is mistakenly

called Nabu-shuma-ishkun), the description of the boundary-line agreed upon at the conclusion of hostilities denotes an Assyrian loss despite the claim of the author of the Synchronistic History that Assyria won.¹¹ Thus there is reason to believe that the pro-Assyrian bias of this historian has led him to seriously distort the events he describes.

The Assyrian outlook of the author is also evident from the fact that at the beginning of each section the Assyrian king is always mentioned before the Babylonian king. There are two exceptions to this pattern — one in the section concerning Ashur-bel-nisheshu and Karaindash and the other in the section concerning Ashur-dan I and Zababa-shuma-iddina.¹² In both these cases the Babylonian king is mentioned before the Assyrian king. The reason for this is a mystery.¹³

In the conclusion¹⁴ the author speaks of a particular stele upon which the Synchronistic History is supposed to be engraved and the text of which is to be heeded by a later ruler. This inscription tells of the might of Assyria and the "crime"¹⁵ of Babylonia. What is the crime of Babylonia? It appears to be the continued violation of an agreement drawn up between Assyria and Babylonia. The author of the Synchronistic History does not actually mention such a violation in each section but when one studies the document closely in the light of the concluding remarks, one feels that he regarded every battle between Assyria and Babylonia as growing out of a violation of an agreement between the

campaign against it. For a description of the prosperity and peace that existed in Babylonia during Nabu-apla-iddina's reign see Appendix B under his name.

⁹ iv 28–30.

¹⁰ An obvious omission of an Assyrian disgrace is the lack of any reference to the treaty between Shamshi-Adad V and Marduk-zakir-shumi I. For details see Appendix B under Shamshi-Adad V. Another Assyrian disgrace which is omitted is the successful raid on Assyria during the reign of Tiglath-pileser I carried out by Marduk-nadin-ahhe. See Appendix B sub Tiglath-pileser I.

¹¹ For a detailed discussion of both battles see A. K. Grayson, *Studies Landsberger*, pp. 337–340.†

¹² i 1'–4' and ii 9–12 respectively.

¹³ H. Lewy has argued in *Annuaire* 13 (1953), pp. 267f. that this is evidence that the author of the Synchronistic History regarded the Babylonian king as the more powerful of the two rulers. Such an admission by the author of the Synchronistic History is quite out of keeping with his plan. It also contradicts the facts in regard to Zababa-shuma-iddina and Ashur-dan I for in this case the Synchronistic History itself narrates the sacking of Babylonian border cities by the Assyrians.

¹⁴ iv 23–30.

¹⁵ *šilipitu*.

two lands. This is particularly evident from his reiterated reference to the re-establishment of an entente cordiale between the two lands after a battle or change of monarch. According to the author of the Synchronistic History, this entente cordiale centred around a particular boundary-line.¹⁶ The document which he composed was intended to be a historical justification of this line. The line existed of course only in the author's imagination but this did not prevent him from regarding any Babylonian violation of this boundary as a crime.¹⁷ It is evident from the place names mentioned that this theoretical boundary-line was in the East Tigris region.

Why should anyone be so interested in creating the impression that there has always been a well-known boundary-line between Assyria and Babylonia? The most obvious answer is that someone might wish to do this in a time when the Babylonians were encroaching upon territory which the Assyrians regarded as their own. Thus to find a plausible date for the composition of the Synchronistic History one should consider the periods in which the Babylonians were more powerful than the Assyrians and encroached upon their territory. The only possible period for this document is the one immediately after the end of the historical narrative — i. e. the end of the reign of Adad-nerari III. After Adad-nerari III's death, the power of Assyria was definitely in eclipse and the once

mighty empire was particularly harassed by the young and virile kingdom of Urartu.¹⁸ It is quite conceivable that Babylonia took advantage of the troubles of its traditional enemy, Assyria, and encroached upon more and more of its border territory. The author of the Synchronistic History, angered by the situation, wrote this document in an attempt to prove that the Babylonians had violated an age-old agreement. He further attempted to rally his countrymen to action by showing that whenever the Babylonians had violated this agreement in the past, they had been effectively repulsed by the Assyrians.

Worthy of comment is the literary form which the author has used to express his sentiments. His attempt to make the reader believe that this document was actually engraved upon a stele is reminiscent of the Cuthaeen Legend of Naram-Sin.¹⁹ Notice especially that the conclusions to both documents contain exhortations to a later prince to heed the document which has been written.²⁰ It is also interesting to compare this text with another propagandistic chronicle, the Weidner Chronicle. Although the author of the latter document is concerned with a different matter, the importance of the city Babylon and its cult, both chronicles are similar in that they are written for a propagandistic reason which is outlined in a prologue and epilogue. Yet another document which has some similarity is the prologue to the famous cylinder of Entemena.²¹ This text, which is an inscription of the king of Lagash, Entemena, narrates events concerning a boundary-line between the ancient towns of Umma and Lagash. Although Umma continually violates this boundary its armies are al-

¹⁶ Note "this very boundary" in i 4' and "this very boundary-line" in i 7' and 28'.

¹⁷ There were, of course, treaties between Assyrian and Babylonian rulers from time to time. In the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic reference is made to a treaty drawn up between the predecessors of Tukulti-Ninurta and Kashtiliash: *e-nu-ma [i-na] ma-har i-lu-ti-ka iš-[ku]-nu ri-kil-ta ab-bu-ú-ni ú-kin-nu ma-mi-ta ina be-ri-šu-nu* "When our fathers made a treaty before your (Shamash's) divinity and swore oaths to one another" (ii(!) 15f.). But there is apparently no preserved example of an agreement concerning a boundary-line. If the text published by Weidner, AfO 21 (1966), pp. 45f., is such a treaty, as he has suggested, it would be odd, for he has ascribed it to the reign of Ashur-nasir-apli II, a king who is not even mentioned in the Synchronistic History.

¹⁸ See Schmökel, GAV, p. 259 and T. Beran in Schmökel, Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orient (Stuttgart, 1961), p. 609.

¹⁹ For all references see Gurney, AnSt 5 (1955), pp. 93-113, and Finkelstein, JCS 11 (1957), pp. 83-88.

²⁰ See the commentary to iv 23-30.

²¹ See S. N. Kramer, IEJ 3 (1953), pp. 221-226, and to his references add the copy of both cylinders by E. Sollberger, CIRL nos. 28f.

ways driven back by the Lagashites. The climax of the narration comes when this happens in the writer's time and an agreement in Lagash's favour is imposed upon Umma and Lagash by a third party. The fact that it describes a dispute which centres around a boundary and that the writer's opponent is always in the wrong is similar to the theme of the Synchronistic History.

As source material the author of the Synchronistic History used original inscriptions of the Assyrian kings. This is evident from many passages in the Synchronistic History which are verbal parallels to passages in the inscriptions of the particular kings involved. The section on Tiglath-pileser I is so similar to one of his inscriptions that one can only conclude that the author of the Synchronistic History had either it or a closely allied text as his source. It is interesting to note that the inscription in question is a summary account of Tiglath-pileser I's campaigns.²² A direct connection with original inscriptions is also evident in the section on Shalmaneser III's suppression of Marduk-bel-usati's rebellion.²³ Finally, in the few inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad V which are preserved a passage is found which is parallel to a passage in the Synchronistic History's account of this king.²⁴ That direct parallels cannot be shown for the accounts of other kings is almost certainly due to the dearth of inscriptions for many kings or a badly preserved text in the Synchronistic History.

There is no evidence that the author of the Synchronistic History ever drew upon Babylonian royal inscriptions as source material. Indeed, it would be surprising if he had when one considers his Assyrian bias. There is no way of knowing, as yet, whether the Synchronistic History used other Assyrian chronicles

as source material since those preserved are very fragmentary. The fact that there is a verbal parallel between the Synchronistic History and Chronicle 24 in the respective sections on Ashur-bel-kala and Marduk-shapik-zeri²⁵ and further that another passage in Chronicle 24 is reminiscent of a passage in the Synchronistic History²⁶ indicates that the two chronicles had similar sources at their disposal for these sections. For the relation of the Synchronistic History to Chronicle P see the discussion of that document.²⁷

One of the main problems encountered in reading the Synchronistic History is the number of errors in the preserved copies. Most of these are copyists' errors.²⁸ A mistake of the original author, caused by copying too slavishly from his source, is found.²⁹ There are also mistakes with proper names. Two names are definitely written incorrectly — Tiglath-pileser and Marduk-shapik-zeri.³⁰ These two mistakes are probably errors of the copyist. A third name which has probably been erroneously written is Nabu-shuma-ishkun.³¹ The king involved, Nabu-shuma-ukin I, has been confused with a later royal personage. The confusion could have been on the part of the original author or on the part of a later scribe. The fact that the Synchronistic History has made mistakes with three names suggests that it, rather than Chronicle P, might be at fault in some cases where the two texts disagree as to the name of a particular individual.³² Finally, note the erroneous order of

²² See Appendix B sub Tiglath-pileser I.

²³ See Appendix B sub Shalmaneser III.

²⁴ See Appendix B sub Shamshi-Adad V. Also see the commentary to ii 12'f., 31'. Further note the similarity between the descriptions of a border found in Ashur-nasir-apli II's inscriptions and in the section of the Synchronistic History which concerns the reign of Adad-nerari II. This matter is discussed in Appendix B sub Adad-nerari II.

²⁵ Cf. Chronicle 24:6 to the Synchronistic History ii 27'f.

²⁶ Cf. Chronicle 24 r. 2-7 to the Synchronistic History iii 1 - iv 14.

²⁷ Cf. Peiser's discussion of the Synchronistic History's source material in OLZ 1908, 140-142.

²⁸ i 5, 20', 25', 30'; ii 6, 11', 13', 14', 15'; iii 17, 21; iv 1, 4, 24, 27.

²⁹ iv 12. See the commentary to this passage and also cf. the commentary to ii 12'f.

³⁰ See the commentary to ii 14' and 26' respectively.

³¹ See Appendix B sub Nabu-shuma-ukin I.

³² See Appendix B sub Ashur-uballit I and Adad-nerari I.

the first two sections of the Synchronistic History.³³

The bias of the author, his deliberate omission or distortion of certain important facts, the notorious bias of his source material (Assyrian royal inscriptions), his carelessness particularly with personal names, are all factors which the historian should consider when he wishes to use this document. Despite the fact that in some respects this is a valuable document, it is nevertheless very unreliable as an historical source.

Less than two thirds of the text is preserved and it is particularly frustrating that the introduction³⁴ to this unique chronicle is almost totally missing. On the basis of the traces, however, it appears that this was a prologue in which the virtues of the god Ashur, his nation, and his king were extolled.

After a lacuna one finds oneself in the text proper. As mentioned earlier the first two sections³⁵ of the text are in reverse chronological order. In these segments it is stated that during the reigns of Puzur-Ashur III and Burnaburiash I, Karaindash and Ashur-bel-nishe-shu, an agreement was reached concerning a boundary-line. The following two sections³⁶ deal with the reign of Ashur-uballit I and, as suggested previously, the horizontal line dividing the two segments is an error. This is really only one section. The Kassites rebelled against the grandson of the Assyrian king, Ashur-uballit, who had been placed on the throne over them, and set up their own appointee. Ashur-uballit in turn deposed the rebel and placed a Kassite on the throne.

A battle at Sugaga between Enlil-narari and Kurigalzu is narrated in the next section,³⁷ the result of which was an Assyrian victory and the fixing of a boundary-line. A similar battle between Adad-narari I and Nazimuruttash is described in the next section³⁸ and also resulted in an Assyrian vic-

tory and an agreement on the boundary-line.

The following section³⁹ is badly broken but apparently described the famous war between Tukulti-Ninurta I and Kashtiliash. Yet another battle is described in the next segment⁴⁰ between Enlil-kudur-usur and a Babylonian king who was probably (the name is not preserved) Adad-shuma-usur. The narrative is badly broken. A raid by Ashur-dan I against Babylonia in the time of Zababashuma-iddina is recorded in the following passage.⁴¹

After a lacuna is found the end of a section⁴² in which is described two unsuccessful raids on Assyria in the time of Ashur-resh-ishi I by Nebuchadnezzar I. The following segment⁴³ concerns the successes of Tiglath-pileser I against Marduk-nadin-ahhe which included the capture of Babylonian cities, among them Babylon itself.

A treaty is concluded, according to the narrative of the next portion of the text,⁴⁴ between Ashur-bel-kala and Marduk-shapik-zeri. When the Babylonian king Marduk-shapik-zeri died, Ashur-bel-kala appointed Adad-apla-iddina as Babylonian sovereign and took Adad-apla-iddina's daughter as his wife. The section concludes with the statement: "The peoples of Assyria (and) Karduniash were join[ed] together."

Trouble between Assyria and Babylonia is the subject of the next segment.⁴⁵ Adad-narari II defeated Shamash-mudammig who was succeeded by Nabu-shuma-ishkun (an error for Nabu-shuma-ukin). After a battle between the two in which Assyria was again the victor the two kings exchanged daughters in marriage, concluded a treaty, and fixed a boundary-line.

Assyro-Babylonian relations remained stable for a time for, according to the following

³³ See the commentary to i 1'-7'.

³⁴ i 1-11.

³⁵ i 1'-7'.†

³⁶ i 8'-17'.

³⁷ i 18'-23'.

³⁸ i 24'-31'.

³⁹ ii 1*-2.

⁴⁰ ii 3-8.

⁴¹ ii 9-12.

⁴² ii 1'-13'.

⁴³ ii 14'-24'.

⁴⁴ ii 25'-37'.

⁴⁵ iii 1-21.

section,⁴⁶ a treaty was again concluded between Shalmaneser III and Nabu-apla-iddina. But when Nabu-apla-iddina died and was succeeded by Marduk-zakir-shumi I, a disgruntled brother called Marduk-bel-usate tried to depose him. The result was the division of Babylonia between them. Then Shalmaneser III intervened and defeated the usurper. After a large lacuna the segment is concluded with reference to the establishing of a boundary-line. The beginning of the next section⁴⁷ is badly broken but there can be no doubt that the events described take place in the reign of Shamashi-Adad V. He is credited with the defeat of Marduk-balatsu-iqbi and his successor, Baba-aha-iddina. He plundered some Babylonian cities and then made sacrifices at Cuthah, Babylon, and Borsippa. After

receiving the tribute of the Chaldaeans, a boundary-line was established.

The reign of Adad-nerari III is the subject of the following segment⁴⁸ but unfortunately the text is badly broken and it is unknown who was his Babylonian counterpart. The narration concerns the restoration of abducted peoples and interrupted rations and is concluded with a reference to the fixing of a boundary-line.

The following and last section,⁴⁹ which is not divided from the preceding by a horizontal line, is an epilogue and contains an exhortation to later rulers and viziers to heed the inscription and concludes with a wish that Assyria might always be lauded and the crime of Babylonia spread abroad.

ii) CHRONICLE P: CHRONICLE 22

Chronicle P⁵⁰ is a narration of events relating to Babylonia during the Kassite period (latter half of the second millennium B.C.). The text is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length, each section covering the reign of one Babylonian king. Only about one third of the original text is preserved. This is inscribed on a fragment of a large tablet with two columns on each side. The provenance of the fragment is unknown. There are several errors in the text, most of which can be attributed to careless copyists.⁵¹ The language of the document is Standard Babylonian with a few peculiarities.⁵²

With regard to the date of the chronicle nothing certain can be said. The particular fragment from which the text is known is Late Babylonian. But this may only be a copy of an early original. It is unlikely that the chronicle covered events much later than about the end of the Kassite period. A tentative terminus a quo might therefore be c. 1157 B.C. If the author of the Synchronistic History had Chronicle P at his disposal, this would establish the reign of Adad-nerari III (810–783 B.C.) as the terminus ad quem since the Synchronistic History was written sometime after the death of Adad-nerari III.⁵³ But both these dates are suggested with extreme reserve.

The author of the Chronicle was a Babylonian. But the fact that he mentions four Babylonian setbacks, two of which were effected by Assyria, shows that he was not so biased as to ignore facts which were defama-

⁴⁶ iii 22–5'.

⁴⁷ iii 6'–iv 14.

⁴⁸ iv 15–22.

⁴⁹ iv 23–30.

⁵⁰ The chronicle is named after T. G. Pinches, the first editor of the text.

⁵¹ Scribal errors are to be found in i 3, 6; iii 11; iv 6. It is also possible that Chronicle P is in error in i 5–14 and in iii 20–22 but it is equally possible that the Synchronistic History is in error in its parallel accounts in i 8'–17' and 18'–23'. See Appendix B sub Ashur-uballit I and Adad-nerari I.

⁵² Peculiar is the form *mamnu* for the more usual *mammāna* in i 11 (see the commentary to this

passage). Also noteworthy is the form *kemiš* for *kamiš* in iii 17 (see the commentary to this passage). Finally, the orthography of the place name Elam is unusual in this document (see the commentary to iii 10).

⁵³ See the discussion of the Synchronistic History.

tory to his country.⁵⁴ This presents an interesting contrast to the author of the Synchronistic History who never once mentions any disgrace of his native Assyria.

The author of Chronicle P made use of two kinds of sources, prose and poetic. A large part of the document is in the usual prose style of chronicles but the section about Kurigalzu⁵⁵ sounds more like an epic than a chronicle. In particular note the occurrence of direct speech, a phenomenon attested in only one other chronicle, the Weidner Chronicle.⁵⁶ It appears that the author of Chronicle P copied this portion from a Babylonian historical epic. Only three fragments of this genre are otherwise known. There is a fragment of the beginning of an epic about Nebuchadnezzar I,⁵⁷ a fragment of an epic about the Kassite period,⁵⁸ and a fragment of an epic mentioning Ur.⁵⁹ Further note the King of Battle Epic,⁶⁰ the Naram-Sin Epic,⁶¹ the

Verse Account of Nabonidus,⁶² and the Kedorlaomer Text.⁶³ Assyrian historical epics are also known. The best preserved text of these is the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic.⁶⁴ Besides this, four fragments of an epic about Adad-narari I⁶⁵ are known as well as a fragment of an epic about Ashurbanipal.⁶⁶ Finally, there is a fragmentary text which might be part of a historical epic or part of a pseudo-autobiography.^{67†}

Since so little of Chronicle P is preserved it is impossible to surmise what its express purpose was. Also, since sources for the period with which the text is concerned are so sparse, it is difficult to verify the accuracy of the chronicle. This matter is particularly important in cases where the same event is treated in the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P for in the two instances where this happens the two documents have divergent ver-

⁵⁴ i 9-14; iv 1-10, 14-16, 17-22.

⁵⁵ ii 1-iii 19.

⁵⁶ As evidence that the source was an epic there is, besides the use of direct quotation, the poetic form *qātūku* in ii 13.

⁵⁷ K 3426 which is published by L. W. King, CT 13, 48, and edited by H. Winckler, AOF 1, pp. 542f. (the tablet number in the latter reference is wrong).

⁵⁸ K 9952 which is published by W. G. Lambert, BWL pl. 12, and edited on pp. 296f.

⁵⁹ VAT 14514 which is published and edited by Falkenstein, LKU no. 43.

⁶⁰ The King of Battle Epic is commented upon by H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), pp. 86-91; 44 (1938), pp. 45-48, and in JCS 18 (1964), pp. 1-6. To his references add the Old Babylonian versions published by J. Nougayrol, RA 45 (1951), pp. 169-183, and J. J. A. van Dijk, Sumer 13 (1957), pp. 99-105 (copy only). Nougayrol's text was commented upon by W. von Soden, Or. n.s. 26 (1957), pp. 319f. A piece of this epic has been found in the Kouyunjik collection of the British Museum (K 13228) and is published by W. G. Lambert, AfO 20 (1963), pp. 161f. A fragment from Amarna published by Gordon, Or. n.s. 16 (1947), pp. 13f. and pp. 20f., may possibly be a piece of this epic.†

⁶¹ The original of this text is missing but Pinches' copy of it was published in AfO 13 (1939-40), pls. If. (opposite p. 48). It was edited by Güterbock, AfO 13 (1939-40), pp. 46-49.

⁶² The text is published by S. Smith, BHT pls. V-X. It is edited by Smith, BHT pp. 27-97 and by B. Landsberger and Th. Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), pp. 88ff. Also cf. W. F. Albright, JRAS 1925, p. 295 and H. de Genouillac, RA 22 (1925), pp. 72-80. It has recently been translated by A. L. Oppenheim, ANET², pp. 312-315.†

⁶³ There are three fragments which have been included under this title: Sp III 2; Sp II 987; Sp 158+Sp II 962. They have been published and edited by T. Pinches, JTV 29 (1897), pp. 45-90. Collations of the texts were presented by L. W. King in LIH 1, pp. LI f. and the texts were re-edited by Jeremias, MVAG 21 (1916-17), pp. 69-97. B. Landsberger has pointed out (cf. Güterbock, ZA 42 [1934], p. 21) that only Sp 158+Sp II 962 is a literary work whereas the other two fragments are letters.

⁶⁴ A full bibliography is given by W. G. Lambert, AfO 18 (1957-58), p. 38.

⁶⁵ One fragment (VAT 10084) is published by E. Ebeling, KAR no. 260, and O. Schroeder, KAH 2, no. 143. Another fragment (Rm 293), a duplicate, is published in AfO 17 (1954-56), p. 369. For comment see IAK p. 57, n. 7 and AfO 7 (1931-32), p. 281. Two further duplicates (VAT 9820 and 10889) are partially published and commented upon by Weidner, AfO 20 (1963), pp. 113-115.

⁶⁶ K 4528 (unpublished).

⁶⁷ K 2599+3069, a copy of which has been published by W. G. Lambert, CT 46, 49. K 10724, published as CT 46, 50, may be part of the same tablet.

sions. The one case is the reign of Ashur-uballit I where the two texts are quite different.⁶⁸ The other has to do with the battle of Sugaga which was considered in the discussion of the Synchronistic History. Since it is impossible to find definitive outside evidence in these two cases, one must fall back on internal evidence. In general Chronicle P is a more reliable document than the Synchronistic History. The latter, as shown in the discussion of that text, is replete with errors of all kinds and is notorious for selecting or even distorting facts in such a way as to shed a more favourable light on Assyria. The Babylonian document, Chronicle P, on the other hand, seems to contain no significant errors and far from omitting facts dishonourable to Babylonia, mentions four Babylonian setbacks. Thus as a general principle one should, in cases of disagreement, lend more credence to the version of Chronicle P. Nevertheless the whole matter is so uncertain due to the lack of sources for the period as a whole and due to the fragmentary nature of Chronicle P that the historian should still accept the facts as narrated by Chronicle P with some reserve.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ Cf. Chronicle P i 1-14 to the Synchronistic History i 8'-17'. See Appendix B sub Ashur-uballit I.

⁶⁹ W. Röllig in his article "Die Glaubwürdigkeit der Chronik P" in *Heidelberger Studien*, pp. 173-184, has attempted to show that Chronicle P is far from being a reliable historical source. His argument rests on an analysis of three different passages in the chronicle. In the first two passages (i 5-14 and iii 20-22) there are serious discrepancies between Chronicle P and parallel passages in the Synchronistic History (i 8'-17' and 18'-23' respectively). These discrepancies, which will be discussed in detail in Appendix B sub Ashur-uballit I and Adad-narari I respectively, have to do with errors in personal names on the part of one of the documents. The present author in *Studies Landsberger*, pp. 337f., suggested that in each case the Synchronistic History was probably in error but Röllig, *op. cit.*, has stated categorically that the version of the Synchronistic History is correct. At this point, an examination of the nature of Röllig's evidence for rejecting the version of Chronicle P in each case and accepting the version of the Synchronistic History is in order. The evidence is twofold:

1) There are scribal errors in Chronicle P.

The fact that the description of the reign of Ashur-uballit I is almost exactly the same in both Chronicle P and the Synchronistic History,⁷⁰ apart from the important discrepancies mentioned already, raises the question of the source material employed by the author of Chronicle P. It is obvious that either the author of one document used the other text as at least part of his source material or that both texts had a third source in common. If no third source existed and if Chronicle P is factually more accurate as suggested above, then it is probable that the author of the Synchronistic History borrowed information from Chronicle P but changed it to suit his purpose. This conclusion, as with most statements about Chronicle P, is tentative due to insufficient evidence.

The fact that only about one third of the text is preserved means in effect that one has

2) Chronological considerations favour the version of the Synchronistic History over against that of Chronicle P.

This evidence is not as convincing as, superficially, it may appear:

1) Certainly there are scribal errors in Chronicle P but there are also scribal errors in the Synchronistic History (see above). By itself, therefore, this point cannot decide the issue in favour of either document.

2) Both the relative and absolute chronology of the relevant periods is so uncertain that one should be hesitant to categorically accept one ancient account and reject another on this basis. The chronological arguments advanced by Röllig may be correct but until more evidence is available it is better to reserve judgment.

In the third passage discussed by Röllig (pp. 182f.) it is not a case of Chronicle P being incorrect. Rather, the text narrates events out of chronological order for a special reason. As Röllig points out this could mislead a modern historian but it is not a factual error.

It is only fair to say at this point that all attempts, including my own in *Studies Landsberger*, pp. 337f., to show which text, the Synchronistic History or Chronicle P, has confused the royal names in the passages mentioned above should be regarded with scepticism. On the other hand it is perfectly obvious that the author of Chronicle P was far more objective than the author of the Synchronistic History.†

⁷⁰ Cf. Chronicle P i 5-14 to the Synchronistic History i 8'-17'.

only glimpses of a very long and significant narrative. The first fragmentary portion preserved⁷¹ is the last line of a section. In the following broken segment⁷² reference is made to the establishment of a boundary-line between Assyria and Babylonia. In the third section⁷³ the defeat of the Suteans and the establishment of border defences against them is mentioned for the reign of Kodashman-Harbe. There follows a description, very similar to the one in the Synchronistic History,⁷⁴ of the Kassite rebellion against the monarch appointed to rule over them by Ashur-uballit and the Assyrian monarch's treatment of the rebels.

After a large lacuna comes a section⁷⁵ in which a major battle is described. The description is quite poetic and includes direct speech addressed to the Babylonian king, Kurigalzu. After several broken lines one finds the mention of various valuable items such as piebald horses, gold and silver, and a gold canopy for Marduk. Next is narrated, again with some direct speech, the battle be-

tween Kurigalzu and the Elamite king. The result was a victory for the Babylonians. The last few lines of the section tell of an attack on Adad-narari I of Assyria and the subsequent battle at Sugaga. After a horizontal line, in the following broken section⁷⁶ little more than the name of the Babylonian monarch, Nazimuruttash, is preserved.

When the text is again legible after a large lacuna the reader finds himself in the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I.⁷⁷ There is a description of the siege, capture, and sack of Babylon, the removal of the statue of Marduk and a statement that Tukulti-Ninurta controlled Babylonia for seven years. Then there is a rebellion in Assyria and the murder of Tukulti-Ninurta I. The section concludes with the statement that in the reign of Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur the statue of Marduk (Bel) was returned to Babylon.

In the following section⁷⁸ an attack on Babylonia by Elam and the fate of Nippur and Der is described. A similar raid is described in the next portion⁷⁹ of the chronicle. After a horizontal line the text is completely missing.

⁷¹ i 1. See the commentary for the possible parallelism with the Synchronistic History.

⁷² i 2-4. See the commentary for the possible parallelism with the Synchronistic History.

⁷³ i 5-14.

⁷⁴ See Appendix B sub Ashur-uballit I.

⁷⁵ ii 1-iii 22.

⁷⁶ iii 23 f.

⁷⁷ iv 1-13.

⁷⁸ iv 14-16.

⁷⁹ iv 17-22.

TWO ECLECTIC CHRONICLES

The two chronicles to be studied in this chapter, Chronicles 23 and 24, have in common the fact that they both contain entries regarding various regnal years over a particularly long period of time. Both are inscribed on small tablets and are, therefore, private documents. Another chronicle which could be called eclectic and in fact is called that in its colophon is the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle. It was treated with other chronicles in

category A, however, since all of its entries were typologically uniform and because it had an obvious and close connection with the Babylonian Chronicle Series. In neither Chronicles 23 nor 24 are the entries typologically uniform nor are all of them related to the Babylonian Chronicle Series. The purpose behind the compilation of both documents is a mystery.

i) CHRONICLE OF MARKET PRICES: CHRONICLE 23

This text contains brief notations of market prices from a time earlier than Hammurapi (1792–1750 B.C.) and possibly as late as the reign of Nabu-shuma-ishkun (c. 748 B.C.).¹ It is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length and each section, so far as one can tell, deals with the reign of one particular king. Only the upper half of the reverse is inscribed and there is no colophon. There are no scribal errors apart from a possible error in the regnal year given for Mero-dach-baladan I. The fragment is the left-hand side of a small tablet that was broken roughly down the middle so that about one half of the text is preserved. Unfortunately both surfaces are marred by breaks. The script is Neo-Babylonian.†

This document is unique among ancient Mesopotamian chronicles in that it is concerned with prices of commodities at various periods of time in Babylonian history. It is to be compared to the Astronomical diaries, which, as it was pointed out in an earlier chapter, contain entries regarding market prices. Such a comparison reveals that there is a very close connection between the two. All of the sections of the chronicle which are

legible at all contain the names of commodities and phrases which are identical or virtually identical with those that regularly appear in astronomical diaries.² But the general form of the two is quite different. Astronomical diaries provide various information including prices month by month whereas the preserved portion of Chronicle 23 provides information solely about prices for certain regnal years of various kings over a long period of time.

Another unusual feature is that there are no astronomical diaries known for such an early period as the one with which Chronicle 23 deals. It is possible, of course, that they existed but the fact that not a single one has so far been discovered raises a serious question. Is the information in Chronicle 23 based on genuine documents or is this a fictitious account of price fluctuation composed in the late period for some special reason? Not enough of the chronicle is preserved to enable one to check the information with what is known about prices from contemporary documents. In favour of the authenticity of the chronicle, however, is the fact that for the early period the scribe speaks vaguely of "At

¹ See the commentary on r. 6f.

² See the commentary. Note that prices are referred to in Chron. 10 r. 31 and 35.

the time of . . ."³ but for later years he designates specific years. If the document were fictitious one would expect him to provide precise dates for the early reigns as well. Also relevant is the fact that other chronicles are known which deal with the same general period. Particularly noteworthy is the Religious Chronicle which dealt with a period at least as early as the eleventh century B.C. (the content of Chronicle 23 comes down at least as late as the twelfth century B.C.) and also had similarities with astronomical diaries. Also note the last two entries in the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle which concern the tenth and eighth centuries B.C. (the same reign may actually be described in Chronicle 23 r. 6f. – see the commentary) and are said to come from a writing-board. Thus there is evidence that information of the kind found in late astronomical diaries was available in written form long before the seventh century B.C.⁴ Or, to put it another way, there is evidence that as early as the reign of Merodach-baladan I (1173–1161 B.C.) an account of events in Babylonia similar to, if not identical with, astronomical diaries was being compiled.⁵ One is inclined, therefore, to disregard the idea that this chronicle is pure fiction.

The conclusion that Chronicle 23 may well be based on genuine documents does not necessarily mean that this text is a reliable source. The exact nature of the documents that the chronicler may have used as source material is unknown and this, together with the ever present possibility of scribal error, should make one cautious. Certainly in one instance the reliability of the text is at least

questionable. This is in the entry for the twenty-first year of Merodach-baladan I.⁶ Babylonian King List A gives Merodach-baladan I only thirteen years and therefore one of these documents contains a serious error.⁷ Either document could be wrong (Babylonian King List A contains errors in regnal years elsewhere⁸) and there is, as yet, no external evidence on this point.

The reason the chronicler composed this text is another matter for speculation. To the author, of course, the purpose of the text was self-evident for there is neither an introduction nor a conclusion in which a particular theme was delineated. The text begins and ends abruptly. In considering the purpose of the text three facts evident from the preserved portion of the chronicle must be borne in mind: the eclectic nature of the rulers and regnal years mentioned; the fact that the chronicler is exclusively interested in market prices; and the similarity with astronomical diaries. Of the royal names preserved, the majority are those of obviously famous kings, viz. Hammurapi, Kurigalzu, and Nebuchadnezzar I. Marduk-nadin-ahhe, who may be the king mentioned in line 14, is famous for an attack on Assyria during the time of Tiglath-pileser I.⁹ Virtually nothing is known of Merodach-baladan I and Nabu-shuma-ishkun (if

³ *ana tarši*. The phrase is used as a terminus technicus in chronicles to indicate that a precise date is unknown. See Chapter 6, n. 5.

⁴ It is more probable that the chronicler found his information about prices already summarized in his source than that he used contemporary economic texts to make his own calculations.

⁵ Note that the typology of Chronicle 23 beginning with the section on Merodach-baladan I belongs to category A and is identical with that of the Babylonian Chronicle Series and the astronomical diaries.

⁶ Chronicle 23:10f. There is no doubt that the Merodach-baladan and the Nebuchadnezzar (line 13) of this chronicle are, in each case, the first kings to bear this name. This is evident from the fact that Kurigalzu appears immediately before Merodach-baladan and Mar[duk . . .] appears immediately after. There were four kings who ruled shortly after Nebuchadnezzar I whose names began Marduk- . . . (see the commentary to line 14) but none after Nebuchadnezzar II.

⁷ Even if Merodach-baladan II were meant in Chronicle 23 the figure twenty-one would be peculiar. The Babylonian chronologists recognized him as king for two separate periods, one for a period of twelve years and the other for a period of nine months. Note, however, the unusual date of UET 4, 206: MU.XXII^{ka}m [dMard]uk-apla-iddina mār redātu. See J. A. Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim*, p. 16 and p. 43.

⁸ Cf. A. Poebel, *AS* 14, pp. 119–122.

⁹ See Appendix B sub Tiglath-pileser I.

his reign is, in fact, referred to in r. 6f.). The specific years given for the later kings is of no assistance in the matter since nothing is known of the chronology of their reigns¹⁰ and there is no similarity between the years mentioned here and those mentioned in other chronicles. One possible exception is Nabu-shuma-ishkun if the entry for the fifth and sixth year in r. 6f. is to be identified with the entry for Nabu-shuma-ishkun in the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle (line 22) which begins "The fifth year and the sixth year." From the latter document it is evident that the Akitu festival did not take place in these years.¹¹ An interruption in the Akitu festival is a sign of a period of political and economic instability in Babylonia which would be reflected in the market prices. If the entry in Chronicle 23 dealt with this period then the prices for other periods may have also indicated, at least to the chronicler, periods of depression or inflation. This is reminiscent of the "good" and "bad" reigns of the Prophecies described in an earlier chapter. Even if this suggestion is correct, and it must be emphasized that this is little more than speculation, it still does not explain why only certain rulers and years are included. A simple explanation is that the chronicler's source material was very sparse but, again, this is speculation. Nor does the theory explain why the text was written, a question that was also left unanswered in the discussion of the Prophecies. Whether the author saw some re-

lation between the prices and events from certain periods in the distant past to prices and events in his own time; whether he wished to compile any information of this kind that was at his disposal because of its intrinsic interest for him; or whether he had yet another purpose in the back of his mind is unknown. Due to the uncertainties about this text the historian should be cautious in using it as source material.†

Only about one half of the chronicle is preserved but fortunately it is that part of the text that provides at least some of the royal names. In the first two sections¹² the royal names are broken away but they were kings who reigned before the time of Hammurapi. The prices of wool and copper are mentioned. The following section¹³ concerns Hammurapi but the text is broken after his name. The last section to be introduced by the vague phrase "At the time of. . ." deals with Kurigalzu and the price of sesame and wool is given. For the twenty-first year of Merodach-baladan I¹⁴ barley and dates are mentioned. The following section¹⁵ concerns the thirteenth year of a king who reigned between Merodach-baladan I and Nebuchadnezzar I but unfortunately his name cannot be deciphered. For the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar I¹⁶ nothing is preserved. Either the first or second year of a king whose name begins Marduk. . . appears next as well as a quantity of some commodity. No royal names are preserved on the reverse but the tenth to thirteenth years of one king and the fifth to sixth years of another, possibly Nabu-shuma-ishkun, are mentioned. Quantities of commodities and prices appear.

¹⁰ With regard to Nebuchadnezzar I only the eighth, eleventh, and sixteenth years are attested by documents. See Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 87, 4.2.6. and 4.2.7.

¹¹ Also note the section in Chronicle 23 r. 3-5, which begins "Year ten, eleven, twelve, *thir[teen]*" and the Religious Chronicle ii 16, "In the thirteenth year, the fourteenth year (and) the fifteenth year, for three years in succession" which concerns an interruption in the Akitu festival.

¹² 1-6.

¹³ 7.

¹⁴ 10-11.

¹⁵ 12.

¹⁶ 13.

ii) AN ECLECTIC CHRONICLE: CHRONICLE 24

Chronicle 24 is a narration of events relating to Babylonia from sometime before the reign of Marduk-shapik-zeri (1080–1068 B.C.) to a period later than Shalmaneser V (726–722 B.C.). The text is divided by horizontal lines into sections of unequal length. Most of these sections contain terse statements of one line but there are a few larger sections which contain detailed narratives. More than two-thirds of the text is preserved. There is one column on each side of the tablet. The provenance of the tablet is unknown. Nothing definite can be said about the date of the document other than that it is Late Babylonian. The text is relatively free of errors.¹⁷ The language is Standard Babylonian.

The purpose of this document is not obvious. Certainly the author is a Babylonian since the narration is primarily concerned with Babylonian kings and religious matters. L. W. King,¹⁸ puzzled by the eclectic nature of the chronicle, concluded that it was a list of discrepancies between two different texts. Another interpretation is also possible. Perhaps this is a brief résumé of the most important events in Babylonian history during a specific period compiled for private use. First let us consider the possibility that all the events narrated here would have been considered important by a Babylonian. The mention of Assyrian kings in a Babylonian document would be considered important in periods when Assyria was a powerful nation for in such periods the relations between the neighbouring hostile countries would naturally be an important part of the history of either nation. Thus the powerful Assyrian kings Ashur-bel-kala, Adad-nerari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II, as well as perhaps Ashur-nasir-apli II and Shalmaneser III find a place in this chronicle.¹⁹ But it is not surprising that Assyrian kings are not mentioned in two sections which cover periods when the power of

Assyria was in eclipse (c. 1050–900 B.C. and c. 782–745 B.C. respectively).²⁰

The interruptions of the Akitu festival listed in this chronicle²¹ would be considered important by any Babylonian as indicated already in this book. The fact that such interruptions implied political disturbances which prevented the celebration of the festival would be incidental to a Babylonian, a fact which was pointed out in the discussion of the Akitu Chronicle. It is interesting to compare the passage in Chronicle 24 which is concerned with interruptions in the Akitu festival with the Religious Chronicle²² in which the interruption of the Akitu during Nabu-mukin-apli's reign (also mentioned in this text²³) is recorded. The fact that the festival was not celebrated is attributed to the hostile activities of the Arameans. That the author of Chronicle 24 does not mention the disturbances which caused the interruption but only the interruption itself may be due to the fact that this was the only information contained in his source material. Perhaps he had only a religious chronicle or chronicles similar to the Religious Chronicle (but without mention of the Aramean disturbances) at his disposal.

Another question to be considered is whether or not the author has omitted any events which a Babylonian would consider important. The fact that several Babylonian kings have been omitted altogether (the last three kings of the Isin II dynasty, two of the three kings of each of the Sealand II and Bazi dynasties, Ninurta-kudurri-usur II, Baba-aha-iddina, Nabu-shuma-ishkun and perhaps others) could be due to the fact that their reigns were so insignificant that they did not merit any mention. Certainly there is little more than the name preserved for any of them but sources for this period as a whole

¹⁷ See the commentary to 13 and r. 7.

¹⁸ King, *Chron.* 1, pp. 187–189.

¹⁹ lines 4–7 and r. 2–6.

²⁰ 12 – r. 1 and r. 9–15.

²¹ 14 – r. 1.

²² Religious Chronicle iii 1–iv 10.

²³ line 17.

are so sparse that little weight can be given to this argument.

An important omission, however, is the lack of mention of Ashur-bel-kala in the section concerning Adad-apla-iddina.²⁴ According to the Synchronistic History²⁵ Adad-apla-iddina was a vassal of Ashur-bel-kala and thus one would expect the Assyrian king to be at least mentioned in the narrative concerning Adad-apla-iddina. But since Ashur-bel-kala was already mentioned in the preceding section, perhaps the author felt it was unnecessary to repeat his name in this section.

The fact that the endowments established by Simbar-shihu and Eulmash-shakin-shumi for the temple Ebabbar in Sippar are not mentioned in the sections on these kings²⁶ but the building of a throne for Enlil by Simbar-shihu is mentioned may be simply due to the accident of source material which the author had at his disposal. Thus most of the incidents narrated in this chronicle are important events in Babylonian history and the few omissions which have been discussed are negligible.

If this is a résumé of important events, what period does the chronicle cover? The complete text started before the reign of Marduk-shapik-zeri and went at least as far as the reign of Shalmaneser V. Since almost a third of the text is missing, it is conceivable that it might have started as early as the beginning of the Isin II dynasty (c. 1156 B.C.) and gone as far as the destruction of Babylon by Sennacherib in 689 B.C. This is pure speculation of course but it does present a period of time meaningful to Babylonian historians. It is a period which stretches from the end of the first "dark" period of Babylonian history (Kassite domination) to the beginning of the second "dark" period (complete control by Assyria).²⁷ Only the recovery of the missing portions of the text

could confirm or deny this tentative suggestion. That this document was not intended as an official history but for private use is indicated by the eclectic nature of its contents and its small size, features also exhibited by the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle and Chronicle 23.

As source material the author of this chronicle seems to have drawn on altogether different kinds of documents. This is evident from the variety of literary patterns found in the text. These patterns have been discussed in the first chapter and in Appendix A. The length of the narratives in two places²⁸ suggests that the author had much fuller records at his disposal here than he had for other sections.²⁹ These sources may well have been other chronicles since two of the literary patterns employed are regularly found in chronicles³⁰ and another passage³¹ may have been extracted from a religious chronicle similar to the Religious Chronicle. The fact that there is a verbal parallel between the Synchronistic History and Chronicle 24 in the respective sections on Ashur-bel-kala and Marduk-shapik-zeri³² and further that another passage in Chronicle 24 is reminiscent of a passage in the Synchronistic History³³ indicates that the two chronicles had similar sources at their disposal for these passages.

An attempt to assess the historical validity of the chronicle is frustrated by the lack of sources for the period as a whole and one's ignorance of the purpose of the document and the source material utilized by the author. Only a negative judgement may be passed. There is no evidence of error, either intentional or unintentional, on the part of the scribe and one may therefore accept, at least for the present, the facts as narrated in the chronicle.

²⁸ lines 4-13 and r. 9-15.

²⁹ 14 r. 8.

³⁰ RN Narr. in lines 4-13, r. 9-15 and RN₁ RN₂ in r. 2-7.

³¹ 14- r. 1.

³² Cf. Chronicle 24:6 to the Synchronistic History ii 27'f.

³³ Cf. Chronicle 24 r. 2-7 to the Synchronistic History iii 1-iv 14.

²⁴ lines 8-11.

²⁵ Synchronistic History ii 31'-37' and see Appendix B sub Ashur-bel-kala.

²⁶ lines 12-14 and see Appendix B under their names.

²⁷ Cf. the Akitu Chronicle, the narration of which begins in 689 B.C.

Since the top of the tablet is broken off, both the beginning and end of the text are missing. Only the last part of the first preserved section³⁴ is legible and has to do with plunder. The following section³⁵ concerns Marduk-shapik-zeri and, although the beginning is mutilated, describes a period of prosperity. A treaty with Ashur-bel-kala is mentioned and the concluding sentence states that "the king went from Assyria to Sippar."

The reign of Adad-apla-iddina, a usurper, is the subject of the next portion of the text.³⁶ During his time Babylonia suffered an attack of the Suteans but despite this he was able to finish the shrines of Marduk. In the following section³⁷ is recorded the construction of a throne for Enlil by Simbar-shihu of the Sealand. There follows a section of only one line³⁸ which records, by means of singular phraseology, the interruption of the Akitu festival in the fifth year of Eulmash-shakin-shumi. This is followed by five sections³⁹ which apparently refer to the same interruption in various years of this and subsequent kings.

This series of sections is followed by another series,⁴⁰ different in character, that pro-

vide synchronisms of Babylonian and Assyrian monarchs. There follows a section of one line⁴¹ in which it is stated that for a certain number of years there was no king.

The next section⁴² is the longest in the preserved portion of the chronicle and concerns the reign of Eriba-Marduk. It is first noted that he took part in the celebration of the Akitu in his second year. He then massacred the Arameans and restored to the Babylonians their property. At the same time he established the throne of Marduk (Bel) in Esagil. The last line of the section is broken.

The remainder of the preserved portion of the chronicle, which is badly broken, contains the ends of five sections. Eriba-Marduk is mentioned in the first of these.⁴³ Nabunaser appears next.⁴⁴ Only illegible traces are preserved of the following section.⁴⁵ The accession of Tiglath-pileser III to the Babylonian throne is recorded in the subsequent segment.⁴⁶ Yet another accession is recorded in the last preserved section⁴⁷ and this probably refers to the accession of Shalmaneser V. The remainder of the chronicle is missing.

³⁴ lines 1-3.

³⁵ lines 4-7.

³⁶ lines 8-11.

³⁷ lines 12f.

³⁸ line 14.

³⁹ 15- r. 1.

⁴⁰ r. 2-7.

⁴¹ r. 8.

⁴² r. 9-15.

⁴³ r. 16.

⁴⁴ r. 17.

⁴⁵ r. 18.

⁴⁶ r. 19.

⁴⁷ r. 20.

CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS

It usually happens in any modern corpus of a particular genre written in cuneiform that there are some fragmentary pieces of inscribed clay left over which appear to belong to the genre but cannot be placed precisely due to their broken condition. Occasionally such fragments are of more importance than their small size might lead one to believe. This is true in the case of the Assyrian chronicle fragments. These few fragments represent the total evidence of this particular genre in Assyrian literature since they appear to be quite different from the Synchronistic History. Nothing is known of the origin of this literary type, its typology, or its relations with other historical texts from ancient Mesopotamia. It

is noteworthy that the fragments all deal with the period of the Middle Assyrian empire but this may be due to the accident of discovery since most of them come from the library of Tiglath-pileser I. It would be premature to attempt a discussion of these intriguing problems on the basis of the scanty evidence presently available.[†]

Since a good deal more is known of Babylonian chronicles and more textual material is available, some fragments, despite their small size, can be fitted into their proper places as has been shown in the preceding chapters. There are a few fragments which do not seem to fit anywhere, however, and these are the pieces discussed in this chapter.

i) ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS

The text of all these fragments is written in prose, in the third person, and in the Assyrian script. The second fragment discussed, which concerns Arik-din-ili, belongs to the Morgan Library Collection while the others are in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin. The fourth fragment, which concerns Tiglath-pileser I, was originally in the library of that king. Since the first fragment, which concerns Enlil-narari, may belong to the same tablet it too may come from the same source. For reasons given in Part II of this book the second fragment, which concerns Arik-din-ili, may also have originally come from the library of Tiglath-pileser I.

a) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ENLIL-NARARI

The preserved text of this tiny piece is divided by a horizontal line into two sections in both of which Enlil-narari is mentioned. The broken text described a battle between Enlil-narari and Kurigalzu. It may belong to the same tablet as the fourth fragment¹ and

would therefore come from the library of Tiglath-pileser I.

b) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ARIK-DIN-ILI

The preserved text of this fragment is divided by horizontal lines into four sections all of which concern military campaigns. Arik-din-ili is mentioned in the first three of these. It was R. Borger² who drew attention to the identity of this fragment. He pointed out that this was not the first example of Assyrian annals, as had been previously held, but rather, in view of the use of the third person, was an early example of an Assyrian chronicle. The text may come from the library of Tiglath-pileser I.[†]

c) FRAGMENT CONCERNING
ASHUR-RESHA-ISHI I

Both sides of this piece are preserved and there are traces of two columns on each side. The text of the obverse is divided by a hori-

¹ See E. Weidner, *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 116.

² R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, p. 31.

zontal line into two sections but there is no division in the preserved portion of the reverse. Ashur-resha-ishi is mentioned on both obverse and reverse. The text of the obverse is very badly broken. On the reverse is described an Assyrian attack on Babylonia and its king Ninurta-nadin-shumati (sic!).

d) FRAGMENT CONCERNING
TIGLATH-PILESER I

The preserved portion of this small piece is divided by horizontal lines into three sec-

tions, only the second and third being legible. In the second section the Arameans are mentioned as well as the death of the Babylonian king and the succession to the throne of Marduk-shapik-zeri. In the third section the end of the name of Tiglath-pileser is preserved. The text, which comes from the library of Tiglath-pileser I,³ may belong to the same tablet as the first fragment, which concerns Enlil-narari.

ii) BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS

a) FRAGMENT CONCERNING THE PERIOD
OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF ISIN

The text is preserved on two tiny fragments which do not join but probably belong to the same tablet. They came from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh and are, therefore, late Assyrian copies. The text is divided by horizontal lines into several sections. It is written in prose and generally in the third person⁴ and the overall impression is that this is a fragment of a chronicle. However, not enough of the text is preserved to be certain. The fact that the beginnings of the introductory lines in each section are missing deprive one of the opportunity of ascertaining to which category the text should belong if it is a chronicle. Since it concerns the early period as shown by the mention of certain members of the first dynasty of Isin, namely Lipit-Ishtar, Enlil-bani, and Erra-imitti, one suspects it might have some re-

lationship to the Weidner Chronicle and the Chronicle of Early Kings. It is especially noteworthy that the author of the Chronicle of Early Kings was also interested in the figures Enlil-bani and Erra-imitti. Another feature of the text is the frequent mention of the god Enlil and his temple Ekur. Note that in one section,⁵ in which Lipit-Ishtar is mentioned, the presentation of tribute to Ekur is recorded and it was apparently made in connection with incubation.

b) FRAGMENT CONCERNING THE SEALAND

The text of this tiny fragment is divided by horizontal lines into two sections. The Sealand and its ruler, a certain Apil-Adad, are mentioned. Since this individual is otherwise unknown it is impossible to place the text chronologically. The text is in prose, in the third person, and in the Neo-Babylonian script.†

³ See E. Weidner, *AfO* 16 (1952-53), p. 208, no. 32.

⁴ One exception is found in A i 5.

⁵ A i 4-10.

PART II

CHRONICLE 1

CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE PERIOD FROM NABU-NASIR TO SHAMASH-SHUMA-UKIN

The text of Chronicle 1 is preserved in three copies:

A....BM 92502 (= 84-2-11, 356)

B....BM 75976 (= AH 83-1-18, 1338)

C....BM 75977 (= AH 83-1-18, 1339)

The best preserved copy (A) comes from Babylon and is dated in the twenty-second year of Darius. It is inscribed on an extremely large tablet which measures 193 mms. long and 158 mms. wide. The other two copies both come from Sippar and are only fragments. It is possible that B and C are parts of the same tablet but since there is no proof of this they are treated as separate copies. Fragment B measures 85 mms. long and 68 mms. wide. Fragment C is 55 mms. long and 60 mms. wide. A is reasonably well preserved, there being only surface flaws and one large lacuna in the upper right-hand corner. Both B and C are fragments from the centre of large tablets. Whereas both obverse and reverse are preserved on B, only the reverse of C remains.

Where A and B are both preserved they generally agree with one another (usually word for word) with the exception of the first column. In the first column B has more text at the beginning than A. It also has seven or more lines (the text breaks off) after i 10 which are quite different from the corresponding section in A. Whether this is an insertion of extra information in B or simply a different account of the same events is unknown

since B is so badly broken here. In the section of B which corresponds to A i 41f. there is a horizontal line drawn before the beginning of this passage (there is no horizontal line in A) and a statement is added at the beginning which does not occur in A. Finally, B omits a whole section (i 6-8) which occurs in A (see the commentary). In the remaining three columns the accounts of A and B are identical, there being only minor discrepancies. Note particularly that the two copies have the same information in the same columns (with the exception that the beginning of the preserved portion of column ii of B corresponds to A i 39) which means that both copies probably ended at about the same point in time. Only parts of columns iii and iv of C are preserved and these are, with minor discrepancies (the most important of which is the insertion of an extra line by C between iv 25f.), identical to the corresponding parts of A.

The transliteration is a combination of the three copies. A has been taken as the standard text since it is the best preserved and when the other two versions have variants this has been noted. In one case (ii 1'-7') the text of B has been used because A is completely obliterated at this point. Breaks in the main text (A) have been restored where possible from the other two.

Sources

- A = i 1-44; ii 1-5, 9-48; iii 1-50; iv 1-43
 B = i 1*, 1-5, 9-10, 39-44; ii 1-5, 1'-7';
 iii 3-22; iv 1-5
 C = iii 40-44; iv 25-32

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Photograph:

- British Museum Guide (3rd ed., 1922), pl. 35
 (text A)

Copies:

- 1887 J. N. Strassmaier, ZA 2, pp. 163-168 (text A)
 T. Pinches, JRAS 1887, pp. 658-664 (text A)
 1889 C. Bezold, PSBA 11, pls. If. after p. 138
 (texts B and C)
 1890 L. Abel and H. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte
 zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen (Berlin), pp.
 47f. (texts A, B, and C)
 1893 J. A. Knudtzon, AGS 1, p. 59 (parts of
 text A)
 1897 J. N. Strassmaier, Dar., no. 559 (text A,
 B, and C)
 1912 F. Delitzsch, AL⁵, pp. 135-140 (texts A,
 B, and C)
 1914 L. W. King, CT 34, 43-50 (texts A, B, and C)

Editions:

- 1887 H. Winckler, ZA 2, pp. 148-162 (text A)
 T. Pinches, JRAS 1887, pp. 655-681 (text A)
 1890 H. Winckler, KB 2, pp. 274-285 (texts A,
 B, and C)
 1906 F. Delitzsch, ASGW 1906, pp. 1-40 (texts
 A, B, and C)

- 1909 H. Winckler, KTAT³ pp. 58-66 (texts A, B,
 and C)
 1912 R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the
 Old Testament (London), pp. 208-219 (texts A,
 B, and C)
 1916 M. Streck, Asb., pp. 394-397 (only iv 30-38)
 1924 D. Luckenbill, OIP 2, pp. 158-162 (only ii
 18-iii 38)
 1956 R. Borger, Asarh., pp. 121-125 (only iii 34-
 iv 36)

Translations Only:

- 1904 A. Barta in R. F. Harper, Assyrian and
 Babylonian Literature (New York), pp. 200-
 205
 1926 E. Ebeling, AOTAT², pp. 359-361
 1952 F. Schmidtke, Chronologie pp. 90-97
 1955 A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 301-303

Studies:

- 1884 T. Pinches, PSBA 6, pp. 198-202
 1887 F. Delitzsch, Literarisches Zentralblatt 38,
 1290
 E. Schrader, SPAW 1887, pp. 579-607
 H. Winckler, ZA 2, pp. 350-352
 1888 H. Winckler, ZA 3, pp. 108-111
 1889 C. Adler, JAOS 13, pp. ccxxxvi-ccxxxviii
 C. Bezold, PSBA 11, pp. 131-138
 P. Haupt, JAOS 13, p. cclx, n. 9
 1904 C. H. W. Johns, PSBA 26, pp. 260f.
 1916 M. Streck, Asb., pp. ccxxixf.
 1926 S. A. Pallis, Akitu pp. 44f.
 1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, ZA 37, pp.
 61-79, 215-222
 1949 R. Labat, ArOr 17/2, pp. 1-6
 1957 W. von Soden, WZKM 53, pp. 319f.
 1958 H. Tadmor, JCS 12, pp. 39f.
 1960 R. Labat, RA 54, p. 171, n. 3

i

Lacuna

1* [...] x nu [(x)] du

1 [MU x ...] šār Bābīl^{ki}2 Tukul-ti-apil-é-šār-ra ina ku[r]Aš-šur ina
kússē ittašab

i

Lacuna

1* [...] Be]l did not come out (for the Akitu
festival).1 [The third year of Nabu-nasir,] king of
Babylon:2 Tiglath-pileser (III) ascended the throne
in Assyria.

VARIANTS

i 2 B: ittašab^{ab}

COMMENTARY

i 1* One could read the traces [^dBē]l(?) úl
 [ū]šā. Cf. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37
 (1927), p. 63, n. 2. For parallels see the
 note to Chron. 17 iii 5f.†

i 1 According to this chronicle the reigns
 of Nabû-nāšir, Nādinu, Mukîn-zēri, and
 Tukulti-apil-ešarra III (in Babylonia) cov-

ered 21 years (the reign of Šuma-ukîn did
 not cover a full year and therefore is not
 reckoned). From the Assyrian King List
 iv 24f. it is known that Tukulti-apil-
 ešarra III ruled 18 years. Thus he
 ascended the throne in Nabû-nāšir's
 third year.

- 3 MU BI [*šār kurAš-šur*] *ana kurAkkadⁱki*
ur-dam-ma
 4 *uruRab-bi-lu u uruHa-am-ra-nu iḥ-ta-bat*
 5 *u ilāni^{meš} šá uruŠá-pa-az-za i-ta-bak*
 6 *a-na tar-ši^d Nabû-nāšir Báršip^{ki}*
 7 *itti Bābili^{ki} it-te-kir šal-tum šá^d Nabû-*
nāšir
 8 *a-na libbi Báršip^{ki} i-pu-šú ul šá-tir*
 9 MU V *^dNabû-nāšir Um-ma-ni-ga-dš*
 10 *ina kurElámti ina kússê ittašab^{ab}*
 11 MU XIV *^dNabû-nāšir GIG-ma ina ēkalli-šú*
šimāti^{meš}
- 3 In that same year [the king of Assyria]
 went down to Akkad,
 4 plundered Rabbilu and Hamranu,
 5 and abducted the gods of Shapazza.
 6 At the time of Nabu-nasir Borsippa
 7 committed hostile acts against Babylon
 (but) the battle which Nabu-nasir
 8 waged against Borsippa is not written.
 9 The fifth year of Nabu-nasir: Humban-
 nikash (I)
 10 ascended the throne in Elam.
 11 The fourteenth year: Nabu-nasir became
 ill and died in his palace.

VARIANTS

- i 5 B: [*uruŠá-pa-a*]z-zu
 i 6-8 B omits
 i 9 B inserts *šār* [*kurElámti(?)*] after the RN

i 11f. B departs from A and reads:

...*Tukul-t[i-apil-é-šár-ra*
 ...] kur
 ...] x x kur [*u[r-ra-du*
 ...] x ad lu
 ...] x nam šá
 ...] x ki
 ...] x

COMMENTARY

- i 7f. *šalta ana libbi ... epēšu* is a common phrase in chronicles. Other examples are: Chron. 1 i 34; ii 2; iii 4, 17f.; Chron. 2: 9, 12, 27(?); Chron. 3: 2, 4, 12, 17, 21, 26, 33(?), 36, 43, 57, 69; Chron. 4: 14, 18; Chron. 7 iii 12f.; Chron. 20 B r. 4; Chron. 22 iii 11f.(?), 14, 21. The phrase without *libbu* (*šalta ana ... epēšu*) occurs in Chron. 2: 23; Chron. 4: 9. The phrase *šalta itti ... epēšu* (for references outside of chronicles see CAD 4 [E], p. 218) occurs in Chron. 10: 4 and r. 15 and probably in LBAT no. 516, r. 13' (*šalta* to be restored) which is an astronomical diary. Finally, *šalta ... epēšu* is attested in Chron. 2:2 and Chron. 16:14 and *ēpiš šalti* in Chron. 6:21.
 i 8 *ul šá-tir*: Note that this section is omitted by B. Further, cf. *di-in-šú ul ga-ti u ul šá-tir* in Driver and Miles, Bab. Laws 2, p. 340 iii 1f. See Chapter 2.
 i 11 Cf. iv 11 and 31 (= Chron. 14:29). The GIG could be transliterated as either a finite verbal form or as a stative. *šimāti* (nam)^{meš} is a euphemism for "he died".

Note the parallel passage iv 11 which has UG₆(TIL) = *mātu* instead of NAM^{meš}. The same expression (written NAM^{meš}) occurs in i 24, 29, 38; iii 25; iv 31 (note the parallel in Chron. 14:29 has UG₆(TIL) = *mātu*); Chron. 5:10; King List of the Hellenistic Period 10, r. 9; LBAT no. 209:8 (astronomical diary). That the ideogram is to be read *šimāti* is indicated by: *^dSin-abhē^{meš}.eri₄-ba ši-ma-a-ti* Afo 17 (1954-56), p. 6:6. It is evident that an ellipsis is involved but the full phrase is unknown. Cf. the phrases *ana/ina/arki šimti alāku* (CAD 1/1 [A/1], p. 321) and *šimtu abālu* (CAD 1/1 [A/1], p. 17). But notice that *šimtu* is singular, not plural. The two examples of *ana šimāti alāku* cited in CAD 1/1 (A/1), p. 321 (KBo 1, 10:10, 11) are construed with a plural subject (*abbūka*). The form *ši-ma-ti* cited in CAD 1/1 (A/1), p. 17 (Gössmann, Era IV 101) is poetic and not a plural. *šimāti* and *mātu* regularly refer to natural death whereas *dāku* refers to violent death. Also cf. Fichtner-Jeremias, MVAG 27/2 (1922), pp. 62f.

- 12 XIV MU^{meš} dNabû-nāšir šarru-ut Bābīlī^{ki} īpuš^{uš} 12 For fourteen years Nabu-nasir ruled Babylon.
- 13 mNa-di-nu mār-šú ina Bābīlī^{ki} ina kússé ittašabab 13 (Nabu)-nadin-(zeri), his son, ascended the throne in Babylon.
-
- 14 MU II Na-di-nu ina si-ḫi dīk 14 The second year: (Nabu)-nadin-(zeri) was killed in a rebellion.
- 15 II MU^{meš} Na-din šarru-ut Bābīlī^{ki} īpuš^{uš} 15 For two years (Nabu)-nadin-(zeri) ruled Babylon.
- 16 mŠuma-[ukīn] bēl pīḫāti bēl si-ḫi ina kússé ittašabab 16 (Nabu)-shuma-ukin (II), a district officer (and) leader of the rebellion, ascended the throne.
- 17 ITI II UD^[meš(?) (m)Šu]ma-[ukīn] šarru-ut Bābīlī^{ki} īpuš^[uš] 17 For one month and two days (Nabu)-[shu]ma-ukin (II) ruled Babylon.
- 18 mMúkin-zē[ri mā]r [A-mu-ka-na] ina kússé idki(zi)-šú-ma kússá iṣ-bat 18 (Nabu)-mukin-ze[ri], the Amukkan[ite], removed him from the throne and seized the throne (for himself).
-
- 19 MU III Múkin-zēri Tukul-ti-ápīl-é-šár-ra 19 The third year of (Nabu)-mukin-zeri:
20 ana kurAkkadī^{ki} ki-i ú-ri-dam 20 When
19 Tiglath-pileser (III)
20 had gone down to Akkad
21 he ravaged Bit-Amukkanu and captured (Nabu)-mukin-zeri.
- 21 Bit-A-mu-ka-nu iḫ-ta-pi u Múkin-zēri ik-ta-šad 21 he ravaged Bit-Amukkanu and captured (Nabu)-mukin-zeri.
- 22 III MU^{meš} Múkin-zēri šarru-ut Bābīlī^{ki} īpuš^{uš} 22 For three years (Nabu)-mukin-zeri ruled Babylon.
- 23 mTukul-ti-ápīl-«Aš»-é-šár-ra ina Bābīlī^{ki} ina kússé ittašabab 23 Tiglath-pileser (III) ascended the throne in Babylon.
-
- 24 MU II Tukul-ti-ápīl-é-šár-ra ina itīTebēti šmāti^{meš} 24 The second year: Tiglath-pileser (III) died in the month Tebet.
- 25 <X> MU^{meš} Tukul-ti-ápīl-é-šár-ra šarru-ut kurAkkadī^{ki} 25 For <eighteen> years Tiglath-pileser (III) ruled Akkad

COMMENTARY

- i 17 ITI II UD^[meš(?) . . .]: The position of the number is ambiguous (cf. the length of reign given in Babylonian King List A iv 5 where the digits for the number of months and days are placed side by side between ITI and UD). Since there is just room to restore MEŠ here, this restoration has been adopted and thus the number taken with UD. 1 month and 2 days is not too wide a discrepancy from the 1 month and 13 days of Babylonian King List A. But the interpretation is still uncertain.
- i 18 [mā]r [Amukkāna]: Cf. mMúkin-zēri mār mA-muk-ka-a-ni Rost, Tigl. III pl. XXXV: 23.
After ina kússé collation shows a clear zi.

- i 23 Aš is a scribal error.
- i 25 The number of years which Tiglath-pileser III reigned (18 according to the Assyrian King List iv 24f.) is missing. There are two possible explanations for the omission. The original tablet from which the scribe was copying might have been broken at this point. If this were the case, however, one would have expected him to remark *ḫepi* "broken" as in iv 19 and 23 (cf. the note to i 28). The other possibility, which is the most probable, is that the original author of the chronicle did not know at the moment how many years Tiglath-pileser had ruled. He therefore left a blank space to be filled in later

- 26 *u* kurAš-šur ipušuš II MU^{meš} ina libbi ina kurAkkadⁱki ipušuš
26 and Assyria. For two of these years he ruled in Akkad.
- 27 itiTebētu UD XXV Šul-man-a-šá-red ina kurAš-šur
27 On the twenty-fifth day of the month Tebet Shalmaneser (V)
- 28 <u Akkad>^{ki} ina kússē ittašab^{ab} uruŠá-ma/ ba-ra'-in iḫ-te-pi
28 ascended the throne
27 in Assyria
28 <and Akkad>. He ravaged *Samaria*.
- 29 MU V Šul-man-a-šá-red ina itiTebēti šī-māti^{meš}
29 The fifth year: Shalmaneser (V) died in the month Tebet.
- 30 V MU^{meš} Šul-man-a-šá-red šarru-ut kurAk-kadⁱki u kurAš-šur ipušuš
30 For five years Shalmaneser (V) ruled Akkad and Assyria.
- 31 itiTebētu UD XII^{kām} Šarru-kīn ina kurAš-šur ina kússē ittašab^{ab}
31 On the twelfth day of the month Tebet Sargon (II) ascended the throne in Assyria.
- 32 ina Nisanni ^{md}Marduk-apla-iddina ina Bābīlⁱki ina kússē ittašab^{ab}
32 In the month Nisan Merodach-baladan (II) ascended the throne in Babylon.
- 33 MU II ^dMarduk-apla-iddina Um-ma-ni-ga-āš šār Elāmti
33 The second year of Merodach-baladan (II): Humban-nikash (I), king of Elam,
- 34 ina pīḫat Dēr^{ki} šal-tum ana libbi Šarru-kīn šār kurAš-šur ipuš-ma
34 did battle against Sargon (II), king of Assyria, in the district of Der,
- 35 BALA kurAš-šur iltakan^{an} dabdā-šú-nu ma'-diš iltakan^{an}
35 effected an Assyrian retreat, (and) inflicted a major defeat upon them.

COMMENTARY

when he had time to make the necessary calculation. He then forgot to do this. Buccellati, *Bibbia e Oriente* 5 (1963), p. 29 (cf. Grayson's additional note in *Bibbia e Oriente* 5 [1963], p. 86 and p. 110) has collected other examples of such omissions of figures in Sumerian and Akkadian texts. He suggests this has also happened in I Samuel 13:1. Cf. the omission of the details concerning the eighth year of Nabonidus in Chron. 7 ii 9.†

i 28 For some reason *u Akkad* has been omitted at the beginning of this line. If the tablet from which the scribe was copying was broken one would expect the notation *hepi* "broken" as in iv 19 and 23 (cf. the note to i 25). Note that in the other two cases where Akkad and Assyria are mentioned together (i 25f., 30) Akkad is mentioned first. Did the scribe realize after writing Aššur that he should have written Akkad first and therefore left a blank, intending to return to the line and patch it up?

uruŠá-ma/ba-ra'-in: The long debated problem of whether or not this is Samaria has been recently discussed by Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), pp. 39f., who came to the conclusion that it is Samaria.

i 35 BALA ... *šakānu* (probably read *nabalkutu* ... *šakānu*) "to effect a retreat" is to be compared to *ina pāni* ... *nabalkutu* "to retreat before ..." In order to understand this expression a closer examination of *nabalkutu* is necessary. Essentially *nabalkutu* means "to cross, break through". This is apparent when it is used in connection with mountains. Examples are: kurKa-ši-ia-ra eḡla nam-ra-ši lu-ú ab-bal-kit "I crossed Mount Kašiiara, difficult terrain" AKA p. 36:72f. (Tigl. I); kurKaš-ia-ru at-ta-bal-kát AKA p. 331:97 (Asn. II); kurHa-ma-a-nu at-ta-bal-kát WO 2 (1954-59), p. 222:132 (Shalm. III); kurSu-bi-iḫ ab-bal-kit I R 31 iv 4 (Šamši-Adad V). But *nabalkutu* is not used of crossing water. *ebēru* is the normal term for this (CAD 4 [E], pp. 10ff.; AHw

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>36 ^{md}<i>Marduk-apla-iddina u um-ma-ni-šú šá</i>
<i>a-na re-šu-tu₄</i></p> <p>37 <i>šār Elāmti^{ki} illikū^{ku} šal-tum ul ik-šu-ud</i>
<i>ana arki-šú ihhisa^{sa}</i></p> <p>38 MU V ^d<i>Marduk-apla-iddina Um-ma-ni-ga-</i>
<i>áš šār Elāmti šimāti^{meš}</i></p> <p>39 [x] [MU]^{meš} <i>Um-ma-ni-ga-áš šarru-ut</i>
<i>kurElāmti ipuš^{uš}</i></p> | <p>36 Merodach-baladan (II) and his army, who
37 had gone
36 to the aid of
37 the king of Elam, did not reach the battle
(in time so) he (Merodach-baladan II)
withdrew.</p> <p>38 The fifth year of Merodach-baladan (II):
Humban-nikash (I), king of Elam, died.</p> <p>39 For [twenty-six] years Humban-nikash (I)
ruled Elam.</p> |
|---|---|

COMMENTARY

p. 182). Virtually identical with the meaning “to cross” is the meaning “to move from one side to the other” which Nougayrol has established (RA 40 [1945–1946], pp. 64f.). Nougayrol used as his starting-point the enigmatic passage in the black stone inscription of Esarhaddon where the Š stem of *nabalkutu* is used with *eliš ana šapliš* of changing the numeral 70 to 11 (in the cuneiform script this involves moving the winkelhaken to the other side of the upright—see now Borger, Asarh. p. 15, Episode 10, Fassung a, and his note to this passage and cf. Hirsch, AfO 21 [1966], p. 34). He then proceeded to show that this was the meaning (“to move from one side to the other”) underlying many occurrences of *nabalkutu* in liver omens. From the meaning “to move from one side to the other” comes the nuance “to reverse one’s position, to turn around”. This is the sense which the word has in the phrases under discussion. Examples of (KI).BALA . . . *šakānu* in chronicles are: i 35; ii 45; iii 18. Examples of the phrase *ina pāni . . . nabalkutu* (*pāni* is always represented by the ideogram IGI and thus *maḥar* instead of *pāni* is a possible reading) in chronicles are: ii 3(?); Chron. 2:7, 9, 24; Chron. 3:4, 13; Chron. 5:4; Chron. 22 iii 15. It also occurs in astronomical diaries: Smith, BHT pl. XVIII:11 (= LBAT no. 243); LBAT no. 516 r. 14'. The meaning of the phrase is obvious from Chron. 3:4, 13 and Chron. 5:4 where in each case it is immediately

followed by a statement of defeat (*nabalkutu* without *ina pānišu* occurs in Chron. 16:15 followed by a statement of retreat, and cf. BALA.KI in Chron. 7 iii 14; Chron. 10 r. 29) and particularly from Chron. 2:24 where it is followed by *ana arki-šú ihhisa^{is}* “he withdrew” (for *nehēsu* and its ideogram LAL see Christian, ZA 36 [1925], pp. 314f., and cf. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 [1927], p. 85). The term *nabalkutu* as used in these chronicles is virtually synonymous with *nehēsu* “to withdraw, retreat” and the two are used interchangeably (but cf. Wiseman, Chron. pp. 78f.). Examples of *ana arkišu(nu) nehēsu* in chronicles are: Chron. 1 i 37; Chron. 2:24, 28; Chron. 3:11, 65, 69. Note that *sakāpu* as a word meaning “to disengage oneself from” is incorrect since it is a transitive verb. Cf. von Soden, WZKM 53 (1956–57), p. 320.†

i 36f. Cf. Chron. 3:28.

i 36 *um-ma-ni-šú*: Cf. ERÍNⁿⁱ meš-šú Chron. 3:6. On the basis of such writings ERÍN is transliterated *ummāni* in the NB chronicles.

i 39 Since Ummanigaš ruled from the sixth year of Nabû-nāšir (742 B.C.—i 9f. says he ascended the throne in Nabû-nāšir’s fifth year and the following year would therefore be regarded as his first regnal year according to Assyro-Babylonian custom) to the fifth year of Marduk-apla-iddina (717 B.C.) inclusive (the year in which a king died was regarded as his last full regnal year), the total number of years which he ruled is 26.

- 40 [Iš-tar-*hu-u*]n-du mār a-*ha-ti-šú* ina kur-
Elamti ina kússé ittašab^{ab}
41 ultu rēš šar[ru-ut] ^dMarduk-[*ápla*]-iddina
a-di MU x^{kám}
42 [kurAš-šur/Šarru-kîn] it-ti ^dMard[uk]-
[*ápla*-iddina] na-kîr
43 MU x ^dMarduk-*ápla*-iddina Bit-x x [x] x ri
44 i_h-te-pi *hu-bu-ut-su* i_h-[ta]-bat

- 40 [Shutruk-Nahhu]nte (II), his sister's son,
ascended the throne in Elam.
41 From the accession ye[ar of] Merodach-
baladan (II) until the tenth year
42 [Assyria/Sargon (II)] was belligerent to-
wards Merodach-baladan (II).
43 The tenth year: Merodach-baladan (II)
44 ravaged
43 Bit ... (and)
44 plundered it.

ii

- 1 MU XII ^dMarduk-*ápla*-iddina Šarru-kîn
[ana kurAkkadî]^{ki} ur-dam-ma
2 šal-tum ana libbi md[Marduk-*ápla*]-iddina
i_{pu}š^uš-ma
3 ^dMarduk-*ápla*-iddina ina pāni-[šú ibbal-
kit^t]^t(?) ana kurElamti i_hliq
4 XII MU meš [^d][Marduk-*ápla*-idd]ina šarru-
ut Bābīlī^{ki} i_h[*pu*š^u]^š
5 Šarru-kîn ina Bābīlī^{ki} ina kússé ittašab^[ab]

- 1' MU XIII Šarru-kîn qāt ^dBēl i_š-ša-[bat]
2' Dūr-Ia-a-ki-nu ik-ta-š[ad]
3' MU XIV šarru ina [māti]

ii

- 1 The twelfth year of Merodach-baladan
(II): Sargon (II) went down [to Akkad]
and
2 did battle against [Merodach-bala]dan
(II).
3 Merodach-baladan (II) [retreated] before
[him] (and) fled to Elam.
4 For twelve years [Merodach-balad]an (II)
ruled Babylon.
5 Sargon (II) ascended the throne in Baby-
lon.
1' The thirteenth year: Sargon (II) took
Bel's hand.
2' He (also) captured Dur-Yakin.
3' The fourteenth year: The king (stayed) in
the [land (i.e. Babylonia)].

VARIANTS

- i 40 B: mār a_hāti
i 41 B has a horizontal line drawn before this
line and line 41 begins: MU VI kurAš-
šur[r...]

COMMENTARY

- ii 1'-7' After ii 5 the text of A is practically
non-existent for several lines (6-8 are
completely destroyed) and therefore the
text of B has been used in the transliter-
ation. Since B has a larger number of lines
than A, the line numbers of this passage
are distinguished by the use of an apos-
trophe (e.g. 7').
ii 1' The taking of Bel's hand, the customary

annual rite of a Babylonian king in the
New Year festival, is also given under
Sargon's thirteenth year in the eponym
list Rm 2, 97 (see Tadmor's edition in
JCS 12 [1958], p. 85). The event is further
mentioned in the Cyprus Stele of Sargon
(Winckler, Sar. p. 178:1-5).†
ii 3' "In the land" means Babylonia in a
Babylonian document. Cf. Tadmor, JCS
12 (1958), p. 93.

4' [M]U XV ^{iti}Tašritu UD XXII^{kām} ilāni^{meš}
ša māt tam-t[im]

5' [ana(?) a]šri(ki)(?)-šu-nu itūrū^{meš} mūtā-
nu^{meš} ina kurAš-šur šaknu[nu(?)]

6' [MU x Šarru-k]in ana kurTa-ba-lu [...]

7' [...] x x x [...]

4' The fifteenth [ye]ar: On the twenty-second day of the month Tishri the gods of the Sealand

5' returned [to] their *shrines*. There was plague in Assyria.

6' [The *seventeenth* year: Sarg]on (II) [marched] to Tabalu.

7'-18 text too broken for translation

Lacuna

9 x [...] x [...]

10 an [...]

11 x x [...]

12 [MU] II x [...]

13 x [...]

14 [...]

15 [...]

16 [...]

17 an x [...]

COMMENTARY

ii 5' The suggested reading of the beginning of the line appears likely from collation. Note the similarity between these lines and the eponym canons C^b 4 line 20 and C^b 6 line 5 (reconstructed by Tadmor, JCS 12 [1958], p. 85): ^{iti}Tašritu UD XXII^{kām} ilāni^{meš} ni ša uruDūr-mŠárru-kin₇ a-na bītāti^{meš}-šu-nu e-tar-bu. Collation has shown that a reading uruDūr-mIa-kin₇ instead of uruDūr-mŠárru-kin₇ is impossible.

TIL^{meš} = mūtānu: Cf. NAM.TIL^{meš} ina mātī ibašši^{ši} TCL 6, no. 9:15 (Thureau-Dangin, RA 19 [1922], p. 143); mu-ta-a-nu a-nu-um-ma i-na a-li-im i-ba-aš-šu-ú CT 29, 1b:5-8 (Ungnad, VAB 6, no. 97). Also see Thureau-Dangin, RA 19 (1922), p. 143, n. 3. For equivalent phrases in Sumerian see Sjöberg, ZA 54 (1961), pp. 59f.

ii 6' Collation shows that the sign after KUR is TA, not GA as King has copied. That this campaign against Tabal could not have taken place in Sargon's 16th year is evident from the eponym lists (see Tadmor, JCS 12 [1958], p. 85) where it is said that the king remained at home (šárru ina mātī) in his 16th year. Thus the campaign against Tabal can only have taken place

in his 17th (and last) regnal year. Cf. Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p. 97, n. 312.

ii 10-iii 36 That the account of events during Sennacherib's reign must have begun at least as early as ii 10 is evident from the beginning of ii 13 ("the second year"). The only king between Sargon II and Bēl-ibni who ruled for two years was Sennacherib. The other two kings of this period, Marduk-zākir-šumi II and Marduk-apla-iddina II, each ruled for less than a year. See Babylonian King List A iv 12-14. Thus line 13 can only refer to Sennacherib's second regnal year. Immediately preceding this there must have been a bare minimum of three lines stating: a) the date of Sargon's death, b) the number of Sargon's regnal years, c) the date of Sennacherib's accession. Cf. the phraseology in i 11-13, 14-16, 24-28, 29-31, 38-40, etc.

ii 17-48 King made a mistake in estimating the number of missing lines in the broken passage. Thus the remaining line numbers in this column are one higher than that in King's copy. Editions previous to King's copy have the correct numbering with the exception of Abel (cf. Delitzsch, ASGW 1906, p. 4).

- 18 it ta [x x x] x x x x [...]
 19 lúBābīlāia^[ki.meš] ul ispuḥ(bir) mi-iš-r[i
 x x x] x
 20 ir-tib/dip-ma ^dMarduk-apla-iddina x [x x
 x x] x†
 21 ḥu-bu-ut māti-šú iḥ-ta-bat x [x x] x x x
 22 uruLa-rak u uruSar-ra-ba-[nu (x)] x x x x
 23 ki-i iḥḥisū^{su} mdBēl-ib-ni ina Bābīli^[ki] ina
 kússē [ul-te]-šib
 24 MU I^{kám} dBēl-ib-ni dSīn-aḥḥē^{meš}-erība
 25 uruḤi-ri-im-ma u uruḤa-ra-ra-tum iḥ-te-pi
 26 MU III^{kám} mdBēl-ib-ni dSīn-aḥḥē^{meš}-erība
 ana kurAkkadⁱ^{ki}
 27 ur-dam-ma ḥu-bu-ut kurAkkadⁱ^{ki} iḥ-ta-bat
 28 mdBēl-ib-ni u lúrabūti^{meš}-šú ana kurAš-šur
 ul-te-eg-lu
 29 III MU^{meš} dBēl-ibni šarru-ut Bābīli^{ki}
 ipu^{šu}
 30 dSīn-aḥḥē^{meš}-erība Aššur-nādin-šumi mār-
 šú
 31 ina Bābīli^{ki} ina kússē ul-te-šib
 32 MU I^{kám} Aššur-nādin-šumi Iš-tar-ḥu-un-du
 šar Elāmti
 33 Ḥal-lu-šú aḥu-šú iṣ-bat-su-ma bāba ina
 pāni-šú ip-ḥi
 19 He (Sennacherib) did not scatter the
 Babylonians.
 20 He ...
 19 the border [...]
 20 and Merodach-baladan (II) [...]
 21 he (Sennacherib) plundered his (Merodach-
 baladan II's) land [...]
 22 Larak and Sarraḥanu ...
 23 when he withdrew he (Sennacherib) put
 Bel-ibni on the throne in Babylon.
 24 The first year of Bel-ibni: Sennacherib
 25 ravaged Hirimma and Hararatum.
 26 The third year of Bel-ibni: Sennacherib
 27 went down
 26 to Akkad
 27 and plundered Akkad.
 28 He led away to Assyria Bel-ibni and his
 officers.
 29 For three years Bel-ibni ruled Babylon.
 30 Sennacherib
 31 put
 30 Ashur-nadin-shumi, his son,
 31 on the throne in Babylon.
 32 The first year of Ashur-nadin-shumi:
 Shutruk-Nahhunte (II), king of Elam,
 33 was seized by his brother, Hallushu-
 (Inshushinak I) (lit. Hallushu, his brother,
 seized him) and he (Hallushu-Inshushin-
 ak I) shut the door in his face.

COMMENTARY

- ii 19 The subject of *ispuḥ* is almost certainly Sennacherib.
 ii 20 *ir-tib/dip-ma*: There are at least two possible roots from which this verb could be derived. It could be a G perfect of *rābu* “to substitute, recompense”, or a G preterite of *radāpu*, a rare verb which also occurs in Chron. 6:12. Further cf. *ir-ti-di-bi* ABL 251:19 (Oppenheim, JAOS 64 [1944], p. 192, says the *bi* is a scribal error). This verb is to be connected with the Hebrew *rdp* “to pursue”. Particularly cf. the common expression *’hr PN rdp* “to pursue PN” with *arki* PN ... *irdip* in Chron. 6:12. Cf. Wiseman, Chron. p. 88.

Also note *raṭābum* (u) in Mari—ARMT 15, p. 251.†

- ii 28 *ul-te-eg-lu*: For many examples of the Š of *galú* “to lead into exile” see von Soden, AHW p. 275b. To his examples add ABL 505:10. For a cognate in Tigre see Leslau, JAOS 84 (1964), p. 116.
 ii 33 *bāba ina pānišu ipḥi*: This phrase, which also occurs in iii 7f. in connection with Ḥallušu’s deposition from the throne, is otherwise unknown. Perhaps it is an Elamite idiom meaning “he threw him in prison”. Cf. Chron. 22 iv 11 where Tukulti-Ninurta I was shut up in a room and killed by rebels.

- 34 XVIII MU^{meš} *Iš-tar-ḥu-un-du šarru-ut*
kur^{Elámti} *īpuš^{uš}* 34 For eighteen years Shutruk-Nahhunte
(II) ruled Elam.
- 35 *Ḫal-lu-šú aḫu-šú ina* kur^{Elámti} *ina kússé*
ittašabab 35 Hallushu-(Inshushinak I), his brother,
ascended the throne in Elam.
- 36 MU VI^{kám} *Aššur-na-din-šumi* ^d*Sîn-aḫḫē*^{meš-}
erī[ba] 36 The sixth year of Ashur-nadin-shumi:
Sennacherib
- 37 *ana* kur^{Elámti} *ú-riḏ-ma* uru^{Na-gi-tum}
uru^{Ḫi-il-[m]}ⁱ 37 went down to Elam and
- 38 uru^{Pi-il-la-tum} *u* uru^{Ḫu-pa-pa-nu} *iḫ-t[a(?)*-
*p]*ⁱ 38 ravaged (and)
- 39 *ḫu-bu-us-su-nu iḫ-ta-bat arki* *Ḫal-lu-šú*
šār Elámti 39 plundered
- 37 Nagitum, Hilmi,
38 Pillatum, and Hupapanu.
- 39 Afterwards, Hallushu-(Inshushinak I),
king of Elam,
- 40 *ana* kur^{Akkadī}^{ki} *illikam*^{kám}-*ma ina qīt(*til)
Tašrīti ana Sippar^{ki} *īrub* 40 marched to Akkad and entered Sippar at
the end of the month Tishri.
- 41 *nīšē*^{meš} *iddūk* ^d*Šamaš ultu É-babbar-ra*
úl ūši 41 He slaughtered (its) inhabitants. Shamash
did not go out of Ebabbarra.
- 42 ^m*Aššur-na-din-šumi šabit-ma ana* kur^{Elám-}
ti a-bi-ik 42 Ashur-nadin-shumi was taken prisoner
and transported to Elam.
- 43 VI MU^{meš} *Aššur-nādin-šumi šarru-ut Bā-*
bīlī^{ki} *īpuš^{uš}* 43 For six years Ashur-nadin-shumi ruled
Babylon.
- 44 *šār Elámti* ^d*Nergal-ú-še-zib ina Bābīlī*^{ki} 44 The king of Elam
- 45 *ina kússé ul-te-šib* K[I].BA[LA^u]^t kur^{Aš-šur}
iltakan^{an} 45 put
- 44 Nergal-ushezib
45 on the throne
44 in Babylon.
- 45 He effected an Assyrian retreat.
- 46 MU I^{kám} ^{md}*Nergal-ú-še-[zib]* ^{iti}*Du'ūzu* UD
XVI^{kám} 46 The first year of Nergal-ushe[zib]: On
the sixteenth day of the month Tammuz
- 47 ^d*Nergal-ú-še-zib Nipp[ur]*^{ki} *išbat*^{bat} *ḫubta-*
(sar) iḫtabat(sar) šillata(ir) ištalal(ir)^{lal} 47 Nergal-ushezib captured Nipp[ur], plun-
dered and sacked (it).
- 48 ^{iti}*Tašrītu* UD I^{kám} *umm[āni* kur^{Aš-šur} *ana*
Uruk^{ki} *īrubū*^{meš} 48 On the first day of the month Tishri the
army of Assyria entered Uruk (and)

COMMENTARY

- ii 38 A reading *iḫ-t[e(?)p]*ⁱ is not as likely.
- ii 41 *Šamaš ultu Ebabbarra ul ūši*: Note the same statement in iv 9f. which also is in a section dealing with an Elamite invasion of Sippar. This obviously refers to the interruption of a festival, the interruption being caused by the political disturbances. Cf. the similar statements in chronicles with reference to interruptions of the

Akitu festival (see the commentary to Chron. 17 iii 5f. for references).†

- ii 47 For the reading of SAR SAR see the commentary to Chron. 10 r. 27.

IR IR^{lal}: For the reading cf. *šil-lat* ... *iš-ta-lal* Chron. 3:64, and note IR = *šalālu* ŠL 232, 20. Previous editors have read the second IR as NI. However, the sign is IR. Cf. Borger, Or. n.s. 34 (1965), p. 439.

iii		iii	
1	<i>ilāni</i> ^{meš} <i>ša</i> <i>Uruk</i> ^{ki} <i>u niše</i> ^{meš} - <i>šú iḫ-tab-tu</i>	1	plundered the gods and inhabitants of Uruk.
2	^d <i>Nergal-ú-še-zib arki</i> ^{lú} <i>Elámāia illikū-ma</i> <i>ilāni</i> ^{meš} <i>ša Uruk</i> ^{ki}	2	After the Elamites had come and
3	<i>u niše</i> ^{meš} - <i>šú i-te-[e]k-mu</i> ^{iti} <i>Tašritu UD</i> ^{VII} <i>kám ina pi-ḫat Nippur</i> ^{ki}	3	carried off
		2	the gods
		3	and inhabitants
		2	of Uruk Nergal-ushezib
		4	did battle against the army of Assyria
		3	in the district of Nippur on the seventh day of the month Tishri.
4	<i>šal-tum ana libbi ummāni</i> ^{kur} <i>Aš-šur</i> <i>īpuš</i> ^{uš} - <i>ma ina tāḫāz gēri</i> <i>ša-bit-ma</i>	4	He was taken prisoner in the battle-field and
5	<i>ana</i> ^{kur} <i>Aš-šur a-bi-ik MU I VI ITI</i> ^{[meš} ^d <i>Nergal-ú-še-zib</i>	5	transported to Assyria. For one year—(actually) six months—Nergal-ushezib
6	<i>šarru-ut Bābili</i> ^{ki} <i>īpuš</i> ^{uš} ^{iti} <i>Tašritu UD</i> ^{XXVI} <i>kám</i>	6	ruled Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Tishri
7	<i>Ḫal-lu-šú šār Elāmti nišū</i> ^{meš} - <i>šú is-ḫu-šú</i> <i>[bā]ba ina pāni-šú «šú»</i>	7	the subjects of Hallushu-(Inshushinak I), king of Elam, rebelled against him.
8	<i>ip-ḫu-ú iddūkū-šú VI MU</i> ^{meš} <i>Ḫal-lu-šú</i> <i>šarru-ut</i> ^{kur} <i>Elāmti</i> <i>īpuš</i> ^{uš}	8	They shut
		7	the door in his face (and)
		8	killed him. For six years Hallushu-(Inshushinak I) ruled Elam.
9	<i>Kudurru ina</i> ^{kur} <i>Elāmti ina kússé ittašab</i> ^{ab} <i>arki</i> ^d <i>Sin-ahḫē</i> ^{meš} - <i>erība</i>	9	Kudur-(Nahhunte) ascended the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib
10	<i>ana</i> ^{kur} <i>Elāmti ú-rid-ma ultu</i> ^{kur} <i>Ra-a-ši</i> <i>a-di</i>	10	went down to Elam and
11	<i>Bit-Bur-na-ki iḫ-te-pi ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-ta-bat</i>	11	ravaged (and) plundered it
		10	from Rashi to
		11	Bit-Burnaki (var. Bit-Bunakku).
12	<i>Mu-še-zib</i> ^d <i>Marduk ina Bābili</i> ^{ki} <i>ina kússé ittašab</i> ^{ab}	12	Mushezib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

VARIANTS

- iii 5f. B omits: MU I... *īpuš*^{uš}
 iii 7 B: *šār* ^{kur}*Elāmti*
 B: *is-ḫu-šú-ma b[āba]* (or) *is-ḫu-šú ba-b[a]*

- iii 8 B: *iddūkū*^{meš}-*šú*
 iii 10 B: *adi*
 iii 11 B: *Bit-Bu-na-ak-ku*
 iii 12 B: ^m*Mu-še-zib*^d*Marduk*

COMMENTARY

- iii 1 *šú* is a gloss to *ša*.
 iii 2f. The return of the abducted deities from Elam is recorded in iii 29.
 iii 4 *tāḫāzu*: The second *a* is short in NA. See Caplice, *Studies Oppenheim* p. 65, n. 20. But this does not apply to NB. Note that Sennacherib's scribes also used

the phrase *tāḫāz gēri* with reference to this event (OIP 2, p. 39:49; p. 90:14).

- iii 5 See J. A. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 (1965), p. 245, n. 1.
 iii 7f. This is just what Ḫallušu had done to his predecessor. See ii 33 and the note to that passage. The second *šú* is a dittography.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>13 MU I^{kám} <i>Mu-še-zib-dMarduk</i> iti <i>Abu</i> UD XVII^{kám}</p> <p>14 <i>Kudurru šār</i> kur^{Elámti} <i>ina si-ši ša-bit-ma</i> dik X ITI</p> <p>15 <i>Kudurru šarru-ut</i> kur^{Elámti} <i>īpušuš Me-na-nu</i> ina kur^{Elámti}</p> <p>16 <i>ina kússē ittašabab</i> MU NU ZU ^m<i>Me-na-nu</i> ummāni kur^{Elámti} kur^{Akkadīki}</p> <p>17 <i>id-ke-e-ma</i> ina uru^{Ha-lu-le-e} <i>šal-tum ana libbi</i> kur^{Aš-šur}</p> <p>18 <i>īpušuš-ma</i> BALA^{tum} kur^{Aš-šur} <i>iltakanan</i></p> <p>19 MU IV <i>Mu-še-zib-dMarduk</i> iti <i>Nisannu</i> UD XV^{kám}</p> <p>20 <i>Me-na-nu šār</i> kur^{Elámti} <i>mi-šit-tum i-mi-šid-su-ma</i></p> <p>21 <i>pū-šú ša-bit-ma at-ma-a la le-'i</i></p> <p>22 <i>ina</i> iti <i>Kislīmi</i> UD I^{kám} <i>ālu ša-bit Mu-še-zib-dMarduk</i></p> | <p>13 The first year of Mushezib-Marduk: On the seventeenth (var. eighth) day of the month Ab</p> <p>14 Kudur-(Nahhunte), king of Elam, was taken prisoner in a rebellion and killed. For ten months</p> <p>15 Kudur-(Nahhunte) ruled Elam. Humban-nimena</p> <p>16 ascended the throne</p> <p>15 in Elam.</p> <p>16 In an unknown year Humban-nimena</p> <p>17 mustered</p> <p>16 the troops of Elam (and) Akkad</p> <p>17 and</p> <p>18 did</p> <p>17 battle against Assyria in Halule.</p> <p>18 He effected an Assyrian retreat.</p> <p>19 The fourth year of Mushezib-Marduk: On the fifteenth day of the month Nisan</p> <p>20 Humban-nimena, king of Elam, was stricken by paralysis and</p> <p>21 his mouth was so affected that he could not speak.</p> <p>22 On the first day of the month Kislev the city (i.e. Babylon) was captured. Mushezib-Marduk</p> |
|---|---|

VARIANTS

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>iii 13 B: UD VIII^{kám}</p> <p>iii 14 B: [X][ITI^{meš}]</p> <p>iii 16 B: ZU <i>Me-na-nu</i>
B: <i>ummāni</i> kur^{Elámti} u kur^{Akkadīki}</p> <p>iii 17 B: <i>ana libbi ummāni</i> kur^{Aš-šur}</p> | <p>iii 18 B: BALA^{ti}</p> <p>iii 18f. B has a horizontal line drawn between 18 and 19</p> <p>iii 19 B: MU IV^{kám}</p> <p>iii 20 B: <i>šār</i> [Elámti]</p> |
|---|--|

COMMENTARY

- iii 13 A says the 17th day but B says the 8th day. The discrepancy has arisen through a misplaced wedge. In A the wedge representing x is small which led Delitzsch, ASGW 1906, p. 16, n. 37, to remark that it was not "ten" but some kind of "Vertiefung im Ton, deren Ursprung (Korrektur des Schreibers?) dunkel ist". Delitzsch also remarked that UD is omitted in A. The text is so badly broken in A that one cannot be certain.
- iii 14 Although B has x ITI^{meš} there is no room to restore MEŠ in A unless the scribe wrote on the edge (which he does not do otherwise).
- iii 16-18 This passage is actually a separate paragraph (beginning with MU NU ZU) although the scribes of both A and B have not marked it off with horizontal lines. No syllabic writings of MU NU ZU are known. King has mistakenly copied SU instead of ZU.
- iii 18f. The scribe of A has forgotten to draw a horizontal line between these lines as the scribe of B has done.
- iii 20f. For the form *imišidsuma* (for *imšidsuma*) see von Soden, GAG § 18d. Remedies for *mišittu* and *šibit pī* are given by Labat, RA 54 (1960), p. 175:8-11, and p. 171 AO 17622 respectively and cf. Labat's note RA 54 (1960), p. 171, n. 3. Further see Borger, JCS 18 (1964), p. 52.

- 23 *ša-bit-ma ana* ^{kur}*Aš-šur a-bi-ik* 23 was taken prisoner and transported to Assyria.
- 24 IV ^{MU}^{meš} *Mu-še-zib-dMarduk šarru-ut* 24 For four years Mushezib-Marduk ruled Bābīl^{ki} *īpuš^{uš}* Babylon.
- 25 *ina* ^{iti}*Addari* UD VII^{kám} *Me-na-nu šār* 25 On the seventh day of the month Adar ^{kur}*Elámti šimāti*^{meš} Humban-nimena, king of Elam, died.
- 26 IV ^{MU}^{meš} *Me-na-nu šarru-ut* ^{kur}*El[ámti]* 26 For four years Humban-nimena ruled *īp[^{uš}uš]* Elam.
- 27 *Hum-ba-hal-da-šú ina* ^{kur}*Elámti ina kússé* 27 Humban-haltash (I) ascended the throne *ittašabab* in Elam.
-
- 28 ^{MU} VIII^{kám} *šarru ina Bābīl^{ki} là baši*(tuk) 28 The eighth year of there not being a king ^{iti}*Du'ūzu* UD III^{kám} in Babylon: On the third day of the month Tammuz
- 29 *ilāni*^{meš} *ša Uruk^{ki} ultu [Elá]mti^{ki} ana* 29 the gods of Uruk went from [Ela]m into *Uruk^{ki} īterbū*^{meš} Uruk.
- 30 *ina* ^{iti}*Tašrīti* UD XXIII^{kám} *Hum-ba-[hal]-* 30 On the twenty-third day of the month *da-šú šār Elámti ina mušlali*(an.izi) Tishri Humban-[hal]tash (I), king of Elam,
- 31 *ma-ḫi-iš-ma ina rabé*(šú)^e ^d*[Šamši imt]ūtut* 31 became paralysed ^{VIII} ^{MU}^{meš} *Hum-ba-AN-da-šú* 30 at noon-hour 31 and died at [sun]set. For eight years Humban-haltash (I)
- 32 *šarru-ut* ^{kur}*Elámti īpuš^{uš}* 32 ruled Elam.
- 33 *Hum-ba-hal-da-šú šanū*(II)^ú *[mār(?)]-šú* 33 Humban-haltash the second, his [son], *ina kússé ittašabab* ascended the throne.
- 34 ^{iti}*Tebētu* UD XX^{kám} ^d*Sîn-[aḫ]ḫē*^{meš}-*erība* 34 On the twentieth day of the month Tebet *šār* ^{kur}*Aš-šur* Sennacherib, king of Assyria,
- 35 *mār-šú ina si-ḫi iddūk-šú* [x] ^{MU}^{meš} ^d*Sîn-* 35 was killed by his son (lit. his son killed *aḫḫē*^{meš}-*erība*† him) in a rebellion. For [twenty-four] years Sennacherib†
- 36 *šarru-ut* ^{kur}*Aš-šur īpuš^{uš} ul[tu]* UD XX^{kám} 36 ruled Assyria. *šá* ^{iti}*Tebēti a-di* 37 The rebellion continued in Assyria 36 from the twentieth day of the month Tebet until
- 37 UD II *š[á]* ^{iti}*Addari si-ḫi ina* ^{kur}*Aš-šur* 37 the second day of the month Adar. *sa-dir*†

COMMENTARY

- iii 28 The same phrase occurs in Chron. 2:14 and Chron. 24 r. 8, but with GÁL, not TUK.
- iii 29 The abduction of the deities was narrated in iii 2f.
- iii 30f. For the reading and interpretation of these two lines see Labat, ArOr 17/2 (1949), pp. 1–6.
- iii 31 *Hum-ba-AN-da-šú*: AN is a mistake for HAL. Cf. iv 12.
- iii 33 *[mār(?)]-šú*: There is no evidence for this restoration but it is the only plausible one.
- iii 35 It is known from the eponym lists that Sennacherib ruled for 24 years.†

38	^{iti} Addaru UD [X(?)] ^{XVIII} kám Aššur-aḫa-iddina mār-šú ina ^{kur} Aš-šur ina kússé ittašabab†	38	On the <i>twenty-eighth/eighteenth</i> day of the month Adar Esarhaddon, his son, ascended the throne in Assyria.
39	MU ^I kám Aššur-aḫa-iddina ^m Zēr-kí[tt]i-līšir(si.sá) šakin māt tam-tim	39	The first year of Esarhaddon:
40	ki-i iš-qa-a ina muḫḫi Uri ^{ki} it-ta-di āla u[l išbat]†	40	When
41	ina pāni ^{lūr} abūti ^{meš} šá ^{kur} Aš-šur ihliq-ma ana ^{kur} Elámti i-[te-ru-ub]†	39	(Nabu)-zer-kitti-lishir, governor of the Sealand,
42	ina ^{kur} Elámti šār ^{kur} Elámti iš-bat-su-ma ina ^{giš} kakki iddūk-šú	40	had gone upstream he encamped against Ur, but did no[t capture] the city.
43	ITI NU ZU ina Nippur ^{ki} lúšanda[ba]kku [x x x]	41	(Instead) he
44	ina ^{iti} Ulūli ^d KA.DI u ilāni ^{meš} [šá Dēr ^{ki} ultu ...]†	41	fled from the Assyrian officers and we[nt (back) in]to Elam.
45	ana Dēr ^{ki} ittalkū ^{meš} x a[n ...]	42	In Elam the king of Elam took him prisoner and put him to the sword.
46	ana Dūr-Šarru-kīn ittalkū ^{meš} [...]	43	In an unknown month the mayor [...] in Nippur.
47	^{iti} Addaru ta/uš šī šá ud [...]	44	In the month Elul <i>Sataran</i> and the gods [of Der]†
48	[MU I] ^I kám lūrāb-bīti [...]	45	went
49	x [...]	44	[from ...]
50	x [...]	45	to Der. [...]
		46	went to Dur-Sharrukin [...].
		47	In the month Adar ... [...].
		48	The sec[ond year]: The major-domo [...]
		49	... [...]
		50	... [...].

COMMENTARY

iii 38 UD [X(?)]^{XVIII}kám: There is room for an extra winkelhaken in the break. Thus the number may be either 28 or 18.†

iii 39–47 Cf. Chron. 14:1–5.

iii 40 išqā: For šaqā “to go upstream” see Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), p. 84, and Oppenheim, JNES 13 (1954), p. 142. To their examples add Chron. 2:33, Chron. 3:3. “To go downstream” is arādu. ina muḫḫi Uri^{ki} it-ta-di āla u[l išbat]: Cf. Chron. 5 r. 12. Other examples of the phrase ina muḫḫi/libbi GN nadū “to encamp against GN” are: Chron. 2:26, Chron. 3:16, 26. Also cf. ina muḫḫi PN nadū Chron. 14:15. In contrast the phrase ina GN karāša nadū “to make camp in

GN” is not in itself an offensive action (e.g. Chron. 4:20, Chron. 5 r. 19).†

iii 43 ITI NU ZU: Cf. the note to iii 16. Landsberger, Brief p. 326, n. 43, would restore šakin or paqid and doubts that this would be an execution (as in iv 1f.) in his first regnal year. For reading šandabakku instead of guennakku (as CAD and AHw sub verbum) see Landsberger, Brief pp. 373f.

iii 47 Cf. Landsberger, Brief p. 317, n. 20.

iii 48–50 Cf. iv 4 and Chron. 14:6–9.

iii 49f. In B there are traces of the end of two lines before it duplicates the beginning of col. iv in A. These traces may duplicate the end of iii 49f. in A.

iv	iv
1 [MU III ^{kám} m ^d _X -ah ^h]ē ^{meš} -šul-lim lúšanda- bakku	1 [The third year: ...-ahh]e-shullim, the mayor, (and)
2 [m ^d Šamaš-ib-ni mār mDa-k]u-[r]i ana kurAš-šur ab-ku-ma ina kurAš-šur dīkū ^{meš}	2 [Shamash-ibni, the Dakkur]ean, were transported to Assyria and executed in Assyria.
3 [MU IV ^{kám} ur]uŠi-du-nu ša-bit šal-lat-su šal-lat	3 [The fourth year]: Sidon was captured (and) sacked.
4 [MU B]I lú ^{ráb} -bīti ina kurAkkad ⁱ ki bi-ḥir- tum ib-te-ḥir	4 In that sa[me year] the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad.
5 MU V ^{kám} itiTašritu UD II ^{kám} ummāni kurAš-šur Ba-az-za	5 The fifth year: On the second day of the month Tishri the army of Assyria
6 iṣ-ṣab-tu ina itiTašriti qaqqadu šá šarri šá uruŠi-du-nu	6 captured 5 Bazza.
7 nakis(ku ₅) ^{is} -ma ana kurAš-šur na-ši ina itiAddari qaqqadu šá šarri	6 In the month Tishri the head of the king of Sidon
8 šá kurKun-du u kurSi-su-ú nakis(ku ₅) ^{is} -ma ana kurAš-šur na-ši	7 was cut off and conveyed to Assyria. In the month Adar the head of the king
9 MU VI ^{kám} šar Elámti ana Sippar ^{ki} irub dīktu dīkat aŠamaš ul-tu	8 of Kundu and Sisu was cut off and con- veyed to Assyria.
10 É-babbar-ra úl ūši kurAš-šur ana kurMi-li- du <ittalkū> ^{me} Ulūlu VII	9 The sixth year: The king of Elam entered Sippar (and) a massacre took place. Sha- mash
	10 did not come out of Ebabbarra. The Assyrians <marched> to Milidu. On the seventh (day) of the (month) Elul

VARIANTS

iv 2 B: [dē]-i-ku

COMMENTARY

- iv 1f. The restorations are based on Chron. 14:10f. Note that in iv 14f. a similar pair of men (a šandabakku and a Dakkur-ean) are also transported to Assyria.
- iv 3f. Cf. iii 48 and Chron. 14:12.
- iv 4 biḥirtum ibteḥir: Cf. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37, p. 74. Von Soden, AHW pp. 117f. and Or. n.s. 35 (1966), p. 7, takes the verb as a loan word from Aramaic, the Akkadian equivalent being bēru "to choose, select". The same phrase occurs in Chron. 16:10. beḥēru is otherwise only attested in a NB letter (cited by von Soden, AHW p. 117).†
- iv 5–8 Cf. Chron. 14:13f. The decapitation of the king of Kundu and Sisū is omitted by Chron. 14.
- iv 9–15 Cf. Chron. 14:15–19. Chron. 14 omits any reference to the Elamite attack on

Sippar. Similarly there is no reference to this event in Esarhaddon's inscriptions which is not surprising since Assyrian historians usually ignore disgraces suffered by their native country.

iv 9 dīktu dīkat: For the reading see iv 25 and cf. CAD 3 (D), p. 139.

iv 10 GIN = alāku has been mistakenly omitted before ME but it appears in the parallel, Chron. 14:15. Instead of VII Chron. 14 has UD V^{kám}. Chron. 14 has an extra phrase (ina muḥḥi mMu-gal-lu ittadā). The omission of ITI, UD, and KÁM is not unparalleled in chronicles. Examples: ITI is omitted in Chron. 15:6, 7 and Chron. 16:13; UD is omitted in Chron. 7 iii 23, Chron. 15:6, and Chron. 16:13; KÁM is omitted (after the day) in Chron. 2:29, Chron. 7 iii 23, Chron. 15:1, 6, 7, and Chron. 16:13.†

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>11 <i>Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šú šàr</i> ^{kur}<i>Elámti</i> NU GIG
<i>ina ēkalli-šú mīt</i></p> <p>12 V MU^{meš} <i>Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šú šarru-ut</i>
^{kur}<i>Elámti ipušuš</i></p> <p>13 <i>Ur-ta-gu aḫu-šú ina</i> ^{kur}<i>Elámti ina kússé</i>
<i>ittašabab†</i></p> <p>14 ITI NU ZU ^mMU.MU ^{lú}<i>šandabakku</i></p> <p>15 u ^m<i>Kudurru mār</i> ^m<i>Da-ku-ri ana</i> ^{kur}<i>Aš-</i>
<i>šur ab-ku†</i></p> <hr/> <p>16 MU VII^{kám} <i>itiAddaru UD v^{kám} ummāni</i>
^{kur}<i>Aš-šur ina</i> ^{kur}<i>Mi-šir dīkū^{meš}</i></p> <p>17 <i>ina</i> <i>itiAddari</i> ^d<i>Ištar(mùš)</i> [A]-<i>ga-dè^{ki} u</i>
<i>ilāni^{meš} šá A-ga-dè^{ki}</i></p> <p>18 <i>ultu</i> ^{kur}<i>Elámti illikū^{meš}-nim-ma ina</i> <i>itiAd-</i>
<i>dari UD x^{kám} ana A-ga-dè^{ki} iterbū^{meš}</i></p> <hr/> <p>19 MU VIII^{kám} <i>Aššur-aḫa-iddina</i> <i>itiTebētu UD</i>
<i>be-pi</i></p> <p>20 ^{kur}<i>Šub-ri-«ZA»-a-a ša-bit šal-lat-su šal-lat</i></p> | <p>11 Humban-haltash (II), king of Elam,
without becoming ill, died in his palace.</p> <p>12 For five years Humban-haltash (II) ruled
Elam.</p> <p>13 Urtaki, his brother, ascended the throne
in Elam.</p> <p>14 In an unknown month MU.MU, the mayor,
15 and Kudurru, the Dakkurean, were
transported to Assyria.</p> <hr/> <p>16 The seventh year: On the fifth day of the
month Adar the army of Assyria was
defeated in Egypt.</p> <p>17 In the month Adar Ishtar of Agade and
the gods of Agade</p> <p>18 left Elam and entered Agade on the tenth
day of the month Adar.</p> <hr/> <p>19 The eighth year of Esarhaddon: On the
(text) broken day of the month Tebet</p> <p>20 Shubria was captured (and) sacked.</p> |
|---|---|

COMMENTARY

iv 11 See the commentary to i 11.

For the reading *mīt* see iv 22.

iv 12 V MU^{meš}: Chron. 14:17 has VI MU^{meš}. Since Ḫumba-ḫaldašu ascended the Elamite throne in Esarhaddon's accession year (iii 33) and this passage deals with events of Esarhaddon's sixth regnal year, Ḫumba-ḫaldašu reigned six years. Thus Chron. 14 is correct and Chron. 1 wrong. The mistake was probably made by a copyist.

Ḫum-ba-ḫal-da-šú: Instead of HAL the scribe mistakenly wrote AN. Cf. iii 31 and the commentary.

iv 14 ITI NU ZU: See the commentary to iii 16.

iv 14f. See the note to iv 1f.

iv 14 ^mMU.MU: Since this individual is otherwise unknown (as is Kudurru) the reading of his name is unknown

iv 15 *ab-ku*: King mistakenly copied DU instead of AB.

iv 16–18 Cf. Chron. 14:20–22 which has a different account. Further see Appendix B sub Esarhaddon.

iv 19–22 Cf. Chron. 14:23–25. There is considerable discrepancy between the two

accounts as far as chronology is concerned.

There is also a chronological discrepancy within the account of Chron. 1. This account says that Šubriā was captured and plundered in the month Tebētu, the tenth month. It then says that the booty entered Uruk in the month Kislimu, the ninth month! The fact that the scribe says that the tablet from which he was copying was broken at the point where the number of the day was (iv 19) might suggest that this whole section of the tablet was so mutilated that the scribe misread the month names. But this still leaves the discrepancy between Chron. 1 and Chron. 14 unexplained. The accounts in Esarhaddon's inscriptions of the capture of Šubriā (see the note to iv 20) do not mention the exact date and are therefore of no help here.

iv 20 ^{kur}*Šub-ri-«ZA»-a-a*: A land called Šubrizā is otherwise unknown. But it is known that Esarhaddon conquered Šubriā (Borger, *Asarh.* p. 86, § 57:6; pp. 102–107). This is certainly the place referred to in Chron. 1.

- 21 *ina* ^{iti}*Kislīmi* *šal-lat-su ana Uruk* ^{ki}*i-ter-bi* 21 In the month Kislev its booty entered Uruk.
- 22 ^{iti}*Addaru* UD ^v*kām* *aššat šarri mītata* 22 On the fifth day of the month Adar the king's wife died.
- 23 MU ^x*kām* ^{iti}*Nisannu ummāni* ^{kur}*Aš-šur ana Mi-šir ittalkū* *be-pi* 23 The tenth year: In the month Nisan the army of Assyria marched to Egypt. (text) broken
- 24 ^{iti}*Du'ūzu* UD ^{III}*kām* UD ^{XVI}*kām* UD ^{XVIII}*kām* 24 On the third, sixteenth, (and) eighteenth days of the month Tammuz—
- 25 ^{III}*šú di-ik-tum ina* ^{kur}*Mi-šir di-kát* 25 three times—there was a massacre in Egypt. (Var. adds: It was sacked (and) its gods were abducted.)
- 26 UD ^{XXII}*kām* *Me-em-pi āl šarru-tú* [*s*]*a-bit* 26 On the twenty-second day Memphis, the royal city, was captured (and)
- 27 *šarru-šú ul-te-zib mār-šú u a* [*hu-šú ina* *qātē*^{II} *ša-a*]*b-tu* 27 abandoned by its king (lit. its king abandoned). His (the king's) son and bro[ther were taken pr]isoner.

VARIANTS

iv 25 C: *di-ik-tum ša Mi-šir*iv 25f. Between these lines C inserts: [*šal-lat*]-*su**šal-lat ilāni*^{mes}-*šú i-tab-ku*iv 26 C: *Me-em-pi*iv 27 C: [*x m*]^{eš} *šēš-šú ina qātē*^{II} *ša-ab-tu*

COMMENTARY

- iv 21 This statement is curious. It is omitted by Chron. 14 and has no parallel in Esarhaddon's accounts of the sacking of Šubriā. Why should the booty be taken to Uruk, particularly when one considers that it would have to be carried from Šubriā through Assyria to reach the Babylonian city?
- iv 22 The death of a king's wife is mentioned in Chron. 7 iii 23f. and the death of a queen mother is noted in Chron. 7 ii 13–15.†
- iv 23–28 Cf. Chron. 14:25f. Note that both Chron. 1 and Chron. 14 have omitted Esarhaddon's ninth year. Esarhaddon may well have spent this year preparing for the major offensive against Egypt and thus there would be no major political events for the chronicles to record. Many of the details of the Egyptian campaign contained in Chron. 1 have been omitted by Chron. 14.
- iv 23 The scribal note *hepi* at the end of this line merits comment. At the most only the signs MEŠ and perhaps MA (i.e. GIN^{mes}-*ma*) could be missing at the end. There of course might be a whole line or more missing here, despite the fact that this much could not be restored in Chron. 14:

25. But note that A has definitely omitted a line between iv 25 and 26 as shown by C. Is it possible that the scribal note *hepi* at the end of iv 23 was originally written at the end of iv 25 in the margin and through careless copying eventually found its way to iv 23? Cf. the note to Chron. 22 i 6.

iv 25f. Version C inserts a line between these two lines. Cf. the note to iv 23.

iv 27 Due to the discrepancy between the two versions for this line, the broken part of A has been restored as much as possible according to C but the restoration has been left in square brackets since it is not wholly certain. One can restore C: [DUMU m]^{eš} *šēš-šú* which could be translated “(his) sons (and) his brothers (were captured)”. But the omission of the suffix with “sons” is peculiar and may well be an error. Thus one might read: [DUMU m]^{eš} -<*šú*> *šēš-šú*. Philologically it is possible to translate “his nephews (lit. the sons of his brothers)” but the capture of these, if it took place, would hardly merit special mention and Esarhaddon does not mention them among the relatives he carried off (Borger, *Asarh.* p. 99:43f.).

- 28 *šal-lat-su šal-lat nišū^{meš}-šú ḥab-ta būša-šú*
[iš]-tal-lu-ni
- 28 (The city) was sacked, its inhabitants plundered, (and) its booty carried off.
-
- 29 MU XI^{kám} *šarru ina kurAš-šur lúrabūti^{meš}-šú*
[ma]-[d]u-tú ina ^{giš}kakki id-du-uk
- 29 The eleventh year: In Assyria the king put his numerous officers to the sword.
-
- 30 MU XII^{kám} *šár kurAš-šur ana kurMi-šir*
ittalak^[ak]
- 30 The twelfth year: The king of Assyria marched to Egypt (but)
-
- 31 *ina ḥarrāni GIG-ma ina itiArahšamni UD*
X^{kám} *šimāti^{meš}*
- 31 became ill on the way and died on the tenth day of the month Marchesvan.
-
- 32 XII MU^{meš} *Aššur-aḥa-iddina šarru-ut*
kurAš-šur *īpušūš*
- 32 For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria.
-
- 33 ^dŠamaš-šuma-ukīn ina Bābili^{ki} m^{Aššur}-
bāni-apli ina kurAš-šur II mārū^{me}-šú ina
kússé ittašbū^{me}†
- 33 Shamash-shuma-ukin (and) Ashurbanipal, his two sons, ascended the throne in Babylon and Assyria respectively.
-
- 34 MU.SAG ^{md}Šamaš-šuma-ukīn ina itiAiiari
- 34 The accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin: In the month Iyyar
-
- 35 ^dBēl u ilāni^{meš} šá kurAkkadī^{ki} ul-tu
- 35 Bel and the gods of Akkad
-
- 36 *ú-šu-nim-ma ina itiAiiari UD* [XIV/
XXIV(?)^{kám}] *ana Bābili^{ki} iterbū^{meš}-ni†*
- 36 went out
-
- 37 MU BI uruKir-bi-tum s[a-bit] šarra-šú ka-šid
- 35 from Libbi-ali (Ashur)
-
- 38 itiTebētu UD XX^{kám} ^{md}Bēl-ētir(kar)^{ir}
daiiān(di.ku₅) Bābili^{ki} ša-bit-ma dīk
- 36 and on the *fourteenth/twenty-fourth* day of the month Iyyar they entered Babylon.
-
- 37 In that same year Kirbitu was t[aken] (and) its king captured.
-
- 38 On the twentieth day of the month Tebet Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was taken prisoner and executed.
-

VARIANTS

- iv 28 C: *nišū^{meš} ḥab-tu*
iv 29 C: *id-du-uk*

COMMENTARY

- iv 29 Cf. Chron. 14:27 and further see Chron. 15:11; JCS 18 (1964), p. 12 ii 15 (Prophecy); and CT 39, 29:31 (Alu).
- iv 30–33 Cf. Chron. 14:28–30. Chron. 14 does not actually mention Šamaš-šuma-ukīn's accession but it does mention the accession of Aššurbanipal (line 34).
- iv 31 See the commentary to i 11.
- iv 33 ^mAššur-bāni-apli: King has mistakenly omitted ŠAR after DINGER in his copy.
- iv 34–38 Cf. Chron. 14:35–39.
- iv 34–36 Besides being duplicated by Chron. 14:35–37 this statement is found in Chron. 16:5–8. Both of these latter documents have an extra statement concerning the entering of Nabû and the gods of Borsippa into Babylon. While Chron. 14 says that the gods entered Babylon on the 25th of Aiiaru, Chron. 16 says the 24th. The figure in Chron. 1 is broken but it appears to be either XIV or XXIV and not XXV.
- iv 34 MU.SAG: This is almost certainly to be read *rēš šarrūti*. Cf. i 41 and see Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), pp. 27f.
- iv 35 *Libbi-āli*: On this term, which refers to the city Aššur (it was probably originally a quarter of Aššur), see the references in Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953), p. 185, n. to line 78.
- iv 38 In Chron. 14:39 the man is not mentioned by name. Collation confirms the reading *daiiān* in Chron. 1. Cf. Landsberger, Brief p. 368.

- 39 *pir-su reš-tu-ú ki-ma labīri*(sumun)-šú šatir(sar)-ma ba-ru à up-pu-uš 39 The first section, written according to the pattern-tablet, checked and collated.
- 40 *tup-pi* ^mA-na-^dBēl-ēriš(kám) mār(a)-šú šá ^mLi-ib-lu-tu 40 Tablet of Ana-Bel-erish, son of Liblutu,
- 41 mār ^mKalbi-^dSin(šēš.ki) qa-at ^mĒ-a-nādīn mār(a)-šú šá 41 descendant of Kalbi-Sin. Written by Ea-nadin, son of
- 42 ^mA-na-^dBēl-ēriš(kám) mār ^mKalbi-^dSin(šēš.ki) Bābīlī^{ki} 42 Ana-Bel-erish, descendant of Kalbi-Sin. Babylon,
- 43 [iti][... UD (xx)]vi^{kám} MU xxii^{kám} ^mDa-ri-ia(?)^{ki}-muš šār Bābīlī^{ki} u mātāti(kur.kur)† 43 the *sixth/sixteenth/twenty-sixth* [day of the month ...], the twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon and (all) lands.

COMMENTARY

iv 39 *pirsu rēštū*: The same expression occurs in RA 32 (1935), p. 99. Also cf. *pirsu mahru* in LKA 99c. On *pirsu* see Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), p. 62, n. 1.†

iv 43 Delitzsch, ASGW 1906, p. 17, n. 66, read the figure for the day as 5 but it is clearly [...]vi.

CHRONICLE 2

CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE EARLY YEARS OF NABOPOLASSAR

Chronicle 2 is inscribed on a small tablet, BM 25127 (98-2-16, 181), which has the shape of a Neo-Babylonian business docu-

ment. It measures 52 mms. long and 60 mms. wide. A large piece is missing from the upper left-hand corner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Chronicles 2-6 have been published (with copies and photographs), edited, and discussed by D. J. Wiseman, Chron. (1956). More recently they were discussed and translated by A. K. Grayson, "Cronache dell'Impero Neo-Babilonese," Bibbia e Oriente 6 (1964), pp. 191-205 and pl. VII. Following is a list of the reviews of Wiseman's book and related studies which have since appeared:

1956 W. F. Albright, BASOR 143, pp. 28-33

D. N. Freedman, Biblical Archaeologist 19, pp. 50-60 and reprinted in G. E. Wright and D. N. Freedman, The Biblical Archae-

ologist (New York, 1961), pp. 113-127

A. Malamat, IEJ 6, pp. 246-256

E. Vogt, VT Supplement 4, pp. 67-96

E. Weidner, AfO 17, pp. 499f.

1957 W. von Soden, WZKM 53, pp. 316-321

1958 A. Pohl, Or. n.s. 27, pp. 292-295

1959 R. Borger, WZKM 55, pp. 62-76

1960 E. Cavaignac, OLZ 1960, 141-143

1965 R. Borger, JCS 19, pp. 59-78

J. Oates, Iraq 27, pp. 135-159

In addition, for Chronicle 2 note E. Cavaignac, RA 51 (1957), pp. 28f.

- 1 [...] x [Bābīlī]^{ki} ki-i iš-pu-ru ina mūši(gi₆)
- 2 [...] x kal ūmu^{mu} šal-tú ina libbi āli ipušū^{meš}

1 [...] when he/they had sent [...] to Babylon, at night

2 [...] ... they did battle within the city all day.

COMMENTARY

1 The traces at the end of the break are faint. Wiseman read *ana*.

2 The traces at the end of the break are faint. Wiseman read *kl*.

kal ūmi means "the whole day" and not "in

the late afternoon or early evening" as Wiseman, Chron. p. 78, suggests. For the meaning cf. LKU 39:3 where *kal ūmi* sums up a day's journey. Further see A. Goetze, AASOR 31 (1951-52), p. 34 and von Soden, AHw p. 427.

- 3 [...]tu šá^{md}Sin-šarra-iškun^{un} ana^{kur}Aš-šur iḥliqū^{me}
- 4 [...] ina lib^{bi} āli ip-te-qid ina^{iti}Ulūli UD XII^{kám} ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur
- 5 [...] uruŠá-az-na-ku irubū^{meš} išātu ana ēkurri iddā^{me}
- 6 [...] ù ina^{iti}Tašrīti ilāni^{me} šá Kiš^{ki} ana Bābili^{ki} illikū^{me}
- 7 [ummāni^m]eš^{kur}Aš-šur ana Nippur^{ki} illi^{me} kū^{nim}-ma^{md}Nabū-āpla-úšur ina pāni-šú-nu ibbalkit^{ma}
- 8 [ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur u Nippurāi^{ki} me ad[i] libbi Uruk^{ki} arki-šú it-tal-ku
- 9 ina Uruk^{ki} šal-tú ana libbi^{md}Nabū-āpla-úšur ipušū^{meš}-ma ina pāni^{md}Nabū-āpla-úšur ibbalkitū^{meš}
- 10 ina^{iti}Aiari ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur ana^{kur}Akkad^{ki} it-tar-du-nu ina^{iti}Tašrīti UD XII^{kám} ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur
- 11 ana muḥḥi Bābili^{ki} ki-i il-lik-ú-nu ina ūmu šāšu^(bi) lūBābilāi^{ki} me
- 12 ultu Bābili^{ki} ki-i ú-šu-ú šal-tú ana libbi ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur ipušū^{meš}-ma
- 13 dabdā ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur ma-a-diš iškunū^{meš} ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu iḥ-tab-tu
- 14 ištē^{et} MU.AN.NA šarru ina māti là baši(gál) itiArašsamnu UD XXVI^{kám} mdNabū-āpla-úšur
- 15 ina Bābili^{ki} ina kússē ittašabab^{ab} rēš šarru-tú šá^{md}Nabū-āpla-úšur ina^{iti}Addari
- 16 ilāni^{me} šá^{kur}Šu-šá-an šá^{kur}Aš-šur i-bu-ku-nim-ma ina Uruk^{ki} ú-še-ši-bu
- 17 ilāni^{me}-šu-nu^{md}Nabū-āpla-úšur ana uruŠu-šá-an ul-taḥ-ḥi-is
- 18 MU I^{kám} mdNabū-āpla-úšur itiNisanu UD XVII^{kám} ḥat-ti ana āli imqut^{ut}
- 3 [...] ... of Sin-sharra-ishkun fled to Assyria.
- 4 He appointed [officials with]in the city. On the twelfth day of the month Elul the army of Assyria
- 5 [...] entered Shaznaku and set fire to the temple.
- 6 [...] and in the month Tishri the gods of Kish went to Babylon.
- 7 The [army of] Assyria went to Nippur and Nabopolassar retreated before them.
- 8 [The army of As]syria and the Nippureans followed him to Uruk,
- 9 they did battle against Nabopolassar in Uruk, and retreated before Nabopolassar.
- 10 In the month Iyyar the army of Assyria went down to Akkad. On the twelfth day of the month Tishri
- 11 when
- 10 the army of Assyria
- 11 had marched against Babylon (and) the Babylonians
- 12 had come out of Babylon;
- 11 on that day,
- 12 they did battle against the army of Assyria,
- 13 inflicted a major defeat upon the army of Assyria, and plundered them.
- 14 For one year there was no king in the land (Babylonia). On the twenty-sixth day of the month Marchesvan Nabopolassar
- 15 ascended the throne in Babylon. The accession year of Nabopolassar: In the month Adar
- 16-17 Nabopolassar returned to Susa the gods of Susa whom the Assyrians had carried off and settled in Uruk.
- 18 The first year of Nabopolassar: On the seventeenth day of the month Nisan panic overcame the city.

COMMENTARY

6 ù: The sign is not LU as Wiseman suggested and the restoration of Borger, JCS 19 (1965),

p. 64 will therefore not fit.

11 ina ūmu šāšu: For the reading see Chron. 3:6.

- 19 ^dŠamaš u ilāni^{me} šá uruŠá-pa-az-zu a-na Bābili^[ki] it-tal-ku-ni
- 20 ittiAiiaru UD XX^{kám} ummāni^{me} kurAš-šur a-na [uruSal]-[lat i-t]er-bu makkūra ušēšū^{me}
- 21 <ittiSimānu/Du'ūzu> UD XX^{kám} ilāni^{me} šá Sippar^{ki} ana Bābili^{ki} it-tal-k[u-nim-ma]
- 22 ittiAbu UD IX^{kám} mdNabū-āpla-úšur u ummāni^{me}.šú ana uruSal-l[at ittalkū-nim]-ma
- 23 šal-tú ana uruSal-lat ipuš-ma āla ul iš-bat ummāni^{me} kurAš-šur ik-šu-d[u-n]im-ma
- 24 ina pāni-šú-nu ibbalkit-ma ana arki-šú iḫhis^{is}
- 25 [MU II^{kám}]m mdNabū-āpla-úšur rēš ittiUlūli ummāni^{meš} kurAš-šur
- 26 [ana kurAkkad^{ki}] ú-ri-du-nim-ma ina muḫḫi id ^dBa-ni-tú iddū^{me}
- 27 [šal-tú ana libbi mdNab]ū-āpla-úšur ipu-šū^{meš}-ma mim-ma ul il-qu-u
- 28 [...] x x-ma ana arki-šú-nu iḫ-ḫi-su
- 29 [MU III^{kám} ittiX U]p VIII Dēr^{ki} itti kurAš-šur it-te-kir ittiTašritu UD XV
- 30 [...] x bi šār kurAš-šur u ummāni^{me}.šú ana kurAkkad^{ki} ur-dam-ma
- 19 Shamash and the gods of Shapazzu went to Babylon.
- 20 On the twenty-first day of the month Iyyar the army of Assyria entered Sal[lat] (and) carried off the booty.
- 21 On the twentieth day <of the month Sivan/Tammuz> the gods of Sippar went to Babylon.
- 22 On the ninth day of the month Ab Nabopolassar and his army [marched] to Sall[at].
- 23 He did battle against Sallat but did not capture the city. (Instead) the army of Assyria arrived so
- 24 he retreated before them and withdrew.
- 25 [The second year] of Nabopolassar: At the beginning of the month Elul the army of Assyria
- 26 went down [to Akkad] and camped by the Banitu canal.
- 27 They did [battle against Nab]opolassar but *achieved nothing*.
- 28 [...] ... and they withdrew.
- 29 [The third year]: On the eighth [day of the month ...] Der rebelled against Assyria. On the fifteenth day of the month Tishri
- 30 [...] ... the king of Assyria and his army went down to Akkad and

COMMENTARY

20 [t]er: The traces are as copied by Wiseman and the sign is certainly TER, not RU.

21 The sentence begins "the twentieth day" but in the previous line events of the twenty-first day of Aiiaru appeared. It is unlikely that the lines have been transposed. It may either be a mistake in the figure or the month name Simānu or Du'ūzu (the two months between Aiiaru and Abu) could have been omitted. It has been assumed in the transliteration that the month name was mistakenly omitted.

26f. The same phraseology is used in Chron. 3:26. On the expression *ina muḫḫi* GN nadū see the note to Chron. 1 iii 40.

27 *mimma ul ilqū*: The same phrase (partially

restored) occurs in Chron. 3:69. The phrase hardly refers to territory since *šabātu* is normally used. Similarly, it is unlikely that it refers to booty since other words (*ḫabātu*, *šalālu*) are used in these texts. Can the expression have a more general meaning: "They achieved nothing"? Note that there is no other indication of the outcome of the battle.†

28 The sign before *-ma* is almost certainly *suḫ*. Since the last fact usually stated in these chronicles is that the Babylonian king returned to Babylon, the verb *iḫhisū* probably refers to Nabopolassar and his troops. Cf. von Soden, WZKM 53 (1956-57), p. 319.

29-32 Cf. Borger, JCS 19 (1965), p. 64.

- 31 [...] x-ma ana Nippur^{ki} ul-te-rib arki
mI-ti-ili
- 32 [...] iš(?)]-me-e-ma lúšu-lu-tu ana Nippur^{ki}
ul-te-li†
- 33 [...] e-bir nāri iš-qa-am-ma ina muḫḫi
- 34 [...] x nu iḫ-te-pi u ana muḫḫi Ninua^{ki}
pān-šú iš-ta-kan
- 35 [...] x šá ana šal-tú ana pa-ni-šú ittalkū^{ku}
- 36 [...] ki(?)]-i i-mur-uš ana pa-ni-šú in-
daq-tu
- 37 [...] šeš
- 38 šarru ḥammā'u(im.gi)^u [...]
- 39 I ME UD^{me}[...]
- 40 x [x] x ki-i be [...]
- 41 [...] ḥammā'u(im.gi) x [...]
- 31 [...] ... and took (it) into Nippur. After-
wards Itti-ili
- 32 [...] he]ard and stationed a garrison in
Nippur.†
- 33 [...] he went up [against] Syria and
- 34 [...] against
- 34 [...] he ravaged [...] ... and set out
for Nineveh.
- 35 [...] ... who had come to do battle
against him
- 36 [...] whe]n they saw him they bowed
down before him.
- 37 [...] ...
- 38 The rebel king [...]
- 39 one hundred days [...]
- 40 ... [(...)] ... when ... [...]
- 41 [...] rebel ... [...]

COMMENTARY

31 mI-ti-ili: Cf. von Soden, WZKM 53 (1956-57), p. 319 and Pohl, Or. n.s. 27 (1958), p. 294.

33 e-bir nāri: 'Syria'. See CAD 4 (E), p. 8, von Soden, AHW p. 181, and Or. n.s. 35 (1966), p. 8. See the commentary to Chron. I iii 40.

36 The sign before MUR is certainly i.

CHRONICLE 3

FALL OF NINEVEH CHRONICLE

The text of this chronicle is inscribed on a medium size tablet, BM 21901 (96-4-9, 6), which measures 132 mms. long and 69 mms. wide. At one time it was broken into four

pieces and, although the fragments have been joined, there are several surface flaws as well as a large lacuna in the centre of the tablet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The following is in addition to the references given in the bibliography to Chronicle 2:

Photograph:

C. J. Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh (London, 1923)
Frontispiece

Copy:

1923 C. J. Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh (London)
pls. I-VI

Editions:

1923 C. J. Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh (London)
pp. 1-42. The reviews of this work have
been given by Wiseman, Chron. p. 11, n. 4

1925 J. Lewy, MVAG 29/2, pp. 68-79, 82-86

Translation Only:

1926 E. Ebeling, AOTAT² pp. 362-365

1927 D. D. Luckenbill, ARAB 2, §§ 1166-1186

1955 A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 303-305

Studies:

1923 C. J. Gadd, Proceedings of the British Acad-
emy 10, pp. 473-478

1925 V. Christian, ZA 36, pp. 314f.

1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, ZA 37, pp.
61-88, 222

1951 I. M. Diakonoff, VDI 2, pp. 29-32

- 1 MU X^{kám} mdNabû-âpla-ûsur ina itⁱ[A]iari ummāni kurAkkadⁱki id-ke-e-ma aḥ(gú) idPuratti illik-ma
- 2 kurSu-ḥa-a-a kurHi-in-da-na-a-a šal-tú ana libbi-šú ul ipušū^{šu} man-da-at-ta-šú-nu a-na pāni-šú iš-ku-nu
- 3 itⁱAbu ummāni kurAš-šur ina uruGab-li-n[i] ik-šur-ú-ma mdNabû-âpla-ûsur ana [muḥ]-ḥi-šú-nu iš-qi-ma
- 4 itⁱAbu UD XII^{kám} šal-tú a-na libbi ummāni kurAš-šur ipuš-ma ummāni kurAš-šur ina pāni-šú ibbalkitū^{me}-ma dabdâ kurAš-šur ma-a-diš iltakan^{an}
- 5 ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš iḥ-tab-tu kurMan-na-a-a šá ana re-ṣu-ti-šú-nu illikū^{me}-[ni] u lárabūti^{me} šá kurAš-šur
- 6 uṣ-ṣab-bi-tu ina ūmu^{mu} šá-a-šú uruGab-li-ni iṣ-ša-bat ina itⁱAbi-ma šār Akkadⁱki ummāniⁿⁱ meš-šú
- 7 ana uruMa-ni-e uruSa-ḥi-ri u uruBa-li-ḥu iš-[q]i-[m]a ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu iḥ-tab-tu-nu
- 8 šil-lat-su-nu ma-at-tú iš-tal-lu-nu ilāni^{me}-šú-nu i-tab-ku-nu ina itⁱUlūli šār Akkadⁱki u ummāni^{me}-šú
- 9 ana arki-šú itūr-am-ma ina ḥarrāni-šú uruHi-in-da-nu u ilāni^{me}-šú ana Bābili^{ki} il-te-qa-a
- 10 ina itⁱTašriti ummāniⁿⁱ kurMi-šir u ummāniⁿⁱ kurAš-šur arki šār Akkadⁱki adi uru[G]ab-li-ni illikū^{me}-nim-ma
- 11 šār Akkadⁱki la ik-šu-du a-na arki-šú-nu iḥ-ḥi-su ina itⁱAddari ummāni kurAš-šur u ummāni kurAkkadⁱki
- 12 i-na uruMa-da-nu šá uruA-rap-ḥu šal-tú ana libbi a-ḥa-meš ipušū^{me}-ma ummāni kurAš-šur
- 1 The tenth year of Nabopolassar: In the month Iyyar he mustered the army of Akkad and marched along the bank of the Euphrates.
- 2 The Suheans and the Hindaneans did not do battle against him (but) placed their tribute before him.
- 3 In the month Ab the army of Assyria prepared for battle in Gablini and Nabopolassar went up against them.
- 4 On the twelfth day of the month Ab he did battle against the army of Assyria and the army of Assyria retreated before him. He inflicted a major defeat upon Assyria (and)
- 5 plundered them extensively.
- 6 He captured
- 5 the Manneans who had come to their (i.e. the Assyrians') aid and the Assyrian officers.
- 6 On that same day he captured Gablini. In the month Ab the king of Akkad (and) his army
- 7 went upstream to Mane, Sahiri, and Balihu. He plundered them,
- 8 sacked them extensively, (and) abducted their gods.
- In the month Elul the king of Akkad and his army
- 9 returned and on his way he took (the people of) Hindanu and its gods to Babylon.
- 10 In the month Tishri the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria went after the king of Akkad as far as Gablini but
- 11 they did not overtake the king of Akkad (so) they withdrew.
- In the month Adar the army of Assyria and the army of Akkad
- 12 did battle against one another at Madanu, (a suburb) of Arraphu, and the army of Assyria

COMMENTARY

3 *ik-šur-ú-ma*: The reading was suggested by von Soden, WZKM 53 (1956-57), p. 319 and confirmed by collation.

12 *Madanu*: The reading is in accordance with Gadd's original reading (The Fall of Nineveh p. 32). Wiseman read *Ba-da-nu*. See Appendix C.

- 13 *ina pān ummāni* ^{kur}Akkad^{ki} *ibbalkitū* ^{me-}ma dabdā-šū-nu ma-a-diš iškunū ^{meš}a-na ^{id}Za-ban it-ta-du-šū-nu-tú
- 14 ^{gi}[š]na[rkabāti ^{me-š}ú-nu u sīsē ^{me-}šū-nu uš-šab-bi-tu-[n]u hu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš iḥ-tab-tu-nu
- 15 [x x x (x)]-šú ma-du-tu itti-šū-nu ^{id}I-diqlat ú-še-bi-ru-nim-ma ana Bābīl^{ki} ultē-ribū ^{me-ni}
- 16 [MU XI kām šār] Akkad^{ki} ummāni ^{meš-}šú id-ke-e-ma aḥ(gú) ^{id}I-diqlat illik-ma ina ^{iti}Aiari ina libbi Bal-ti^{ki} iddi^{di}
- 17 [ina ūmi x^kám šá ^{iti}Simāni šal-tú ana libbi āli ipuš-ma āla ul iṣ-bat šār ^{kur}Aš-šur ummāni ^{me-}šú id-kām-ma
- 18 šār Akkad^{ki} ultu Bal-ti^{ki} is-kip-ma adi uruTak-ri-i-ta-in [āli] šá [aḥ(gú) I-diqlat arki-šú illik^{ik} [...]
- 19 šār Akkad^{ki} ummāni ^{me-}šú [ana] [b]ir-tú šá uruTak-ri-i-ta-in ul-te-li [šār(?)] ^{kur}Aš-šur u ummāni ⁿⁱ⁻šú ([...])
- 20 ina muḥḫi ummāni ⁿⁱšār Akkad^{ki} šá [ana] [uruTak-ri-i-ta-i[n] š]u-lu-ú id-di-ma
- 21 x UD ^{me} šal-tú ana lib-bi-šū-nu ipuš^{uš-}ma āla [ul] iṣ-bat ummāni ⁿⁱšār Akkad^{ki} [k]ⁱ šá ana bir-tú šu-lu-ú
- 22 dabdā ^{kur}Aš-šur ma-a-diš iltakanan šār ^{kur}Aš-šur u ummāni ^{me-}š[ú x]-x-ma a-na māti-šú i-tur
- 23 ina ^{iti}Arašsamni ^{kur}Ma-da-a-a ana ^{kur}A-^{rap}hu ur-[d]am-m[a x x] x x [...]
- 13 retreated before the army of Akkad. They (the army of Akkad) inflicted a major defeat upon them (the Assyrian army) and drove them (back) to the Zab River.
- 14 They captured their chariots and horses and plundered them extensively.
- 15 They took many [...] with them across the Tigris and brought (them) into Babylon.
- 16 [The eleventh year: The king] of Akkad mustered his army, marched along the bank of the Tigris, and in the month Iyyar he encamped against Balti (Ashur).
- 17 [On the Nth day] of the month Sivan he did battle against the city but he did not capture it. The king of Assyria mustered his army,
- 18 pushed the king of Akkad back from Balti (Ashur), and marched after him as far as Takritain, a city on the bank of the Tigris.
- 19 The king of Akkad stationed his army in the fortress of Takritain. The king of Assyria and his army
- 20 encamped against the army of the king of Akkad which was stationed in Takritain and
- 21 did battle against them for ten days. But he (the king of Assyria) did not capture the city. (Instead) the army of the king of Akkad, which had been stationed in the fortress,
- 22 inflicted a major defeat upon Assyria. The king of Assyria and his army [turned] and went home.
- 23 In the month Marchesvan the Medes went down to Arraphu and [...]

COMMENTARY

16 Although one would expect the name of the month to be mentioned after the year number there is not enough room to restore it.

ina libbi: For other examples of *ina libbi* meaning “against” note Wiseman, *Treaties*

66, 67, 106.

18 *is-kip-ma*: The reading was suggested by von Soden, WZKM 53, p. 319 and confirmed by collation.

19 ([...]): This break is on the edge and there may be nothing missing in it.

- 24 M[U] XII^{kám} ina itⁱi Abi kur^{ku} Ma-da-a-a ana muh^{hi} Ninua^{ki} ki-i x x x [...]
- 25 [x (x)]x i-^{hi}-šam-ma uru^u Tar-bi-šu ālu šá pi-^{hat} Ninua^{ki} i[š-š]ab-tu x [...]
- 26 [i^dĪ-d]iq-lat ir^{di}-ma ina muh^{hi} Bal-ti^l^{ki} it-ta-di šal-tú ana libbi āli [i^{puš}]-m[a ...]
- 27 [x]x it-ta-qar dabdâ nišē^{me} rabâti^{me} lim-niš iltakan^{an} hu-bu-ut-su i^h-ta-bat šil-[lat-su iš-ta-lal]
- 28 [šār A]kkadⁱ^{ki} u [ummā]ni^{me}-šú šá ana re-^{šu}-ut kur^{ku} Ma-da-a-a illikū^{ku} šal-tú ul ikšudū^{du} āl[u] x [...]
- 29 [šār Akkad]i^{ki} [u(?) m]Ū-[ma-ki]š-tar ina muh^{hi} āli a-^{ha}-meš ittamrū(i^{gi})^{meš} tūbtu^{tú} u su-lum-mu-u itti a-^{ha}-meš iš-kunū^{meš}
- 30 [... m]Ū-ma-ki-i]š-tar u ummāni^{me}-šú ana māti-šú it-tur šār Akkadⁱ^{ki} u ummāni^{me}-šú ana māti-šú itūrū^{ru}
- 31 [MU XIII^{kám} ina itⁱi Aia]ri kur^{ku} Su-^{ha}-a-a šār Akkadⁱ^{ki} ibbalkitū^{me}-ma SA^Lnukurta i-te-ép-šu
- 32 [šār Akkadⁱ^{ki} um]māni^{meš}-šú id-ke-e-ma ana kur^{ku} Su-^u-^{hu} il-lik ina itⁱi Simāni UD IV^{kám}
- 33 [šal-tú ana libbi u]^{ru} Ra-^{hi}-i-lu āli šá qabli-tú Pu-rat-tú i^{puš}-ma ina ūmi-šú-ma āla i^š-ša-bat
- 34 [...]-šú ib-ni amīl-ut šá a^h(gú) i^d Pu-rat-tú a-na pāni-šú it-tar-du-ni
- 35 [...] x x [ina muh^{hi}]i uru^u A-na-ti it-ta-di ša-pi-t[ú ultu(?) e]berti(bal.ri) ereb šamši (dutu.šú.a)
- 24 The twelfth year: In the month Ab the Medes, after they *had marched* against Nineveh [...]
- 25 [...] hastened and they captured Tarbisu, a city in the district of Nineveh. [...]
- 26 They went along [the T]igris and encamped against Balti (Ashur). They did battle against the city and [...]
- 27 destroyed [...] ... They inflicted a terrible defeat upon a great people, plundered and [sacked them].
- 28 [The king of A]kkad and his army, who had gone to help the Medes, did not reach the battle (in time). The city ... [...]
- 29 [The king of Akka]d and C[yax]ares (the king of the Medes) met one another by the city (and) together they made an entente cordiale.
- 30 [...] Cyaxa]res and his army went home. The king of Akkad and his army went home.
- 31 [The thirteenth year: In the month Iyya]r the Suheans rebelled against the king of Akkad and became belligerent.
- 32 [The king of Akkad] mustered his army and marched to Suhu. On the fourth day of the month Sivan
- 33 he did [battle against] Rahilu, a city which is (on an island) in the middle of the Euphrates, and at that time he captured the city.
- 34 He built his [...] The men who (live) on the bank of the Euphrates came down to him.
- 35 [...] he encamped [against] Anat (and) the siege engines
- 36 [he brought over]
- 35 fr[om] the western side

COMMENTARY

27 *dabdâ* ... *limniš iltakan*: The same phrase occurs in Chron. 22 iv 19f. The adverb *limniš* does not imply the author's disapproval of the action but describes the severity of the defeat.

28 Cf. Chron. 1 i 36f.

29 See the note to Chron. 21 ii 1'.

34 *amīlu-ut*: The reading was suggested by von Soden, WZKM 53, p. 319, and confirmed by collation.

- 36 [...]x kir *ša-pi-tú ana dūri uq-tar-rib*
šal-tú ana libbi [āli] [ipuš-ma] x x x
- 37 [...] šār^{kur} *Aš-šur u ummāni^{me-šú} ur-*
dam-ma šār Akkad^{i^{ki}} u ummāni^{me-šú}
x x [...] x x
- 38 [MU XIV^{kām}] šār Akkad^{i^{ki}} ummāni^{me-šú}
id-ke-[e-ma ana^{kur} ... illi^{ki}]^{k(?)} šār Um-
mān-man-da ana tar-ši šār Akk[ad^{i^{ki}}]
- 39 [...] x x [...] x x [...]x-ú a-ḥa-meš i-ta-
am-ru
- 40 [š]ār Akkad^{i^{ki}}[ⁱ x] x [...] m^U-m]a-kiš-tar
x x x-a-ni ú-še-bir-ma
- 41 [a]ḥ(gú) i^dḏ-diq-lat illikū^{me}-ma [...] i]na
muhhi Ninu[a^{ki} ittad]a^{meš}
- 42 ultu itⁱSimāni adi itⁱAbi III^{ta.ā}[^m ...]-ú
- 43 *šal-tú dan-na-tú ana libbi āli ipušū^{šu}*
itⁱAbu [UD x^{kām} ... dabdā nišē(?)^{meš(?)}
r]abāti^{me} ma-a-diš iltakan^{an}
- 44 ina ūmi^{mi}-šu-ma m^dSin-šarra-iškun^{un} šār
kurAš-š[ur ...] x [...] x
- 45 šil-lat āli u ēkurri kabittu(ḏugud)^{tú} iš-
tal-lu [ā]la ana tilli u ka[r-me uterrū ...]
- 46 šá^{kur} Aš-šur la-pan(igi) [nakiri] iš-ḥi-
ṭam-ma x šār Akkad^{i^{ki}} x x x [...]†
- 47 itⁱUlūlu UD XX^{kām} m^U-ma-kiš-tar u um-
māni^{me-šú} ana māti-šú it-tur arki-šú šār
Akka[d^{i^{ki}} ...]
- 48 a-di uruNa-ši-bi-ni il-li-ku hu-ub-ti u
ga-lu-tu ka-[...]
- 49 u^{kur} Ru-ša-pu ana pa-ni šār Akkad^{i^{ki}} ana
Ninua^{ki} ú-bil-lu-ni ina itⁱ[x UD x^{kām} ...]
- 36 [...] ... he brought the siege engines up
to the wall. He did battle against the
[city] and captured it.
- 37 [...] the king of] Assyria and his army
came down and ... the king of Akkad
and his army. *He (the king of Akkad)*
went home.
- 38 [The fourteenth year]: The king of Akkad
mustered his army [and marched to ...]
The king of the Umman-manda
- 39 [marched]
38 towards the king of Akkad
39 [...] ... they met one another.
- 40 [The k]ing of Akkad ... [...] Cy]axares
... brought across and
- 41 they marched along the bank of the
Tigris. [...] they encamp]ed against
Nineveh.
- 42 From the month Sivan until the month
Ab—for three [months—...]...
- 43 they subjected the city to a heavy siege.
[On the Nth day] of the month Ab [...] they
inflicted a major [defeat upon a
g]reat [people].
- 44 At that time Sin-sharra-ishkun, king of
Assyria, [died] ... [...] ...
- 45 They carried off the vast booty of the
city and the temple (and) [turned] the
city into a ruin heap [...]
- 46 of Assyria escaped from the enemy and
... the king of Akkad ... [...]†
- 47 On the twentieth day of the month Elul
Cyaxares and his army went home. After
he had gone the king of Akkad [despatched
his army and]
- 48 they marched to Nasibin. Plunder and
exiles ... [...]
- 49 and they brought (the people of) Rusapu
to the king of Akkad at Nineveh.
[On the Nth day of the] month [...] *Ashur-uballit (II)*

COMMENTARY

- 37 The break is on the edge and only traces, as indicated in the transliteration, are visible.
- 42 The TA.Å[M ...] is clear on the tablet. According to inclusive reckoning there would be three months from Simānu to Abu (Simānu, Du'ūzu, and Abu).

- 46 *nakiri*: The reading is preferable to *šarri* (cf. von Soden, WZKM 53, p. 319) and is possible from the traces. Cf. Chron. 15:6 and Chron. 16:12.†
- 48 On *galātu*, which is an abstract formation from *galū* "to go into exile", see von Soden, WZKM 53, pp. 319f. and AHw p. 275.

- 50 *ina uruHar-ra-nu ana šarru-ut kurAš-šur*
ina kússé ittašabab adi itti[x (UD xkám) ...] 50 ascended the throne in Harran to rule
Assyria. Up until [*the Nth day of*] the
month [...]
- 51 *ina Ninua^k[ⁱ ... u]ltu UD xxkám šá itti[x]*
šar [...] 51 in Nineveh [... f]rom the twentieth day
of the month [...] the king of [...]
- 52 *is-suḥ-ma ina uru[...]* 52 set out and in [...]
-
- 53 MU xvkám *ina ittiDu'[ūzi šá]r Akkadⁱki*
[ummāni^{me}-šú id-ke-e-ma ...] 53 The fifteenth year: In the month Tam-
[muz the ki]ng of Akkad [mustered his
army and ...]
- 54 *ana kurAš-šur illik-[ma ...] šal-ṭa-niš*
[...x šá kurx[x] x ḥa A[N ...] 54 marched to Assyria. [...] victoriously
[*he marched about*] of ... [...] ... [...]
- 55 *u kurŠu-[x] x a ik-šu-ud ḥu-b[u-ut-su-nu]*
iḥ-tab-tu šil-lat-su-nu kab[ittu(dugud)(?)
ištallū] 55 and he captured Shu ... [...], plundered
it, (and) [carried off] its *va[st]* booty.
- 56 *ina itⁱ[Araḥsam]ni šar Akkadⁱki pa-ni*
ummāni^{me}-šú i[s-bat-ma ina] muḥḥi uruRu-
u[g]-[gu]-[li-ti(?) illik-ma] 56 In the mon[th Marchesva]n the king of
Akkad took the lead of his army (per-
sonally) and [marched] against *Ruggulitu*.
- 57 *šal-tú ana libbi āli ipuš-ma ittiAraḥsamnu*
UD XXVIII āla iṣbat [...] x e-du amīlu ul
le]-[zib ... ana māti-š]ú itūrara 57 He did battle against the city and on the
twenty-eighth day of the month Marches-
van captured it. ... [He] did not [leav]e
a single man (alive). [...] he went [home].
-
- 58 MU xvi^kám *ina ittiAiiari šar Akkadⁱki um-*
māni^{me}-šú id-ke-[e]-[m]a ana kurAš-šur
illik^{it} ul[tu itti]x [adi] ittiAraḥsamni 58 The sixteenth year: In the month Iyyar
the king of Akkad mustered his army
and marched to Assyria. From [the month
...] until the month Marchesvan
- 59 *ina kurAš-šur šal-ṭa-niš ittallakū^{me} ina*
ittiAraḥsamni kurUmmān-man-d[a šá(?)
ana(?)] [r]e(?)-[s]u(?)-ut šar Akkadⁱki illi-
kū^{me}-nim-ma 59 he marched about victoriously in Assyria.
In the month Marchesvan the Umman-
manda, [*who*] had come [*to hel*]p the king
of Akkad,
- 60 *ummāni^{me}-šú-[nu] ana libbi a-ḥa-meš is-*
mu-ḥu-ma ana uruHar-ra-[nu] [ana muḥḥi
mdAš(?)]-šur(?)-ūballit(?)^{it} šá ina kurAš-šur
ina kússé ú-ši-bi 60 put their armies together and
61 marched
- 60 to Harran [against Ashur-uball]it (II) who
had ascended the throne in Assyria.
- 61 *illikū^{me}-ma m^aAššur-ú-bal-liṭ u ummāniⁿⁱ*
kurMi-[sir šá(?) ana(?) re-ṣu-ti-šú(?) illi-
kū^{me}-ni 61f. Fear of the enemy overcame Ashur-
uballit (II) and the army of Eg[yp]t [*which*]
had come [*to help him*] and they aban-
[doned] the city [...] they crossed.
- 62 *ḥat-tú lūnakiri im-gut-su-nu-ti-ma āla ú-*
maš-š[i-ru-ma ...] i-bi-ru 62 The king of Akkad reached Harran and
[...] he captured the city.
- 63 *šar Akkadⁱki a-na uruHar-ra-ni [ik]-šu-*
dam-ma [... ā]la iṣ-ša-bat 63 He carried off the vast booty of the city
and the temple. In the month Adar the
king of Akkad left their [...]
- 64 *šil-lat āli u ēkurri kabittu(dugud)^{tú} iṣ-*
ta-lal ina ittiAddari šar [Akkadⁱ]^{ki} [...
-š]ú-nu ú-maš-šir-ma

COMMENTARY

56 *uruRu-u[g]-[gu]-[li-ti(?)]*: Very little of
this place name is preserved on the tablet in

its present state although apparently more
was visible when previous studies were made.

- 65 *šu-ú ana māti-šu itūrara u Ummān-man-da šá ana [re-šu]-[ut] [šār] Akkadī^{ki} ill[ikū ana arki-šu-nu it]-te-eš-su* 65 He went home. The Umman-manda, who had come to help the king of Akkad, withdrew.
- 66 <MU XVII^{kām}> *ina itī Du'ūzi m Aššur-uballit^{tu} šār kur Aš-šur ummāni kur Mi-šir ma-at-tú [...]* 66 <The seventeenth year>: In the month Tammuz Ashur-uballit (II), king of Assyria, the large army of Egypt [...] crossed the river (Euphrates) and marched against Harran to conquer (it). [...] they [capture]d (it).
- 67 *nāra ibir(ba)l-ma ana muḫḫi uru Har-ra-nu ana ka-šá-[di] illik [... iš-šab(?)]-tu* 67 They defeated the garrison which the king of Akkad had stationed inside. When they had defeated (it) they encamped against Harran.
- 68 *šu-lu-tu šá šār Akkadī^{ki} ana lib-bi ú-še-lu-ú id-du-k[u k]i-i iddūkū^{ku} ina muḫḫi uru Har-ra-nu it-ta-[du]* 68 Until the month Elul they did battle against the city but achieved nothing. (However) they did not withdraw.
- 69 *adi itī Ulūli šal-tú ana libbi āli ipuš^u mimma ul il-[qi-ma ana arki-šu-nu] ul iḫḫisū^u* 69 The king of Akkad went to help his army and [...] he went up [to] Izalla and the numerous cities in the mountains [...] he set fire to their [...]
- 70 *šār Akkadī^{ki} ana re-šu-ut ummāni^{me}-šú illik-ma x [... ana kur][I]-za-al-la i-li-ma* 70 At that time the army of [...] [ma]rched
- 71 *ālāni^{me} šá šadāni^{me} ma-a-du-t[ú] x [... x-[šú-nu] ina išāti iš-ru-up* 71 as far as the district of Urartu.
- 72 *ina ūmimi-šú-ma ummāni^{me} [...] adi piḫat uru Ū-ra-áš-tu* 72 In the land [...] they plundered their [...]
- 73 *[il]lik ina [KUR(?)] x[...]me-šú-nu iḫ-tab-tu* 73 The garrison which the king of [...] had stationed in it set out.
- 74 *[š]u-lu-tu šá šār [...] ina libbi-šú ú-še-lu is(?) -su(?)]-ḫu-nim-ma* 74 They went up to [...] The king of Akkad went home.
- 75 *ana ur[...] i-lu-[ú] [...] x šār Akkadī^{ki} ana māti-šu itūrara* 75 In the [eighteenth] ye[ar]: In the month Elul the king of Akkad mustered his army.
- 76 *ina M[U XVIII^{kām}] ina itī Ulūli šār Akkadī^{ki} ummāni^{me}-šú id-ke-e-ma* 76 (.....)
- 77 (...) 77 Let [the one who] loves Nabu and Marduk keep (this tablet) and not let (it) stray into (other) hands.
- 78 *[šá dNa]bā u dMarduk i-ra-a[m-m]u li-iš-šu-ur ana qātē^{II} ul ušēšši*

COMMENTARY

66 The scribe has mistakenly omitted the year.

68 *id-du-k[u k]i-i iddūkū^{ku}*: The reading is based upon a suggestion by von Soden, WZKM 53, p. 320 and confirmed by collation.

69 *mimma ul il[qi-ma]*: See the note to Chron. 2:27.

74 *[is(?) -su(?)]-ḫu-nim-ma*: The reading was suggested by von Soden, WZKM 53, p. 320 and Pohl, Or. n.s. 27 (1958), p. 295. Cf. line 52.

77 There are traces of this line before and after the break. Perhaps it is an erasure.

78 Cf. G. Offner, RA 44 (1950), pp. 135ff. and especially pp. 140f. and Oelsner, ZA 56 (1964), p. 263, n. 7.†

CHRONICLE 4

CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE LATER YEARS OF NABOPOLASSAR

The text of Chronicle 4 is inscribed on a small tablet, BM 22047 (96-4-9, 152), which, like Chronicle 2, has the shape of a Neo-Babylonian business document. It measures

45 mms. long and 54 mms. wide. The text is in splendid condition so that only a few words are missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See the bibliography for Chronicle 2.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 MU XVIII^{kám} ^dNabû-<i>áp</i>la-úšur ina ^{iti}Ulûli šār Akkadî^{ki} ummāni^{me}-šû id-ke-e-ma</p> <p>2 aḥ(gú) ^{id}Idiqlat irtedi(uš)-ma ana šadîⁱ šā Bît-m^ḥa-nu-ni-ia</p> <p>3 pi-ḥat ^{kur}Ū-ra-áš-tu i-li-ma ālāni^{me} ina išāti [iš-ru-up]</p> <p>4 ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-diš iḥ-tab-ta ina ^{iti}Tez bēti šār Akkadî^{ki} ana māti-šû [itūrara]</p> <hr/> <p>5 MU XIX^{kám} ina ^{iti}Simāni šār Akkadî^{ki} ummāni^{me}-šû id-[ke]-e-ma</p> <p>6 ^{md}Nabû-kudurrî-ú-su-ur mār-šû rabû^u mār šarri šā bīt re-e-du-tú</p> <p>7 ummāni^{me}-šû id-ke-e-ma a-na šadê^{meš} šā ^{kur}Za-x-x [illikūku]-ma</p> <p>8 šār Akkadî^{ki} mār šarri u ummāni^{me}-šû ina māti ú-maš-ši[r] [u] šu-[ú] ina ^{iti}[Du'ūzi] ana Bābīlî^{ki} itūrara</p> <p>9 arki-šû ^dNabû-kudurrî-úšur a-na ^{uru}[Bi-ra-na-a-t]ú(?) šā šadê^{me} šal-tú ipuš-[ma]</p> <p>10 ^{uru}Bi-ra-na-a-tú iṣ-bat ina [išāti(?) iš-ru-u]p(?) ḥu-bu-ut šadîⁱ</p> <p>11 [m]a-a-diš iḥ-[tab]-ta adi pi-ḥat ^{ku}[r... gi-m]ir šadê^{me} ik-šu-ud</p> <p>12 [ina ^{it}]Ulûli mār šarri ana Bābīlî^{ki} itūr-am-ma ina ^{iti}Tašrīti šār Akkadî^{ki} ummāni-šû [id-ke]-ma</p> <p>13 [ana ^{ur}]uKi-mu-ḥu šā aḥ(gú) ^{id}Puratti il-līk</p> | <p>1 The eighteenth year of Nabopolassar: In the month Elul the king of Akkad mustered his army and</p> <p>2 following the bank of the Tigris</p> <p>3 he went up</p> <p>2 to the mountain of Bit-Hanunya</p> <p>3 in the district of Urartu. He set fire to the cities (and)</p> <p>4 plundered them extensively. In the month Tebet the king of Akkad went home.</p> <hr/> <p>5 The nineteenth year: In the month Sivan the king of Akkad mustered his army and</p> <p>6 Nebuchadnezzar (II), his eldest son (and) the crown prince,</p> <p>7 mustered his army. They marched to the mountains of Za...</p> <p>8 The king of Akkad left the prince and his army there while he returned to Babylon in the month Tammuz.</p> <p>9 After he had gone Nebuchadnezzar (II) did battle against the [fortresses],</p> <p>10 captured them, [set them on fire], (and) plundered the mountains</p> <p>11 extensively. He conquered all of the mountains as far as the district of [Urartu].</p> <p>12 [In the month] Elul the prince returned to Babylon. In the month Tishri the king of Akkad mustered his army and</p> <p>13 marched [to] Kimuhu which is on the bank of the Euphrates.</p> |
|--|--|

COMMENTARY

9 ^{uru}[Bi-ra-na-a-t]ú(?): This is the obvious restoration and there is just room for it. It

is difficult to decide whether *Biranātu* is a place name or simply means "fortresses".

- 14 [nāra] i-[bir]-ma [ša]l-tú ana libbi ā[l]i ipuš-ma ina ^{iti}Kislīmi āla iṣ-ša-bat 14 He crossed the river, did battle against the city, and in the month Kislev he captured the city.
- 15 [šil-lat-s]u iṣ-ta-lal [lú]šu-[l]u-ti-šú ana libbi ul-te-li ina ^{iti}Šabāti ana māti-šú [itūra] 15 He sacked it (and) stationed a garrison of his in it. In the month Shebat he went home.
-
- 16 [MU XX]kām ummāniⁿⁱ kurMi-šir ana uruKi-mu-ḥu ana muḥḥi šu-lu-tú 16 The twentieth year: The army of Egypt marched
16 against the garrison at Kimuhu
17 which the king of Akkad had stationed inside.
- 17 šá šār Akkadī^{ki} a-na lib-bi ú-še-lu-ú illi-kū^{me-nim-ma} IV ITI^{me} 17 They laid siege to the city
17 for four months,
18 captured it, (and) defeated the garrison of the king of Akkad.
- 18 šal-tú ana libbi āli ipušū^{me-ma} āla iṣ-šab-tú šu-lu-tú šá šār Akkadī^{ki} id-du-ku 18 In the month Tishri the king of Akkad mustered his army, marched along the bank of the Euphrates, and
20 pitched camp in Quramatu which is on the bank of the Euphrates.
- 19 ina ^{iti}Tašrīti šār Akkadī^{ki} ummāni^{me-šú} id-ke-e-ma aḥ(gú) Pu-rat-tú illik-ma 21 He had his army cross the Euphrates and
22 they captured
21 Shunadiru, Elammu,
22 and Dahammu, cities of Syria,
- 20 ina uruQu-ra-ma-ti šá aḥ(gú) Pu-rat-tú karāš-su id-dī 23 (and) plundered them. In the month Shebat the king of Akkad went home.
- 21 ummāni^{me-šú} Pu-rat-tú ú-še-bir-ma uruŠu-na-dī-ri uruE-lam-mu 24 The army of Egypt, which was in Carchemish, crossed the Euphrates and
26 marched
25 against the army of Akkad which was camped in Quramatu.
- 22 u uruDa-ḥa-am-mu ālāni^{me} šá kurE-bir-nāri iṣ-šab-tu 26 They pushed the army of Akkad back so that they withdrew.
- 23 ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu iḥtabtū(sar)^{me-ni} ina ^{iti}Šabāti šār Akkadī^{ki} ana māti-šú itūrara 27 The twenty-first year: The king of Akkad stayed home (while) Nebuchadnezzar (II), his eldest son (and)
28 the crown prince, mustered the army of Akkad.
- 24 ummāni kurMi-šir šá ina uruGal-ga-meš Pu-rat-tú i-bi-ru-nim-ma
- 25 ana muḥḥi ummāni kurAkkadī^{ki} šá ina uruQu-ra-ma-ti na-du-u
- 26 illikū^{me-nim-ma} ummāni kurAkkadī^{ki} is-ki-pu u ana arki-šú-nu i-tu-ru
-
- 27 MU XXI^{kām} šār Akkadī^{ki} ina māti-šú m^dNabû-kudurri-ûsur mār-šú rabû^u 28
- 28 mār šarri šá bīt redu(uš)-ú-tu ummāni kurAkkadī^{ki} id-ke-e-ma

COMMENTARY

21 uruE-lam-mu: Cf. Chron. 7 ii 22.

CHRONICLE 5

CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE EARLY YEARS OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR II

Chronicle 5 is inscribed on a tablet, BM 21946 (96-4-9, 51), the preserved portion of which is 59 mms. wide and 81 mms. long.

It is in rather poor condition due to several breaks on the surface and the complete loss of the bottom part of the tablet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See the bibliography for Chronicle 2.†

Obverse

- 1 [MU XXI^{kám}] šār Akkadⁱ^{ki} ina māti-šú
mdNabû-kudurrî-ûšur mār-šú rabû^u [mār]
šarri šā bīt re-e-du-tú
- 2 [ummāni^{kur} Akkadⁱ^{ki} i]d-ke-[e]-ma pa-ni
ummāni^{me}-šú iṣ-bat-ma ana uruGal-[ga]-
meš šā aḥ(gú) Pu-rat-tú illik-ma
- 3 [...]^x šā ina uruGal-ga-meš na-du-ú nāra
i-bir-ma
- 4 [... a]-ḥa-meš im-ḥa-šu-ma ummāni^{kur}
Mi-sir ina pāni-šú ibbalkit-[ma]
- 5 [dabḏā]-šú-nu iṣ-kun adi [la] ba-še-e i[g-
mu]r-šu-nu-tú šit-ta-a-tú ummāni^{kur} [Mi-
sir]
- 6 [šā ina] dabḏē iṣ-ḥi-tu-ma ^{giš}kakku la ik-
[š]u-du-šú-nu-tú ina pi-ḥat^{kur} Ḥa-ma-a-t[ú]
- 7 ummāni^{me} ^{kur}Akkadⁱ^{ki} ik-šu-du-šú-nu-ti-
m[a dab]ḏā-šú-nu iṣ-ku-nu e-du amīlu ana
māti-šú [ul itūr]
- 8 ina ūmi^{me}-šú-ma mdNabû-kudurrî-ûšur
^{kur}Ḥa-[ma-a]-tú a-na paṭ gim-ri-šú ik-šu-
u[d]
- 9 XXI MU.AN.NA^{meš} mdNabû-āpl[a-ú]šur šar-
ru-ut Bābili^{ki} iṣ-šuš
- 10 ina iti^{ti} Abi UD VIII^{kám} šimāti^{meš} ina
iti^{ti} Ulūli mdNabû-kudurrî-ûšur ana Bā-
bili^{ki} itūr-am-ma

COMMENTARY

Obverse

- 5 i[g-mu]r-šu-nu-tú: The traces are clear.
Cf. Chron. 20 A 21.

Obverse

- 1 [The twenty-first year]: The king of Akkad stayed home (while) Nebuchadnezzar (II), his eldest son (and) the crown prince,
- 2 mustered [the army of Akkad]. He took his army's lead and marched to Carchemish which is on the bank of the Euphrates.
- 3 He crossed the river [to encounter the army of Egypt] which was encamped at Carchemish.
- 4 [...] They did battle together. The army of Egypt retreated before him.
- 5 He inflicted a [defeat] upon them (and) finished them off completely.
- 6 In the district of Hamath
- 7 the army of Akkad overtook
- 5 the remainder of the army of [Egypt
- 6 which] managed to escape [from] the defeat and which was not overcome.
- 7 They (the army of Akkad) inflicted a defeat upon them (so that) a single (Egyptian) man [did not return] home.
- 8 At that time Nebuchadnezzar (II) conquered all of Ha[ma]th.
- 9 For twenty-one years Nabopolassar ruled Babylon.
- 10 On the eighth day of the month Ab he died. In the month Elul Nebuchadnezzar (II) returned to Babylon and

6 [šā ina]: There is room only for these two words.

8 ^{kur}Ḥa-[ma-a]-tú: A restoration Ḥa-[at]-tú is to be rejected on the grounds that otherwise it appears Ḥat-tú in this chronicle.

- 11 *ina* ^{iti}Ulūli UD ^īkām *ina* Bābīlī^{ki} *ina* kússē šarru-ú-tu ú-ši-ib
- 12 *ina* MU.SAG ^{md}Nabû-kudurri-ú-šu-ur *ana* kurHāt-tú *ana* arki-šú itūr-ma adi ^{iti}Ša-bāli *ina* kurHāt-ti
- 13 šal-ṭa-niš ittallak^{me} *ina* ^{iti}Šabāṭi bilat kurHāt-tú kabittu(dugud)^{tú} *ana* Bābīlī^{ki} il-qa-a
- 14 *ina* ^{iti}Nisanni qātē^{II} ^dBēl u mār ^dBēl iṣ-bat isinna a-ki-tú i-pu-uš
- 15 MU ^īkām ^{md}Nabû-kudurri-ú-šu-ur *ina* ^{iti}Simāni ummāniⁿⁱ meš-šú id-ke-e-ma
- 16 a-na kurHāt-tú illik-ma adi ^{iti}Kislīmi *ina* kurHāt-ti šal-ṭa-niš ittallak^{me}
- 17 šarrāni^{meš} šá kurHāt-tú ka-li-šú-nu a-na pāni-šú illikū^{me-nim-ma} bi-lat-su-nu ka-bittu(dugud)^{tú} im-ḥur
- 18 a-na uruX-X-(X)-il-lu-nu illik-ma *ina* ^{iti}Kislīmi (erasure) [iṣ-ša]-bat-[su]
- 19 šarra-šú ik-ta-šad ḥu-bu-ut-su iḥ-tab-ta šil-lat-sa [iṣ-ta-lal-(ma)]
- 20 āla *ana* tilli u kar-me ut-tir *ina* ^{iti}Šabāṭi illik-ma *ana* Bāb[ili^{ki} itūr^a]
- 21 [MU I] ^īkām ^{iti}Aiiaru šar Akkadī^{ki} ummāni-šú kabittu(dugud)^{tú} ik-šur-ma [...]
- 22 [...]X id-di ṣa-pa-a-ti rabāti^{meš} uš-bal-k[it ...]
- 23 [...] ultu ^{iti}A[iiari adi itⁱX ...]
- 11 on the first day of the month Elul he ascended the royal throne in Babylon.
- 12 In (his) accession year Nebuchadnezzar (II) returned to Hattu. Until the month Shebat
- 13 he marched about victoriously
- 12 in Hattu.
- 13 In the month Shebat he took the vast booty of Hattu to Babylon.
- 14 In the month Nisan he took the hand of Bel and the son of Bel (and) celebrated the Akitu festival.
- 15 The first year of Nebuchadnezzar (II): In the month Sivan he mustered his army and
- 16 marched to Hattu. Until the month Kislev he marched about victoriously in Hattu.
- 17 All the kings of Hattu came into his presence and he received their vast tribute.
- 18 He marched to *Ashkelon* and in the month Kislev he captured it,
- 19 seized its king, plundered [and sac]ked it.
- 20 He turned the city into a ruin heap. In the month Shebat he marched away and [returned] to Bab[ylon].
- 21 The sec[ond year]: In the month Iyyar the king of Akkad strengthened his large army and [marched to Hattu].
- 22 He encamped [...] ... large siege towers he moved acr[oss ...]
- 23 ... from the month] Iyyar until the month [...] *he marched about victoriously in Hattu*].

Lacuna

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

Obverse

18 uruX-X-(X)-il-lu-nu: Nothing can be read with certainty. Wiseman read: uruIš(?) -qi(?) -il-lu-nu. Cf. Wiseman, Chron. p. 28 and p. 85.

Lacuna	Reverse	Lacuna	Reverse
1 [... Š]ìR(?) MA E(?) [...]		1 [...] ... [...]	
2 [MU III ^{kám} ina iti _X UD] XIII ^{kám} mdNabû- šumu-[lišir](si.s[á]) [...]		2 [The third year: In the month ..., on] the thirteenth [day] Nabu-shumu-lishir [...]	
3 [ina iti _X (?) šār Akkad]i ^{ki} ummāni ^{me} -šú id-ke-e-ma a-na kurHāt-l[ú illik ...]		3 [In the month ... the king of Akka]d mustered his army and [marched] to Hattu. [...]	
4 [...] X ma-a-du-tú šá kurHāt-tú ana kurAkkad]i ^{ki} ul-[te]-r[i-ib ...]		4 ... He brought the vast [booty] of Hattu into Akkad. [...]	
5 [M]U IV ^{kám} šār Akkad]i ^{ki} ummāni ^{me} -šú id-ke-e-ma ana kurHāt-tú illik ^{ik} ina kurHāt- tú šal-t[a-niš ittallak ^{me}]		5 The fourth year: The king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Hattu. [He marched about victoriously] in Hattu.	
6 ina itiKislīmi pa-ni ummāni ^{me} -šú iš-bat- ma [ana] kurMi-sir illik ^{ik} šār kurMi-[šir] iš-me-e-ma ummāni ^{me} -[šú] i[d-ke-e-ma(?)]		6 In the month Kislev he took his army's lead and marched to Egypt. (When) the king of Egypt heard (the news) he m[ustered] his army.	
7 ina tāhāz šēri irta(gaba) a-ḥa-meš im-ḥa- ṣu-ma dabdā a-ḥa-meš ma-a-diš iškunū ^{meš} šār Akkad]i ^{ki} u ummāni ^{me} -šú itūr-am-ma ana Bābili ^k [i itūr]		7 They fought one another in the battle- field and both sides suffered severe losses (lit. they inflicted a major defeat upon one another). The king of Akkad and his army turned and [went back] to Babylon.	
8 MU V ^{kám} šār Akkad]i ^{ki} ina māti-šú giš[nar- kabāti] ^{meš} u sīsē-šú ma-a-du-tú ik-ta-šar		8 The fifth year: The king of Akkad stayed home (and) refitted his numerous horses and chariotry.	
9 MU VI ^{kám} iti[Kislīmu] šār [Akkad]i ^{ki} ummāni ^{me} -šú id-ke-ma ana kurHāt-tú il- lik ^{ik} ultu kurHāt-tú ummāni ⁿⁱ me-šú iš- pur-ma		9 The sixth year: In the month Kislev the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Hattu. He despatched his army from Hattu and	
10 mad-ba-ri irtedū(uš)-ma kurA-ra-bi ma- du-tu būša(níg)-šú-nu bu-li-šú-nu u ilāni ^{me} -šú-nu ma-diš iḥ-tab-tu-nu ina itiAddari šarru ana māti-šú itūr		10 they went off to the desert. They plun- dered extensively the possessions, animals, and gods of the numerous Arabs. In the month Adar the king went home.	

COMMENTARY

Reverse

1f. There are traces of a horizontal line between r. 1 and 2.

2 There is just room for this restoration and it must be correct since the horizontal line between r. 1 and 2 is certain. The year intro-

ductions are slightly different in the rest of the chronicle since the day is not given and otherwise they all mention *šar Akkad*.

3 [ina iti_X(?)]: There is just room for the restoration.

10 kurA-ra-bi: The sign is certainly KUR. Wiseman read LÚ but commented that it might be KUR over an erasure.

- 11 MU VII^{kám} iti *Kislimu šar Akkad*^{ki} um-
māni^{me}-šú id-ke-ma a-na kur^{kur}Hat-tú illik-
ma
- 12 ina [mu^hhi] āl Ia-a-^hu-du iddi-ma ina
iti *Addari* UD II^{kám} āla i^š-ša-bat šarra ik-
ta-šad[†]
- 13 šarra šá [libbi]-šú ina lib-bi ip-te-gid bi-
lat-sa kabittu(dugud)^{tú} il-[qa-am-m]a ana
Bābili^{ki} ultērib^[ib]
- 14 MU [VIII]^[kám i]^{ti}Tebētu šar Akkad^{ki} a-na
kur^{kur}Hat-tú adi uru^{uru}Gal-ga-[meš illik ...]
- 15 ul x[...]x ina iti^{iti}Šabāti [šarru ana] māti-
šú i[tūra^a]
- 16 MU IX^k[^{kám} iti^{iti}x šar Akk]ad^{ki} u ummāni^{me}-
[šú a]h(gú) Ī-diq-l[at ...]
- 17 šar kur^{kur}x[...] x x x mu ú [...]
- 18 šar Ak[kad^{ki}]^{ki} x x x x [x] x x [...]
- 19 šá ah(gú) Ī-diq-[la]t karāš-su id-di ma-lak
UD I^[k]^m ina bi-ri-šú-[nu ...]
- 20 [š]ar kur^{kur}E[lam]i(?)^{ki} ip-lāh-ma hat-tú
imqut-su-ma ana māti-šú i-t[ur(?)]
- 21 [MU] x^[kám šar Akk]ad^{ki} ina māti-šú ultu
iti *Kislimi* adi iti^{iti}Tebēti bar-tú ina kur^{kur}[Ak-
kad^{ki}]^[x] x
- 22 [...] x [x ummāni]^{me}-šú ma-du-tú ina
giš^{giš}kakki id-du^k a-a-bi-šú qāt^{II}-[su ikšud^{ud}]
- 23 [...] ana kur^{kur}Hat-tú illik-ma šarrāni^{me} u
LÚ x [...] UD
- 24 [...]me-nim-ma bi-lat-su-nu kabit-
tu(dugud)^{tú} [...] a[na(?)] B[ābili^{ki}(?)]
[itūra^{ra}]
- 25 [MU XI]^{kám} ina iti *Kislimi šar Akkad*^{ki}
ummāni^{me}-[šú id-ke-e-ma]
- 26 [ana kur^{kur}H]at-tú illik^{ik}
- 11 The seventh year: In the month Kislev
the king of Akkad mustered his army
and marched to Hattu.
- 12 He encamped against the city of Judah
and on the second day of the month
Adar he captured the city (and) seized
(its) king.[†]
- 13 A king of his own choice he appointed in
the city (and) taking the vast tribute he
brought it into Babylon.
- 14 The eighth year: In the month Tebet the
king of Akkad [marched] towards Hattu
as far as Carchemish. [...]
- 15 ... [...] ... In the month Shebat [the
king went] home.
- 16 The ninth year: [In the month ... the
king of Akk]ad and [his] army [marched]
along the bank of the Tigris [...]
- 17 The king of [...] ... [...]
- 18 The king of Ak[kad] ... [...] ... [...]
- 19 He encamped on the bank of the Tigris.
[There was] a distance of one day's march
between them.
- 20 [The king of E[lam]] took fright and
fear overcame him so he we[nt] home.
- 21 The tenth [year: The king of Akk]ad
stayed home. From the month Kislev until
the month Tebet there [was] a rebellion
in Akkad.
- 22 [...] ... he put his large [army] to the
sword (and) conquered his foe.
- 23 [...] He marched [to] Hattu. The kings
and ... [...] ...
- 24 [came] and [he received] their vast booty.
He returned to B[abylon].
- 25 [The eleventh year]: In the month Kislev
the king of Akkad [mustered his] army
and
- 26 marched [to H]attu.

COMMENTARY

Reverse

25 [XI]: No part of the numeral is visible on
the tablet.

CHRONICLE 6

CHRONICLE OF THE THIRD YEAR OF NERIGLISSAR

This chronicle, like Chronicles 2 and 4, is inscribed on a tablet, BM 25124 (98–2–16, 178), which has the shape of a Neo-Baby-

lonian business document. It measures 58 mms. wide and 46 mms. long. There are only minor lacunae in the tablet.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

See the bibliography for Chronicle 2.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 MU III^k[ám . . .] mAp-pu-ú-a-šú šarru šá
kurPi-rin-d[u]</p> <p>2 um-ma-ni-š[u ma-du-tú id]-kám-ma a-na
ha-ba-tum u šá-l[a-lu]</p> <p>3 [a-n]a e-bir nār[i pāni-šú iš]-ta-kan
mdNergal-šarra-úšur</p> <p>4 ummāniniⁿⁱ meš-šú id-k[e-e-ma] ana uruHu-
me-e ana muh-hi-šú il-li[k]/i[k]</p> <p>5 la-mi-šú mAp-p[u]-[ú]-a-šú (erasure)</p> <p>6 ummāni^{me} u kal-li-i šá sīsē^{me} šá ik-šu-ru</p> <p>7 ina na-aḫ-la šá šadē^{meš} a-na šu-šu-ba-a-tú
ú-še-šib-ma</p> <p>8 mdNergal-šarra-úšur ik-šu-ud-su-nu-ti-ma
iš-kun dabdā-[šú]-[nu]</p> <p>9 ummāniniⁿⁱ ma-a-du-tú i-duk ummāniniⁿⁱ-šú
u sīsē-šú (erasure)</p> <p>10 ma-a-du-tú uš-šab-bi-ta ar-ki mAp-pu-ú-
a-šú</p> <p>11 xv bīr qaq-qar šadū^u mar-šu šá amīlu
ār-ki amīli il-la-ku</p> <p>12 a-di uruÚ-ra-' āl šarru-ú-ti-šú ir-dip-ma</p> <p>13 [qāt]a(?) ik-šu-ud-su uruÚ-ra-' iṣ-ša-bat
šil-lat-su iš-ta-lal</p> <p>14 (erasure)</p> <p>15 ul-tu uruÚ-ra-' a-di uruKi-[ir]-ši</p> <p>16 āl šarru-ú-tú šá abbē^{me}-šú vi bīr [qaq-qar]
šadū^u dan-nu</p> <p>17 ni-ri-bi mar-šu ki-i il-li-ku</p> | <p>1 The third year: [On the Nth day of the
month . . .] Appuashu, the king of Pirindu,</p> <p>2 mustered his [large] army and</p> <p>3 set out</p> <p>2 to plunder and sack</p> <p>3 Syria. Neriglissar</p> <p>4 mustered his army and marched to Hume
to oppose him.</p> <p>5 Before his (arrival) Appuashu</p> <p>7 placed</p> <p>6 the army and cavalry which he had
organized</p> <p>7 in a mountain valley in ambush.</p> <p>8 (When) Neriglissar reached them he in-
flicted a defeat upon them (and)</p> <p>9 conquered the large army.</p> <p>10 He captured</p> <p>9 his army and numerous horses.</p> <p>12 He pursued</p> <p>10 Appuashu</p> <p>11 for a distance of fifteen double-hours of
marching through difficult mountains,
where men must walk in single file,</p> <p>12 as far as Ura, his royal city.</p> <p>13 He captured him, seized Ura, and sacked
it.</p> <p>14 (erasure)</p> <p>15–17 When he had marched for a distance
of six double-hours of marching through
rough mountains and difficult passes,
from Ura to Kirshi—his forefathers'
royal city—,</p> |
|--|--|

COMMENTARY

- 5 la-mi-šú: See von Soden, WZKM 53 (1956–57), p. 321.
- 7 See Grayson, *Studies Oppenheim* pp. 90–94.†
- 12 ir-dip-ma: See the note to Chron. 1 ii 20.

- 13 For the restoration cf. line 26. A resto-
ration [l]a is also possible. Cf. von Soden,
WZKM 53, p. 321. Neither NU nor UL are
possible on the basis of the traces.

18	uru <i>Ki-ir-ši</i> <i>ālu dan-nu āl šarru-ú-ti-šu</i> <i>iš-ša-bat</i>	18	he captured Kirshi, the mighty city, his royal metropolis.
19	<i>dūr-šu ēkalla-šu u nišē^{me}-šu ina i-ša-tú</i> <i>iq-ta-li</i>	19	He burnt its wall, its palace, and its people.
20	uru <i>Pi-tu-su šadū^u šá ina qabli-tú</i> ^{1d} <i>Mar-rat</i>	20	Pitusu, a mountain which is in the midst of the ocean,
21	ù VI LIM <i>ummāniⁿⁱ e-piš šal-tú šá ana</i> <i>libbi i-lu-ú</i>	21	and six thousand combat troops who were stationed in it
22	<i>ina</i> ^{giš} <i>sa-pi-na-a-tú iš-ša-bat āl-šu it-tab-lu</i>	22	he captured by means of boats. He destroyed their city
23	<i>u nišē^{me}-šu uš-ša-bi-ta MU BI ul-tu ni-ri-[bi]</i>	23	and captured their people.
24	<i>šá</i> uru <i>Sa-al-lu-ni-e a-di muḫḫi mi-[šir]</i>		In that same year
25	<i>šá</i> uru <i>Lu-ú-du ina i-ša-tú iš-ta-rap</i> ^m <i>Ap-</i> <i>pu-ú-[a-šu]</i>	25	he started fires
		23	from the pass
		24	of Sallune to the border
		25	of Lydia. Appuashu
26	<i>iḫ-liq-ma qātā^{II} la [ik-š]u-ud-su ina</i> ^{iti} <i>Ad-</i> <i>dari šār Akkadⁱ^{ki}</i>	26	fled so he did not capture him. In the month Adar the king of Akkad
27	<i>a-n[a māti]-šu i-tu-ra</i>	27	went home.

CHRONICLE 7

NABONIDUS CHRONICLE

The text of Chronicle 7 is inscribed on a large tablet, BM 35382 (Sp II 964). The tablet measures 140 mms. wide and 140 mms.

long. Besides some surface breaks the bottom and most of the left-hand side of the tablet is missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY†

Photograph:

1930 Dougherty, AJA 34, p. 308

Copies:

1882 T. Pinches, TSBA 7, pp. 153-169

1889 L. Abel in H. Winckler, UAG pp. 154f.

1894 O. E. Hagen, BA 2, 2 plates between pp. 248f. which are reproduced in Der Alte Orient 13/3 (1912), pp. 12f.

1924 S. Smith, BHT pls. XI-XIV

Editions:

1882 T. Pinches, TSBA 7, pp. 139-176

1890 E. Schrader, KB 3/2, pp. 128-137

1894 O. E. Hagen, BA 2, pp. 214-225, 235-248

1924 S. Smith, BHT pp. 98-123

Translations Only:

1926 E. Ebeling, AOTAT² pp. 366-368

1955 A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 305-307

Studies:

1882 T. Pinches, PSBA 5, pp. 10f.

1925 H. de Genouillac, RA 22, pp. 80f.

S. Langdon, JRAS 1925, pp. 165f., 168f.

S. Smith, JRAS 1925, p. 299

1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, ZA 37, pp. 61-66

1950 W. F. Albright, BASOR 120, p. 23

1965 H. Tadmor, Studies Landsberger pp. 351-363

i

- 1 [...] x x x [...]
 2 [...] -šú iš-ši LUGAL (erasure)
 3 [...] *ma-ti-šú-nu ana Bābili₅^{ki} ú-bil-lu*
 4 [...] ti
 5 [...] x *is-ḫu-ḫu-ma ul iš-ši*
 6 [...] i(?) *kimat(im.ri.a)-su-nu ma-la ba-šú(gál)^u*
 7 [...] x *šarru ummāni-šú id-ke-ma ana Ḫu-me-e*
 8 [...] x kit
-
- 9 [MU II(?)^{kám} ...] *ina ^{iti}Tebēti ina ^{kur}Ḫa-ma-a-tú SID*
 10 [...] x
-
- 11 [MU III(?)^{kám} ... ^{iti}Abu ^{kur}Am-ma-na-nu šá-di-i
 12 [...] x [^{giš}šip-pa-a-tú inbu ma-la ba-šú-ú
 13 [...] x *ina lib-bi-ši-na ana qí-rib Bābili₅^{ki}*
 14 [...] *imr]uš(gig)-ma ibluṭut ina ^{iti}Kislīmi šarru ummāni-šú*
 15 [*id-ke-ma(?)* ...] x *tim u ana ^aNabú ^aBēl-dān(kal) aḫu†*
 16 [...] x *mu šá ^{kur}Amurri(mar.tu) a-na*
 17 [...] *uruA]-du-um-mu it-ta-du-ú†*

i

- 1 [...] ... [...]
 2 [...] ... he carried, the king
 3 [...] of] their land he/they brought to Babylon.
 4 [...] ...
 5 [...] ... he did not carry
 6 [...] ... their whole family
 7 [...] ... the king mustered his army and
 8 [marched]
 7 to Hume.
 8 [...] ...
-
- 9 [The *second* year: ...] in the month Tebet, in Hamath it was cold.
 10 [...] ...
-
- 11 [The *third* year: ... the mon]th Ab the Ammananu mountain
 12 [...] ... orchards, all of the fruit
 13 [...] ... from within them into Babylon
 14 [...] became il] but recuperated. In the month Kislev the king
 15 [mustered]
 14 his army
 15 [...] ... and to Nabu Bel-dan, brother
 16 [...] ... of Amurru to
 17 [...] they/he encamped [*against* A]dum-mu†

COMMENTARY

- i 1-8 These lines must contain details about the accession year and first regnal year of Nabonidus. Smith assumed that lines 1-4 covered the events of the accession year and lines 5-8 the events of the first regnal year but there is no way of knowing if his assumption is correct.
 i 4 The sign is clearly TI.
 i 7 *Ḫu-me-e*: This is clearly a place name (in Anatolia) and not a word meaning 'rebels' (so Smith). Cf. Albright, BASOR 120 (1950), p. 23 and Oppenheim, ANET² p. 305, n. 2.
 i 10 It is impossible to identify the sign from the scanty traces.
 i 11 Between *Abu* and ^{kur}*Am*- Smith's copy shows a vertical wedge (which he trans-

literates *ana*). But this is not on the original. Ammanānu is also mentioned under the third year in a fragmentary text about Nabonidus, CT 46, 48 iv 16.†

- i 15 Smith read the last part of the line as a PN (Nabû-Bel-dan-ušur) but a PN of this pattern is otherwise unknown. Similarly there is no known pattern Nabû-Bēl-dan or Bēl-dan-ušur. Thus the reading given in the transliteration is the only probable one.†

- i 16 *mu*: This is clear on the original and Smith's copy but in his transliteration Smith has *-ma*. Amurru is also mentioned in Smith, BHT pl. VII ii 23 (Nabonidus Verse Account), where Tema is said to be in its midst.

18 [...] x-ma ummāni^{meš} ma-du-tu

19 [...] a]bul uru^{RUG}-di-ni

20 [...] x idūk-šú

21 [...] x qu

22 [...] um]māni^{meš}

Lacuna

ii

1 [id]-[ke]-e-ma ana muḥḥi mKu-raš šār
An-šá-an ana ka-š[á-di i]l-lik-ma [...]

2 mIš-tu-me-gu ummāni-šú ibbalkit-su-ma
ina qātē^{II} ša-bīt a-na mKu-raš it-x[...]

3 mKu-raš a-na kurA-gam-ta-nu āl šarru-ú-
tu <il-lik-ma> kaspā ḥurāša būša makkūra
[...]

4 šá kurA-gam-ta-nu iš-lul-ú-ma a-na kurAn-
šá-an il-qí būša makkūra šá ummāni^{m[ēš]}
[...]

5 MU VII^{kám} šarru ina uruTe-ma-a mār šarri
lūrabāti^{meš}-šú ummāni^{meš}-šú ina kurAk-
kadī^{ki} [šarru ana itīNisanni]

6 a-na Bābili^{ki} ul illiku^{ku} Nabū ana Bā-
bili^{ki} ul illiku^{ku} Bēl ul ūšā^a isin[nu a-
ki-tú ba-til]

7 niqū(siskur.siskur) ina É-sag-gil u É-
zi-da ilāni^{meš} ša Bābili^{ki} u Barsip^{ki} k[i
šal-mu]

18 [...] ... the large army

19 [...] the g]ate of RUGdini

20 [...] ... he killed/defeated him

21 [...] ...

22 [...] army

Lacuna

ii

1 (Astyages) mustered (his army) and
marched against Cyrus (II), king of
Anshan, for conquest [...]

2 The army rebelled against Astyages and
he was taken prisoner. Th[ey handed
him over] to Cyrus (II). ([...])

3 Cyrus (II) <marched> to Ecbatana, the
royal city. The silver, gold, goods,
property, [...]

4 which he carried off as booty (from)
Ecbatana he took to Anshan. The goods
(and) property of the army of [...]

5 The seventh year: The king (was) in
Tema (while) the prince, his officers, (and)
his army (were) in Akkad. [The king]

6 did not come to Babylon

5 [in the month Nisan].

6 Nabu did not come to Babylon. Bel did
not come out. The [Akitu festiv]al [did
not take place].

7 The offerings

8 were presented

7 (to) the gods of Babylon and Borsippa
a[s in normal times] in Esagil and Ezida.

COMMENTARY

ii 1 ana ka-š[á-di i]l-lik-ma: For the resto-
ration see Chron. 21 ii 7, 4', 9'; Chron.
22 iii 13, 20.

ii 2 A possible restoration at the end of the
line would be some form of the verb
nadānu (e.g. it-t[a-di-nu]).

ii 3 kurA-gam-ta-nu: There was both the city
Agamtānu (Ecbatana) and the surrounding
district called by the same name. The city
is referred to here and the KUR must be a
mistake for URU. Or has URU been omitted
before KUR? Cf. URU KUR A-ga-ma-ta-nu
Cyrus 60:16. Also note URU A-ga-ma-ta-nu
VAB 3, p. 39:60 (Dar. I). After āl šarru-
ú-tu one expects illik "he went". The

scribe has mistakenly omitted the verb.
Cf. Oppenheim, ANET² p. 305.

ii 5–8 The same passage, with minor
variations, occurs in ii 10–12, 19–21, 23–25.
The only phrase not found in the parallel
passages is: urigallū is-ruq-ma bita ip-qid.
Also cf. iii 8. Further, note the similar
statements in Chron. 17 iii 5f., 8f., 14, 15.

ii 5 mār šarri: Smith mistakenly omits mār
in his transliteration.

ii 6 ul illiku^{ku}: See the note to Chron. 17
iii 5f.

ii 7 The interpretation offered here of kī
šalmū is tentative since the meaning is
uncertain. The phrase also appears in
Chron. 17 ii 4.

8 <i>nadnū^{nu} urigallū is-ruq-ma bīta ip-qid</i> ([...])	8 The <i>urigallū</i> -priest made a libation and inspected the temple. ([...])
9 MU VIII ^{kām} (Blank space of one line)	9 The eighth year: (Blank space)
10 MU IX ^{kām} m ^d Nábū-nā'id šarru <ina> uruTe-ma-a mār šarri lárabūti ^{meš} u um- mānini ina kurAkkadī ^{ki} šarru ana it ⁱ Ni- sanni ana Bābili ^{ki}	10 The ninth year: Nabonidus, the king, (was) <in> Tema (while) the prince, the officers, (and) the army (were) in Akkad. The king
11 úl illiku ^{ku} ^d Nabū ana Bābili ^{ki} úl illiku ^{ku} ^d Bēl úl ūšā ^a i-sin-nu a-ki-tú ba-ṭil	11 did not come 10 to Babylon in the month Nisan. 11 Nabu did not come to Babylon. Bel did not come out. The Akitu festival did not take place.
12 niqū(siskur.siskur) ^{meš} ina É-sag-gíl u É-zi-da ilāni ^{meš} ša <Bābili ^{ki} > u Bar-sip ^{ki} ki šal-mu nadna ^{na}	12 The offerings were presented (to) the gods of <Babylon> and Borsippa as in normal times in Esagil and Ezida.
13 it ⁱ Nisannu UD V ^{kām} ummu šarri ina Dūr- ka-ra-šú šá aḫ(gú) ^{id} Puratti e-la-nu Sip- par ^{ki}	13 On the fifth day of the month Nisan the queen mother 14 died 13 in Dur-karashu which (is on) the bank of the Euphrates upstream from Sippar.
14 im-tu-ut mār šarri u ummāni ^{meš} -šú III ūmu ^{mu} šu-du-ru bikītu(ér) šaknat ^{at} ina it ⁱ Simāni ina kurAkkadī ^{ki}	14 The prince and his army were in mourning for three days (and) there was (an official) mourning period. In the month Sivan
15 bi-ki-tú ina muḫḫi ummi šarri šaknat ^{at} ina it ⁱ Nisanni m ^m Ku-raš šār kurPar-su ummāni- šú id-ke-e-[m]a	15 there was (an official) mourning period for the queen mother 14 in Akkad. 15 In the month Nisan Cyrus (II), king of Parsu, mustered his army and
16 šap-la-an uruAr-ba'-il ^{id} Idiglat i-bir-ma ina it ⁱ Aiari ana kur[Lu]-u[d-di(?)] ...]†	16 crossed the Tigris below Arbail. In the month Iyyar [he marched] to <i>Ly[dia]</i> .†
17 šarra-šú idūk bu-šá-a-šú il-qí šu-lit šá ram-ni-šú «AŠ» lu ú-še-li [...]	17 He defeated its king, took its possessions, (and) stationed his own garrison (there) [...]

COMMENTARY

- ii 8 The last part of the line is broken but from the parallels it is apparent that nothing is missing.
- ii 9 This space was probably left blank because the scribe did not have information about the eighth year at hand. He no doubt planned to fill in the information later when he had found out from some other source what had occurred in the eighth year. For some reason he never did this. Cf. the examples of omitted numerals discussed in the note to Chron. 1 i 25.
- ii 10–12 See the parallel passage ii 5–8 and the notes to those lines.
- ii 10 The scribe mistakenly omitted *ina*.
- ii 12 The scribe mistakenly omitted *Bābili^{ki}*.
- ii 13–15 See the commentary to Chron. 1 iv 22.
- ii 16 *i-bir-ma*: The sign is definitely BIR, not RAB (as Smith mistakenly copied). The traces support a reading *L[u]* and thus Smith's suggested restoration has been adopted.†
- ii 17 «AŠ»: A scribal error.

- 18 [arkī] šu-lit-su ù šar-ri ina libbi ibaš-
ši(gál)^ši ([...])
- 19 MU x^{kám} šarru ina uruTe-ma mār šarri
lūrabūti^{meš} u ummāniⁿⁱ-šú ina kurAkkadⁱki
šarru ana [itiNisanni ana Bābili^{ki} úl
illiku^{ku}]
- 20 ^dNabū ana Bābili^{ki} úl illiku^{ku} ^dBēl úl
ūšā^a isinnu a-ki-tú ba-ṭil niqú(siskur.
siskur) ina [É]-[sag-gíl u É-zi-da]
- 21 ilāni^{meš} ša Bābili^{ki} u Bar-sip^{ki} ki šal-
m[u na]dna^{na} ina itiSimāni UD XXI^{ká}[^m
...]
- 22 šá kurE-lam-mi-ia ina kurAkkadⁱki x x
[...] [lú(?)] šakin māti ina Uruk^k[ⁱ ...]
- 23 MU x^{kám} šarru ina uruTe-ma-a mār šarri
lūrabūti^{meš} u ummāni-šú ina kurAkkadⁱki
šarru ana itiNisanni ana Bābili^{ki} úl
illiku^{ku}]
- 24 [^dNabū ana Bāb]ili^{ki} úl illiku^{ku} ^dBēl úl
ūšā^a isinnu a-ki-tú ba-ṭil niqú(siskur.
siskur) ina É-sag-gíl u É-zi-da]
- 25 [ilāni^{meš} ša Bāb]ili^{ki} u [Bar-sip]^{ki} ki šal-
m[u nadna^{na} [...]
- 18 Afterwards the king and his garrison was
in it ([...])
- 19 The tenth year: The king (was) in Tema
(while) the prince, the officers, and his
army (were) in Akkad. The king [did not
come to Babylon in the month Nisan].
- 20 Nabu did not come to Babylon. Bel did
not come out. The Akitu festival did not
take place. The offerings
- 21 were presented (to) the gods of Babylon
and Borsippa *as in normal times*
- 20 in E[sagil and Ezida].
- 21 On the twenty-first day of the month
Sivan [...]
- 22 of Elammya in Akkad ... [...] the
district governor in Uruk[...]
- 23 The eleventh year: the king (was) in
Tema (while) the prince, the officers, and
his army (were) in Akkad. [The king did
not come to Babylon in the month Nisan].
- 24 [Nabu] did not come [to Bab]ylon. Bel
did not come out. The Akitu festival did
not take place. The of[ferings]
- 25 were presented [(to) the gods of Bab]ylon
and Borsippa *[as in normal times*
- 24 in Esagil and Ezida].
- Lacuna
- iii
- Lacuna
- 1 [...] GAZ(?) ^{id}x[...]
- 2 [...] še ^dIštar(mùš) Uruk^{ki} [...]
- 3 [...] x^{meš} šá māt ta[m-tim(?) ...]†
- 4 [...] ^{meš}ni [...]
- Lacuna
- iii
- Lacuna
- 1 [...] killed/defeated. The river ... [...]
- 2 [...] ... Ishtar Uruk [...]
- 3 [...] of the Sea[land ...]†
- 4 [...] ... [...]

COMMENTARY

- ii 18 The last part of the line is broken but
there is probably nothing missing. Cf. the
note to ii 8.
- ii 19–21 See the notes to ii 5–8. In order to
reproduce the full phrase as found in the
parallel passages the scribe would have
written a great deal on the edge at the
end of ii 19. Perhaps part of the phrase
was omitted. The same comment applies
to ii 23.

- ii 22 The sign preceding *šakin māti* looks
very much like LÚ and thus it could be a
determinative (so Smith).
- ii 23–25 See the notes to ii 5–8 and ii 19–21.
- iii 1 GAZ is practically certain. After it one
might read ^{id}I[*diqlat*] (so Smith).
- iii 3 māt ta[m-tim(?)]: The traces of the sign
after māt are almost certainly of the sign
TAM.†

- 5 [MU x^{kám} ... ^dN]abú ultu Bar-sip^{ki} ana ašē^e [^dBēl illiku^{ku} ^dBēl ūšā^a]
- 6 [... itⁱ]Tebētu šarru ana É-tūr-kalam-ma īrub ina É(?)-[...]
- 7 [...] x-ut-tim maqqītu(bala)^{tu}₄ karāni iqqi(bala)^a_i tum x x x [...]
- 8 [...] ^dB]ēl ūšā^a isinnu a-ki-tú ki šal-mu īpušū^{šú} ina itⁱ[x ...]
- 9 [...] ilāniⁱmeš šá Marad-daki ^dZa-ba₄-ba₄ u ilāniⁱmeš šá Kiš^{ki} ^dNin-líl x [...]
- 10 [x] [Hur]-sag-kalam-ma ana Bābili^{ki} īrubū^{meš}-ni adi qīt(til) itⁱUlūli ilāniⁱmeš šá kurAkkadⁱ_{ki} [...]
- 11 šá elān(ugu) IM u šaplān(ki.ta) IM ana Bābili^{ki} īrubū^{meš}-ni ilāniⁱmeš šá Bar-sip^{ki} Kutē^{ki}†
- 12 u Sip-par^{ki} ūl īrubū^{meš}-ni ina itⁱTašrīti mKu-raš šal-tum ina Upē^{ki} ina muḫḫi [...]
- 13 ^{id}Ī-di-q-lat ana libbi ummāniⁱni kurAkkadⁱ_{ki} ki īpušū^{šú} (erasure) nišū^{meš} kurAkkadⁱ_{ki}
- 14 BALA.KI ḫubta(sar) iḫbut(sar) nišē^{meš} idūk UD XIV Sippar^{ki} ba-la šal-tum ša-bit
- 15 ^{md}Nabū-nā'id iḫliq UD XVI ^m[Ug]-ba-ru lūpāḫāt(nam) kurGu-ti-um u ummāniⁱmeš mKu-raš ba-la šal-tum
- 5 [The *seventeenth* year: ... N]abu [came] from Borsippa for the procession of [Bel. Bel came out].
- 6 [... In the month] Tebet the king entered Eturkalamma. In the *temple* [...]
- 7 [...] ... He made a libation of wine ... [...]
- 8 [...] B]el came out. They performed the Akitu festival *as in normal times*. In the month [...]
- 9 [...] the gods] of Marad, Zababa and the gods of Kish, Ninlil [*and the gods of*]
- 10 Hursagkalamma entered Babylon. Until the end of the month Elul the gods of Akkad [...]
- 11 which are above the ... and below the ... were entering Babylon. The gods of Borsippa, Cuthah,†
- 12 and Sippar did not enter (Babylon). In the month Tishri
- 13 when
- 12 Cyrus (II)
- 13 did
- 12 battle at Opis on the [*bank of*]
- 13 the Tigris against the army of Akkad, the people of Akkad
- 14 retreated. He carried off the plunder (and) slaughtered the people. On the fourteenth day Sippar was captured without a battle.
- 15 Nabonidus fled. On the sixteenth day Ugbaru, governor of the Guti, and the army of Cyrus (II)

COMMENTARY

- iii 5 At the beginning of the line there is room to restore: [MU x^{kám} ^{md}Nabū-nā'id ^dN]abú. Cf. ii 10. Parallels to this line are found in Chron. 16:18f., 20f., 22, 23, and 27. The restoration is based on the parallels.
- iii 6 É(?)-: Smith is probably correct in preferring this to the older reading IT[ⁱ].
- iii 7 maqqītu(bala)^{tu}₄ karāni iqqi(bala)^a_i: Cf. von Soden, AHw p. 607.
- iii 8 Cf. ii 6f., 11f., 20f., and 24f.
- iii 11 The sign IM is a problem. Neither the interpretation of Smith nor that of Weidner, IAK p. 101, n. 9, is acceptable.†
- iii 12 At the end of the line one should probably restore: *ina muḫḫi* [aḫ(gú)].
- iii 13 The scribe mistakenly copied *ummāni* ... *īpušū^{šú}* twice but then erased the dittography.
- iii 14 BALA.KI: See the note to Chron. 1 i 35. *ḫubta iḫbut*: For the reading see the note to Chron. 10 r. 27.
- iii 15 ^m[Ug]-ba-ru: The sign UG is faint but the reading is certain. The same name appears in iii 22. Whether Ugbaru is identical with the Gubaru of iii 20 is uncertain. Certainly neither can be identical with Gobryas, governor of Babylonia, as Smith, BHT pp. 121f. suggested. See San Nicolò, Prosopographie pp. 54–64.

- 16 *ana Bābili₅^{ki} irubū arki^{md} Nabū-nā'id ki*
iḥḥisa^{sa} ina Bābili₅^{ki} ṣa-bit adi qīt(til)
arḥi kuštuk-šu^{me} 16 entered Babylon
 15 without a battle.
- 17 *šá^{kur} Gu-ti-um bābāti^{meš} šá Ē-sag-gíl*
ilmû(nigin) bat-la šá mim-ma ina Ē-sag-
gíl u ēkurrāti^{meš} DIŠ 17 of the Guti surrounded the gates of
 Esagil. (But)
- 18 *ul iṣ-šá-kin ù si-ma-nu ul innitiq(dib)^{ta}*
iti Araḥsamnu UD XI^{kām} mKu-raš ana
Bābili₅^{ki} irub 18 there was no
 17 interruption (of rites) in Esagil or the
 (other) temples
- 19 *ḥa-ri-ni-e ina pāni-šu umallû(diri)^{meš}*
šu-lum ana āli šá-kin mKu-raš šu-lum
ana Bābili₅^{ki} 19 ... were filled before him. There was
 peace in the city while Cyrus (II)
- 20 *gab-bi-šu qi-bi mGu-ba-ru lûpāhta(nam)-šú*
lûpāḥ(at)ûti(nam)^{meš} ina Bābili₅^{ki} ip-te-
qid 20 spoke
 19 (his) greeting to
 20 all of
 19 Babylon.
- 21 *ultu iti Kislîmi adi iti Addari ilāni^{meš} šá*
kur Akkad₅^{ki} šá md Nabū-nā'id ana Bābili₅^{ki}
ú-še-ri-du-[ni] 21 From the month Kislev to the month
 Adar the gods of Akkad which Nabonidus
 had brought down to Babylon
- 22 *a-na ma-[ḥa]-zi-šú-nu itūrū^{me} iti Araḥ-*
samnu mûša(gi₆) UD XI^{kām} mUg-ba-ru mīt
ina 1t[1x] 22 returned to their places. On the night of
 the eleventh of the month Marchesvan
 Ugbaru died. In the month [...]

COMMENTARY

- iii 16** *kuštuk-šu^{me}*: The sign is definitely šu, not ku (as Smith transliterated). On the word *tukšu*, which probably means shield (here “shield-bearers”—a type of soldier), see Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953), p. 181, note to v 7. It is a synonym of *aritu* “shield”. The *aritu* was made of wood, metal, or leather. See von Soden, AHW pp. 68f.
- iii 17f.** See R. Borger, Or. n.s. 34 (1965), p. 440 and CAD 2 (B), p. 177.
 DIŠ: This is a scribal error.
- iii 19** *ḥa-ri-ni-e*: This is a hapex legomenon. Von Soden, AHW pp. 325f., takes it as a form of *ḥirinnu* which is a synonym of *nādu* “skin container”. Without further evidence this interpretation is doubtful. CAD 6 (H), p. 102, translates “branches”. Cf. Oppenheim, ANET² p. 306, n. 13.
- ii 19f.** Cf. [...] *u Bābili₅^{ki} šu-lum-šú-nu* *iq-ta-bi* Smith, BHT pl. X vi 2 (Nabonidus Verse Account). Although the line is broken this phrase must also refer to Cyrus.
- iii 20** *mGu-ba-ru*: See the note to iii 15.
lûpāhta-šú lûpāḥ(at)ûti^{meš} ... ip-te-qid: Cf. San Nicolò, Prosopographie pp. 59f. Another possible interpretation is to read: *lûpāḥāt kiššat(šú) pāḥ(at)ûti^{meš} ... ip-te-qid* “He (Cyrus) appointed Gubaru governor of all the governors (in Babylon)”. For *pāḥ(at)ûti* see Borger, Asarh. p. 49, note to line 13.
- iii 21f.** The entry of these gods into Babylon was narrated in iii 9–11.
- iii 21** *iti Addaru(še)*: The sign is quite clearly šē on the original although Smith’s copy does not show šē.
- iii 22** *mUg-ba-ru*: See the note to iii 15.

- 23 [aššat] šarri mītat^{at} ultu XXVII šá^{iti} Addari
adi UD III šá^{iti} Nisanni bi-ki-tum ina
Akkadī^[ki] šaknat^{at}]
- 24 [ni]šū^{meš} gab-bi qaqqad-su-nu ipatṭa-
rū(du₈)^{meš} UD IV^{kām} mKām-bu-zi-ia māru
šá^{mK}[u-raš]
- 25 a-[na] Ē-gidri(níg.pa)-kalam-ma-sum-mu
ki illikū^{lú.É.PA} dNabū šá PA x [...]
- 26 [ki] illikū^{ku} aš-šu lu-bu-uš-bi Elamti^{ki}
qātē^{II} dNabū [...] x [...]†
- 27 [gišas-m]a-re-e u kušiš-pat^{meš} ultu [...] x
[mār šarri (?)] ana du[l-li(?)] ...]
- 28 [...] dNabū ana Ē-sag-gil NIGIN x ki x
ina pān dBēl u mār dB[ēl] ...]
- 23 the king's wife died. From the twenty-
seventh of the month Adar to the third
of the month Nisan [there was] (an
official) mourning period in Akkad.
- 24 All of the people bared their heads. On
the fourth day when Cambyses (II), son
of C[yrus (II)],
- 25 went to Egidrikalammasummu the ...-
official of Nabu who ... [...]
- 26 When he came, because of the Elamite
... the hand of Nabu [...] ... [...]†
- 27 [sp]ears and quivers from [...] ... crown
prince to the wo[rk ...]
- 28 [...] Nabu to Esagil ... before Bel and
the son of B[el ...]

iv

iv

Lacuna

- 1 [...] x en
2 [...] x Bābili^{ki} mē^{meš}
3 [...] x^{meš} iq-ta-tur
4 [...] ka gan ITI bābu na-pi-il
5 [...] Ē-an-na šá EZEN=xKAS^{ki}
6 [...] b[it] mu-um-mu ūšā
7 [...] ZI
8 [...] x ina Bābili^{ki} x hi
9 [...] Bābili^[ki] iṣ-rim-ma

Lacuna

- 1 [...] ...
2 [...] Babylon, water
3 [...] ... clouded over
4 [...] ... the gate was ruined
5 [...] Eanna of EZEN=xKAS
6 [...] bit mummy, he went out
7 [...] ...
8 [...] in Babylon ...
9 [...] Babylon he strove.

COMMENTARY

- iii 23f. See the note to Chron. 1 iv 22.
- iii 24 qaqqad-su-nu ipatṭarū(du₈)^{meš}: Cf. i-
pat-ṭa-ru qaqqad-su-nu Smith, BHT pl. IX
v 26 (Nabonidus Verse Account).
- iii 25 lú.É.PA: The nature of this official and
the reading in Akkadian is unknown.
Smith thought the É.PA was an abbrevi-
ation for the temple just mentioned but
this is unlikely.
- iii 26 lu-bu-uš-bi: One is tempted to emend
to lu-bu-uš-tu₄/ti. Was Cambyses barred
from taking the hand of Nabu or was he
allowed to take the hand only of Nabu
and not of Marduk?†
- iii 27 kušiš-pat^{meš}: Smith mistakenly has uš
instead of iṣ in his transliteration.
- iv 1–7 This last column could have contained
more details about the year in which Cyrus
captured Babylon or it could have de-
scribed subsequent years.
- iv 5 EZEN=xKAS^{ki}: Landsberger has restored
this ideogram in Proto-e-a 777 (MSL 2,
p. 87) where the reading ù-un is given.
The location of Un is unknown. It could
hardly be Unu = Heliopolis, for which
see Streck, Asb. p. 813.
- iv 8–9 These two lines may be a catch-line.

CHRONICLE 8

CHRONICLE FRAGMENT OF THE ACHAEMENID PERIOD

This is a small fragment, BM 36304 large tablet. The piece is 65 mms. wide and (80-6-17, 30), from the right-hand edge of a 100 mms. long. The obverse is badly worn.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A copy of this fragment was published by S. Smith, CT 37, 22. Also cf. Smith's remarks in BHT p. 98.

Obverse	Obverse
Lacuna	Lacuna
1 [...] x x x [...]	1-2 Too broken for translation
2 [...] [...]	
3 [... ina ^{giš} k]ussê-šú id(?)-di-ku-šú ana	3 [...] they removed him [from the
bi-x[...]	t]hrone. To ... [...]
4 [...] x MU-šú NUMUN(?)-' giš(?) diš a	4 [...] ... [...]
lik/lu sa(?) u(?) ERÍN(?) [...]	
5 [...] ummāni ^{meš} -šú i-šu-tu TA lūum=	5 [...] his few [troop]s from the troops [...]
māni ^{meš} [...]	
6 [...] x x id-duk lūummāni Ḫa-ni-e	6 [...] ... he slew. The army of Hanu, his
lūummāni ^{meš} -šú š[á] [...]	troops wh[ich] ...]
7 [...] an [ápi]l(?) mDa(?)l-ri-[ia(?)l-a-muš	7 [...] ... son of Darius, king of kin[gs].
šar šarr[āni ^{meš}]	
8 [...] UD XV mKi-di-nu ina ^{giš} kakki iddūk	8 [The Nth year of ...: In the month ...,]
Ulūlu UD [...]	on the fifteenth [d]ay, he put Kidinnu to
	the sword. In the month Elul, on the
	[Nth] day, [...]
9 [...] KUR si uruIa-a-nu ālu šá kurGu-ti-i	9 [The Nth year of ...: In the month ...]
[...]	... Yanu, the city of the Gutī, [...]
10 [...] [...]	10 [...]
11 [...] ē[kal Bābili ^{ki} ul-te-šu šá(?) x x x x	11 [...] from the p]alace of Babylon they
[...]	sent out ... [...]
12 [...] [e(?)l-pe-šú šá is[inni(?) x x x] ITI(?)	12 [...] performance of the fes[tival] ...]
[...]	[...]

COMMENTARY

Obverse

2 No signs are visible in the preserved portion of this line but there is no reason to assume that the whole line was left blank. The same phenomenon occurs in lines 10, 16, r. 1, and 6.
5 See the note to Chron. 9:4.
7 This line is in very bad condition and the reading of the beginning of the preserved

portion is by no means certain. If the reading is correct then one expects to find the end of the name Aḫšīwarši/Xerxes (I) where the AN sign appears.
9 uruIānu: Is there a connection with the Akkadian term for the Greeks which is Iamannāia?

13 [...] *ana e-pe-šú šá isinni šá* ^d*Bēl ana*
Bár(?)-[*sipa*^{ki}(?)...]]

13 [...] for the performance of the festival
of Bel to *Bor*[*sippa*...]]

14 [...] ^d*Bēl*-x-x-x *mu-ma-'ir* [...]]

15 [...] ... [...]]

16 [...] [...]]

14–17 Too broken for translation
Lacuna

17 [...] x ar x [...]]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

1 [...] [...]]

(The reverse is too broken for translation.)

2 [...] -x *ina* ^{giš}*kakki* x [...]]

3 [...] x *ip-qid* ITI BI x [...]]

4 [...] x-*pi-ta-nu* ^{lú}*ummāni*[^{meš}...]]

5 [...] ^{id}(?) [*Purattu*^{ki} *mē*^{meš}-*šú a-na* [...]]

6 [...] [...]]

7 [...] x *būšē*^{meš} *u mim-ma ana aš-ri* ^dx
[...]

8 [...] *na-din* [...]]

9 [...] *mādūtum*(mah)^{tum} *ina pi* ^{md}*Nabū-*
bu-ul-li-[...]]

10 [...] ^{md}*Mardu*]*k*(?) -*àpla-iddina-'* UD x^{kám}
x x x [...]]

11 [...] KA LUGAL TAR SAG(?) [...]]

12 [...] x *ú-mar-ri ma-dak-ta-šú di-k*[*i-at*...]]

13 [...] x x KA DU x [...]]

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

10 See the note to line 2.

16 See the note to line 2.

Reverse

1 See the note to line 2.

6 See the note to line 2.

10 [^{md}*Mardu*]*k*(?): The traces at the beginning of the line look like the end of UD (for AMAR.UTU).

12 *ma-dak-ta-šú di-k*[*i-at*]: Cf. *madakāti ana māt nakiri ki idkū* ABL 1089:12f.

CHRONICLE 9

CHRONICLE OF ARTAXERXES III

This text is inscribed on one side of a tablet, BM 31450 (76-11-17, 1177), which has the shape of a Neo-Babylonian business document. The other side is blank. The tablet measures 66 mms. wide and 48 mms. long.

It was at one time broken into two pieces and where fragments have been joined there is a small lacuna. The provenance of the tablet is registered as Babylon.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Copy:

1893 J. N. Strassmaier, *Actes du Huitième Congrès International des Orientalistes, Deuxième Partie* (Leiden), Beilage p. 30, no. 28

Editions:

1893 J. N. Strassmaier, *ibid.* p. 31, no. 28

1924 S. Smith, BHT pp. 148f.

Translation:

1931 E. Unger, *Babylon* p. 318

Studies:

1928 F. W. König, *RLA* 1, p. 158

1 [MU] XIV^{kám} m^U-ma-su šá m^{Ar}-tak-šat-su
2 [šum-šú] nabú(sa₄)^ú itⁱiTašrītu lū^hhub-
tu(sar)^{tú} šá šarru

3 [ina(?)^{kur}][šī]-da-nu i^hbutū(sar)^{tú} ana
Bābili₅^{ki} u uru[š]u-šá-an

4 [x x I]TI BI UD XIII^{kám} lū^{um}māni i-šu-tú

5 [x ultu(?)^l]ib(?)^{bi}-šú-nu ana Bābili₅^{ki}
īterubū^{meš}-ni

6 UD XVI^{kám} SAL^{meš} SIG^{meš} h^{ub}tu(sar)^{tú} šá
kur[šī]-da-nu

7 šá šarru ana Bābili₅^{ki} i^š-pur(u) UD BI

8 ana ēkal [ša]rri īterubū^{meš}-'

1 The fourteenth [year] of Umasu, who

2 is called

1 Artaxerxes (III):

2 In the month Tishri the prisoners which
the king

3 took [from] Sidon

4 [were brought]

3 to Babylon and Susa.

4 On the thirteenth day of the same month
a few of these troops

5 entered Babylon.

6 On the sixteenth day the ... women,
prisoners from Sidon,

7 which the king sent to Babylon—on that
day

8 they entered the palace of the king.

COMMENTARY

1 m^U-ma-su: Smith, BHT p. 148 read: m^U-ku(!)-su. But the sign he read KU is certainly MA.

2 Some Achaemenid kings had two names and the phrase indicating this was: PN₁ šá PN₂ šumšū nabú. See LBAT 1394 r. ii' 9'-13' (Artaxerxes II and III); LBAT 167 + 639 + 670:1 (Artaxerxes II); LBAT 186, lower edge (Artaxerxes II); LBAT 190:1 (Artaxerxes III).

3 ana: Strassmaier mistakenly copied and transliterated šá.

4 At the beginning Smith, BHT p. 148 restored [ērubū] which is possible.

i-šu-tú: Strassmaier mistakenly copied and transliterated (as did Smith) i-šu-ú. In fact the scribe originally wrote ú but then erased

part of the sign so that TÚ remained. Note the same phrase in Chronicle 8:5. lū^{ER}IN in these cases should be read ummāni (cf. um-ma-ni-šu i-šu-tu VAB 4, p. 220 i 30—Nabonidus) and not ūqu (cf. ú-qu i-ši VAB 3, p. 49 § 42—Darius I). The note in CAD 16 (Š), p. 55 should be corrected accordingly.

5 [ultu(?)^l]ib(?): Smith read: [inalib-]bi-šu-nu.

6 SAL^{meš} SIG^{meš}: Any reading of the SIG is conjectural. Strassmaier read enšāti while Smith read mašati and translated "numerous(?)." In CAD 4 (E), p. 264 it has been suggested that SIG stands for SIG₅ = damqāti.

7 i^š-pur: Since in Old Babylonian the proper form here would be i^špurū it may be that one should transliterate -puru. See K. H. Deller, *Or.* n.s. 31 (1962), p. 19 for this value in NA.

CHRONICLE 10

CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE DIADOCHI

The text is preserved on two fragments, BM 34660 (Sp III, 143) and BM 36313 (80-6-17, 39), of the same tablet which do not join. BM 34660 measures 70 mms. wide and 92 mms. long. BM 36313 measures 60 mms. wide and 86 mms. long. Of BM 34660 both obverse and reverse are preserved but of BM 36313 only the reverse is extant. There are probably only a few lines missing

at the end of the reverse of BM 34660 and the beginning of the reverse of BM 36313. The lines of the reverse of BM 34660 have been numbered 1-16 while those on BM 36313 have been numbered 21-43. This is an arbitrary system, used by Smith in the original edition of the text, and does not indicate the number of lines missing in the gap.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The text was published without a photograph by S. Smith, BHT pp. 124-149 and the copy on pls. XV-XVII. Also see H. de Genouillac, RA 22 (1925),

pp. 81-83; S. Smith, RA 22 (1925), pp. 187-197; S. Langdon, JRAS 1925, p. 168; E. Cavaignac, RA 23 (1926), pp. 5-11.†

Obverse

Lacuna

- 1 [...] x [...]
- 2 [il]āni(?)^{meš}-ma šá x x x x [...] x x [...]
- 3 a-na lūmuma''eru(gal.ukkin)-ū-tu^{kur}x-
[...] x x x x [...]
- 4 iti^{ti}Aiia^{ru} šarru šal-tum itti lūmuma''er
(gal.ukkin)^{kur}Mi-šir ipuš-ma x [...]
- 5 lūERÍN LUGAL lūummāni^{meš} šarri ina
giš^{giš}kakki iddūkū^{meš} itiAraš^{amnu} UD x
[(+ x) ...]

Obverse

Lacuna

- 1 [...] ... [...]
- 2 The gods of ... [...] ... [...]
- 3 to the office of satrap of [...] ... [...]
- 4 the month Iyyar the king did battle with
the satrap of Egypt ... [...]
- 5 king's troops put king's troops to the
sword. On the ten([+ N])th day of the
month Marchesvan [...]

COMMENTARY

Obverse

3 *muma''erūtu*: For the reading see: gal.ukkin = *mu-ʾi-ru*, var. gal^{kin.ga}.ukkin = *mu-er-ru* Meissner, BAW 1, p. 80:37, and note lūmu-ma-ʾ-er^{kur}Akkadⁱki BHT pl. XVIII:11, 15; lūm[u-m]a-ʾ-er^{uru}Ba-aḫ-tar ibid. 12 and lūmu-ma-ʾ-er [...] LBAT 615:4. On the form see GAG § 106g. Smith, BHT p. 145, who read *rab puḫrūtu* — but cf. gal.zu.ukkin.na = *rab pu-uh-ru* in Meissner, op.cit. p. 81:44 —, suggested that this is the Akkadian equivalent for “satrap”. It is not, however, a translation of the

Persian *khshathrapavan* which appears as a loan word in Akkadian (*aḫšadrapannu*) in a few cases (see CAD 1/1 [A], p. 195) and which means “protector of the kingdom” — see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, “Satrap”, Pauly-Wissowa, Real-Encyclopädie, II. Reihe, III (1921), pp. 82-187, and R. G. Kent, Old Persian (New Haven, 1953), 2nd edition, p. 181. Cf. van Dijk, Götterlieder pp. 122f.†

5 lūERÍN LUGAL: The obvious interpretation is lūummāni šarri (the absence of MEŠ is no difficulty) and this is reflected in the translation. Smith's equation ERÍN = *ummānu* “guardian”, which he took to refer to Perdiccas, requires supporting evidence.

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>6 ^{lú}muma''er(gal.ukkin) ^{kur}Akkadⁱki ana Bābili⁵ki irub MU BI epru^{HI.A} [šá Ê-sag-il (...) id-di-ku-ú]</p> <p>7 MU ^vkám mPi-líp-i-si ITI NU ZU šarru mAn-ti-gu-n[u-su ...]</p> <p>8 a-na ^{kur}Ma-ak-du-nu i-bir-ma ana arki-šú úl itūr ub-x [...]</p> <p>9 arki he-pu-ú išātu ikul-šú mSi-lu-uk-ku ^{lú}muma''er(gal.ukkin) x [...]</p> <p>10 MU ^vkám mPi itiUlūlu ^{lú}muma''er(gal.ukkin) ^{kur}Akkadⁱki úAš kaspu šá [kaspi] [...]</p> <p>11 u ^{lú}ummāni ^{kur}Akkadⁱki gab-bi iltakan^{an} kaspu ina BAR a-a-RID-x x [...]</p> <p>12 ^{kur}Akkadⁱki gišdalāti^{meš} NÍG.DÙG.GA su=pūru(amaš) ana Dūr-x x [...]</p> <p>13 MU BI mPi-líp-i-si ina ^{kur}Ma-ak-ka-du-nu x [...]</p> <p>14 MU ^vkám mPi-il-i-si itiTašritu ^{lú}um=māni^{meš} šarri šá ana Du- [...]</p> <p>15 x-tum ēkal Bābili⁵ki i-kim-šú-nu-ti-ma lú[...]</p> <p>16 [lú]rāb ^{kur}Akkadⁱki hu-uš-su šá qāni(gi) ir-x[...]</p> <p>17 [lú]Ha-ni-i šá šarru ana du-nun maššarti ina bi-rit [...]</p> <p>18 [x x] x mAn-ti-gu-nu-su ^{lú}muma''er(gal.ukkin) [...]</p> | <p>6 the satrap of Akkad entered Babylon. In that same year the dust [of Esagil (...) was removed].</p> <p>7 The fifth year of Philip (III): In an unknown month the king [...] Antigonus[us ... Antipater]</p> <p>8 crossed to Macedon and <i>did not return</i> ... [...]</p> <p>9 After it was destroyed fire consumed it. Seleucus (I), the satrap of ... [...]</p> <p>10 The sixth year of Phi(lip) (III): In the month Elul the satrap of Akkad, the ... plant, the silver from the silver [...]</p> <p>11 and all the army of Akkad he established silver in ... [...]</p> <p>12 Akkad good doors of the sheep-fold for Dur-... [...]</p> <p>13 In that same year Philip (III) in Macedon ... [...]</p> <p>14 The seventh year of Philip (III): In the month Tishri the army of the king which [was stationed] at Du- [...]</p> <p>15 the ... of the palace of Babylon took away from them and [...]</p> <p>16 the officer of Akkad reed huts ... [...]</p> <p>17 the Haneans whom the king [stationed] to reinforce the guard posts between [...]</p> <p>18 [...] ... Antigonus, the satrap [...]</p> |
|---|--|

COMMENTARY

6 Cf. r. 13 and 33 and Chronicle 11:2. The restorations are based on LBAT 212 r. 14' which is an astronomical diary for 322/1 B.C. Also note two records of donations made to clear the dust from Esagil: 1) Bu 88-5-12, 619 (CT 4, 39c and edited by Kohler and Ungnad in Hunderte Ausgewählte Rechtsurkunden [Leipzig, 1911] as no. 89) is dated in Alexander's sixth year (311/0 B.C.) as is the notation in Chronicle 10 r. 13.

2) BM 78651 (unpublished) is dated in Alexander's ninth year (308/7 B.C.).†

8 ana arki-šú úl itūr ub-x: Smith read ana arki-šú-nu itārār and translated "returned after them". This makes little sense. Note that AR can hardly be a phonetic complement

since a present form would be unusual.

9 arki he-pu-ú: Smith read ti-bu-ú "they sank" but the value ti is not attested in this period.

10 úAš: Concerning this plant see Thompson, DAB pp. 352-354.

12 NÍG.DÙG.GA: One should read here a form of tābu or damāqu and since NÍG occurs in the ideogram, presumably a substantival form (attributive genitive).

13 ^{kur}Ma-ak-ka-du-nu: The -ka- is clear both on the original and Smith's copy. But in his transliteration Smith has -ku-.

14 ana Du- [...]: The last visible sign is clear. Smith read the end of the line mIl- [...]. Cf. Smith, BHT p. 131. The sign is not IL.

19 [MU VII^{kám} mPi]-l^pi-si itⁱDu'ūzu mAn-ti-g[u-nu-su ...]

20 [...] x šá ina ēkal šarri šá [...]

21 [...] x nišū^{meš} [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

1 [...] x [...]

2 [eberti(bal.ri) šit Ša]mši([^dUtu].fèl. a)(?)
u eberti(bal.ri) ereb Šamši(^dUtu.šú) x
[...]

3 [...] x iq-bi um-ma MU VII^{kám} mAn-ti-g[u-nu-su ...]

4 [...] mSi-lu-uk-ku lúráb lúummāni^{meš}
šangū^{meš} x [...]

5 mSi-lu-uk-ku lúšatam(šà.tam) Ê-mes-lam
it-ta- [...]

6 ēkalla qāt^{II}-su ùl ikšud ITI BI x kaspu
x x [...]

7 itⁱAbu mSi-lu-uk-ku áš-šú ša-bat ēkalli
x x [...]

8 iz-bu-ub-ma ^{id}Puratta ùl is-kir x [x] x x
[...]

9 ina l^b-bi lu x x x mSi-lu-uk-ku ultu
Bābili^{ki} ana [...]

10 šá ina muḫ-ḫi ^{id}Idiglat x^{meš} Ê x pa-ar x
[...]

11 itⁱAraḫsamnu ṭab-ti ù x x x x [...]

12 lúummāni kurGu-ti-i ù lúummāni^{meš} [...]

13 MU BI epru^{III.A} šá Ê-s[ag]-i[l] (...) id-di-ku-ú]

19 [The eighth year of Philip (III): In the month Tammuz Antig[onus ...]

20 [...] ... which in the king's palace ...
[...]

21 [...] ... the people [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

1 [...] ... [...]

2 Towards [ea]st and west ... [...]

3 [...] ... said thus: "In the seventh year, Antig[onus ...]

4 [...] Seleucus (I), the commander of the army, the priests ... [...]

5 Seleucus (I) [...] the custodian of Emeslam [...]

6 he did not capture the palace. In the same month ... silver ... [...]

7 In the month Ab Seleucus (I), in order to capture the palace ... [...]

8 was in a frenzy. He did not dam the Euphrates ... [...] ... [...]

9 within ... Seleucus (I) [...] from Babylon to [...]

10 which (is) upon the Tigris ... went out ... [...]

11 In the month Marchesvan friendship and ... [...]

12 the army of the Guti and the army [...]

13 In the same year the dust of Es[ag]i[l] (...) was removed].

COMMENTARY

Reverse

3 The figure is certainly 7. Smith's copy and transliteration show 6. It is unusual to begin a new regnal year in the middle of a line as Smith, in his original edition, would have us believe. The context suggests that this is direct quotation. Cf. the note to r. 42 and see Smith, RA 22 (1925), pp. 188–190.

6 x kaspu: Smith read še'u ana kaspi "grain

for silver". The reading is possible but uncertain due to a break in the text.

8 iz-bu-ub-ma: Another possible reading is iṣ-bu-ub from šabābu "to teach (a fledgling) to fly" but this would hardly be the correct interpretation here.

13f. There are traces of a horizontal line drawn between these lines despite Smith's comment (BHT p. 148).

13 For the restoration see the note to line 6.

- 14 MU VII^{kám} m^A-lik-sa-an-dar šarru mār(a)-
šú šá m^{KI}.MIN u m[...]]
15 m^{An}-ti-gu-nu-su šal-tum itti lúummāni^{meš}
m^{Si}-[lu-uk-ku i^{puš} ...]
16 [ultu] itti^Abi adi itti^Tebēti [...]
17 [šal]-tum [itti a-ḥa-a]-m[eš ...]

Lacuna

- 21 [... m^{An}-t]i-gu-nu-su ibbalkit-ma x [...]]
22 [...] bi-rit É-sag-gíl u É-x [...]]
23 [... m^{An}]ti-gu-nu-su it-ti lúummāni māz
dūtum(mah)^{tum} [...]]
24 [...] x-ti-šú irub^{ub} ultu UD VIII^{kám} šá
itti^x [...]]
25 x si bīt ḥa-re-e qāt^{II}-su ul ikšud itti^Šabātu
UD [...]]
26 bi-kit u si-ip-du ina māti ittaškan^{an}
šātu(im.gál.lu) [...]]
27 ultu Bābili^{ki} ūsi ḥubut(sar)^{ut} āli u šēri
iḥbut(sar) būšu [...]]
28 UD II^{kám} ana Kutē^{ki} ēli(du₆.du)-ma
ḥubut(sar)^{ut} [...]]
29 nišū^{meš} BALA.KI išātu ana bīt makkūri šá
Nergal[iddi ...]
30 x x is ki la mu a-na lú^{muma}''eru(gal.
ukkin)-ū-tu [...]]
31 [ina li]-be Bābili^{ki} itti-šú ip-qid MU BI
ŠE I (BÁN) ZÚ.L[UM.MA ...]
32 [...] ti meš MU BI bītāti^{meš} mādāz
ti(mah)^{meš} ina eršeti(ki)ⁿ [...]]
33 [ultu(?) B]ābili^{ki} ana ki-di ūšū^{meš} epru^{II.A}
šá É-sag-íl (...) id-di-lu-ú]

- 14 The seventh year: Alexander (IV), the
king, son of DITTO, and [...]]
15 Antigonus [did] battle with the army of
Se[leucus (I) ...]
16 [from] the month Ab until the month
Tebet [...]]
17 [They did bat]tle with one another [...]]

Lacuna

- 21 [... Ant]igonus rebelled ... [...]]
22 [...] between Esagil and E... [...]]
23 [... An]tigonus with numerous troops
[...]]
24 [...] ... entered. From the eighth day
of the month ... [...]]
25 ... he did not capture the ḥaru-house.
In the month Shebat, on the [Nth] day
[...]]
26 there was weeping and mourning in the
land. The south wind [...]]
27 went out from Babylon. He plundered
city and countryside. The property [...]]
28 On the second day he went up to Cuthah
and the plunder of [...]]
29 the people retreated. [He set] fire to the
store-house of Nergal [...]]
30 ... to the office of satrap of [...]]
31 [With]in Babylon he entrusted him. In
that same year barley, one *sutu* of dates
[...]]
32 [...] ... In that same year the numerous
temples in the earth [...]]
33 [from B]abylon they went out. The dust
of E[sagil (...)] was removed].

COMMENTARY

- 14 Cf. r. 34 and the note to that line.
22 É-x: Smith read: *Bīt-á-[ki-ti]* which is
possible.
25 bīt ḥarē: It is unknown what this structure
is. See von Soden, AHw pp. 328f., and CAD 6
(H), p. 118.
27 The reading of SAR SAR, which also occurs
in Chron. 1 ii 47; Chron. 4:23; Chron. 7
iii 14; Chron. 9 passim; and cf. SAR^{ut} kur[...]]
LBAT 835:12' (astronomical diary), is in-
dicated by the phonetic complement. The
same phrase occurs also in r. 28 and 40 with

the phonetic complement. Cf. Borger, Or.
n.s. 34 (1965), pp. 439f.

29 BALA.KI: See the note to Chron. 1 i 35.
išātu ... [iddi]: For the restoration see
Chron. 2:5.

31 [ina li]-be: Cf. r. 36. The orthography
li-be for libbi is elsewhere attested: LBAT
516:11', 27'; 777 r.(?) 5' (astronomical
diaries).

ŠE I (BÁN) ZÚ.L[UM.MA]: Cf. r. 35 and see the
commentary to Chron. 23.

33 For the restoration see the note to line 6.

- 34 [MU x^{ká}]^m m*A-lik-sa-an-dar šarru mār(a)-šú šá* KI.MIN *u* ^m*Si-lu-[uk-ku ...]*
 35 [... *A*]k^{ká}*adī*^{ki} *ana Bár-sipa*^{ki} *illik-ma* ŠE BAR [...]
 36 [...] *šá li-be Bár-sipa*^{ki} *u qí-rib* x [...]
 37 [...] [*É*]-*sag-gil ip-te-qid* UD XII XIII x[IV(?) ...]
 38 [...] x NIGIN^{ru} *lúmārū Bābili*₅^{ki} *a an* x [...]
 39 [...] x^{meš} *bi-kit u sip-du ina māti ittaš* [*kan^{an} ...*]
 40 [...] *-ma ḥubut(sar)*^{ut} *āli u šēri iḥbu*[*t(sar)* ...]
 41 [...] x *lúmārū Bābili*₅^{ki} *ḥu* x [...]
 42 [...] *la šá ina* MU *r^{kám}* m[*A*]-[*lik-sa-an-dar(?)* ...]
 43 [...] x *šarru ana lúmārū [Bābili*₅^{ki} *(?)* ...]
 Lacuna

Left Edge

- 1 [...] x *giš ki x aš te u lūummāni*^{meš} ^m*An-ti-gu-nu-su a-n*[*a(?)* ...]
 2 [...] ^{iti}*Abu* UD XXV(?) [...] *-šu šal-tum* *ina pān lūummāni*^{meš} ^m*Si-lu-uk-ku* [...]

- 34 [The *ninth* year]: Alexander (IV), the king, son of DITTO, and Seleu[cus (I) ...]
 35 [...] A]kkad he went to Borsippa and the *barley, one sutu* [of dates ...]
 36 [...] within Borsippa and within ... [...]
 37 [...] Esagil he entrusted. On the twelfth day, the thirteenth, the *four*[*teenth* ...]
 38 [...] ... turned the Babylonians ... [...]
 39 [...] ... there was weeping and mourning in the land [...]
 40 [...] ... he plundered city and country-side [...]
 41 [...] ... Babylonians ... [...]
 42 [...] ... which in the first year of *A*[*lexander* ...]
 43 [...] ... the king to the Babylonians [...] Lacuna

Left Edge

- 1 [...] ... and the army of Antigonus to [...]
 2 [...] the month Ab, the *twenty-fifth/sixth* day [...] ... battle before the army of Seleucus (I) [...].

COMMENTARY

- 34 For the restoration “ninth” see Smith, BHT p. 128.
u: See Smith, RA 22 (1925), p. 190.
 35 ŠE BAR: Is this the same as r. 31 or should one read *uttatu*?
 36 *li-be*: See the note to line 31.
 38 NIGIN^{ru}: Some form of *saḥāru* is to be reconstructed.
a: This might be a phonetic complement to the preceding. But a phonetic complement is not used in r. 41.

39 The restoration is based on r. 26.

42 As pointed out in the note to r. 3 it would be unusual to begin a new regnal year in the middle of a line. This may, therefore, be a reference to an event that had occurred in a previous year or it may represent a synchronism. Smith restored the name Seleucus at the end of the line which is impossible on the basis of the traces as he later realized—see RA 22 (1925), p. 191. The proposed restoration is, on the other hand, quite possible.

CHRONICLE 11

CHRONICLE CONCERNING ANTIOCHUS THE CROWN PRINCE

The fragmentary text was at one time broken into three pieces, BM 32440 + 32581 + 32585. BM 32581 (76–11–17, 2324) and 32585 (76–11–17, 2328) were joined by A. Sachs and BM 32440 (76–11–17, 2176)

was added to this by the present author. Altogether it measures 85 mms. wide and 110 mms. long. It comes from the centre of a large tablet. There are several lacunae and the reverse is badly worn.

Obverse		Obverse	
Lacuna		Lacuna	
1 [...] x [...] x x [...]		1 [...] ... [...] ... [...]	
2 [...] x x MU BI epru ^{HL.A} šá É-sag-gí[l (...) id-di-ku-ú]		2 [...] ... In that same year the dust of Esagi[l (...) was removed].	
3 [MU x ^{kám} itiX] ITI BI UD xX ^{kám} mAn-ti-'- uk-su mār šarri [...]		3 [The Nth year: In the month ...], that same month, on the twentieth day, Antiochus, the prince, [...]	
4 [... UD (x +)]VII(?) ^{kám} (?) a-na bar(?) tum ú-ma(?) ^{-mu} ana eberti(ba.l.ri) dU[TV. È/ŠÚ.A]		4 [...] on the seventh [day] to ... the beasts to the e[ast]/w[est]	
5 [... UD x ^k ám mā[r] šarri [šá] bīt redú- tum ^{tum} ina ašri(ki) šu'āti(bi) iškun adi lúDUMU.X [...]		5 [... on the Nt]h [day] the crown prince established in that place until the ... [...]	
6 [...] gi(?) ^{-nu} (?) ^{-ú} šá(?) Sîn É-giš- nu _x (ŠIR)-gal-u Sîn bēl [...]		6 [...] regular offerings for Sin of Egishnu- galu, Sin, lord of [...]	
7 [mAn-ti-'-uk-s]u mār šarri ina bīt dSîn É-giš-nu _x (ŠIR)-gal-u x [...]		7 [Antiochus], the prince, in the temple of Sin, Egishnugal, ... [...]	
8 [...] uš-kin-nu [mār] šarri ien(?) imme- ru(udu.nitá) ana nin-[da-be-e (...)]		8 [...] they bowed down. The prince [presented] one sheep as an offe[ring].	
9 [...] É-giš-nu _x (ŠIR)-gal-u bīt dSîn bēl x [...]		9 [...] Egishnugal, the temple of Sin, lord of [...]	
10 [... uru]Bīt-Gu-ra-' È iti[x ITI BI UD x ^{kám}]		10 [...] Bit-Gura, went out. In the month [... , that same month, on the Nth day]	
11 [... u]ruSi-l[u(?)]-ku(?) ^{-a} lúummānimeš- šú [...]		11 [...] Seleucia, his army [...]	
12 [...] ku(?) x [x] x [...]		12–13 Too broken for translation.	
13 [...] x x [...]			
Reverse		Reverse	
Lacuna		Lacuna	
1 [...] x UD [XVIII(?)] ^{kám} mēmeš ana lib- b[i ...]		1 [...] ... on the eighteenth/twenty-eighth day the water into [...]	
2 [...]-uṭ-ṭu-da-a lúE-man-na-a[(-a) ...]		2 [...]uttuda, the Greek, [...]	
3 [...] [VIII] mAn-ti-'-ku-su mār šarri [...]		3 [...] eight, Antiochus, the prince, [...]	
4 [...] ana uruBīt-Gu-r[a-' ...]		4 [...] to Bit-Gur[a ...]	

COMMENTARY

Obverse

- 2 For the restoration see the note to Chron. 10:6.
- 3 mAn-ti-'-uk-su: Note that otherwise in this document the name is written: mAn-ti-'-ku-su—r. 3, 6, 11. In line 7 only the end of the name is preserved. At the end of the line there would be just room for the restoration: šá bīt redútum^{tum}. Cf. line 5.

Reverse

- 1 At the beginning of the line one expects: [... iti^{MN} ITI] BI UD. But the first sign preserved is definitely not BI. The numeral between UD and KÁM is written over an erasure. Originally the scribe wrote KÁM immediately after UD and then, realizing his mistake, wrote the numeral on top. Thus the reading is uncertain and the numeral could be 18 or 28.
- 2 Both Iamannāia (cf. Chron. 12:5, r. 6) and Emannāia (cf. Chron. 13a r. 5) are attested forms in Akkadian for “Greek”.

5 [...] x [...]	5 [...] ... [...]
6 [... ^m An-ti]-'-ku-su mār š[arri ...]	6 [... Anti]ochus, the prin[ce ...]
7 [...] x x šá ina [Bābili ₅ ^k _i [...]	7 [...] ... which in Babylon [...]
8 [...] tu x ultu Bābili ₅ ^k _i [i(?) ...]	8 [...] ... from Babylon [...]
9 [...]-qar ú-[še]-š[i]b(?) ú-[...]	9 [...] ... he caused to dwell. He [...]
10 [... ri(?)]-ik(?) -su dan-nu ir-ki-[su ...]†	10 [... they] made a firm treaty [...]†
11 [^m An-ti]-['-ku]-su mār šarri šá bīt [redú- tumtum ...]	11 [Anti]ochus, the cro[wn] prince, [...]
12 [MU x ^{kám} i ^{ti} Arahšamnu ITI BI UD XX[(+ x) ^{kám} x (x)] x BI x immeru(udu.nitá) ana x [...]	12 [The Nth year]: In the month Marches- van, that same month, on the twenty ([N])th day, [...] ... ten sheep for [...]
13 [...] x ana lūmār Bābili ₅ ^k _i [i x x] BI(?) x immeru(udu.nitá) ana [x] kám [...]	13 [...] ... to the Babylonians [...] ... ten sheep for [...]
14 [...]-' ina lib-b[i x x] x a x [x (x)] x [x] x x [...]	14 [...] ... into [...] ... [...] ... [...]
15 [...] x x [x x (x)] x x [...]	15 [...] ... [...] ... [...]
16 [... ^{iti} x] ITI BI x [...]	16 [... in the month ...], that same month, ... [...]
17 [...]x-šú x x [...]	17-18 Too broken for translation.
18 [...] x x x x [...]	
Lacuna	Lacuna

CHRONICLE 12

CHRONICLE CONCERNING THE END OF THE REIGN OF SELEUCUS I

Two fragments of this chronicle exist. They are BM 32235 (76-11-17, 1962) which is 55 mms. wide and 60 mms. long and BM 32957 (78-6-31, 46) which is 45 mms. wide and 50 mms. long. The provenance of BM 32957 is registered as Babylon. The two

pieces do not actually join but it is evident both from content and physical features that BM 32957, of which only one side is preserved, contains the ends of the lines corresponding to the reverse of BM 32235.

Obverse	Obverse
Lacuna	Lacuna
1 [x x] x x [...]	1 [...] ... [...]
2 ina ma-la-ku šá É-sag-[il(?) ...]	2 in the procession of Esag[il ...]
3 [M]U XXX ^{kám} it ⁱ iSimānu(sig) IT[I BI ...]	3 The thirtieth year: In the month Sivan, [that same] mon[th, ... his troops]
4 [i]d-ke-e-ma ana kur[...]	4 [h]e mustered and [marched] to the land of [...]
5 [l] ^á Ia-a-ma-na-a-[a]l [...]	5 the Greeks [...]
6 ūši-ma x x [...]	6 he went out and ... [...]
7 lūšaknu ultu [...]	7 the governor from [...]
8 É-sag-[il(?) ...]	8 Esag[il ...].
Lacuna	Lacuna

COMMENTARY

Obverse

2 É-sag-[il(?)]: One might also read Bīt-rēš. The same is true in line 8. For other ex-

amples of the phrase mālaku šá TN see von Soden, AHW p. 594a.

8 See the note to line 2.

Reverse

Lacuna

1 MU XXX[+ x^k]ām it[i^x ITI BI ... um= māni^{mes}]-[šú] ultu kurSa-pa[r-du]

2 id-ke-e-ma tā[mta(a.a[b.b.a])(?) ...] x itti-šú ú-še-bi[r(?)-ma(?)]

3 ana kurMa-ak-ka-du-nu māti-šú [...]mes ultu lúummāni^{mes} [x (x)]

4 si-ḫi ana muḫ-ḫi-šú is-ḫu-[u(?)] [...] itti[Simānu(sig)] ITI BI ultu UD [x^{kām}]

5 [a]di UD XI^{kām} lúummāni^{mes} kur[...]x-gim(?) [šú/ku] ūši(?)i-[ma(?)]

6 [x] x x x I^ua-a-ma-[na-a-a ... i]^a Purattu DÙ ([x])

7 [a]kala^{HI.A} ina lib-bi ikuḫū(kú)-[ʿ(?)] [...] l[ib-bi ūšū^{mes}-ni

8 [i]^{ti} Du'ūzu(?) ITI BI [UD(?) xII(?)] [kām(?) ...] šá kurBa-ah-tar

9 [x] x šarru ú [...] I^{IV}TI BI UD x[+ x +]
IV^{kām}

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

1 The thirty-[first] year: [In the month ..., that same month, ...] his [troops] from Sar[dis]

2 he mustered and took across the se[a...] with him

3 to Macedonia, his land, [...]s from the troops [...]

4 They rebelled against him [... In the month] [Sivan], that same month, from the [Nth] day

5 [t]o the eleventh day the troops of the land of [...] ... and he went out

6 ..., the Gree[k, ... on the bank of] the Euphrates built

7 They ate bread therein [...] they went out from.

8 In the month Tammuz, that same month, the twelfth day, [...] of Bactria

9 ... the king [... In the month ...,] that same month, the 14[+ N]th day.

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

Reverse

1 The numeral is probably XXXI. See Chapter 2.

kurSa-pa[r-du]: Cf. kurSa-par-du in BHT pl. XVIII:10, 15. For the identification with Sardis see Smith, BHT p. 152.

6 The translation assumes that the end of the line refers to construction work on the

bank of the Euphrates. Another, if less likely, possibility is that the reference is to the flooding of the river. Cf. ITI BI ILLU(A.KAL) NU-DÙ LBAT 297:13', r. 8 and also note ITI BI ILLU(A.KAL) TA XIV EN x [...]ud in-ni-ip-pu-uš LBAT 680:2f. (due to the broken state of the text it is uncertain if inneppuš is to be construed with mīlu(illu) or some other subject in the break).

CHRONICLE 13

CHRONICLE OF THE SELEUCID PERIOD

The fragment BM 32171 (76-11-17, 1898) measures 60 mms. wide and 65 mms. long.

It comes from the right-hand edge of a large tablet. The reverse is badly worn.

Obverse

Lacuna

1 [...] x x [...]

2 [...] x maš-šū-tum [...]

3 [...] ina tam-tum uš(?) tum(?) x [...]

4 [...] x ia šá KUR šá ina URU x x x

Obverse

Lacuna

1-4 Too broken for translation.

- 5 [...] x ^m*Si-lu-ku* ^{lú}*pa-hat*
 6 [...] ^{lú}*Idi*[*qlat*(?)] *u nār šarri mi-šir-šú ki*
 7 [...] *-i itti-šú iš-kun-ma* ^m*Mi-ni-su*
 8 [...] ^{meš}-šú ^m*An-ti-'-uk māru(a) šá*
 9 [...] *-ku*(?) ^{GAZ} ^{lú}*nišū* ^{meš} *mādāti*(^{ma}*h*) ^{meš}
 10 [...] *Ē-s*[*ag-gíl ana* ^{lú}*kalú*(*uš.ku*)-*ta*
 11 [...] *-a-a-am* ^{ZÁ}*H-ma*
 12 [...] x ^{iti}*Ulūlu* ^{ITI} *BI*

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

- 1 [...] x x [x]
 2 [...] *ki iḥbutū*(*sar*)-'
 3 [...] x *dan ra bi ina ašri*(*ki*)-šú
 4 [...] x *ana lib-bi* [*Ē*]-*sag-gíl* šá-'
 5 [...] x *al-te-me um-ma* ^{uru}*S[i]-lu-ku-a-a*
 6 [...] x x a *gu x x u ina* ^{giš}*kussē* *šar[ru]-*
 ú]-[*ti ittaša*^a]^b
 7 [...] *š*[*arru māru(a) šá* ^m*An-ti-'*]-*uk-su*
 x [x x x x x] šá(?) a t
 8 [...] ^m*Si-lu-k*]-*u māru(a) šá* ^m*Si-lu*]-[*ku*]
 [x x (x)]
 9 [...] x a b ^{iti}[*ṭebētu*(?)] [...]]
 10 [...] x x x [...]

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

Obverse

- 5 Seleucus, the district officer, also appears in astronomical diaries but it is unknown who he is.
 9 ^{lú}*nišū* ^{meš}: The same orthography occurs in LBAT 660 r. 9'; 752 Edge 4.
 10 *kalúta*: See W. von Soden, AHW p. 429.

- 5 [...] ... Seleucus, the district officer
 6 [...] *Ti*[*gris* and the king's canal, its boundary ...
 7 [...] established with him [*an alliance*] and Minisu
 8 [...] his [...] Antiochus, son of
 9 [...] ... killed. The numerous people
 10 [...] *in Es*]agil to the office of lamentation-priest
 11 [he appointed ...] ... fled and
 12 [...] ... In the month Elul, that same month,

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

- 1 [...] ... [...]
 2 [...] when they plundered
 3 [...] ... in his/its place
 4 [...] they set up [...] inside Esagil.
 5 [The Nth year: In the month ..., that same month, (on the Nth day)] I heard this: "The Seleucean
 6 [...] ... and [he ascende]d the ro[yal] throne.
 7 [...] the k[ing], son of Antiochus, [...]
 ...
 8 [...] Seleuc]us, son of Seleucus [...]
 9 [...] ... In the month *Tebet*, [that same month, ...]
 10 [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

- 5 *al-te-me um-ma*: Cf. *alteme ša* in astronomical diaries: LBAT 516:11'; 615:6'; 749:3'; 759:9'. Also note *ittešme umma* in the King List of the Hellenistic Period 12f., r. 6f. and *ittešme šá* in *ibid.* r. 14. In extracting his information from a diary the chronicler has not bothered to change the form to an impersonal passive as the author of the King List of the Hellenistic Period did.
 6 *kussē šar[ru]-[ú]-[ti]*: Cf. Chron. 5:11.
 7 ^m*An-ti-'*]-*uk-su*: The aleph sign is written over another sign.

CHRONICLE 13a

CHRONICLE FRAGMENT OF THE SELEUCID PERIOD

The fragment BM 32310 (76–11–17, 2039) and 70 mms. long. One side, which may be comes from a large tablet. It is 53 mms. wide the obverse, is almost completely missing.

Obverse?	Obverse?
Lacuna	Apart from “the Babylonians” in line 3 there is nothing on the obverse(?) that can be translated.
1 [...] x [...] 2 [...] x a diš [ul/mil [...] 3 [...] lūmārū ^{meš} Bābīlī ^k ⁱ [...] 4 [...] x ši bu [...] 5 [...] x x x [...] 6 [...] x x [...] 7 [...] x x [...] Lacuna	
Reverse?	Reverse?
Lacuna	Lacuna
1 [...] x x [...] 2 [...] x šu'ātīm(mu) ^{a-tim} [...] 3 [...] šá ^d Ištar(mùš) šá x x [...] 4 [...] x LUGAL lūummāni ^{meš} [...] 5 [...] -[a] lūE-man-n[a]-[a-a] x x x [...] 6 [...] x arki šarru ana ma-dak-tum ul-t[e(?)]-rib(?) [...] 7 [...] ^{meš} iš(?) -ru-uf(?) XXIII hurāši x [...] 8 [...] x ^{meš} ni ina ašri(ki)-šú ina kirē šimburāši(li) [...] 9 [...] x Tī ^{ti} [...] 10 [...] UD lūummāni ^{meš} -šú šá mAn-ti-'- [...] 11 [...] x la gi im lūummāni ^{meš} -šú [...] 12 [...] ú-kin-nu-' ina giškakki G[AZ(?)] [...]	1–2 Too broken for translation 3 [...] of Ishtar of ... [...] 4 [...] ... the king, army [...] 5 [...] a, the Greek, ... Bel ... [...] 6 [...] ... afterwards the king sent i[nto] the camp [...] 7 [...] s tore up. Twenty-three gold ... [...] 8 [...] s in his/its place in the orchard of junipers [...] 9 [...] ... take [...] 10 [...] ... the troops of Anti[...] 11 [...] ... his troops [...] 12 [...] they established. H[e slew] with the sword [...]
13 [...] x [...]	13 [...] ... [...]

COMMENTARY

The identification of obverse and reverse is uncertain. At the bottom of the reverse(?) there is drawn a horizontal line and then a space which is blank except for traces at the left-hand side. These features suggest that this is a colophon and this side, therefore, would be the reverse. But the reverse(?) is flat whereas the obverse(?) appears to be convex. The opposite is usually the case in these chronicles.

Reverse?

- 2 *šu'ātīm(mu)^{a-tim}*: This orthography is attested in astronomical diaries.†
 5 See the note to Chron. 11 r. 2.
 8 *kirē burāši*: The same phrase appears in LBAT 239:3' (astronomical diary).
 9 There is a blank space in this line after Tī^{ti} but the end of the line was almost certainly inscribed.
 10 Since the date of this fragment is unknown the traces at the end of the line could be the beginning of the name of Antiochus or Antigonos.

CHRONICLE 14

ESARHADDON CHRONICLE

The Esarhaddon Chronicle is preserved on a tablet, BM 25091 (98-2-16, 145), which is 50 mms. wide and 76 mms. long. At one time

the tablet was broken into two fragments. There are several lacunae in the tablet and the top portion is entirely missing.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Copy:

1924 S. Smith, BHT pls. I-III

Editions:

1924 S. Smith, BHT pp. 1-21

1956 R. Borger, *Asarh.* pp. 121-125

Translation Only:

1955 A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*² p. 303

Studies:

1925 H. de Genouillac, *RA* 22, p. 71

S. Langdon, *JRAS* 1925, p. 166

T. Peet, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 11, p. 117

S. Smith, *JRAS* 1925, pp. 295-297

1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, *ZA* 37, pp. 61-79, 221f.

1958 G. Fecht, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abt. Kairo* 16, pp. 116-119

- 1 [x x x x (x)] šar kurEl[amti ...]
- 2 x [x x (x) m]Aššur-aḫa-iddina^{na} x [...]†
- 3 ina iti[Ulūli Anu]-rabū u ilāni^{me} ša De[rki ...]
- 4 aHum-hum-ia u aŠi-ma-li-[ia ...]
- 5 ina itiTašriti kisallu(?) ku šu ur ru ina it[i^x ...]
- 6 MU II kām láráb-bīti ina kurAkkadiki b[i-hir-tú ib-te-hir]
- 7 [M]U BI uruAr-za-[a]-a ša-bit [šal]-lat-su š[al]-lat]
- 8 [nišū]^{meš} ḫab-tu šarru u mār-[šú ina] qa-ti šab-t[u]
- 9 [di]-ik-tú ina kurBu-[uš(?)-šu(?)]-ú-a u kurGi-[mi]r-a-a ina kurŠu-bu(?)-uḫ]-nu di-k[át]

- 1 [...] the king of El[am ...]
- 2 ... E[sarhaddon ... [...]]†
- 3 In the month Elul Anu-rabu and the gods of De[r ...]
- 4 Humhumya and Shimaly[a ...]
- 5 In the month Tishri the forecourt ... in the mont[h ...]
- 6 The second year: The major-domo [conscripted troop]s in Akkad.
- 7 In that same year Arza was captured (and) sacked.
- 8 [The people] were plundered, the king and [his] son were taken prisoner.
- 9 There was a slaughter in *Bushshua* and (there was a slaughter) of the Cimmerians in *Shubuhnu*.

COMMENTARY

1-5 Cf. Chron. 1 iii 39-47.

5 This line is not at all clear and the parallel in Chron. 1 is of no help. The interpretations of Smith, *JRAS* 1925, pp. 295-297, and Landsberger and Bauer, *ZA* 37 (1927), p. 74, are unsatisfactory. Further cf. Landsberger, *Brief* p. 317, n. 20.

6-9 Cf. Chron. 1 iii 48-50.

6 Cf. line 12. For comment on the phrase see the commentary to Chron. 1 iv 4.

9 The place names deserve comment. The conquest of the Cimmerians is recounted in

Borger, *Asarh.* p. 33:18, p. 51 Ep. 8, p. 100 § 66:23f. In each of these passages their defeat is said to have taken place in Ḫubušna. (Ḫubušna is perhaps to be identified with Ḫubuškāiu which is south of Lake Van—see Rigg, *JAOS* 62 [1942], p. 136, n. 52.) Thus one expects this place name here. But the traces are as transliterated. Smith's copy and transliteration show kurKu-še-eḫ-nu without lacuna at the end of the line! Cf. Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 66. kurBu-[uš(?)-šu(?)]-ú-a is fairly certain. Cf. Bušše in Tukulti-Ninurta I's inscriptions (see Weid-

- 10 MU III^{kám} m[d]x-ahhē^{me}-šul-lim lúšanda-
bakku m^dŠamaš-ib-ni mār(a) mDa-ku-ru
- 11 [a]-[n]a ku[r]Aš-šur ab-ku ina ku[r]Aš-šur
di-i-ku
- 12 M[U I]^{y^{kám}} uruŠi-da-nu ša-bit šal-lat-su
šal-[lat] MU BI lúrab-bīti ina kurAkkadⁱ
bi-ḥir-tú ib-te-[ḥir]
- 13 MU V^{kám} itīTašritu UD II^{kám} ummāniⁿⁱ meš
kurAš-šur uruBa-az-za iṣ-šab-tu
- 14 ina [itīTašriti] qaqqadu šá šarri šá kurŠa-'
i-du-nu na-kis-ma ana kurAš-šur n[a-š]i
- 15 MU VI^{kám} ummāni^{me} kurAš-šur ana kurMi-
li-du [ittal]kū^{meš} ina muḥḥi mMu-gal-lu
ittadū^{meš}
- 16 itīUlūlu UD V^{kám} dHum-ba-ḥal-da-šú š[ār
kurEl]amti^{ki} NU GIG balṭu(ti)-su ina ēkalli-
šú mīt
- 17 VI MU^{meš} dHum-ba-ḥal-da-šú š[arru-u]t
kurElamti^{ki} ipuš^{uš}
- 18 mUr-ta-gu aḥu-šú ina kurElamti^[k] i ina
giškussē it-t[a-š]ab†
- 19 mMU.MU lúšandabakku u mKudurru m[ā]r
mDa-ku-ru G[AZ(?)^m]e(?)†
- 20 MU [VII]^{kám} itīAddaru UD VIII^{kám} ummā-
ni^{meš} kurAš-šur a-na uruŠá-amīlē^{meš} x [x]
ki†
- 21 MU BI dIštar(mùš) A-ga-dē^{ki} u ilāni^{meš}
ša A-ga-dē^{ki} ultu k[urElamti]^[ki] illikū^{meš}
- 22 ina itīAddari UD x^{kám} a-na A-ga-dē^{ki}
[īterbū^{meš}]
- 10 The third year: ...-ahhe-shullim, the
mayor, (and) Shamash-ibni, the Dak-
kurean,
- 11 were transported to Assyria (and) exe-
cuted in Assyria.
- 12 The fourth year: Sidon was captured
(and) sacked. In that same year the
major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad.
- 13 The fifth year: On the second day of the
month Tishri the army of Assyria captured
Bazza.
- 14 In the month Tishri the head of the king
of Sidon was cut off and conveyed to
Assyria.
- 15 The sixth year: The army of Assyria
[march]ed to Milidu (and) encamped
against Mugallu.
- 16 On the fifth day of the month Elul Hum-
ban-haltash (II), k[ing of El]am, without
becoming ill and still appearing healthy,
died in his palace.
- 17 For six years Humban-haltash (II) ruled
Elam.
- 18 Urtaki, his brother, ascended the throne
in Elam.
- 19 MU.MU, the mayor, and Kudurru, the
Dakkurean, were ex[ecuted].
- 20 The seventh year: On the eighth day of
the month Adar the army of Assyria
[marched] to Sha-amile.
- 21 In that same year Ishtar of Agade and
the gods of Agade left [Elam] (and)
- 22 [entered] Agade on the tenth day of the
month Adar.

COMMENTARY

ner, Th. p. 62), which is also somewhere in the Lake Van region. There is no place name in the parallel accounts which can be compared to it. Cf. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), p. 79, n. 4.

10f. Cf. Chron. 1 iv 1f. and the commentary to those lines.

12 Cf. Chron. 1 iv 3f. and the notes to those lines. Note the unusual orthography uruŠi-da-nu instead of the usual Šidunu. Further note kurŠa-'²-i-du-nu in line 14.

13f. Cf. Chron. 1 iv 5-8 and the note. Smith, in his copy, has mistakenly omitted šá in line 14 between LUGAL and kurŠa-'²-i-du-nu (on the form of the name see the note to line 12).

15-19 Cf. Chron. 1 iv 9-15 and the notes to those lines.

16 Cf. Chron. 20 B 17.

19 G[AZ(?)^m]e(?): The reading is very uncertain but certainly a[b-k]u cannot be read.

20-26 Cf. Chron. 1 iv 16-28 and the commentary.

- 23 MU VIII^{kám} iti *Addaru* UD VI^{kám} *aššat šarri*
mi-t[a-at]
- 24 iti *Addaru* UD XVIII^{kám} *ummāni*meš *kurAš-*
šur kurŠub-r[i-a-a iš-šab-tu]
- 25 *šal-lat-su iš-tal-lu* MU X^{kám} iti *Nisannu*
*ummāni*me *kurAš-š[ur ana Mi-šir ittalkū]*
- 26 iti *Tašritu* UD III^{kám} *di-ik-tú ina kurMi-šir*
d[i-kát (. . .)]
- 27 MU XI^{kám} *šarru* [*ina kurAš-šur lúrabūti*me-
sú ma-du-tu ina [giš^{kakki} *iddū*]*k*
- 28 MU XII^{kám} *šar kurAš-šur ana kurMi-šir*
it-[f]a-lak
- 29 *ina ḥarrāni*^{II} GIG-*ma* iti *Araḥsamnu* U[D
X]^{kám} *mīt*
- 30 XII MU^{meš} m*Aššur-aḥa-iddina šarru-ú-tu*
kurAš-šur ipušuš
- 31 VIII MU^{meš} m*Sin-aḥḥē*meš-*eri₄-ba* XII
MU^{meš} m*Aššur-aḥa-iddina*^{na}
- 32 XX MU^{meš} ^d*Bēl* [*ina B*]*al-ti*^{ki} *a-šib-ma*
[i]-sin-nu a-ki-tú ba-ti-il
- 33 ^d*Nabū ultu Ba[rs]ip*^{ki} *a-na* [ašē]^e ^d*Bēl*
u-ul illikuku
- 34 *ina* iti *Kislimi* m*Aššur-bāni-āpli mā[r-šú]*
ina kurAš-šur ina giš^{kussē} *ittašabab*
35. MU.SAG m*Šamaš-šuma-u[k]in* *ina* iti *Ai-*
iari ^d*Bēl* *u ilāni*me *š[a kurAkkadī]*^{ki}
- 36 *ultu Bal-ti*^{ki} *ú-s[u-n]im-[m]a* iti *Aiiaru*
UD XXV^{kám} *ana Bābī*[*li*]^{ki} *iterbū*^{meš.n} *u†*
- 37 ^d*Nabū u ilāni*meš *ša Barsip*^{ki} *a-na Bābī*^{ki}
i[t-tal-ku-ni]
- 38 MU BI ^{uru}*Kir-bi-ti ša-bit šarra-šú k[a-šid]*
- 39 iti *Tebētu* UD XX^{kám} *lūdaiiān*(*di.ku₅*) *Bā-*
bīli^{ki} *ša-bi*[*t-ma dīk*]
- 23 The eighth year: On the sixth day of the month Adar the king's wife died.
- 24 On the eighteenth day of the month Adar the army of Assyria [captured] Shubria (and)
- 25 sacked it. The tenth year: In the month Nisan the army of Assyria [marched to Egypt].
- 26 On the third day of the month Tishri there was a massacre in Egypt.
- 27 The eleventh year: [In] Assyria the king [put] his numerous officers to [the sword].
- 28 The twelfth year: The king of Assyria marched to Egypt (but)
- 29 became ill on the way and died on the [tenth] day of the month Marchesvan.
- 30 For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled Assyria.
- 31 For eight years (during the reign of) Sennacherib, for twelve years (during the reign of) Esarhaddon—
- 32 twenty years (altogether)—Bel stayed [in B]altil (Ashur) and the Akitu festival did not take place.
- 33 Nabu did not come from Borsippa for the procession of Bel.
- 34 In the month Kislev Ashurbanipal, [his] (i.e. Esarhaddon's) son, ascended the throne in Assyria.
- 35 The accession year of Shamash-shumaukin: In the month Iyyar Bel and the gods of [Akkad]
- 36 went out from Baltil (Ashur) and on the twenty-fifth day of the month Iyyar [they entered] Babylon.
- 37 Nabu and the gods of Borsippa [went] to Babylon.
- 38 In that same year Kirbitu was taken (and) its king cap[tured].
- 39 On the twentieth day of the month Tebet the judge of Babylon was taken prisoner [and executed].

COMMENTARY

26 *Tašritu*: Despite the parallel in Chron. 1 the MN is definitely *Tašritu*(du₆) and not *Du'ūzu*(šū).

27–30 Cf. Chron. 1 iv 29–32 and the commentary.

31–39 Lines 31f. and 35–37 are duplicated by Chron. 16:1–8. Lines 35–39 are duplicated by Chron. 1 iv 34–38. For comment see the notes to these passages. Only lines 33f. are not duplicated by the other two chronicles.

40 MU I^{kám} [m^d]Šámaš-[šuma]-[uk]in x [...]

41 a-na [...]

42 mTar-qu-ú [šarru] šá kurM[i-šir ...]

43 kurMi-[šir ...]

44 mNi-ik-ku-[ú] [šarru šá] [kur]Mi-[šir ...]

45 [MU II(?)ká]m x [...]

Lacuna

Left Edge

GIGAM GIGAM

Left Edge

Cf. Chron. 20 A which has GIGAM.DIDLI written at the end. GIGAM = *ippiru* "strife, combat", see CAD 7 (I/J), pp. 164f. and von Soden, AHW p. 384. The purpose of this notation, which does not appear at the end of any other chronicle, is a mystery. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), p. 62, have suggested that this is the Akkadian name for chronicles and further that it is evidence

40 The first year of Shamash-shuma-[uk]in: ... [...]

41 to [...]

42 Terhaqah, king of E[gypt, ...]

43 Eg[yp]t ...]

44 Necho, [king of] Eg[yp]t, ...]

45 [The *second* yea]r: ... [...]

Lacuna

CHRONICLE 15

SHAMASH-SHUMA-UKIN CHRONICLE

The text is inscribed on a small tablet, BM 96273 (1902-4-12, 385), which has the shape of a Neo-Babylonian business document. It measures 57 mms. wide and 43 mms. long. The text is not well preserved. At one

time it was broken into two pieces and there is a small gap where these pieces have been joined. The lower left-hand corner is missing and there is a deep gouge in the obverse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This text was published by A. R. Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 14-35 and plates VI and VII, with a photograph, copy, edition, and commentary.

1 [M]U VI Aššur-na-din-šumi itⁱŠabātu UD I Anu-[rabú ultu] Dēr^[ki] ana kurAš-šur ittalak

2 [M]U IV^{kám} dŠámaš-šuma-ukin itⁱTašritu UD XII^{kám}

3 mār šarri šá kurElamti^k[i ana kur]Aš-šur ihliq

1 The sixth [ye]ar of Ashur-nadin-shumi: On the first day of the month Shebat Anu-rabu went from Der to Assyria.

2 The fourth [ye]ar of Shamash-shuma-ukin: On the twelfth day of the month Tishri

3 the Elamite prince fled [to] Assyria.

COMMENTARY

1f. There is no similarity between this passage and the entry for the same year in Chron. 1 ii 36-45. One would normally find a horizontal line drawn at such a point in a late Babylonian chronicle. However, since

line 1 is actually written on the upper edge and line 2 is (the first line) on the obverse, perhaps the scribe felt that a further dividing mark was unnecessary.

2 itⁱTašritu: The sign is definitely *nu₆* and not *šu*.

- 4 MU XIV ^{giš}eršu šá ^dBēl pa-ni-tú [ultu(?)
(uru)Bal-tilkⁱ(?) ana Bābīl^{ki} illikam^{kām}
- 5 [M]U XV ^{giš}narkabtu šá ^dBēl eššet^u(gibil)^{tú}
DIŠ x [x x x (x)] x ana Bābīl^{ki} u-še-bi-lam
- 6 MU XVI Šabātu VIII šarru l[a-pan(igi)
lūnakiri an]a Bābīl^{ki} iterbaba
- 7 MU XVII Ulūlu-II^{kām} UD IX ^dŠamaš-šuma-
u[kin x x x x (x)] KI ummāni^{me}-šú id-ke-e-
ma
- 8 ana Kutē^{ki} illik^{ik}-[ma āla i]s-ša-bat
- 9 di-ik-tam ina libbi ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur u
K[utāia^{ki} me(?) i-d]uk
- 10 [x (x)] ^dNergal iš-bat-am-ma ana B[ābi-
l^{ki}(?) i-b]u-kām
- 11 [x (x) U]D XXVII^{kām} lūrabāti^{me} šá kurA[š-
šur(?) x x x (x)]
- 12 [x x (x)] x ra-kib sīsē x [x x x x (x)] x
illik(?)^{ma}
- 13 [x x] x MU^{meš} lūšá-kīn [x x x]
- 14 [x x x]-li-šú-nu-ti-ma ki-i [x (x) K]I(?)
- 4 The fourteenth year: The former bed of
Bel went [from Baltil (Ashur)] to Babylon.
- 5 The fifteenth [ye]ar: The new chariot of
Bel ... [...] ... he/one took to Babylon.
- 6 The sixteenth year: On the eighth day of
the month Shebat the king withdrew
b[efore the enemy int]o Babylon.
- 7 The seventeenth year: On the ninth day
of the intercalary month Elul Shamash-
shuma-u[kin ...] ... mustered his army,
8 marched to Cuthah [and] took [the city].
9 [He d]efeated the army of Assyria and
the C[utheans].
- 10 He captured the [...] of Nergal and
[too]k (it) to [Babylon].
- 11 [On the] twenty-seventh [d]ay [of the
month ...] the officers of A[ssyria rebelled].
- 12 [...] ... rider of a horse ... [...] ...
went.
- 13 [Nabu-be]l-shumati, governor of [the Sea-
land]
- 14 [...] ... ed them and as [...] ...

COMMENTARY

4 Some form of Aššur is almost certainly to be restored in the break. The traces of the sign at the end of the break cannot be read šur and thus [kurAš-š]ur is ruled out. A writing [Aš-šur^k]ⁱ is possible, but not attested elsewhere in this document (always kurAš-šur).

Concerning the bed see Millard pp. 19–23 and Landsberger, Brief pp. 323–325.

6 For the restoration see Chron. 16:12.†

7 A restoration (proposed by Millard) of [šār Bābīl^{ki}] is extremely improbable since the use of the title after the RN is very rare in late Babylonian chronicles.

8 For the restoration see Chron. 4:14.

9 ummāni^{kur}Aš-šur u K[utāia^{ki} me]: Cf. Chron. 2:8.

10 Millard's restoration at the beginning of [salam] is plausible. His restoration of the end of the line has been adopted here since it is practically certain. The sign before BAT appears as ŠAB in Millard's copy. It appears from an examination of the original that

there is a flaw in the middle of the vertical. The sign is certainly iṣ and this is what Millard has in his transliteration.

11–16 Millard believes this passage refers to Nabû-bel-šumāti (the restoration of his name in line 13 is possible) who, according to Aššurbanipal's Annals (see Iraq 26 [1964], p. 27), imprisoned some Assyrian nobles. But his restorations are highly hypothetical.

11 See the note to Chron. 1 iv 29. Cf. Chron. 22 iv 10 on the basis of which one might restore: [itⁱMN U]D.XXVII^{kām} rabāti^{me} šá kurA[š-šur ibbalkitū^{meš}.ma]. Cf. the translation.

12 At the end of this line one should probably read GIN-ma. Millard restored a[na urušá-pi-i-d]EN "to Šapi-Bēl" which is possible.

13 Millard restores at the beginning of this line the name Nabû-bēl-šumāti. The suggestion is plausible and if correct one should restore with Millard at the end of the line: [māt Tam-tim].

- 15 [x x] e KI-šú ú-še-rib-šú x [x] UD
 16 [x x-š]ú-nu iš-[kun-ma] la i-zi-ba ma-na(?)^{ma}
 17 [x x] x ^{kur}Aš-šur iš-bat-am-ma
 18 ([x]) ki is-húp-pu a-na šār Bābīlī^{ki} il-ga-a
-
- 19 [MU] XVIII ^{iti}Du'ūzu UD XI^{kām} lū^{nakiru} ana Bābīlī^{ki} is-sa-an-qa
-
- 20 [II]I ITI^{meš} mŠi-rik-ti-^dŠu-ga-m[u]-nu
 21 aḥi ^dNabū-kudurri-úšur šarru-ut Bābīlī^{ki} [i]-t[e]-p[u-u]š
-
- 22 MU V MU VI ^dNabū-šuma-iškun^{un} ^dNabū ana aše ^dBēl ul illiku^[ku]
-
- 23 MU.MU NU TÉŠ.A^{me} ultu muḥḥi gišlē'i(da) ^mUr-ši-da-zi-me(?)ⁿⁱ(?)
 24 imgi-ti ^mdNabū-ka-ši-ir mār(a) ^mEa(XL)-ilu-ta-ibni

COMMENTARY

- 15 The traces before KI-šú look like the sign E.
 16 Millard copied the third last sign as a MA/BA and so it appears on the original. In his transliteration, however, he read šU. If the reading ma-na-ma is correct one would expect it to be the subject of a negated verb (which could be restored at the beginning of line 17). la iziba hardly suits since this would mean the word order was reversed.
 17 The sign before ^{kur}Aš-šur could be ERIN = ummāni.
 18 There may be nothing missing at the beginning of this line.
 20 From the traces alone the numeral is almost certainly 3 (although only the last vertical is visible on the original). Since both Bab. K. L. A (iii 12) and Chron. 18 (v 11) give his regnal period as 3 months the reading is certain.
 21 It is unlikely that the chronicle would give the name of a brother who was a complete unknown. But this cannot be Nebuchadnezzar I since he lived over a century before Širikti-Šuqamuna's time. The scribe has probably erred here. No doubt the correct

- 15 [...] his ... caused him to enter ... [...] ...
 16 he established their [defeat] and did not leave anyone
 17 [...] army of Assyria he captured and
 18 ([...]) when he had (finished) his conquest he took (it/him) to the king of Babylon.
-
- 19 The eighteenth [year]: On the eleventh day of the month Tammuz the enemy invested Babylon.
-
- 20 For [t]hree months Širikti-Šuqamuna, brother of Nabu(sic!)-kudurri-usur, ruled Babylon.
-
- 22 The fifth year (and) the sixth year of Nabu-shuma-ishkun: Nabu did not come for the procession of Bel.
-
- 23 Non-integrated lines from a writing-board of Urshidazimēni.
 24 One-column tablet of Nabu-kasir, descendant of Ea-iluta-ibni.

name is Ninurta-kudurri-usur I, the immediate predecessor of Širikti-Šuqamuna and also a member of the Bazi dynasty.†
 22 ul illiku^[u]: The reading is based upon the parallel passages (a list is given in the note to Chron. 17 iii 5f.). The parallel passages read either il-li-ku or GIN^{ku}. Millard's reading of GIN-[m]a is therefore to be rejected. Further note that -ma does not occur at the end of any section in this chronicle. Note that a passage in Chron. 23 (r. 6f.) is introduced by the same year numbers. Do both passages refer to the same reign?
 23 MU.MU NU TÉŠ.A^{me}: Cf. Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 31. One should probably read šumātu la *mithāratu. A feminine plural form of the adjective mithāru is not actually attested nor is there proof that the plural form of šumu, šumātu (e.g. šu-ma-a-ti ABL 212:7), is construed as a feminine plural. The note probably refers only to lines 20–22 and is an explanation of their source.
^mUr-ši-da-zi-me(?)ⁿⁱ(?): The name is not attested elsewhere but Urši- appears in several Kassite names (see K. Balkan, Kassitenstudien p. 186) and -mena in a few (see ibid. p. 167).†

CHRONICLE 16

AKITU CHRONICLE

The text of the Akitu Chronicle is preserved on a tablet, BM 86379 (original registration number unknown), which measures 45 mms. wide and 62 mms. long. It is well preserved,

there being a small piece missing from the upper right-hand corner and a few surface flaws.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Copy:

1924 S. Smith, BHT pl. IV

Editions:

1924 S. Smith, BHT pp. 22–26

1956 R. Borger, *Asarh.* pp. 124f.

Studies:

1925 H. de Genouillac, *RA* 22, pp. 71f.

S. Langdon, *JRAS* 1925, p. 166

1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, *ZA* 37, pp. 61–84

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1 [VIII] MU ^{meš} ina mdŠi[n-ahhē-erība] | 1 For [eight] years during (the reign of) Se[nnacherib], |
| 2 XII MU ^{meš} mAššur-[aḥa-iddina] | 2 for twelve years (during the reign of) Esar[haddon]— |
| 3 XX MU ^{meš} dBēl ina Bal-ti ^{ki} a-[šib-ma] | 3 twenty years (altogether)—Bel s[tayed] in Baltil (Ashur) and |
| 4 i-sin-nu a-ki-tú ba-ti-[il] | 4 the Akitu festival did not take place. |
| 5 MU.SAG mdŠamaš-šuma-ukīn ina itiAiiari [dBēl] | 5 The accession year of Shamash-shuma-ukin: In the month Iyyar [Bel] |
| 6 u ilāni ^{meš} ša kurAkkadi ^{ki} ultu Bal-ti ^{ki} ú-ṣ[u-nim-ma] | 6 and the gods of Akkad went out from Baltil (Ashur) and |
| 7 ina itiAiiari UD XXIVkām a-na Bābili ^{ki} iterbū ^{meš} -[ni] | 7 on the twenty-fourth day of the month Iyyar they entered Babylon. |
| 8 dNabū u ilāni ^{meš} ša Barsip ^{ki} ana Bābili ^{ki} it-tal-ku-ni | 8 Nabu and the gods of Borsippa went to Babylon. |
| 9 MU XVIkām dŠamaš-šuma-ukīn ultu itiAiiari adi itiTebēti | 9 The sixteenth year of Shamash-shuma-ukin: From the month Iyyar until the month Tebet |
| 10 lárab-bīti ina kurAkkadi ^{ki} bi-ḥir-ti ib-te-ḥir | 10 the major-domo conscripted troops in Akkad. |
| 11 itiTebētu UD XIXkām kurAš-šur u kurAkz-kadi ^{ki} inakkirū ^{meš} | 11 On the nineteenth day of the month Tebet hostilities began between Assyria and Akkad. |
| 12 šarru la-pan(igi) lūnakiri a-na Bābili ^{ki} i-ter-ba† | 12 The king withdrew before the enemy into Babylon. |

COMMENTARY

1–8 An exact duplicate of these lines is found in Chron. 14:31f. and 35–37. Note that Chron. 14 also has a statement about Nabū and Aššurbanipal (lines 33f.) which Chron. 16 does not have as well as a statement concerning the political events (lines 38f.). Lines 5–7 are also duplicated in Chron. 1 iv

34–36. See the note to that passage. Restorations have been made on the basis of the duplicate passages.

1 For *ina* “during the reign of” see Borger, *Asarh.* p. 54, note to iv 35.

10 See the note to Chron. 1 iv 4.

12 Cf. Chron. 3:46 and Chron. 15:6.

- 13 *Addaru* XXVII *ummāni*ⁿⁱ kur *Aš-šur* u
ummāni kur *Akkad*^{ki}
- 14 *šal-tum* ina *Hi-rit* *īpušū*^{meš}-ma *ummāni*
kur *Akkad*^{ki}
- 15 ina *tāḫāz* *šēri* *ibbalkitū*^{me}-ma *dabbdā-šū-nu*
ma-a-diš *šakin*^{in†}
- 16 ^{SAL}*nukurtu* *šaknat*^{at} *šal-tum* *sad-rat*
-
- 17 MU [XVII^{kām}] [*saḫ-m*]a-šá(?)ⁱ-a-tú ina
kur *Aš-šur* u kur *Akkad*^{ki} *šak*[*nā*]^m[*e-m*]a
- 18 ^d*Nabū ultu* [*Barsip*^k]ⁱ ana *ašē* ^d*Bēl* *úl*
illiku^{ku}
- 19 ^d*Bēl* *úl* *ūšā*^a
-
- 20 MU XVIII^{kām} ^d*N*[*abū*] [*ultu*] *Barsip*^{ki} ana
ašē [^d*Bēl*] *úl* *illiku*^{ku}
- 21 ^d*Bēl* *úl* *ūšā*^a
-
- 22 MU XIX ^d*Nabū* *úl* *illiku* ^d*Bēl* *úl* *ūšā*^a
-
- 23 MU X[X] ^d*Nabū* *úl* *illiku* ^d*Bēl* *úl* *ūšā*^a
-
- 24 *arki* ^m*Kan-da-la-nu* ina MU.SAG ^d*Nabū*-
ápla-úšur
- 25 *saḫ-ma-šá-a-ti* ina kur *Aš-šur* u kur *Ak-*
kad^{ki} *šaknā*^{me}-ma
- 26 *nu-kūr-tú* *šaknat*^{at} *šal-tú* *sad-rat*
- 27 ^d*Nabū* *úl* *illiku*^{ku} ^d*Bēl* *úl* *ūšā*[^a]

COMMENTARY

15 *ibbalkitūma*: See the note to Chron. 1 i 35.

16 This expression also occurs in line 26 and indicates that there was a great deal of confusion and strife during this period which could not be chronicled in terms of battles lost and won.

17 Since the same phrase occurs in line 25 there can be no doubt about the restoration. Collation shows that there is sufficient room for the restoration although there would not appear to be from Smith's copy. *šá* is not well made.

18f. See the note to Chron. 17 iii 5f.

18 There is sufficient room to restore *Barsip* although it would not appear so in Smith's copy.

ašē ^d*Bēl*: For the reading see Chron. 17 ii 2 and cf. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37

(1927), p. 79, n. 1.

23 There is a deep depression in the tablet which almost totally obliterates the second Winkelhaken of the numeral xx. The depression appears to have been made at the time the tablet was inscribed (it is not a flaw in the clay). It is apparently caused by an accidental slip of the stylus. It is not an erasure.

24 Apparently there was no interruption of the Akitu festival during Kandalānu's reign but the chronicler did not want to leave his name out altogether (to show he had not overlooked him) so he simply said "after Kandalanu".

25 The same phrase occurs in line 17.

26 The same phrase occurs in line 16. See the note to that line.

CHRONICLE 17

RELIGIOUS CHRONICLE

The tablet, BM 35968 (Sp III, 504), on which the Religious Chronicle is inscribed measures 81 mms. long and 99 mms. wide. It is poorly preserved, the bottom and left-

hand side being entirely broken away. There are several other smaller lacunae due to the flaking of the surface.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Copy:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 157-179

Editions:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 70-86

1931 E. Unger, Babylon pp. 274-276

Studies:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 1, pp. 212-240

H. Winckler, OLZ 1907, 592f.

1925 B. Meissner, BuA 2, pp. 277f.

1926 S. A. Pallis, Akîtu pp. 2-5

1946 M. B. Rowton, Iraq 8, pp. 106f.

1955 A. Poebel, AS 15, p. 23, n. 80

i

- 1 [...] x
 2 [...] x [d]Šin
 3 [...] x^{meš}
 4 [...] meš-ni
 5 [...] x x
 6 [...] ^dBēlit(gašān)-Ni-ná-a x x
 7 [...] idūkū^{meš}-[š]ú
 8 [...] Bābīlī^{ki} it-ta-[x]
 9 [...] x ^dBēlit(gašān) x
 10 [...] SIG₄ ittalkū^{meš}-[ni]
 11 [...] x ⁱdIdiglat
 12 [...] it-te-x
 13 [...] x a-di Abul-maḥīri
 14 [...] É-^dUr-sag šá piḥat Nippur^{ki}
 15 [...] x-it-ti šá i-mu-ru-šu
 16 [...] ^dNab]ū-šumu-li-bur šarru
 17 [...] nēšu(ur.maḥ) NÁ-ma idūkū^{meš}-šú
 18 [...] x ittalkū^{meš}-[n]i
 19 [...] li id-de-[k]i(?)
 20 [...] x-šú id-da-bu-ub

i

- 1 [...] ...
 2 [...] ... Sin
 3 [...] ...
 4 [...] ...
 5 [...] ...
 6 [...] Belit-Nina ...
 7 [...] they killed him/it.
 8 [...] Babylon ...
 9 [...] ... Belit-...
 10 [...] ... they went.
 11 [...] ... Tigris
 12 [...] ...
 13 [...] ... to the Abul-mahiri ("Gate of the rate of exchange")
 14 [...] the temple of Ursag which is in the district of Nippur.
 15 [...] ... who saw him/it.
 16 [...] Nab]u-shumu-libur, the king,
 17 [...] a lion was lying down/sleeping and they killed it.
 18 [...] ... they went.
 19 [...] was removed.
 20 [...] ... he spoke.

COMMENTARY

- i 1-26** Since Nabû-šumu-libūr is mentioned in i 16 the whole of this section may have dealt with his reign. On the other hand the reign of one or more preceding kings could have been discussed here as well.
i 6 After *Bēlit-Ni-ná-a* the first sign looks like IGI. Thus the verb *amāru* comes into consideration. Traces of the end of the

last sign are sufficient to show that no sign beginning with IGI (e.g. SIG₅ or Û) can be restored.

- i 10** Perhaps one should restore: [ina iti]Simāni "in the month Sivan".

- i 17** NÁ-ma: It is uncertain if one should reconstruct a form from *šalālu* or *rabāšu*. Cf. ii 6 and iii 2.

21 [...] x ^dTaš-me-tum

22 [...] it-tan-mar

23 [...] x it-tan-mar

24 [...] x-us-su-ma

25 [...] x šapli(ki.ta)^t

26 [...] x x

Lacuna

ii

1 ina ^{iti}Aiari UD XI^{kām} šarru ik-šu-dam-
[ma]2 puḫādē(silá)^{meš} šá a-še-e ^dBēl ú-x-x-[ma
ul] x x [x]3 niqē(siskur)^{meš} u ^{giš}paššūr ili šá a-di
ūmi^{mi} a-ki-[tim] [il(?)]-qu-ū4 iv ūmi^{mi} ina É-sag-gil ù bīt ilāni^{meš} ki-i
šal-me iq-qu5 a-di ūmi^{mi} niqē(siskur)^{meš} šarru ul is-ruq
urigallú is-ruq-ma bīta ip-qid6 ina ^{iti}Du'ūzi ina eberti(bal.ri) ereb šamši
(^dUtu.šú.a) barbaru(ur.bar.ra) NÁ-ma
idūkū^{meš}-šú

21 [...] ... Tashmetum

22 [...] was seen.

23 [...] ... was seen.

24 [...] ...

25 [...] ... lower

26 [...] ...

Lacuna

ii

1 The king arrived on the eleventh day of
the month Iyyar.2 He *slaughtered* but did not ... the lambs
for the procession of Bel.3 The sacrifices and table (prepared for)
the god which they had [*rec*]eived up to
the day of the Akitu festival4 they offered for four days in Esagil and
the (other) temples *as in normal times*.5 Until the day of the sacrifices the king
did not make a libation nor did the
urigallú-priest make a libation but he
did inspect the temple.6 In the month Tammuz a wolf lay down/
slept in the west and he was killed.

COMMENTARY

ii 1–29 There may be at least two reigns discussed in this passage since MU XIV appears in ii 26 and MU [XVIII(?)] in ii 20. Chronicles normally maintain a strict chronological order but since this chronicle is rather careless in that respect—see the notes to ii 12–14 and iii 10f.—one cannot be certain that the reigns of two different kings are discussed here. There are only two kings between Nabû-šumu-libūr (i 1–26) and Nabû-mukin-apli (iii 1–iv 7) whose reigns are long enough to include the number of years mentioned in this chronicle, Simbar-šihu and Eulmaš-šākin-šumi. Therefore the passage ii 1–25(?) probably deals with the reign of Simbar-šihu while the remainder of the column probably deals with the reign of Eulmaš-šākin-šumi. Cf. Poebel, AS 15, p. 23, n. 80. Simbar-šihu ruled for eighteen years according to Bab. K. L. A (iii 6) but for seventeen years according to Chron. 18 (v 3). Eulmaš-šākin-šumi ruled for seven-teen years according to Bab. K. L. A

(iii 10) but according to Chron. 18 (v 9) he ruled for fourteen years. The fourteenth year of Eulmaš-šākin-šumi, which is apparently referred to in ii 26 of this chronicle, is also referred to in Chron. 24:15.

ii 2 King's restoration, ^dBēl ú-n[ak-kis]-ma, is possible. Cf. *asliš unakkis* Winckler, Sar. p. 122:131 (note *asliš utebbih* OIP 2, p. 51:23), and *kima zirqi unekkis* AKA p. 58 iii 98f. (note *kima zirqi lu utebbih* KAH 1, 13 ii 40).

ii 4 *ki-i šal-me*: The same enigmatic phrase occurs in Chron. 7. See the commentary to Chron. 7 ii 7.

ii 5 Cf. Chron. 7 ii 8.

ii 6 See the commentary to i 17.

Cf. ITI BI XXVI UR.BAR.RA *ana Bar-sipa*^{k1} TU II UR.DÚR^{me} GAZ NU È GAZ "On the twenty-sixth day of the same month a wolf entered Borsippa, killed two dogs (and) was (itself) killed (before it could) escape." AfO 16 (1952–53), pl. 17, r. 21 (astronomical diary).

- 7 *ina* ^{iti}*Abi kalab urši*(ur.ki) [*ina*] *Abul-^dUraš ina bāb bīt šatammi*(šá.tam) *lúasú*(a.zu)^{meš}
8 *ú-x-x-x i-tam*-[ru-šu]
9 *ina* ^{iti}*Tašriti* UD XXV^{kám} *nim-ru* [bal-tu]
10 *nāra iq-qé-lep-pu-ma ina ku-tal É-gid-ri*(giš.pa)-*kalam-ma*-[sum-ma]
11 *i-du-ku-šu-ma ana ta-ba-li ú-še-lu-niš-šu*
12 *ina* ^{iti}*Abi* UD XVI^{kám} *šá* MU VII^{kám} II *aiialū*(dàra.bar)^{meš}
13 *a-na Bābili*^{ki} *i-ru-bu-nim-ma* [i]-*du-ku-šu*-[nu-ti]
14 *ina* ^{iti}*Simāni* UD XXVI^{kám} *šá* MU VII^{kám} *ūmu*^{mu} *ana mūši*(gi₆) [itūr-ma] *išātu ina libbi šamē* x [x] x
15 *ina* ^{iti}*Ulūli* *šá* MU XI^{kám} *mē*^{meš} *ina qabal igāri*(é.sig₄) *šá kisalli šaplī*(ki.ta)^t *illi: kū*^m[eš]-ni
16 MU XII^{kám} MU XIV^{kám} MU XV^{kám} III MU^{meš} *ar*-[ki] *a*-[ha-m]eš
17 ^{giš}*narkabat-su* *šá* ^d*Bēl ultu* UD III^{kám} *šá* ^{iti}*Addari adi* ^{iti}[*Nisanni ul*] [ú-ša-a]
18 *ina* ^{iti}*Nisanni* *šá* MU XV^{kám} ^d*Bēl ul* *ú-ša*-[a]
7 In the month Ab physicians
8 ... and saw
9 a badger [in] the Urash-gate at the door of the bishop's residence.
9 On the twenty-fifth day of the month Tishri a live panther
10 floated down the river (Euphrates) and
11 was killed
10 behind Egidrikalamma[summa].
11 It was carried on to dry land.
12 On the sixteenth day of the month Ab, in the seventh year, two deer
13 entered Babylon and were killed.
14 On the twenty-sixth day of the month Sivan, in the seventh year, day turned to night and *there was* a fire in the sky.
15 In the month Elul, in the eleventh year, water flowed within the wall of the lower forecourt.
16 In the thirteenth year, the fourteenth year, (and) the fifteenth year, for three years in succession,
17 the chariot of Bel did not [come out] from the third day of the month Adar until the month Nisan.
18 In the month Nisan, in the fifteenth year, Bel did not come out.

COMMENTARY

- ii 7 *bīt šatammi*: Concerning the *šatammu* see Landsberger, Brief pp. 356–361.
ii 12–14 The chronological order is wrong for the month Ab is the fifth month whereas the month Sivan is the third month. The scribe realized his mistake (or a later copyist) and therefore inserted “in the seventh year” in ii 14 to make it clear that he was still talking about the same year.
ii 14 If this really means an eclipse of the sun it would provide valuable evidence for establishing an absolute chronology of the Babylonian kings. Rowton has attempted to do this with this evidence in Iraq 8 (1946), pp. 106f. As Brinkman (Dissertation p. 82, n. 126) points out, however, it is not certain that the statement does refer to an eclipse (it could have been a severe storm in which case *išātu* would mean lightning) nor is it absolutely certain that the reign discussed here is that of Simbar-šihū.†
ii 15 There are many omens about walls (cf. CAD 7 [I/J], p. 37) but none like this one.
Cf. *igār É-an-na ki-da-a-nu šá ki-sal-li šap-li-i* YOS 1, 38 i 34f. (Sg. II), and further cf. ABL 119:15.
ii 16–18 Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 23 and n. 43, thinks that festivals other than the Akitu, in which a chariot was used, are referred to here.†
ii 16 For the restoration see iii 14.

- 19 *ina* ^{iti}*Aiari* UD XIV^{kám} *ša* MU XVII^{kám} *ša-lu-ú* *ša* Abul-^d[*Uraš*]
 20 *ki* [*i-du-lu i-tam-ru-šu* *ina* ^{iti}*Simāni* UD XV^{kám} *ša* MU [XVIII(?)^{kám}] [x]
 21 *ultu* Abul-^d*Ištar*(XV) *ana nāri ki-i-ú-ri-[du]*
 22 *ana Bābili*^{ki} *ki i-ru-ba ina eberti*(bal.ri) *ereb Šamši* (^dUtu.šú.a) [x x x x]
 23 x x *mē*^{me} II *šābē*^{meš} *id-duk parakku* *ša bāb É-x* [x x x (x)]
 24 *gišdalāti*^{meš} *ša abul su-uš-ši šap-li-i* x [x x]
 25 [*ù a-na šu-lut-ta-tum ki im-qu-tu* GAZ-šú-ma x [x x x]
 26 x [x x x] x-tu-ru-ni *ina* MU XIV^[kám] x [...]
 27 [...] x [...] ^d*ištarāti*(išdar)^{meš} *šābē*^{meš} x x x [...]
 28 [...] x x x *id-di-nu* [...]
 29 [...] x [...]
 Lacuna
 Lacuna
 1 [...] x x x [...] x [...]
 2 [*ina* ^{iti}*Aiari barbaru*(ur.bar.ra) x [...] x x x-tum NÁ-ma [*il-mu-ru-šu-[ma idū-kū* ^{meš}-šú]
- 19 On the fourteenth day of the month Iyyar, in the seventeenth year, the outer wall of the Urash-gate
 20 was seen to move.
 20 On the fifteenth day of the month Sivan, in the *eighteenth* year,
 21 when
 20 ...
 21 came down from the Ishtar-gate to the river (Euphrates)
 22 (and) entered Babylon [...] in the west.
 23 ... water, two soldiers killed. The dais of the door of E... [...]
 24 doors of the lower ...-gate ... [...]
 25 and when it fell into the pit it was killed ... [...]
 26 ... [...] ... in the fourteenth year ... [...]
 27 [...] ... [...] the goddesses, troops ... [...]
 28 [...] ... they gave [...]
 29 [...] ... [...]
 Lacuna
 Lacuna
 1 [...] ... [...] ... [...]
 2 In the month Iyyar a wolf ... [...] ... was lying down/sleeping. He was seen [and killed].

COMMENTARY

- ii 19f. There are many omens about the *šalḫū* (e.g. BRM 4, 12:1, 4, 44) and there are many omens in which the verb *dālu* appears (cf. Bab. 4 [1911], p. 109:11) but none of them is like this one.
 ii 19 UD XIV^{kám}: In King's transliteration and translation the numeral appears as xv although xiv is clear on the original and in King's copy.
 ii 20 It would be unusual for the scribe to state the number of the regnal year if it were the same year as the one in which the preceding event took place. (The only exception is ii 14 which has been explained in the note to ii 12–14.) Thus the numeral here is probably not xvii (as King read)

- and the only other possibility which fits the traces is xviii. If the figure were eighteen it would confirm the tradition of Bab. K. L. A (iii 6), which assigns eighteen years to Simbar-šihu, as opposed to the tradition of Chron. 18 (v 3) which assigns seventeen years to him.
 ii 24 *su-uš-ši*: The word, which also appears in iv 3 and iv 5, is otherwise unknown.†
 ii 26 Since the fourteenth year is mentioned here this passage may deal with a king later than the one referred to in the earlier part of column ii. See the note to ii 1–29.
 iii 2 NÁ-ma: See the commentary to i 17. The end of this line has apparently broken away since King's edition was published.

- 3 *ina* ^{iti}*Aiari aialu*(dàra.bar) *ša* [ereb-š]ú
ana āli mam-ma la i-mu-ru ina Bāb-bēli-i[a]
4 *i-mu-ru-šu-ma* ^{meš-šu}*ina* ^{iti}*Ni-*
sanni ša M[U] VII^{kām} ^{lú}*A-ra-mu na-[ki]r*
- 5 *šarru ana Bābili*^{ki} *la el-l[a-a]m-ma* ^d*Nabū*
la il-li-[k]u
6 *ù* ^d*Bēl* [la ú-ša-a *ina* ⁱ*Nisanni ša* MU
VIII^{kām} ^d*Nabū-múkin-apli šarri*
- 7 ^{lú}*A-ra-mu na-kir-[ma Bāb]-ni-bi-ri ša*
^{uru}*Kār-bēl-mātāti*(kur.kur)
8 *iš-bat-ma šarru la i-bi-ram-ma* ^d*Nabū la*
il-li-ku
- 9 *ù* ^d*Bēl la ú-ša-a niqē*(siskur) [ša] *a-ki-ti*
ina É-sag-gil ki-i pi-i x iq-qí
- 10 *ina* ^{iti}*Nisanni ša* MU XIX^{kām} ^d*Nabū-*
múkin-apli šarru KI.MIN
- 11 x x x NA IG *ina* ^{iti}*Du'ūzi ša* MU XVI^[kām]
nēšu(ur.mah) *ša ereb-šu ana āli mam-ma*
12 *la i-mu-ru i-na ebēti*(bal.ri) *ereb Šam-*
ši(^dUtu.šú.a) *i-na* ^g*kirē* VIII^{-ni-tum}
- 3 In the month Iyyar a deer, which no one
had seen [enter] the city (Babylon)
4 was seen
3 in Bab-beliya ("Gate of My Lord")
4 and killed.
4 In the month Nisan, in the seventh year,
the Arameans were belligerent
5 so that the king could not come up to
Babylon. Neither did Nabu come
6 nor Bel [come out].
6 [In] the month Nisan, in the eighth year
of Nabu-mukin-apli, the king,
7 the Arameans were belligerent and
8 captured
7 Bab-nibiri ("Gate of the Crossing") of
Kar-bel-matati.
8 (Thus) the king could not cross, Nabu
did not come,
9 and Bel did not come out. He (*the king*)
did not offer the sacrifices of the Akitu
festival in Esagil ...
10 In the month Nisan, in the nineteenth
year of Nabu-mukin-apli, the king,
DITTO.
11 ... in the month Tammuz, in the six-
teenth year, a lion which no one
12 saw
11 enter the city (Babylon)

COMMENTARY

- iii 5f. Cf. iii 8f., 14, 15; Chron. 1 i 1*; Chron. 7 ii 5-8, 10-12, 19-21, 23-25; iii 5, 26; Chron. 14:33; Chron. 15:22; Chron. 16:18f., 20f., 22, 23, 27. In these passages note the writings *il-li-ku* and GIN^{ku} although the subject is singular. Further note that in this phrase both the negatives *la* and *ul* are used in Chron. 17 (*la*: iii 5; *ul*: iii 15). Cf. *ul* (*u-ul*) in Chron. 14:33.
- iii 8f. See the note to iii 5f. Although one would prefer to read *ki-i šal-me ul iq-qí* in comparison with ii 4 collation shows it is impossible.
- iii 9 *niqē*: King read *šimētan* (presumably USAN) but the sign is clearly SISKUR.
- iii 10f. It is unusual for a chronicler not to maintain a strict chronological order. He has apparently abandoned the chronolo-
- gical order here in order to save himself the trouble of having to write out the statement in iii 9 twice. By placing the nineteenth year immediately after the eighth year he was able to use the abbreviation KI.MIN.
- iii 11f. Cf. *nēšu ina kīdi šarri ina libbi āli* [irub(?)] CT 30, 44:3. Otherwise there are many omens about the *nēšu* (e.g. CT 39, 22:18) but none like this one.
- iii 11 Collation shows that the first sign is not SISKUR (against King) and before IG one could read [b]u-ut or [su]m(?)*-na* = *nadna*.
- iii 12 VIII^{-ni-tum}: The reconstructed form should apparently be *samnitum* although von Soden, GAG § 70b, only gives the form *samuntum*. There is no other evidence for the singular of *kirē* being feminine.

- 13 *i-mu-ru-šu-ma idūkū^{meš-šú} i-na* [MU] 13 was seen and killed
xx^{kám} dNabû-mû[k]in-apli šarri 12 in the west(ern quarter) on the *eighth*
 orchard.
 14 *d[Bēl] ul ú-ša-a ù dNabû ul illiku^{ku}* IX 13 In the twentieth year of Nabu-mukin-
MU^{me} arki [a-ḥa]-meš apli, the king,
 15 *dBēl ul ú-ša-a ù dNabû ul illiku^{ku} ina* MU 14 Bel did not come out nor did Nabu come.
 [XXIV/XXV/XXVI]^{kám} *dNabû-[múkîn-apli* For nine years in succession
šarri] 15 Bel did not come out nor did Nabu come.
 16 *dKa-ri-bu šá imitti(zà.dib) šá bāb pa-* 15 In the *twenty-fourth/fifth/sixth* year of
pa-ḥi [x] x [...] Nabu-mukin-apli, the king,
 17 *ki i-du-lu i-tam-ru d mukil-rēš-lemutti(sag.* 16 the genius which (stands) on the right-
ḥul.ḥa.za) ina É.[gīš]NÁ^m[eš] hand side of the door of the shrine of [...]
 18 *ša dNabû it-tan-mar x x ina muḥḥi x x šá* 17 was seen to move. A demon
dNabû ina libbi šēri i[t(?)]-tan-mar(?)] 18 was seen
 19 *ina iti Šabāṭi UD XXI^{kám} šá MU XXVI^{kám}* 17 in the bed chambers
dNabû-múkîn-apli šarri dAdad pā-šú 18 of Nabu. ... upon ... of Nabu in the
iddi^{di}-ma išāti-šú NU ḤAR [...] meat *w[as seen]*.
 19 On the twenty-first day of the month
 Shebat, in the twenty-sixth year of Nabu-
 mukin-apli, the king, Adad thundered,
 his fire ... [...]

iv

Lacuna

- 1 [...] x [...] x x x pa na
 2 [... ina līb(?) -bi ú-še-šib
 3 [...] su-uš-šú iá-'-nu
 4 [...] dNabû-múkī[n]-apli šarri
 5 [...] x dNabû-múkīn-apli šarri su-uš(?) -
 šú
 6 [...] x-bu-ti iš-kun
 7 [...] b]u-ub KAK KU
 8 [...] x ḤAR ri ri
 9 [...] x
 10 [...] x

iv

Lacuna

- 1 [...] ... [...] ...
 2 [...] caused to dwell/sit [*ther*]ein.
 3 [...] ... are/is not
 4 [...] Nabu-mukī[n]-apli, the king,
 5 [...] ... Nabu-mukin-apli, the king, ...
 6 [...] ... established.
 7 [...] ...
 8 [...] ...
 9 [...] ...
 10 [...] ...

COMMENTARY

- iii 15 MU [XXIV/XXV/XXVI]^{kám}: Since the bottom part of the figure is broken, it could be any of the three numerals.
 iii 17 The end of this line (containing MEŠ) was apparently broken away after King's edition.
 The plural form of É.^{gīš}NÁ is unknown.
 There are many omens about the *mukil rēš lemutti* (e.g. Boissier, DA p. 8 r. 10) but none like this one.

- iii 18 *i[t(?)]-tan-mar(?)*: The end of the line is now almost completely missing. King read [*it*]-tan-mar.
 iv 3 *su-uš-šú*: See the commentary to ii 24.
 iv 5 *su-uš(?) -šú*: See the commentary to ii 24.
 iv 8–10 Line 8 is probably the catch-line and 9f. is the colophon. There may be one line completely missing after iv 10 but it is unlikely.

CHRONICLE 18

DYNASTIC CHRONICLE

The text of the Dynastic Chronicle is preserved on three separate pieces which probably come from the same tablet although they do not join:

A K 11261 + 11624 (48 mms. wide and 80 mms. long) (Only one side preserved)

B K 8532 + 8533 + 8534 (125 mms. wide and 70 mms. long)

C 81-7-27, 117 (30 mms. wide and 67 mms. long) (Only one side preserved)

Altogether only a small part of a large tablet is preserved. One indication that the three pieces belong together is the stereotyped phraseology which all three have in common as even a cursory reading of the text shows. There is nothing about the script, texture of the clay, size, etc. which would argue against their being put together. Chronologically they fit together nicely. A would be from the upper part of the first column of B since it deals with the antediluvian kings and the beginning of the flood. In fact there is probably a lacuna of about six lines between the beginning of the tablet and the preserved portion of A. This conclusion is based upon the observation that A takes about half the number of lines (with the exception of the flood excursus) as the parallel

section of the Sumerian King List (i 13-38). But there may have been an introduction to the Dynastic Chronicle so that the length of the lacuna is uncertain. The traces of the ends of three lines of column i are preserved on B, the first and third of which (in.aka), could be the ends of various lines in A or of some unpreserved portion. The traces of the end of the second line ([b]a.nigin) are to be compared to v 1. There seems to be no parallel for this elsewhere. It is unknown how large a gap exists between the end of A and column ii of B since the length of the flood excursus is unknown. But at least eleven lines (= Sumerian King List i 40-ii 15) are missing immediately before ii 1. C would come from the left edge of the sixth column (i.e. the reverse) of B. Eriša-Marduk, who is mentioned in C (line 6), ruled during the first half of the eighth century B.C. and the last king mentioned in the preserved portion of column v of B is Mar-bitī-aplāsur (983-978 B.C.). Thus for various reasons all three pieces could come from the same tablet.

That B and C come from the same tablet was originally suggested by Johns, PSBA 40 (1918), p. 130. That A and B come from the same tablet was suggested privately to the author by W. G. Lambert.†

BIBLIOGRAPHY†

A

Copies:

- 1939 T. Jacobsen, AS 11, plate at end
- 1965 W. G. Lambert, CT 46, 5

Edition:

- 1939 T. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 59, n. 113

B

Copies:

- 1874 G. Smith, TSBA 3, pp. 371-377
- 1889 L. Abel in H. Winckler, UAG p. 153
- 1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 143-145

Editions:

- 1874 G. Smith, TSBA 3, pp. 361-379
- 1890 H. Winckler, KB 2, pp. 272-275
- 1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 46-56

- 1908 P. Schnabel, MVAG 13, pp. 80-82

- 1914 A. Poebel, PBS 4/1, p. 84 (obverse only)

Studies:

- 1884 F. Delitzsch, Die Sprache der Kossäer (Leipzig) p. 14, n. 3.
- 1887 E. Schrader, SPAW 1887, pp. 585-587
- 1895 L. W. King, ZA 10, pp. 395f.
- 1907 L. W. King, Chron. 1, pp. 157-185
- 1939 T. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 11 and p. 56

C

Copy:

- 1901 C. H. W. Johns, ADD no. 888

Studies:

- 1918 C. H. W. Johns, PSBA 40, p. 130
- 1922 C. J. Gadd, JRAS 1922, pp. 395f.
- 1924/5 A. Ungnad, AfK 2, pp. 25f.

i A	i A
Lacuna	Lacuna
1 [En.m]e.gal.an.na mu x [in.aka]	1 [Enm]egalanna [ruled for] N years.
2 [Dum]u.zi sipa [mu x in.aka]	2 [Dum]uzi, the shepherd, [ruled for N years].
3 [III.à]m lugal.e.ne [bala Bād.ti: bira ^{ki} mu x in.aka.meš]	3 [Three] kings [of the dynasty of Badtibira ruled for N years].
4 [Bād.ti]bira ^{ki} bala.b[i ba.kúr nam. lugal.bi Zimbir ^{ki} .šè ba.túm]	4 The dynasty of [Bad-ti]bira [was terminated (lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to Sippar].
5 [Zimbir] ^{ki} En.me.du[r.an.na/ki mu x in.aka]	5 [Sippar], Enmedu[ranna ruled for N years].
6 [I lugal.e b]ala Zimb[ir ^{ki} mu x in.aka]	6 [One king of the dy]nasty of Sipp[ar ruled for N years].
7 Zimbir ^{ki} b[ala.bi ba.kúr nam.lugal.bi La ₇ .rà.ak.a ^{ki} .šè ba.túm]	7 The dy[nasty of] Sippar [was terminated (lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to Larak].
8 La ₇ .rà.ak.a ^{ki} E[n(?)].sipa.zi.an.na mu x in.aka]	8 Larak, E[nsipazianna ruled for N years].
9 I lugal.e bala L[a ₇ .rà.ak.a ^{ki} mu x in.aka]	9 One king of the dynasty of L[arak ruled for N years].
10 La ₇ .rà.ak.a ^{ki} bala.b[i ba.kúr nam. lugal.bi Šuruppak ^{ki} .šè ba.túm]	10 The dynasty of Larak [was terminated (lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to Shuruppak].
11 Šuruppak(lam + kur.ru) ^{ki} Ubar. t[u.tu mu x in.aka]	11 Shuruppak, Ubart[utu ruled for N years].
12 Zi.u ₄ .sud.ra dumu U[bar(?).tu.tu mu x in.aka]	12 Ziusudra, son of U[bartutu, ruled for N years].
13 II.àm lugal.e.ne bala [Šuruppak ^{ki} mu x in.aka.meš]	13 Two kings of the dynasty of [Shuruppak ruled for N years].
14 v uru.didli ix lugal.[el].[ne mu x in.aka.meš]	14 Five cities, nine kings [ruled for N years].
15 ^a En.líl.le nam.[...]	
16 ^a En-líl ni-[...]	15-16 Enlil ... [...]

COMMENTARY

Restorations are facilitated in this chronicle by the repetitive formulas and the ends of most lines in A and C can be restored with reasonable certitude. The figures for regnal years have not been restored, however, for there may have been some discrepancy. Concerning the change of dynasty formulas see Appendix A, n. 39.

A

- i 1 In the Sumerian King List i 13 the name is written: En.me.en.gal.an.na but there is not enough room in the chronicle to restore this. It appears from the traces

that the first preserved sign is ME and therefore EN has been omitted as in line 5. The traces of the regnal years cannot be read with certainty. They are 28,800 in the Sumerian K. L. i 14 and 64,800 in Berossos.

- i 2 There is not enough room to restore: [^aDum]u.zi which appears in the Sumerian K. L. i 15 (= JCS 17 [1963], p. 40:7).

B

- i 2' This line is to be compared to v 1 which also ends in ba.nigin.
i 3' The sign could be aka.

17 KA=X=LI . KA=X=LI íb.[...]

18 *hu-bur* x x [...]

19 x [...]

B

1' [...] x [in.aka(?)]

2' [...] b]a.nigin

3' [...] x

Lacuna

ii

Lacuna

1 [...] x [...]

2 ^m*Baliḫu*(an.illat) dumu KI.MIN [...]

3 ^mEn.men.nun.na [...]

4 ^mMe₅.lám.kiš.šú dumu x [...]

Lacuna

iii

Lacuna (column completely missing)

iv

Lacuna

1 *Bābīl*[i ...]

2 ^m*Su-mu*-[la-él ...]

3 ^m*Sà-bu*-[ú] [...]

17-18 The uproar ... [...]

19 ... [...]

B

1' [...] ... rul[ed].

2' [...] ...

3' [...] ...

Lacuna

ii

Lacuna

1 [...] ... [...]

2 *Baliḫu*, son of DITTO, [...]

3 *Enmennunna* [...]

4 *Melamkishshu*, son of ... [...]

Lacuna

iii

Lacuna (column completely missing)

iv

Lacuna

1 *Babyl*[on ...]

2 *Sumu*-[la-él ...]

3 *Sabu* [...]

COMMENTARY

ii 1-4 The parallel passage in the Sumerian K. L. is ii 20-24. For the reading AN.ILLAT = *Baliḫu* see E. A. Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins* (Philadelphia, 1930) p. 151, ŠL 166, 26, and cf. the copies of the Sumerian K. L. which have *Ba-li-iḫ* (var. *Wa-li-iḫ*). Further note *Ap*-[*qu*]-ú *ša Ba-li-ḫa-a*, var. [*Ap*]-*qum* *ša AN.ILLAT* in an OB itinerary (all references are given by Hallo, JCS 18 [1964], p. 77). Jacobsen's statement (AS 11, p. 82, n. 83) that Chron. 18 ("K" in Jacobsen's terminology) has dumu KI.MIN in ii 4 is by no means certain.

iv 1-17 The preserved portions of iv 2-5 correspond exactly (sign for sign) with Bab. K. L. B 2-5. The names have been restored on the basis of the parallel. The name of the dynasty, Babylon, occurs at the beginning of iv 1 in accordance with

the typology of this text. Note that Bab. K. L. B also calls this the dynasty of Babylon. Presumably the name Sumu-abi occurred in the broken part after Babylon in iv 1. A careful examination of the original shows that there are almost certainly seven lines completely missing after iv 5 (not six as King estimated). Presumably these missing lines contained a list of the remaining six rulers of the first dynasty of Babylon (cf. Bab. K. L. B 6-11). It is uncertain what was contained in the badly broken passage iv 13-17. The lines 13f. may have contained a summary of the first dynasty of Babylon. The lines 15ff. may have contained a list of the kings of the dynasty of ŠEŠ.KÙ^{ki} as Bab. K. L. B r. 1-12 does. Note particularly that the name of the second king of this dynasty is written ^mKI.AN.NI.BI in Bab. K. L. B r. 2 to which cf. iv 16 of Chron. 18.

4 ^mA-pil-[^d] [*Sîn* ...]
5 ^{md}[*Sîn*]-m[*u-bal-liṭ* ...]

Lacuna of seven lines

13 x [...]

14 x [...]

15 x [...]

16 ^mK[I ...]

17 [m] [...]

Lacuna

v

Lacuna

1 [...] x x x [kur.a.ab.ba.ke₄] [b]a.
[nigin]

2 aga.uš lú.tuš.a [kur.a.abl.ba.ke₄
^m*Sim-bar-ši-ḫu* dumu ^m*Eri-ba-^dSîn*

3 erín bala *Damqi-ili-šú* giš.tukul.ta
ba.an.sig.gi.in mu xvii in.aka

4 ina é.gal *Šarru-kin qí-bir*†

4 Apil-[*Sîn* ...]

5 *Sîn*-m[uballit ...]

Lacuna of seven lines

13-17 are too broken for translation

Lacuna

v

Lacuna

1 [...] ... Sealand ...

2 The knight, resident of the Sealand,
Simbar-shihu, son of Eriba-Sin,

3 soldier of the dynasty of Damqi-ilishu,
was slain with the sword. He ruled for
seventeen years.

4 He was buried in the palace of Sargon.†

COMMENTARY

v 1 This line cannot contain a dynastic summary like v 8, 12, 15 since these end with in.aka(^{meš}). Note that ba.nigin also occurs at the end of i 2'.

v 2f. These lines were recently edited by Goetze, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 133f.

v 2 aga.uš: In Chron. 24:12 Simbar-shihu has the same title. Note that in BBSt. no. 27, bottom edge 3 and no 36:13 he is called *šar Bābili*. For a discussion of the *rēdū*(aga.uš) in the OB period see Evans, JCS 14 (1960), pp. 34-42 and his references.

lú.tuš.a = *āšib* as shown by: lú.tuš.a. nibru^{ki} = *a-šib Ni-ip-pu-ri* Meissner, BAW 1, p. 81:61 and cf. W. G. Lambert, BWL p. 296 note to line 25.

v 3 erín = *šābu* referring to one man is rare. It is found after Merodach-baladan II in Bab. K. L. A iv 14: erín *Ḫa-bi*. Further see CAD 16 (Š), p. 54. Goetze's

suggestion in JCS 19 (1965), p. 133 to read šà(?) .bal "of the family of" is not supported by the text. On the tablet erín is clearly written.

The number of regnal years given for Simbar-shihu here is 17 but Bab. K. L. A iii 6 gives 18. Similarly the two documents disagree on the number of regnal years in v 5, 9, 10. The figures of this text are suspect because there are inner discrepancies. The summary in v 8 gives the total of 17 years + 3 months + 3 years as 23 years. The scribe mistakenly added in the 3 months as 3 years. (The total in Bab. K. L. A iii 9 is 21 years and 5 months—18 years + 5 months + 3 years.) The summary in v 12 gives the total of 14 years + 2 years + 3 months as 20 years and 3 months. (The total in Bab. K. L. A iii 13 is the same—17 years + 3 years + 3 months.)

5 ^{md} <i>Ē-a-mu-kin-zēri</i> lugal im.gi dumu ^m <i>Ḫaš-mar</i> iti III in.aka	5 Ea-mukin-zeri, the usurper, son of Hashmar, ruled for three months.
6 <i>ina raq-qa-ti šá Bīt-^mḪaš-mar qí-bir</i>	6 He was buried in the swamp of Bit-Hashmar.
7 ^{md} <i>Kaš-šú-ú-nādin-ahi</i> dumu ^m <i>SAP-pa-a-a</i> mu III in.aka <i>ina é.gal <... qí-bir></i>	7 Kashshu-nadin-ahi, son of SAPPaya, ruled for three years. In the palace <of ... he was buried>.
8 III lugal.e.ne bala kur.a.ab.ba mu XXIII in.aka.meš	8 Three kings of the dynasty of the Sealand ruled for twenty-three years.
9 [^m <i>Ē</i>]- <i>ul-maš-šākin-šumi</i> dumu ^m <i>Ba-zi</i> mu XIV in.aka <i>ina é.gal Kār-^dMardu[k qí-bir]</i>	9 [E]ulmash-shakin-shumi, son of Bazi, ruled for fourteen years. [He was buried] in the palace of Kar-Marduk.
10 [^{md} <i>Ninurta-kud</i>] <i>urri-úsur</i> dumu ^m <i>Ba-zi</i> mu II [in].[aka]	10 [Ninurta-kud]urri-usur (I), son of Bazi, ruled for two years.
11 [^m <i>Ši-rik-ti</i>]- ^d <i>Šu-qa-mu-na</i> KI.MIN III iti in.aka <i>ina é.gal</i> x [x x (x)] lib	11 [Shirikti]-Shuqamuna, DITTO (i.e. son of Bazi), ruled for three months. He was [...] in the palace of [...]
12 [III lugal.e.n]e bala <i>Bīt-^mBa-zi</i> mu XX iti III [in].aka.meš	12 [Three kings] of the dynasty of Bit-Bazi ruled for twenty years and three months.
13 [^{md} <i>Mār-biti-apla-úsu</i>] <i>r</i> šà.bal.bal ù(?) [<i>El</i>] <i>amti</i> ^{ki} mu VI [i]n.aka	13 [Mar-biti-apla-usu] <i>r</i> , descendant ... Elam, ruled for six years.
14 <i>ina é.gal</i> <i>Šarru-kîn</i> [<i>qí</i>]- <i>bir</i> †	14 He was buried in the palace of Sargon.†
15 [I lugal.e] bala [<i>Elam</i>] <i>ti</i> ^{ki} mu VI in.aka	15 [One king] of the dynasty of [Elam] ruled for six years.
16 [...] x [...] Lacuna	16 [...] x [...] Lacuna

COMMENTARY

v 5 Bab. K. L. A iii 7 says Ea-mukin-zēri ruled for 5 months. See the note to v 3.

v 7 On analogy with the two previous statements (v 4, 6) one is probably correct in assuming that a proper name (Sargon?) and *qí-bir* have been mistakenly omitted at the end of the line.

v 8 On the figure 23 see the note to v 3.

v 9 The number of years is 14, not 15 as King has copied. Bab. K. L. A iii 10 assigns 17 years to his reign (see the note to v 3).

KAR-^d*Marduk* has previously been read

as a personal name (*Ētir-Marduk*) but Brinkman's suggestion (Dissertation p. 196) that it is better to regard it as the place Kār-Marduk (location unknown) has been adopted here.†

v 10 Bab. K. L. A iii 11 says he ruled for 3 years (see the note to v 3).

v 13f. The ù after šà.bal.bal is difficult. Brinkman (Dissertation pp. 198f.) suggests reading *libir* and translates "remote descendant of Elam". Cf. *Narām-Sîn šarru a-ba-a-am la-bi-ri* VAB 4, p. 78 iii 27.†

	vi C		vi C
Lacuna		Lacuna	
1 x x x [...]		1 ... [...]	
2 lú.MI[R ...]		2 the <i>kni</i> [ght ...]	
3 ^{md} <i>Marduk-apla-úšu</i> [r mu x in.aka]		3 Marduk-apla-usu[r ruled for N years].	
4 i lugal.e bala x [... mu x in.aka]		4 One king of the dynasty of [... ruled for N years].	
5 ^{kur} <i>Kal-di</i> bala.bi ba.kúr na[m.lugal.bi kur.a.ab.ba.šè ba.túm]		5 The dynasty of Chaldea was terminated (lit. changed), [its kingship was transferred to the Sealand].	
6 kur.a.ab.ba ^m <i>Eri-ba</i> [- ^d <i>Marduk</i> mu x in.aka]		6 The Sealand, Eriba-[-Marduk ruled for N years].	
7 i lugal.e ba[la kur.a.ab.ba mu x in.aka]		7 One king of the dyn[asty of the Sealand ruled for N years].	
8 kur.a.ab.ba [bala.bi ba.kúr nam.lugal.bi ^{kur} <i>Kal-di</i> .šè ba.túm]		8 The [dynasty of the] Sealand [was terminated (lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to Chaldea].	
9 ^{kur} <i>Kal-di</i> [... mu x in.aka]		9 Chaldea, [... ruled for N years].	
10 i lu[gal.e bala ^{kur} <i>Kal-di</i> mu x in.aka]		10 One ki[ng of the dynasty of Chaldea ruled for N years].	
11 ^{kur} [<i>Kal-di</i> bala.bi ba.kúr nam.lugal.bišè ba.túm]		11 [The dynasty of Chaldea was terminated (lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to ...]	
12 x [...]		12 ... [...]	
13 x [...]		13 ... [...]	
Lacuna		Lacuna	

COMMENTARY

C

vi 2 lú.MI[R] could be restored lú.ag[a.uš] (cf. v 2) or simply read *nāgīru*.

vi 4 The sign after bala is almost certainly not KUR and may well be NU. Should one restore bala [nu] [zu] "of an unknown dynasty"? This suggestion is supported by

the absence of the name of the dynasty at the beginning of vi 3 where it would normally appear according to the typology of this text. On the other hand the name ^{kur}*Kaldi* appears in its expected place in the change of dynasty formula in vi 5.

CHRONICLE 19

WEIDNER CHRONICLE

Three versions of the Weidner Chronicle are known:

- A Ass 13955 gv
- B 6.4 in the catalogue of the cuneiform collection of the Musée d'art et d'histoire, Geneva, as published by E. Sollberger, JCS 5 (1951), p. 20.
- C VAT 14515

The best preserved version is A, a Neo-Assyrian copy, which is known only from an excavation photograph, the location of the original tablet being unknown. The dimensions of the tablet have never been published. The top portion is broken away, there are several other lacunae, and the obverse is so badly worn that in many parts it is illegible. The other two versions are both Neo-Babylonian and very fragmentary. All of B and the reverse of C are duplicates of A

with only minor variants. The obverse of C, which does not duplicate any of the preserved portion of A, is too mutilated to permit editing and it has therefore been disregarded in this study. A fragment (K 5763) of what might be a commentary on this text was published by W. G. Lambert, AfO 17 (1956), p. 321 and pl. XIV and see his comment in JCS 16 (1962), p. 74, n. 13.

The transliteration is based essentially on version A but where this is broken, the text is taken from B and C. The result of such a combination means that variant forms occur side by side (e.g. in the Neo-Assyrian version one finds *Ē-sag-gil* but in the Neo-Babylonian version *Ē-sag-il*). This may strike some readers as odd but it is felt that such minor inconsistencies are permissible for the sake of having a text which is easily read. Those who wish to know exactly what each version contains may check the copies.

Sources

- A = 1-66
- B = 40-62
- C = 48-75

BIBLIOGRAPHY†

- Photograph:
ZA 42, pls. If. (text A)
- Copies:
1926 A. Boissier, *Babyloniaca* 9, pl. II (text B)
1931 A. Falkenstein, LKU no. 41 (text C)
1934 H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42, pp. 48f. (text A)
- Editions:
1926 A. Boissier, *Babyloniaca* 9, pp. 23-26 (text B)

- 1934 H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42, pp. 47-57 (texts A, B, and C)
- Studies:
1926 E. Weidner, AfO 3, pp. 198f.
1929 V. Christian and E. Weidner, AfO 5, p. 140
1939 T. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 202, n. 31
H. G. Güterbock, AfO 13, p. 50
E. Weidner, AfO 13, pp. 50f.

(Traces of lines 1-13 are visible but nothing certain can be read.)

- 14 [...] x [...] x x x [...]
- 15 x [x] x x x e MAN x x [x] x x x šu uš
an x [...]
- 16 aš x x ^dA-num ù ^d[En-l]il ilānimeš
rabūti^m[eš] ki-niš ip-p[a]l-s[u ...]

1-13 Too broken for translation

- 14 [...] ... [...] ... [...]
- 15 ... [...]
- 16 ... Anu and [Enli], the great gods,
looked steadily [...]

- 17 x [...] x x ma x x -šu-nu ki-ni x x am [...] x [...]
- 18 [...] x [x] x x x x x x x šu x [...] x x x [...]
- 19 [...] x x ēkal šamē^e eršeti^t x x x ši šu x x x x x [...]
- 20 [...] lib-bi-šu-nu x x x te-me-en-šu ki-[m]a(?) eršetim^{tim} a-na ūmē^{me} x [x] x ki x [...]
- 21 x x ki KA-ka(?) šá(?) taq-bu-ú i(?)-di(?)-ma a-na ba-laṭ ūmē^{me} ru-q[u]-ti a-na x x x [...]
- 22 x x x x tē-mi-ia purussū(eš.bar) iq-ga-ba-a mil-ka(?) da[m]-qu a(?)-na(?) x x x x x [...]
- 23 [a]-na ilāni^{meš} āli šá-a-šu ilāni^m[eš] raz-bāti^{meš} šá šamē^e ū eršetim^{tim} ú-sa-aḫ-x x x x [...]
- 24 a-[n]a ba-laṭ te-diš-ti(?) arḫi^{šam}šam šatti-šam^{šam} x x x [...]
- 25 a-[n]a m[i]l(?)-ki-šu x x x DINGIR [ma(?)-am(?)]-ma ul i'-a-ri-šu-[m]a šá lib-bi x x x x [...]
- 26 ep-šu pi-i-šu ik-kam-mu-ú ilāni^{meš} nak-ru-tu lab-šu ár(?) -šu-tu x x [x] x x x
- 27 x x meš šá a-na ilāni^{meš} āli šá-a-šú ú-gal-la-lu kakkab-šú ina šamē^e ul iz-za-zi(?) x x x x x
- 28 šarra la(?) i(?) -šu-ú(?) ḫaṭ-ṭa-šu in-na(?) -tir i-šit-ta-šu i-ta-ar a-na ti-li u [kar-me]
- 17 ... [...] ... [...] ... [...]
- 18 [...] ... [...] ... [...]
- 19 [...] ... palace of heaven (and) underworld ... [...]
- 20 [...] their hearts ... its foundation *like* the earth *forever* ... [...]
- 21 ... *which* you spoke *I know* and for long life, for ... [...]
- 22 ... of my advice, the decision was given, fine *counsel* for ... [...]
- 23 [F]or the gods of that city, the great gods of heaven and underworld, he ... [...]
- 24 For the *life of the renovation*, every month, every year ... [...]
- 25 To his *counsel* ... no god *whatever* will go against it/him which/of the heart ... [...]
- 26 At his command the hostile gods are bound, they are clothed in *dirty* (garments) ...
- 27 ... who commits sin against the gods of that city, his star will not *stand* in heaven ...
- 28 *They will not have* a king, his sceptre will be taken away, his treasury will become a ruin.

COMMENTARY

19 This is a well-attested epithet of Esagil (e.g. VAB 4, p. 178 i 28; p. 270 ii 49).

20 One might read (with Güterbock): a-na ūmē^{me} ṣ[a-a-t]i

25 i'-a-ri: If the interpretation is correct, the overhanging i vowel may be compared with iz-za-zi(?) in line 27. This phenomenon is attested in NA (but i is preceded by i according to von Soden, GAG § 82e) and OB (preceded by a doubling of the last radical of the verb—GAG § 82e and further examples in Jacobsen, JNES 19 [1960], p. 110, n. 12). Cf. ú-šam-qá-ti Lambert, BWL p. 112:13.

27 The word at the beginning of the line may have been nišū (or perhaps ālāni).

gullulu and not qullulu is to be read here. See Landsberger, WZKM 57 (1961), p. 11, n. 47 and for references see CAD 5 (G), pp. 131f. and von Soden, AHW pp. 297f. Also see Speiser, *Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (ed. Dentan) (New Haven and London, 1955) p. 59 and Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* p. 169, n. 915.

28 The subject of išū may have been the word (nišū?) broken away from the beginning of 27. in-na(?) -tir: The verb has been interpreted as a IV/1 present of eṭēru. One would expect innetter. For this reason von Soden (AHW p. 264b—the notation “spB” is an error) reads in-neṭ! -tir. The sign, however, looks like NA, not NIT.

- 29 x [x] x x x x šār kiš-ša[t ša]mē^e ù eršetim^{tim} um(?)^{-ma} ilā[ni]^m[eš](?) šá šamē^e u erše-
tim^{tim} x x [x] x
- 30 ù(?) a-lak(?)^{-ti} šarri maḥ-ri(?) šá áš-te-
nim-mu-ú a-na x a šá ib x x x x
- 31 ^mAk-ka mār ^mEn-me-bár-a-ge-si x x ka
x ib x x x x [...] x x
- 32 ^mEn-me-kiri šār Uruk^{ki} nam-maš-[še-e]
ú-šal-pit x man da šá a x x x [...]†
- 32b x x x x x x x x [...] x x x [...]
- 33 apkallu A-da-pà x x x x x x [...] x [...]
- 34 [x i-na k]i-iš-ši-šu el-li [i]š-me-ma ^mEn-
me-kiri x x [...]
- 35 x [x] x x šarru-ut kiš-šat mātāti(kur.kur)
ad-din-šum^{-ma} x x x x x [...] x [...]
- 36 x x x x x šamē^e ú-b[a]n-ni ina É-sag-gíl
x x x x x x [...] x
- 37 x x x x kiš-šat šamē^e u eršeti māru reš-tu-ú
x x x x ḥa x x x x [...] x
- 38 ina palē ^mPuzur-^dNirah^(muš)(?) šār Ak-
šak^{ki} šu-ḥa-da-ku šá É-sag-gíl x x x x x
x x [...]
- 39 x x x x x x nu-na a-na naptān(bur)
^dBēl nūnē^{meš} i-bar-r[u x] x [...]
- 40 lūlaputtā^{meš} šarri nu-na e-ki-mu šu-ḥa-
da-ku x x x [x] x [...]
- 29 ... the king of all of heaven and under-
world (said) this: "The gods of heaven
and underworld ... [...] ...
- 30 and the conduct of the former king, about
which I constantly hear, to/for ...
- 31 Akka, son of Enmebaragesi, ... [...] ...
- 32 Enmekiri, king of Uruk, destroyed the
popul[ation] ... [...]†
- 32b ... [...] ... [...]
- 33 the sage, Adapa, ... [...] ... [...]
- 34 [...] in] his pure shrine he heard and
Enmekiri ... [...]
- 35 ... sovereignty over all lands I gave to
him ... [...] ... [...]
- 36 ... heaven I/he fashioned well in Esagil
... [...] ...
- 37 ... all of heaven and underworld, the
foremost son ... [...] ...
- 38 In the reign of Puzur-Nirah, king of
Akshak, fisherman of Esagil ... [...] ...
- 39 ... they used to catch fish for the meal
of the lord of the fish [...] ... [...] ...
- 40 The king's inspectors took away the fish.
The fisherman ... [...] ...

COMMENTARY

32 *nam-maš-[še-e]*: Cf. line 53. In these lines "people" not "animals" (the usual translation of *nammaššū*) is expected. Cf. *nam-maš-šu-u* = *a-lum* Malku I 200 (A. D. Kilmer, JAOS 83 [1963], p. 428). Also note:

níg.zi.gál = *nam-maš-šu-ú*

níg.zi.gál = *a-šu-u*

níg.zi.gál = *šik-nat na-piš-tú*

níg.zi.gál = *nam-maš-ti*

Landsberger, Fauna p. 30:397–400. Thus níg.zi.gál = *nammaššū* includes people as well as animals. Cf. CAD 21 (Z), p. 138.

34 For the reading see Weidner, AfO 13 (1939–41), p. 50.

36 For the reading see Weidner, AfO 13, p. 50.

37 After *māru reš-tu-ú* Güterbock reads: *šá É-sag-gíl*.

38 *Puzur-Nirah/Šaḥan*: The reading was

proposed by Jacobsen, AS 11 p. 179, n. 23, who said that there was room for a "cramped" *MUŠ*. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), p. 51, n. 1, objected that there was not enough room.

šuhadaku: For the reading (instead of *šukudakku* or *šupešdakku*) see Landsberger, MSL 8/2, p. 111. The Akkadian equivalent may be **bā'ir nābali* "freshwater fisherman (lit. "fisher of dry land")". See Landsberger, JNES 8 (1949), p. 252, n. 30. The word also occurs in an inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II (VAB 4, pp. 154–156) in connection with supplying fish for Esagil. Note *šuhmutu* in v 14 (and cf. VAB 4, p. 194 ii 1) and in Chron. 19:43 and 47.†

39 For the reading see Weidner, AfO 13 (1939–41), pp. 50f. Weidner says the *bēl nūnē* is Marduk.

40f. In B there are traces of only one sign in each of these lines. What these signs are and where they fit in these lines is unknown.

- 41 x *ūme*^{me} ina na-sa-*hi* šu-*ha-da-ku* nu-na
i-bar-ru [x] x [...]
- 42 ina bīt ^{SAL}Kū-^dB[a-b]a₆ x x a-na am ma
x me x x x [... a-na *Ē-sag-i*]l u^t-*taḥ*-[*hu*]
- 43 ^{SAL}Kū-^dBa-ba₆ a-na [š_u]-*ha-da-ku* aka-
l^{meš} id-din m^{meš} id-din x x x x [...]
TU a-na *Ē-sag-il* uš-ta[h(?)]-mīt(?)
- 44 be-lum rabā^u [^d]Marduk *ha-diš ip-pa-lis-*
si-ma um-ma ši-i lu ki-a-a[m]
- 45 a-na ^{SAL}Kū-^dBa-ba₆ šarru-ut kiš-šat māz-
tāti (kur.kur) ug-dam-mir-[š_i]
- 46 Ur-^dZa-ba₄-ba₄ ^{giš}karān^{meš} ma-qa-a-ti šá
Ē-sag-gil a-na ... šu-pil-li i[q(?)-bi(?)]
- 47 Šarru-kin ul uš-pe-el it-ta-id-ma ana
Ē-sag-gil [(...) uš-ta-ah-m]e(?)-e[l(?)]-ma]
- 48 ^dMarduk mār bīti šá Apsē *ha-diš ip-pa-*
lis-su-ma šarru-ut ki[b]-rat ar-ba-'i id-
din-šú
- 41 When the Nth day had passed, the *fisher-*
man was catching fish ... [...]
- 42 In the house of Ku-B[ab]a ... [... to
Esagi]l they brought near.
- 43 Ku-Baba gave food (and) water to the
[fi]sherman ... [...] the fish he delivered
with h[aste] to Esagil.
- 44 The great lord, Marduk, looked upon her
with joy and said, "So be it!"
- 45 He handed over to Ku-Baba sovereignty
over all lands.
- 46 Ur-Zababa c[ommanded] Sargon to ex-
change the libations of wine for Esagil ...
- 47 Sargon did not exchange (them). (Instead)
he was careful to [deliver with h]as[te (the
fish)] to Esagil.
- 48 Marduk, "son of the temple" of Apsu,
looked with joy upon him and gave to
him sovereignty over the Four Quarters.

VARIANTS

- 44 B: lu(!)-ú
45 B: [mātāti(kur.k)ur] id-din-ši
46 See the commentary

- 47 See the commentary
48 A: ki[b-ra]-ti a[r-b]a-'i i[d-din-šú]
B: [kib]-rat ar-ba-'i id-din-šú

COMMENTARY

41 For numerous examples in Mari of the phrase UD N^{kam} *nasāhu* see ARMT 15, pp. 196f. Güterbock read the numeral as 8(?).

42 For the reading of the end of the line (from B) see Weidner, AfO 13, p. 51.

43 The last part of the line is from B. The first visible trace in B is clearly TU in the copy. This could be the end of *il* and thus one might restore [*Ē-sag-i*] (cf. line 42). However, such a restoration is improbable since Esagil occurs immediately afterwards. uš-ta[h(?)-mīt(?)]: Cf. line 47 and see the note to line 38.

44 On the expression *ši lu ki'am/kā* see von Soden, GAG § 124c.

46 Cf. *šu-luḥ-hi-šu uš-pe-el-lu* VAB 4, p. 274 iii 19f. (Nab.). The reading of the middle of this line is very uncertain. As the text is copied B varies from A:
A: šá *Ē-sag-gil* a-na LÚ/LUGAL [GI(?)] x (x) x
šu-pil- [...]
B: ... *Ē-sag*-*il* ana LUGAL.DU ^{lū}ŠU.DU₈.A-
šú šu-pil-li i[q(?)-bi(?)]

One might restore A: ... ša *Ē-sag-gil* a-na
Šarru-kin(gi.na?) a(?)-na(?) šu-pil-[li ...]
The reading of the first part of the line in A was left in doubt by Güterbock who said

"Der erste Teil des Zeichens würde zu GEŠTIN passen, aber die zwei Winkelhaken am Ende stören." To the present writer it appears that there is an erasure after GEŠTIN. The reading of GEŠTIN is as good as certain. Cf. GEŠTIN^{meš} ma-qi-te TCL 3, 398.

ŠU.DU₈.A: In the Sumerian K. L. vi 33 Sargon is called the *sagi*(sila.šu.du₈) (for the reading see T. Jacobsen, ZA 52 [1957], p. 119, n. 59) "cupbearer" of Ur-Zababa. Is this a variant of the same title or has the scribe omitted sila by mistake? šu.du₈ means "to hold in the hand". See Falkenstein, Gerichtsurkunden 3, p. 164, and cf. Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 5, n. 33.

47 The sentence requires an object (perhaps *nu-na*) and there is room for one after Esagil in A but not in B.
B: ...]-ma ana *Ē-sag-il* uš-taḥ-mīt
On *šuḥmuṭu* see line 43 and the note to 38.

48 The reading *mār bīti* was proposed by Weidner, AfO 13, p. 51. Cf. CAD 2 (B), pp. 295f. It is the temple of Ea which is located in the Apsū and the attributes of Ea are assigned to Marduk in the late period. In C there are traces of only one sign which might be the AB of Apsū.

- 49 *za-ni-nu-ut É-sag-gíl* [e-piš] x x x x x *Bābili^{ki} bi-lat-su* x x x
 50 *šu* x x *kur* ^a*Bēl* x [(x)] x *pu šu i* x [x] *e-pir šat-pi-i-šu i-suh-ma* [...]
 51 *ina maḥ-rat A-ga-dē^{ki} āla i-pu-uš-ma Bā-*
bili^{ki} a-na šumi-šu [im-bi]
 52 [*ana ikk*]_{ib} *i-pu-šu ik-kir₆-šu-ma iš-tu(!)*
ši-it ^a*Šamši^{ši} a-di e-reb* ^a*Šamši^{ši}*
 52b *ik-ki-ru-šu-ma la ša-la-lu šakin-*[šu(?)]
 53 *Na(!)-ram-^aSin nam-maš-še-e Bābili^{ki} ú-*
šal-p[it-ma(?)]
 54 *a-di ši-ni-šu ummān Qu-ti-i id-ka-šum-ma*
nišē^{meš}-šu ma-ak-ka-ra-niš x [...]
 55 *šarru-us-su a-na um-ma-an Qu-ti-i it-ta-*
din
 56 *Qu-tu(!)-ú ša ta-zi-im-te ila pa-la-ḥa la*
kul-lu-mu
- 49 To provide for Esagil, bread for the shrines at Babylon, his tribute ...
 50 ... Bel ... he dug up the dust of its pit [...]
 51 In front of Agade he made (another) city and [cal]led it Babylon.
 52–52b [Because of] the wrong he (Sargon) had done, he (Marduk) became hostile towards him (Sargon). They (his subjects) rebelled against him from east to west. He was afflicted with insomnia.
 53 Naram-Sin destro[yed] the population of Babylon.
 54 Twice he (Marduk) brought against him (Naram-Sin) an attack of the army of the Gutī. His people as with a goad [...]
 55 He (Marduk) gave his sovereignty to the army of the Gutī.
 56 The Gutī were oppressive people, without instruction in divine worship.

VARIANTS*

- 49 See the commentary
 51 A: [Akkadī^{ki}]
 B: *A-ga-dē^{ki} ... Bābili*
 52 C: *ik-kir-šu-ma ul-tu*
 52b B: *ik-ki-ru-šu-ma la ša-la-la i-[mi](?)-*
i[d(?)]
 54 B: [ummā]ni^{meš} *Gu-ti-i^{ki} id(?) -kaš(?) -šum-*
ma
 C: [u]m-ma-an *Gu-ti-um id-ka-aš-šum-ma*
 55 B: [Gu-ti-i^k]¹
 C: *a-na Gu-ti-um^{ki}*
 56 C: [t]a-[az-zi-im-tu₄] ilāni^{meš} *pa-la-ḥu*

COMMENTARY

49 B reads: [p]arakkē^{meš} *ana Bābili^{ki} bi-lat-su* x x x. One might reconstruct the line from A and B thus: *za-ni-nu-ut É-sag-gíl* [e-piš] *tùm(?) -ri(?) a-n[a p]arakkē^{meš} ana Bābili^{ki} bi-lat-su* x x x.

Cf. AfO 13, p. 51.

The traces in C are: [...] x pu uš x [...].

50 The reading was proposed by von Soden (apud Güterbock), AfO 13 (1939–41), p. 50. For parallels see the note to Chron. 20 A 18f. For *šatpī* “pit” see AfO 13, p. 50 and the lexical passage A = *nāqu* I/2 148ff. (quoted in CAD 7 [I/J] p. 204a): *pu-u TÚL* = *bur-tum, šit-pu, is-[su-u]*.

The traces in C fit into the middle of this line in some such way as indicated in the transliteration.

51 Although there is a space at the beginning of the line which is partially broken, there

appears to be nothing missing. Cf. 52b which is indented.

For parallels see the note to Chron. 20 A 18f. Güterbock read A: *ina maḥ-r[i]* x x and in n. 10 remarked that x x was “Nach den Spuren nicht Akkadim”. But certainly the traces on the photograph fit *Akkadī^{ki}* and further, the traces of the preceding sign look like [rat] not [ri].

52–52b A parallel passage is Chron. 20 A 20–23.

53 *nam-maš-še-e*: See the commentary to line 32. A has mistakenly: KÁ.DINGIR.KI.RA instead of KÁ.DINGIR.RA^{ki} as on C.

54 The reading of B given in the list of variants is based upon Güterbock’s suggestion in ZA 42 (1934), p. 53, n. 5.

adi šinīšu: For the translation “twice” see Weidner, AfO 13, p. 51, and cf. von Soden, AHw p. 12b, and CAD 1/1 (A) p. 121.

56 Cf. Weidner, AfO 13, p. 51.

- 57 *par-ši ušurāti*(giš.ḫur)^{meš} *šu-te-šu-ra la i-du-ú*
 58 ^d*Utu-ḫé-gál šu-ḫa-da-ku ina paṭ i-rat tam-tim nu-na ta-mar-ti i-bar-ma*
 59 *nu-un šu-a-ti a-di a-na be-lí rabê* ^d*Marduk ṭe-ḫu-ú ana ili šá-nim-ma ul uṭ-ṭaḫ-ḫu*
 60 *Qu-tu-ú nu-na ba-áš-la la ṭuḫ-ḫa-a ina qāti-šú e-ki-mu-š[u ...]*
 61 [*ina(?) q[i-bi-[t]i-šu šir-te ummān^{an} Qu-ti-i a-na šarru-ut māti-šú e-ṭir-ma a-na* ^d*Utu-ḫé-gál id-din*
 62 [^d*Utu-ḫé-gál šu-ḫa-da-ku qāt-su a-na āli-šú ana lemutti(ḫul)^{ti} ú-bil-ma nāru šá-lam-ta-šú it-[bal(?)]*
 63 [*a-na* ^d*Šul-gi mār* ^d*Ur-^dNammu šarru-ut kiš-sat mātāti(kur!.kur) id-din-šum-[ma]*
 64 [*x x*] *x ul ú-šak-lil šu-luḫ-ḫi-šu ú-le-'i-ma an-na-šú x x x [...]*
 57 They did not know how to properly perform divine rites (and) ordinances.
 58 Utu-hegal, the *fisherman*, caught a fish as tribute at the edge of the sea.
 59 Until that fish was offered to the great lord, Marduk, it was not offered to any other god.
 60 The Guti took the cooked fish away from him before it was offered [...]
 61 [*By*] his exalted command he deprived the army of the Guti of sovereignty over his land (lit. he took the army of the Guti away for sovereignty of his land) and gave it (the sovereignty) to Utu-hegal.
 62 [Utu]-hegal, the *fisherman*, carried out criminal designs on his (Marduk's) city, and the river (Euphrates) [*carri*]ed [*off*] his corpse.
 63 He (Marduk) gave [to] Shulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, sovereignty over all lands.
 64 He (Shulgi) did not perform *hi[s (Marduk's) rites]* fully, he (Shulgi) profaned his (Marduk's) purification ritual, and his sin ... [...]

VARIANTS

- 57 B: [*pa*]r-ši ḫUR^{meš} *šuk-lu-lu la i-du-ú*
 58 C: [*p*]a-aṭ(! text has ṣI) ... *nu-nu*
 59 C: ^dBēl rabīⁱ ^dMarduk ṭaḫ-ḫu-[ú]
 60 C: *i-na qa-ti-šú*
 61 C: [*ša*]r-ru-ut māti-šú *i-ṭ[i-i]r-ma a-na m[...]*
 62 B: [*nār*]u pa-gar-šú
 C: *a-na lemutti(ḫul!)* [*a-n*]a [*āli*]-šú *ú-bi[l-ma]*
 63 C: *šar-ru-u[t]*
 64 C: [...]-x-šú *ú-la-'i-ma*

COMMENTARY

- 57 The reading of B in the list of variants is based upon Weidner's suggestion, AfO 13, p. 51.
 58 *pāṭ irat tāmtim*: cf. *ina i-rat me-e* SBH p. 101 r. 7f. and *ina ir-ti ša mē* Gilg. III p. 31 BM 34191:3 (quoted in CAD 7 [I/J] p. 186).
 59 Weidner reads B (AfO 13, p. 51): *uṭ-ṭaḫ(!)-ḫu*. In C is ṬAḪ an error for ṬUḪ or has an UT been left out (i.e. *uṭ-ṭaḫ-ḫu-ú*)?
 60 The end of the line is uncertain:
 A: *š[u ...]*
 B: [...]-im(?)*-ma(?)*
 61 The reading of the beginning of the line was proposed by Weidner, AfO 13, p. 51.

- 62 *qātsu ... ūbilma*: For parallels see Chron. 22 iv 9f. and the note to that passage. As punishment Utu-hegal was drowned. The same incident is apparently referred to in an omen, KAR 422 r.(?) 15: *amūtut* ^{md}*Utu-ḫé-gál šá i-na se-ker nā[ri(?) ...]* "The omen of Utu-hegal who [*died*] when damming the *ri[ver]*." Cf. Weidner, MAOG 4 (1928–29), p. 235, and Nougayrol, *Présages Historiques* p. 14, no. 48 and n. 53.†
 63 KUR(!).KUR: One wedge has been mistakenly omitted from the first KUR so that it actually appears as MAN.
 64 One might restore [*par-ši-š*]u on the basis of line 57 as found in B (*šuklulu* for *šutēšuru*).

- 65 [...] x x x x x *Ē-sag-gíl* ... *ša ni-iq*
zagmukki(zag.muk) *ša Ē-sa[g-íl* ...]
 66 [...] x [...] x x x x x x [...]

- 65 [...] ... Esagil ... of the sacrifice of the
 New Year's festival of Esa[gil ...]
 66 [...] ... [...] ... [...]

Remainder on C only

- 67 [...] [*Ē*]-sag-íl *ki-ma* x x [...]
 68 [...] x *a-ra-an-šu* x [...]
 69 [...] *ta mu ka* [...]
 70 [...] *tu ul* [...]
 71 [...] x *meš šá* [...]
 72 [...] x *ú* [...]
 73 [...] *qa-ti-šu šá* [...]
 74 [...] x [...]
 75 [...] x [...]

- 67 [...] Esagil like ... [...]
 68 [...] ... his sin ... [...]
 Remainder too broken for translation

Lacuna

Ancient Commentary (?)

Lacuna

- 1 [...] x x x x x [...]
 2 [...] x-šu *iš-kun* : *A-da-p[à* ...]
 3 [...] x ^d*Bēl i-šar-ra-aḥ* : *ši*[-...]
 4 [...] x-*tum* : *ri-iq-mu an-nu-ú* [...]
 5 [...] x *qāt*(šu)-*su* *II-tum* [...]
 6 [...] -*ra-aḥ* : *ša* ^d*Bēl rabī* ^d*Marduk*
 x [...]

- 7 [...] x x *En-me-ki-ir ina Uruk*^{k1} *šarru*
 [...]
 8 [...] x *ri* : *En-me-ki-ir aš-šu A-d[a-pà*(?)
 [...]
 9 [...] x *ša ūmēme* *SUD*^{meš} [...]
 10 [...] x *qaq-qa-ra ú-šap-pi-lu* x [...]
 11 [...] x x *at šu da la* : *A-da-pà diš ma*
 [...]
 12 [...] x-*šum-ma* : *A-da-pà ul im-tal-lik-*
ma [...]
 13 [...] x x x : *a-ḥu a-ḥa ip-pal-s[u* ...]
 14 [...] *d[i-nu-ti* : *aš-šum DUG NU.KÙ.G[A*
 [...]
 15 [...] -*aḥ* [...]
 16 [...] x [...]

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

65 The exact reconstruction of this line is uncertain due to the badly broken state of the two texts:

- A: [...] x x x x x *Ē-sag-gíl* x x x x x x x [...]
 C: [...] x *ša ni-iq zagmukki ša Ē-sa[g-íl*
 66 So A. C: [...] *gim še ni šú* [...]

CHRONICLE 20

CHRONICLE OF EARLY KINGS

The text of this chronicle is preserved on two tablets:

A BM 26472 (98-5-14, 290)

B BM 96152 (1902-4-12, 264)

Their relationship has been discussed in Part I. A measures 58 mms. wide and 85 mms. long. B is 55 mms. wide and 65 mms. long.

A is well preserved, the only significant flaw being a tiny piece missing from the lower right-hand corner. B is badly preserved since the bottom of the tablet is entirely missing, there is a large lacuna in the upper left-hand corner, and there are also several surface flaws.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Photographs:

King, Chron. 1, p. iv (obverse of A)

King, Chron. 2, p. iv (reverse of B)

Copy:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 113-127

Editions:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 3-24

1912 R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament (London) pp. 203-208

Translations Only:

1926 E. Ebeling, AOTAT² pp. 335-337

1955 A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 266f.

Studies:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 1, pp. 27-156

H. Winckler, OLZ 1907, 577-589

1914 A. Poebel, PBS 4/1, pp. 237-242

1916 F. E. Peiser, MVAG 21, pp. 163-168, 171

1922 E. Weidner, BoSt 6, p. 94

1923 L. W. King, A History of Sumer and Akkad (London) pp. 224-227

1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, ZA 37, pp. 61-66

1932 R. P. Dougherty, YOR 19, pp. 4-10

1934 H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42, pp. 16-19, 57-61

1936 A. Ungnad, Subartu pp. 41-43

E. Weidner, ZA 43, pp. 118f.

1939 H. G. Güterbock, AfO 13, p. 50

1954 B. Landsberger, JCS 8, p. 71

1957 D. O. Edzard, Zwischenzeit pp. 140f.

A

1 ^mŠarru-kîn šār A-ga-dè^{ki} ina palē ^dIš-tar i-lam-ma

2 šá-ni-na u ma-ḫi-ri ul i-ši šá-lum-mat-su eli māṭāti^{meš}

3 it-bu-uk tāmta(a.ab.ba) ina ṣīt Šamši (dUtu.è) i-bi-ir-ma

4 MU xīkām māt ereb Šamši (dUtu.šú.a) a-di qí-ti-šú qāt-su ikšud^{ua}

A

1 Sargon, king of Agade, came to power during the reign of Ishtar and

2 he had neither rival nor equal.

3 He diffused

2 his splendour over the lands.

3 He crossed the sea in the east.

4 In his eleventh year he conquered the western land to its farthest point.

COMMENTARY

A

1 On the various writings of Sargon's name see Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 1.

A duplicate to the phrase here is found in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:22f. Further, see Chapter 5, n. 32 where it is pointed out that *palú* DN is a phrase otherwise only found in omen literature.

2f. *šānina* . . . *itbuk*: A duplicate passage is to be found in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:23f. Further cf. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), p. 255, no. 8 (= Nougayrol, Présages Historiques no. 59, and cf. Hirsch, AfO 20

[1963], p. 7): *a-mu-ut Šar-ru-ki-in ša ma-ḫi-ra-am la-aš-šu-ú*. Also cf. the similar phrase (in a copy of a Sargon inscription): ^dEn.líl. le lú.gaba.ru nu.mu.ni.tuku: ^dEnlil mahīra la iddiššum "Enlil gave him no rival". For references see Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 2. Note that in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:24 Sargon is said to have crossed the sea in the west not in the east. The discrepancy is discussed in Appendix B sub Sargon where it is suggested that the statement of the chronicle is correct.

4-6 Cf. the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:24-26. Concerning the discrepancies see the discussion in Appendix B sub Sargon.†

- 5 *pi-i-šú a-na iš-ten ú-kin šalme(nu)^{meš}-šú*
ina ereb Šamši (dUtu.šú.a) uš-zi-iz
 6 *šal-lat-su-nu ina A-ma-a-ti ú-še-bi-ra†*
 7 *māre^{me} ekalli-šú a-na v bēri^{ta.ām} ú-še-šib-*
[ma]
 8 *um-mat mātāti^{meš} mit-ḥa-riš i-be-el*
 9 *a-na kurKa-zal-la il-lik-ma kurKa-zal-la*
ana tilli u kar-me ú-tir
 10 *ina lib-bi-šú man-za-az iṣ-ṣur ú-ḥal-liq*
- 11 *ar-ka-niš ina ši-bu-ti-šú mātāti^{meš} ka-la-*
ši-na ib-ba-al-ki-ta-ši-ma
 12 *ina A-ga-dè^{ki} il-mu-šú-ma mŠarru-kîn a-*
na giškakki ūši-ma dabdâ-šú-nu im-ḥaṣ
- 13 *ka-mar-šú-nu iš-kun um-man-šú-nu raz-*
paštintim ú-šam-qí-it
 14 *arki DIŠ kurSubarti(su.bir₄)^{ki} ina gi-ip-*
ši-šú itbi-ma ana giškakki ik-mi-is-su-ma†
 15 *Šarru-kîn šu-šu-ba-a-tú ú-še-šib-ma dabdâ-*
šú-nu im-ḥaṣ
 16 *ka-mar-šú-nu iš-kun um-man-šú-nu raz-*
paštintim ú-šam-qí-it
 17 *makkūr-šú-nu a-na A-ga-dè^{ki} ú-še-ri-ba*
 18 *e-pe-er e-se-e šá Bābili^{ki} is-suḥ-ma*
- 5 He brought it under one authority. He set up his statues in the west.
 6 Hesent their(the west's) booty into Amati.†
 7 He stationed his court officials at intervals of five double hours and
 8 ruled in unity the tribes of the lands.
 9 He marched to Kazalla and turned Kazalla into a ruin heap
 10 so that there was not even a perch for a bird left (lit. he destroyed the resting-place of a bird in it).
 11 Afterwards, in his old age all of the lands rebelled against him and
 12 surrounded him in Agade. Sargon went out to fight (lit. to arms) and brought about their defeat.
 13 He overthrew them (and) overpowered their extensive army.
 14 Afterwards, Subartu attacked (Sargon) in full force and called him to arms.†
 15 Sargon set an ambush and completely defeated them.
 16 He overpowered their extensive army
 17 and sent their possessions into Agade.
 18 He dug up the dirt of the pit of Babylon and

COMMENTARY

7 Cf. the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:28f. which is discussed in detail in Appendix B sub Sargon.

8 For *ummatu* “tribe, army” see von Soden, Or. n.s. 22 (1953), p. 205 and A. Malamat, JAOS 82 (1962), p. 144. For similar omen passages see Chapter 5, n. 34.

9f. For parallel passages in the omen collections see King, Chron. no. 3:33f., and no. 4:1–4. Cf. [Ka]-zal-lu ú-naq-qir-ma CT 13, 42:19 (Sargon pseudo-autobiography). Cf. Nougayrol, RA 45 (1951), p. 179, n. 2.

11–13 Parallel passages are found in the omen collections King, Chron. no. 3:36–r. 2, and no. 4:5–11. The former passage is somewhat different: *ši-bu-ti māti kalīšunu ibbalkitū-šú-ma* “All the elders of the land rebelled against him (Sargon)”. Can one translate *ina ši-bu-ti-šú* “some of his elders”? For the partitive use of *ina* see GAG § 114c. In King, Chron. no. 3:36–r. 2 *ana kakki* is omitted.

ib-ba-al-ki-ta-ši-ma: One of course expects *-šu-* for *-ši-*.

14–17 Parallel passages are found in the omen collections King, Chron. no. 3 r. 5–9, and no. 4 r. 1–7. For a discussion of the passage and its duplicates see Grayson, Studies Oppenheim p. 92. On the phrase *ana kakki kamāsu* (lit. “to rally to the weapon”) see von Soden, AHW p. 431 and cf. *ni-ši ik-mi-su a-na ka-ra-ši* CT 46, 3 v 43 (OB Atramhasis).†

18f. Parallel passages are found in the NA omen collection, King, Chron. no. 3:8–11, and Chron. 19:50f. The omen collection reads: *amūtut Šarru-kîn šá ina šēri an-ni-i kiš-šu-[...] B]ābili^{ki} x-x-šum-ma [epu]^{HI.A} ša SAL LA KÁ TUN NA is-su-ḥu-ma [...] x [...] -ma [...] x A-ga-dè^{ki} āla i-pu-šum-ma [a Bābil]^{i^{ki}} šum-šú [im-bu-ú] [...] x ú-še-ši-bu. See Grayson, Divination p. 73, n. 4. Cf. Šalmaneser I’s account of the destruction of Arina in IAK p. 116 ii 11–13, Sennacherib’s*

- 19 *i-te-e A-ga-dè^{ki} miḫir(gaba.ri) Bābili^{ki}*
i-pu-uš
 20 *a-na ikkib i-pu-šu bēlu rabū^u dMarduk*
i-gu-ug-ma
 21 *ina ḫu-šaḫ-ḫu nišē^{me}-šú ig-mu-ur*
- 22 *ul-tu ši-it dŠamši^{ši} a-di e-reb dŠamši^š[i]*
 23 *ik-ki-ru-šú-ma la sa-la-la i-mi-id-[su]*
- 24 *mNa-ra-am-dSîn mār mŠarru-kîn a-na*
uruA-pi-šal [il-lik]
 25 *pi-il-šú ip-lu-uš-ma mRi-iš-dAd[ad]*
 26 *šār uruA-pi-šal^{ki} u lūsukkal A-pi-šal^{ki}*
qāt-su ikš[ud^u]
- 27 *ana Má-gan-na^{ki} il-lik-ma mMan-nu-da-*
an-nu šār Má-gan^{ki} [qāt-su ikšud^u]
- 28 *mdŠul-gi mār mUr-dNammu Eridu(nun)^{ki}*
šá aḫ(gú) tam-tim ra-bi-š iz-nu[n]
- 29 *SALlemutta(ḫul) iš-te'-e-ma makkūr É-*
sag-il u Bābili^{ki}
 30 *ina šil-lat uštēši dBēl igi x ma pa-*
gar(adda)-šú u-šá-kil dù tú bad šú
- 19 made a counterpart of Babylon next to Agade.
 20 Because of the wrong he had done the great lord Marduk became angry and
 21 wiped out his people by famine.
 23 They (his subjects) rebelled against him
 22 from east to west
 23 and he (Marduk) afflicted [him] with insomnia.
- 24 Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, [marched] to Apishal.
 25 He made a breach (in the city wall) and
 26 captured
 25 Resh-Ad[ad],
 26 king of Apishal, and the vizier of Apishal.
 27 He marched to Magan and captured Mannudannu, king of Magan.
- 28 Šulgi, son of Ur-Nammu, provided abundant food for Eridu, which is on the seashore.
 29 But he had criminal tendencies and
 30 took away
 29 the property of Esagil and Babylon
 30 as booty. Bel caused ... to consume his body ... killed him.

COMMENTARY

statement about his destruction of Babylon in OIP 2, p. 138:46f., Aššurbanipal's destruction of Susa as told in Streck, Asb. p. 56 vi 96–98. In each of these cases it is a matter of a conqueror setting up a mound of dust from a conquered city by his own city.

20–23 A parallel passage is to be found in Chron. 19:52.

24–26 Exact duplicates to this passage are found in the omen collections King, Chron. no. 3 r. 11–14, and no. 4 r. 8–11. Similar omen apodoses are: Nougayrol, Présages Historiques nos. 5 (cf. Goetze, JCS 1 [1947], p. 258, n. 33), 53, 90; Goetze, op. cit. pp. 257f. and p. 358; Weidner, MAOG 4 (1928–1929), p. 232; and cf. Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 26. The event is also mentioned in the pseudo-autobiography published by Boissier, RA 16 (1919), p. 157:37, and in the Naram-Sin Epic published in AfO 13 (1939–40), p. 47 r. 14. The phrase *piššu ipluš* which occurs so frequently in the omen apodoses in connection with the conquest of Apishal is obviously a play on the name.

27 This line is duplicated in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3 r. 17f., with the addition ^{kur}*Má-gan-na iš-ba-tu-ma*. The same passage probably occurred in the broken section of the NB omen collection King, Chron. no. 4 r. 12ff.

28 This event is otherwise unknown. A finite form of *zanānu* with a city is otherwise unattested (cf. CAD 21 [Z], pp. 43–45) but the participle of this verb is used in royal titulary of cities. See CAD 21 (Z), p. 46a. Note particularly the reference there to Kurigalzu III's title *ú.a.NUN^{ki}*.

29f. Cf. Chron. 22 iv 5 and see the note to that passage. Note that Chron. 19:63ff. mentions Esagil in connection with Šulgi but the passage is too broken to be comprehensible.

30 The line is quite clear on the tablet and King's copy is accurate. Thus it is mysterious that the line cannot be read. There is no parallel for the passage. It is presumably a statement concerning Šulgi's punishment at the hands of Marduk for his crime against Esagil and Babylon.

- 31 ^{md}Ēr-ra-imitti(zà.dib) šarru ^{md}En-líl-
bāni lúnukaribba(nu.kiri₆)
32 a-na šalam(nu) pūḫe(níg.sag.gil)^e ina
giškussé-šú ú-še-šib
33 agá šarru-ti-šú ina qagqadi-šú iš-ta-kan
34 ^{md}Ēr-ra-i-mit-ti ina ēkalli-šú pap-pa-su
(B: si) im-me-tú ina sa-ra-pi-šú im-tu-ut
35 ^{md}En-líl-bāni šá(B omits) ina giškussé
ú-ši-bi ul it-bi
36 a-na šarru-ú-ti it-taš-kan
- 37 ^mIlu-šum[m]-ma šār kur Aš-šur a-na tar-ši
^mSu-a-bu

GIGAM.DIDLI

B

Obverse

1-7 See A 31-36.

- 8 ^mHa-am-mu-ra-pi šār Bābīlī^{ki} ummāni^{me}-
šú id-ke-e-ma
9 a-na muḫḫi ^mRīm(am)-^dSîn šār Ur^{ki}
il-lik
10 Ur^{ki} u Larsa^{ki} qa-at-su ik-šu-ud
11 [bu-šá-šu]-nu a-na Bābīlī^{ki} il-qa-a
12 [u ^mRīm(am)-^dSîn(?) ina ki-is-kap/húp-
pu ana Bābīlī^{ki} ú-bil-la
13 ^m[Sa-am-su-i-l]u-na šār Bābīlī^[ki] mār
^mH[a-am-mu-ra-pi ša]rri
14 [x x x b]u-ut [id-ke]-e-ma(?)
15 [x x x e]n zu na a ^mRīm(am)-^dSîn ana
[uru(?)] x x x x illik^[k]
16 [...] [qāt^{II}]-su ikšud^[d-ma]
17 [...] x bal-tu-ut-su ina ēkalli-š[ú(?) x]

COMMENTARY

31-36 The transliteration is a combination of the duplicate passages A 31-36 and B 1-7. For detailed treatment of the content see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* p. 140.

37 This catch-line is peculiar. The duplicate does not stop with Erra-imitti but continues with Hammurapi, not Ilušumma. Secondly, the catch-line follows a pattern similar to one found in Chron. 21, a document which is altogether different in form from this chronicle. The catch-line also presents historical problems on which see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* pp. 92f.

GIGAM.DIDLI: See the commentary to Chron. 14 Left Edge.

- 31 Erra-imitti, the king,
32 installed
31 Enlil-bani, the gardener,
32 as substitute king on his throne.
33 He placed the royal tiara on his head.
34 Erra-imitti [died] in his palace when he sipped a hot broth.
35 Enlilbani, who occupied the throne, did not give it up (and)
36 so was sovereign.
- 37 Ilu-shumma was king of Assyria at the time of Suabu.

B

Obverse

1-7 Duplicate of A 31-36

- 8 Hammurapi, king of Babylon, mustered his army and
9 marched against Rim-Sin (I), king of Ur.
10 He captured Ur and Larsa (and)
11 took their property to Babylon.
12 He brought [Rim-S]in (I) in a ... to Babylon.
13 [Samsu-il]una, king of Babylon, son of H[ammurapi, the ki]ng,
14 [...] ... [he muster]ed and
15 [...] ... Rim-Sin (II) marched to ...
16 [...] he captured [and
17 [...] ... in good health in his palace [...]

B

Obverse

1-7 See the commentary to A 31-36.

12 The restoration at the beginning of the line fits the traces and the remaining signs in the line are certain. A word *ki-is-kap/húp-pu* is elsewhere unknown but it must be some kind of shackle or cage. It would go back to a Sumerian word beginning with giš...

14 [id-ke]-e-ma(?): Cf. B 8.

16 [qāt^{II}]-su: The sign of the dual is mistakenly missing in King's copy and transliteration.

17 Cf. Chron. 14:16.

18 [...] x *illik-ma il-mi* x [x x x]

19 [...] x *niše^{me}-š[ú(?)]* ...

20 [...] x [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

1 [x x x] x [...]

2 [x x] an ma x [...]

3 [x] x e *ib-na* [...]

4 *šal-tú a-na libbi-šú ipuš* x [...]

5 *pagrē(a dda)^{me}-šú-nu tam-tim* x [...]

6 *iš-ni-ma^m Sa-am-su-i-lu-na* x [...]

7 *^mIli-ma-an itbi-am-ma dabdâ ummā[ni]
[me]-[šú(?) im-ḥaš]*

8 *^mA-bi-ši mār^m Sa-am-su-i-lu-na ka-šad*

^mIli-ma-an iš-[kun(?)]-ma

9 *^{ia}Idiqlat a-na se-ke-ri lib-ba-šú ub-lam-[m]a*

10 *^{ia}Idiqlat is-kir-ma^m Ili-ma-an ul [iṣbat^{bat}-
ma(?)]*

11 *ana tar-ši(?)^m Šamaš-di-ta-na^{kur} Hat-tu-ú
ana^{kur} Akkadⁱki [illik-ma(?)]*

12 *^{md}Ē-a-ga-mil šār māt tam-tim a-na^{kur} E-
lam^{ti}ki i[h-liq]-ma*

13 *arki-šú^m Ū-lam-bur-áš aḫi^m Kaš-til-ia-ia^{ia}
^{kur}Kaš-[šu]-ú*

14 *ummāni-šú id-ke-e-ma māt tam-tim ik-
šud^{ua} bēl-ut mātⁱ i-pu-uš*

15 *^mA-gu-um mār^m Kaš-til-ia-áš ummāni-šú
id-ke-e-ma*

16 *a-na māt tam-tim il-lik*

17 *uru^dDūr-^dEnlil(50) ikšud^{ua}*

18 *Ē-galga-šeš-na bīt^d Enlil(50) šá^d Dūr-
Enlil(50) ú-šal-pit*

18 ... he went and surrounded ... [...]

19 ... his people [...]

20 ... [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

1 [...] ... [...]

2 [...] ... [...]

3 [...] ... he built [...]

4 he did battle against him ... [...]

5 their corpses, the sea ... [...]

6 he *changed* and Samsu-iluna ... [...]

7 Iliman attacked and [brought about] the
defeat of [his] army.

8 Abishi, son of Samsu-iluna, *set out* to
conquer Iliman.

9 He decided to dam the Tigris.

10 He dammed the Tigris but did not *capture*
Iliman.

11 At the time of Samsu-ditana the Hittites
marched against Akkad.

12 Ea-gamil, king of the Sealand, f[led] to
Elam.

13 After he had gone, Ulamburiash, brother
of Kashtiliash (III), the Kassite,

14 mustered his army and conquered the
Sealand. He was master of the land.

15 Agum (III), son of Kashtiliash (III),
mustered his army and

16 marched to the Sealand.

17 He seized Dur-Enlil (and)

18 destroyed Egalgasheshna, Enlil's temple
in Dur-Enlil.

COMMENTARY

Reverse

2 One might restore: [*Ili-ma*]-an ma x [...] but a reading [x x] *Ili-ma-an* is not supported by the traces.

7 The restoration is reasonably certain. The traces of *ummāni^{me}* are clear.

8–10 Also attested in a year formula of Abi-ešuh. A similar stratagem was employed in Nūr-Adad's time. Cf. van Dijk, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 13f. for all references.

8 *iš-[kun(?)]-ma*: The traces would fit the reading but if correct the meaning is uncertain.

10 The traces of the last few signs would fit a reading *iṣbat^{bat}-ma* but the reading is uncertain.

11 *ana tar-ši(?)*: The text appears to have su rather than šr but the line is cramped and the two horizontal wedges needed at the beginning for the šr sign are probably obliterated by the preceding sign.

This line, the typology of which is unique for this chronicle, was squeezed in by the scribe (probably from another source) after the whole tablet had been inscribed.

12–14 This passage has been edited and discussed by Weidner, AfO 3 (1926), pp. 68f.

13 *^mKaš-til-ia-ia* is a scribal error for *^mKaš-til-ia-áš*. Cf. B r. 15.

CHRONICLE 21

SYNCHRONISTIC HISTORY

The Synchronistic History is preserved in three copies all of which come from the library of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh:

- A K 4401a + Rm 854
 B K 4401b
 C Sm 2106

Text A, which measures 150 mms. wide and 125 mms. long, is in the best state of preservation, there being little more than one third of the tablet missing. The other two copies are simply small fragments. Only the obverse

of B has been preserved which contains the beginning of columns i (lines 1-11) and ii (1*-13). B measures 70 mms. wide and 48 mms. long. Text C, which is 58 mms. wide and 50 mms. long, is a fragment of the top right-hand corner of a large tablet. On it are preserved the ends of eleven lines of the second column and nine lines of the third column (lines 1'-9'). Where it duplicates the large piece (A), the two texts are in exact agreement. The transliteration is composed of a combination of the three copies.

Sources

- A = i 1'-31'; ii 1'-37'; iii 1-36; iv 1-end
 B = i 1-11; ii 1-13
 C = i 24'-31'; ii 1*-3*; iii 1'-9'

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Photograph:

- 1912 C. H. W. Johns, *Ancient Assyria* (Cambridge), facing p. 78 (obverse of A)

Copies:

- 1866 H. C. Rawlinson, II R 65, no. 1 (part of text A)
 1870 H. C. Rawlinson, III R 4, no. 3 (text B)
 1889 L. Abel in H. Winckler, UAG pp. 148-152 (texts A, B, and C)
 1904 L. W. King, *Tukulti-Ninib* pp. 159-161 (texts B and C)
 1914 L. W. King, CT 34, 38-43 (texts A, B, and C)

Editions:

- 1873 A. H. Sayce, TSBA 2, pp. 119-145
 1880 W. Lotz, *Die Inschriften Tiglathpilesers I* (Leipzig) pp. 200f. (selected portion)
 1889 H. Winckler and F. E. Peiser, KB 1, pp. 194-203
 1904 L. W. King, *Tukulti-Ninib* pp. 100-105 (selected portions)
 1930 E. Weidner, AfO 6, pp. 76f. (selected portion)
 1959 E. Weidner, Tn nos. 44, 51, 71 (selected portions)

Translations Only:

- 1874 A. H. Sayce, *Records of the Past* 3, pp. 25-36

- 1904 A. Bárta in R. F. Harper, *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (New York) pp. 196-199
 1952 F. Schmidtke, *Chronologie* pp. 84-90

Studies:

- 1869 F. Lenormant, *Revue Archéologique* 20, pp. 353f.
 1876 G. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* (London) pp. 250f.
 1884 F. Delitzsch, *Die Sprache der Kossäer* (Leipzig) pp. 6-11
 H. Pognon, JA 8. Series, 3, pp. 294-307
 1908 F. E. Peiser, OLZ 1908, 7-10, 140-142
 H. Radau, BE 17, pp. 59-71
 P. Schnabel, MVAG 13, pp. 14-18
 1916 A. T. E. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* = *The University of Missouri Studies, Social Science Series III/1*, pp. 29-32
 1927 E. Nassouhi, AfO 4, pp. 8f.
 E. Weidner, AfO 4, p. 216
 1943 A. Poebel, JNES 2, p. 57, n. 232
 1953 H. Lewy, *Annuaire* 13, p. 257
 1956 E. Weidner, AfO 17, p. 309
 1957 R. Borger, AfO 18, p. 112
 J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades* pp. 116f. and n. 2.
 H. Schmökel, GAV pp. 173-181
 1958 H. Tadmor, JNES 17, pp. 131f.

- i
- 1 [... a(?)]-na Aš-šur
 2 [... zi(?)]-kir-šu
 3 [... d]a(?)-ad-me
 4 [...] x h u†
 5 [...] ūmēme «A» ša-a-ti†
 6 [...] [ú]-šá-pa zik-ra
 7 [...] t]a-na-ti li-ta
 8 [...] ki i-pe-lu gim-ri
 9 [...] ša]r(?) -ri mah-ru-ti
 10 [...] [i]š](?) -šab-tu
 11 [...] maqātāt
- Lacuna
- 1' mKa-[ra]-in-[da]-dš [šar₄] [kur][Kar]-d[u-ni-áš]
 2' ù mAš-šur-bēl-nišēmeš-šú šar₄ kurAš-šur rik-sa-[a-ni]
 3' ina bi-rit-šú-nu a-na a-ḥa-meš ú-ra-ki-[su]
 4' ù ma-mi-tu ina muḫḫi mi-iš-ri an-na-ma a-na a-ḥa-meš id-di-nu
-
- 5' mPu-zur-Aš-šur šar₄ kurAš-šur ù mBur-na-bur-ia-dš
 6' šar₄ kurKar-du-ni-áš it-mu-ma mi-iš-ri

COMMENTARY

- i 1** Aš-šur: This is not the land Assyria since it is always preceded by KUR in this text. It could be the end of a proper name since when Aššur occurs in proper names in this text it is always written without a determinative. However, there is no Assyrian king whose name fits these traces. Thus the only possibility left is that this is the god Aššur.
- i 5** The A is almost certainly an error. But note αααθ in AfO 5 (1928–29), pl. VIII (after p. 12): 5, and cf. p. 13 and CAD 16 (Š), p. 117.†
- i 1'–7'** There is a serious chronological problem in these two passages. Puzur-Aššur must be Puzur-Aššur III (there is no known king Puzur-Aššur after Aššur-bēl-nišēšu) and according to Ass. K. L. ii 29–38 Puzur-Aššur-III was the eighth king preceding Aššur-bēl-nišēšu! There is no reason to doubt the order of Ass. K. L. so one must conclude that the Synchronistic History has the wrong order. W. Röllig, Heidelberg Studien p. 176,

- i
- 1 [... f]or Ashur
 2 [...] his [utte]rance
 3 [...] se]ttlements
 4 [...] ...†
 5 [...] forever
 6 [...] he makes known the word
 7 [...] praise of strength
 8 [...] when he ruled all
 9 [...] former [ki]ngs
 10 [...] they were seized
 11 [...] fall
- Lacuna
- 1' Karaindash, king of Kard[uniash,]
 2' and Ashur-bel-nisheshu, king of Assyria,
 3' between them made a
 2' treaty
 4' and took an oath together concerning this very boundary.
-
- 5' Puzur-Ashur (III), king of Assyria, and Burnaburiash (I),
 6' king of Karduniash, took an oath and

n. 6, believes the error arose due to a confusion on the part of a later scribe between Burnaburiash I and II.†

- i 2'f.** riksāni rukkusū: Collation has confirmed the traces which King copied at the end of i 2'. Neither a reading DAN for the second last sign (rik-sa dan-ni) nor a reading ti/te for the last sign (rik-sa-a-ti/te) is possible. For another example of the plural riksāni construed with verbs in the D stem compare ri-ik-sa-a-ni ša ēkalli paṭṭuru rammā ABL 733 r. 4f. Also cf. ú-rak-ki-sa rik-sa-a-te Streck, Asb. p. 12: 115f. For the use of the D stem of a verb (which normally appears in the G) when it governs a plurality of objects see von Soden, GAG § 88f. For references to recent discussions of the phrase riksa/rikista rakāsu see Weidner, AfO 17 (1956), pp. 258f. Also cf. Chron. 22 i 3 and the note.

- i 3'** ina bi-rit-šú-nu: See the commentary to ii 7f.

- i 4'** māmīta nadānu: Cf. ištani māmīta ina bērišunu EA 149:60.

7' <i>ta-ḥu-mu an-na-ma ú-ki-nu</i>	7' fixed this very boundary-line.
8' <i>ina tar-ši mAš-šur-uballit šar₄ kurAš-šur</i> <i>mKa-ra-ḥar-da-áš</i>	8' At the time of Ashur-uballit (I), king of Assyria,
	10' the Kassite troops
	11' rebelled against
	8' Karahardash,
9' <i>šar₄ kurKar-du-ni-áš mār SALMu-bal-li-</i> <i>ta-at-dŠe-ru-ú-a</i>	9' king of Karduniash, son of Muballitat-Sherua —
10' <i>mārat mAš-šur-uballit šābēmeš Kaš-ši-e</i>	10' daughter of Ashur-uballit (I) —
11' <i>ib-bal-ki-tu-ma idūkū-šu mNa-zi-bu-ga-áš</i>	11' and killed him.
12' [<i>kurKaš-šá</i>]-[<i>a-a mār la ma-ma-na a-na</i> <i>šarru-ú-te a-na muḥḥi-šú-nu iš-šú-ú</i>]	12' They appointed
	11' Nazibugash,
	12' a Kassite, son of a nobody, as sovereign over them.
13' [<i>mAš-šur-uballi</i>] <i>t</i> [<i>ana tu-u</i>] <i>r-ri gi-mil-li</i>	13' [Ashur-uballit] (I)
14' [<i>šá mKa-r</i>] <i>a-in-da-áš mā[r mār-ti-šú(?)]</i> <i>a-na kurKar-du-ni-áš il-lik†</i>	14' marched to Karduniash
	13' [to av]enge
	14' [Kar]aindash, [<i>his grands</i>]on.
15' [<i>mNa-z</i>] <i>i-bu-ga-áš šar₄ kurKar-du-ni-áš</i> <i>i-duk</i>	15' He killed [Naz]ibugash, king of Karduniash.
	17' He appointed
16' [<i>mKu-r</i>] <i>i-gal-zu ši-iḥ-ru mār mBur-[na]-</i> <i>bur-[ia-áš]</i>	16' [Kur]igalzu (II), the younger, son of Burnaburiash (II),
17' [<i>a</i>]-[<i>na</i>] [<i>š</i>] <i>arru-ú-ti iš-kun ina giškussē</i> <i>abi-š[u] [ú]-[še-šib]</i>	17' as sovereign (and) [put] (him) on his father's throne.
18' <i>ina tar-ši mdEnlil(be)-nārāri šar₄ kurAš-</i> <i>šur mKu-ri-gal-zu ši-iḥ-ru [šar₄ kurKar-</i> <i>du-ni-áš]</i>	18' At the time of Enlil-narari, king of Assyria, Kurigalzu (II), the younger, [(was) the king of Karduniash].

COMMENTARY

i 7' *taḥūmu*: This is strictly an Assyrian word which is first attested in OA. See Lewy, HUCA 27 (1956), p. 44. For examples in the MA Laws see the glossary in Driver and Miles, Ass. Laws p. 527. For examples in MA legal documents see JCS 7 (1953), p. 150, no. 5:13; AfO 13 (1939), pl. VII:17; KAJ 169:18; 171:25f. It was later borrowed into Aramaic. *mišra taḥūma kunnu/šakānu*: The phrase is peculiar to this text. The other examples are: i 23', 28'–31'; iii 5'; iv 14, 22. The words *mišru* and *taḥūmu* are apparently synonymous and their occurrence together may be explained as hendiadys.

i 8'–11' *mKarahardaš ... ibbalkitūma*: For other examples of *nabalkutu* with a direct

accusative see the note to Chron. 1 i 35.

i 12'f. The horizontal line between 12' and 13' is almost certainly an error for two reasons. First, the two sections which it divides both deal with Aššur-uballit and this is the only instance in Synch. Hist. where the same Assyrian king is included in two different sections. Second, the section beginning with 13' is the only section in the Synch. Hist. which is not introduced by the pattern RN₁ *šar Aššur* RN₂ *šar Karduniaš*.

i 13' The traces as copied by King are wrong. The transliteration reflects the correct reading.

i 18' A similar introductory line occurs in ii 25'f.; iii 22f. Also cf. Chron. 24 r. 2–7.

- 19' ^{md}Enlil(be)-nārāri šar₄ kur Aš-šur i-na
uruSu-ga-gi šá eli ^{id}[Ī-di-q-la]t 19' Enlil-narari, king of Assyria,
20' fought with him
19' at Sugagi which (is) on the [Tigri]s.
20' He brought about his defeat, [sla]ught-
ered his troops (and)
21' carried off his camp.
22' They divided the districts
21' from Shasili (of) Subartu
22' [to] Karduniash into two (and)
23' fixed the boundary-line.
-
- 24' ^{md}Adad-nārāri šar₄ kur Aš-šur ^mNa-zi-
mūru-taš šar₄ kur Kar-du-ni-áš 24' Adad-narari (I), king of Assyria, (and)
Nazimuruttash, king of Karduniash,
25' fought with one another in KAR.DINGIR.
xv.DIŠ (of) Ugarsallu.
25' Adad-narari (I) brought about the defeat
of Nazimuruttash (and)
27' conquered him. He took away from him
his camp (and) his standards.
-
- 24' ^{md}Adad-nārāri šar₄ kur Aš-šur ^mNa-zi-
mūru-taš šar₄ kur Kar-du-ni-áš
25' it-ti a-ḥa-meš ina uruKAR.DINGIR. xv.DIŠ
Ugar-sa-al-lu i-duk
26' ^{md}Adad-nārāri a-bi-ik-tú šá ^mNa-zi-mūru-
taš iš-kun
27' dabdā-šú im-ḥa-aš karāš-su ^{durigallē}meš-šú
i-pu-ga-šú

COMMENTARY

i 20' itti ... dāku: see CAD 3 (D), p. 42,
and von Soden, AHW p. 152.

abiktašu: The -ta- is erroneously omitted.

i 25' This line seems to have suffered in
transmission. The duplicate C has exactly
the same text. i-duk with a plural subject
(both kings) immediately makes one
suspicious and uruKAR.DINGIR. xv.DIŠ Ugar-
sa-al-lu is difficult. The only reading that
is certain here is Ugarsallu. At first glance
the city name which precedes it looks like
Kār-^dIštar but this leaves DIŠ unexplained.
That DIŠ is not necessarily a corruption
of ša is shown by Ša-si-li kurŠu-ba-ri in
i 21' and uruAr-ma-an Ugar-sa-li in i 30'.
A Kār-Ištar is otherwise only attested in
the Sargonid period (Lie, Sar. 114) and
here it is a new name given to a place
which Sargon II rebuilt. It may be that a
later scribe, faced with a corruption,
thought Kār-Ištar was meant and emended
the text accordingly. Both a KAR at the
beginning and a DÁŠ at the end suggest
a Kassite name. It is tempting to read
uruKar-an-x-dáš (Cf. Karanduniaš and
Karindaš—but hardly identical with the
latter if its identification with modern
Kärind—see König, Elam p. 77, n. 1—is

correct). But this leaves the problem of
the reading of xv. It is also possible,
however, that the DIŠ is simply a mistaken
insertion (cf. Chron. 20 A 14 and Chron.
22 iii 11).†

i 26'f. abiktu ša PN iškun dabdāšu imḥaš:
The same phrase occurs in iii 4–6. The two
expressions (abiktu šakānu and dabdā
maḥāšu) are presumably synonymous.

i 27' urigallū: For the literature on the
subject see Weidner, AfO 17 (1956), p. 278,
note to line 53.

pu'āgu: This is strictly an Assyrian word
which first occurs in the MA Laws (Driver
and Miles, Ass. Laws p. 398:18). Three
different meanings have been suggested.
Johnston proposed a translation "to take
away" (JAOS 20 [1899], pp. 251f.) and
he has been followed, among others, by
von Soden, Or. n.s. 16 (1947), p. 444, n. 2
(for older references see Bauer, ZA 40
[1931], p. 253). J. Lewy in Das Verbum
in den altassyrischen Gesetzen, Berlin,
1921, = BBK 1/4, p. 86, n. 5, and in
ZA 36 (1925), p. 154, n. 2, proposed a
slight variation from Johnston's trans-
lation. He suggested that the basic
meaning was "jemanden von etwas aus-

28' *i-na muḫḫi mi-iṣ-ri ta-ḫu-mu an-ni-me*
 29' *mi-ṣir-re-ṣu-nu iṣ-tu tar-ṣi* ^{kur}*Pi-la-as-qi*
 30' *ša šēpē^{II} am-ma-«ma»-te ša* ^{1d}*Idiglat* (^ḫal.
^ḫal) ^{uru}*Ar-ma-an Ugar-sa-li*
 31' *a-di Lu-lu-me-e iṣ-ku-nu-ma i-zu-zu*

ii

1* [^m*Tukulti-Ninurta* ^{ṣar}₄ ^{kur}*Aš-šur*] ^m*Kaš-*
[til]-a-šú ^{ṣar}₄ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-[-áš]*

2* [...] x *i-na qí-rib tam-ḫa-r*[i]

3* [...] x x [...]

Lacuna

1 ^{lú}*ardāni* ^{meš}-šú *e-pu-uš* [...]

2 *a-di* ^{uru}*Kul-la-ar* x [...]

3 ^{mā}*Enlil*(be)-*ku-dúr-ušur* ^{ṣar}₄ ^{kur}*Aš-šur*
^{mā}*[Adad-šuma-ušur (?)* ^{ṣar}₄ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-*
áš it-ti a-ḫa-meš]

28' As for this very boundary-line,
 31' they fixed a division of
 29' their confines from Pilasqi
 30' which is on the other side of the Tigris
 (and) Arman (of) Ugarsalli
 31' to Lullume.

ii

1* [*Tukulti-Ninurta* (I), king of Assyria,
 (and)] *Kash[tili]ash* (IV), king of Karduni-
 [ash]

2* [...] ... in battle

Lacuna

1 his servants, he made [...]

2 to Mount Kullar ... [...]

3 *Enlil-kudur-usur*, king of Assyria, (and)
[Adad-shuma-usur king of Karduniash,]

COMMENTARY

schliessen" becoming "etwas für sich in Anspruch nehmen" which is virtually the same as Johnston's proposal. Bauer suggested the meaning "to threaten" ("drohen" ZA 40 [1931], pp. 252f.). Driver and Miles translate "to abandon, to allow to become waste" (Ass. Laws p. 471, note to line 18). None of these commentators, however, has drawn attention to the letter ABL 1214. This is an appeal to the king to do something about the destructive effect the high waters of the Borsippa canal are having on the wall of Ezida. Obv. 14-16 reads: "If it is pleasing before the king my lord, let him *come* across (and) rebuild the quay of Ezida. (Then) I will install in (it) inscriptions of the king my lord." There follows a concluding statement: *mēmeš li-pu-gu*. Of the three proposed translations for *pu'āgu* mentioned above only one makes any sense here: "May the waters be removed!" (the third person plural used to express the passive). Since the meaning "to take away" is also feasible in all the other known occurrences of *pu'āgu* (besides this passage, ii 6'; ABL 174:14; 307 r. 11, 13; 415:15; 421:16, r. 5; 955:13; 1273 r. 2) it is to be

preferred to the other proposed translations.†

i 28'f. *an-ni-me mi-ṣir-re-ṣu-nu*: Notice the oddities. *an-ni-me* stands for *an-na-ma* in i 4', 7'. For comment see Grayson, JCS 18 (1964), p. 18, note to 4f. For a possible analogy to *mi-ṣir-re-ṣu-nu* cf. the occurrence of doubled consonants before the subjunctive in NA verbs.†

i 30' *šēpē am-ma «ma»-te*: For other examples of this phrase see von Soden, AHW p. 44. Cf. Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 3 r. iv(?) 4.†

ii 1-2 This broken section could have dealt with any period of Assyro-Babylonian history from *Tukulti-Ninurta* I to *Aššurnērārī* III inclusively. The only clue to the events once narrated here is the geographic name Kullar, a mountain near the Lower Zab. However, since the earliest known occurrence of Kullar, other than here, is in the inscriptions of *Shalmaneser* III (WO 1 [1947-52], p. 16:6; 2 [1954-59], p. 148:50) it is of no help in this matter.

ii 3-8 This portion has been edited by Nassouhi, Afo 4 (1927), pp. 8f., and more recently by Tadmor, JNES 17 (1958), pp. 131f., and Weidner, Tn no. 44.

- 4 *i-du-ku* ^{md}*Enlil*(be)-*ku-dúr-ušur* ^{md}*Ada*[*d-šuma-ušur* (?)] ... 4 did battle
 3 [with one another].
 4 *Enlil-kudur-usur* (and) *Ada*[*d-shuma-usur* ...] 4 Enlil-kudur-usur (and) Ada[d-shuma-usur ...]
 5 *ina gabli ti-du-ku-ma* ^{md}*Ninurta-apil-é*-[*kur* ...] 5 were engaged in battle and Ninurta-apil-e-[kur ...]
 6 *a-na māti-šu itūr šābē*^{HI.meš}-*šú ma*-['-*du-ta id-ka-ma* (?)] 6 went home. [*He mustered*] his num[erous] troops [and]
 7 *a-na uruLibbi-āli a-na ka-šá-di il-l*[*i-kam* ...] 7 mar[ched] to conquer Libbi-ali (Ashur). [...]
 8 *ina dannati-šú im-ḥaš/qut is-ḥur-ma* [*a-na māti-šú itūr* (?)] 8 in his fortress he/it struck/fell. He turned and [*went home.*]
-
- 9 *ina tar-ši* ^{md}*Za-ba₄-ba₄-šuma-iddina* *šar₄* ^{ku}[*rKar-du-ni-áš*] 9 At the time of Zababa-shuma-iddina, king of [Karduniash],
 10 [*mAš-šur-dān*(kal)^{an} *šar₄* ^{kur}*Aš-šur a-na* ^{kur}*Kar-du-n*[*i-áš ú-rid* (?)]] 10 [Ash]ur-dan (I), king of Assyria, [*went down*] to Kardun[iash].
 12 [He captured]
 11 [*ur*]^u*Za-ban uruIr-ri-ia uruUgar-sa-a*[*l-lu* ...] 11 Zaban, Irriya, Ugarsa[llu (and) ...]
 12 [*ik-šud šal-l*]*a*-[*s*]*u*-[*n*]*u* [*m*]*a*-'*a-tu a-na* ^{kur}*Aš-šur il-qa-a*] 12 [He took] their vast [booty] to As[syria].
-
- 13 [...] x [...] Lacuna
 1' [...] *-ti-iš ṭu-ub-lta su*]-[*lu-um-ma-a ga-am-ra it-ti a-ḥa-meš iš-ku-nu*] Lacuna
 1' [...] ... [together they made] an entente cor[diale].

COMMENTARY

- ii 3 Collation shows that King's idea of the edge of the tablet (dotted line) is fanciful and verifies Tadmor's assertion (JNES 17, p. 131, n. 15) that there is enough room for the proposed restoration.
- ii 5 *tidūku*: Credit is due to Tadmor, JNES 17, pp. 131f., for pointing out that this is a Gt stative meaning "to fight together". For another example of the Gt of *dāku* see von Soden, AHW p. 152. The mis-translation of this word has caused a serious mistake in chronological reconstructions as Tadmor has shown. To Tadmor's list of those who have erred add Poebel, AS 15, p. 27; H. Lewy, Annuaire 13, p. 257; Schmidtke, Chronologie p. 90; and Nassouhi, AfO 4 (1927), pp. 8f.
- ii 6 *ERÍN*^{HI.meš}: This writing also occurs in ii 11' and is a mistake for *ERÍN*^{HI.A}. The only other form attested in the Synch. Hist. is *ERÍN*^{meš} in i 20' and iii 34.

- ii 7f. Tadmor reads these lines: [... ^{md}*Adad-šum-ušur išātu*] *ina* KI.KAL <X BAD>-*šú im-qut*. Weidner reads: [... ^{md}*Adad-šum-ušur*] *ina* *karāši-šú im-ḥaš*. Either restoration and reading of *im-TAR* is plausible. However, Tadmor's objection to reading *ina qí-rib-šú* on grounds that it should be *ina qirbišu* is invalid since this very same phenomenon occurs in i 3' (*ina bi-rit-šú-nu*). *dannatu* has been transliterated here only because no one else has done so. Any of the readings *ina qí-rib-šú*, *ina dannati-šú*, *ina karāši*(!)-*šú* might be proven correct if and when a duplicate to this passage is found.
- ii 9-12 This passage has been recently edited by Weidner, Tn no. 51.
- ii 12 For the restoration cf. iii 14f.
- ii 1'-13' This passage has been recently edited by Weidner, Tn no. 71.
- ii 1' *ṭūbta sulummâ gamra itti aḥāmeš iškunū*: This peculiar phrase is common in the

- 2' x x x a-na māti-šu itūr ar-ki-šu ^{md}Ná[bú-ku-dúr-ušur]
- 3' ni-pí-še-šu iš-šá-a a-na Za-an-qi bir-ti ša _{kur}[Aš-šur]
- 4' a-na ka-šá-di il-li-ka ^mAš-šur-rēša-i-ši šar₄ _{kur}Aš-šur]
- 5' ^{gis}narkabāti^{meš}-šu id-ka-a a-na muḫḫi-šu a-na a-la-ki
- 6' ^{md}Nábú-ku-dúr-ušur áš-šu ni-pí-še la-a pu-a-qi-šú ina išāti iš-ru-up
- 7' is-ḫur-ma a-na māti-šu i-tur
- 8' ^{md}Nábú-ku-dúr-ušur-ma ^{gis}narkabtu ù zu-ki a-na I-di bir-ti
- 2' ... he went home. After he (had gone), Ne[buchadnezzar (I)]
- 3' took his siege engines (and)
- 4' went to conquer
- 3' Zanqi, a fortress of [Assyria].
- 4' Ashur-resha-ishi (I), king of Assyria,
- 5' mustered his chariots to go against him.
- 6' To prevent the siege engines being taken from him, Nebuchadnezzar (I) burnt (them).
- 7' He turned and went home.
- 8' This same Nebuchadnezzar (I) (with) chariotry and infantry
- 9' went to conquer
- 8' Idi, a fortress

COMMENTARY

- Synch. Hist. Besides here it occurs in ii 27'f.; iii 18, 24f. Outside of Synch. Hist. the phrase occurs in Chron. 3:29 and in Chron. 24:6. Also note *naphar šarrāni^{meš} nakirūtu ana su-lum-mu-ú u tu-ub-ba-a-ti išapparānu ana mahriia* Gadd, AnSt 8 (1958), p. 58 i 43-45, and *tu-u-bi ù su-lum-[me-e]* AAA 20 (1933), p. 89:153. For further comment see Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), pp. 86f.; von Soden, Symb. Koschaker p. 205; and Moran, JNES 22 (1963), p. 174.†
- ii 2' Collation shows the first three signs exactly as King copied them. It is tempting to read [e(!)]-nu-[ma] ... itūru but the first sign is almost certainly MA not E. ar-ki-šu: This can be interpreted in two ways, depending on the context. It could mean "after he died" which assumes that the broken section narrated events concerning Nebuchadnezzar's predecessor, Ninurta-nādin-šumi (cf. Weidner, AfO 4 [1927], p. 216). Or it could mean "after

he (had gone)" which would refer to Aššur-reša-iši's return to Assyria after making peace.

- ii 3' *Zanqi*: The omission of the determinative URU before city names is attested elsewhere in Synch. Hist. (ii 8', 17'; iv 4). The determinative KUR is omitted before *Kaldi* in iv 11.

_{kur}[Aš-šur]: On King's copy the Aš-appears but on the original nothing is any longer visible after KUR.

- ii 8' The interpretation of *ana idi* here meaning "to" which CAD 7 (I/J), p. 13, gives is improbable. For one thing *ana idi*, although well attested in other genres (particularly omen literature—see the references in CAD 7 [I/J], pp. 13f.), is not otherwise attested in chronicles. Second, the exact same phrase occurs in ii 7 and 3'f. but without *idi* (*a-na GN a-na ka-šá-di il-li-ka*). Finally, the place-name Idu is well attested and place-names are often written without the determinative in the Synch. Hist. (see the note to ii 3').

- 9' *ša* ^{kur}*Aš-šur* *a-na ka-ša-di il-li-ka* ^m*Aš-šur-rēša-i-ši* 9' of Assyria. Ashur-resha-ishi (I)
- 10' ^{giš}*narkabāti*^{meš} *zu-ki a-na ni-ra-ru-te iš-pu-ur* 10' sent chariots (and) infantry to help (the fortress).
- 11' *it-ti-šu i-duḫ a-bi-ik-tú-šu iš-kun šābē*^{HI}.
meš-šu i-duḫ 11' He fought with him (Nebuchadnezzar I), brought about his defeat, slaughtered his troops (and)†
- 12' *uš-ma-an-šu e-bu-uk* ^{XL} ^{giš}*narkabāti*^{meš}.
šu ḫal-lu-up-tum ú-te-ru-ni† 12' carried off his camp. Forty of his chariots (with) harness were taken away (and)†
- 13' ^m*KARAŠ.TU* *a-lik pa-an šābē*^{HI}-*šu iš-ba-tu-ni* 13' *KARAŠ.TU*, his (Nebuchadnezzar I's) field-marshal, was captured.
- 14' ^m ^{giš}*Tukul-ti-apil-é-KUR* *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Aš-šur*
^{md}*Marduk-nādin-āḫḫē*^{meš} *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-áš* 14' Tiglath-pileser (I), king of Assyria, (and) Marduk-nadin-ahhe, king of Karduni-ash —
- 15' *II-šu si-dir-tu ša* ^{giš}*narkabāti*^{meš} *ma-la ina muḫḫi* ^{uru}*Za-ban* 15' twice he (Tiglath-pileser I)
16' drew up
15' a battle array of chariots, as many as (were) by the Lower Zab
- 16' *šu-pá-le-e ina tar-ši* ^{uru}*Ar-zu-ḫi-na iš-kun* 16' opposite Arzuhina, (and)
- 17' *ina II-te šátti ina Gur-mar-ri-ti šá e-liš*
^{kur}*Akkad*ⁱ^{ki} *i-duḫ* 17' in the second year he defeated (Marduk-nadin-ahhe) in Gurmarriti which (is) upstream from Akkad.
- 18' ^{uru}*Dūr-Ku-ri-gal-zu* ^{uru}*Si-ip-par* *šá* ^d*Šá-[maš]* 21' He captur[ed]
18' Dur-Kurigalzu, Sippar-sha-Shamash,
- 19' ^{uru}*Si-ip-par* *šá* ^d*A-nu-ni-t[um]* 19' Sippar-sha-Anunitu,
- 20' ^{Bābīl}ⁱ^{ki} ^{uru}*Ú-pe-e ma-ḫa-zi rabūti*^[meš] 20' Babylon, (and) Upe, the great urban centres,

COMMENTARY

ii 11' ^{ERÍN}^{HI}.^{meš}: See the note to ii 6.

ii 12'f. *uterrūni* ... *išbatūni*: The sudden change of number (previous to this the verbs have been singular) is noteworthy. The third person plural can, of course, be translated as a passive but the sudden change to such a construction is unexpected. It could well be that these two lines come from a different part of the inscription from which the author of the Synch. Hist. was copying and the scribe did not bother to smooth over the sudden change of number. For a definite example of slavish copying in this document see iv 12 and the note to this passage. For *turru* "to carry back (to one's own land as booty)" see Falkenstein, BiOr 6 (1949), p. 181, n. 15, and von Soden, ArOr 17/2 (1949), p. 362.

^m*KARAŠ.TU*: If this is a personal name it is probably a recondite writing for a common one. Cf. Weidner, Tn p. 59, note to line 13.

^{ERÍN}^{HI}: See the note to ii 6.

ii 14' ^m ^{giš}*Tukul-ti-apil-é-KUR* is a mistake for ^m ^{giš}*Tukul-ti-apil-é-šār-ra*, the usual form of his name in his inscriptions.

ii 15' ^{uru}*Za-ban* *šu-pá-le-e* is a mistake for ^{id}*Za-ban* *šu-pá-le-e*.

ii 17' A place-name *Gur-mar-ri-ti* is otherwise unattested but without further evidence it is better not to emend the *GUR* to *URU* simply because Marritu is an attested place-name. Synch. Hist. often omits the *URU* before a city name (see the note to ii 3'). Weidner, AfO 17 (1956), p. 309, has suggested that this is the same as Surmarratu (ancient Samarra—cf. Grayson, AfO 20 [1963], p. 88).†

21' <i>a-di ḥal-ši-šú-nu ik-šu-[ud]</i>	21' together with their forts.
22' <i>i-na ūme^{me}-šú uru Ugar-sa-a[l-lu]</i>	22' At that time
23' <i>a-di uru Lu-ub-di iḥ-[bu-ut]</i>	23' he plu[ndered]
	22' Ugarsal[lu]
	23' as far as Lubdi.
24' ^{kur} <i>Su-ḥi a-di uru Ra-pi-qi a-na paṭ gim-ri</i> [i-pe-el]	24' [He ruled] every part of Suhi as far as Rapiqi.
25' <i>ina tar-ši mAš-šur-bēl-ka-la šar₄</i> [^{kur} <i>Aš-šur</i>]	25' At the time of Ashur-bel-kala, king of [Assyria],
26' ^m [^d <i>Marduk</i>]-šá-pi-ik-zēri «KUR» šar ₄ ^{kur} <i>Kar-d[u-ni-áš]</i>	26' Marduk-shapik-zeri (was) the king of Kard[uniash].
27' <i>tu-ub-ta su-lu-um-ma-a ga-[am]-[ra]</i>	28' Together they made
28' <i>it-ti a-ḥa-meš iš-ku-[nu]</i>	27' an entente cordiale.
29' <i>ina tar-ši mAš-šur-b[ēl]-ka-la šar₄</i> ^{kur} [<i>Aš-šur</i>]	29' At the time of Ashur-b[el]-kala, king of [Assyria],
30' ^{md} <i>Marduk-šá-pi-ik-zēri ša[r₄ k]ur Kar-du-ni-áš šadā-šú e-[mid]</i>	30' Marduk-shapik-zeri, king of Karduniash, passed [away].
31' ^{md} <i>Adad-apla-iddina^{na} mār(a) mE-sag-gil-šadu-ú-ni mār(a) la ma-ma-n[a]</i>	32' He (Ashur-bel-kala) appointed
32' <i>a-na šarru-[ú-te] ina muḥḥi-šú-nu iš-ku[n]</i>	31' Adad-apla-iddina, son of Esagil-shaduni, son of a nobody,
33' [^m <i>Aš-šur-bēl-k[a-l]a šar₄</i> ^{kur} <i>Aš-šu[r]</i>]	32' as sovereign over them (the Babylonians).
34' [<i>mārat</i>] ^{md} <i>Adad-apla-iddina^{na} šar₄</i> ^{kur} <i>Kar-du-ni-áš e-ḥu-z[u]</i>	33' Ashur-bel-kala, king of Assyria,
35' <i>iš-tu nu-du-ni-šá ma'-di a-na</i> ^{kur} <i>Aš-šur il-qa-[a]</i>	34' married the daughter of Adad-apla-iddina, king of Karduniash, (and)
36' <i>niššū^{meš} kur Aš-šur kur Kar-du-ni-áš</i>	35' took (her) with her vast dowry to Assyria.
37' <i>it-ti a-ḥa-meš i[b]-ba-[lu]</i>	36' The peoples of Assyria (and) Karduniash
	37' were join[ed] together.

COMMENTARY

- ii 24' *ipēl*: The phrase *ana paṭ gimri pēlu* occurs in Tiglath-pileser's Prism (AKA p. 51:30; p. 71:30; p. 87:85f.).
- ii 25'–37' An edition of this passage was published by Weidner, AfO 6 (1930–31), pp. 76f. A parallel to this passage is found in Chron. 24:4–11. See the note to Chron. 24:6.
- ii 25' For the interpretation of this line see the note to i 18'.
- ii 26' *Marduk-šāpik-zēri*: Thanks to Poebel's researches (AS 15 pp. 16–21) it is now known that there is no such king as Marduk-šāpik-zēr-māti and that Synch. Hist. has made a mistake here.
- ii 27'f. See the note to ii 1' and note particularly that Chron. 24:6 has almost exactly the same text.
- ii 30' *š[ar₄]*: King has erred in his copy of

the traces.

- ii 31' For Δ = *māru* in genealogies see von Soden, AHw p. 58 and Ungnad and San Nicolò NRVU p. 2, n. 3. The use of Δ instead of the usual DUMU in this line must come from the original inscription from which the author of the text was copying. Note that Chron. 24 also uses Δ in this passage.
- ii 34' *e-ḥu-z[u]*: The traces certainly look more like -zu than -uz although one would prefer the latter.
- ii 37' *ibballū*: For the restoration see Borger, AfO 18 (1957–58), p. 112. Also cf. [*nišē*]^{meš} ^{kur}*Aš-šur*^{ki} *ù* ^{kur}*Mu-šur* [*it-ti*] *a-ḥa-meš ab-lul-ma* Iraq 16 (1954), pl. XLVI iv 47f., and *šābū*^{HI.A} *ša Am-na-an-ia-aḥ-ru-ur šābē*^{HI.A} *Uruk*^{ki} «GA» *ù* *šābē*^{HI.A} *Ia-mu-ut-ba-lim iš-te₉-ni-iš bi-it-lu-ul* Bagh. Mitt. 2 (1963), p. 56:29f.

iii

- 1 *ina tar-ši* ^{md}*Adad-nērāri* *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Aš-š[ur]*
 2 ^{md}*Šamaš-mu**mudammīq* *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-áš*
 3 *i-na šēp* ^{kur}*Ia-al-man si-dir-tu lu iš-kun-[ma]*
 4 ^{md}*Adad-nērāri* *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Aš-šur a-bi-ik-tú ša*
 ^{md}*Šamaš-mu**muda[mmiq]*
 5 *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-áš [iš-kun]*
 6 *dabđā-šú im-ḥa-aš* ^{gis}*narkabāti*^{meš}-[*šu*]
 [*sīsē*^{meš} *šimdāt*(*l á*)]^a[*t*]
 7 *ni-ri-šú [...]* *x-šú*
 8 ^{md}*Šamaš-mu**mudammīq* *šar*₄ ^{k[ur]}[*Kar*]-
 ^d[*u-ni-áš šadā-šú*] ^e-*mī*[*d*]
 9 ^{md}*Nábū-šuma-iškun*^{un} *mā*[*r ...*] *x* [*x*] *x*
 [*x*]
 10 ^{md}*Adad-nērāri* *šar*₄ ^{k[ur]}*Aš-šur it-ti*
 [^m]^d*Nábū-šuma-iškun*^u[ⁿ]
 11 *šār* [^{kur}*Kar*]-[*du-ni-áš im-t*]*a-ḥi-iš dabđā-šú iš-[kun]*
 12 [...-*b*]*an*(*?*)-*ba-la* ^{uru}*ḥu-da*-[*x*]
 13 [... *ā*]*lāni*^{meš} *ni ma-'du*-[*ti*]
 14 [*ik-šu-ud*] *x šal-la-su-nu ma-'a*-[*tu*]
 15 [*a-na* ^{kur}*Aš-šur*] *il-ga*-[*a*]
 16 [...] *x ni ma ti māti-šú lu e-sir*-[*šú*(*?*)]
 17 [...] ^{ḥur}*šu mārāti* ^{<meš>}*šu-nu a-na a-ḥa-meš id*-[*dī-nu*]
 18 [*tu-ub-ta s*]*u-lu-um-ma-a ga-ma-ra it-ti a-ḥa-meš [iš-ku-nu]*
 19 [*nišū*]^{me}[^š ^{kur}*Aš*]-[*šur*] ^{kur}*Akkad*ⁱ*ki it-ti a-ḥa-meš ib-ba*-[*al-lu*]

iii

- 1 At the time of Adad-nerari (II), king of Assyria,
 2 Shamash-mudammīq, king of Karduniash,
 3 drew up a battle array at the foot of Mount Yalman [and]
 4 Adad-nerari (II), king of Assyria,
 5 brought about
 4 the defeat of Shamash-muda[mmiq],
 5 king of Karduniash (and)
 6 conquered him.
 7 [*He took away*] from him
 6 his chariots (and) his [team]s [of horses].
 8 Shamash-mudammīq, king of Kard[uniash, passed] away.
 9 Nabu-shuma-ishkun (sic!), son of [...]
 10 Adad-nerari (II), king of [Assyria],
 11 [fou]ght
 10 [with] Nabu-shuma-ishkun(sic!),
 11 king of Kard[uniash], (and) defeated him.
 12 [... *b*]*anbala*, *ḥuda* [...]
 13 [...] numerous cities
 14 [he conquered ...].
 15 He took
 14 their vast booty
 15 [to Assyria].
 16 [...] ... his land, he enclosed [*him*].
 17 [...] *he rece*ived from him. They ga[ve] their daughters to one another (in marriage).
 18 Together they made an entente cordiale.
 19 The peoples of Assyria (and) Akkad were join[ed] together.
 21 They established a boundary

COMMENTARY

- iii 4–6 See the note to i 26'f.
 iii 6f. *sīsē šimdāt nīrišu*: For the restoration cf. Salonen, Hippologica p. 194, and TCL 3:55.
 iii 9 A restoration ... *mār* [^{md}*Šamaš-mudammīq ina* ^{gis}*kussē a*]*bi-šú*] [*ú*]-[*šib*] would be possible if it were known for certain

that Nabū-šuma-iškun/ukīn was the son of Šamaš-mudammīq.

- iii 15 For the restoration cf. ii 12.
 iii 17 *mārāti* ^{<meš>}: The ^{meš} has been mistakenly omitted.
 iii 19 For the restoration see Borger, AfO 18 (1957–58), p. 112.

- 20 *iš-[tu]* *uruTil-Bit-Ba-ri šá el-la-an uruZa-*
[*ban*]
21 *a-di Til-šá^mBa-ta-a-ni ù <Til>-šá-uru*
Šab-da-ni ku-dúr ú-ki[n-nu]
- 22 [*ina tar*]-*ši^{md}Šul-ma-nu-ašarēd šar₄^{kur}[Aš-*
šur]
23 [*mdNábú-áp*]*la-iddina^{na} šar₄^{kur}Kar-du-*
ni-[áš]
- 24 [*tu*]-[*ub-ta*] *su-lu-um-ma ga-am-[ra]*
25 [*it-ti*]*i a-ḥa-meš iš-ku-nu ina tar-ši^{md}Šul-*
ma-nu-ašarēd [šar₄] [kurAš-šur]
26 [*mdNábú*]-*ápla-iddina^{na} šar₄^{kur}Kar-du-*
ni-áš šadā-šu e-[mid]
27 [*mdMá*]*rduḥ-zākir-šumi ina giškussē abi-*
šú ú-[šib]
28 [*mdMa*]*rduḥ-bēl-ú-sa-a-te aḥu-šú itti-šú ib-*
bal-[kit]
29 [*uru*]*Da-ban lu iš-bat kurAk-ka-di-[i]*
30 [*ma[l-m]*]*a-[i]iš i-zu-zu mdŠul-ma-nu-ašarēd*
šar₄^{kur}[Aš-šur]
- 31 *a-n[a n]i-ra-ru-ti ša mdMarduk-zākir-*
[*šumi*]
32 *šar₄^{kur}Kar-du-ni-áš il-I[ik]*
- 33 *mdMarduk-bēl-ú-sa-a-te šarra ḥammā'[a]*
34 [*a-d*]*i šāb^{meš} bēl ḥi-ṭi šá it-ti-šú i-duḥ*
- 35 [... K]*utē^{ki} Bābili^k[i]*
36 [...] x [...]
Lacuna
- 1' [...] x
2' [...] -*nu*†
3' [*nišū*]*meš kurAš-šur kurKar-du-ni-áš/Ak-*
kadi^{ki} it-ti a-ḥa-meš ib]-bal-lu
4' [...] x *meš*
- 20 from Til-Bit-Bari which is upstream from
Za[ban]
21 to Til-sha-Batani and Til-sha-Sabdani.
- 22 [At the tim]e of Shalmaneser (III), king
of [Assyria,
23 Nabu-ap]la-iddina (was) the king of Kar-
duni[ash].
25 Together they made
24 an entente cordiale.
25 At the time of Shalmaneser (III), king
of [Assyria,
26 Nabu]-apla-iddina, king of Karduniash,
passed a[way].
27 Ma]rduḥ-zakir-shumi (I) as[cended] his
father's throne.
28 [Ma]rduḥ-bel-usate, his brother, rebel[led]
against him.
29 He seized Daban.
30 They divided
29 Akkad
30 equally. Shalmaneser (III), king of As-
[syria],
32 we[nt]
31 to the aid of Marduk-zakir-[shumi (I)],
32 king of Karduniash.
34 He (Shalmaneser III) defeated
33 Marduk-bel-usate, the usurper,
34 [together] with the rebellious troops who
(were) with him.
35 [... C]uthah, Babylon
36 [...] ... [...]
Lacuna
- 1'-2' Too broken for translation†
3' [The peoples of Assyria and Karduniash/
Akkad were jo]ined [together].
4' [...] ...

COMMENTARY

iii 20f. The designation of this border reappears in Aššur-nāšir-apli II's inscriptions in almost the same form. See Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* p. 339, n. 21. *šá-uruŠab-da-ni* is a mistake for *uruTil-šá^mŠab-da-ni*.

ku-dúr: Note the curious orthography. Cf. the note on *mišir* in Chron. 22 i 3.

iii 3' *ibballū*: For the restoration see Borger, AfO 18 (1957-58), p. 112, and cf. *summuḥu* in Weidner, BoSt 8 (1923), p. 102:35ff. and p. 14:48.

5' [mi-iš-ru ta-ḫu-mu ištēniš^{niš}/an-na-ma ú]-
kin-nu

6' [mŠamši-^dAdad šar₄ kurAš-šur m^dMarduk-
balāt-su-iq-bi]i šar₄ kurKar-du-ni-áš

7' [... mŠamši]-^dAdad šar₄ kurAš-šur

8' [dabdā šá m^dMarduk-balāt-s]u-iq-bi iš-kun

9' [... pagar qu-ra]-di-šú ú-ma-li šēra

Lacuna

iv

1 [l]u e-sir-šu āla šu-ú ik-šud m^dBa-ba₆-āḫa-
iddina

2 a-di makkūri-šú ni-šir-ti ēkalli-šú a-na
kurAš-šur il-qa-a

3 uruDēr^{ki} uruLa-ḫi-ru uruGa-na-na-a-te

4 Dūr«šú»-^dPap-sukkal Bit-re-du-ti
uruMēmeš. Tur-[an(?)]

5 ālāni^{meš} ni ma-'du-te šá kurKar-du-ni-áš

6 a-di uruḫal-ši-šú-nu ilāni^{meš}-šú-nu [šal]-la-
su-nu i[s-bat]

7 Anu-rabū^d Hum-ḫum-ia₅ ^dŠarrat(gašan)-
D[ē]ri^{ki} ^dBēlit(gašan)-Akkadi^{ki}

8 ^dŠi-ma-li-ia ^dPalil ^dA-nu-ni-tú ^dMār-bīti

9 šá uruMa-li-ki ub-la ana uruKutē [ur]uBāz
bīli^{ki}

10 Barsip^{ki} e-li niqē(udu.siskur)^{meš} ellūz
tim[ēš] lu e-pu-uš

11 a-na Kal-di ú-rid ma-da-at-tú [šá] šar-
rāni^{meš} ni

5' They fixed [a boundary-line by mutual
consent].

6' [Shamshi-Adad (V), king of Assyria, (and)
Marduk-balatsu-iq]bi, king of Karduni-
ash,

7' [... Shamshi]-Adad (V), king of Assyria.

8' brought about [the defeat of Marduk-
balats]u-iqbi.

9' [...] He filled the plain with [the corpses
of] his [warrio]rs.

Lacuna

iv

1 He (Shamshi-Adad V) enclosed him (and)
captured that city.

2 He took

1 Baba-aha-iddina

2 together with his property (and) the
treasure of his palace to Assyria.

6 He [seized]

3 Der, Lahiru, Gannanate,

4 Dur-Papsukkal, Bit-reduti, (and) Me-
Turan,

5 the numerous cities of Karduniash,

6 together with their districts, their gods
(and) their booty.

9 He carried off

7 Anu-rabu, Humhumya, Sharrat-Deri,
Belit-Akkadi,

8 Shimalya, Palil, Anunitu, (and) Mar-bitu

9 of Maliki.

10 He went up

9 to Cuthah, Babylon, (and)

10 Borsippa (and) made pure sacrifices.

11 He went down to Chaldea (and)

COMMENTARY

iii 5' For the restoration see i 7'; iv 14, 22
and the note to i 7'.

iii 6' [-iq-bi]: Very little of the name is pre-
served although King's copy shows more.

iii 9' Cf. OIP 2, p. 46:9f.: pag-ri qu-ra-di-
šú-nu ki-ma ur-qí-ti ú-mal-la-a šēra

iv 1-14 The discovery of the Aššur Stele (see
Appendix B sub Shamshi-Adad V) has
conclusively shown that this section con-
cerns Šamši-Adad V, not Adad-nērāri III
(cf. Weidner, AfO 9 [1933-34], p. 101, n. 86).

iv 1 šu-ú: This is a mistake for šu-a-tú as can
be seen from the parallel in AfO 9 (1933-
1934), p. 95:15.

iv 4 Dūr«šú»-^dPapsukkal: In the Kalaḫ
Stele the name appears as Dur-Papsukkal
(I R 34 iv 24). The šu in the Synch. Hist.
must be a mistake.

Bit-redūti: For the absence of the deter-
minative URU see the note to ii 3'.

iv 10 ēli. See Appendix B sub Shamshi-
Adad V.

- 12 *ša* kur*Kal-di am-ḥur* lú[x].NUMeš-šú 12 received
 11 the tribute of the kings
 12 of Chaldea. His [off]cers
 13 [received] the tax of Kardunia[sh ...]
 13 *igisá* kur*Kar-du-ni-á[š]* i[m(?)*-ḥ*]u(?)*-r*[u
 (?) ...]
 14 *e-pu-uš mi-šir ta-ḥu-m*[a *ištēniš^{niš}*]an-na-
ma ú-kín-nu] 14 he made. [They fixed] the boundary-line
 [by mutual consent].
 15 md*Adad-nērāri šar₄* kur*Aš-šur* mdx [...] 15 Adad-nerari (III), king of Assyria, (and)
šar₄ kur*Kar-du-ni-áš*] [...] king of Karduniash],
 16 *ik-nu-x* [...] x x tu ma du x [...] 16 ... [...] ... [...]
 17 *i-na* x [...] x x [...] 17 in ... [...] ... [...]
 18 x [...] x [um-ma-ni-šú(?) *ilāni^{meš}*] [...] 18 ... [...] ... his *craftsmen* the gods [...]
 19 *niš^{meš} šal-lu-te a-na áš-ri-šú ú-t*[e-er(-ma)] 19 He brought [back] the abducted peoples
 [and]
 20 *iš-qu gi-na-a ŠE.PAD^{meš} ú-kín-šú-nu*-[ti] 20 laid upon them an income, a regular con-
 tribution (and) barley rations.
 21 *niš^{meš} kurAš-šur kurKar-du-ni-áš it-ti*
a-ḥa-meš [ib-bal-lu] 21 The peoples of Assyria (and) Karduniash
 were joined together.
 22 *mi-iš-ru ta-ḥu-mu ištēniš^{niš} ú-kí*[n-nu] 22 They f[ixed] the boundary-line by mutual
 consent.
 23 *rubá arká^u šá ina* kur*Ak-ka-di*-[i] 23 Let a later prince, who
 24 *ú-šá-áš*-(?)*ka-nu šu-ma šá li-ti ki-šit-*
ti-šú] 24 wishes to *achieve* fame
 23 in Akkad,
 25 *lil-tu-ur-ma a-na^{na} naré an-n*[i-ma x x] 25 write
 24 about the prowess of [his] victories.
 25 [Let him]
 26 *ka-a-a-ma-nu-ma a-na la ma-še-e lid*
 [x x x] 26 continually
 25 [turn] to this [very] stele (and)
 26 [look at it] that it may not be forgotten.

COMMENTARY

- iv 12 *amḥur*. See Appendix B sub Shamshi-Adad V.
 iv 12f. lú[x].NUMeš: This should be an official but the only one that seems likely in the context is *šaknu*, plural *šaknūti*, and the text does not support such a restoration. Cf. Šamši-Adad's title: *ma-ḥir bilti ú i-gi-si-i šá ka-liš kib-ra-a-ti* I R 29:37f.
 iv 14 *mi-šir*: See the note to Chron. 22 i 3. For the restoration cf. iv 22 and the note to i 7'.
 iv 16 *ik-nu-x*: The text looks very much like *ik-nu-u*[š] "he bowed down".
 iv 20 ŠE. PAD: See Thureau-Dangin, TCL 3, p. 28, n. 2.†
 iv 21 *ibballū*: For the restoration see Borger, AfO 18 (1957-58), p. 112.
 iv 23-30 The form of this conclusion is reminiscent of the form of the conclusion to the Cuthean Legend of Naram-Sin (AnSt 5 [1955], p. 106:147-p. 108:175). Both passages contain an exhortation to a later prince to heed the document which has been written.
 iv 24 *ú-šá-ka-nu*: The word is senseless. As it stands the form could be a D present of *šakānu* but such a stem is not attested for this verb. It could also be explained as a late Assyrian form of the present of *šukēnu* (the regular Assyrian form is *uškān*). But this gives no suitable meaning and the text is to be regarded as corrupt.
 iv 25 *an-ni*-[ma]: For the restoration of -ma cf. i 4', 7', 28'.
 iv 26 A plausible restoration would be *lid*-[gu-ul...]

27 <i>um-ma-a-nu e-ḥa-zu liš-me ma-la šá ḥi x</i> [x x (x)]	27 Let the . . . vizier heed all that is [engraved (thereon)].
28 <i>ta-na-ti kurAš-šur lid-lu-lu a-na ūmēme</i> [ša-a-ti]	28 May the praises of Assyria be lauded for[ever].
29 <i>šá kurŠu-me-ri kurAk-ka-di-i ši-lip-t[a-ši-na]</i>	29 May the crime of Sumer and Akkad
30 <i>[li]-pa-še-ra ana ka-liš kib-ra-[a]-[ti]</i> [ēkal ^{md} Aš-šur-bāni-apli šār kiššati] šār [kurAš-šur ^{ki}]†	30 be bruited abroad through every quarter. [Palace of Ashurbanipal, king of the universe], king of Assyria.

COMMENTARY

iv 27 *ummānu*: It seems likely in comparison with AnSt 5 (1955), p. 106:147 that a high official is meant here.
e-ḥa-zu: As it stands the word is senseless and the text must be corrupt. Perhaps a

form of *aḥāzu* "to learn" originally stood here.

Cf. AnSt 5, p. 106:153: *šá pi-i^{na}narī an-na-a ši-me-ma*

A plausible restoration would be *ma-la šá i[h-ḥar-šu . . .]* "all that is [engraved (thereon)]".

CHRONICLE 22

CHRONICLE P

The tablet, BM 92701 (82-7-4, 38), upon which Chronicle P is inscribed is in very poor condition. The fragment is 180 mms. wide and 120 mms. long and represents only about

one third of the original, large tablet. The fragment comes from the bottom portion of the chronicle.

BIBLIOGRAPHY†

Photograph:

L. W. King, *Tukulti-Ninib* p. 51 (part of reverse only)

Copies:

1894 T. Pinches, *JRAS* 1894, pp. 811-815

1897 H. Winckler, *AOF* 1, pp. 298-303

1904 L. W. King, *Tukulti-Ninib* p. 157 (part of reverse only)

Editions:

1894 T. Pinches, *JRAS* 1894, pp. 807-833

1904 L. W. King, *Tukulti-Ninib* pp. 96-100 (part of reverse only)

1906 F. Delitzsch, *ASGW* 1906, pp. 43-46

1959 E. Weidner, *Tn* no. 37 (selected portion)

Translation Only:

1891 T. Pinches, *Records of the Past* n.s. 5, pp. 106-114

Studies:

1897 P. Rost, *MVAG* 2, pp. 150-155

H. Winckler, *AOF* 1, pp. 115-130

1908 F. E. Peiser, *OLZ* 1908, 7-10

P. Schnabel, *MVAG* 13, pp. 14-18, 32-36

1958 H. Tadmor, *JNES* 17, pp. 136-141

1960 M. B. Rowton, *JNES* 19, pp. 18-21

	i		i
Lacuna		Lacuna	
1 [...] x a x [...]		2 [...] king of Karduniash and [...]	
2 [...] šār ^{kur} Kar-an-dun-ia-āš] ù ^{m[d]} [...]		3 king of Assyria] between them made [a treaty] (and) together they fixed the boundary.	
3 [šār ^{kur} Aš-šur ^{ki} rik-sa-a-ni] [ú]-rak-kis ina bi-ri-šú-nu mi-šir a-ḥa-meš ú-[k]in-nu		4 [...] he rebuilt ... and restored it.	
4 [...] x-si(?) -ma DÙ-ma a-na áš-ri-šú ú-ter		5 [Kadashman-Har]be, son of Karaindash, son of Muballitat-Serua—	
5 [mKa-dáš-man-Ḥa]r-be mār mKara-in-da- áš mārū šá ^{SAL} Mu-bal-liṭ-at- ^d Šēru-u-a		6 [daughter] of Ashur-uballit (I), king of Assyria—	
6 [mārtu-šú] šá ^m Aššur-ùballiṭ ^t šār ^{kur} Aš- šur ^{ki} ka-ma-ri Su-ti-i rab-ba-a-tú			

COMMENTARY

i 1–4 Since i 2–4 contains a section complete within itself, i 1 must be the last line of a preceding section. If so there would have been a horizontal line drawn between i 1 and 2 but the tablet is too broken to know for certain. If Chron. 22 followed the same pattern as Chron. 21 here (but there is no evidence for this) then the section ending with i 1 would have corresponded to Chron. 21 i 1'–4' and the section i 2–4 would have corresponded to Chron. 21 i 5'–7'.

i 2 *Kar-an-dun-ia-āš*: This is the normal orthography in this document (it also occurs twice in iv 7 and once in iv 8). Chron. 21, however, writes *Kar-du-ni-āš* consistently. But no significance is to be attached to this variation since both of these are well attested late orthographies. See the examples in Balkan, Kassitenstudien pp. 96f. For the reading *Kar-an-dun-ia-āš* and not *Kar-^dDun-ia-āš* see ibid. p. 95.

ù: the reading is certain. Throughout the rest of the document *u* is the sign used for the conjunction.

i 3 The restoration is from Synch. Hist. i 2'. The singular verb is awkward and must be a mistake for *urakkisū*. Cf. the same mistake in Synch. Hist. i 25'. For the use of the D see the note to Synch. Hist. i 2'f. Cf. the same phrase in treaties: *ina bīrišunu riksa irkusū* BoSt 8 (1923), p. 2:2 and p. 90:4.

mi-šir: For other examples of the omission of the case ending see *ma-ša-ar* (iii 6), *ina šil-lat* (iv 5), *ḥar-ra-an* (iv 6), and Hyatt, YOR 23, pp. 10f.

a-ḥa-meš: The scribe has an extra vertical wedge in the MEŠ. Perhaps he began to write A (for *a-ḥa-a-meš*) but then realized he did not have enough room and so wrote MEŠ over the A.

i 4 Traces of a horizontal line between i 4 and 5 are faintly visible.

i 5 *Muballitat-Šērūa*: The writing of the name of the goddess (EDIN-*u-a*) is unique. It is normally written *Šērūa* as it is in the same PN in the Synch. Hist. i 9'. But in Lambert, BWL p. 58:34 cf. the ideogram *e₄.ru₆*(EDIN) used for Šarpanitum, the Babylonian goddess with whom Šērūa was identified. Otherwise it is written *e.ru* (cf. Tallqvist, Götterepitheta p. 452).

i 6 *rabbātu*: This is feminine plural of *rabū*. For other examples of a plural form of *rabū* with doubled *b* see iv 19; Ebeling, Glossar p. 194; VAB 4, p. 278 vii 4; Streck, Asb. p. 172:50. It is inconceivable that *rabbātu* modifies *Sutī* for one would expect a masculine plural adjective. Immediately below this in the next line is *emūqē* which is normally modified by a feminine plural (e.g. *e-mu-qē ra-ba-a-te* OIP 2, p. 130:69f.). Thus one suspects that *rabbātu* originally occurred at the end of i 7 modifying *emūqē*. At some stage in the transmission of the text it was

- 7 *ultu ši-it* ^a*Šamši*^{ši} *adi e-reb* ^a*Šamši*^{ši} *iš-pur-ma adi lā bašē(gál) emūqē(e.muq)*^{meš} *šú-nu* <*ú-šá-lik*>
- 8 *uru*^{bi}-*ra-a-tú ina qí-rib* ^{kur}^{HI.HI} *ú-kaš-šir* *púku-up-pu ip-te-e-ma*
- 9 *a-na maššartu*^{tú} *du-un-nu-nu nišē*^{meš} *ina libbi-ši-na a-bur-riš ú-še-šib ár-ka-nu*
- 10 *nišū*^{meš} *Kaš-ši-i ibbalkitū*^{meš} *šú idūkū*^{meš} *šú* ^m*Šu-zi-ga-áš* ^{kur}*Kaš-šá-a*
- 11 *mār la ma-am-nu a-na šarru-ú-tu a-na muḫḫi-šú-nu iš-šu-ú* ^m*Aššur-uballit*^{††}
- 12 [*šār* ^k^{ur}*Aš-šur*^{ki} *a-na tu-ru gi-mir šá* ^m*Ka-dáš-man-Har-be mār mārti-šú*
- 13 [*a-na* ^{kur}*Kar-an-[dun-ia]-[áš i]l-lik* ^m*Šu-zi-ga-áš* ^{kur}*[Kaš]-šá-a*
- 14 [*i-duk* ^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu mār* ^m*Ka-dáš*]-[*man*]-*Har-be ina ku*[*ssé abi-šú ú-še-šib*]
- 7 ordered
6 the overthrow of the Suteans
7 from east to west and *annihilated* their extensive forces.
8 He reinforced the fortresses in Mount ^{HI.HI}. He dug a well and
9 comfortably settled people in them (the fortresses) to strengthen the guard. Afterwards,
10 the Kassite people rebelled against him (and) killed him.
11 They appointed
10 Shuzigash, a Kassite,
11 son of a nobody, as sovereign over them. Ashur-uballit (I),
12 [king] of Assyria,
13 marched to Karduniash
12 to avenge Kadashman-Harbe, his daughter's son.
14 [He killed]
13 Shuzigash, the Kassite,
14 [(and) put Kurigalzu (II), son of Ka]dashman-Harbe, on [his father's] throne.

COMMENTARY

- copied on the edge and a later scribe mistakenly copied it as the end of i 6 and not of i 7. Further, there is no main verb for the phrase *adi lā bašē emūqēšunu* since it can hardly go with the following sentence. What one would expect is *ušalik*. Cf. *adi lā bašē ušalikšu* OIP 2, p. 28:22, and *ana mimma lā bašē lišālikūšu* BBSt. no. 3 vi 24f. The verb *ušalik* was probably also on the edge of the tablet after *rabbātu* and overlooked by a later copyist. Cf. the note to Chron. I iv 23.†
- i 7 *iš-pur-ma*: W. Röllig, Heidelberg Studien p. 175 wishes to emend the text to *iš-kun(!)-ma* but this is unnecessary. E.MUQ: For other examples of such pseudo-ideograms cf. MA.LIK^{meš}, HUR.BAT^{meš}, and TAL.LAK^{meš} with references by Heidel, JNES 11 (1952), p. 143; PÍT.HAL^{meš}, IÚ.NA.SIK^{meš} with references by Deller and Parpola, RA 60 (1966), p. 70.
- i 8 *birātu* ... *ukaššir*: Cf. *iš-tu a-la-né-e an-nu-tim uk-ta-aš-ší-ru* ARM 2, no. 3:19f.

Also cf. the similar phrase *ḫaša rukkušu* (examples in CAD 6 [H], p. 52a). Further cf. *ú-rak-ki-sa rik-sa-a-te* next to *maššā-rāti*^{meš} ... *udanninma* Streck, Asb. p. 12 i 115f.

púku-up-pu: See Laessøe, JCS 5 (1951), p. 30, n. 80; Jacobsen, OIP 24, p. 34, n. 16; and von Soden, AHw p. 509.

i 11 *mār lā mamnu*: Note the peculiar form. W. Röllig, Heidelberg Studien p. 175 thinks it is an error. The parallel (Synch. Hist. i 12') has *mār lā mammāna* which is the usual form of the phrase. Examples are: Ass. K. L. ii 8, 9, 11, 19; Lambert, BWL p. 194:23; KAH 1, no. 30:26. But note *mār lā ma-man* (var. *ma-am-ma-na*) AKA p. 280 i 76.

i 12 *gi-mir*: Note the late orthography of *gimillu*. Despite W. Röllig, Heidelberg Studien p. 175 this is not an error.

i 14 The passage has been restored on the basis of the Synch. Hist. i 15'–17'. For the problems involved see the note there on i 8'–17'.

ii

Lacuna

- 1 [mu] [...]
 2 gi id x [...]
 3 e-li-šú-nu [x x]-ma ri-ig-mu i- x [...]
 4 ^{lú}nakirui-h[u-u]s-sua-ḥa-mešú-UD.NIGI[N]
 [...] ina ^{giš}kakki]
 5 ú-šam-qi[t-m]a kul-lat-su-nu napištim^{tim}
 ul e-zib ma-aq-t[u-ti(?) ...]
 6 ú-si-[iq]-qu napištim^{tim} tam-tim gal-la-tum
 ina da-mi-šú-nu li-[ib-ba-ša(?) umallú/
 išrupū]
 7 id x ú-še-šu-ú ^{lú}šābēmeš-šú-ni ik-pu-du
 ni-iz-mat-su-un x [...]
 8 [u(?)] [1]^úšābēmeš ú-pa-áš-ši-ḥu bu-še-e
^{lú}nakiri šad-lu-tum ú-pa-aḥ-[ḥi-ir]
 9 [a]-na gu-ru-né-e ú-še-li i-tur-ru-nim-ma
 mun-[da]-[aḥ-šu(?) ...]
 10 [u]l ni-de-e-ma ^mKu-ri-gal-zu ki-i kul-lat
 nišēmeš ta-x [...]
 11 ina nišēmeš šá-nin-ni ul ni-ši e-nin-na-ma
 ta-t[u- ... ḥarrāna(?)]
 12 [ni]-is-bat a-šar-ka ni-iš-te-e-ma ir-ba a-ni-
 ni n[e- ...]

COMMENTARY

- ii 4 i-ḥ[u-u]s-su: Collation shows the reading to be possible.
 ii 5 Cf. OIP 2, p. 55:58 (= p. 57:18): i-na ^{giš}kakki ú-šam-qi[t-m]a na-pištum/tu ul e-zib.
 ii 6–8 Notice that the verbs in these lines appear to be third masculine plural whereas in the preceding and following sections they are third singular. But in late Babylonian this may be merely an orthographic phenomenon.
 ii 6 For other examples of *sugqu napišta* cf. Streck, Asb. p. 574, and OIP 2, p. 42:25. Examples of the phrase *damēšunu umalli/iršup* are found in CAD 3 (D), p. 78.
 ii 7 ^{lú}šābēmeš-šú-ni ik-pu-du: Notice the late form of the suffix, -šuni, for the usual -šunu. For *kapādu* meaning “to strive” see Lambert, BWL p. 231 and von Soden, AHW pp. 441f.
 After *nizmatu* one expects *kašādu* (cf.

ii

Lacuna

1–2 Too broken for translation

- 3 upon them [...] ... and a shout/com-
 plaint ... [...]
 4 The enemy s[eize]d him. Together ...
 [...]
 5 he pu[t] all of them
 4 [to the sword
 5 a]nd did not leave a soul.
 6 They put
 5 the fallen [ones ...]
 6 in d[istr]ess. [They filled/coloured the
 mid]st of the rolling sea with their blood.
 7 ... They sent out their troops, fought
 zealously, (and) [achieved] their victory.
 8 They subdued the (enemy) troops. He
 gathered the possessions of the vast
 enemy (and)
 9 made piles (of them). Again the wa[rriors
 said]:
 10 “We did not know, Kurigalzu, that you
 [had conquered] all peoples.
 11 We had no rival among people. Now you
 ... [...]
 12 We have set out, sought the place where
 you are and [brought] gifts.

CAD 7 [I/J], p. 179) but the traces do not support a reading i[k-šu-du]. The sign could be uḫ.

ii 8 bu-še-e: The E is written over another sign, traces of which remain between the šE and E.

ii 9 There is no trace of a at the beginning.

ii 10 At the end of the line one might restore ta-b[e-el-lu] “you ruled” or ta-a[k-šu-du] “you conquered”.

ii 12f. Since this is Late Babylonian, the verbs in these lines could be interpreted as precatives. In this case the conquered peoples would be speaking of a tribute which they will bring to Kurigalzu in Karduniaš and the future aid they will render to him.

ašar ... šite’ú: This phrase is usually used of the sanctuaries of gods. For examples see von Soden, AHW p. 83 sub 4d.

- 13 [x]-x-[tu] nu-šak-ši-du qa-tuk-ku i-tu-ur-
ma iš-x- [...]
14 [x x x]-šú-nu-ti-ma x x [tu] ta x [...]

iii

- 1 [x] x [x] x x x ú x x [...]
2 x lim gu ú lu [šú(?) ú(?)] x x x [...]
3 x lim x x da ši x x [x] x [...]
4 I LIM sīsē^{meš} bar-[mu-tú] i-rib-šú-nu [ú]-x
[...]
5 [š]á li-šá-nu iš-bat-tam-ma re-da-a ú-bi-li
ur- [...]
6 ma-ša-ar ú-še-eš-bit a-dan-na ú-gam-mi-ir
[...]
7 ta-[a-a]-ri ur-ḫu-ku-nu kaspā ḫurāša ni-
siq-tum ab[ne ...]
8 ub-lam šamē^{GUŠKIN.KÙ^{meš}} a-na ^dMarduk
bēli-ia lu [e-pu-uš(?) ...]
9 Bābīlī^{ki} [u] Barsip^{ki} eli šēri-ia [l]u ú-šá-
AD.DIR [...]
10 ^mHu-ur-ba-[ti]-la šār ^{kur}E-lam-mat a-na
^mKu-ri-gal-zu [...]
11 um-ma al-kam-ma [ana]-[ku] ù ka-a-šú
«DIŠ» ina Dūr-^d[Šul]-g[i šal-ta (ana libbi)]
12 a-ḫa-meš ni-pu-uš [^mKu]-ri-gal-zu iš-me-e-
ma [x] x x [...]

- 13 We have helped you conquer ... [...]"
Again he ... [...]
14 ...] them and ... [...]

iii

- 1 ... [...]
2 N thousand ... [...]
3 N thousand ... [...]
4 one thousand piebald horses their gift ...
[...]
5 He seized the spy and brought the knight
... [...]
6 He set a watch (and) ... [...]
7 the return, your path. Silver, gold, pre-
cious sto[nes, ...]
8 I brought. I [made] a canopy of pure
gold for Marduk my lord.
9 I ... Babylon and Borsippa upon/over
me. [...]
10 Hurbatila, king of Elam, [wrote] to
Kurigalzu (II)
11 this: "Come!
12 Let us do [battle] together,
11 I and you, at Dur-Shulgi."
12 Kurigalzu (II) heard and ... [...]

COMMENTARY

- ii 13 iš-x: The sign is definitely not TU.
iii 5 ša lišānu: At one time this word was
translated "slanderer" ("Verleumder")
but the publication of a Mari letter by
Thureau-Dangin showed the fallacy of
this interpretation (RA 33 [1936], p. 174:
51-53 and p. 175, n. 10 where the older
literature on the subject is cited). Nou-
gayrol (RA 40 [1946], p. 73) pointed out
that there appear to be two types of ša
lišāni in liver omens—the one being an
informer, spy, the other being an agent
provocateur. For further references and
comments see Finet, ARMT 15, p. 217
and von Soden, AHW p. 556.
rēdū: Cf. Simbar-šihu who was called
rēdū (ša) māt tāmtim (see the note to
Chron. 18 v 2).
iii 6 ma-ša-ar ú-še-iš-bit: Cf. ma-aš-ša-ru
ú-ša-aš-bi-it En. el. IV 139. For ma-ša-ar
see the note to i 3.

a-dan-na ú-gam-mi-ir: adānu "appointed
time" is unique with gummuru.

- iii 8 GUŠKIN.KÙ^{meš}: The position of MEŠ
suggests that there was, at least some-
times, a special Akkadian reading for
GUŠKIN.KÙ. Phonetic writings such as
GUŠKIN el-lu (RA 43 [1949], p. 209:11)
are also attested.
For the šamē ḫurāši of Marduk cf. Thureau-
Dangin, RAcc. p. 141:369 and n. 3.
iii 10 ^{kur}E-lam-mat: This unusual orthog-
raphy also occurs in iii 14, 16, 17, and
perhaps 19. Further, it occurs in MVAG 21
(1916), p. 82 r. 1 (the Kedorlaomer Text).
Usually Elam is written KUR.NIM.(MA).KI.
This writing occurs in iii 13 and iv 14.
There are no certain traces after ^mKu-ri-
gal-zu.
iii 11 The vertical wedge after ka-a-šú must
be a scribal error.
iii 11f. šal-ta ... epēšu: For the proposed
restoration here see Chron. 3:12 and the
note to Chron. 1 i 7f.

- 13 *a-na* ^{kur}*Elāmti*^{ki} *a-na ka-[šá]-du illik^{ik}-ma*
^m*H[u-ur-ba-ti-la]* 13 He went to conquer Elam and H[ur-
batila,]
14 *šār* ^{kur}*E-lam-mat ina Dūr-^aŠ[ul-g]i šal-tú* 14 king of Elam, [did] battle against him at
ana libbi-šú [i-pu-uš] Dur-Sh[ulg]i.
15 *ina pāni-šú ib-bal-kit-ma* ^m*Ku-ri-[gal]-zu* 15 He (Hurbatila) retreated before him and
dabdā-šú-nu [iš]-[ku-un (...)] Kurigalzu (II) broug[ht about] their
defeat.
16 *šār* ^{kur}*E-lam-mat qāt^{II}-su ikšud^u kul-lat* 16 He captured the king of Elam. All of
^{k[ur]}*[E]-lam-mat mi x [...]* Elam ... [...]
17 *ke-mi-iš ina kin-ši-šú* ^m*Hu-ur-ba-ti-la šār* 17 Bowing down, Hurbatila, king of Elam,
^{kur}*E-lam-m[at ...]* [said:]
18 *lu-ú i-di šār* ^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu ki-i a-ga-[a]* 18 "I know, king Kurigalzu, that this ...
an-na-[a(?)][...] [...]
19 *it-ti šarrāni^{meš} šá nap-ḥar mātāti^{meš} man-* 19 with the kings of all lands [*I have brought*]
da-at-tu₄ [E-lam]-[mat(?) lu ub-la(?)] the tribute of *El[am]*."
20 *a-na muḥḥi* ^{md}*Adad-nārāri šār* ^{kur}*Aš-šur^{ki}* 20 [He went] to conquer Adad-narari (I),
ana kašādud^u [il-lík-ma ...] king of Assyria.
21 *ina* ^{uru}*Su-ga-ga šá elⁱ idⁱ-diq-l[at]* [*šal-tú* 21 [He did] battle [against him] at Sugaga
ana] [*libbi-šú i-pu-uš (...)*] which (is) on the Tigris [(and brought
about his defeat)].
22 *šāb^{meš}-šú i-duk lūrabūti^{meš}-šú ina qātē^I[I-* 22 He slaughtered his soldiers (and) [cap-
šú iš-bat ...] tured] his officers.
- 23 ^m*Na-zi-mūru-taš mār^m[...]* 23 Nazimuruttash, son of [...]
24 *šār* ^{kur}*Aš-šur^{ki} ina(?) u[ru(?) ...]* 24 king of Assyria in [...]
Lacuna Lacuna

iv

- 1 [...] x x x x [...]
2 [...] x *šemir parzilli id-[di-ma(?)]* x [...]
3 [...] ^m*Tukult-i* ⁱ*Ninurta a-na Bābīli^{ki}*
[i-tu]-ra-[am]-ma
4 [...] x x [...] *ú-qar-ri-bu dūr Bābīli^{ki}*
[iq-qur] mār Bābīli^{ki} ina ^{giš}*kakki*
5 [*ú-šam-q*] *it makkūr É-sag-gíl u Bābīli^{ki}*
ina šil-lat uš-te-ši ^a*Bēl rabū^u* ^a*Marduk*

iv

- 1 [...] ... [...]
2 [...] ... he threw iron bands and [...]
3 ... Tukult[i]-Ninurta (I) returned to
Babylon and
4 brought [...] ... [...] near. He destroyed
the wall of Babylon (and)
5 [pu]t
4 the Babylonians to the sword.

COMMENTARY

- iii 17 *ke-mi-iš*: For the form of the stative (instead of *kamiš*) cf. the principle *a > e* outlined by von Soden, GAG § 10b-d.
iii 19 The difficulty with reading [*E-lam*]-[*mat*] is that in the other occurrences of the orthography in this document (see the note to iii 10) it is written ^{kur}*E-lam-mat*.
iii 20-22 Cf. Synch. Hist. i 18'-23'.
iii 20f. The restorations are based upon iii 13-15.
iv 1-13 This passage has been recently edited

by Weidner, Tn. no. 37.

- iv 1 Weidner has the plausible reading: [*a*]-*bi-ik-ti* ^m*Kaš-ti[-a-šu]*
iv 2 Tukulti-Ninurta claims in his inscriptions to have bound Kaštiliaš: Weidner, Tn. no. 5:64; no. 16:66; no. 17:37.
iv 5 *ina šillat*: Weidner's translation "in Vermessenheit" is hardly correct since *šillatu* is normally used of evil speech, not evil action (cf. Lambert, BWL p. 312). Also cf. *makkūr É-sag-gíl u Bābīli^{ki} ina šil-lat uš-tēši* Chron. 20 A 29f. For the orthography see the note to i 3.

- 6 [ina šu]b-ti-šú id-ke-e-ma a-na kur Aš-šur^{ki}
ú-šá(text: za)-aš-bit har-ra-an lúšak-nu-
ti-šú
- 7 ina kurKar-an-dun-ia-àš iš-kun VII MU^{meš}
mTukul-ti-^dNinurta Kar-an-dun-ia-àš
- 8 ú-ma-'ir arka lúrabúti^{meš} šá kurAkkad^{ki}
šá kurKar-an-dun-ia-àš ibballitū^{meš}-ma
- 9 m^dAdad-šuma-úšur ina kussé abi-šú ú-še-
ši-bu mTukul-ti-^dNinurta šá ana Bābili^{ki}
ana lemuttu(hul)^{tú}
- 10 [qātē]^{II} ú-bil-lu m^dAššur-na-šir-apli mār-šú
u lúrabúti^{meš} šá kurAš-šur^{ki} ibballitū^{meš}-
šu-ma
- 11 [ina] kussé-šú id-ku-šu-ma ina uruKar-
Tukul-ti-^dNinurta ina bitī i-si-ru-šu-ma
ina gis^škakki idūkū^{meš}-šú
- 12 [x] + VI MU^{meš}[š] a-di mTukul-ti-Aššur
^dBēl ina kurAš-šur^{ki} a-šib ana tar-ši
mTukul-ti-Aššur ^dBēl a-na
- 13 [Bāb]ili^{ki} it-tal-kām
- 14 [ana tar-ši] m^dEn-líl-na-din-šumi šarri
it-ba-am-ma mKi-din-^dHu-ud-ru-diš šar
kurElamti^{ki}
- 15 [ú-bi]l-la qāt-su a-na Nippur^{ki} nišē^{meš}-šú
is-pu-uh Dēr^{ki} u É-dim-gal-kalam-ma
- 5 He took out the property of Esagil and
Babylon amid the booty.
- 6 He removed
5 the great lord Marduk
6 [from] his [dais] and sent (him) to Assyria.
- 7 He put
6 his governors
7 in Karduniash. For seven years Tukulti-
Ninurta (I)
8 controlled
7 Karduniash.
- 8 After the Akkadian officers of Karduniash
had rebelled and
9 put Adad-shuma-usur on his father's
throne,
- 10 Ashur-nasir-apli, son of
9 Tukulti-Ninurta (I)—who had
10 carried out
9 criminal designs on Babylon—
10 and the officers of Assyria rebelled against
him (Tukulti-Ninurta I),
- 11 removed him [from] his throne, shut him
up in Kar-Tukulti-Ninurta in a room
and killed him.
- 12 For [N] + six years—until (the time of)
(Ninurta)-tukulti-Ashur—Bel stayed in
Assyria. In the time of (Ninurta)-tukulti-
Ashur, Bel
13 went to [Bab]ylon.
- 14 [At the time of] Enlil-nadin-shumi, the
king, Kiten-Hutran, king of Elam, at-
tacked.
- 15 [He went into] action against Nippur
(and) scattered its people.

COMMENTARY

- iv 6 ú-šá(text: za): the ZA is a scribal error
for šá.
- iv 8 "the Akkadian officers of Karduniaš":
For the translation see Weidner's note to
this passage. Rowton, JNES 19 (1960),
pp. 20f. thinks the text is the result of
the combination of two different sources.
- iv 9f. ana Bābili^{ki} ana lemuttu [qātē]^{II} ubillu:
Cf. Chron. 19:62 and for further examples
see CAD 1/1 (A/1), pp. 19f. Also cf.
Chron. 22 iv 15. The idea that harm will

come to anyone who mistreats Babylon
is common in Babylonian texts. Cf. Chron.
19:50–52, 62, and Chron. 20 A 18–23.
Further, cf. Weidner, MVAG 20/4 (1915),
p. 74, n. 3, and Jeremias, MVAG 21
(1916), pp. 69f.

- iv 12 For a discussion of the number to be
restored before MU^{meš} see Tadmor, JNES
17 (1958), pp. 140f.; Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958),
p. 221, n. 114; and Weidner's note to this
line.
- iv 15 Cf. the note to iv 9f.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>16 [ú-ab]-[bit(?)] <i>nišē^{meš}-šú iš-tal-lu it-ru-ud-ma^{md} En-lil-na-din-šumi šarru uk-kiš be-lut-su</i></p> <hr/> <p>17 [ana tar-ši^{md} Ad]ad-[šuma]-iddina^{na} is-saḥ-ram-ma^m Ki-din-^d Hu-ud-ru-diš^{kur} Akkad^{ki} ina II-i itbi-šú</p> <p>18 [...] x [ú-ab]-bit^{uru} I-šin i-bir^{id} Idiqlat gi-mir</p> <p>19 [...] x Marad-da^{ki} dabdâ nišē^{meš} [rab-ba]-a-tú lim-niš</p> <p>20 [...] x [DU(?)]-uš-ma ina alpē^{meš} pa-qa-ar</p> <p>21 [...] x ud ma ú-šá-as-si ḥar-ba-a-ti</p> <p>22 [...] [šum(?)]-ma</p> <hr/> <p>23 [...] x x -'ir</p> <p>24 [...] ni(?) -šú</p> <p>Lacuna</p> | <p>16 [He de]stroyed</p> <p>15 Der and Edingalkalamma,</p> <p>16 carried off its people, drove (them) away and eliminated the suzerainty of Enlil-nadin-shumi, the king.</p> <hr/> <p>17 [At the time of Ad]ad-shuma-iddina, Kiten-Hutran returned and attacked Akkad a second time.</p> <p>18 [...] ... he destroyed Isin, crossed the Tigris, all of</p> <p>19 [...] ... Maradda,</p> <p>20 [he brought about]</p> <p>19 a terrible defeat of an extensive people.</p> <p>20 [...] ... and with oxen ...</p> <p>21 [...] ... he removed to wasteland</p> <p>22 [...] ...</p> <hr/> <p>23-24 Too broken for translation</p> <p>Lacuna</p> |
|--|--|

COMMENTARY

- iv 16 *iš-tal-lu*: Late orthography for *ištalla*. *uk-kiš*: Cf. *uk-kuš illilūti* CT 15, 39 ii 9 and 11 (Epic of Zu); *uk-ki-šá palē[šu]* III R 38, no. 2:13 (= Tadmor, JNES 17 [1958], p. 137); and *bēlūtašu uddappar* Lambert, BWL p. 228:11.
- iv 18 Pinches' copy shows RAB instead of BIR. The same mistake was made by Smith in his copy of Chron. 7 ii 16.
- iv 19 *rabbātu*: See the note to i 6. After *lim-niš* Winckler's copy shows TAR and Delitzsch's edition has *imḥaš*. There is a small hole in the tablet on the extreme right side of the column but it is unlikely that a sign was ever present here. On the meaning of *limniš* see the note to Chron. 3:27.
- iv 20 *pa-qa-ar*: Without a context it is difficult to know how to take this word.
- iv 23 Rowton, JNES 19 (1960), p. 19, thinks this section told of the reign of the Elamite Kidin-Ḫudrudiš in Mesopotamia and he plausibly restores at the end of the line: ... ú]-[ma]-'ir.

CHRONICLE 23

CHRONICLE OF MARKET PRICES

The text of Chronicle 23 is preserved on a broken tablet, BM 48498 (81-11-3, 1209), which measures 30 mms. wide and 65 mms. long. It is the left-hand side of a medium size

tablet. Both surfaces and particularly the reverse are badly marred. A small portion is missing from the bottom of the tablet.

Obverse

- 1 [a-na tar-ši] md[...]
- 2 [x x] x GUR SÍG^{H.A} [...]
- 3 [ma]hīr([ki].lam) māti(?) -šú a-na [...]
- 4 a-na tar-ši md[...]
- 5 maḥīrum(ki.lam) in-ni-ip-pú-[uš ...]
- 6 x MA.[NA URUDU] maḥīr(ki.lam) māti-
[šú(?) ...]
- 7 ana tar-ši [A]m-mu-ra-p[i ...]
- 8 ana tar-[ši] Ku-ri-gal-z[u ...]
- 9 ŠE.GIŠ [III(?)] PI SÍG III MA.[NA ...]

Obverse

- 1 [At the ti]me of [...]
- 2 N cor of [...], wool [...]
- 3 the market price of his *land* to [...]
- 4 At the time of [...]
- 5 used to be purchas[ed ...]
- 6 10 minas of copper, the market price of
[his] *land* [...]
- 7 At the time of Hammurap[i ...]
- 8 At the time of Kurigalz[u ...]
- 9 3 PI of sesame, 3 m[ina]s of wool, [...]

COMMENTARY†

The names of commodities and the phrases which appear in this chronicle are identical or virtually identical with passages about prices which appear regularly in astronomical diaries. It would be impractical to quote all passages here but the following is typical:

ITI BI KI.LAM ŠE^{im} I PI ZÚ.LUM II (PI) III
(BÁN) GAZ III (PI) II (BÁN) KÍD.DA I (BÁN) II
SÍLA ŠE.GIŠ II (BÁN) III SÍLA SÍG^{H.A} [x
M]A.NA a-na I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ép-šú

ZA 6 (1891), p. 235:28f.

Frequently an abbreviated form is used such as in LBAT 226:9 and 230:6f. where a-na I GÍN KÙ.BABBAR ép-šú is omitted. Other abbreviated forms appear such as:

ZÚ.LUM.MA = ZÚ.LUM = ZÚ (cf. Chron. 23:11)
SÍG^{H.A} = SÍG (cf. Chron. 23:9)
ŠE.GIŠ.Ì = ŠE.GIŠ (cf. Chron. 23:9)
MA.NA = MA (cf. Chron. 23:9)

The order in which the commodities are mentioned is consistently the same and the

order in Chron. 23, in so far as it is identifiable in this broken text (see lines 9 and 11), is identical. Also cf. Chron. 10 r. 31 and 35. maḥīru(ki.lam) ... epšū in the astronomical diaries is to be compared to maḥīru(ki.lam) inneppuš (note the same form, in-ni-ip-pu-uš, in LBAT 680:3 where it is apparently construed with mīlu(illu)) in Chron. 23 (line 5) (also see CAD 4 [E], p. 212). The meaning of the present here seems to be "used to be ...". All of these features indicate a very close relationship between Chron. 23 and astronomical diaries. But there are sufficient differences such as maḥīru appearing immediately before the verb in one but not in the other (also note URUDU in line 6) to make any restoration uncertain.

Obverse

- 3 māti(?) -šú: Cf. line 6. A reading inneppuš(DÙ)^{uš} (cf. line 5) is not possible.
- 5 in-ni-ip-pú-[uš]: Both the signs IN and IP are defective but the reading is reasonably certain.

10 MU XXI ^d <i>Marduk-apla-iddina</i> [...]	10 The twenty-first year of Merodach-baladan (I): [...]
11 I GUR ŠE I GUR ZÚ[(.LUM.MA) ...]	11 1 cor of barley, 1 cor of dates, [...]
12 MU XIII KUR(?) KU(?) ÁŠ(?) KA [...]	12 The thirteenth year ... [...]
13 M[U] IX ^d <i>Nabû-kudur[rî]-û[šur ...]</i>	13 The ninth ye[ar] of Nebuchadnezzar (I) ...]
14 MU I([r]) ^d <i>Mar[duk- ...]</i>	14 The <i>first/second</i> year of Mar[duk-...]
15 ^{giš} BÁN III(?) SÌ[LA ...]	15 1 <i>sutu</i> , 3 <i>q[û ...]</i>
Lacuna	Lacuna
Reverse	
Lacuna(?)	Lacuna(?)
1 [x] x x x [...]	1 [...] ... [...]
2 ^{giš} BÁN x SÌ[LA ...]	2 1 <i>sutu</i> , N <i>q[û ...]</i>
3 [m]U x XI XII x[III(?) ...]	3 [Ye]ar ten, eleven, twelve, <i>thir[teen ...]</i>
4 ŠE I GUR (erasure) x [...]	4 one cor of barley ... [...]
5 [a(?) -na IV(?) GÍN(?) x [...]	5 <i>for 4 shekels ... [...]</i>
6 MU V MU VI x [...]	6 Year five, year six, ... [...]
7 ^{giš} BÁN [IV(?) SÌLA [...]	7 1 <i>sutu</i> , 4 <i>q[û ...]</i>

COMMENTARY

12 The reading of the royal name is a mystery. One thinks of Marduk-kābit-ahhēšu because of the KA and the fact that he comes between Merodach-baladan I and Nebuchadnezzar I. But the traces do not support such a reading.

14 Shortly after the reign of Nebuchadnezzar there are four kings whose names begin Marduk-...: Marduk-nadin-ahhe (18 years), Marduk-shapik-zeri (13 years), Marduk-ahheriba (1 year), and Marduk-zer-... (12 years).

Reverse

1 Certainly this line is near the top of the reverse but since the upper portion of the line is broken, it is uncertain whether this is actually the first line. In any event the

lacuna at the end of the obverse and beginning of the reverse is extremely small. Only a few lines at the most are missing.

5f. There may have been a horizontal line drawn between these lines. The surface is too badly broken to be certain.

6f. The last section of Chronicle 15 contains the information that Nabû was unable to be present at the Akitu festival in Babylon during the fifth and sixth regnal years of Nabû-šuma-iškun. That section begins: MU V MU VI "The fifth year (and) the sixth year". The fact that this is identical with the beginning of this section in Chronicle 23 suggests that it might refer to the reign of the same king although it could be coincidence. Thus r. 6f. of Chronicle 23 may concern the reign of Nabû-šuma-iškun.

CHRONICLE 24

AN ECLECTIC CHRONICLE

The text of this chronicle is inscribed on a tablet, BM 27859 (98-7-11, 124), the top portion of which is missing. There is also a

large piece missing from the lower left-hand corner. The preserved portion measures 45 mms. wide and 60 mms. long.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Copy:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2, pp. 147-155

Editions:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 2 pp. 57-69

1930 E. Weidner, AfO 6, p. 77 (selected portion)

Studies:

1907 L. W. King, Chron. 1, pp. 186-211

H. Winckler, OLZ 1907, 589-592

1908 P. Schnabel, MVAG 13, pp. 80-82

1924 F. M. Th. Böhl, AfK 2, p. 49

1925 C. J. Gadd, StOr 1, p. 27

1926 S. A. Pallis, Akîtu pp. 3-5

1927 B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, ZA 37, pp. 61-66

1929 A. Poebel, AfO 5, pp. 103f.

1957 J. R. Kupper, Les Nomades pp. 116f. and n. 2, pp. 105f., p. 127

1958 W. G. Lambert, AfO 18, p. 398

Lacuna	Obverse	Lacuna	Obverse
1 [...] x		3 [...] he carried off a great [boot]y.	
2 [...]		4 Marduk-shapik-zeri made ... [...] ...	
3 [... šal-la-t]u kabittu ^u iš-lul		5 ... kings of the lands ... [...] ... enjoyed prosperity.†	
4 ^{md} Marduk-šāpik-zēri x [...] x īpuš ^u š		6 He made an entente cordiale with Ashur- bel-k[ala, kin]g of Assyria.	
5 [x] ZA šarrāni ^{me} šá mātāti(kur.kur) x [...] x hegallu IGI ^{meš} †		7 At that time, the king went from Assyria to Sippar.†	
6 ūbtu ^u u su-lum-mu-ú itti m[Aššur-bēl]- k[a-la šā]r kurAš-šur iš-kun		8 Adad-apla-iddina, son of Itti-Marduk- balatu, an Aramean usurper,	
7 ina ūmi ^{mi} -šá-ma šarru ultu kurAš-šur ana Sip-par illikam ^{kam} †		9 ... all the urban centres of ..., Der, Duranki (Nippur)	
8 ^{md} Adad-àpla-iddina mār(a) ^m Itti- ^d Mar- duk-bālātu kurA-ra-mu-u šarru hammā'u			
9 x x ma-ḥa-zu ka-la šá x [x] x De-ri [Dur]- an-ki			

COMMENTARY

Obverse

1-3 It is impossible to know whether this section referred to Marduk-nādin-aḥḥē, the immediate predecessor of Marduk-šāpik-zēri, or some earlier king.

4-11 The passage was edited by Weidner, AfO 6 (1930-31), p. 77. More recently Lambert has edited lines 8-11 in AfO 18 (1957-58), p. 398.

4f. The meaning of these lines is still a mystery. At the beginning of line 5 King

transliterates [x] + 44 but this is difficult since the numeral four is otherwise (lines 15 and 16) written as GAR not ZA. Collation of the traces shows King's copy to be accurate.†

5 hegallu IGI^{meš}: Note that hegallu is otherwise not attested with amāru or its synonyms.

6 This line is parallel to Synch. Hist. ii 27'f. Also cf. the note to Synch. Hist. ii 1'.

8-11 Lambert has recently edited this passage in AfO 18 (1957-58), p. 398 and also Goetze, JCS 19 (1965), p. 134.

8 A = māru: See the note to Synch. Hist. ii 31'.

10 x [Pà]r(?) -sa-a id-du-ú^{kur} Su-tu-u itbi-ma
šil-lat^{kur} Šu-me-ri u [Akkadī]^l
11 ana māti-šú ú-še-ši áš-rat^d Marduk x (x)
im/lib-bi x x an [ú]-[šak-lil]

12 ^mSim-bar-ši-i-ḫu mār(a) ^mEriḫa-^dSin
^{lū}rēdū(aga.uš) šá m[āt(?) tam(?) -t]im(?)
13 ^{giš}kussā^d En-líl(text: NIGIN) šá Ē-kur-igi-
gál iḫuš^š

14 ina parakki MU v Ē-ul-maš-šākin-šumi
šarru

15 MU XIV

16 MU IV ^dMār(a)-biti-[āp]la-úšur

17 [... M]U I ^dNabū-mūkīn-[āpli šarru]

18 [... MU x]

Edge

Lacuna(?)

Reverse

1 [... MU x ^mMār-biti-á]ḫḫē^{me}-iddina

2 [...] šar₄^{kur} Aš-šur ana tar-š[i m^dŠamaš-
mudammig^q]^a

10 ... [Pa]rsa (= Dur-Kurigalzu) they de-
molished. The Suteans attacked and
11 took home
10 the booty of Sumer and Akkad.
11 [He] finished the shrines of Marduk in ...

12 Simbar-shihu, son of Eriḫa-Sin, knight
of the S[calan]d,
13 made the throne of Enlil of Ekurigal.

14 (Marduk stayed) on the dais (in) the fifth
year of Eulmash-shakin-shumi, the king.

15 The fourteenth year

16 The fourth year of Mar-biti-apla-usur

17 [...] The first year of Nabu-mukin-apli,
the king

18 [...] The Nth year]

Edge

Lacuna(?)

Reverse

1 [...] The Nth year of Mar-biti-a]ḫhe-iddina

2 [Adad-nerari (II)] (was) the king of As-
syria at the time of [Shamash-mudam-
mi]q.

COMMENTARY

10 *Parsā*: This restoration was originally suggested by Lambert in AfO 18 (1957–58), p. 398.

11 Weidner, AfO 6 (1930–31), p. 77, has made the following reconstruction: áš-rat^d Marduk [šá] lib-bi B[āb]-ili [la ú]-šak-lil. But the traces do not support this and Babylon is otherwise (r. 10, 12, 14) written DIN.TIR^{ki}.

12 See the commentary to Chron. 18 v 2.

13 *En-líl*(text: NIGIN): Thanks to the inscription of Simbar-shihu recently published by A. Goetze, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 121–135 which commemorated the construction of Enlil's throne in Ekurigal there can be no doubt of the reading in this line. The scribe has mistakenly written NIGIN for LÍL.

14 – r. 1 For the interpretation of these lines see King, Chron. 1, pp. 195–198; 2, p. 61, n. 2.†

17 – r. 1 After line 17 there is a blank space broken away on the left side and then the

edge, the preserved portion of which is also blank. The fact that a horizontal line is drawn after line 17 and also before r. 1 indicates that there is a section in between. (In King's copy the line here called r. 1 is shown on the edge. Actually it is on the rounded portion of the tablet at the top of the reverse.) Perhaps MU N is to be restored in the broken portion of the left side of the blank space on the obverse after line 17 thus giving a pair of sections like those in lines 14f. King's suggestion that MU N is to be restored three times (twice on the edge) is improbable since one would expect a horizontal line to be drawn between each of them. It seems more likely that the scribe has left the edge blank and continued the text on the reverse. The only problem with this proposal is that one would expect him to have drawn the horizontal line immediately after the last line on the obverse and not at the top of the reverse before r. 1.

- 3 [ana tar-ši^{md} Nabû-šu]ma-ú-kin^m Tukul-
[ti-^d Ninurta šar₄^{ku}]r Aš-šur
- 4 [^{md} Nabû-ap]la-iddina mār^{md} Nabû-šuma-
[ú]-[kin^m A]ššur-nā[sir-apl]i [šar₄(?)]
kur Aš(?) -šur
- 5 m[^d]Marduk-za-kir-[šumi] mār m[^d] [Nabû-
ápla-iddi]na
- 6 ^{md} Marduk-bēl-ú-sat m[^d] [Šul-ma-nu-aša-
rēd šar₄^{kur} Aš-šu]r(?)
- 7 ana tar-ši^{md} Marduk-bālāt-su-ⁱqbi^{md}
Marduk-za-kir-šumi
- 8 x MU^{me} šárru ina māti là baši(gál)
- 9 ^mEri-ba-^d Marduk mār ^{md} Marduk-šakin-
šumi
- 10 ina MU II^{kám} qātē^{II} ^dBēl u mār ^dBēl iš-bat
- 11 ^{kur} A-ra-mu šá ina ši-gil-tú u saḫ-maš-tú
eqlēti^{me} a-šib Bābili^{ki} [u Barsip^{ki} i-ki-mu]
- 3 [At the time of Nabu-shu]ma-ukin (I),
Tukul[ti-Ninurta (II) (was) the king of]
Assyria.
- 4 [(At the time of) Nabu-ap]la-iddina, son
of Nabu-shuma-u[kin (I), A]shur-na[sir-
apl]i (II) (was) the [king of] Assyria.
- 5 (At the time of) Marduk-zakir-shumi (I),
son of [Nabu-apla-iddi]na, (and)
- 6 Marduk-bel-usat(e), [Shalmaneser (III)
(was) the king of Assyria].
- 7 At the time of Marduk-balatsu-iqbi (and)
Marduk-zakir-shumi (I)
- 8 For N years there was no king in the land.
- 9 Eriba-Marduk, son of Marduk-shakin-
shumi,
- 10 took the hand of Bel and the son of Bel
in (his) second year.
- 12 He slew with the sword
- 11 the Arameans who had taken by murder
and insurrection the fields of the inhabi-
tants of Babylon and Borsippa

COMMENTARY

Reverse

2-7 See the commentary to the Synch. Hist. i 18'.

2 Šamaš-mudammiq is the only Babylonian king between Mār-bitī-aḥḥē-iddina and Nabû-šuma-ukin I. Thus the restoration of his name is certain. Since Adad-nērāri II is the immediate predecessor of Tukulti-Ninurta II (whose name appears in the next line) his name is probably to be restored here. Further cf. the Synch. Hist. iii 1-8. However there is some uncertainty since Aššur-dān II was also a contemporary of Šamaš-mudammiq according to the Synch. K. L. iii 13.

3 Nabû-šuma-ukin: King took this as the second king of this name, the last ruler of dynasty II and he restored Tiglath-pileser III as the Assyrian contemporary. Thus he had a great deal of difficulty in identifying the kings mentioned in the remaining portions of the chronicle. A comparison of this document with the Synch. Hist. and the king lists shows that the first Nabû-šuma-ukin is

meant and aids in restoring the names in the remaining portions of the text.

4 The restoration was proposed by Weidner, MVAG 20/4 (1915), p. 96, n. 2. There is not enough room at the beginning of the line to restore ana tar-ši but it is probably understood as it is in r. 25. It was apparently omitted because of the extra length of these two passages (notice that the three other sections between r. 22-27 have only two kings each).

5f. ana tar-ši is probably to be understood at the beginning of this line. See the note to r. 4.

6 Collation shows a clear KUR after -ú-.

7 This line is difficult. Does it mean that Marduk-zākir-šumi was still alive when Marduk-balātsu-iqbi ascended the throne? Or has ^mŠamši-^dAdad šar₄^{kur} Aš-šur been mistakenly omitted at the end of the line?

8 The figure is so badly obliterated that one cannot be certain of any reading. For the phrase see the note to Chron. i iii 28.†

11 The reading adopted here was suggested by Winckler, OLZ 1907, 590, n. 1. saḫ- is clear from collation.

12 <i>ina</i> ^{giš} <i>kakki im-ḥas-su-nu-ti-ma dabdâ-šû-nu iš-kun</i>	12 and brought about their defeat.
13 <i>eqlēti</i> ^{me} <i>u kirâti</i> ^{me} <i>i-kim-šû-nu-ti-ma ana mārē</i> ^{me} [<i>Bābili</i>] ^{ki} <i>u</i> [<i>Barsip(bár.sìp)</i>] ^{ki} <i>id-din</i>	13 He took the fields and orchards away from them and gave (them) to the Babylonians and Borsippeans.
14 [<i>M</i>] _U . _[BI] <i>ina Ê-sag-il u Ê-zi-da x x x</i> [<i>x</i> ^{giš} <i>kus</i>] <i>sé</i> (?) ^d <i>Bēl ú-kin</i>	14 In that same [yea]r he set up the [<i>thro</i>]ne of Bel in Esagil and Ezida ... [...]
15 [<i>x x x</i>] <i>x</i> ^m <i>Eri-ba-d</i> <i>Marduk ana Bābili</i> ^{ki} <i>x x x</i>	15 [...] ... Eriba-Marduk ... to Babylon.
16 [...] ^m <i>Eri-b</i>] <i>a-d</i> <i>Mārduk ultu</i> [...] ^k ⁱ <i>ūši</i>	16 [...] Erib]a-Marduk went out from [...]
17 [...] ^{md} <i>Nabû-n</i>] <i>a-[šir]</i>	17 [...] Nabu-n]asir
18 [...] <i>x</i>	18 [...] ...
19 [...] ^m <i>Tukul-ti-apil-é-šár-r</i>] <i>a</i> (?) <i>šār</i> ^{kur} <i>Aš-šur ina kússé ittašab</i> ^{ab}	19 [...] <i>Tiglath-pilese</i>]r (<i>III</i>), king of Assyria, ascended the throne.
20 [...] <i>ina kús</i>] <i>sé</i> [<i>ittašab</i>] ^{ab}	20 [...] <i>Shalmaneser V, king of Assyria,</i> ascended [the thro]ne.
Lacuna	Lacuna

COMMENTARY

13 BÁR.SÌP: For the unusual orthography see Borger, JNES 19 (1960), p. 51.
 19 Cf. Chron. 1 i 23.

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS†

All of the fragments are small and rarely is enough of the text preserved to obtain a connected sense. Only Fragment 2 deserves special comment since there is reason to suspect that it comes from the library of Tiglath-pileser I (note that Fragment 4 and possibly Fragment 1 come from the same source). First, the tablet was acquired at Ashur by V. Scheil (OLZ 1904, 216). Second, the script of the tablet has peculiarities similar to those displayed by tablets from Tiglath-pileser's library. With the chart of

forms given by Weidner, in AfO 16 (1952-53), p. 201 compare BA in lines 6, 19; SU in line 20; TU in lines 19, 28; *i-na* in lines 4, 5, 11, 14, 23, 25, 31; TA in lines 17, 18, 22, 27, 29. The form of 30/ĒŠ in line 10 is not the same as that in Weidner's chart but it does occur, nevertheless, in tablets from Tiglath-pileser I's library—e.g. KAR 4 (cf. AfO 16 [1952-53], p. 207): 1, 4, 6, 12, etc. There is a certain amount of evidence, therefore, in favour of Fragment 2 coming from Tiglath-pileser I's library and no cogent argument against it.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ENLIL-NARARI

Museum Number:

VAT 13056 (formerly VAT 10349)

The fragment was mentioned by E. Weidner, AfO 10 (1935-36), p. 13, n. 87 (where it was referred to as VAT 10349) and eventually published by him with a copy but no photograph in AfO 20 (1963), pp. 115f.

2) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ARIK-DIN-ILI

Museum Number:

MLC 1300

Photograph:

BRM 4, pl. IV

Copy:

1923 A. T. Clay, BRM 4, no. 49

Editions:

1904 V. Scheil, OLZ 1904, 216f.

1926 E. Ebeling, IAK pp. 50-55

1926 D.D. Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 68-71. (Note that the cursives in § 71 have nothing to do with this text. They belong to BRM 4, 50. Cf. R. Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 31.)

Study:

1961 R. Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 31

3) FRAGMENT CONCERNING ASHUR-RESHA-ISHI I

Museum Number:

VAT 10281

Copy:

1927 E. Weidner, AfO 4, p. 215

Editions:

1927 E. Weidner, AfO 4, pp 213-217

1959 E. Weidner, Th no. 70

Study:

1961 R. Borger, Einleitung 1, pp. 105f.

4) FRAGMENT CONCERNING TIGLATH-PILESER I

Museum Number:

VAT 10453 + 10465

Copy:

1956 E. Weidner, AfO 17, p. 384

Edition:

1958 H. Tadmor, JNES 17, pp. 133f.

Studies:

1953 E. Weidner, AfO 16, p. 208, no. 32

1956 E. Weidner, AfO 17, pp. 384f.

1958 H. Tadmor, JCS 12, p. 26, n. 34 and p. 30, n. 65

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENT 1

1 [...]-a-ti ^{md} En-líl-[nārāri ...]	1[...] ... Enlil-[narari ...]
2 [... m] ^{es} kurKi-li-zi ú- [...]	2 [...]s Kilizi ... [...]
3 [...] x mSilli(mi) ^{li-d} Adad ^{md} En-líl-nārāri šar ₄ kurAš-šu[r ...]	3 [...] ... Silli-Adad, Enlil-narari, king of Assyri[a ...]
4 [...] ik-šu-ud šal-la-a-su x x x x [...]	4 [...] captured. Its booty ... [...]
5 [...] m [Ku-ri]-gal-zu šar ₄ kurKar-[du-ni]- áš [...]	5 [...] Kurigalzu, king of Karduniash, [...]
6 [...] a-na kurKi-li-zi pa-ni-šu iš-ku-u[n ...]	6 [...] to Kilizi he set out [...]
7 [...] iš-me-ma a-na kurKi-li-zi [a]-na [...]	7 [...] he heard and to Kilizi for [...]
8 [...] mKu-[ri]-gal-zu šar ₄ kur[Kar-du-ni]- áš [...]	8 [...] Kurigalzu, king of [Karduniash, ...]
9 [...] iš-me-ma ki-i a- [...]	9 [...] he heard and when ... [...]
10 [...] x x [...] x x [...]	10 [...] ... [...]
Lacuna	Lacuna

COMMENTARY

The fragment comes from the top central portion of a tablet. Line 1 is therefore the first line on this side of the tablet. Only one

side, which is probably the reverse (see Weidner, AfO 20 [1963], p. 115, n. 11), is preserved.

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENT 2

Lacuna	Lacuna
1 [...] ki [...]	1-2 Too broken for translation.
2 [...] ni(?) x x [uru(?)] [x] ke e a-di x x x [...]	
3 [...] 100 še-ni-šu-nu 100 alpē ^{mes} -šu-nu [...]	3 [...] 100 of their sheep, 100 of their oxen, [...]
4 [...] a-na uru dA-šur ub-la i-na ūmi ^{mi} - šu-ma [...]	4 [...] to Ashur he brought. At that time [...]
5 [...] x-te 7000 pisan ^{nē} (pisan) i-na pî- ši-na a-na pāni ša [...]	5 [...] ... 7000 storage-containers, in their mouths/by their command, in front of [...]
6 [...] x ia-šu-ba rabâ-ma e-pu-uš m ^{ar} Arik- (gíd)-dīn(di)-ilī [...]	6 [...] ... a large battering-ram he made. Arik-din-ili [...]
7 [...] x-na qīšta(níg.ba)-šu a-na dIštar (Išdar) [...]	7 [...] ... his gift to Ishtar [...]
8 [...] x-ṭi-šu i-qiš [...]	8 [...] for his [li]fe he gave [...]

COMMENTARY

Only one side of this text has been preserved.

8 Ebeling, IAK p. 52 restores: [a-na ba-l]a-ṭi-šú. But the trace of the sign before ṭi does not support a reading LA.

- 9 [...] *gap-šu* ^mArik(gíd)-dīn(di)-īli *ebūra*
ša ^mE-si-ni [...] 9 [...] powerful, Arik-din-ili the harvest
of Esini [...]
- 10 [...] *e(?)]-ki-ma* ^mE-si-ni 33 ^{giš}narkabāz
ti^{meš} ša x [...] 10 [...] *he c*arried off. Esini, 33 chariots of
... [...]
- 11 [...] x *i-na ši-di-te i-duk* ^mArik(gíd)-
dīn(di)-īli *i-na* [...] 11 [...] with the ... he killed. Arik-din-ili
in [...]
- 12 [...] x *RU-te* ša ^{giš}narkabāti^{meš}-šu *ir-di*
^{giš}narkabāti^{meš} [...] 12 [...] ... of his chariots he led. The
chariot[s] ...]
- 13 [...] *uruAr*]-nu-na ša ^{kur}Ni-gim-ḫi *dūr*
māti iš-[...] 13 [...] Ar]nuna of Nigimhi, the fortress of
the land ... [...]
- 14 [...] ^mE-si]-ni *i-na* *uruAr*-nu-ni *e-si-ir* x
[...] 14 [...] Esi]ni in Arnuni he besieged ... [...]
- 15 [...] -x-šu *abulla-šu ú-sa-ri-iḫ* x [...] 15 [...] its [...] (and) its gate he destroyed
... [...]
- 16 [...] x ^mArik(gíd)-dīn(di)-īli *ú-sà-pu-uḫ*
x x [...] 16 [...] Arik-din-ili ... [...]
- 17 [...] *gab-be ma-me-ta a-na* ^mArik(gíd)-
dīn(di)-īli x [...] 17 [...] all of [...] took] an oath to Arik-din-
ili ... [...]
- 18 [...] x I MA.NA^{ta.àm} *še-iš-ši-mur* ^mAri[k-
(gíd)-dīn(di)-īli [...] 18 [...] one mina of ... Ari[k-din-ili ...]
- 19 [...] x-tu-ri-ḫa *uruHa*-ba-ru-ḫa ša *a-na*
[...] 19 [...] ...turiha, Habaruha which to [...]
- 20 [...] ^{ur}uKu-ti-la *šābēmeš*-šu-nu *is-su-ḫ[a*
[...] 20 [...] Kutila, their army he moved aw[ay
...]
- 21 [...] ^uruTar-bi-ši *uruKu*-di-na *ú*-[...] 21 [...] Tarbisi, Kudina he [...]
- 22 [...] -ta *id-di-na-šu-nu* ^{uru}Ku-ti-la [...] 22 [...] ... he gave them. Kutila [...]
- 23 [...] -pe-lu *i-na ūmi-šu-ma i-na* 90 ^{giš}nar-
kabāti^{meš}-šu [...] 23 [...] ... At that time with 90 of his
chariots [...]
- 24 [...] *šap-li-a-te e-bir* 600 *amīlēmeš* ^{uru}Hi-
[...] 24 [...] the lower [rivers] he crossed. 600
men of Hi[...]
- 25 [...] x x *i-na ši-di-te i-duk* ^mRe-ma-ku
[...] 25 [...] ... with ... he killed. Remaku[...]
- 26 [...] x *a-na ár-ni* ^{uru}Na-gab-bil-ḫi *i-duk*
[...] 26 [...] ... for the *punishment* of Nagabbilhi
he killed. [...]
- 27 [...] i da mu kal ga II MA.NA^{ta.àm} *še-i-*
ši-mu[r [...] 27 [...] ... two minas of ... [...]
- 28 [...] x-e *iš-tu* ^{kur}Ha-la-ḫi *a-di ša-ti* x [...] 28 [...] ... from Halahi *forever* ... [...]
- 29 [...] x *iḫ-bu-ta* 254,000 *amī*[*lēmeš* ...] 29 [...] ... he plundered. 254,000 me[n ...]

COMMENTARY

11 *ši-di-te*: This is apparently some kind of weapon. The same word appears in line 25. Cf. Ebeling, IAK p. 52, n. 6. Also note *ši-da-ti* Lambert, BWL p. 158:19.

16 *ú-sà-pu-uḫ*: Cf. Ebeling, IAK p. 53, n. 13.

18 *še-iš-ši-mur*: This word also appears in line 27. The meaning is unknown. Cf. Ebeling, IAK p. 53, n. 16.

20 R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, p. 31 suggested the restoration: *is-su-ḫ[a]* and this has been confirmed by collation.

24 Ebeling, IAK p. 54, n. 5 restores: [*nārāti* ša]*p-li-a-te*.

25 *ši-di-te*: See the note to line 11.

27 *še-i-ši-mu[r]*: See the note to line 18.

30 [...] <i>i-duk dáb-da-šu-nu iš-ku-un šal-l[u-su-nu ...]</i>	30 [...] he killed. He brought about their defeat. [<i>Their</i>] <i>cap[tives he carried off bound ...]</i>
31 [... <i>a-na</i>] <i>uru dA-šur ub-la i-na ūmi^{mi}-šu-ma 100(?) [...]</i>	31 [... to] Ashur he brought. At that time 100 [...]
32 [... <i>it</i>]- <i>ta-bal-kat m^Asi-ni a-di x [...]</i>	32 [... he] rebelled. Asini until [...]
33 [...] <i>x a giš x su a x x [...]</i>	33-34 Too broken for translation.
34 [...] <i>x x x x x x [...]</i>	
Lacuna	Lacuna

COMMENTARY

30 R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, p. 31 suggested the restoration: *šal-l[u-sunu kamūssunu]* and collation shows that the traces support this.

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENT 3

Obverse i	Obverse i
Lacuna	Lacuna
1 [...] <i>ana muh^{hi}-i-šu-nu [...]</i>	1 [...] against them [...]
2 [...] <i>-tⁱ-i-šu-nu [...]</i>	2-3 Too broken for translation
3 [...] <i>x ik sa [...]</i>	
4 [...] <i>tamkārū^{meš} [...]</i>	4 [...] merchants [...]
5 [...] <i>x ik za ni ū-[-...]</i>	5-6 Too broken for translation
6 [...] <i>x-ū-ri ū-da-x</i>	
7 [...-š] <i>u(?) -nu iš-ku-u[n]</i>	7 [...] he brought about <i>their</i> [<i>defeat</i>].
8 [...] <i>x x ki-ši-it-ti</i>	8 [...] ... conquest
9 [^m <i>Aš-šur-rēša-i</i>]- <i>ši šar₄ kurAš-šur</i>	9 [Ashur-resha-i]shi (I), king of Assyria,
10 [...] <i>x i-na libbi dūri šu-a-te</i>	10 [...] ... in that fortress
11 [...] <i>x-ta šu-bat Aš-šur bēli-šu</i>	11 [...] ... the dwelling of Ashur, his lord,
12 [...] <i>x-[i]k ša siparri</i>	12 [...] ... of bronze
13 [...] <i>x ālāni^{didli}.meš ni</i>	13 [...] ... cities
14 [...] <i>le'-ut Aš-šur</i>	14 [...] might of Ashur
15 [...] <i>li(?) -i]t qur-di-šu</i>	15 [...] <i>streng]th</i> of his military prowess
16 [...] <i>ù mātati(kur.kur)^{meš}</i>	16 [...] and lands
17 [...] <i>ša kurAš-šur</i>	17 [...] of Assyria

COMMENTARY

In labeling the two sides “obverse” and “reverse” the author has followed Weidner’s edition. An examination of the original fragment has shown that the “obverse” is flat and the “reverse” convex, which is what one expects. However, R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, pp. 105f. has suggested that the sides have been mis-labeled and that the “obverse” is really the reverse and the “reverse” the

obverse. Borger gives no reason for this suggestion and it has not been adopted in this edition. There may have been two or three columns to each side although traces of only two columns on each side have been preserved.

Obverse

i 3 Weidner reads: [*r*]-*i-ik-sa* “treaty” which is possible.

i 15 The restoration was suggested by R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, p. 106.

18 [...] *-de-e*
 19 [...] *ki*]-*ib-ra-te*
 20 [...] *-ni*
 21 [...] *-x*

ii

Only a few traces of this column are preserved.

Reverse

iii?

Only a few traces of this column are preserved.

iv?

1 [...] x [x] x
 2 [...] *-x-du-ni*
 3 [...] *mātāti*^{meš(?)}
 4 [...] *am-ma-te*
 5 [...] *i-duk*
 6 [...] x x *x-ri-ib-te*
 7 [i]-d[uk] [i]-na *šattim-ma ši-a-[ti]*
 8 ^m*Aš-šur-rēša-i-ši* ^{kur}*[Aš-šur]*
 9 *hu-ra-su*^{meš} *gišnarkabāti*^{meš-šu}
 10 [il]-q[*i-ma a-n*]a ^{uru}*Arba-ili*
 11 *il-li-ka* ^m[^d*Nin-u*]rta-*nādin-šumāti*^{meš}
 12 *šar*₄ ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-[ia]-āš*
 13 *a-l[ak* ^m*Aš-šur-r]**ēša-i-[-ši* *šar*₄ ^k[^{ur}*Aš-šur]*
 14 *iš-me-ma* *š[ābē]*^{meš-šu}
 15 *e-mu-qe-šu* *ù-[x x] x x x* (?)
 16 x x ^{kur}*Kar-du-ni-[ia-āš]*
 17 *in-na-bi-du* x [...]
 18 *il-te-šu-ma iš* [...]
 19 *i-ru-da* [...]
 20 *i-na muḫḫi a-ni* [...]
 21 [...] x [...]

Lacuna

18–21 Too broken for translation

ii

This column is too broken for translation

Reverse

iii?

This column is too broken for translation

iv?

1–2 Too broken for translation

3 [...] *lands*
 4 [...] *other* [*side*]
 5 [...] he killed.
 6 [...] ... *desert*
 7 [h]e ki[lled]. In that year
 8 Ashur-resha-ishi (I), king of [Assyria],
 9 the soldiers (and) his chariots
 10 too[k and t]o Arbail
 11 he marched. [Ninu]rta-nadin-shumati,
 12 king of Karduniash,
 13–14 heard of the appro[ach of Ashur-r]e-
 sha-ishi (I), king of [Assyria]. His t[roops],
 15 his forces and [...] ...
 16 ... Karduni[ash]
 17 they fled ... [...]
 18 with him and ... [...]
 19 he sent [...]
 20 against ... [...]
 21 [...] ... [...]
 Lacuna

COMMENTARY

Reverse

iv? 1 There are traces of two signs at the end with a lacuna in between as collation shows.

iv? 3 The transliteration follows Weidner's copy although collation shows that the end of this line is now completely broken away.

iv? 4 One might restore: [šēpē] *am-ma-te*. See the Synchronistic History i 30' and the note to that line.

iv? 6 Borger, *Einleitung* 1, p. 106 suggests:

[h]u-ri-ib-te which is possible.

iv? 7 Cf. E. Weidner, *Tn.*, p. 58.

iv? 9 *hu-ra-su*^{meš} must represent *hurāssu*. Cf. Weidner, *ibid.*

iv? 11 ^m[^d*Nin-u*]rta-*nādin-šumāti*^{meš}: The name is usually *Ninurta-nādin-šumi* and this is probably a scribal error.†

iv? 15 In Weidner's copy there are traces of three signs visible at the end of the line. Collation reveals that there appear to be no traces any longer at this point.

iv? 17 *in-na-bi-du*: See CAD 1 (A/1) pp. 46f. for similar orthographies.

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENT 4

Lacuna

1 [...] x x x x [...]

2 [...] me]š šēri^{meš} a-ḥa-iš e-ku-l[u ...]
 3 [...] -zu-ti bītāti^{meš} kurAr-ma-a-ia^{m[ēš]}
 4 [...] a]-lak tap-pu-tu ḥu-la-a-[ni]^{meš} iṣ-
 bu-tu

5 [...] k]urAš-šur ik-šu-du il-qī-ú
 6 [...] a-n]a šadāni^{meš} ni kurKir-ri-ú-ri a-na
 ba-la-ti

7 [...] -šu-nu kasap^{meš} -šu-nu būša-šu-nu il-
 qī-ú

8 [...] m^dMarduk-nādin-aḥḥē^{meš} šar₄ kur]
 Kar-du-ni-aš šadā^a e-mid m^dMarduk-[šā-
 pik]^{ik-zēri}

9 [...] x irub^{ub} XVIII palē^{meš} m^dMarduk-
 [nādin-a]ḥḥē^{meš}

10 [...] ebūr māt^a A-šur ka-li-š[u ra(?)-ḥi(?)]-
 iṣ

11 [...] im-'i-du iṣ-[bu]-tu bītā[ti]^{me[š]} māt
 A]r-m[a-a-ia^{meš}]

12 [...] i-di ḥal-ši uruNinua mātu šapal-
 tu(ki.ta) [x x]†

13 [...] mTukul-ti-apil]-[é]-šár-ra šar₄ kurAš-
 šur a-na kurKad-mu-ḥi [il-lik]

Lacuna

Lacuna

1 [...] ... [...]

2 [...] they] ate one another's flesh [...]

3 [...] ... the houses of the Arameans

4 [...] to] render aid they set out

5 [...] Assyria they captured, they took

6 [...] t]o the mountains of Kirriuri for
 (their) lives

7 [they fled]. Their [...], their silver, (and)
 their possessions they took

8 [...] Marduk-nadin-ahhe, king of] Kar-
 duniash, passed away. Marduk-[shapik]-
 zeri

9 [...] ... he entered. (There were) eighteen
 regnal years of Marduk-[nadin-a]hhe.

10 [...] the harvest of the land of Ashur, all
 of it, [was rava]ged.

11 [...] they were numerous, they cap-
 [tu]red, the hous[es of the A]ram[eans]

12 [...] ... fortress of Nineveh, the land
 downstream [...]†

13 [...] Tiglathpileser (I), king of Assyria,
 [marched] to Kadmuhi.

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

2 This is apparently a description of a people
 in dire distress. For parallel phrases see CAD
 1/1 (A), p. 250.

5 It is difficult to say whether Aššur is the

direct object in this sentence when the be-
 ginning is missing.

9 Regarding *palē* in this line see H. Tadmor,
 JCS 12 (1958), p. 26, n. 34 and p. 30, n. 65.

BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENTS†

1) FRAGMENT CONCERNING THE PERIOD OF THE FIRST DYNASTY OF ISIN

There are two fragments involved:

A K 2973

B 79-7-8, 36

Although A and B do not join it is probable that they come from the same tablet. Cf. W. G. Lambert, OLZ 1959, 481, n. 1. A is

65 mms. wide and 45 mms. long. B measures 45 mms. wide and 30 mms. long. Traces of two columns on each side are preserved on both fragments although the shape of B indicates that it had at least three columns to a side.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Copies:

1894 E. J. Harper, BA 2, p. 501 (text B)

1901 L. W. King, CT 13, 45 (text A)

Studies:

1934 H. G. Güterbock, ZA 42, p. 57

1957 R. Frankena, BiOr 14, p. 2

A	
Obverse	
i	
Lacuna	
1	[...] x-[su(?)] x <i>būt</i> ^d <i>Nin-urta</i> x [x]
2	[...] x ^{giš} <i>kakku ra-biš ib-x-x</i>
3	[...] [<i>a</i>]- <i>na tab-rat kiš-šat nišē</i> ^{meš} <i>uš-ziz</i>
4	[...] <i>šār Ī-ši-in</i> ^{ki} <i>sukalmahhū</i> (<i>sukal. mah</i>) <i>Li-pit-Īš-tar</i>
5	[...] <i>nī</i> [<i>qé</i> ([<i>siskur</i>]. <i>siskur</i>) <i>iqqi</i> (<i>bala</i>)- <i>ma</i> ^d <i>En-lil-ma lu ki-a-am</i>
6	[...] <i>nīqé</i> (<i>siskur.siskur</i>)- <i>sú še-ra bilat-su kabittu</i> ^{tū}
7	[...] [<i>a-na</i>] <i>Ē-kur na-ši-ma il-lak</i>
8	[...] <i>-il-ma šutta</i> (<i>máš.gi₆</i>) <i>i-na-at-tal</i>
9	[...] x x x [^d <i>En-lil im-hu-ru-ma</i>
10	[...] x <i>išbat</i> ^{at} - <i>ma ul i-te-eh-še</i>

A	
Obverse	
i	
Lacuna	
1	[...] ... the temple of Ninurta ...
2	[...] he ... greatly the weapon.
3	[...] he set up for all people to see.
4	[...] k]ing of Isin, the chief vizier, Lipit-Ishtar
5	[...] sac]rifices he made and Enlil (<i>said</i>): "Let it be so!"
6	[...] his fine sacrifices (and) his valuable tribute
7	he carries on his way [(...) to] Ekur.
8	[After he l]ay down he saw a dream.
9	[When] Enlil received [...] ...
10	[...] ... he seized so that he could not approach.

COMMENTARY

There is some uncertainty as to the proper order of the two fragments and they have, therefore, been edited separately. On the basis of the content and assuming that the text follows a chronological arrangement B ii (which mentions Enlil-bani and Erra-imitti) must come after A i (in which Lipit-Ishtar appears) and B r. i would be even later.

A

Obverse

i 5 The interpretation of the end of the line

is not certain. It appears that this passage contains a description of someone (Lipit-Ishtar?) trying to gain the approval of Enlil for a project. If this line does contain the affirmative answer, then lines 6-10 either refer to an attempt to gain confirmation of this answer or to an attempt to gain approval for another project.

i 8 *-il-ma* is the end of some form of the verb *itulu*. For other examples of incubation-dreams see A. Leo Oppenheim, *Dream-book* pp. 188-191.

<p style="text-align: center;">ii</p> <p>Lacuna</p> <p>1 ^dE[n-lil(?) ...]</p> <p>2 ul [...]</p> <p>3 šarru [...]</p> <p>4 i-nu-šu [...]</p> <p>5 ki-i [...]</p> <p>6 ki-sur-ru [...]</p> <p>7 ana pa-[ān(?) ...]</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ii</p> <p>The column is too broken for translation.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">Reverse</p> <p style="text-align: center;">i</p> <p>Lacuna</p> <p>1 diš [...]</p> <p>2 i-gār-šu x [...]</p> <p>3 ma-kās x [...]</p> <p>4 diš mu x [...]</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Reverse</p> <p style="text-align: center;">i</p> <p>The column is too broken for translation.</p>
<p>Lacuna</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ii</p> <p>1 [...] x na-ši-[x]</p> <p>2 [...] in-na-pi-iḫ-ma</p> <p>3 [...] x bit šu'āti(hur)^{ti}(?) išāta it-ta-di</p> <p>4 [...] ^dEn-lil i-lak-ma</p> <p>5 [...] [e(?)]-re-bi-im-ma</p> <p>6 [...] x išāta ana bul-li-i</p> <p>7 [...] Bābi]li^{ki} irubub-ma</p> <p>8 [...] x-tu-ut</p> <p>9 [...] x [x x]</p> <p>Lacuna</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">ii</p> <p>The column is too broken for translation.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Obverse?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">i</p> <p>Lacuna</p> <p>1 [...] k]i-a-am DÙ-su</p> <p>2 [...] -ši-na-a-ti</p> <p>3 [...] uš-tin-ni</p> <p>4 [...] n]i-ši-ma</p> <p>5 [...] ^dE]n(?) -lil</p> <p>6 [...] x-be</p> <p>Lacuna</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Obverse?</p> <p style="text-align: center;">i</p> <p>The column is too broken for translation.</p>

COMMENTARY

Reverse

- ii There is a slight break at the top of this column. Nevertheless the first traces preserved are probably from the first line.

ii		ii	
Lacuna		Lacuna	
1 [...]	[Ī(?)]-šī-i[n ^{ki} (?) ...]	1 [...]	Isi[n ...]
2 [^d E]n-lil-bāni	^{1a} nukaribbu(nu.kiri ₆) ina [...]	2 [E]nlil-bani, the gardener, in [...]	
3 ^d Ēr-ra-i-mit-ti ana ka-šad [...]		3 Erra-imitti to conquer [...]	
4 ḥa-as-su ù ka-x [...]		4-8 Too broken for translation	
5 it-bu-ma [...]			
6 ina a-mat ^d En-lil [...]			
7 di-k[a ...]			
8 ^d [...]			
Lacuna		Lacuna	
	Reverse?		Reverse?
	i		i
Lacuna		The column is too broken for translation	
1 ^{1a} Idiglat a-n[a(?) ...]			
2 Ili-ma-an-na [...]			
3 ina a-mat bēli rabē ^d En-lil [...]			
4 a-na si-kil-[ti (?) ...]			
5 [Ili-m]a-an-na ki R[U ...]			
6 [x x] x ri x [...]			
Lacuna			
	ii		ii
The surface of the second column is entirely destroyed.		The column is too broken for translation	

2) FRAGMENT CONCERNING THE SEALAND

The fragment, BM 38284 (80-11-12, 166) is 65 mms. wide and 38 mms. long. Only one side is preserved.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A copy of this fragment was published by S. Smith, CT 37, 21.

Lacuna		8 [... du]-ul-la ana Bābili ^{ki} ú-kin aššu(mu) kússé x [...]
1 [...]-uš	u ₈ ur[tu(giš.ḫu[r) ...]	9 [...]-te adi ina é-kur šUB ^a iq-ba-am-ma [...]
2 [...]	x Šin Šamaš u ^d Adad aṭ-ma-an- š[u-nu ...]	10 [... m] ^{eš} Bābili ^{ki} ina šēri de/ki-rim-ma gi-mil-l[a(?) ...]
3 [... n]	a-din ^{giš} hatti kússé palé [...]	Lacuna
4 [... š]	i ₇ pir([k]in)-šu mi-i ₇ -rit pī ilāni ^{meš} rabūti ^{meš} x [...]	
<hr/>		
5 [... in]	a palé Apil- ^d Adad māt tam-tim i-be-el [...]	The fragment is too broken for translation.
6 [... i]	lam-ma palé Apil- ^d Adad x x ana māt tam-tim [...]	COMMENTARY
7 [... ^d Mar]	duk(?) adi māt tam-tim i-ru-ru ù ša māt ta[m-tim ...]	The scribe has drawn a horizontal line between lines 4 and 5 which was mistakenly omitted in Smith's copy.

The scribe has drawn a horizontal line between lines 4 and 5 which was mistakenly omitted in Smith's copy.

APPENDIX A

AN ANALYSIS OF THE LITERARY PATTERNS IN CHRONOGRAPHIC TEXTS†

i) CATEGORY A

The patterns characteristic of this category are MU¹ Narr.^{2a} and N MU RN. They first appear in date lists and later in king lists and chronicles.^{2b}

The need for a reliable means of reckoning long periods of time and the lack of a fixed point of time around which to centre these reckonings led early Mesopotamians³ to name each year after an outstanding event such as a military conquest or the rebuilding of a temple. They used these year names regularly in dating legal and economic documents. Since it could not be known in advance what important events would occur in a year which was just starting, documents would be temporarily dated according to the year formula of the previous year—i.e. “The year after . . .” When a sufficiently important event occurred, this make-shift formula would be dropped and the year would then be officially named after the event which had just occurred. Such was the custom in the Ur III period. In later periods, dating after the event of a previous year would be retained as the official formula unless an important event occurred very early in the year. The formula to be used was determined by a royal proclamation which gave the

official version of the year name in both Akkadian and Sumerian.⁴

This system was adequate for a short period of time but for longer periods it was not enough since there would be no memory of the chronological sequence of the events mentioned in the year names. Thus scribes compiled chronological lists of these year names. To find out how many years ago a document had been written, a scribe needed only to match its year name to the corresponding one on his list and count the number of year names between it and his own time. The pattern of these lists was simple: “Year when . . .” (MU Narr.). It appears that when a dynasty⁵ had established itself for several decades in a city, scribes began compiling lists of the year names of that dynasty.⁶ At the end of the year names for each king there was usually a summary stating the total number of year names in that reign—e.g. “53 (were/are) the years of Hammurapi”⁷ (N MU RN). Thus these early date lists exhibit two patterns: MU Narr. and N MU RN.

King Lists⁸

A further stage in the development of date lists was the addition of a list of the summaries

¹ MU is Sumerian for “year.” The Sumerian sign can also be used in Akkadian texts for the Akkadian word for “year,” *šattu*.

^{2a} Here the abbreviation Narr. is used for Narrative and Pred. is used for Predicate.

^{2b} As pointed out already it is not always possible to distinguish between Chronicles and King Lists. However, the documents in category A do allow such a distinction and it has therefore been utilized.

³ The name “early Mesopotamian” is used for the population of Mesopotamia before the establishment of the first dynasty of Babylon. In this early period, Sumerians and Semites are so intermixed that a general term including both is necessary. Cf. the studies presented in CRRA 9.

⁴ See the recent discussion by D. O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, pp. 26–28. Also note the letter ARM 13, 27 in which the name of a year in the reign of Zimrilim is proposed.

⁵ The word “dynasty” is not used here in its usual sense of “ruling family” but to translate the term *bala-palû* which is a designation for the total number (even if only one) of kings, regardless of descent, of one area at one given period of time. See F. R. Kraus, *ZA* 50 (1952), p. 30, n. 2. Further see Chapter 5, n. 32.

⁶ Cf. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 17.

⁷ For the translation of these summaries see Poebel, *AS* 15, pp. 5f.

⁸ The path of development of the king lists outlined here was already described by Poebel in *AS* 15, pp. 4–10.

of the number of year names for each king. That is, a scribe would extract the summaries for each reign from the text and list them at the end of the tablet so that a reader might know at a glance which kings were to be found in the list and how many year names they had. Such a list of summaries is found in a date list of the first dynasty of Babylon (Babylon I Date List).⁹ Also note the list found in a date list of the Larsa dynasty (Larsa Date List).¹⁰ To these lists of regnal years was added a summary of the number of kings listed and the number of regnal years altogether. Thus at the end of the Babylon I Date List it is stated: "Five kings—their years (were/are) 163". The lists of summaries are the earliest king lists in category A.

Such, no doubt, is the origin of the Larsa King List and the Ur-Isin King List. The two documents consistently follow the pattern N MU RN.¹¹ At the end is also found the total number of regnal years of all the kings listed.¹² The patterns are not the same. The Larsa King List says simply: "289 (were/are) their years." The Ur-Isin List says: "The total from Ur-nammu to Damiq-ilishu—their years (were/are) 313."¹³

The Babylonian King Lists A and C belong to the same category although the pattern is simpler due to the absence of the MU. Thus the secondary pattern N RN appears. This pattern is regularly employed

by both lists.¹⁴ Babylonian King List C has a summary of the total number of regnal years of all the kings at the end of the list as the previous lists did but the pattern is different: "The total is 500 years from ... before Marduk-shapik-zeri." In Babylonian King List A this usage appears as dynastic summaries. That is, at the end of each dynasty appears a summary of the total number of years covered by the dynasty and the number of kings which belonged to it (e.g. "368 (years), 11 kings of the dynasty of ŠEŠ.ĜA"¹⁵).

The pattern MU N RN which is consistently employed in the Uruk King List is so similar to the pattern N MU RN which is characteristic of category A that one is surely justified in regarding the Uruk King List as belonging to this category. It should be noted that this list concerns a period somewhat later than the other king lists of category A (it begins towards the end of the seventh century B.C. at just the point where Babylonian King List A breaks off), a fact which might explain the slight difference between the two patterns.

Chronicles

If one were faced with a date list without knowing anything about the use of such things, one would probably call it a chronicle. In fact date lists are chronicles although they

⁹ Two duplicates of this list are known. One was published by L. W. King as LIH no. 102 and edited by him in LIH 3, pp. 232–253. The second was published by King, Chron. 2, pp. 97–109, 181–191 and cf. King, Chron. 1, pp. 157–185.

¹⁰ F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 15 (1918), pp. 1–57 and cf. L. Matouš, ArOr 20 (1952), pp. 294f.

¹¹ While the title LUGAL "king" occurs regularly after each royal name in one version of the Ur-Isin King List, it occurs only twice in the other.

¹² This summary occurs at the end of the obverse of the Larsa King List. The reverse is almost completely obliterated but is the repeat of the obverse. Cf. Edzard, Zwischenzeit, p. 22.

¹³ One of the versions omits "their years (were/are) 313."

¹⁴ There are only four exceptions. In four instances in Babylonian King List A (ii 8, 9, 14; iii 2) the MU appears in the formula. In each case it is in connection with a reign of only one year. Besides these instances there are only two other examples of a one-year reign in Babylonian King List A (i 4; iv 17) and in each of these the MU is omitted. There are also examples of reigns of less than one year in Babylonian King List A in which case the number of months and sometimes even the number of days is given (iii 7, 12, 16; iv 5, 13, 14).

¹⁵ Babylonian King List B calls this dynasty ŠEŠ. KÙ¹⁴. B. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954), p. 70, n. 182, believes Babylonian King List B has the correct reading and suggests that the name of the place is *Urim-ku*.

were not originally intended as such. From a period quite a bit later than the last date lists there is a group of chronicles, Chronicles 1–17, which has the characteristic pattern MU Nth Narr. The similarity between this and the date list pattern MU Narr. is obvious. The fact that most of the chronicles in this group also have the date list pattern N MU RN helps to confirm the suspicion that there is a connection between these chronicles and the date lists. But as yet documents of a similar nature are unknown for the chronological period between the last date lists (c. sixteenth century B.C.) and the earliest period of time covered by chronicles within category A (twelfth century B.C.).¹⁶ Nevertheless, the evidence of the literary patterns is sufficient to include these chronicles tentatively in category A.

The chronicles of category A and the date lists have two patterns in common. One is the introductory pattern MU Nth Narr.¹⁷ (e.g. "The fifth year of Nabu-nasir . . ."¹⁸). The other is the pattern for summarizing the regnal years of a king, N MU RN (e.g. "For fourteen years Nabu-nasir ruled Babylon"¹⁹). The pattern of these summaries is the same as the pattern of the summaries in the date lists. The chronicle pattern has simply added

"He ruled . . ."²⁰ Titles and genealogies are not normally employed in these chronicles after the royal name in the introductory pattern.²¹

It has been shown in Chapter 2 that the source material of the chronicles in category A, viz. Chronicles 1–17, was probably astronomical diaries. It is significant, therefore, to note that the astronomical diaries exhibit the pattern MU Nth Narr.²²

Eighteen-year Interval List

Another document to be considered under category A is the Eighteen-year Interval List. This is a list of eighteen-year intervals beginning with the seventh year of Nabonidus (549 B.C.) and ending with the 213th year of the Seleucid Era (99 B.C.). When first published, the nature of this document was misunderstood and it was incorrectly called the Saros Tablet. The mistaken interpretation of the text and its misnomer arose from a misunderstanding of the term saros. O. Neugebauer has shown that although Berossus used the term saros (from Sumerian *sar*) as a designation of a period of 3600 years, a later misunderstanding led to the erroneous conclusion that saros was the Babylonian designation for a period of 223 months (= 18 years + 10.8 days).²³ When the present tablet was first discovered and published by Pinches, Oppert immediately con-

¹⁶ The Religious Chronicle begins its narrative as early as the reign of Nabu-shumu-libur (1032–1025 B.C.). The latter portion of Chronicle 23 belongs typologically to category A and this section begins with Merodach-baladan I (1173–1161 B.C.).

¹⁷ The Religious Chronicle usually puts the name of the month and sometimes even the day of the month before this formula.

¹⁸ Chronicle 1 i 9.

¹⁹ Chronicle 1 i 12. These summary phrases occur regularly in Chronicle 1 since it covers several reigns. Chronicles 2–17 cover little more than one reign each. Thus a summarizing phrase would only occur in a few places and in most cases where it would occur the text is broken. However, the summary of Esarhaddon's regnal years is preserved in the Esarhaddon Chronicle 30 as is the summary of Nabopolassar's reign in Chronicle 5:9. Also cf. the summary of an Elamite's reign in the Esarhaddon Chronicle 17. The Akitu Chronicle definitely does not contain summary phrases due to the peculiar nature of this text.

²⁰ *šarrūta . . . ipuš*.

²¹ There are only a few instances where a title appears after the royal name. The title "king of Babylon" (*šar Bābili*) occurs after the royal name in Chronicle 1 i 1. Since this is the first line of a very long chronicle, it is inserted to avoid any ambiguity as to who the important kings are. In the Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi both a title and genealogy are given after the royal name (r. 14, 34). In the Religious Chronicle the title "king" regularly appears after the royal name in the introductory pattern (iii 6, 10, 13, 15).

²² In three texts (LBAT nos. 304, 428, and 791) the introductory formula MU Nth Narr. is preceded by *našār* (en.nun) *ša* (*ginē ša*), the technical term for astronomical diary.

²³ O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Princeton, 1952), pp. 134–136.

nected this list of eighteen-year intervals with the idea that saros was the Babylonian designation for an eighteen-year period. He claimed that this was a list of such periods and called it the Saros Tablet.²⁴ Since it is now known that saros is not a term for an eighteen-year period, this text cannot possibly be a Saros Tablet.

Kugler has suggested that this text is a crudely compiled list of lunar eclipses which re-occur regularly at intervals of 18 years + 10.8 days. The compiler of the list did not bother with the number of days (or was not even aware of them) and simply listed the intervals as eighteen years. Kugler also thought that the compilation of the list was retrospective. That is, a scribe of the Seleucid Era noticed from the detailed astronomical records at his disposal the systematic regularity with which a lunar eclipse occurred at intervals of eighteen years. For some reason he compiled a list of these occurrences down to his own time.²⁵

The list consistently follows the pattern Nth Narr.²⁶ The similarity between this and the pattern *mu* Nth Narr. which is characteristic of astronomical diaries and chronicles of category A is obvious and one suspects that there is a close connection. This suspicion is heightened by the fact that if one reckons backwards in time in eighteen-year intervals from the seventh year of Nabonidus (the first entry in the Eighteen-year Interval List) one eventually arrives at 747 B.C., the first regnal year of Nabu-nasir! As Kugler observed²⁷ this could simply be attributed to chance. But the fact that there is other evidence that astronomical records were systematically kept beginning with the reign of Nabu-nasir (as pointed out in Chapter 1) makes it seem plausible that the Eighteen-year Interval List was preceded by at least one more tablet which began in the first

regnal year of Nabu-nasir or else is an extract from a longer tablet which began in that year. There is, therefore, reason to believe that the data contained in the Eighteen-year Interval List was extracted from records which were first compiled in the reign of Nabu-nasir.

Eponym Lists

While the early Mesopotamians and Babylonians named their years after important events, the Assyrians named theirs after *limus*. The *limu* was a title assumed by a different high official each year, the officials following one another according to a definite order.²⁸ Thus the names of the *limus* were ready-made year names and the Assyrians did not have to compose year names as the early Mesopotamians did. In the same way that the early Mesopotamians compiled lists of the year names as chronological aids, so the Assyrians compiled *limu* or eponym lists. It is possible that the *hamuštum* officials which were used for dating in the Old Assyrian period (as well as *limus*) were the prototypes of the *limu* system of dating and that lists were compiled of the *hamuštum* officials as they were of the *limus*.²⁹

There is no evidence of whether the idea of using eponyms for dating is indigenous to the Assyrians or whether it was inspired by the early Mesopotamian method of using

²⁴ J. Oppert, RA 1(1894), pp. 69–73. Oppert reaffirmed his claim to having coined this title in ZDMG 51 (1897), p. 157.

²⁵ Kugler, SSB 2, p. 366.

²⁶ The narrative is actually only the figure 18.

²⁷ Kugler, SSB 2, pp. 363–366.

²⁸ The king himself held this post during one year of his reign in the period from Adad-nerari II to Tiglath-pileser III (cf. H. Tadmor, JCS 12 [1958], p. 28 and nn. 53 and 57). B. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954), p. 111 says this practice is first attested with Tukulti-Ninurta I. On the order in which the high officials assumed this title see A. Ungnad, RLA 2, p. 412, n. 2, and cf. E. Weidner, AfO 13 (1939–40), pp. 308f. The word comes from a root *lm'* (Kienast, ATHE, p. 4). Note writings such as *li-i-mi* TCL 3:430 instead of the more common *lim-mu/i/e/a*.

²⁹ For the possibility that lists of *hamuštum* existed see CAD 6 (H), p. 75. For further literature on the *hamuštum* see Kienast, ATHE, p. 4; Tur-Sinai, BiOr 8 (1951), pp. 14–20; J. A. Brinkman, Or. n.s. 32 (1963), pp. 387–394, JNES 24 (1965), pp. 118–120; and K. Balkan, Studies Landsberger, pp. 159–174.

year names. In any case, the literary form of some of the eponym lists is noteworthy in this regard. Those eponym lists which employ summaries utilize the same pattern as that found in the summaries of the date lists. One list³⁰ has exactly the same pattern as the date list summaries, namely N MU RN, and another³¹ has the shorter pattern N MU. This last list appears to have a summary at the end which is similar to the final summary found in Babylonian King List C. The summary may have read (the text is badly broken): "[N +]2 years [fro]m(?) the *līmu* [of . . . to the] *līmu* [of Ashur]-gimilla-terra."³²

There are two types of eponym lists. The one simply lists the names in chronological order with no other remarks. The second type has the pattern: "In the *līmu* of PN Narr."

The results of this examination of texts in category A may now be summarized. The pattern MU Narr. which first appears in year names probably has a close connection with the pattern MU Nth Narr. of the later chronicles and astronomical diaries and with the pattern Nth Narr. of the Eighteen-year Interval List. A second pattern, N MU RN, appears in date lists, king lists, chronicles, and one eponym list.

ii) CATEGORY B

The pattern characteristic of category B is RN MU N Pred. This pattern first appears in the Sumerian King List.³³ The predicate "he reigned" is simply expressed by the

Sumerian verb *aka* "to do".³⁴ Two other patterns also occur regularly in the Sumerian King List. The pattern used for dynastic summaries is: "N kings ruled N years" (N LUGAL MU N Pred.).³⁵ The predicate is again simply *aka* "to do". The pattern for change of dynasty occurs in three different forms:

1. "The city A was smitten with weapons; its kingship was carried to the city B."
2. "The city A was destroyed; its kingship was carried to the city B."
3. "The dynasty of the city A was terminated(lit. changed), its kingship was transferred to the city B."³⁶

A document very closely allied to the Sumerian King List is the Dynastic Chronicle. This text has not only the characteristic pattern of category B (RN MU N Pred.),³⁷ it also has dynastic summaries with the same pattern as that exhibited by the Sumerian King List, namely N LUGAL MU N Pred.³⁸ As in the Sumerian King List so in the Dynastic Chronicle the predicate in each pattern is *aka* "to do". Further, the Dynastic Chronicle has a change of dynasty formula identical with one of those (no. 3 above) used in the Sumerian King List. One difference, however, is that the Dynastic Chronicle does not always employ this formula.³⁹ A new feature which

³⁰ STT 1, no. 46 uses the pattern regularly. The beginning of the summary of the fragmentary list 82-5-22, 526 published on plate III after p. 286 in PSBA 11 (1889) (cf. RLA 2, p. 434) is broken.

³¹ KAV nos. 21-24.

³² Cf. Ungnad, RLA 2, p. 414.

³³ The discussion of the patterns in the Sumerian King List is based on the exhaustive study presented by Jacobsen in AS 11, pp. 28-42. Despite Kraus's objection to the name Sumerian King List (ZA 50 [1952], pp. 45f.) this term has been used here because as a result of Jacobsen's publication it has become the usual designation for this group of texts.

³⁴ For a discussion of the grammatical elements used with the verb see Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 38. Some versions of the Sumerian King List have N MU instead of MU N. This variance is simply a result of grammatical change and is of no importance for the present study. For details see Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 38f.

³⁵ See Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 37f. for the minor variations on this pattern. Also cf. Poebel's discussion of the grammar in AS 15, pp. 6-10.

³⁶ Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 36f.

³⁷ In two instances the length of the reign is a matter of only three months: v 5, 11.

³⁸ The summaries occur in i 3, 6, 9, 13; v 8, 12, 15; vi 4, 7, 10.

³⁹ The change of dynasty formula does not appear in column v. The formula is not entirely preserved anywhere in the text, the fullest preserved form (in vi 5) being:

GN bala.bi ba.kúr na[m.]
Other, more fragmentary occurrences, are in i 4,

appears in the Dynastic Chronicle is the pattern: "He (the king) was buried in . . ." ⁴⁰ This statement occurs regularly in connection with each king mentioned in column v. ⁴¹

Another document which is closely allied to the Sumerian King List is the King List of the Hellenistic Period. The pattern RN MU N Pred. which is found in the Sumerian King List also appears here. The predicate "he reigned" in the King List of the Hellenistic Period is the ideogram AKA (which in Akkadian is read *īpuš* "he did"). That the scribe who used this ideogram was aware that he was following the Sumerian King List tradition is indicated by the archaic form of the sign. ⁴² No dynastic summaries or formulas for dynastic change are preserved.

Three new features are evident in the King List of the Hellenistic Period. First of all, the date of the Seleucid Era has been added at the beginning of each section. Secondly, the phrase "He ascended the throne" has been inserted between the RN and the rest of the pattern, MU N Pred., in three of the sections. ⁴³ Finally, each section ends with a statement of the date and place of the king's death. Two patterns are employed to express this:

1. "(On) the Nth day of X month in the Nth year, the king died in A." ⁴⁴

7, 10. The remainder of the formula can be restored, however, from one version of the Sumerian King List, S (and cf. P₅ — see Jacobsen, AS 11, pp. 32f.), where the change of dynasty formula is: GN₁ bala.bi ba.kúr nam.lugal.bi GN₂.šè ba.túm

Jacobsen's suggestion in *ibid.*, p. 48, that the formula for dynasty total and for change of dynasty have been compressed together may be disregarded since both formulas appear in the newly identified fragments.

⁴⁰ *ina . . . qibir*.

⁴¹ It is omitted only once — v 10. Is the omission a scribal error? The verb *qibir* is omitted in v 7.

⁴² Cf. D. J. Wiseman and A. J. Sachs, Iraq 16 (1954), p. 203.

⁴³ r. 2, 8, 10.

⁴⁴ The expression for died is GAZ in line 8 and NAM^{mes} in line 10 and r. 9. On the latter idiom see the note to Chronicle 1 i 11. The day is omitted in line 8. The place of death is omitted in line 10 and r. 9.

2. "(In) X month of the Nth year it was heard in Babylon: 'the king has died in A.'" ⁴⁵

This interest in the date and place of the death of the king is reminiscent of the Dynastic Chronicle which so carefully noted the burial places of the kings. ⁴⁶

The first section of Babylonian King List B follows the pattern RN MU N. That is, it has a pattern identical with that of the other texts in category B except for the dropping of the predicate. ⁴⁷ Two dynastic summaries are found in the list which have the pattern N LUGAL. This too is a simplification of the dynastic summaries of the Sumerian King List and the Dynastic Chronicle which is N LUGAL MU N Pred. Notice particularly that the full pattern of the Dynastic Chronicle is: "N kings of the A dynasty ruled for N years" (N LUGAL BALA A MU N Pred.) and the full pattern of Babylonian King List B is: "N kings of the A dynasty" (N LUGAL BALA A). The pattern of Babylonian King List B is merely a shorter version of the pattern of the Dynastic Chronicle. The second section of Babylonian King List B simply lists names without figures or comment. Compare the Assyrian King List which simply lists the early rulers for whom only the names were preserved.

Category B is singular among the four categories of Mesopotamian chronographic texts in that it includes a document from the second century A.D. written in Greek — the Ptolemaic Canon. The list of Mesopotamian rulers given by Ptolemy (starting with Nabu-nasir) follows the pattern RN N. This is followed by each of the total number of years of the eras of Nabu-nasir, Philip, and Augustus respectively. ⁴⁸ But these era totals

⁴⁵ lines 12f.; r. 6f., 14f. The day is added in r. 6f. so that the passage reads: "(In) X month of the Nth year it was heard in Babylon: '(on) the Nth day the king died in A.'" ⁴⁶

⁴⁶ The place of death of royal personages is also recorded in Chronicle 1 i 11; iv 11; iv 31 = Esarhaddon Chronicle 29; Nabonidus Chronicle ii 13.

⁴⁷ Cf. A. Poebel, AS 15, pp. 4f.

⁴⁸ C. Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in das Studium der Alten Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1895), p. 303.

are secondary. The important thing is that the basic pattern RN N is similar to, if simpler than, the pattern RN MU N of Babylonian King List B.

There is some similarity between the Assyrian King List and the Sumerian King List with regard to form. The pattern RN N MU Pred. which is predominant in the Assyrian King List is the same as the Sumerian King List pattern, RN MU N Pred. The predicate in the Assyrian King List is not *aka* "he did", however, but its fuller Akkadian equivalent *šarrūta īpuš*⁴⁹ "he ruled." Another feature to be noted is that narrative occurs several times in this list and each time it concerns a violent seizure of the Assyrian throne.⁵⁰ This is reminiscent of the formula for change of dynasty in the Sumerian King List although there is no literary connection. In the early parts of the Assyrian King List where the number of regnal years are unknown the kings are simply listed without any remarks.⁵¹ Summaries are employed infrequently and not of dynasties.⁵² An interesting feature of the Assyrian King List is that it consistently gives a genealogy for each king except for the very early ones.

Thus the pattern RN MU N Pred. appears in all documents in category B, except Babylonian King List B in which the Pred. is missing and other similarities have also been noted.

iii) CATEGORY C

The first appearance of the characteristic pattern of category C (RN Narr.) is found in a Sumerian document called the Tummal Chronicle. The pattern of this text is a very complex one:

RN₁ built the X of the temple of Enlil

RN₂, son of RN₁, made the Tummal pre-eminent and brought Ninlil to the Tummal.

For the Nth time the Tummal fell into ruin.

RN₃ built the etc.

This pattern is repeated verbatim five times⁵³ after which come a few lines parting from the pattern⁵⁴ before the text breaks off.⁵⁵ Although this complex pattern is unique, a basic element in it, RN Narr., is found in other documents.

A text which covers approximately the same chronological period as the Tummal Chronicle is the Weidner Chronicle, the preserved portion of which also has the pattern RN Narr. The Chronicle of Early Kings, which begins its narrative near the end of the chronological period covered by the two previous documents, also displays the same pattern of RN Narr.⁵⁶ An incidental feature of this chronicle is that the royal name is usually followed by the title "king (of X)" or a genealogy.⁵⁷

A text which also probably belongs to category C is Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1. Actually only two introductory formulas are even partially preserved but in both cases they seem to follow the pattern RN Narr. Notice that the preserved portions of this chronicle cover the chronological period immediately following that covered at the end of the Tummal Chronicle and Weidner Chronicle (Ur III) and included within the Chronicle of Early Kings.

⁴⁹ It is usually written ideographically: LUGAL^{ta} DÙ^uš.

⁵⁰ The passages are: i 38 – ii 6; ii 33 f.; iii 11 f., 15–17, 20–22, 33–36.

⁵¹ Cf. the second section of Babylonian King List B.

⁵² The summaries in i 9, 20, 24 follow the same pattern while ii 11 f. is somewhat different.

⁵³ lines 1–25. The introductory line of the first occurrence (lines 1 f.) is slightly different: "RN₁, the king, built the temple of Enlil in this very city." The introductory line of the fifth occurrence (line 21) is also different: "RN₁ built the Ekur."

⁵⁴ lines 26–31.

⁵⁵ One version (E) of the text is preserved on one column of an eight column prism. The remaining columns contain a text of an altogether different nature. Cf. Güterbock, ZA 42 (1934), p. 7, n. 1 and p. 14, n. 1. Also cf. AfO 13 (1939–40), pp. 49 f.

⁵⁶ One exception is the catch-line to A which has a pattern like that of the Synchronistic History.

⁵⁷ The two occur together only once — B 13. Both are omitted only once — B r. 11.

iv) CATEGORY D

The pattern which characterizes this category is a synchronistic one. That is, the names of the kings of two different countries are put beside one another (RN₁ RN₂). The texts which belong to this category are the Synchronistic History and the Synchronistic King List.⁵⁸ An interesting feature of these documents is that they consistently add the title "king of X" after the royal name (RN₁ *šar* ... RN₂ *šar* ...).⁵⁹ All of these synchronisms are between Assyrian and Babylonian kings.

The period of time to which the documents of category D fall is a very short one (c. 783–627 B.C.). The terminus ad quem is based on the fact that the Synchronistic King List comes from Ashurbanipal's time. The terminus a quo is based on the death of Adad-nerari III since it is at approximately this time that the Synchronistic History was written.

Disregarding fragmentary texts which are too broken to show any pattern there remain unclassified only three documents—Chronicle P and Chronicles 23–24. Chronicle P is so badly broken that one cannot be certain if it followed any consistent literary pattern. There appear to be two instances of a synchronistic pattern.⁶⁰ Chronicles 23 and 24 are peculiar texts in that neither has a consistent form. Two patterns are found in Chronicle 23. In the early part of the text⁶¹ each section is introduced by the phrase "At the time of ..." ⁶² which, although identical with a phrase in the Synchronistic History⁶³, is not necessarily a synchronistic pattern. The remaining introductory formulas of this

text⁶⁴ are the same as those in chronicles of category A since they have the pattern MU Nth Narr. It is clear that the author of this text had no precise dates for the early period and was compelled, therefore, to employ the vague phrase "at the time of ..." rather than the precise formula of category A, MU Nth Narr. Thus this text really belongs to category A in which it is the earliest chronicle. Due, however, to its singular form it was deemed advisable to deal with it as an unclassified text.

The form of Chronicle 24 is much more diverse than that of Chronicle 23. In the first part of this text⁶⁵ the pattern of category C, RN Narr., is followed. Then follow several succinct sections in which the narrative (actually only two words) precedes the date and royal name (Narr. MU Nth RN).⁶⁶ This pattern is otherwise unattested in chronographic texts. The next part of the text has the synchronistic pattern of category D, RN₁ RN₂.⁶⁷ Following this there is mention of an interregnum⁶⁸ and then a section in which the pattern of category C, RN Narr., reappears.⁶⁹ The remainder of the text is fragmentary. From such a jumbled mixture of patterns one can only conclude that the author has used altogether different types of documents as source material. This impression is strengthened by the eclectic nature of the contents, a subject already discussed in Chapter 7.

It should be noted that the chronicle fragments, with the exception of Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1, have been omitted from this discussion due to their bad state of preservation. It is unfortunate that this is necessary particularly in regard to the Assyrian chronicle fragments. These pieces seem to represent a genre different from other Assyrian chronographic texts. One naturally wonders how much further light they might

⁵⁸ In the Synchronistic History the introductory pattern RN₁ RN₂ is often preceded by the phrase *ina tarši* "At the time of ..." See Chapter 6, n. 5.

⁵⁹ In the Synchronistic King List only ditto marks are actually preserved after the royal names. But these ditto marks almost certainly refer back to the title "*šar* ...".

⁶⁰ i 2; iii 23f.

⁶¹ 1–9.

⁶² *ana tarši*.

⁶³ See n. 58.

⁶⁴ 10– r. 7.

⁶⁵ lines 4–13.

⁶⁶ 14 – r. 1.

⁶⁷ r. 2–7.

⁶⁸ r. 8.

⁶⁹ r. 9–15.

shed on the understanding of ancient Mesopotamian chronography and historiography if they were better preserved. Indeed their very existence, fragmentary though it may be, suggests another solution to the problem of the origin of the form of the Assyrian royal annals. Assyrian letters to the god have also been mentioned as possible prototypes of this genre.⁷⁰ The existence of

Assyrian chronicles now makes it possible that it is from these that Assyrian royal annals developed. It is useless to press this point, however, until more Assyrian chronicles and letters to the god are available.

⁷⁰ A Sumerian letter to the god was recently edited by J. A. van Dijk, *JCS* 19 (1965), pp. 1-25. The best known of the Assyrian letters to the god is that concerning Sargon's eighth campaign which was published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 3. A letter from Esarhaddon has been most recently edited by R. Borger, *Asarh.* pp. 102-107. A fragment of another letter was published by S. Langdon, *BL* no. 169, and edited by A. Ungnad, *OLZ* 1918, 73. H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 82 pointed out that the literary style of the fragment 81-3-23, 131 is reminiscent of the letter concerning Sargon's eighth campaign. On this genre as a whole see A. Ungnad, *OLZ* 1918, 72-75; T. Bauer, *ZA* 40 (1931), p. 250; and E. A. Speiser, *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (ed. R. C. Dentan, New Haven, 1955), pp. 63-67 and *RLA* 3, p. 219. A. Leo Oppenheim has recently offered a slightly different interpretation of these texts. In his study in *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 133-147 he presents two theses: "1) These letters were written

not to be deposited in silence in the sanctuary, but to be actually read to a public that was to react directly to their contents, and 2) they replace in content and most probably in form the customary oral report of the king or his representative on the annual campaign to the city and the priesthood of the capital." — *JNES* 19 (1960), p. 143. There also seem to have been letters from the god to the king which were replies to these campaign reports. E. Weidner first proposed this in his edition of *KAH* 2, no. 142 in *AfO* 9 (1933-34), pp. 101-104 which is a letter to Shamshi-Adad V. A beginning of another such letter from Ninurta to an unknown king is *K* 2764 which is published by Macmillan, *BA* 5 (1906), pp. 657f. A fragment of a third such letter is *K* 14676 (cf. E. Weidner, *AfO* 9, p. 102, n. 91). Oppenheim, *JNES* 19, p. 145, n. 22 has objected to Weidner's interpretation of these letters and promises to present his own views in the future. Also to be compared to these letters is the Ashurbanipal text published in *CT* 35, 44f., and edited by T. Bauer, *Asb.* 2, pp. 83f. Finally note that E. Weidner, *AfO* 12 (1937-39), p. 148, expressed the opinion that only outstanding campaigns were recorded as letters to the god.†

APPENDIX B

PERSONAL NAMES WITH HISTORICAL NOTES†

The main purpose of this appendix is to provide an indication of the sources for the individuals mentioned in the chronicles and, since most of these individuals are monarchs, to give some idea of the events of their reigns as they relate to the chronicles. Although the author has striven to provide as complete references as possible to the cuneiform sources for each king this aim was abandoned in a few cases where the sources are so numerous that to list them all would be a task far beyond the scope of the present study. This problem was particularly apparent with the later Assyrian and Babylonian kings. The sources are listed according to the personal names, the names being in alphabetical order. It is felt that this is a more convenient arrangement than one in chronological order or in order of appearance in the chronicles. The forms of the names which are used in the translation are employed so as to make the list useful to as wide a circle of readers as possible. In cases where the name appears in an unusual form in the chronicle (e.g. Abishi for Abi-eshuh) a cross-reference is provided. For the Elamite kings the forms found in Hinz, *Elam* have been used.

Abi-eshuh (Abishi, Ebishum)

Babylonian king

1711–1684 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 8–10 (^m*A-bi-ši*)

Babylonian King List B 8 (^m*E-bi-šum*)

Abi-eshuh is found in the genealogy of Ammisaduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), p. 96:27. Only one inscription of Abi-eshuh is known and it is found on a model of two eyes published by Langdon, RA 20 (1923), p. 10.

The damming of the Tigris which is described in the Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 8–10 is the subject of a year date. See Goetze, JCS 5 (1951), p. 102 and n. 45.

Abishi See Abi-eshuh

Adad-apla-iddina

Babylonian king

1067–1046 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 31'–37' (^{md}*Adad-apla-iddina^{na}*)

Chronicle 24:8–11 (^{md}*Adad-àpla-iddina*)

Babylonian King List A iii 1 (restored)

Synchronistic King List ii 21 (^{md}*Adad*–[x-x])

The sources for this king have been given by Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 90f., no. 8. To Brinkman's bibliography is to be added the occurrence of the name of this king in the Uruk Sage List published by J. J. A. van Dijk, UVB 18, p. 45:17 (cf. p. 51). Lambert, on the basis of this text, has suggested that the name of the king and his sage should be restored in a broken text, JCS 16 (1962), p. 66 V 2 (see p. 76), which would mean that the Babylonian Theodicy had been composed in his reign. Since he is a contemporary of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-kala, one should also refer to the discussion of that figure.†

At one time it was believed that three different fathers had been attributed to Adad-apla-iddina. In 1928 Poebel was able to show that the name which appears in his inscriptions is a goddess, Nin-isinna (AfO 5 [1928], pp. 103f.). The name Esagil-shaduni which appears in the Synchronistic History is an ancestral name (Lambert, JCS 11 [1957], p. 13:60) no doubt assumed by the Aramean usurper, Adad-apla-iddina, in an attempt to justify his position as king ("son of a nobody" refers to Adad-apla-iddina, not Esagil-shaduni). The real name of this king's father, Itti-Marduk-balatu, is preserved in Chronicle 24:8. That this person is not the same as the king of that name has been shown by Poebel, AS 15, pp. 13f. and cf.

Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 86, n. 6. That Adad-apla-iddina was a vassal of the Assyrian king, Ashur-bel-kala, is evident from the passage in the Synchronistic History for a discussion of which see sub Ashur-bel-kala. The Sutean invasion which occurred in his reign and is described in Chronicle 24 may be the same as that described in Nabu-apla-iddina's stone tablet from Sippar (BBSt. no 36:1-12).†

Adad-narari I

Assyrian king

1307-1275 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 24'-31' (^{md}*Adad-nārāri*)

Chronicle P iii 20-24 (^{md}*Adad-nārāri*)

Assyrian King List iii 8f. (^{md}*Adad-nārāri*)

Besides the texts for Adad-narari I given in Weidner, IAK pp. XXII-XXXII and 56-110; Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 72-111 and in Borger, Einleitung 1, pp. 32-48, there is a large inscription with duplicates published in AfO 5 (1928), pp. 89-100 and 19 (1959-60), p. 104, to which is to be joined the unpublished fragment 79-7-8, 167 (Reiner, BiOr 19 [1962], p. 158, n. 1). There is also the inscription published by Edzard, Sumer 20 (1964), pp. 49-52. He is mentioned in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii(!) 31 as the grandfather of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Four pieces of an Epic of Adad-narari I are known concerning which see Chapter 6, n. 65. There is also a harem law published by Weidner, AfO 17 (1954-56), p. 272. Text no. 2 of IAK pp. 46-49 may belong to either Enlil-narari or Adad-narari I, depending on who was the opponent of Kurigalzu at Sugaga.

The battle of Sugaga is described in both the Synchronistic History (i 18'-23') and Chronicle P (iii 20-22) but there are two discrepancies. According to the Synchronistic History the Assyrian king was Enlil-narari but according to Chronicle P it was Adad-narari I. The other discrepancy is that in the Synchronistic History the victory is ascribed to the Assyrians whereas in Chronicle P it appears that the Baby-

lonians were the victors. This problem was discussed in detail by the author in Studies Landsberger pp. 337-339 where it was concluded that the version of Chronicle P was probably closer to the truth and the victor at Sugaga was probably Babylonia. It was also suggested there that Chronicle P was probably correct in calling the Assyrian king Adad-narari I. W. Röllig, Heidelberger Studien pp. 177-181 has, however, objected to a synchronism between Adad-narari I and Kurigalzu. Although Röllig may be right the evidence he has presented, which is based entirely on chronological considerations, is by no means conclusive. It is best, therefore, to reserve judgment until more evidence is available.†

The description in the Synchronistic History i 29'-31' of the boundary line between Assyria and Babylonia as drawn up in the reign of Adad-narari I reads: "... from Pilsaqi, which is on the other side of the Tigris, (and) Arman (of) Ugar-salli to Lullume". It is interesting to compare this with the description in the inscriptions of Adad-narari I. There he boasts that he, as well as his forefathers, extended his borders (*murappiš mišri u kudurri* IAK p. 60:15; p. 62:24, 27; p. 64:32). He claims to have conquered all lands from Lubdi and Rapiqu (south) to Eluhāt (north). There is some discrepancy. The location of the key boundary points as outlined in the Synchronistic History is not absolutely certain (see Appendix C) but it can be stated that the boundary must have run between the Tigris and the Zagros in the vicinity of the Shatt al-Adheim. Thus this agrees with Adad-narari I's boast that he conquered Lubdi, which was near Kirkuk (see Appendix C), but it raises a problem in connection with his claim to have conquered Rapiqu, which was just north of Babylon (see Appendix C). Of course Adad-narari I in saying he "conquered" these territories is not actually claiming political control over them and one cannot, therefore, tax him too

much for the discrepancy. For the location of the northern boundary, Eluhāt, see M. Falkner, AfO 18 (1957–58), pp. 8–10 and p. 35.†

Adad-nerari II

Assyrian king

911–891 B.C.

Synchronistic History iii 1–21 (^{md}Adad-nērāri)

Chronicle 24 r. 2 (restored)

Assyrian King List iv 12f. (^{md}Adad-nērāri)

Synchronistic King List iii 14 (^{md}Adad-nērāri)

To the sources for Adad-nerari II given by Weidner, RLA 1, p. 31, and Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 355–399, can be added duplicates to the text published in AKA p. 154. These duplicates are from Nineveh and are published in Arch. 79 (1929), p. 119 and AAA 19 (1932), p. 107. The British Museum text mentioned in RLA 1, p. 31 is Adad-nerari I's. Cf. Seidmann, MAOG 9/3 (1935), p. 5, n. 1. KAH 2, nos. 83 and 84 have been edited by Seidmann, MAOG 9/3, pp. 8–41. Also note Luckenbill, AJSL 43 (1926–27), pp. 222–225. Further see sub Shamash-mudammiq and Nabu-shuma-ukin I, the Babylonian contemporaries of Adad-nerari II.

The only portion of Adad-nerari II's inscriptions which is of importance here is a passage in the annals (KAH 2, no. 84, cf. Seidmann, MAOG 9/3, pp. 8–41). Lines 26–29 of the obverse read: ²⁶... *ka-šid* kurKar-du-ni-áš *ana paṭ gim-ri šá* ... (?) ²⁷^{md}Šá-maš-^{mu}mudammiq *šar*₄ kurKar-du-ni-áš *iš-tu* kurIa-al-man *a-di* ^{1d}DUR.AN.MEŠ *iš-ku-nu iš-tu* uruLa-ḫi-ri ²⁸*a-di* Ugar-uruSa-lum *a-na mi-šir* kur^dA-šur *šá-ak-ni māt* uruDe-e-ri *a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá ak-šud* ²⁹uruAr-rap-ḫi uruLu-ub-da *bi-ra-a-te*^{meš} kurKar-du-ni-áš *a-na mi-šir* kurAš-šur *ú-ter* “²⁶... The conqueror of all Karduniash, he who ²⁷brought about ²⁸the defeat of ²⁷Shamash-mudammiq, king of Karduniash, from Yalman to the river DUR.AN.MEŠ. From Lahiri to Ugar-sallum, to the border of Assyria ... All the land of the land of

Der I conquered. ²⁹Arraphi (and) Lubda, the fortresses of Karduniash, I added to the boundary of Assyria.” Is *šá-ak-ni* in line 28 a mistake for *šakāni*? If so, is it to be regarded as another example of the use of the infinitive ending in *i* to stand for a main verb? Two other examples are found in lines 33 and 35 (*maḫāri* and *nasāḫi* respectively) of this text. For comment see Lambert, BWL pp. 316f., Aro, Infinitiv p. 73, and for another example see Deller, Or. n.s. 31 (1962), p. 227. Seidmann emends to *šá-ak-⟨nu⟩-ni*. A major difficulty is that the usual expression is *ana mišir* GN *turru* (e.g. iii 29) not *ana mišir* GN *šakānu*.

This text agrees with the Synchronistic History in assigning a victory over Shamash-mudammiq to Adad-nerari II and the one place-name mentioned in the Synchronistic History (Yalman) is found in this passage of the annals. But the study of the location of the boundary described in the Synchronistic History iii 20f. indicates that Assyria has lost ground and therefore probably lost the battle. See Grayson, Studies Landsberger pp. 339f. The description of the border (which was certainly copied from an inscription of Adad-nerari II) is similar to one found in the inscriptions of Ashur-nasir-apli II. See Grayson, *ibid.* p. 339, n. 21.†

Adad-nerari III

Assyrian king

810–783 B.C.

Synchronistic History iv 15–22 (^{md}Adad-nērāri)

Assyrian King List iv 19, 20, 23 (^{md}Adad-nērāri)

To the sources listed by Weidner, RLA 1, pp. 31f. and Luckenbill, ARAB I, §§ 732–748 add the various inscriptions discovered at Nineveh—AAA 18 (1931), p. 100; 19 (1932), pp. 103 and 115; 20 (1933), pp. 113–115; Arch. 79 (1929), p. 123—and Nimrud—ND 3499—Iraq 15 (1953), p. 149, and cf. p. 137. A fragmentary royal inscription which may be his was published by Wiseman, Iraq 26

(1964) p. 119. A royal decree, letters, and business documents from his reign were found at Tell Halaf (cf. Weidner, *Tell Halaf* pp. 8ff.). Other documents from his reign are: ARU nos. 1–7; Iraq 12 (1950) pp. 185–200; Weidner, *AfO* 21 (1966), pp. 35–41. Events of his reign are summarized in the eponym list from Sultantepe (STT 1, no. 46:36'–r. 25'). On his titulary see Seux, *RA* 59 (1965), pp. 17f. There is an itinerary from his reign published by Weidner, *AfO* 21 (1966), pp. 43–45 and pl. VIII.†

So little is known of the reign of Adad-nerari III that it is not possible to restore the name of the king of Karduniash in the Synchronistic History (this is the inter-regnum of Chronicle 24 r. 8—cf. Brinkman, *JCS* 16 [1962], pp. 98f.) let alone make any sense out of lines 16–18. Adad-nerari III's reign is marked by an unusual number of "Gift Documents". For references to both published and unpublished documents see Weidner, *BiOr* 9 (1952), p. 159. The statement in the Synchronistic History iv 20 is another example of this kind of action. There is no evidence as to who these abducted people were nor when, why, or by whom they were captured.

Adad-shuma-iddina

Babylonian king

1224–1219 B.C.

Chronicle P iv 17–22 ([^mdAd]ad-[šuma]-iddina^{na})

Babylonian King List A ii 10 ([^mdAdad-šuma-idd[ina])

Synchronistic King List ii 5f. (restored)

Adad-shuma-iddina is mentioned in BBSt. no. 3 vi 29. Cf. Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), p. 257 no. XXXI. The sources preserved do not assist in understanding the broken passage in Chronicle P.†

Adad-shuma-usur

Babylonian king

1218–1189 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 3–8 (^mdAda[d-x-x])

Chronicle P iv 9 (^mdAdad-šuma-ušur)

Babylonian King List A ii 11 ([^mdAdad-šuma-ušur)

Synchronistic King List ii 7 (^mdAdad-šuma-ušur)

The sources for Adad-shuma-usur have been listed by Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), pp. 257f., no. XXXII. To this add *Iranica Antiqua* 2 (1962), p. 151, no. 1 (cf. 2). The old reading of this name as Adad-shumanasir (which is found in Jaritz's bibliography) is to be rejected. As Weidner, *Tn.* p. 48, n. to line 3, has pointed out it is grammatically incorrect and based on one text which has a phonetic complement (šēš^{tr}) and this should be regarded as a scribal error. Adad-shuma-usur is best known for writing a scolding letter to Ashur-narari III which is edited by Weidner, *Tn.* no. 42. For a recent discussion of the problem involved in Chronicle P iv 9 see M. B. Rowton, *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 19f. The translation follows Rowton's proposal. Also see Weidner's note to this line in *Tn.* no. 37. Further see sub Enlil-kudur-usur, one of his Assyrian contemporaries.†

Agga See Akka

Agum III

Babylonian king

Middle of the Second Millennium B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 15–18 (^mA-gu-um)

Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), p. 230, no. XIV says the Agum mentioned in the Chronicle of Early Kings is Agum III and gives no other sources for him.

...-ahhe-shullim

Official (šandabakku)

Time of Esarhaddon

Chronicle I iv 1f. ([^md_x-ahh]ēmeš-šul-lim)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 10 (^m[^dx-ahh]ēmeš-šul-lim)

Akka (Agga)

King of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Weidner Chronicle 31 (^mAk-ka)

Sumerian King List ii 39–41 (Ag.ga)
Tummal Chronicle 3 (Ag.ga)

A major source for this king is the Sumerian tale "Gilgamesh and Agga" which was edited by S. N. Kramer, *AJA* 53 (1949), pp. 1–18 and plates I–III. Subsequent research has shed further light on this composition concerning which see A. Falkenstein, *AfO* 21 (1966), pp. 47–50.

Alexander IV

316–307 B.C.

Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi r. 1–end
(^mA-lik-sa-an-dar)

King List of the Hellenistic Period 5
(^mA-lik-sa-an-dar)

A few documents from his reign are known. See Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* p. 20 and van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 58–60. To these add *LBAT* 1397 r. i 25' where reference is made to the seventh year of Alexander.

Ammurapi See Hammurapi

Antigonus

Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi passim
(^mAn-ti-gu-nu-su)

Chronicle 13a r. 10 (? ^mAn-ti-'-[...])

Uruk King List r. 5 (^mAt-tu-gu-un)

King List of the Hellenistic Period 3
(^mAn-ti-gu-nu-us)

Note the unusual writing of the name in *CT* 44, 84 r. 24: ^mAn-ti-gu-ik-su. Cf. Röllig, *BiOr* 22 (1965), p. 35. Concerning the different traditions as to the official position of Antigonus in Babylonia see van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 58f. Whether his name appears in Chronicle 13a is uncertain. See the commentary.

Antiochus I (Soter)

Seleucid King

281–260 B.C.

Chronicle 11 passim (^mAn-ti-'-uk-su, ^mAn-ti-'-ku-su)

Chronicle 12 passim (Name does not actually appear)

Chronicle 13a r. 10 (? ^mAn-ti-'-[...])

Uruk King List r. 7 (^mAn-ti-'-ku-su(! not zu))

King List of the Hellenistic Period 9–11
(^mAn)

The only cuneiform inscription known for this king was edited by Weissbach, *VAB* 3, pp. 132–135 and recently translated by Oppenheim, *ANET*² p. 317. Further see Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* p. 21 and van Dijk, *UVB* 18, pp. 58–60. Concerning the Antiochus mentioned in *Chron.* 13 r. 7 (and cf. line 8) see Chapter 2.

†

Antipater

Regent after Alexander's death

321–319 B.C.

Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi 7f.
(restored)

It is not surprising that cuneiform documentation for this figure is so sparse since he had no direct contact with Babylonia.

Apil-Adad

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2:5–10
(*Apil-^dAdad*)

This one passage is the only known occurrence of this individual who was apparently a ruler in Babylonia. Note that there is a deity of the same name. See Ebeling, *RLA* 1, p. 120.

Apil-Sin

Babylonian King

1830–1813 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle iv 4 (^mA-pil-[^d][*Sin*])

Babylonian King List B 4 (^mA-pil-^d*Sin*)

Apil-Sin is found in his proper position in the genealogy of Ammisaduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 20 (1966), p. 96:23. No inscriptions of this king are known. For his year dates see Ungnad, *RLA* 2, pp. 176f. and cf. Weissbach, *RLA* 1, p. 119, B. E. Morgan, *MCS* 4 (1954), pp. 24–77, and Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* p. 152.

Appuashu

King of Pirindu

Time of Neriglissar

Chronicle 6 passim (^m*Ap-pu-ú-a-šú*)

For references to other occurrences of this name-type in Anatolia see Wiseman, Chron. p. 86. Also cf. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), p. 54.

Arik-din-ili

Assyrian King

1319–1308 B.C.

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2 passim (^m*Arik(gíd)-dīn(di)-īli*)Assyrian King List iii 7f. (^m*Arik(gíd)-dīn(di)-īli*)Synchronistic King List Fragment (KAV 11):7 (^m*Arik(gíd)-dīn(di)-īl[i]*)

For the inscriptions of Arik-din-ili see Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 64–67. As pointed out in Part I of this book, what was once believed to be a fragment of the annals of this king (cf. E. Ebeling IAK pp. 50–55 and Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 68–71) is in fact a fragment of an Assyrian chronicle, namely Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2. Cf. R. Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 31. He is mentioned in the fragmentary Adad-narari I Epic (AfO 20 [1963], pl. V i 6') where it is learned that he had trouble with the Babylonians (cf. Weidner, AfO 20 [1963], p. 113).

Artaxerxes III (Ochus, Umasu)

Achaemenid King

358–338 B.C.

Chronicle of Artaxerxes III passim (^m*Ū-ma-su*, ^m*Ar-tak-šat-su*)

The few inscriptions of this king are edited by Weissbach, VAB 3, pp. 128f. Cf. König, RLA 1, p. 158.

Ashurbanipal

Assyrian King

668–627 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iv 33–38 (^m*Aššur-bāni-apli*)Esarhaddon Chronicle 34–45 (^m*Aššur-bāni-apli*)Synchronistic King List iv 14–18 (^m*Aššur-bāni-apli*)Synchronistic King List Fragment (KAV 9):6 (^m*Aššur-[x-x]*)Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iv 5f. (^m*Aššur-bāni-apli*)

The number of cuneiform inscriptions which concern the reign of Ashurbanipal is immense and there is no up-to-date corpus or bibliography of them. The most important publications are : M. Streck, Asb.; T. Bauer, Asb.; Luckenbill, ARAB 2, §§ 762–1129; A. C. Piepkorn, Asb.; Aynard, Asb.; and E. E. Knudsen, Iraq 29 (1967), pp. 49–69. One should also see sub Shamash-shuma-ukin for sources during this period.

The return of the Babylonian deities mentioned in Chronicle 1 iv 34–36, Esarhaddon Chronicle 35–37, and Akitu Chronicle 5–8 is described in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions. For references see Streck, Asb. 2, p. 396, n. 2. The capture of Kirbitu referred to in Chronicle 1 iv 37 and Esarhaddon Chronicle 38 is described in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions. For references see Streck, Asb. 2, p. 397, n. 3. The execution of Bel-etir which is recorded in Chronicle 1 iv 38 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 39 may be referred to in other documents. A convenient summary of the various proposals has been given by Schawe, RLA 1, p. 477. The Egyptian campaign which took place in Ashurbanipal's first year is referred to in the fragmentary passage in the Esarhaddon Chronicle 40–44. A detailed description of this campaign and the fate of Terhaqah and Necho is found in the Annals (Streck, Asb. 2, pp. 6–15 i 52–ii 27), relevant portions of which have been recently translated by A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 294f. Also see H. von Zeissl, Äthiopien und Assyrien in Ägypten = Ägyptologische Forschungen 14 (Glückstadt, 1944), pp. 41–46.

Ashur-bel-kala

Assyrian King

1074–1057 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 25'–37' (^m*Aššur-bēl-ka-la*)

Chronicle 24:4-11 (^mAššur-bēl-l[*a-la*])
Assyrian King List iii 29-30, 31, 35 (^mAššur-bēl-ka-la)

Synchronistic King List ii 20-24 (^mAššur-bēl-ka-la)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) i 8
([...]-bēl-l[*ka-li*])

The inscriptions of Ashur-bel-kala have been published by Weidner, AfO 6 (1930-1931), pp. 75-94. To his arguments for ascribing the Broken Obelisk to Ashur-bel-kala add those of K. Jaritz, JSS 4 (1959), pp. 213-215. Further sources and comments are found in R. Borger, Einleitung 1, pp. 135-144. None of these sources have any connection with the events narrated in the Synchronistic History and Chronicle 24 but this is not surprising since so few inscriptions have been preserved. For further sources for the period see sub Marduk-shapik-zeri and Adad-apla-iddina, the Babylonian contemporaries of Ashur-bel-kala.

The passage in the Synchronistic History provides evidence that Babylonia, under Adad-apla-iddina, was a vassal state of Ashur-bel-kala. The marriage of Adad-apla-iddina's daughter to Ashur-bel-kala accompanied by the payment of a large dowry to Assyria certainly indicates this. Note the case of the frightened ruler Kati who took his daughter with her dowry to Ashur to marry Shalmaneser III as an act of submission (Michel, WO 1 [1947-52], p. 58:7f.). The same custom is attested in Ashurbanipal's annals (Streck, Asb 2, p. 18:60-80) where several rulers give their daughters in marriage to the Assyrian king along with a large gift as a sign of subservience. Adad-apla-iddina's vassalage is further indicated by the account of his accession to the Babylonian throne in the Synchronistic History ii 32'. As the text stands the understood subject of "He appointed" (*iškun*) is Ashur-bel-kala. If there were no other proof that Adad-apla-iddina was a vassal of Assyria one might make a slight emendation and read "They (the Babylonians) appointed" (*iškunū*—

cf. *idūk* for *idūkū* in i 25'). But such an emendation is unnecessary.†

Ashur-bel-nisheshu

Assyrian King

1419-1411 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 1'-4' (^mAššur-bēl-nišēmeš-šū)

Assyrian King List ii 38, iii 1 (^mAššur-bēl-nišēmeš-šū)

Assyrian K. L. Fragment (KAV 14):13
([^mAššur]-[šur]-[...])

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 11):2
(^mAššur-bēl-nišēmeš[š-x])

In the Assyrian King List iii 4 he is given as the father of Eriba-Adad by versions B and C but version A gives the father as Ashur-rem-nisheshu. For the few inscriptions preserved of this king see Meissner, IAK p. 20 and pp. 32-35 and cf. R. Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 20. For legal documents of his reign see Weidner, RLA 1, p. 208 and cf. Fine, HUCA 24 (1952-53), pp. 189-193. Also see sub Karaindash, his Babylonian contemporary. These sources have no bearing on the event described in the Synchronistic History.

Ashur-dan I

Assyrian King

1179-1134 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 9-12 ([^mAššur-dān(ka)an])

Assyrian King List iii 18, 19 (^mAššur-dān(ka)an])

Synchronistic King List ii 10 (^mAššur-dān(ka)an])

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) i 2
([...]-dān(ka)an])

No inscriptions are extant for this king. Besides the chronographic sources there are two passages in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I where Ashur-dan I is mentioned (see E. F. Weidner, Tn. pp. 51f. and cf. R. Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 100) and a Harem Law from his reign (see Weidner, AfO 17 [1954-56], pp. 284f.). For further sources for the period see sub Zababashuma-iddina, his Babylonian contempo-

rary. None of these sources have any bearing on the event narrated in the Synchronistic History.

Ashur-nadin-shumi

Babylonian king

699–694 B.C.

Chronicle 1 ii 30–43 (*Aššur-nādin-šumi*, *Aššur-na-din-šumi*)

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 1 (*Aššur-na-din-šumi*)

Babylonian King List A iv 16 (*ᵐAššur-nādin-šumi*)

Synchronistic King List iv 6 (*ᵐAš-šur-nādin-šumi*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 9) 1 (*ᵐ[Aš(?)]-[šur-...]*)

No inscriptions of this unfortunate king are known. His name also appears in the eponym canon Cb 7 (cf. Ungnad, RLA 2, p. 435) under the *limu* Mitunu (700 B.C.). For the few documents dated to his reign and what information can be extracted from them see Weissbach, RLA 1, p. 213; Böhl, *Orientalia Neerlandica* pp. 116ff.; and A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), pp. 17f. He was on the Babylonian throne during the reign of his father Sennacherib (q.v.) who built a palace for him at Ashur (OIP 2, pp. 151f.).†

Ashur-nasir-apli (son of Tukulti-Ninurta I)

Assyrian King

Chronicle P iv 10f. (*ᵐAššur-na-šir-apli*)

There is a problem in connection with this individual. In the Assyrian King List iii 11 the son of Tukulti-Ninurta I is called Ashur-nasir-apli in version C but Ashur-nadin-apli in versions A and B. Similarly in the Assyrian King List iii 13 the name Ashur-nasir-apli appears in versions B and C but in version A Ashur-nadin-apli appears. There are two possibilities. Either there were two sons of Tukulti-Ninurta I with almost identical names (and thus scribal confusion) or there was only one son whose name, for some reason, was mistakenly corrupted in more than one document. See Poebel, *JNES* 1 (1942),

pp. 484–490 and Weidner, *Tn.* p. 42 note to line 10. No inscriptions of an Ashur-nasir-apli of this period are known. Two inscriptions of Ashur-nadin-apli have been preserved. See Weidner, *Tn.* pp. 46f. Ashur-nadin-apli also appears in the Synchronistic King List ii 3.†

Ashur-nasir-apli II

Assyrian king

883–859 B.C.

Chronicle 24 r. 4 (*ᵐ[A]ššur-nā[šir-apli]*)

Assyrian King List iv 14–16 (*ᵐAš-šur-nāšir-āpli*)

Synchronistic King List iii 18 (*ᵐAš-šur-nāšir-apli*)

The inscriptions of Ashur-nasir-apli II are extremely numerous and there is no up-to-date edition or bibliography of them. Since they have no bearing on the brief entry in Chronicle 24 there is no point in listing them here. As indicated by this entry, the Babylonian contemporary of this Assyrian was Nabu-apla-iddina. He was strong enough to discourage Ashur-nasir-apli II from launching a major attack against Babylonia and in the Assyrian's inscriptions the only reference to hostility between the two nations is the mention of the capture of some Babylonian auxiliary troops at Suru (AKA p. 351:19—p. 352:24 and *Iraq* 14 [1952], p. 33:17f.). For further sources for the period see sub Nabu-apla-iddina.

Ashur-resha-ishi I

Assyrian king

1133–1116 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 1'–13' (*ᵐAš-šur-rēša-i-ši*)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 3 (*ᵐAš-šur-rēša-i-ši*)

Assyrian King List iii 23–25 (*ᵐAš-šur-rēša-i-ši*)

Synchronistic King List ii 14–16 (*ᵐAš-šur-rēša-i-ši*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) i 5 (*ᵐAš-š[ur-rēša-i-ši]*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 12): 3f.
(*mAš-šur-rēša* [...])

The inscriptions of Ashur-resha-ishi I are edited by E. F. Weidner, *Tn.* pp. 54–60 and cf. R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, pp. 102–107. For further sources see sub Nebuchadnezzar I, the Babylonian contemporary of Ashur-resha-ishi I. The events recorded in the Synchronistic History are not mentioned in these other documents.

Ashur-uballit I

Assyrian king

1365–1330 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 8'–17' (*mAš-šur-uballit*)

Chronicle P i 5–14 (*mAššur-uballit*¹⁴)

Assyrian King List iii 5f. (*mAš-šur-uballit*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 11): 4
(*mAš-šur* [...])

For his inscriptions see Ebeling, *IAK* p. XXI and pp. 38–45; Luckenbill, *ARAB* 1, §§ 58–63; and R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, pp. 26–30. The earliest known Assyrian Harem Law probably comes from his reign (E. F. Weidner, *Afo* 17 [1954–56], pp. 268–270). There are also preserved two letters of his to the king of Egypt (EA nos. 15f.).

He was considered by his successors as the founder of Assyrian supremacy in the Near East. See the still valuable articles by E. F. Weidner, *RLA* 1, pp. 225–227 and *MVAG* 20/4 (1917), pp. 51–56.

Although the Synchronistic History i 8'–17' and Chronicle P i 5–14 are concerned not only with the time of Ashur-uballit but essentially the same events, there are serious discrepancies between the two documents which necessitate detailed discussion.

The discrepancies have been the subject of many discussions but Weidner has been one of the few to admit that the problems are insoluble until more evidence is available (*RLA* 1, p. 226). For the old literature on the subject see Weidner, *MVAG* 20/4 (1917), p. 53, n. 3, and *RLA* 1, p. 226 (the reference to Ungnad is wrong and should read: *AK* 1, S. 31ff.). Add to this Peiser, *OLZ* 1908, 7–10, Kupper, *Les Nomades* pp. 103f., Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958) pp. 187ff., Röllig, *Heidelberger Studien* pp. 173–177. In the following chart, the two accounts have been placed side by side to illustrate the discrepancies.

Synchronistic History

Ashur-uballit
|
Muballitat-Sherua
|
Karahardash

Karahardash was killed by the Kassites.

Ashur-uballit went to Karduniash to avenge [Kar]aindash.

The Kassites had put Nazibugash on the throne.

Ashur-uballit put Kurigalzu the younger, son of Burnaburiash on the throne.

Chronicle P

Ashur-uballit
|
Muballitat-Serua
|
?
|
Karaindash
|
Kadashman-Harbe

Kadashman-Harbe was killed by the Kassites.

Ashur-uballit went to Karduniash to avenge Kadashman-Harbe.

The Kassites had put Shuzigash on the throne.

Ashur-uballit put [Kurigalzu son of Ka]-dashman-Harbe on the throne.

Three facts are now obvious: 1) the Karahardash (q.v.) of the Synchronistic History and the Kadashman-Harbe (q.v.) of Chronicle P are identical; 2) the Nazibugash (q.v.) of the Synchronistic History and the Shuzigash (q.v.) of Chronicle P are identical; 3) the Kurigalzu (q.v.) of the Synchronistic History and the Kurigalzu of Chronicle P are identical. But in identifying Karahardash with Kadashman-Harbe there are two problems. First there is the obvious problem of two different names. Second there is the discrepancy between the statement in Chronicle P that Ashur-uballit went to Karduniash to avenge Kadashman-Harbe (the victim of the Kassites) and the statement in the Synchronistic History that Ashur-uballit went to Karduniash to avenge Karaindash (the victim's father—a conceivable but unexpected idea cf. K. Jaritz, MIO 6 [1958], p. 212, n. 90). The identification of Nazibugash with Shuzigash presents only the problem of the different names. The third fact—the identification of the Kurigalzus—raises the problem of the different genealogies. In the Synchronistic History he is called Kurigalzu the younger, son of Burnaburiash. In Chronicle P he is called simply [Kurigalzu, son of Ka]dashman-Harbe. It is of course possible that Chronicle P had an altogether different name in the broken section but without further evidence there is no reason to depart from the parallel account in the Synchronistic History. The whole problem is thus a matter of confusion of three names. Now in three other cases (Tukulti-apil-esharra, Marduk-shapik-zeri and Nabu-shuma-ukin in ii 14', 26', and iii 9 respectively and cf. the notes to these passages) the Synchronistic History has made a mistake in writing names. On the other side there is no example of Chronicle P making a mistake in personal names. Thus on this comparative evidence one might suspect that the Synchronistic History is wrong here and Chronicle P correct. But a definitive solution can only come from sources other

than the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P. Unfortunately other sources are still very sparse and ambiguous. W. Röllig, *Heidelberger Studien* pp. 173–177 has attempted to prove on the basis of outside evidence that Chronicle P is wrong and the Synchronistic History right. The present author feels, as he has already indicated in Chapter 6, n. 69, that his evidence, which is based on chronological considerations, is far from conclusive.†

Ashur-uballit II

Assyrian king

611–609 B.C.

Chronicle 3:49(?), 60–62, 66 (^m*Aššur-ù-bal-lit*, ^m*Aššur-ùballit*[†])

There are no other sources directly related to this king. Since he was a contemporary of Nabopolassar see the note on that king.

Asini See Esini

Astyages

Median king

Nabonidus Chronicle ii 1f. (^m*Iš-tu-me-gu*)

Astyages does not otherwise appear in cuneiform documents. See sub Cyrus.

Baba-aha-iddina

Babylonian king

812–?

Synchronistic History iv 1–14 (^m*Ba-ba-ah-iddina*)

Synchronistic King List iii 22 (restored)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 14 ([^m]^d*Ba*[-. . .])

The sources for this period are now sufficient enough to dispel any doubt that Baba-aha-iddina was the successor of Marduk-balatsu-iqbi (cf. E. F. Weidner, AfO 9 [1933–34], p. 101, n. 83 and J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 [1962], p. 98). No inscriptions of this king are known. Apart from the chronographic references he is mentioned in the inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad V (q.v.). A certain Baba-aha-iddina is mentioned as a witness in a private

document from the previous reign and may be identical with the king. See J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 98.

Balihu

King of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle ii 2 (^m*Balihu*(an.illat))
Sumerian King List ii 20 (Ba.li.iḥ,
Wa.li.iḥ)

Apart from these references there is only a cylinder seal on which the name *Ba-li-hum* appears. See Scheil, MDP 6 (1905), p. 53, no. 11 and RA 13 (1916), p. 11, IV 3 and cf. Jacobsen, AS 11, p. 81 n. 76. The reading of the name in the Dynastic Chronicle has been discussed in the commentary to that passage.

Bazi

Dynastic Chronicle v 9–12 (^m*Ba-zi*)
Babylonian King List A iii 13 (*Ba-s*[a(?)]
collated)

This is the name given to a Babylonian dynasty which consisted of three kings, Eulmash-shakin-shumi, Ninurta-kudurri-usur I, and Shirikti-Shuqamuna, and covered the years 1003–984 B.C. As with most Babylonian dynastic names, this was a place name but by the time of the composition of the Dynastic Chronicle it is regarded as a tribal name, “House of Bazi” (*Būt-mBazi*), and the three members of this dynasty are each called “Son of Bazi” (dumu ^m*Ba-zi*). For further details see J. A. Brinkman, Dissertation pp. 191–194.†

Bel-dan

Time of Nabonidus

Nabonidus Chronicle i 15 (^a*Bēl-dān*(ka1))

The context in which the name occurs is broken and his identity is unknown.

Bel-etir

“Judge of Babylon” (*daiān Bābili*)

Time of Ashurbanipal

Chronicle 1 iv 38 (^m*Bēl-ētir*(kar)^{ir})

See sub Ashurbanipal.

Bel-ibni

Babylonian King

702–700 B.C.

Chronicle 1 ii 23–29 (^m*Bēl-ib-ni*, ^a*Bēl-ib-ni*, ^a*Bēl-ibni*)

Babylonian King List A iv 15 (^m*Bēl-ibni*)

No inscriptions are extant for this king but a few of his letters have been preserved concerning which see M. Dietrich, WO 4 (1967), p. 98 and cf. *ibid.* pp. 73f. Since he was a puppet ruler under the control of the Assyrian king Sennacherib one should also look at the note on that king. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* pp. 24–26 and for economic texts of his reign see J. A. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 (1965), p. 243, n. 9.

Burnaburiash I

Babylonian king

Middle of the Second Millennium

Synchronistic History i 5'–7' (^m*Bur-na-bur-ia-áš*)

Synchronistic King List i 19 (^m*Bur-na-b[ur-ia]-áš*)

There is a chronological problem in connection with this name. In the Synchronistic History Burnaburiash is a contemporary of Puzur-Ashur III while in the Synchronistic King List he is placed opposite Ishme-Dagan II, an earlier king (E. F. Weidner, *Afo* 19 [1959–60], p. 138, states on the basis of a collation by F. R. Kraus that the reading is probable). In between these two Assyrian monarchs there were two reigns (Shamshi-Adad III and Ashur-nerari I) which covered a total of forty-two years. Thus if the Burnaburiash mentioned in the Synchronistic History and the Burnaburiash mentioned in the Synchronistic King List are the same individual, the Babylonian monarch would have reigned a minimum of forty-four years (taking his first regnal year as the same as the last regnal year of Ishme-Dagan II and his last regnal year as the first year of Puzur-Ashur III). Reigns of such length are indeed rare in Mesopotamia but not unattested (Hammurapi reigned

forty-three years). However, Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), pp. 187–265 (cf. A. Goetze, JCS 18 [1964], p. 98, n. 20) stated that two different kings of the same name were involved. The lack of sources for the period make it impossible to come to a definitive conclusion at the present time. In this study it has been assumed that the two are identical but new evidence may upset this assumption. Note that Ulamburiash (q.v.) claims in an inscription to be the son of Burnaburiash.

Burnaburiash II

Babylonian king

1375–1347 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 16' (^m*Bur-[na]-bur-[ia-áš]*)

The sources for this king have been listed by K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), pp. 238–241 (who calls him Burnaburiash III—see the note on Burnaburiash I for the reason). Also note that there are apparently two(!) seals of his official, Kidin-Marduk, known, one of which was found at Thebes. See E. F. Weidner, AfO 21 (1966), pp. 194f. For further sources see sub Ashur-uballit I.

Cambyzes II

Achaemenid king

529–522 B.C.

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 24 (^m*Kám-bu-zi-ia*)
Uruk King List 13 ([...-z]i-i)

No cuneiform inscriptions of this king are known. There are many economic texts dated in his reign. Cf. Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology p. 14.

Cyaxares

Median king

Time of Nabopolassar

Chronicle 3:29, 30, 40, 47 (^m*Ū-ma-kiš-tar*)

Cyaxares is also mentioned in the Behistun inscription (Weissbach, VAB 3, pp. 8–75) §§ 24, 33, 52. On the form of his name see Wiseman, Chron. p. 81 note to line 29.

Cyrus II

Achaemenid king

559–530 B.C.

Nabonidus Chronicle ii 1–end (^m*Ku-raš*)

Uruk King List 12 (^m*Kur-raš*)

For his inscriptions see Weissbach, VAB 3, pp. 2–9. The cylinder inscription has been recently translated by Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 315f. There are numerous economic documents from his reign. Cf. Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology p. 14. For further sources for this period see sub Nabonidus.

Damqi-ilishu

Dynastic Chronicle v 3 (*Damqi-ili-šú*)

Two kings of this name are known, the last king of the first dynasty of Isin (*Dami-iq-i-li-šu* Ur-Isin King List 20) and a king of the dynasty called ŠEŠ.KÙ (^m*Damqi-i-li-šu* Babylonian King List B 15, ^mŠIG₅-DINGIR Babylonian King List A i 6, and to be restored in the Synchronistic King List i 1). The progenitor of Simbarshihu mentioned in the Dynastic Chronicle might be identical with either one of these individuals or yet a third person of this name. For a hymn addressed to the Isin king see W. H. Ph. Römer, Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit (Leiden, 1965).†

Darius I

Achaemenid king

521–486 B.C.

Chronicle 8:7 (^m*Da(?)]-ri-[ia(?)]-a-muš*)

Uruk King List 14 ([...-mu]š)

The documents from the reign of Darius are numerous. Cf. Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology pp. 16f.

Dumuzi

King of Bad-tibira

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle i 2 ([Dum]u.zi)

Sumerian King List i 15f. (= JCS 17 [1963], p. 40:7) (^d*Dumu.zi*)

Dumuzi also appears in the Uruk Sage List. See van Dijk, UVB 18, p. 44:6.

Ea-gamil

Sealand king

Early Second Millennium

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 12–14

(ṁ^d*Ē-a-ga-mil*)Babylonian King List A i 14 (ṁ^d*Ea*(be)-*ga*)Babylonian King List B 23 (ṁ^d*Ē-a-ga-mi*[*l*])Synchronistic King List i 10 (ṁ^d*Ea*(diš)-*ga-mil*)

These are the only sources for this king.

Ea-mukin-zeri

Babylonian king

1007 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle v 5f. (ṁ^d*Ē-a-mu-kin-zēri*)Babylonian King List A iii 7 (ṁ^d*Ea*(be)-*mu-kin*)Synchronistic King List iii 3 (ṁ^d*Ea*(diš)-[...])

No inscriptions of this king are known. He may be identical with the individual of the same name mentioned as a witness in BBSt. no. 27, bottom edge 1. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 92, 13.2.1.

Ebishum See Abi-eshuh**Enlil-bani**

King of Isin

1860–1837 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings A 31–36, B 1–7 (ṁ^d*En-lil-bāni*)Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 B ii 1–8 ([^d*E*]*n-lil-bāni*)Ur-Isin King List 15 (ṁ^d*En-lil-ba-ni*)

The sources for Enlil-bani are given by D. O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* pp. 138–142 and W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 18 (1961), p. 7. For hymns addressed to this king see W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (Leiden, 1965).

Enlil-kudur-usur

Assyrian king

1197–1193 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 3–8 (ṁ^d*Enlil*(be)-*ku-dūr-ušur*)Assyrian King List iii 14 (ṁ^d*Enlil*(be)-*ku-dūr-ušur*)Synchronistic King List ii 6 ([ṁ]^d*Enlil*(be)-*ku-dūr-ušur*)

There are no other sources for this king. Also see sub Adad-shuma-usur, his Babylonian contemporary.

Enlil-nadīn-shumi

Babylonian king

1227–1225 B.C.

Chronicle P iv 14–16 (ṁ^d*En-lil-na-din-šumi*)Babylonian King List A ii 8 (ṁ^d*En-lil-nādīn-šumi*)

Synchronistic King List ii 3 (? restored)

No other sources for this king are known.†

Enlil-narari

Assyrian king

1329–1320 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 18'–23' (ṁ^d*Enlil*(be)-*nārāri*)Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1 (ṁ^d*En-lil-nārāri*)Assyrian King List iii 6f. (ṁ^d*Enlil*(be)-*nārāri*)Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 11):5 (ṁ^d*Enlil*(be)-*nār[āri]*)

To the sources for Enlil-narari given by Weidner, *RLA* 2, pp. 393f., add the Harem Law published by Weidner, *AfO* 17 (1954–56), pp. 270f. He is also mentioned in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii(!) 29 as an ancestor of Tukulti-Ninurta I. Text no. 2 published in *IAK*, pp. 46–49, may belong to either Enlil-narari or Adad-narari I, depending on who is responsible for Kurigalzu's defeat at Sugaga. Concerning this battle and the possibility that the Synchronistic History i 18'–23' may in fact describe activities of Adad-narari I and not of Enlil-narari see sub Adad-narari I.

Enmebaragesi

King of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Weidner Chronicle 31 (ṁ^d*En-me-bār-a-ge-si*)

Sumerian King List ii 35–40 (En.me.en.)

bára.ge.si, En.me.bára.ge.si, En.me.bára.ga.e.si)

Tummal Chronicle 1 (En.me.bára.ge₄.si)

An inscription which apparently belongs to this king has been recently discovered. The text, IM 30590, was published with copy and photograph by D. O. Edzard, *Sumer* 15 (1959), p. 19 and pls. 1-2 and discussed in detail by Edzard, *ZA* 53 (1959), pp. 9-26. Cf. *Or. n.s.* 23 (1959), p. 232 and Edzard in Garelli, *Gilg.* p. 57. He is mentioned as the father of Akka in the Sumerian tale "Gilgamesh and Akka". See sub Akka.

Enmeduranna (Enmeduranki, Enmenduranna)

King of Sippar

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle i 5 (En.me.du[r.an.x])

Sumerian King List i 26f. (= JCS 17 [1963], p. 40:10) (En.me.en.dúr.an.na, En.me.dur.an.na, En.me.dur.an.ki)

This king is also mentioned in the Uruk Sage List. See van Dijk, UVB 18, p. 44:7. On the various forms of the name see J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 17 (1963), pp. 42f.†

Enmegalanna (Enmengalanna)

King of Bad-tibira

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle i 1 ([En.m]e.gal.an.na)

Sumerian King List i 13f. (En.me.en.gal.an.na)

No other sources are known for this king.

Enmekiri

King of Uruk

Early Dynastic Period

Weidner Chronicle 32-35 (^mEn-me-kiri)

Sumerian King List iii 7-11 (with duplicate ZA 50 [1952], p. 35 ii 2'-8'—En.me.kirí, En.me.er.kirí, En.me.er.rú.kirí)

There is rather a lengthy entry in the Uruk Sage List concerning Nungalpiriggal,

the sage of Enmekiri (van Dijk, UVB 18, p. 44:8-11 and see pp. 46-49). No inscriptions of Enmekiri are known but he was a popular legendary figure as attested by the number of times he appears in literary texts. See Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 86, n. 115. Note Kramer's publication of the Sumerian composition "Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta" in a monograph by that title and the more recent discussion by the same author in *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963) pp. 269-274 where another literary work in which Enmekiri is mentioned is discussed. The reading of the name is provided by the ancient commentary to the Weidner Chronicle 7f. (En-me-ki-ir). Cf. W. G. Lambert, *Afo* 17 (1954-56), p. 321.

Enmenduranna See Enmeduranna

Enmengalanna See Enmegalanna

Enmennunna

King of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle ii 3 (^mEn.men.nun.na)

Sumerian King List ii 23 (En.me.nun.na)

No other sources are known for this king.

Ensipazianna

King of Larak

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle i 8 (E[n(?).sip.a.zi.an.na])

Sumerian King List i 20f. (= JCS 17 [1963], p. 40:6) (En.sip.a.zi.an.na)

Further see J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 17 (1963), p. 42.

Eriba-Marduk

Babylonian King

c. 770 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle vi 6 (^mEri-ba-[^dMar-duk])

Chronicle 24 r. 9-15, 16 (^mEri-ba-^dMarduk, ^mEri-ba-^dMarduk)

Babylonian King List A iv 1 (restored)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 13):4
(^m*Eri-ba-Mar-[duk]*)

The sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 99f. no. 36. The statement that Eri-ba-Marduk took the hand of Bel in his second year (Chronicle 24) is noteworthy. Normally this rite was performed in the Akitu festival every year and the explicit statement here that it was done in the second year makes one suspect it had not been performed in the first year. It would not have been performed if some political disturbance had interrupted the Akitu. Perhaps the situation was as follows. During the interregnum (Chronicle 24 r. 8) Babylon was in the hands of some rival faction, probably the Assyrians or Arameans. Eri-ba-Marduk, supported by the majority of the Babylonians, managed to regain control of the city. He then took the hand of Bel and the son of Bel in the Akitu festival. Ordinarily his reign would officially date from this time but since he had been so widely recognized in the previous year (before the recapture of Babylon) native historians regarded this as his first regnal year. Cf. King, Chron. 1, p. 206.

Eri-ba-Sin

Dynastic Chronicle v 2 (^m*Eri-ba-dSin*)

The only information on this man is that he was the father of Simbar-shihu (q.v.).

Erra-imitti

King of Isin

1868-1861 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings A 31-36; B 1-7
(^{md}*Er-ra-imitti*(zà.dib), ^{md}*Er-ra-i-mit-ti*)

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 B ii 1-8
(^d*Er-ra-i-mit-ti*)

Ur-Isin King List 14 (^d*Er-ra-i-mi-ti*)

The sources for Erra-imitti have been given by D. O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* pp. 138-142.

Esagil-shaduni

Synchronistic History ii 31' (^m*É-sag-gil-šadu-ù-ni*)

He is the father of Adad-apla-iddina (q.v.).

Esarhaddon

Assyrian king

680-669 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iii 38-iv 33 (*Aššur-aḥa-iddina*)
Esarhaddon Chronicle 1-34 (^m*Aššur-aḥa-iddina*, ^m*Aššur-aḥa-iddina^{na}*)

Akitu Chronicle 1-4 (^m*Aššur*-[...])

Babylonian King List A iv 20 (^m*Aššur-aḥa*)

Synchronistic King List iv 12f. (^m*Aššur-aḥa-iddina*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182)
iv 4 (restored)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 9):5
(^m*Aššur*-[...])

The sources for Esarhaddon are too numerous to give a complete list here and only the more important references will be given. Most important is the corpus of royal inscriptions recently published by R. Borger, *Asarh. Borger* published additions and corrections to his work in *AfO* 18 (1957-58), pp. 113-118, *WZKM* 57 (1961), p. 2, n. 8, and *BiOr* 21 (1964), pp. 143-148. Also of particular importance are the vassal treaties discovered at Nimrud and edited by D. J. Wiseman, *Treaties*. Cf. the reviews by Borger, *ZA* 54 (1961), pp. 173-196; *ZA* 56 (1964), p. 261, and I. J. Gelb, *BiOr* 19 (1962), pp. 159-162. A new prism was published by J. Nougayrol, *AfO* 18 (1957-58), pp. 314-318 and commented upon by Borger, *AfO* 19 (1959-60), p. 148. An inscription of Esarhaddon found at Nippur was published by A. Goetze, *JCS* 17 (1963), pp. 119-131. Fragments of inscriptions from Nimrud have been published by A. Millard, *Iraq* 23 (1961), pp. 176-178, P. Hulin, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 116-118, and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 26 (1964), pp. 122f. I. M. Diakonoff, *Studies Landsberger*, p. 344, n. 9 thinks that STT 1, no. 65 is a royal psalm of his reign. His name occurs in the Uruk Sage List (van Dijk, *UVB* 18,

p. 45:19 and cf. pp. 51f.). Recent studies of aspects of his reign have been presented by T. L. Böhl, *Op. Min.* pp. 384–422, Schott and Schaumberger, *ZA* 47 (1941), pp. 89–130, R. Labat, *RA* 53 (1959), pp. 113–118, and B. Landsberger, *Brief.* Concerning the two different traditions about the number of his regnal years see sub Sennacherib. Some comments on the chronicle passages which concern Esarhaddon follow.

The description of his relations with Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir found in Chronicle 1 iii 39–42 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 1f. are paralleled in Esarhaddon's own inscriptions—Borger, *Asarh.* p. 33:21 and pp. 46–48—where the full form of his name is preserved. He was the son of the notorious Merodach-baladan II (cf. J. A. Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* pp. 28 and 47). Letters concerning these events are ABL 223, 589 and 965. In ABL 223 his name is given as Nabu-zer-lishir whereas in the other two it is written Zer-kitti-lishir (as it is in Chronicle 1). That these letters all refer to the individual mentioned in Chronicle 1 and Esarhaddon's inscriptions is apparent from the personal names and events contained in them. Also note the occurrence of the name in ABL 438 r. 23. The governor of Ur at the time Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir made this attack was Ningal-iddin (see J. A. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 [1965], pp. 246–248). In passing it should be noted that there was an *ummānu* called Nabu-zer-(kitti)-lishir during Esarhaddon's reign according to the Synchronistic King List iv 13 and the Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iv 4. There was also an official called Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir during the reign of Ashurbanipal. See ADD 160:8—dated in the *limu* Mushallim-Ashur (642 B.C. according to M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 [1954–56], p. 118)—and ABL 1248. The Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir who is the writer of ABL 1107 might be any of these.†

It is unfortunate that the last part of Chronicle 1 iii 43 is missing since there are some letters which may refer to this same

event (whatever it is) and it would have been interesting to compare them with the statement in the chronicle about the *šandabakku* of Nippur (*šandabakku* is the title of the mayor of Nippur). ABL 327 is written by the *šandabakku* of Nippur to the king and speaks of trouble in Nippur. ABL 328 which is written by the *šandabakku* also speaks of trouble in Nippur. ABL 438 mentions the *šandabakku* and perhaps (Nabu)-zer-kitti-lishir in r. 23.

The return of the gods of Der to their city which is mentioned in Chronicle 1 iii 44–46 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 3f. is to be noted. The gods of Der had been taken to Assyria by Sennacherib in the sixth year of Ashur-nadin-shumi according to the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 1 (cf. A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 26 [1964], p. 18). It is unknown when the gods of Dur-Sharrukin (= Sippar-Aruru) were carried off but their return is also recorded in Borger, *Asarh.* p. 84 r. 44.

Esarhaddon's punishment of Shamash-ibni (the full form of this man's name is unknown) which is described in Chronicle 1 iv 1f. and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 10f. is recounted in Borger, *Asarh.* p. 33:23, p. 52:62–70. It is strange that both the Esarhaddon Chronicle and Chronicle 1 should mention two men being punished together but Esarhaddon's own inscriptions only mention one of them, Shamash-ibni. Shamash-ibni is mentioned in ABL 223 r. 4; 258:7; 336:9 in connection with his successor Nabu-ushallim. The name also appears in ABL 454:15 and 756:2. See J. A. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 (1965), p. 247 and n. 6.

The sack of Sidon described in Chronicle 1 iv 3 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 12 is also mentioned in Esarhaddon's inscriptions—R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 8 § 5:2f.; p. 33:15; pp. 48–50; p. 101 § 66:25; p. 111 § 72:13; p. 111 § 74 iii 9, iv 7. From the account on pp. 48–50 it is known that when Sidon was captured its king, Abdimilkutti, escaped but was eventually caught and beheaded. The decapitation of

the king of Sidon is narrated in the next section of Chronicle 1 (iv 6f. = Esarhaddon Chronicle 14). Thus while Esarhaddon captured and sacked Sidon in his fourth regnal year (677 B.C.) he did not pursue and capture Abdi-milkutti, the king of Sidon, until the following year, his fifth regnal year (676 B.C.). Note that the chronicle and Esarhaddon's inscriptions agree as to the months in which the king of Sidon and the king of Kundu and Sisu (Abdi-milkutti's ally) were beheaded (Tishri and Adar respectively – cf. Chronicle 1 iv 6f. to Borger, *Asarh.* p. 50: 32–34).

The campaign against Bazza mentioned in Chronicle 1 iv 5 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 13 is described in Esarhaddon's inscriptions, Borger, *Asarh.* p. 33:26; pp. 56f.; p. 86 § 57:4f.

The decapitation of the king of Kundu and Sisu which is mentioned in Chronicle 1 iv 7f. but omitted by the Esarhaddon Chronicle is narrated in Borger, *Asarh.* pp. 49f. and cf. p. 111 § 72 r. 14. There is no mention of the campaign against Milidu, which is recorded in Chronicle 1 iv 10 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 15f., in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon.

The Assyrian defeat in Egypt mentioned in Chronicle 1 iv 16 is not included in the Esarhaddon Chronicle. Instead, the line of the latter chronicle which should correspond (line 20) speaks of an Assyrian attack on Sha-amile, a city in Southern Babylonia (cf. OIP 2, p. 53:43). Cf. B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, *ZA* 37 (1927), p. 78. G. Fecht, *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo* 16, pp. 116–118 claims, however, that Sha-amile is identical with the Egyptian border city Sele (cf. T. E. Peet, *JEA* 11 [1925], p. 117), being simply an Assyrianized form of the same name. He argues that the two chroniclers are speaking of two Assyrian armies and two battles that took place on almost the same day. In one battle the Assyrian army was unsuccessful and in the other it captured

the city. Fecht's theory is ingenious but by no means definitive.†

The campaign against Egypt described in Chronicle 1 iv 23–28 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 25f. is included in Esarhaddon's own inscriptions: Borger, *Asarh.* pp. 65f.; pp. 98f.:37–53; pp. 101f.; pp. 112f.:1–r. 19 (note that this is a description of the tenth campaign); pp. 113f. § 79 r. 16–33. General statements and broken references to the Egyptian campaign are found in Borger, *Asarh.* p. 36 § 24:3 and 5; p. 70 § 36; p. 72 § 44:4; p. 86 § 57:8f.; p. 94:28; p. 96:16; p. 113 § 78; p. 115 § 83:4; p. 118 § 96:3.

The mass execution of the royal officers by Esarhaddon in his second last regnal year which is recorded in Chronicle 1 iv 29 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle 27 must have been the result of the uncovering of a plot against the throne.

The sack of Arza, a city on the borders of Egypt, which is mentioned in the Esarhaddon Chronicle 7f. and was presumably described in the broken passage in Chronicle 1 iii 49f. is recounted in Borger, *Asarh.* p. 33:16f., pp. 50f. Ep. 7, pp. 110f. § 72:14, r. 12.

Esini (Asini)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:9–17, 32
(^m*E-si-ni*, ^m*A-si-ni*)

Nothing is known of this man apart from the narration in the chronicle fragment about his relations with Arik-din-ili.

Eulmash-shakin-shumi

Babylonian king

1003–987 B.C.

Religious Chronicle ii 26–29 (restored)

Dynastic Chronicle v 9 (^m*Ē-ul-maš-šākin-šumi*)

Chronicle 24:14f. (*Ē-ul-maš-šākin-šumi*)

Babylonian King List A iii 10 (^m*Ē-ul-maš-šākin-šumi*)

Synchronistic King List iii 5 (^m*Ul-maš-šākin-šumi*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 2 (^m*x-šumi*)

The few sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 93, no. 15.†

Gubaru (Ugbaru)

Official

Time of Cyrus II

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 15, 20, 22 (^m*Gubaru*, ^m*Ug-ba-ru*)

See the commentary to Chronicle 7 iii 15.†

Hallushu-Inshushinak I

Elamite king

698–693 B.C.

Chronicle 1 ii 32–iii 8 (*Hal-lu-šú*)

A votive inscription of this king has been preserved. See König, Elam pp. 168f., No. 77. Further see *ibid.* p. 147, n. 9, Hinz, Elam pp. 122f., Cameron, HEI pp. 163f., and sub Sennacherib.

Hammurapi (Ammurapi)

Babylonian king

1792–1750 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings B 8–12, 13 (^m*Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*)

Chronicle 23:7 ([*A*]^m*mu-ra-p[í]*)

Babylonian King List B 6 (^m*Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*)

Larsa King List 15 (^d*Ha-am-mu-ra-pi*)

This king is of course included in the genealogy of Ammisaduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), p. 96:25. The sources for this king are too numerous and scattered to attempt a comprehensive bibliography here. For the reading of his name see Virolleaud, JA 243 (1955), pp. 133f. and cf. I. J. Gelb, JNES 20 (1961), p. 268, R. Borger, Or. n.s. 31 (1962), p. 364, n. 1, D. O. Edzard, BiOr 20 (1963), p. 268, n. 3, and R. Borger, ZA 56 (1964), p. 289. Concerning the events described in the Chronicle of Early Kings see sub Rim-Sin I.

Hashmar

Dynastic Chronicle v 5f. (^m*Haš-mar*)

This is the name of an individual or tribe about which nothing is known apart

from the statement in the Dynastic Chronicle that Ea-mukin-zeri was the “son of Hashmar”. Also see sub Bit-Hashmar in Appendix C.

Humba-haldashu See Humban-haltash I and II

Humbar-haltash I (Humba-haldashu)

Elamite king

688–681 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iii 27–32 (*Hum-ba-hal-da-šú*, *Hum-ba-AN-da-šú*)

There are no further sources for this king. Cf. Hinz, Elam, p. 125, and Cameron, HEI p. 167, and see sub Sennacherib.

Humbar-haltash II (Humba-haldashu)

Elamite king

680–675 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iii 33ff.; iv 11f. (*Hum-ba-hal-da-šú*)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 16f. (^d*Hum-ba-hal-da-šú*)

No inscriptions are known for this king. See Hinz, Elam p. 125 and Cameron, HEI pp. 167f. On the discrepancy between Chronicle 1 and the Esarhaddon Chronicle concerning the number of years he ruled see the commentary to Chronicle 1 iv 12 and cf. the note sub Humbar-nimena. Further see sub Sennacherib.

Humbar-nikash I (Umman-nigash)

Elamite king

743–717 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 9f., 33–39 (*Um-ma-ni-ga-áš*)

No inscriptions are known for this king. See Hinz, Elam pp. 115f. and Cameron, HEI pp. 157f. Further see Sargon II and Tiglath-pileser III.

Humbar-nikash II (Umman-nigash)

Elamite king

Time of Ashurbanipal

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 3 (restored)

The reference in the chronicle to the Elamite prince who fled to Ashurbanipal's court is obviously to Humbar-nikash II who was subsequently installed as king at

Madaktu by the Assyrian monarch. For a fuller discussion of this event and references to other sources see A. R. Millard, *Iraq* 26 (1964), p. 19.

Humban-nimena (Menanu)

Elamite king

691–689 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iii 15–26 (^m*Me-na-nu*)

In Sennacherib's inscriptions this king is called Umman-menanu. No inscriptions of this king are known. See Hinz, *Elam* pp. 123–125 and Cameron, *HEI* pp. 166f. In Chronicle 1 iii 26 it is stated that he reigned for four years but since he ascended the throne in Mushezib-Marduk's first year and died in Mushezib-Marduk's fourth year, he reigned only three years according to normal Babylonian reckoning. Note that the same type of discrepancy is found in Chronicle 1 concerning the number of regnal years of Humban-haltash II. Further see sub Sennacherib.

Hurbatila

Elamite king

Chronicle P iii 10–19 (^m*Hu-ur-ba-ti-la*)

No inscriptions of this king are known. See Hinz, *Elam* p. 92, and Cameron, *HEI* pp. 96f., and K. Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), p. 216.

Iliman

"Sealand" king

Time of Samsu-iluna and Abi-eshuh

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 7–10 (^m*Ili-ma-an*)

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 B r.(?) i 2, 5 (*Ili-ma-an-na*)

Babylonian King List A i 4 (^m*Ili-ma*)

Babylonian King List B 13 (^m*Ili-ma-an*)

Also cf. the commentary to Chronicle 20 B r. 2. The reading of this man's name has been discussed by B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), p. 69, n. 176. There has been some question as to when to place the period of Iliman's control of Nippur (cf. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 195 and n. 15) but Landsberger's

solution as outlined in *JCS* 8 (1954), p. 68, n. 174 is the most plausible. He places the capture of Nippur by Iliman towards the end of Samsu-iluna's reign.

Ilu-shumma

Assyrian king

Chronicle of Early Kings A 37 (^m*Ilu-šu[m]-ma*)

Assyrian King List i 24, 26 (^m*Ilu-šum-ma*)

Synchronistic King List iv 17 (^m*Ilu-šum-ma*)

Inscriptions of Ilu-shumma have been edited by Meissner, *IAK* pp. XIII–XIV and 6–9. Further see Luckenbill, *ARAB* 1 §§ 25f.; R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, p. 8 and Weidner, *ZA* 43 (1936), pp. 114–123.

Ishtar-hundu See Shutruk-Nahhunte II

Itti-ili

Time of Nabopolassar

Chronicle 2:31 (^m*I-ti-ili*)

Nothing is known of this man apart from his appearance in the chronicle.

Itti-Marduk-balatu

Chronicle 24:8 (^m*Itti-dMarduk-bālātu*)

In the chronicle he is called the father of Adad-apla-iddina (q.v.) and it is unlikely, for chronological reasons, that he is identical with the king, Itti-Marduk-balatu. See J. A. Brinkman, *JCS* 16 (1962), p. 86, n. 6 and A. Poebel, *AS* 15, pp. 13f.

Kadashman-Harbe

Babylonian king

Time of Ashur-uballit I

Chronicle P i 5–10 (restored)

Kadashman-Harbe is known only from Chronicle P and the inscriptions of Kurigalzu, son of Kadashman-Harbe. See *CT* 36, 6:7 and *BBSt.* no. 1 i 6. Cf. K. Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), p. 231. Concerning the problems in the passage in Chronicle P where he is mentioned see sub Ashur-uballit I.†

Kandalanu

Babylonian king

647–627 B.C.

Akitu Chronicle 24 (^m*Kan-da-la-nu*)

Babylonian King List A iv 22 (^m*Kan-dal*)

Uruk King List 3 (^m*K[an-da]-la-an*)

Synchronistic King List iv 15, 20 (^m*Kan-dal-a-nu*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iv 6 (restored)

Sources for this king have been given by R. Borger, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 62f. and cf. J. Oates, Iraq 27 (1965), pp. 135–159. Note that Borger, op. cit. p. 74 has withdrawn his suggestion that Kandalanu was identical with Ashurbanipal.

Karahardash

Babylonian king

Time of Ashur-uballit I

Synchronistic History i 8'–11' (^m*Ka-ra-har-da-áš*)

The name of this king is possibly preserved in part in a letter published as KAV 97. Cf. A. Ungnad, AfK 1 (1923), p. 33; H. Lewy, Annuaire 13 (1953), p. 274, n. 3; and H. Fine, HUCA 25 (1954), p. 127, n. 44. No other sources are known. Cf. K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), p. 241. W. Röllig, Heidelberger Studien p. 176 and n. 8 has proposed the reading *Ka-ra-kin-da-áš* for this name but there is no real proof for this. Concerning the problems in the passage in the Synchronistic History where he is mentioned see sub Ashur-uballit I.†

Karaindash

Babylonian king

Time of Ashur-uballit I

Synchronistic History i 1'–4', 14' (*Ka-ra-in-da-áš*)

Chronicle P i 5 (^m*Kara-in-da-áš*)

The appearance of the name Karaindash in the section on Ashur-uballit I in the Synchronistic History i 13' may be an error. See sub Ashur-uballit I. Besides the information about Karaindash contained in the chronicles it is known from his in-

scriptions that he carried out building operations on Eanna. See K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), pp. 230f. for sources.

KARASH.TU

Field-Marshal

Time of Nebuchadnezzar I

Synchronistic History ii 13' (^m*KARASH.TU*)

The reading of the name is unknown. Nothing else is known of this officer.

Kashshu-nadin-ahi

Babylonian king

1006–1004 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle v 7 (^m*Kaš-šú-ú-nādin-ahi*)

Babylonian King List A iii 8 (^m*Kaš-šú-u-nādin-ahi*)

Synchronistic King List iii 4 (^m*Kaš-šu-...*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 1 (restored)

Nothing else is known of this king apart from his mention in Nabu-apla-iddina's famous Sun God Tablet (BBSt. no. 36 i 24–28). Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 92f., no. 14. His father, SAPpaia (q.v.), is even more obscure.

Kashtiliash III

Babylonian king

Middle of the Second Millennium

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 13, 15 (^m*Kaš-til-ia-áš*)

Synchronistic King List i 21 (^m*Kaš-til-...*)

No other sources are available for this king. See K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), pp. 229f.

Kashtiliash IV

Babylonian king

1242–1235 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 1*f. (^m*Kaš-[til]-a-šú*)

Chronicle P iv 1ff. (restored).

Babylonian King List A ii 7 (^m*Kaš-til*)

Synchronistic King List ii 1 (restored)

The sources for Kashtiliash IV have been given by K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958),

pp. 255f. For further sources see Tukulti-Ninurta I.

Kidin-Hudrudish See Kiten-Hutran

Kidinnu

Chronicle 8:8 (^m*Ki-di-nu*)

This serves as a short form of any name that begins with Kidinnu and the context of the chronicle provides no indication of who is meant.

Kiten-Hutran (Kidin-Hudrudish)

Elamite king

Chronicle P iv 14-16, 17-22 (^m*Ki-din-dHu-ud-ru-diš*)

No inscriptions of this king are known but he is mentioned in some inscriptions of Shilhak-Inshushinak in the genealogy of that king. See König, *Elam* p. 110 § 2 and p. 114 § 3. Further see Hinz, *Elam* pp. 99f. and Cameron, *HEI* pp. 104f.†

Ku-Baba

Queen of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Weidner Chronicle 42-45 (^{SAL}*Kù-dBa-ba₆*)

Sumerian King List v 36-41, vi 10 (*Kù-dBa.ba₆*)

There are omens about Ku-Baba for which see Weidner, *MAOG* 4 (1928), p. 229; Nougayrol, *RA* 38 (1941), p. 84: 26-29; Nougayrol, *Présages Historiques* nos. 49 and 64; and *RA* 60 (1966), pp. 90f. On the reading of the name see T. Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 104, n. 196 and cf. J. Nougayrol, *RA* 40 (1945-46), p. 94.

Kudur-Nahhunte (Kudurru)

Elamite king

692 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iii 9-15 (*Kudurru*)

No inscriptions of this king are known. See Hinz, *Elam*, p. 123, Cameron, *HEI* pp. 164-166, and see sub Sennacherib.

Kudurru 1. See Kudur-Nahhunte

2. A Dakkurean

Time of Esarhaddon

Chronicle 1 iv 15 (^m*Kudurru*)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 19 (^m*Kudurru*)

The full name of this individual is unknown.†

Kurigalzu II

Babylonian king

1345-1324 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 16'-23' (^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu*)

Chronicle P i 14-iii 22 (^m*Ku-ri-gal-zu*)

Chronicle 23:8 (*Ku-ri-gal-z[u]*)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1 (^m*Ku-ri-gal-z[u]*)

Although the authors of the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P must have had the same king in mind since the respective passages deal with the same events, they disagree in the lineage of the king. The Synchronistic History refers to Kurigalzu the younger, son of Burnaburiash, whereas Chronicle P refers to Kurigalzu the son of Kadashman-Harbe. A simple solution as to which text was wrong would be provided if one knew which king was a contemporary of Ashur-uballit I but there is no unambiguous evidence on this point. See further sub Ashur-uballit I.

There were two or more Babylonian kings who bore the name Kurigalzu but it is not yet certain just how many there were nor which sources are to be allotted to which kings. Cf. Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* p. 338, n. 8. This king has been called Kurigalzu II in accordance with K. Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), pp. 187-265 who lists the sources for him on pp. 242-247. A. Goetze, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 97-101 believes there are three kings of this name. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, *Or.* n. s. 34 (1965), p. 241, n. 1. To the sources given by the above authors add the brick inscription UET 8, 99, and the economic texts catalogued by Figula, *Cat.* p. 292 (index).†

In Chronicle P ii 1-iii 9 Kurigalzu II is credited with the defeat of a mighty people (cf. ii 11 "We had no rival among people") at the shore of a sea (*tam-tim gal-la-tum*). These people then brought

tribute which was used to adorn Marduk's shrines in Babylon and Borsippa. The name of these people has not been preserved, however, and one must examine the likely candidates to see if any fit the given clues. Assyria and Elam do not enter into consideration since Kurigalzu's dealings with them are mentioned later in this document. This leaves for consideration the Arameans, the Suteans, the Hittites, Mitanni, and the Sealand. The Arameans and the Suteans are unlikely candidates since they are not ordinarily found in the vicinity of a *tāmtu gallatu*, an expression attested for the Mediterranean, the Persian Gulf and Lake Van (see the references in CAD 5 [G], p. 18). The Hittites and Mitanni are unlikely candidates since they are so far away from the Babylonian plain. This leaves only the Sealand as the possible opponent of Kurigalzu in this passage. It is interesting to note that a "knight" (*rēdû*) is mentioned in Chronicle P iii 5 and Simbar-shihu, the first king of the Sealand dynasty, was called "knight of the Sealand" (*rēdû (ša) māt tam-tim*). See the commentary to Chronicle P iii 5.

Lipit-Ishtar

King of Isin

1934–1924 B.C.

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment I A i 4–10
(*Li-pit-^aIš-tar*)

Ur-Isin King List 10 (*^aLi-pi-it-eš₄-tār*)

The sources for Lipit-Ishtar have been given by D. O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* passim and W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 18 (1961), p. 6 to which add the cones published by B. Kienast, *JCS* 19 (1965), p. 41, nos. 58f. and UET 8, pp. 26f. and pp. 33f. and 36. For hymns addressed to this king see W. H. Ph. Römer, *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit* (Leiden, 1965) and W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 23 (1966), pp. 245f.

†

Mannudannu

King of Magan

Time of Naram-Sin

Chronicle of Early Kings A 27 (*^mMan-nu-da-an-nu*)

The chronicle passage contains a description of the conquest of Magan by Naram-Sin. For the duplicate passages in the omen collections see the commentary. The same event is recounted in a statue of Naram-Sin (Barton, *RISA* p. 142, no. 14 ii 1 ff.—see H. Hirsch, *AfO* 20 [1963], p. 17 for full literature) where the king is called *Ma-ni-D[AN(?)]* (for the reading see Hirsch, *op.cit.* p. 17, n. 182). This conquest is also mentioned in the pseudo-autobiography of Naram-Sin published by A. Boissier, *RA* 16 (1919), p. 163:41, where the king is called *Ma-nu-um*. Inscribed booty from Magan is listed by A. Ungnad, *AfO* 14 (1941–44), pp. 199–201, who also has a discussion of this event. Ungnad, *ibid.* and *ZA* 31 (1917–18), p. 263 has argued that the king's name is *Man(n)u* (cf. the writings quoted above) and that *dannu* is an epithet. But one would expect the *dannu* to occur after *šarru*, not after the R.N. The name is probably foreign and the Babylonian scribes have given it a meaningful (and humorous—lit. "Who is strong?") form in Akkadian.†

Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina

Babylonian king

941–? B.C.

Chronicle 24 r. 1 ([... *á*] *hē^{me}-iddina*)

Synchronistic King List iii 11 ([...-*á*] *hē-iddina*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10)
ii 5 (*^mdMār-biti-á* *hē-iddina*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182)
iii 8 (*^mdMār(a)-biti-á* *hē-id]* *dina^{na}*)

Apart from these references this king is known only from a kudurru from the reign of his father, Nabu-mukin-apli, (*BBSt.* no. 9 IVA 32) where he appears as a witness. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, *JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 94f., no. 21.

Mar-biti-apla-usur

Babylonian king

983–978 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle v 13f.([...-*ú*] *šur*)

Chronicle 24:16 (*^dMār(a)-biti-[á* *p]la-úšur*)

Babylonian King List A iii 14 (^{md}*Mār-b[īti-...]*)

Synchronistic King List iii 8 (^{md}*Mār-bīti-...*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) ii 2 (^{md}*Mār-...*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 5 ([...-*ap*]*la-ušur*)

There are no other sources for this king. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 94, no. 18.

Marduk-apla-iddina See Merodach-baladan

Marduk-apla-usur

Babylonian king

Dynastic Chronicle vi 3 (^{md}*Marduk-apla-úšu[r]*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 13) 3' (^{md}*Marduk-apla-...*)

Nothing else is known of this king. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 99, no. 35.

Marduk-balatsu-iqbi

Babylonian king

Synchronistic History iii 6'-9' ([...-*s*]*u-iq-bi*)

Chronicle 24 r. 7 (^{md}*Marduk-bālāt-su-iqbi*)

Synchronistic King List iii 22 ff. (restored)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 13 (^{md}*Marduk-balāt(ti)-su-iqbi*)

The sources for his reign have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 97, no. 26, and p. 103, Appendix (m). Also see sub Shamshi-Adad V.

Marduk-bel-usate

Babylonian usurper

Time of Marduk-zakir-shumi I

Synchronistic History iii 28-35 (^{md}*Marduk-bēl-ú-sa-a-te*)

Chronicle 24 r. 6 (^{md}*Marduk-bēl-ú-sat*)

The sources for the rebellion led by this man are discussed sub Shalmaneser III.

Marduk-nadin-ahhe

Babylonian king

1098-1081 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 14'-24' (^{md}*Marduk-nādin-ābhēmes*)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4:8f. (^{md}*Marduk-[nādin-a]bhēmes*)

Babylonian King List C 6 (^{md}*Marduk-nādin-MU*)

Synchronistic King List ii 17 (^{md}*Marduk-nādin-ābhēmes*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 12) 5 ff. ([...]^{mes})

The sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 88-90, no. 6, to which add UET 8, 101 (a Sumerian inscription on a copper cylinder). Further see sub Tiglath-pileser I.†

Marduk-shakin-shumi

Chronicle 24 r. 9 (^{md}*Marduk-šākin-šumi*)

In the chronicle it is stated that he is the father of Eriba-Marduk and he may well be one of the "five unknown kings" who ruled at the end of the ninth and the beginning of the eighth centuries B.C. See J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 98f.

Marduk-shapik-zeri

Babylonian king

1080-1068 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 25'-30' (^{md}*Marduk-šā-pi-ik-zēri*)

Chronicle 24:4-7 (^{md}*Marduk-šāpik-zēri*)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4:8f.

(^{md}*Marduk-[šāpik]^{ik}-zēri*)

Babylonian King List C 7 (^{md}*Marduk-šāpik-zēri*)

Synchronistic King List ii 18, 20 (restored)

The sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 90, no. 7.†

Marduk-zakir-shumi I

Babylonian king

Synchronistic History iii 27-5' (^{md}*Marduk/Marduk-zākir-šumi*)

Chronicle 24 r. 5, 7 (^{md}*Marduk-za-kir-šumi*)

Synchronistic King List iii 20 (^{md}[...])

Synchronistic King List Fragment (KAV 10) ii 9 (^{md}*Marduk-...*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 12 (^{md}*Nābū[sic!]-za-kir-šumi*)

The sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 96f., no. 25. Further see sub Shalmaneser III and Shamshi-Adad V.

Melamkishshu

King of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle ii 4 (^mMe₅.lám.kiš.šú)

Sumerian King List ii 24 (Me.lám.ki šiki)

No other sources are known for this king.

Menanu See Humban-nimena

Merodach-baladan (Marduk-apla-iddina)

Chronicle 8 r. 10 ([^{md}Mardu]k(?) -^àpla-iddina-')

Nothing else is known of this individual who lived in the Achaemenid period.

Merodach-baladan (Marduk-apla-iddina) I

Babylonian king

1173–1161 B.C.

Chronicle 23:10 (^dMarduk-apla-iddina)

Babylonian King List A ii 13 (^{md}Mardu-k-apla-iddina)

Synchronistic King List ii 9 (^{md}[M]arduk-apla-iddina)

The sources for this king have been given by K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), pp. 260–262. Under 220 in Jaritz's list the reference should read: "VAS 1, Nr. 34".†

His reign may be described in a Prophecy. See Grayson and Lambert, JCS 18 (1964), pp. 12f. ii 9–18 and cf. p. 9.

Merodach-baladan (Marduk-apla-iddina) II

Babylonian king

721–710 and 703 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 32–ii 23 (^{md}Marduk-apla-iddina, ^{md}Marduk-àpla-iddina)

Babylonian King List A iv 10, 14 (^{md}Mardu-k-apla-iddina)

For a full discussion and list of sources see J. A. Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim pp. 6–53. Also see M. Dietrich, WO 4 (1967), pp. 61–103 who describes several

letters which refer to him. Further see sub Sennacherib and Sargon II.

Minisu

Seleucid Period

Chronicle 13:7 (^mMi-ni-su)

Nothing is known of this individual.

Muballitat-Sherua

Babylonian princess

Daughter of Ashur-uballit I

Synchronistic History i 9'f. (^{SAL}Mu-bal-li-ta-at-^dŠe-ru-ù-a)

Chronicle P i 5f. (^{SAL}Mu-bal-li-ta-at-^dŠe-ru-u-a)

On the orthography of the name in Chronicle P see the commentary to that document. No other sources are available for this princess.

Mugallu

King of Tabal and Milidu

Time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal
Esarhaddon Chronicle 15 (^mMu-gal-lu)

The passage in Chronicle 1 iv 10 which also mentions Esarhaddon's campaign against Milidu does not include the name of the king, Mugallu. For references to this same individual in the time of Ashurbanipal see M. Streck, Asb. 1, p. CCCLI to which add Aynard, Asb. i 71–76.

Mukin-zeri See Nabu-mukin-zeri

MU.MU

Babylonian official

Time of Esarhaddon

Chronicle 1 iv 14 (^mMU.MU)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 19 (^mMU.MU)

There are many different ways in which this name could be read but since he is otherwise unknown the correct reading is unknown.†

Mushezib-Marduk (Shuzubu)

Babylonian king

692–689 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iii 12–24 (^{Mu}-še-zib-^dMarduk)

Babylonian King List A iv 18 (^mMuše-zib-^dMardu-k)

Synchronistic King List iv 8 (^m*Mu-še-zib-Mar-duk*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 9) 3 (^m*Šu-[zu-bu(?)]*)

Mushezib-Marduk appears in Sennacherib's inscriptions as Shuzubu (OIP 2, p. 41:17, 20; p. 43:54; and p. 83:46). Cf. the note on Nergal-ushezib. In the Synchronistic King List he is said to be of the tribe of the Dakkureans. In the Babylonian King List A his name is followed by BALA.E "Dynasty of Babylon" (collation shows that what appears as A in Gadd's copy between the name and BALA.E is an erasure) and this statement most likely refers to both Mushezib-Marduk and Nergal-ushezib in the preceding line. Cf. the statement in the Synchronistic King List following their names: *šarrāni Akkadī* "Kings of Akkad". An economic document dated in the second year of Mushezib-Marduk is mentioned by T. Liagre Böhl, *Orientalia Neerlandica* p. 116.

Nabonidus

Babylonian king

555–539 B.C.

Nabonidus Chronicle (^m*Nābū-nā'id*, ^m*Nabū-nā'id*)

Uruk King List 11 (^m*Nabū-nā'id*)

No attempt will be made here to give an exhaustive bibliography of the sources for the reign of this king but rather only the more important items, particularly those which bear on the Nabonidus Chronicle, will be mentioned. H. Tadmor, "The Inscriptions of Nabunaid: Historical Arrangement", *Studies Landsberger* pp. 351–363 provides an excellent survey and discussion of the royal inscriptions. The following additions may be made to his bibliography of the inscriptions of Nabonidus on p. 351, n. 2:

Nab. 1–15 Concerning Nab. 4 see UET 8, p. 37. Note that six duplicates to Nab. 5 were recently published by M. A. As-Siwani, *Sumer* 20 (1964), pp. 69–76.

The fragment Sp. II 407, with joins, was published by Lambert, CT 46, 48 and CT 46, 47 probably belongs to the same tablet.†

In connection with the Nabonidus Chronicle one text that should be particularly noted is the Nabonidus Verse Account, a bibliography of which was given in Chapter 6, n. 62. An assessment of the sources for the reign of Nabonidus, including Greek sources, has been given by S. Smith, BHT pp. 32–36. Also note Dougherty, Nabonidus and Belshazzar = YOSR 15 (1929); W. Röllig, "Erwägungen zur neuen Stelen König Nabonids" ZA 56 (1964), pp. 218–260 and "Nabonid und Tēmā" CRRA 11 (1964), pp. 21–32. Further concerning Nabonidus's stay in Tema see C. J. Gadd, AnSt 8 (1958), pp. 79–89 and for a bibliography of older discussions see A. Leo Oppenheim, ANET² p. 306, n. 5.

In his edition of the Nabonidus Chronicle S. Smith, BHT pp. 107–110 provided a survey of the sources for each of the regnal years of Nabonidus mentioned in the text. The following additions and corrections may be made to this list (for convenience I have used Smith's dates);

552. Also see Lambert, CT 46, 48 and cf. E. Weidner, JSOR 6 (1922), pp. 117–121 and A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² p. 305, n. 3.†

549. On the battle between Cyrus and Astyages see G. Cameron, HEI pp. 225f. Note that the death of Nabonidus's "father" mentioned by Smith for this year is actually the death of his mother and it occurred in the ninth year (Smith's 547—see below).

547. Note that this is the ninth year of Nabonidus (Smith omitted the eighth year in his list of sources). Nabonidus Chronicle ii 10–18. To the sources for this year add C. J. Gadd, AnSt 8 (1958), p. 50 iii 5ff.

546. Tenth year of Nabonidus (see above). Nabonidus Chronicle ii 19–22. The construction of Ebarra (given by

Smith under 545) was begun in this year. See Langdon, VAB 4, p. 236 i 54.
 545. Eleventh year, Nabonidus Chronicle ii 23–25. The famine which occurred in this year has been discussed by A. L. Oppenheim, Iraq 17 (1955), p. 72. It is also mentioned in one of the Harran inscriptions of Nabonidus, Gadd, AnSt 8 (1958), p. 58 i 21f.

Nabopolassar

Babylonian king

625–605 B.C.

Chronicles 2–4, 5:1–10 (^{md}*Nabû-âpla-ûsur*,
^{md}*Nabû-âpla-ûsur*)

Akitu Chronicle 24–27 (^a*Nabû-âpla-ûsur*)

Uruk King List 6 (^{md}*Nabû-apla-ûsur*)

No attempt will be made here to provide an exhaustive bibliography of the sources for the reign of this king. Only items of importance, particularly in regard to the chronicles, will be mentioned. The inscriptions of Nabopolassar were collected and edited many years ago by S. Langdon, VAB 4. A survey of the sources for the first seven years of Nabopolassar has been recently given by R. Borger, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 63–65. A history of his reign may be found in D. J. Wiseman, Chron. pp. 5–27 but note J. A. Brinkman's assertion, Or. n.s. 34 (1965), pp. 255–257 that there is no proof that Nabopolassar ever controlled Ur.

E. Cavaignac, RA 51 (1957), pp. 28f. thinks that the broken passage in Chronicle 2:33f. refers to the Assyrians' return to Nineveh but it could be a description of a Babylonian attack on Nineveh. For a discussion of the capture of Harran which is described in Chronicle 3:59–64 see C. J. Gadd, AnSt 8 (1958), pp. 72–74.

Nabu-apla-iddina

Babylonian king

Time of Ashur-nasir-apli II
 and Shalmaneser III

Synchronistic History iii 22–26 (^{md}*Nabû-âpla-iddina^{na}*)

Chronicle 24 r. 4, 5 (^{md}*Nabû-âp]la-iddina*)
 Synchronistic King List iii 18 (^{md}*Nabû-apla-iddina*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10)
 ii 8 (^{md}*Nabû-apla-[...]*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182)
 iii 11 (^{md}*Nabû-apla-iddina*)

The sources for this king have been listed by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 95f., no. 24. Nabu-apla-iddina is particularly famous for his reconstruction of Ebabbar in Sippar after it had been ravaged by the Suteans two centuries earlier during the reign of Adad-apla-iddina (Chronicle 24:8–11). This feat is recorded in a stone tablet found at Sippar (King, BBSt. no. 36). This document gives one the impression that Nabu-apla-iddina's reign was a peaceful and prosperous one and this is further supported by the fact that this king encouraged literary activity and may even have ordered the composition of the Era Epic (see W. G. Lambert, AFO 18 [1957–58], p. 400 and n. 5). This information fits with the statement in the Synchronistic History that a treaty existed between Assyria and Babylonia at this time. There was, however, one minor skirmish with the Assyrians during his reign concerning which see sub Ashur-nasir-apli II. Also see sub Shalmaneser III.

Nabu-bel-shumati

Sealand governor

Time of Shamash-shuma-ukin

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 13 ([...]-
^x*šumāti*^{meš})

The restoration of the name of this man who caused Ashurbanipal so much trouble was suggested by the original editor of the chronicle, A. R. Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 26f. Sources for this individual have been given by Millard, *ibid.* He was the grandson of Merodach-baladan II. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, Studies Oppenheim p. 47, 44.3.3 (b).

Nabu-bulli . . .

Chronicle 8 r. 9 (^{md}*Nabû-bu-ul-li-[...]*)

Nothing else is known of this man who lived in the Achaemenid period.

Nabu-mukin-apli

Babylonian king

977-942 B.C.

Religious Chronicle iii 1-iv 10 (^d*Nabû-mûkîn-apli/âpli*)

Chronicle 24:17, 18 (^d*Nabû-mûkîn-[âpli]*)

Babylonian King List A iii 15 (restored)

Synchronistic King List iii 9 (^m*[Nabû]-[x]-apli*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) ii 3 (^m*Nabû-mûkî[n-x]*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 6 (^m*[...]-mûkîn-apli*)

Besides these sources for his reign there is only a boundary stone and possibly an economic text from his reign. See J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 94, no. 19 for references. Both the Religious Chronicle and Chronicle 24 agree that the Akitu festival was interrupted several times during his reign. The reason for the disruptions, as described in the Religious Chronicle, was the hostile activities of the Arameans. The preserved portions of the Religious Chronicle deal with the later years of his reign while the preserved part of Chronicle 24 is concerned with the beginning. Thus it is unknown if the two documents agreed as to the regnal years in which the Akitu festival was not celebrated. For a plausible reconstruction of the events see E. Weidner, MVAG 20/4 (1917), pp. 91f.†

Nabu-mukin-zeri (Mukin-zeri)

Babylonian king

731-729 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 18-22 (*Mûkîn-zêri*)

Babylonian King List A iv 7 (^m*Mûkîn-zêri*)

For the full form of his name see the economic text BRM 1, 22 r. 13. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 101, no. 41. See sub Tiglath-pileser III.†

Nabu-nadin-zeri (Nadinu)

Babylonian king

733-732 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 13-15 (*Na-di-nu, Na-din*)

Babylonian King List A iv 4 (^m*[dNa]bû-nâdîn-zêri*)

In the Ptolemaic Canon his name occurs in a form (Nadios, var. Nabios) similar to that found in Chronicle 1. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 100f., no. 39. See sub Tiglath-pileser III.

Nabu-nasir

Babylonian king

747-734 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 1-12 (^d*Nabû-nâsir*)

Chronicle 24 r. 17, 18 (*[...-n]a-[sir]*)

Babylonian King List A iv 3 (^m*Nabû-nâ[sir]*)

There are few sources for Nabu-nasir. See J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 100, no. 38. Concerning the Nabu-nasir Era see Chapter 2. See sub Tiglath-pileser III.†

Nabu-shuma-ishkun

Babylonian king

?-748 B.C.

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 22 (^d*Nabû-šuma-iškun^{un}*)

Dynastic Chronicle vi 9 (? restored)

Chronicle 23 r. 6f. (? restored)

Babylonian King List A iv 2 (^m*Nabû-šuma-iškun^{u[n(?)]}*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 13) 5 (^m*Nabû-šuma-[...]*)

The occurrence of the name Nabu-shuma-ishkun in the Synchronistic History iii 9-21 is an error for Nabu-shuma-ukin I (q.v.). The sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 100, no. 37. It should be noted that the broken passage in Chronicle 23 is assigned to his reign only because it lists the same regnal years, five and six, as those mentioned in the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle. See the commentary to Chronicle 23.†

Nabu-shuma-ukin I

Babylonian king

Time of Adad-nerari II

Synchronistic History iii 9–21 (^{md}*Nábû-šuma-iškun*^{un}[sic!])Chronicle 24 r. 3, 4 (^{md}*Nabû-šuma-ú-kin*)Synchronistic King List iii 16 (^{md}*Nábû-šuma-x*)Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) ii 7 (^{md}*Nábû-šuma*[...])Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 10 (^{md}*Nábû-šuma-ú-kin*)

A comparison of the chronographic sources makes it clear that the Synchronistic History passage must be dealing with the same king who is otherwise called Nabu-shuma-ukin. That the Synchronistic History has erred in the matter of a name is not surprising since this also happened in the case of Tiglath-pileser I (q.v.) and Marduk-shapik-zeri (q.v.). Further see Chapter 6. There are no other sources for this king. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 95, no. 23 and see sub Adad-nerari II.

Nabu-shuma-ukin (Shuma-ukin) II

Babylonian king

732 B.C.

Chronicle I i 16–18 (^m*Šuma*-[*ukîn*], [^m*Šu*]*ma*-[*ukîn*])Babylonian King List A iv 5 (^m[^d]*Nabû-šuma-ukîn*)

This individual is not to be confused with Shuma-ukin, son of Nabu-mukin-zeri (Iraq 25 [1963], p. 71:10). Nabu-shuma-ukin II is omitted by the Ptolemaic Canon. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 101, no. 40. See sub Tiglath-pileser III.

Nabu-shumu-libur

Babylonian king

1032–1025 B.C.

Religious Chronicle i 1–26 ([^d*Nab*]*û-šumu-li-bur*)Babylonian King List A iii 4 (^{md}*Nabû-šumu*[...])

Synchronistic King List ii 24 (restored)

Besides these sources there is only an inscribed duck weight of this king. See J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 92, no. 11.†

Nabu-shumu-lishir

Brother of Nebuchadnezzar II

Chronicle 5 r. 2 (^{md}*Nabû-šumu*-[*lišir*] (si.s[á]))

That Nabu-shumu-lishir is the brother of Nebuchadnezzar II is known from the inscriptions of Nabopolassar, their father. See Langdon, VAB 4, p. 62 iii 6 and cf. Wiseman, Chron. p. 85, note to r. 2 for duplicates.

Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir (Zer-kitti-lishir)

Sealand governor

Time of Esarhaddon

Chronicle 1 iii 39–42 (^m*Zēr-ki*[*tt*]*i-lišir* (si.sá))

See sub Esarhaddon.

Nadinu See Nabu-nadin-zeri**Naram-Sin**

King of Akkad

2254–2218 B.C.

Weidner Chronicle 53f. (*Na-ram*-^d*Sîn*)Chronicle of Early Kings A 24–27 (^m*Na-ra-am*-^d*Sîn*)Sumerian King List vi 43–45 (*Na-ra-am*-[^d]*[Sîn]*)

The sources for Naram-Sin have been collected by H. Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), pp. 17–27. For inscriptions of this king also see E. Sollberger, UET 8, nos. 11–13 and pp. 32f. and 35. Concerning the rock relief at Darband-i-Gawr which has been identified as Naram-Sin's and which is mentioned with a partial bibliography by Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 24, n. 255 also see: Debevoise, JNES 1 (1942), pp. 82f.; C. J. Edmonds, Kurds, Turks and Arabs (London, New York, Toronto, 1957) p. 360 and pl. 13 (b) opposite p. 370, and Iraq 28 (1966), pp. 159f. and pl. XLV. A similar relief of his was found at Darband-i-Ramkan, on which see Edmonds, Kurds, Turks

and Arabs pp. 238–241 and J. Laessøe, *The Shemshara Tablets* (København, 1959) pp. 14f. The treaty with Elam written in Elamite which is discussed (with bibliography) in Hirsch, *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 24 has been edited by König, *Elam* pp. 29–34 and also see Hinz, *Elam*, pp. 63f. and pl. 21 (photograph of the obverse of the tablet), and Boehmer, *Or. n.s.* 35 (1966), pp. 345–376. A recently discovered omen of Naram-Sin, of which there are several duplicates, has been published by F. Köcher, *AfO* 20 (1963), pp. 157f. For economic texts from his reign see I. J. Gelb, *Studies Landsberger* pp. 57–62. Also see sub Mannu-dannu and Resh-Adad.†

Nazibugash (Shuzigash)

Babylonian king

Time of Ashur-uballit I

Synchronistic History i 11'–15' (^m*Na-zi-bu-ga-áš*)

Chronicle P i 9–14 (^m*Šu-zi-ga-áš*)

Concerning this king and the discrepancy between the Synchronistic History and Chronicle P see sub Ashur-uballit I.

Nazimuruttash

Babylonian king

1323–1298 B.C.

Synchronistic History i 24'–31' (^m*Na-zi-múru-taš*)

Chronicle P iii 23f. (^m*Na-zi-múru-taš*)

The sources for Nazimuruttash have been listed by K. Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), pp. 247–250 to which the following corrections and additions should be noted: 147. This is the Adad-narari I Epic concerning which see sub Adad-narari I. 151. = (!) 154. See W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 20 (1963), p. 141, n. 88.

158 and 159. Cf. W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 20 (1963), p. 141, n. 88.

He is mentioned by Esarhaddon (YOS 1, no. 40:12 and cf. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 77:D12) as a builder of Ehilianna in Uruk. A

hemerology was compiled during his reign (KAR 177 iv 25ff. and cf. R. Labat, *Calendrier Babylonien* pp. 19f.). His name is probably preserved in KAR 116:10 (a fragmentary literary text) and it also appears in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii(!) 32 and the unpublished fragment K 11536. Further see sub Adad-narari I.†

Nebuchadnezzar I

Babylonian king

1124–1103 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 1'–13' (^m*Nábû-ku-dûr-ušur*)

Chronicle 23:13 (^d*Nabû-kudur[rî]-û[šur]*)

Babylonian King List C 4 (^m*Nabû-kudurri-úšur*)

Synchronistic King List ii 15 (^m*Nábû-ku-dûr-ušur*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 12) 1–3 ([...-k]*udurri-ušur*)

The statement in the Shamash-shum-ukin Chronicle that Shirikti-Shuqamuna was the brother of Nebuchadnezzar (Nabukudurri-usur) is a mistake for Ninurta-kudurri-usur I (q.v.). The sources for this king have been collected by J. A. Brinkman, *JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 86–88, no. 4 and p. 102, Appendix (e). His name occurs in the Uruk Sage List (van Dijk, *UVB* 18, p. 45:18). It should be noted that there are several literary texts from his reign. Concerning the Nebuchadnezzar I Epic (Brinkman's 4.3.6) cf. Chapter 6, n. 57. Also note DT 71 (edited by H. Winckler, *AOF* 1, pp. 540–542, and J. Hehn, *BA* 5 [1905], pp. 386f.) which describes a destruction of Elam and therefore may be about the reign of Nebuchadnezzar I. Also note W. G. Lambert, "The Reign of Nebuchadnezzar I: A Turning Point in the History of Ancient Mesopotamian Religion" in W. S. McCullough, *The Seed of Wisdom* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 3–13. There is also a text concerning a chemical process from his palace published by A. L. Oppenheim, *RA* 60 (1966), pp. 29–35. Further see sub Ashur-resha-ishi I.†

Nebuchadnezzar II

Babylonian king

604–562 B.C.

Chronicle 4:6–28 (^{md}*Nabû-kudurrî-û-su-ur*,
^d*Nabû-kudurrî-û-šur*)Chronicle 5 (^{md}*Nabû-kudurrî-û-šur*, ^{md}*Nabû-kudurrî-û-su-ur*)Uruk King List 7 (^{md}*Nabû-kudurrî-û-šur*)

No attempt will be made here to give a bibliography of the sources for Nebuchadnezzar II since this would not assist one's understanding of the relevant chronicles. A history of the early part of his reign was recently provided by Wiseman, *Chron.* pp. 23–37.

Necho (Nikku)

Egyptian king

Time of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal
Esarhaddon Chronicle 44 (^m*Ni-ik-ku-[û]*)

For references to this king in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions see Streck, *Asb.* 3, p. 713.

Nergal-ushezib (Shuzubu)

Babylonian king

693 B.C.

Chronicle 1 ii 44–iii 6 (^d*Nergal-û-še-zib*)Babylonian King List A iv 17 (^{md}*Nergal-ušēzib*)Synchronistic King List iv 7 (^m*Nergal-še-zib*)Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 9) 2
(^m[*Šu(?)*]-[*zu-bu(?)*])

Nergal-ushezib is called Shuzubu in Sennacherib's inscriptions as is his successor, Mushezib-Marduk (q.v.). The passages in Sennacherib's inscriptions in which Nergal-ushezib/Shuzubu is mentioned are: OIP 2, p. 38:46; p. 87:28; p. 90:13; and probably p. 156:14 (since the same phrase is used here as in p. 38:46–48). There is a third individual bearing the name Shuzubu in Sennacherib's inscriptions (OIP 2, p. 34:53 and p. 71:33). He was a Chaldean who was defeated in the marshes of southern Babylonia on Sennacherib's fourth campaign. It seems very probable

that this Shuzubu is one of the men who later became king of Babylonia but there is no evidence of this nor of which king, Nergal-ushezib or Mushezib-Marduk, it might have been. Whether the writer of a letter, K 13071 (see M. Dietrich, *WO* 4 [1967], p. 100), whose name is Shuzubu is identical with any of these is unknown. The full form of Nergal-ushezib's name is unknown (presumably there was a middle element such as *aplu*). In the Synchronistic King List and the Nebi Yunus inscription (OIP 2, p. 87:28) he is said to belong to the tribe Gahul (cf. Weidner, *RLA* 3, p. 132). Concerning the chronology of his reign see J. A. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 (1965), pp. 244–246.

Neriglissar

Babylonian king

559–556 B.C.

Chronicle 6 (^{md}*Nergal-šarra-û-šur*)Uruk King List 9 (^{md}*Nergal-šarra-û-šur*)

Very few royal inscriptions of Neriglissar are known and there is little to add to S. Langdon, *VAB* 4. Note CT 36, 17–20 and TLB II/1, no. 22. No attempt will be made here to list the economic texts from his reign but the comment of J. A. Brinkman, *JNES* 25 (1966), p. 203 on the earliest date for his accession should be noted.

Nikku See Necho**Ninurta-apil-ekur**

Assyrian king

1192–1180 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 5ff. (^{md}*Ninurta-apil-é-[kur]*)Assyrian King List iii 15–17, 18 (^{md}*Ninurta-apil-é-kur*, ^{md}*Ninurta-apil-é-kur*)Synchronistic King List ii 7 (^m[^d*Ninurta-apil-é-kur*])Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) i 1
([...]-[*é-l-kur*])

On the few sources for this king see E. F. Weidner, *Tn.* nos. 46–49 and R. Borger, *Einleitung* 1, pp. 99f.

Ninurta-kudurri-usur I

Babylonian king

986–984 B.C.

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 21 (^d*Nabû* [sic!]-*kudurrî-ûsur*)Dynastic Chronicle v 10 ([^{md}*Ninurta-kud*]*urrî-ûsur*)Babylonian King List A iii 11 (^{md}*Ninurta*-[*kudurrî*])Synchronistic King List iii 6 (^{md}*Ninurta-ku*-[*dûr-x*])Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 3 (^{md}[...])

The sparse sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 93, no. 16.

Ninurta-nadin-shumati See Ninurta-nadin-shumi**Ninurta-nadin-shumi** (Ninurta-nadin-shumati)

Babylonian king

1130–1125 B.C.

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 3 iv(?) 11–21 (^m[^d*Nin-u*]*rta-nādin-šumāti*meš)Babylonian King List C 3 (^{md}*Ninurta-nadin-šumi*)Synchronistic King List ii 14 (^{md}*Ninurta*-[*x*]-*šumi*)

The few sources for this king have been given by J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 86, no. 3 and p. 102, Appendix (e). Further see sub Ashur-resha-ishi I.†

Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur (Tukulti-Ashur)

Assyrian king

1133 B.C.

Chronicle P iv 12f. (^m*Tukul-ti-Aššur*)Assyrian King List iii 19 (^{md}*Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aššur*)Synchronistic King List ii 12 (^{md}*Ninurta-tukul-ti-Aššur*)Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) i 3 ([^{md}*N*]*inurta-tukul-ti-Aššur*)Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 12) i (^{md}*Ninurta*-[*tukul*]-[*ti*-...])

For further sources for his reign see E. F. Weidner, Tn. nos. 54–57.

Ochus See Artaxerxes III**Philip III** (Arrhidaeus)

323–316 B.C.

Chronicle 10:1–21 (^m*Pi-lip-i-si*, ^m*Pi*, ^m*Pi-il-i-si*)Uruk King List r. 4 (^m*Pi-il-ip-su*)King List of the Hellenistic Period 2 (^m*Pi-lip-su*)

See Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology pp. 19f.

Ptolemy I

304–283 B.C.

Chronicle 10:4 (restored)

Ptolemy does not otherwise appear in cuneiform sources.

Pulu See Tiglath-pileser III**Puzur-Ashur III**

Assyrian king

Synchronistic History i 5'–7' (^m*Pu-zur-Aššur*)Assyrian King List ii 29, 30 (^m*Pu-zur-Aššur*)Assyrian K. L. Fragment (KAV 14) 9 (^m*Puzur*(*búzur*)-*Aššur*)Synchronistic King List i 22 ([...-*Aššur*]-[*šur*])

For the few known inscriptions of Puzur-Ashur III see Meissner IAK p. XIX and pp. 30–33; Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§ 48–49; and R. Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 20. He is mentioned as a forerunner of Adad-narari I in the latter's inscription, KAH 1, 4:31.

Puzur-Nirah

King of Akshak

Early Dynastic Period

Weidner Chronicle 38–41 (^m*Puzur-dNirah*meš (*muš*)(?))Sumerian King List vi 1 (duplicate ZA 50 [1952], p. 37 vi 4'f.) (*Púzur*.^d*Nirah*)

There are no other sources for this king.

Re-ma-ku

Time of Arik-din-ili

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:25 (^m*Re-ma-ku*)

Nothing else is known of this individual.

Resh-Adad

King of Apishal

Time of Naram-Sin

Chronicle of Early Kings A 25 (^m*Ri iš-^dAd[ad]*)

A copy of a Naram-Sin inscription speaks of the capture of a certain Rid-Adad and I. J. Gelb has proposed that the name be emended to read Resh-Adad. For references see H. Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), pp. 20f., and n. 209. Exact duplicates of the chronicle passage (Chronicle of Early Kings A 24–26) in which the defeat of Resh-Adad is narrated are found in the omen collections. See the commentary.

Rim-Sin I

King of Larsa

1822–1763 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings B 8–12 (^m*Rim-(am)-^dSin*)Larsa King List 14 (^d*Ri-im-^dSin*)

That the Rim-Sin mentioned in Chronicle of Early Kings B 8–12 must be different from the man of the same name mentioned in *ibid.* 13ff. is reasonably certain. See C. J. Gadd, "Hammurabi and the End of his Dynasty", CAH II, Chapter V p. 48. Concerning Rim-Sin I see D. O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* pp. 176–180; W. W. Hallo, *BiOr* 18 (1961), pp. 10f.; F. R. Kraus, *ZA* 53 (1959), pp. 136–167; C. J. Gadd, *Iraq* 22 (1960), pp. 157–165; and the inscriptions published by E. Sollberger, *UET* 8, nos. 82–88 and pp. 31f. (cf. A. Falkenstein, *BiOr* 23 [1966], p. 168). W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 57–88 thinks it might be he who undertook a major military campaign to Syria, the route of which was recorded in the so-called "Old Babylonian Itinerary". There is a cultic text from his reign published by Kingsbury, *HUCA* 34 (1963), pp. 1–34 and a seal of his servant, Ahuwaqar, has been published by Nagel, AfO 20 (1963), p. 126. No attempt will be made here to list the economic texts from his reign.

Rim-Sin II

Time of Samsu-iluna

Chronicle of Early Kings B 15 (^m*Rim(am)-^dSin*)

The defeat of Rim-Sin II by Samsu-iluna, which must have been described in the broken passage of the chronicle, is narrated in an inscription of Samsu-iluna (YOS 9, 35:103ff. and see Borger, *BAL* pp. 48f. for duplicate). It is possible that Rim-Sin II is to be identified with the nephew of Rim-Sin I who bore the same name. See Edzard, *Zwischenzeit*, p. 167.†

Sabu

Babylonian king

1844–1831 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle iv 3 (^m*Sà-bu-[ú]*)Babylonian King List B 3 (^m*Sà-bu-ú*)

This king is further mentioned in the genealogy of Ammi-saduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 20 (1966), p. 96:22. No inscriptions of this king are known. For documents from his reign see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* pp. 151f. to which add CT 45, 3–5 (cf. Röllig, *BiOr* 22 [1965], p. 171) and the cylinder seals from his time published by Nagel, AfO 20 (1963), p. 126.

Samsu-ditana

Babylonian king

1625–1595 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 11 (^m*Sàmaš-di-ta-na*)

Babylonian King List A i 2 (restored)

Babylonian King List B 11 (^m*Sa-am-su-di-ta-na*)

No inscriptions of Samsu-ditana are known. For a detailed discussion of the Hittite raid see B. Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954), pp. 64–72.

Samsu-iluna

Babylonian king

1749–1712 B.C.

Chronicle of Early Kings B 13–r. 8 (^m*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*)Larsa King List 16 (*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*)

Babylonian King List B 7 (^m*Sa-am-su-i-lu-na*)

Babylon I King List Fragment ([^m*Sa-am-s]u-i-lu-na*)

He is also included in the genealogy of Ammisaduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), p. 96:26. Further see sub Iliman and Rim-Sin II.

SAPpaya

Time of Kashshu-nadin-ahi

Dynastic Chronicle v 7 (^m*SAP-pa-a-a*)

Apart from the statement in the chronicle that Kashshu-nadin-ahi (q.v.) is his son nothing is known of this individual.

Sargon

King of Akkad

2334–2279 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle v 4, 14 (*Šarru-kīn*)

Weidner Chronicle 46–52 b (*Šarru-kīn*)

Chronicle of Early Kings A 1–23 (^m*Šarru-kīn*)

Sumerian King List vi 31–37 (*Šar.ru.ki.in*)

The “palace of Sargon” mentioned as a burial place in the Dynastic Chronicle probably refers to Sargon of Akkad. Most of the sources for Sargon are not contemporary but traditional material. For all references see H. Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), pp. 1–9 to which add the tiny fragment UET 8, no. 10. Further note H. G. Güterbock, “Sargon of Akkad mentioned by Hattušili I of Hatti”, JCS 18 (1964), pp. 1–6. For a detailed discussion of the omens about Sargon see J. J. Finkelstein, Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 107 (1963), pp. 461ff.

In Chronicle of Early Kings A 3 it is stated: “He crossed the sea in the east” and the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:24 has a similar statement except that Sargon is said to have crossed the sea in the west not in the east. Cf. the Legend of Sargon (CT 13, 42:17 and 43:18): [*si-ḫi-ir*]-*ti ti-amat lu-ú al-ma-a* III-*šú Dilmun lu-u* [...] “The [entire] sea I went around (lit. “surrounded”), I [...] Dilmun

three times.” One purpose in crossing the eastern sea, i.e. the Persian Gulf, could be an attack on Elam. (Cf. Sennacherib who crossed the Persian Gulf on his sixth campaign to attack the Elamites—OIP 2, pp. 38f.:32–53, pp. 73–76:48–106, pp. 77f.:25–32, pp. 86f.:19–26, p. 89:1f.; AfO 20 [1963], pp. 88–90:16–19.) Such an attack is mentioned in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:1–3, as well as in Sargon’s inscriptions (Hirsch, AfO 20 [1963], p. 36 iii/iv 21, p. 43 ix 10, p. 46 xi 39f., p. 47 xii 7–13, p. 47 xii 44f., pp. 51f. Sg. b 15:28f., Sg. b 16:33–39, 47–49). Also cf. the omen: *amūt^{ut} Šarru-kīn šá ana kur Mar-ḫa-ši illikū-ma* “The omen of Sargon who marched to Marhashi.” Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), p. 256 (= Nougayrol, Présages Historiques no. 54, and cf. Hirsch, AfO 20 [1963], p. 8). Marhaši is in Western Iran (Leemans, Foreign Trade p. 10 and p. 140). The most likely purpose in “crossing” the western sea, i.e. the Mediterranean, would be to reach Cyprus (cf. Iadnana which was conquered by Sargon II—see Gadd, Iraq 16 [1954], p. 194). There is evidence that Sargon reached Lebanon on the shores of the Mediterranean (see below) but no evidence that he crossed over to Cyprus. Thus one is inclined to regard the passage in the omen collection as a mistake and the account of the chronicle as correct. Cf. King, Chron. 1, pp. 36–38.

The western campaign described in Chronicle of Early Kings A 4–6 deserves some comment. There is sufficient evidence to show that Sargon of Akkad did campaign as far west as the Mediterranean. In his inscriptions Sargon claims to have conquered the “upper region”, Mari, Jarmuti, and Ebla as far as the “cedar forest” and the “silver mountains”—Hirsch, AfO 20 (1963), p. 38 v/vi 20–28/24–35, p. 49 xiv 23–31, cf. Landsberger ZA 35 (1924), pp. 233f., Weidner, AfO 16 (1952–1953), pp. 11f., Gelb, OIP 27, pp. 4f. and note Hurrians and Subarians p. 93, and n. 6, Goetze, Kleinasien² p. 64. Sargon

claims to have been conqueror from the upper to the lower sea (i.e. from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf) (Hirsch, AfO 20 [1963], p. 36 iii/iv 7-12, p. 42 viii 54-58, p. 48 xiii 9-13). The cedar forest, i.e. the region of the Amanus mountains in Lebanon, is also mentioned in the Tell Harmal version of the King of Battle Epic: [mu]-ša-ab e-re-ni-im ik-šu-ud "he reached the [h]ome of the cedars" Sumer 13 (1957), p. 99 i 12. The King of Battle Epic itself is, of course, an account of a campaign of Sargon against an Anatolian ruler who was giving trouble to an Akkadian merchant colony in Asia Minor. Note the passages in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:5f., 13f., 16-18, which say that Sargon conquered the Amurru. Another passage of the same text (lines 24-26) is a duplicate of the passage in the chronicle under discussion here (A 4-6) with two major variants. Whereas the chronicle says Sargon campaigned in the west in his eleventh year, the NA omen collection says it was his third year. Since Sargon's third year is also mentioned in the Amarna version of the King of Battle Epic (VAS 12, 193 r. 27) Weidner, BoSt 6 (1922), p. 94, has argued that the chronicle is in error here and that three is the correct figure. Since all three sources for the year of the campaign are secondary one cannot be certain that either figure is correct. To further support his argument that the chronicle is in error Weidner, *ibid.* p. 94 n. 3, claims that the chronicle has also made a mistake in line 6, a claim which has not been accepted by the present author as will be stated presently. But note that the NA omen collection, not the chronicle, is probably in error in line 3 (see above). The second discrepancy between the chronicle and the NA omen collection is that the latter has *ina ma-a-ti tāmti* (a.ab.ba) instead of *ina a-ma-a-ti* (line 6 of the chronicle). That is, there are two different geographical designations (*māt tāmti* would be preferable to *māti tāmti* but the unusual form still does not

justify the translation "by land and sea"—cf., King, Chron. 1, p. 38, n. 1, and Dougherty, YOR 19, pp. 5-10). A place Amati is attested in Mari (*A-ma-tim*^{K1} ARM 4, 1:11). Also cf. Hamatu (also written Amatti/e in the NA period—e.g. Lyon, Sar. p. 4:25, and Iraq 23 [1961], p. 40 ND 2640:35) which is identical with modern Hama. Since there are no other sources for this particular event it is impossible to decide which version is correct. For the suggested translations of *a-ma-a-ti* as "ships" or "rafts" see A. Malamat, *Studies Landsberger* p. 366, n. 9 and for Sargon's western campaign in general see *ibid.*, pp. 365-367.†

Note the statement in Chronicle of Early Kings A 7 that: "He stationed his court officials at intervals of five double hours". Sargon apparently set up a chain of provinces throughout his kingdom administered by his own officials stationed at short intervals from one another. A parallel passage is found in the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:28f.: [*amūt*] *Šarru-kīn šá ekalla-šú uštēšerū*(si.sá) *vta-am be-ri ú-rap-pi-šu-ma* [...] *x etlūmes i-zi-zu-ni-šum-ma e ki-a-am i ni-lik iq-bu-šú* "[omen] of Sargon who put his palace in order, stationed (his court officials) at intervals of five double hours, [...] the young men stood before him and said, 'Let it not be so, let us go!'"†

Sargon II

Assyrian king

721-705 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 31-ii 6' (*Šarru-kīn*)

Babylonian King List A iv 11 (^m*Šarru-kīn*)

It would be far beyond the scope of the present study to try to present here a complete list of the numerous sources for the reign of Sargon II. Among the more important publications are: Luckenbill, ARAB 2, §§ 1-230; Lie, Sar.; Lyon, Sar.; Winckler, Sar.; Thureau-Dangin, TCL 3; Gadd, Iraq 16 (1954), pp. 173-201; Weidner, AfO 14 (1941-44), pp. 40-51; Thompson, Iraq 7 (1940), pp. 86-89;

Thompson, Arch. 79 (1929), pp. 117–135; Thompson, AAA 18 (1931), pp. 79ff.; Thompson, AAA 19 (1932), pp. 55ff.; Clay, YOS 1, no. 38; and H. Tadmor, “The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur”, JCS 12 (1958), pp. 22–40, 77–100. Numerous letters from his reign are published by Harper, ABL and further see M. Dietrich, WO 4 (1967), pp. 61–103.†

The battle of Der described in Chronicle 1 i 33–37 has been discussed in detail by Grayson, Studies Landsberger pp. 340–342. There it was concluded that of the three versions of the outcome of the battle which are available, the narrative of Chronicle 1 is the most reliable. Note the statement in Chronicle 1 i 34 that the battle took place “in the district of Der” (*ina pīḫat Dēr^{ki}*) and compare Sargon’s statement about the location of the battle: “in the piazza of Der” (*ina rēbit Dēr^{ki}*)—Winckler, Sar. p. 100:23 (Display Inscription); Lyon, Sar. p. 3:17 (Khorsabad Cylinder Inscription); and Winckler, Sar. p. 168:7 (stone slabs from Nimrud). The statement in the Assyrian royal inscriptions is curious for a piazza is hardly the place for a major battle.†

Concerning Sargon’s final battle with Merodach-baladan II which is described in Chronicle 1 ii 1–5 and which took place in 710 B.C. also note the description of the same event in Sargon’s inscriptions: Lie, Sar. p. 40:262–p. 58:14 (Annals); JCS 12 (1958), pp. 99f. (letter to a god); Winckler, Sar. p. 120:121–126 (Display Inscription); Iraq 16 (1954), pp. 185f.:14–26 (Nimrud Prisms); Winckler, Sar. p. 84:18–20 (Display Inscription of Room XIV); Winckler, Sar. p. 148:45–p. 150:54 (Khorsabad Pavement Inscription); AfO 14 (1941–44), p. 50:12–15 (Prism Fragment); Lyon, Sar. p. 14:30–32 (Bull Inscription). With regard to the description in the Annals, the Display Inscription, and the Nimrud Prisms see Grayson, Studies Landsberger p. 341. The defeat of Merodach-baladan II is also mentioned in a broken passage of an Assyrian letter (ABL no. 158:22). Further cf. H. Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p. 96.

The accession to the Babylonian throne by Sargon which is recorded in Chronicle 1 ii 5 is noteworthy for the chronicler now numbers his regnal years from the time he ascended the Assyrian throne twelve years before. This is in contrast to the method used with Tiglath-pileser III. Here, although Tiglath-pileser III had been ruling in Assyria for several years, the chronicler reckoned his regnal years from the time he ascended the throne in Babylon (cf. i 24). Since Sargon and Merodach-baladan ascended their respective thrones at the same time their year numbers were the same. This is probably how the confusion arose and the scribe numbered Sargon’s years from his accession to the Assyrian throne. Note that the Ptolemaic Canon, unlike Chronicle 1 and Babylonian King List A, did not recognize Sargon’s rule of Babylon but simply called this period “five years of anarchy”.

The Babylonian campaign upon which Sargon captured Dur-Yakin (Chronicle 1 ii 2’) is described in Sargon’s inscriptions: Lie, Sar. p. 58:15–p. 66:1 (Annals); Winckler, Sar. p. 120:126–p. 126:144 (Display Inscription); Iraq 16 (1954), p. 186:27–83 (Nimrud Prisms); Lyon, Sar. p. 14:32–34 (Bull Inscription). Further compare the allusions in: Winckler, Sar. p. 100:22 (Display Inscription); Winckler, Sar. p. 84:25 (Display Inscription of Room XIV); Winckler, Sar. p. 138:18–20; pp. 138–40:14–16; p. 144:18–20; p. 152:85–87; p. 160:25f. (Khorsabad Pavement Inscriptions). According to the eponym canon (Tadmor, JCS 12 [1958], p. 85) the booty of Dur-Yakin was taken to Assyria two years later (707 B.C.) and the city was destroyed. An administrative text from Nimrud recording the tribute of Dur-Yakin for the year 707 has been recently published (ND 2451—Parker, Iraq 23 [1961], pl. XIV and cf. pp. 28–30) but the text is badly broken so that only the name of the city is preserved. According to Winckler, Sar. p. 118:116 (Display Inscription) and Iraq 16 (1954), p. 179:1–12

(Nimrud Prisms) the inhabitants of Bit-Yakin were transplanted to Kummuh (Commagene) and according to Lie, Sar. p. 64:15f. (Annals) the people of Kummuh were transplanted to Bit-Yakin. Dur-Yakin is also mentioned in two letters to Sargon: ABL 131 and ABL 865.

The campaign against Tabal mentioned in the broken passage of Chronicle 1 ii 6' ff. is the third such expedition undertaken by Sargon. The two earlier campaigns against Tabal took place in his fourth (see C^b 4 in JCS 12 [1958], p. 85) and ninth years (Lie, Sar. p. 32:194–202) respectively. Summary references to his conquest of Tabal are found in the following inscriptions of Sargon: Lie, Sar. p. 4:9 (Annals); Winckler, Sar. p. 102:30 (Display Inscription); Winckler, Sar. p. 82:16 (Display Inscription of Room XIV); Winckler, Sar. p. 148:36 (Khorsabad Pavement Inscription); Lyon, Sar. p. 3:15 (Khorsabad Cylinder Inscription); Lyon, Sar. p. 14:22 (Bull Inscription); Winckler, Sar. p. 170:11 (Stone Slab from Nimrud). Of further interest in this respect is the letter ABL 197 which is from Sennacherib to his father, Sargon, and quotes a report from Tabal. The Nimrud text ND 2607 (Iraq 23 [1961], pl. XIX and cf. p. 37) may be a list of tribute from Tabal. The date of this text is not preserved.

Further see Humban-nikash I, Shutruk-Nahhunte II, and Merodach-baladan II.

Seleucus

An official

Chronicle 13:5 (^m*Si-lu-ku*)

The identity of this man is unknown. Concerning the Seleucus mentioned in Chronicle 13 r. 8 see Chapter 2.

Seleucus I

Seleucid king

305–281 B.C.

Chronicle 10:1(?)–6, 9–13; r. 4–13, 15–17, 34; edge 1f. (^m*Si-lu-uk-ku*)

Chronicles 11–12 (restored)

Uruk King List r. 6 (^m*Si-lu-ku*)

King List of the Hellenistic Period 6, 8f. (^m*Si-lu-ku*, ^m*Si*)

Concerning the correct date of the assassination of Seleucus I see Sachs and Wiseman, Iraq 16 (1954), pp. 205f. Also see Parker and Dubberstein, Babylonian Chronology pp. 20f.

† Sennacherib

Assyrian king

704–681 B.C.

Chronicle 1 ii 19–iii 36 (^d*Šin-ahhēmeš-erība*)
Esarhaddon Chronicle 31–34 (^m*Šin-ahhēmeš-erība*)

Akitu Chronicle 1–4 (^m*Ši[n-...]*)

Babylonian King List A iv 12, 19 (^m*Šin-ahhē-erība*)

Synchronistic King List iv 1–12 (^m*Šin-ahhēmeš-erība*)

Synchronistic King List Fragment (KAV 9) 4 (^m*Šin-ahhē[ē-...]*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iv 1–3 (restored)

Sennacherib's inscriptions were collected and edited by D. D. Luckenbill, OIP 2 and ARAB 2 §§ 231–496 to which add Grayson, "The Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription", AfO 20 (1963), pp. 83–96. References to further additions are found in *ibid.* p. 84, n. 5 to which add:

m) A duplicate of the Bellino Cylinder (Luckenbill's B₁) is YOS 9, no. 136.

n) Fragment of a bronze relief, duplicate of Luckenbill's I₇: IM 62197—Sumer 18 (1962), p. 48 and Fig. 1 and cf. Grayson, Sumer 19 (1963), pp. 111f..

o) ND 5414—Wiseman, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 122 and Knudsen, Iraq 29 (1967), p. 67 and pl. XXII—is a duplicate of the annals.

p) ND 5416—Wiseman, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 122 and Knudsen, Iraq 29 (1967), p. 67 and pl. XXII—is a duplicate of Luckenbill's E₁.

q) Ki 1904–10–9, 79 (unpublished) is a duplicate of Luckenbill's C₁. Cf. R. Borger, BiOr 22 (1965), p. 167.

- r) Seal of Sennacherib on Esarhaddon's Vassal Treaties (see Wiseman, *Treaties* p. 15).
- s) Some inscriptions found by restorers at Nineveh are mentioned in Sumer 21 (1965), pp. 5f. Only one of them is published, and only in translation, and it is apparently a duplicate of Luckenbill's I 29.†

Numerous letters from his reign were published by Harper, ABL and see further M. Dietrich, *WO* 4 (1967), pp. 61–103. No attempt will be made here to list the economic and legal documents from his reign. In the Babylonian King List A Sennacherib is said to belong to the dynasty of Habigal (BALA *Ha-bi-gal*). His son, Ashur-nadin-shumi, is also said to belong to the same dynasty (iv 16). A place name or personal name Habigal is otherwise unknown. There are three different traditions concerning the date of Sennacherib's first regnal year, 705, 704, and 703 B.C. See J. Lewy, "The Chronology of Sennacherib's Accession", *AnOr* 12, pp. 225–231 and cf. J. A. Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* pp. 22–24.

It is interesting to note that Larak and Sarrahanu, which are mentioned in Chronicle 1 ii 22, are also the only two cities mentioned in the eponym canon C^b 6 (cf. Ungnad, *RLA* 2, p. 435) although in Sennacherib's inscriptions a large number of cities are listed. See Chapter 2, n. 22.

Sennacherib's appointment of Bel-ibni (q.v.) to the throne (Chronicle 1 ii 23) is described in his own inscriptions: OIP 2, p. 54:54 and p. 57:13. The conquest of Hirimma and Hararatu (Chronicle 1 ii 24f.) is described in Sennacherib's inscriptions: OIP 2, p. 26:55 and 58; p. 54:57 and p. 55:58; p. 57:17 and 18; p. 67:8; p. 77:14; p. 86:12. The deposition of Bel-ibni (Chronicle 1 ii 26–29) is not specifically mentioned in Sennacherib's inscriptions. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, *Studies Oppenheim* p. 26 and n. 149.

The appointment of Ashur-nadin-shumi (q.v.) to the Babylonian throne (Chronicle

1 ii 30f.) is mentioned not only in Sennacherib's inscriptions (OIP 2, p. 35:71–74; p. 71:37; pp. 76f.:11–13) but also in the Synchronistic King List iv 4–6. The Elamite campaign undertaken by Sennacherib which is described in Chronicle 1 ii 36–39 in the section on the sixth year of Ashur-nadin-shumi is narrated in Sennacherib's inscriptions: OIP 2, p. 38:32–p. 39:53; p. 73:48–p. 76:106; p. 77:25–p. 78:32; p. 86:19–p. 87:26; p. 89:1f. and the duplicate K 8544–Borger, *Asarh.* § 91; *AfO* 20 (1963), pp. 88–90:16–19.

The date given for the Elamite raid on Babylonia ("At the end of the month Tishri" Chronicle 1 ii 40) no longer poses a problem as Böhl, *Orientalia Neerlandica* p. 122, n. 1 once thought. For the solution see J. A. Brinkman, *Dissertation* p. 79 and n. 116. The Elamite attack which resulted in an Elamite protégé, Nergal-ushezib, being placed on the Babylonian throne (Chronicle 1 ii 39–45) is alluded to in Sennacherib's inscriptions, OIP 2, pp. 38f.:46–52; p. 87:27–29. Further see sub Nergal-ushezib. The events of his reign which are mentioned in Chronicle 1 ii 46–iii 5 are described under his seventh campaign in OIP 2, p. 39 iv 54–p. 41 v 16; p. 87:27–p. 88:44; p. 89:3–p. 91:30 and the duplicate K 8544 for which see Borger, *Asarh.* § 91; *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 90:19–46. The conquest of Rashi (Chronicle 1 iii 10) is elsewhere mentioned only in the Walters Art Gallery Sennacherib Inscription (*AfO* 20 [1963], p. 90:33). The conquest of Bit-Burnaki (Chronicle 1 iii 11 – the more usual orthography, Bit-Bunakki, appears in a variant) is mentioned in OIP 2, p. 40:70; p. 88:38; p. 90:18; and *AfO* 20 (1963), p. 90:34.†

The accession of Mushezib-Marduk (q.v.) which is described in Chronicle 1 iii 12 is not specifically mentioned in Sennacherib's inscriptions. The death of the Elamite king Kudur-Nahhunte (q.v.) and the accession of Humban-nimena (q.v.) which is described in Chronicle 1 iii 13–16 is also narrated in OIP 2, p. 41:11–16. The battle

of Halule which is described in Chronicle 1 iii 16–18 has been discussed by Grayson, *Studies Landsberger*, p. 342. Here it was pointed out that whereas the chronicle says the Assyrians were defeated, in his own inscriptions Sennacherib has claimed a victory and it was concluded that the chronicle's version was more reliable.

The statement in Chronicle 1 iii 28 ("The eighth year of there not being a king in Babylon") indicates that the chronicler did not recognize Sennacherib as the legitimate king of Babylon in the period extending from his vicious sack of Babylon (689 B.C.—his first regnal year in Babylon would be 688) to his death in 681 B.C. The Ptolemaic Canon also did not recognize his rule at this time and designates this period as an interregnum. There is a discrepancy between the two documents however. For the chronicle the interregnum extends over an eight year period but for the Ptolemaic Canon it is a seven year period. Note that, whereas the chronicle assigns twelve regnal years to Esarhaddon, the Ptolemaic Canon gives him thirteen. Thus the Ptolemaic Canon has reckoned Esarhaddon's accession year as his first regnal year while Chronicle 1 has regarded it as the eighth and last interregnal year. Babylonian King List A follows a tradition which recognized Sennacherib as king of Babylon since his name is preserved in this document after that of Mushezib-Marduk (although the number of regnal years is broken off). The Synchronistic King List iv 10 (an Assyrian document) also recognized Sennacherib as king of Babylon in this period, as did the Esarhaddon Chronicle 31 and the Akitu Chronicle 1.

The murder of Sennacherib which is described in Chronicle 1 iii 34f. has been the subject of much discussion. For a bibliography see A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*² p. 288, n. 1.

Further see sub Hallushu-Inshushinak I, Humban-haltash I, Merodach-baladan II, and Shutruk-Nahhunte II.

Shalmaneser III

Assyrian king

858–824 B.C.

Synchronistic History iii 22–5' (*maššul-ma-nu-ašarēd*)

Chronicle 24 r. 5f. (restored)

Assyrian King List iv 16f. (*maššul-ma-nu-ašarēd*)

Synchronistic King List iii 20 (*maššul-ma-nu-ašarēd*)

The inscriptions of Shalmaneser III are now appearing in WO edited by E. Michel and it is therefore unnecessary to list them all here. Only those which have a direct bearing on the chronicle passages will be mentioned.

The sources for Shalmaneser III have no direct relation to the passage in the Synchronistic History iii 22–26 wherein is described his peaceful dealings with Nabu-apla-iddina (q.v.) with the exception of a recently published inscription from a statue of Shalmaneser III (see H below). Lines 44f. of this inscription read: *ina VIII [B]ALAMEŠ a maNābū-apla-iddina šar₄ k[ur]Kar-du-ni-áš šadā-šu]e-mid*. This is an exact duplicate of the Synchronistic History iii 26. Even without this evidence it would be certain that Nabu-apla-iddina is the name to be restored in the Synchronistic History and Chronicle 24, however, for not only is he known to be the predecessor of Marduk-zakir-shumi I—see the Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) ii 9f. and cf. J. A. Brinkman, *JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 95f.—his name also appears together with Shalmaneser's name in a colophon in CT 16, 38 (cf. the duplicates in Lambert, *JCS* 11 [1957], p. 5, n. 21).

The passage in the Synchronistic History iii 27–36 in which the rebellion of Marduk-bel-usate (q.v.) against Marduk-zakir-shumi I (q.v.) is described deserves special comment. The rebellion is well attested in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. In fact almost every phrase used here is paralleled in the inscriptions of this king. Following is a list of the inscriptions involved and the parallel passages (the

reader should also refer to Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 553–712):

- A. Throne Inscription from Ashur: 14–20. The text is given by Craig, *Hebraica* 2 (1885–6), pp. 140ff., and it is edited on pp. 142–146. It is also edited by Delitzsch, BA 6 (1908), p. 152. There is a recent English translation by Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 276f.
- B. Balawat Gate Inscription: iv 1–v 6. WO 4 (1967), pp. 30f.
- C. Clay Tablet from Ashur: r. 1–5. WO 1 (1947–52), p. 67. Only traces of the parallel passage are preserved.
- D. Bull Inscriptions from Kalah: 78–84. The text is given by Layard, *Inscriptions* 12–16, and it is edited by Delitzsch, BA 6, p. 147.
- E. Clay Tablet from Ashur: 41–54. WO 1, pp. 464–466.
- F. Marble Tablet from Ashur: 31–44. WO 2 (1954–59), pp. 32–34.
- G. Black Obelisk from Kalah: 73–84. WO 2, p. 150.
- H. Statue Inscription from Kalah: 44ff. J. Laessøe, *Iraq* 21 (1959) p. 151. P. Hulin will publish an improved edition of this text in a forthcoming volume of *Sumer*. The comments here are based on Hulin's edition and the author wishes to thank him for placing the unpublished MS. at his disposal.
- I. Throne-Base Inscription from Kalah: 45f. *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 56.

C is omitted from the remainder of the discussion since the text is too broken to be studied. (Cf. the relief from Kalah in which Shalmaneser III is pictured shaking hands with Marduk-zakir-shumi, *ILN* Dec. 1962, and D. Oates, *Iraq* 25 [1963], pp. 20–22, and pl. VIIc.). Following is a chart of the variants of the parallel passages (orthographical variants have not been noted):

Synchronistic History

²⁸)^[md]Ma[r]du-uk-bēl-ū-sa-a-te aḥu-šú itti-šú ib-bal-[kit]

²⁹f.)^{kur}Ak-ka-di-[i] ma[l-m]a-[l]iś i-zu-zu

³⁰⁻³²)^{md}Šul-ma-nu-ašarēd šar₄ ^{kur}[Aš-šur] a-n[a n]i-ra-ru-ti ša ^{md}Marduk-zākir-[šumi] šar₄ ^{kur}Kar-du-ni-áš il-l[ik]

³³)^{md}Marduk-bēl-ū-sa-a-te šarra ḥammā'[a]

³³f.)^{md}Marduk-bēl-ū-sa-a-te ... [a-d]i šāz bēmeš bēl ḥi-ṭi šā it-ti-šú i-duk

Shalmaneser III

B iv 1, F 32, and I 45 have exactly the same text. D 78f., E 42, and H 46 insert *lū* before *ibbalkit*. G 74 has *aḥu du-pu-us-su-ú* for *aḥu-šú*. H 46 adds *du-up-pu-su-ú* after *aḥu-šú*. A has no parallel.

H 46f.: [...] *i-zu-zu*. B iv 1 and G 75 have *māta* for ^{kur}Ak-ka-di-[i]. A, D, E, F, and I have no parallel.

I 45 has the same text except for the omission of *šar Karduniaš*. B iv 1 has: ^{md}Marduk-zākir-šumi ana nērārūti-šú ana muḥḥi ^{md}Šul-ma-nu-ašarēd ū-ma-'i-ra rak-ba-šú. H 47: ^m[^dMarduk-zākir]-šumi a-na muḥḥi [...]. A 14f. has: a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li šā ^{md}Marduk-zākir-šumi a-na ^{kur}Ak-ka-di-i [lu] a-lik. G 75f. has: a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li ^{md}Marduk-zākir-šumi a-lik. D 79, E 43, and F 33 have the same text as G 75f. except ^{md}Marduk-zākir-šumi is omitted and *lū* inserted before *allik*.

B iv 4 adds: *la mu-de-e a-lak-te ra-ma-ni-šú*. A, D, E, F, G, H, and I have no parallel epithets.

D 81, E 47f., F 38–40, and G 80f. have *ina kakkē ušamqit* for *i-duk*. B v 3 has: ^{md}Marduk-bēl-ū-sa-te ina ^{gis}kakkēmeš ū-šam-qit u sābēmeš ḥu-up-še šā itti-šú a-ia-um-ma ul e-zib. I 45f. has: ^{md}Marduk-bēl-ū-sa-te ina ^{gis}kakki ū-šam-qit ^{md}Marduk-zākir-šumi ina ^{gis}kussē abi-šú ū-kín. H and

A 16f. are too broken for consideration (in the edition of A by Delitzsch everything after *-sa-* in line 16 should be in square brackets).

After the defeat of Marduk-bel-usate all the parallel passages in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions speak of activities in Cuthah, Borsippa, and Babylon (as well as in other cities). The references are: A 17, B v 4-vi 5, D 82, E 49f., F 41f., G 82f., H 60' ff., and I 46f. Similarly in the Synchronistic History Cuthah and Babylon are mentioned just before the text breaks off (iii 35). Only one phrase in the Synchronistic History now remains unparalleled. This is (*Marduk-bēl-usāte*) [^{uru}]*Da-ban lu iṣ-bat* in iii 29. To this compare ^m*Marduk-bēl-ū-sa-(a)-te a-na ṣu-zu-ub napšāti*^{meš-šú a-na} ^{uru}*Halman e-li* D 80f. and E 46. Also cf. ^{uru}*Arman a-na dan-nu-ti-šú lu iṣ-bat* B v 1f. Two other sources (F 37f. and G 79f.) have simply (*Marduk-bēl-usāte*) *a-na ṣu-zu-ub napšāti*^{meš-šú a-na šadē e-li}. A and I have no parallel and H is broken. It could be that two different incidents are referred to but one wonders if in the Synchronistic History Daban has been confused with Halman/Arman. It should be noted that Arman, Alman, and Halman are different forms of the same name—see Albright, JAOS 45 (1925), p. 212, and Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938), p. 74—and yet another form of this name is probably found in Yalman which occurs in I R 31 iv 11 (Shamshi-Adad V), Synchronistic History iii 3, and KAH 2, no. 84:27 (Adad-nerari II). Cf. Cameron, HEI p. 29. Yalman/Alman/Arman/Halman is probably to be identified with modern Holwan—see Albright, JAOS 45 (1925), pp. 212–214, Güterbock, ZA 44 (1938), p. 74, and note 1, Weidner, AfO 16 (1952–53), p. 12, n. 84, K. Balkan, Belleten 12 (1948), p. 737, and A. Goetze, JNES 12 (1953), p. 118, n. 27. It is not to be confused with Armanum which is to be located in north or northwestern Mesopotamia (see Weidner, AfO 16 [1952–53], pp. 12f.) nor with the Arman mentioned in the

Synchronistic History i 30' which was in Ugarsallu (see Appendix C). Daban is also attested in Boissier, DA p. 267:5 (= Boissier, Choix 1, p. 253, and CT 29, 48:5). Further cf. Dabanu which is discussed in RLA 2, p. 96 and note the river Daban identified in the Diyala region by Jacobsen—quoted from unpublished MS by Adams, Land Behind Baghdad (Chicago, 1965) p. 48, n. 10 (p. 173).†

Shalmaneser V (Ululaya)

Assyrian king

726–722 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 27–30 (*Šul-man-a-šá-red*)

Chronicle 24 r. 20 (restored)

Babylonian King List A iv 9 (^m*Ú-lu-la-a-a*)

Assyrian King List iv 26f. (^{md}*Šul-ma-nu-ášarēd*)

Until recently no inscriptions of this king were known. The text published by S. Smith, CT 37, 23 (cf. Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 828–830) although ascribed to this king by Luckenbill, AJSL 41 (1925), pp. 162–164 is almost certainly an inscription of Esarhaddon (cf. Meissner, AfO 3 [1926], pp. 13f. and Borger, Asarh. p. 32). A short time ago it was announced by D. Oates, Sumer 19 (1963), p. 73 that a fragmentary brick inscription found at Apqu (Tell Abu Marya) had been identified as an inscription of Shalmaneser V by J. Laessøe.†

It is known from an Aramaic letter that he ravaged Bit-Adin (WVDOG 38, p. 8:15 and see p. 13—also cf. Honigmann, RLA 2, p. 35). His Babylonian name, Ululaya (Babylonian King List A and cf. the Ptolemaic Canon) is a common one in NA documents. See Tallquist, APN pp. 239f. For further sources for the reign of Shalmaneser V see J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 102, no. 43.†

Shamash-ibni

Time of Esarhaddon

Chronicle 1 iv 1f. (restored)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 10 (^{md}*Šamaš-ib-ni*)

See sub Esarhaddon.

Shamash-mudammīq

Babylonian king

Time of Adad-nerari II

Synchronistic History iii 1–8 (^{md}Šamaš-mu^{mudammīq})Chronicle 24 r. 2 ([...-^{mudammīq}]^a)Synchronistic King List iii 13 (^{md}Šamaš-mu^{mudammīq})Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) ii 6 (^{md}Šamaš-mu^{da[mmiq]})Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iii 9 (^{md}Šamaš-mu^{dammīq})

No further sources, apart from his mention in the inscriptions of Adad-nerari II (q.v.), are known for this king. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 95, no. 22.

Shamash-shuma-ukin

Babylonian king

668–648 B.C.

Chronicle 1 iv 33–38 (^aŠamaš-šuma-ukin)Esarhaddon Chronicle 35–45 (^{md}Šamaš-šuma-ukin)

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 2–19

(^aŠamaš-šuma-ukin)Akitu Chronicle 5–23 (^{md}Šamaš-šuma-ukin)Babylonian King List A iv 21 (^mŠamaš-šuma)

Uruk King List 1f. (? restored)

Synchronistic King List iv 14 (^{md}Šamaš-šuma-ukin)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182) iv 5 (restored)

To the sources for Shamash-shuma-ukin collected by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Šamaš-šumukin König von Babylonien (Leipzig, 1892 = Assyriologische Bibliothek 8) and M. Streck, *Asb.* very little can be added. A kudurru of this king was published by Steinmetzer, *Epitymbion* (Reichenberg, 1927) pp. 319–324 and *AnOr* 12, pp. 302–6. An ex-voto inscription was published by Scheil, *RT* 36 (1914), pp. 188f. A prayer of Shamash-shuma-ukin is to be found in Ebeling, *Handerhebung* pp. 8–10. For detailed historical notes on the events of his reign as described in the Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle see A. R. Millard,

Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 14–35. Further see Ashurbanipal.

Shamshi-Adad V

Assyrian king

823–811 B.C.

Synchronistic History iii 6'–iv 14 ([^mŠamši-^aAdad])Assyrian King List iv 17–19 (^{md}Šam-ši-^aAdad])Synchronistic King List iii 22 ([^mŠam]-ši-^aA[^{dad}])

It is interesting that no mention is made in the Synchronistic History of Marduk-zakir-shumi I (q.v.) in the section on Shamshi-Adad V although he was on the Babylonian throne at the beginning of the reign of the Assyrian monarch. This omission is not surprising when one studies the only source preserved for this period—a Babylonian copy of a treaty between the two kings. The editors of this text—Peiser, *MVAG* 3/6 (1898), pp. 14–17, Weidner, *AfO* 8 (1932–33), pp. 27–29, and cf. R. Borger, *Or.n.s.* 34 (1965), pp. 168f.—have rightly emphasized that Shamshi-Adad is far from being the more influential of the two kings in this document. It could of course be argued that the Babylonian copy of such a treaty may well be altered somewhat to make the Babylonian king seem more important (cf. the Egyptian and Hittite versions of the treaty between Ramses II and Hattusilis conveniently translated together in *ANET*² pp. 199–203) but the silence of the Synchronistic History (which otherwise speaks ad nauseum of agreements and boundaries being fixed between Assyrians and Babylonians) lends further support to the idea that this treaty was more in Marduk-zakir-shumi's interests than Shamshi-Adad's.†

The inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad V have been either edited or referred to by E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 9 (1933–34), pp. 89ff. and cf. Luckenbill, *ARAB* 1, §§ 713–729. His name is preserved on an ivory fragment from Nimrud for which see M. E. L. Mallowan, *Nimrud and its Remains* (Lon-

don, 1966) 2, p. 594 and p. 596 no. 576. So far only six campaigns of this king are known and only the last three which are against Karduniash are important for the study here. Following are the sources for these campaigns:

Fourth campaign: Kalah Stele (I R 34) iii 70–iv 45. edited by Abel, KB 1, pp. 184–187.

Ashur Stele (AfO 9, p. 93) iii 1–16. edited by Weidner, AfO 9, pp. 91f.

Fifth campaign: Ashur Stele (AfO 9, p. 93 and p. 95) iii 17–iv 10. edited by Weidner, AfO 9, pp. 92–94.

Letter to a god (KAH 2, no. 142). edited by Weidner, AfO 9, pp. 102–104.

Sixth campaign: Ashur Stele (AfO 9, p. 95) iv 11–29. edited by Weidner, AfO 9, p. 100.

When the fourth and fifth campaigns took place, Marduk-balatsu-iqbi (q.v.) was king of Karduniash. The account of these campaigns is found in the Synchronistic History iii 6'–9'. The traces there cannot be matched to any particular passage in Shamshi-Adad's accounts but this is not surprising since the preserved versions of these campaigns are not complete. It is unfortunate that this section of the Synchronistic History is not better preserved for it would be interesting to compare its version with that of the letter to a god.

When the sixth campaign takes place, Baba-aha-iddina (q.v.) is king of Karduniash. The title "king of Karduniash" (*šar kur Karduniaš*) is not actually preserved with his name anywhere but this is simply due to the chance of preservation. The account of the campaign by the Synchronistic History is found in iv 1f. to which cf. lines 15–29 of the sixth campaign:

*ina uruNi-x [lu] [e]-si[r-šu āla] šu-a-tū ina
pil-ši ù gīšna-pi-l[i a-s]i-b[i ak]-šud
mdBa-ba₆-āha-iddina a-di a₆urigallé ...
al-qa-a*

"In Ni ... I besieged [him]. By means of boring and siege engines [I c]aptured that [city]. Baba-aha-iddina together with the standard ... I took away."

Lines 17–29 of the sixth campaign list in detail what the Synchronistic History sums up as "his property (and) the treasure of his palace" (*makkūrišu niširti ēkallišu*).

The events of the next portion in the Synchronistic History (iv 3–9) may have also taken place on the sixth campaign or on a later campaign. Since no inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad are preserved this far, there is no way of telling. If Weidner's (AfO 9, pp. 94–96) correlation of the campaigns with the eponym list C^b (see now Ungnad, RLA 2, p. 428) is correct, there was only one more campaign after the sixth and this seventh campaign was also against Babylonia.†

The capture of the Babylonian cities described in the Synchronistic History iv 3–9 deserves comment. Der was previously captured and sacked on the fifth campaign (see the sources listed above) and in that account a list of the abducted gods was also given. Two gods which appear in that list appear in the Synchronistic History. These are Anu-rabu and Sharrat-Deri. Both are definitely deities from Der (cf. Borger, Asarh. p. 84:42ff. where also the reading *Šarrat-Dēri* is confirmed). Although Mar-biti is included in both lists, in the Synchronistic History "of Maliki" (*ša uruMaliki*) is added and in the Ashur Stele there are actually two listed:

*aMār-bīti ša pa-an bīti aMār-bīti ša
bi-rit nāri.*

For comment see E. F. Weidner, AfO 9, p. 99. None of the other deities listed in the Synchronistic History can be connected with any of the cities given here but this is no proof that no connection exists. Humhumya (for the reading cf. the Esarhaddon Chronicle 4) is connected with Sippar-Aruru in Borger, Asarh. p. 84:44. Belit-Akkadi (the reading is confirmed from the personal name *Silli^u-be-el-ta-ka-di* in KAJ no. 165:25 and cf. Weidner, AfO 13 [1939–40], p. 121, n. 26), although originally a Babylonian deity, was popular in Ashur

at least by the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I (see Weidner, AfO 13, p. 121, Tn. p. 20 note to lines 5/6, and Frankena, Tākultu p. 81). Shimalya is a non-Akkadian deity who is connected with the mountainous region around Der (cf. Balkan, Kassitenstudien pp. 116–118). Palil is known to be associated with Uruk and Opis (Tallquist, StOr 7, p. 435). Anunitu was especially popular in Akkad and Sippar (Frankena, Tākultu p. 78). Borger, Einleitung 1, pp. 59f., has recently shown that in many cases where Anunitu was previously read, Nunitu is actually the correct reading.

The narration of Shamshi-Adad's trip to Borsippa, Cuthah, etc. found in the Synchronistic History iv 9–12 and which is presumably copied from an inscription of Shamshi-Adad is in turn copied from Shalmaneser III's inscriptions: WO 1 (1947–52), p. 67:2f.; p. 260:1–5; p. 466:49–50; 2 (1954–59), p. 34:41–44; p. 150:81–84; BA 6 (1908), pp. 136f. v 4–vi 5; p. 147:82f.; p. 152:17–20. Two peculiarities of the passage in the Synchronistic History immediately become clear from comparison with the parallel texts. First of all "he went up" (*ēli*) in iv 10 is odd in the context since immediately before this statement Shamshi-Adad was in the Zagros mountains. In going to Babylon, Cuthah, and Borsippa from this region he would be going down, not up. But the same verb occurs in the parallel text of the Balawat Gates (BA 6, p. 136) v 5f. (*e-li-ma*). Admittedly the verb still seems strange in this context since it is used of travelling from Cuthah to Babylon but at least it is obvious where the author of the Synchronistic History got it. The second peculiarity in the Synchronistic History is "I received" (*amḥur*) in iv 12. This is the exact same form of the verb which occurs in the parallel passages of Shalmaneser III's inscriptions. The scribe of the Synchronistic History simply forgot to change *amḥur* to *imḥur* ("He received") when he was copying this passage. Cf. the commentary to the Synchronistic History ii 12'f.

It is interesting to note that both Shalmaneser III and his son Shamshi-Adad V should make a point of performing religious rites in Babylon, Borsippa, and Cuthah. This custom was continued by Adad-nerari III (I R 35, no. 1:22–24). That these cities were highly regarded as religious centres by these kings is obvious from the beginning of the narrative in the Black Obelisk (WO 2 [1954–59], p. 150) 81f.:

a-na ma-ḥa-zi rabāti^{meš} a-lik niqé(udu. siskur)^{meš} ina Bābili^{ki} Barsip^{ki} Ku-te-e^{ki} ēpuš

"I went to the great urban centres. I made sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, and Cuthah."

The prestige which Babylon and Borsippa enjoyed is of course easily explained since their patron deities, Marduk and Nabu respectively, were very popular in the late period. It appears from these passages that Nergal, the patron deity of Cuthah, also enjoyed popularity in important circles in this period. Further note a passage in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (II R 67:11f.):

ina Sip-par Nippur^{ki} Bābili^{ki} Barsip^{ki} Kutē^{ki} Kiš^{ki} Dil-bat^{ki} u Uruk^{ki} ma-ḥa-zi la šá-na-an niqé(udu. siskur)^{meš} ellūti^{meš} a-na ^dBēl ^dZēr-bāni-ti ^dNabū ^dTaš-metum ^dNergal ^dLa-az ilāni^{meš} rabāti^{meš} bēlē^{meš}-ia aq-qí-ma

"In Sippar, Nippur, Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah, Kish, Dilbat, and Uruk, urban centres without compare, I made pure sacrifices to Bel, Sarpanitu, Nabu, Tashmetum, Nergal, (and) Laz, the great gods my lords."†

Shirikti-Shuqamuna

Babylonian king

984 B.C.

Shamash-shuma-ukin Chronicle 20f. (*mŠi-rik-ti-dŠu-ga-m[u]-nu*)

Dynastic Chronicle v 11 (*[mŠi-rik-ti]-dŠu-ga-mu-na*)

Babylonian King List A iii 12 (*[mŠi-rik(?)-tú-šu]-ga-mu—collated*)

Synchronistic King List iii 7 (^m*Ši-rik-ti*-^d[...])

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10)
ii 1 (^m*Ši*-[...])

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 182)
iii 4 (^m*Ši*-[...])

There is no other source material for Shirikti-Shuqamuna. Cf. J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 93f., no. 17.

Shulgi

Ur III king

2094–2047 B.C.

Weidner Chronicle 63–end ([^d]*Šul-gi*)

Chronicle of Early Kings A 28–30 (^m*Šul-gi*)

Sumerian King List viii 11f. (^d*Šul-gi*, *Šul-gi*)

Ur-Isin King List 2 (^d*Šul-gi*)

Tummal Chronicle 22–25 (^d*Šul-gi*, *Šul-gi*)

An up-to-date bibliography of the inscriptions of Shulgi has been published by W. W. Hallo, HUCA 33 (1962), pp. 28–34 to which add the copy of an inscription in CT 44, 2 iii 7' ff. (cf. Hallo, JCS 19 [1965], p. 57) and UET 8, nos. 22–30, 105. For omens about Shulgi see: J. Nougayrol, *Présages Historiques* no. 19 and A. Goetze, JCS 1 (1947), pp. 259f. King, Chron. no. 3 r. 19f. may be an omen about Shulgi but the text is so badly broken that little of it can be read. King, Chron. no. 4 may also have had omens about Shulgi but the text is now broken away.

Shuma-ukin See Nabu-shuma-ukin II

Shutruk-Nahhunte II (Ishtar-hundu)

Elamite king

716–699 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 40; ii 32–34 (*Iš-tar-hu-un-du*)

For inscriptions of this king and from his period see König, *Elam* pp. 146–168. Further see Hinz, *Elam* pp. 116–122 and see sub Sennacherib.

Shuzigash See Nazibugash

Shuzubu See Mushezib-Marduk and Nergal-ushezib

Silli-Adad

Time of Enlil-narari

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1:3 (^m*Šilli*-^(mi)*u-dAdad*)

Silli-Adad may have been a *limu* official in the reign of Enlil-narari. See E. F. Weidner, AfO 20 (1963), p. 116, n. 12.

Simbar-shihu

Babylonian king

1024–1007 B.C.

Religious Chronicle ii 1–25 (? restored)

Dynastic Chronicle v 2–4 (^m*Sim-bar-ši-hu*)

Chronicle 24:12f. (^m*Sim-bar-ši-i-hu*)

Babylonian King List A iii 6 (^m*Sim-bar-ši*)

Synchronistic King List iii 1 (restored)

That the reign of Simbar-shihu is described in the Religious Chronicle has been discussed in the commentary to ii 1–29 of that text. There has been some question as to the proper reading of the name. See most recently A. Goetze, JCS 19 (1965), p. 133. A late copy of an inscription of Simbar-shihu has been published by A. Goetze, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 121–135. Besides this there is a *kudurru* from his reign and his mention in the Sun God Tablet of Nabu-apla-iddina. For references see J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 92, no. 12. The reference to “Sibir, king of Karduniash” (^m*Si-bir šar₄ kurKar-du-ni-áš*) in the Annals of Ashur-nasir-apli II (AKA p. 325 ii 84) may be to Simbar-shihu. Concerning his titles see the commentary to Chronicle 18 v 2.†

Sin-muballit

Babylonian king

1812–1793 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle iv 5 (^m*Šin*-^m[*u-bal-lit*])

Babylonian King List B 5 (^m*Šin-mu-bal-lit*)

Sin-muballit is included in the genealogy of Ammisaduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), p. 96:24. It would

serve no purpose with regard to the Dynastic Chronicle to list the sources for this king here.

Sin-sharra-ishkun

Assyrian king

Chronicle 2:3 (^m*Sin-šarra-iškun^{un}*)

Chronicle 3:44 (^m*Sin-šarra-iškun^{un}*)

Uruk King List 5 (^m*Sin-šarra-iš-ku-un*)

A recent bibliography of the sources for Sin-sharra-ishkun has been provided by R. Borger, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 67f. to which add the cylinder fragment published by D. J. Wiseman, Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 123ff. Concerning his reign also see J. Oates, Iraq 27 (1965), pp. 135–159.†

Suabu

Time of Ilu-shumma

Chronicle of Early Kings A 37 (^m*Su-a-bu*)

It is possible but by no means certain that Suabu is to be identified with the Babylonian king Sumu-abum. See D. O. Edzard, Zwischenzeit p. 92 and Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954), p. 71, n. 184.

Sumu-la-el

Babylonian king

1880–1845 B.C.

Dynastic Chronicle iv 2 (^m*Su-mu-[la-él]*)

Babylonian King List B 2 (^m*Su-mu-la-él*)

Synchronistic King List iv 20 (^m*Su-mu-la-él*)

Sumu-la-el is included in the genealogy of Ammisaduqa published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 20 (1966), p. 96:21. It would serve no purpose with regard to the broken passage in the Dynastic Chronicle to list here the sources for the reign of Sumu-la-el.

Tarqu See Terhaqah

Terhaqah (Tarqu)

Egyptian king

Time of Ashurbanipal

Esarhaddon Chronicle 42 (^m*Tar-qu-ú*)

For references to Terhaqah in Ashurbanipal's inscriptions see M. Streck, ASB. 3, pp. 726f. An ivory scarab of this king was

found at Nimrud for which see M. E. L. Mallowan, Nimrud and its Remains (London, 1966), 2, p. 599 and pp. 472, 478.

Tiglath-pileser I

Assyrian king

1115–1077 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 14'–24' (^m *gišTukul-ti-apil-é-KUR[sic!]*)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4 (^m*Tukul-ti-apil*]-[*él-šár-ra*])

Assyrian King List iii 25–27, 29, 33 (^m *gišTukul-ti-apil-é-šár-ra*)

Synchronistic King List ii 17 (^m*Tukul-ti-apil*]-[*él-šár-ra*])

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 10) i 6 (^m*Tukul-ti-apil-é-šár-ra*)

Synchronistic K. L. Fragment (KAV 12) 5 (^m*Tukul-ti-apil-é-[...]*)

Concerning the error in the Synchronistic History ii 14' in regard to his name see the commentary. The sources for Tiglath-pileser I are conveniently listed and discussed by R. Borger, Einleitung 1, pp. 108–34. Cf. Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§ 216–337. This king is also responsible for the gathering of a large library (see E. F. Weidner, AfO 16 [1952–53], pp. 197–215), the compilation of the Middle Assyrian Laws (E. F. Weidner, AfO 12 [1937–39], pp. 49f.), and the compilation of the Harem Laws (E. F. Weidner, AfO 17 [1954–56], pp. 257ff.).

Of all the published inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser I only one contains a detailed account of the battle with Karduniash which is described in the Synchronistic History. This is "Text II" published by Weidner, AfO 18 (1957–58), pp. 347ff., and cf. Borger, Einleitung 1, pp. 118–120. The relevant passage is lines 37–51. Particularly cf. lines 37f. to lines 22'f. of the Synchronistic History. Also cf. lines 44–51 to 14'–21' of the Synchronistic History. It is obvious from this parallel that both texts have a common source. What is particularly significant is that the author of the Synchronistic History has relied upon a later summary

of the events rather than a document directly contemporary with them. Even if the parallel inscription (which is a summary of Tiglath-pileser's achievements according to geographical area) were not preserved, it would be obvious from the summary nature of 15'f. in the Synchronistic History that its source was not a document contemporary with the events narrated. No doubt the author of the Synchronistic History used a late summary because only summary accounts of Tiglath-pileser I's achievements were available to him. The subjugation of the Suhi mentioned in 24' is also mentioned in AfO 18, p. 344:31-34 = p. 350:35f.; p. 351:41-43; and AKA p. 73:48ff. Of the sources for Marduk-nadin-ahhe (q.v.) only one is of interest here. BBSt. no. 8 i 4f. says that Marduk-nadin-ahhe defeated the Assyrians and this is supported by Sennacherib's statement that Marduk-nadin-ahhe had carried off booty from Assyria (OIP 2, p. 83:48-50). No other source including the Synchronistic History mentions this event (cf. Weidner, MVAG 20/4 [1917], pp. 83f., and Borger, Einleitung 1, p. 120).

Tiglath-pileser III (Pulu)

Assyrian king

744-727 B.C.

Chronicle 1 i 1-26 (*Tukul-ti-apil-é-šár-ra*,

Tukul-ti-ápil-é-šár-ra)

Chronicle 24 r. 19 (restored) ([...-r]a(?))

Babylonian King List A iv 8 (^m*Pu-lu*)

Assyrian King List iv 24-26 (^m ^{giš}*Tukul-ti-apil-é-šár-ra*)

To the inscriptions collected and edited by P. Rost, Tigl. III (cf. Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§ 761-827) add: D. J. Wiseman, Iraq 13 (1951), pp. 21-24 (a portion of the annals on a clay tablet); Iraq 18 (1956), pp. 117-129 and cf. Sumer 7 (1951), p. 56 and H. Tadmor, IEJ 12 (1962), pp. 114-122 (summary of the campaigns according to geography inscribed on a clay tablet); Iraq 26 (1964), pp. 119-121 (two fragments of the annals on clay tablets). A translation of selected portions of Tiglath-pileser III's

inscriptions has been given by A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² pp. 282-284. A study of his reign has been published by A. Anspacher, Tiglath-pileser III (New York, 1912). The campaigns are summarized in the royal inscriptions and it is only from the eponym canon C^b 1 (cf. RLA 2, pp. 430f.) and Chronicle 1 that one learns that there were actually two campaigns against Babylonia. One took place in Tiglath-pileser III's first year (744 B.C.) to suppress the Arameans and the other late in his reign (729 B.C.) to suppress the Nabu-mukin-zeri rebellion. For a discussion of the two Babylonian campaigns see Anspacher, op. cit. pp. 18-25 and 64-68. It is also from Chronicle 1 that one knows that for the last two years of his reign he ruled Babylonia in person, apparently actually residing in Babylonia (cf. Chronicle 1 i 26). That he had virtually controlled Babylonia during his whole reign despite the puppet kings on the Babylonian throne is shown by the statement in Chronicle 1 i 25f. His accession to the Babylonian throne is probably referred to in Chronicle 24. ABL 1365:6 may refer to him. Further see J. A. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), pp. 101f., no. 42. The origin of his Babylonian name Pulu, which appears in Babylonian King List A (cf. the Ptolemaic Canon which has Poros), is unknown.†

The relations of Nabu-mukin-zeri with Tiglath-pileser III are described in Chronicle 1 i 18-22. The subject is also included in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III: Rost, Tigl. III p. 44:11f.; p. 60:23-25 and vol. II pl. XXXIV:16. The recent discovery of letters to Tiglath-pileser III at Nimrud have added further information. These have been published by H. W. F. Saggs, Iraq 17 (1955), pp. 21-50 and Iraq 25 (1963), pp. 70-80. The ravage of Bit-Amukkani which took place at this time is referred to in an Aramaic letter from Ashur (WVDOG 38, p. 8:15 and cf. p. 13). Nabu-mukin-zeri in his war with Tiglath-pileser III made his headquarters at Sapiya or Shapiya (cf. Saggs, Iraq 17,

p. 47), a city in the extreme south of Babylonia (cf. OIP 2, p. 53:42), which was the object of the second Babylonian campaign of Tiglath-pileser III (see the eponym canon C^b 1 in RLA 2, p. 431). Thus it is not surprising that in the Babylonian King List A after his name is found the statement "Dynasty of Shapi" (BALA *Šá-pi-i*—collated). In the Ptolemaic Canon he is not recognized as a fully independent ruler but rather is placed on the same line as Tiglath-pileser III and the two together are said to have ruled for five years.†

Further see sub Nabu-nasir, Nabu-nadin-zeri, Nabu-shuma-ukin II.

Tukulti-Ashur See Ninurta-tukulti-Ashur

Tukulti-Ninurta I

Assyrian king

1244–1208 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 1*f. (restored)

Chronicle P iv 1–13 (^m*Tukul-ti-^aNinurta*)

Assyrian King List iii 10f., 14 (^m *gišTukul-ti-^aNinurta*, ^m*Tukulti(giskim)-^aNinurta*)

Synchronistic King List ii 1 (^m*Tukul-ti-^a[...]*)

The sources for Tukulti-Ninurta I have been edited by Weidner, Tn. and cf. R. Borger, *Einleitung* I, pp. 71–97. Concerning the Tukulti-Ninurta I Epic see Chapter 6, n. 64. The sack of Babylon by Tukulti-Ninurta I is probably described in a Prophecy. See Grayson and Lambert, JCS 18 (1964), p. 20 iii 2–25 and cf. p. 9. It was recently announced that some business documents found at Tell al-Rimah probably come from his reign. See D. Oates, Iraq 28 (1966), p. 131. Further see sub Kashtiliash IV.†

Tukulti-Ninurta II

Assyrian king

890–884 B.C.

Chronicle 24 r. 3 (^m*Tukul-[ti-...]*)

Assyrian King List iv 13f. (^m *gišTukul-ti-^aNinurta*)

Synchronistic King List iii 16 (^m*Tukul-ti-^aNinurta*)

The inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta II are listed by K. Deller, Or. n.s. 26 (1957), p. 268, n. 2. Cf. Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 400–435. To his references add: H. Güterbock, JNES 16 (1957), pp. 123ff. and two duplicate stone inscriptions from Kahat (Tell Barri) published by G. Dossin, Annales Archéologiques de Syrie 11/12 (1961–62), pp. 197–206 and pls. I–II (cf. Weidner, AfO 21 [1966], p. 138). It is known that Tukulti-Ninurta II made some kind of an expedition to Babylonia (V. Scheil, Tn. II pp. 14–18 and cf. KAH 2, 92:12 and Arch. 79 [1929], pl. 41, no. 1:7–10). Since no encounters or battles with the Babylonians are mentioned, the nature of this expedition remains a mystery (cf. Forrer, RLA 1, p. 297).†

Ubartutu (Uburtutu)

King of Shuruppak

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle i 11 (Ubar.t[u.tu])

Sumerian King List i 32f. (= JCS 17 [1963], p. 40:14?) (Ubur.tu.tu, Ubur.tù.tù)

On the name see J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 17 (1963), pp. 43f.

Ulamburiash

Babylonian king

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 13f. (^m*Ū-lam-bur-áš*)

This name was at one time read in the Synchronistic King List i 22 but a recent collation (see Weidner, AfO 19 [1959–60], p. 138) has cast considerable doubt on the reading. The first sign is hardly *ú* and the only sign that is certain is LA[M]: ^mx-la[m]-x-x-x.

Ulamburiash is probably identical with Ulaburariash for whom an inscription is known. It is published by Weissbach, WVDOG 4 pl. 1, no. 3 and edited by B. Landsberger, JCS 8 (1954), p. 70, n. 182. Cf. K. Jaritz, MIO 6 (1958), p. 230.

Ululaya See Shalmaneser V

Umasu See Artaxerxes III

Umman-nigash See Humban-nikash I and II

Ur-Nammu

Ur III king

2112–2095 B.C.

Weidner Chronicle 63 (^dUr-^dNammu)

Chronicle of Early Kings A 28 (^mUr-^dNammu)

Sumerian King List viii 9–11 (^dUr-^dNammu, Ur-^dNammu)

Ur-Isin King List 1 (^dUr-^dNammu)

Tummal Chronicle 21 (^dUr-^dNammu, Ur-^dNammu)

The royal inscriptions of Ur-Nammu have been listed by W. W. Hallo, *HUCA* 33 (1962), pp. 24–28 to which add UET 8, nos. 19–21 (cf. A. Falkenstein, *BiOr* 23 [1966], p. 166) and pp. 26, 33 and 35f. Further see W. W. Hallo, “The Coronation of Ur-Nammu” *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 133–141.

Urtaki (Urtagu)

Elamite king

674–? B.C.

Chronicle 1 iv 13 (*Ur-ta-gu*)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 18 (^mUr-*ta-gu*)

No inscriptions are known for this king. See Hinz, *Elam*, pp. 126f., Cameron, *HEI* pp. 168f. and see sub Esarhaddon.

Ur-Zababa

King of Kish

Early Dynastic Period

Weidner Chronicle 46–48 (*Ur-^dZa-ba₄-ba₄*)

Sumerian King List vi 12–14 (^rUr-^dZa-*ba₄.ba₄*)

No other sources are known for this king.

Utu-hegal

King of Uruk

Guti Period

Weidner Chronicle 58–62 (^dUtu-*hé-gál*)

Sumerian King List viii 3–6 and the duplicate ZA 50 (1952), p. 37 ix 2ff. (^dUtu-*hé.gál*)

The drowning of Utu-hegal which is mentioned in the chronicle is also spoken of in an omen. See the commentary to the Weidner Chronicle 62. For references to the inscriptions of Utu-hegal see C. J. Gadd, “The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion” *CAH* I, Chapter XIX pp. 47–49.†

Zababa-shuma-iddina

Babylonian king

1160 B.C.

Synchronistic History ii 9–12 (^{md}Za-*ba₄-ba₄-šuma-iddina*)

Babylonian King List A ii 14 (^{md}Za-*ba₄-ba₄-šu[ma-...]*)

Synchronistic King List ii 10 (^{md}Za-*ba₄-b[a₄-...]*)

Zababa-shuma-iddina is mentioned in a pseudo-autobiography from the Kassite period which is published as *III R* 38, no. 2 and edited by H. Winckler, *AOF* 1, pp. 534–538 and H. Tadmor, *JNES* 17 (1958), pp. 137–139 (cf. Chapter I, n. 14). His unhappy rule may be referred to in a Prophecy. See Grayson and Lambert, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 13 ii 10–20 and cf. p. 9. Cf. K. Jaritz, *MIO* 6 (1958), p. 262.†

Zer-kitti-lishir See Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir

Ziusudra

King of Shuruppak

Early Dynastic Period

Dynastic Chronicle i 12 (*Zi.u₄.sud.ra*)

Sumerian King List (See Jacobsen, *AS* 11, p. 76, n. 34 and cf. *JCS* 17 [1963], p. 43) (*Zi.u₄.sud.rá*)

On the various traditions about this king see J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 17 (1963), pp. 47–49.

APPENDIX C

NAMES OF PEOPLES AND PLACES

The purpose of this appendix is to provide brief indications of the identity of the peoples and places mentioned in the chronicles. Common names such as Babylon, Kazallu, Suteans, etc. have not been included. The terms "city" and "district" in this appendix indicate that the name, in some texts, is preceded by the determinative URU and KUR respectively. Usually the author has been content to refer to the identifications made by other scholars. This has been done because a complete study of the geographic names of ancient Mesopotamia by a team of scholars is in preparation and, hopefully, such lists as the present one will soon be unnecessary.†

Abul-mahiri

Gate

Religious Chronicle i 13 (*Abul-maḥīri*)

The name is otherwise unknown and the context in the chronicles is broken but this may have been the name of a gate in Babylon.

Abul-Urash

Gate

Babylon

Religious Chronicle ii 7, 19 (*Abul-^aUraš*)

See E. Unger, RLA 1, p. 342.

Adummu

City

Arabian desert

Nabonidus Chronicle i 17 ([^{uru}A]-*du-um-mu*)

See E. Ebeling, RLA 1, pp. 39f. and H. Tadmor, *Studies Landsberger* p. 352, n. 6.†

Akshak

City

East Tigris Region

Weidner Chronicle 38 (*Akšak^{ki}*)

On the problem of locating this city see R. Adams, *Land Behind Baghdad* (Chicago, 1965), p. 49, n. 20 (on pp. 173f.). Further see F. R. Kraus, *ZA* 51 (1955), pp. 62-64.

Ammananu

Mountain Range

Syria

Nabonidus Chronicle i 11 (^{kur}*Am-ma-na-nu*)

See the commentary to the Nabonidus Chronicle i 11 and cf. Honigmann, *RLA* 1, p. 96.

Amati

City

Syria

Chronicle of Early Kings A 6 (*A-ma-a-ti*)

This place may be identical with Hamath, modern Hama. See Appendix B sub Sargon (King of Akkad).†

Amukkanu

Aramaic tribe

Chronicle 1 i 18, 21 (*A-mu-ka-nu/na*)

Concerning (Bit)-Amukkani see Unger, *RLA* 2, pp. 35f.†

Apishal

City

Chronicle of Early Kings A 24, 26 ((^{uru}A)-*pi-šal^(ki)*)

The location of Apishal is unknown. See I. J. Gelb, *AJSL* 55 (1938), pp. 70-72 and cf. A. Goetze, *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 258, n. 35. A curiosity is the fact that this place provided the name for a disease in Akkadian. See E. Leichty, *Studies Landsberger* p. 327.

Arman

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History i 30' (^{uru}*Ar-ma-an*)

Arman, according to the Synchronistic History, was in Ugarsallu (q.v.) and is therefore not to be confused with the Arman (modern Holwan) discussed in Appendix B sub Shalmaneser III.

Arnuna

City

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:13f. (*uru* *Ar-nu-ni/na*)

The city is otherwise unknown. Cf. E. Ebeling, RLA 1, p. 152.

Arza

City

Qalat al-Arish

Esarhaddon Chronicle 7 (*uru* *Ar-za-[a]-a*)

This is a city on the borders of Egypt. See Weissbach, ZA 38 (1929), pp. 108–110 and cf. Honigmann, RLA 1, p. 161.

Arzuhina

City

Goek Teppe Kebir

Synchronistic History ii 16' (*uru* *Ar-zu-ḥi-na*)

For the suggestion that it be identified with Goek Teppe Kebir which is near Altun-Kapri see E. A. Speiser, AASOR 8 (1926–27), p. 17.†

Bab-beliya

Gate

Babylon

Religious Chronicle iii 3 (*Bāb-bēli-i[a]*)

This gate is probably identical with the gate which is usually called the "Gate of Bel" (*Bābu ša Bēl*). See E. Unger, RLA 1, p. 342.

Bab-nibiri

Gate

Babylon

Religious Chronicle iii 7 (*[Bāb]-ni-bi-ri*)

The name of this gate "Gate of the Crossing" certainly indicates that it was on the Euphrates side of Babylon. It appears to be otherwise unattested.

Balihu

City

On the Balikh River (?)

Chronicle 3:7 (*uru* *Ba-li-ḥu*)

This city was probably on the river of the same name. See E. Unger, RLA 1, p. 394 and D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 80.

Banbala

City

Synchronistic History iii 12 (*[B]an(?)*-*ba-la*)

If the reading is correct this place should be compared to *uru* *Ban(?)*-*ba-la* ADD 1096 r. 7. Further see E. Forrer, RLA 1, p. 396.

Banitu

Canal

North Babylonia

Chronicle 2:26 (*id* *a* *Ba-ni-tū*)

There was a canal of this name at the time of Nabopolassar which flowed from Babylon along the royal road to Kish. Wiseman, Chron. p. 79 is probably correct in identifying this canal with the one mentioned in the chronicle.

Bazza

City

Chronicle 1 iv 5 (*Ba-az-za*)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 13 (*uru* *Ba-az-za*)

There is both a city and a district called Bazza. This is evident from the royal inscriptions of Esarhaddon where the name is sometimes preceded by the determinative for city (*URU*) and sometimes by the determinative for land (*KUR*). See R. Borger, Asarh. p. 130 (Index). The location of this desert area has been disputed for some time. B. Landsberger and T. Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), pp. 74–77 identify Bazza with the Kewir desert in Iran but E. Forrer, RLA 1, pp. 440f., and E. F. Weidner, AfO 15 (1945–51), p. 169, say Bazza is in North Arabia. Further see D. J. Wiseman, Iraq 18 (1956), p. 128. The identity of this name with the Akkadian word for sand (see AHw p. 110 and CAD 2 [B], pp. 134f.) may simply be due to Volksetymologie.†

Bit-Burnaki (Bit-Bunakku)

City

Elam

Chronicle 1 iii 11 (*Bīt-Bur-na-ki*, *Bīt-Bu-na-ak-ku*)

The more usual form of this name is Bit-Bunak(k)i. See König, RLA 2, p. 38. On its location see T. C. Young, Iran 5 (1967), p. 13 and n. 21.

Bit-Gura

City

Babylonia

Chronicle 11:10, r. 4 (*uruBīt-Gu-ra*?)

Is this the same place as Bit-Gira? See Ebeling, RLA 2, p. 41.†

Bit-Hanunya

District

Urartu

Chronicle 4:2 (*Bīt-mHa-nu-ni-ia*)

Cf. D. J. Wiseman, Chron. pp. 82f.

Bit-Hashmar

District

Babylonia

Dynastic Chronicle v 6 (*Bīt-mHaš-mar*)

See sub Hashmar in Appendix B. It is unlikely but not impossible, that this place is identical with Hashmar (var. Hashimur) in the south-east of Jebel Hamrin on the location of which see E. F. Weidner, AfO 9 (1933-34), p. 97 and cf. F. W. König, Elam p. 80 § 8 and n. 11 and p. 126, n. c. E. Unger, RLA 2, p. 42 thought the Bit-Hashmar of the chronicle was a different place located in the swamps of southern Babylonia.†

Bit-reduti

City or District

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iv 4 (*Bīt-re-du-ti*)

(Bit)-reduti is attested in only a few other places. See M. Streck, Asb. 1, p. CCCLXXIX, n. 3.†

Bushshua

District

Lake Van Region

Esarhaddon Chronicle 9 (*kurBu-ruš(?)*-*šu(?)*-*l-u-a*)

See the commentary to the chronicle.

Daban

City

Babylonia

Synchronistic History iii 29 (*[uru]Da-ban*)

See Appendix B sub Shalmaneser III.

Dahammu

City

Syria

Chronicle 4:22 (*uruDa-ha-am-mu*)

The city is otherwise unknown but from the context in Chronicle 4 it is clear that it is on the Upper Euphrates. See D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 84.

Dakkuru

Aramaic tribe

Chronicle 1 iv 2, 15 (*Da-ku-ri*)Esarhaddon Chronicle 10, 19 (*Da-ku-ru*)

See E. Unger, RLA 2, pp. 38-40.†

Dur-Enlil

City

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 17f. (*uruDūr-^dEnlil*(50))

The location of this city is unknown. See Weissbach, RLA 2, pp. 247f.

Dur-karashu

City

Near Sippar

Nabonidus Chronicle ii 13 (*Dūr-ka-ra-šú*)

Cf. E. Ebeling, RLA 2, p. 246.

Dur-Papsukkal

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iv 4 (*Dūr«šú»-^dPap-sukkal*)

See E. Unger, RLA 2, p. 248.

Dur-Sharrukin

City

Suburb of Sippar

Chronicle 1 iii 46 (*Dūr-Šarru-kīn*)

There are two cities called Dur-Sharrukin, one in Assyria (Khorsabad) and one in Babylonia, another name of which was Sippar-Aruru. See S. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* 1, pp. 6f.; J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades* p. 76, n. 2; E. Unger, *RLA* 2, pp. 249–252; and Landsberger, *Brief* p. 353, n. 106. The Babylonian city is certainly the place meant in the chronicle. This is apparent from the parallel passage in the Esarhaddon Chronicle 4 where Humhumya and Shimalya are mentioned and it is known from Esarhaddon's own inscriptions (R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. 84 r. 44) that these gods were returned to Sippar-Aruru.

Dur-Shulgi

City

East Tigris Region (?)

Chronicle P iii 11, 14 (*Dūr-šul-gi*)

Dur-Shulgi also appears in RA 31 (1934), p. 172, no. 2:3 (cf. J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades* pp. 184f. and p. 185, n. 1). Since it was the scene of a battle between a Babylonian and Elamite king it was probably somewhere in the border area.

Dur-Yakin

City

Tell al Lahm (?)

Chronicle 1 ii 2' (*Dūr-Ia-a-ki-nu*)

Concerning this southern Babylonian centre see E. Unger, *RLA* 2, pp. 244f. It may be identical with Tell al Lahm. See H. W. F. Saggs, *Sumer* 13 (1957), pp. 192–194 and cf. A. Falkenstein, *AfO* 21 (1966), pp. 50f.

Edimgalkalama

Temple

Der

Chronicle P iv 15 (*Ē-dim-gal-kalam-ma*)See E. Ebeling, *RLA* 2, p. 273.**Egalgasheshna**

Temple

Dur-Enlil

Chronicle of Early Kings B r. 18 (*Ē-galga-šeš-na*)

The temple is otherwise unknown. Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*² p. 267, n. 19.

Ekurigigal

Temple

Nippur(?)

Chronicle 24:13 (*Ē-kur-igi-gál*)

For references to this temple see E. Ebeling, *RLA* 2, p. 323 to which add the inscription of Simbar-shihu published by A. Goetze, *JCS* 19 (1965), pp. 121–135.†

Elammya

District

Syria (?)

Nabonidus Chronicle ii 22 (*kurE-lam-mi-ia*)

This is hardly a form of the place name Elamtu as Smith, *BHT* assumed. There is a city Elammu (q.v.) on the west bank of the Euphrates a little south of Carchemish.

Elammu

City

Syria

Chronicle 4:21 (*uruE-lam-mu*)

From the context of the chronicle it is clear that this city is to be placed on the west bank of the Euphrates a little south of Carchemish. See D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 84. Cf. Elammya.

Emeslam

Temple

Cuthah and Tarbisu

Chronicle 10 r. 5 (*Ē-mes-lam*)

There are two temples of this name (both dedicated to Nergal), one in Cuthah and one in Tarbisu. See E. Ebeling, *RLA* 2, p. 361. It is unknown which temple is meant in the chronicle.

Egidrikalammasummu

Temple

Babylon

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 25 (*É-gidri*(nīg. pa)-*kalam-ma-sum-mu*)

Religious Chronicle ii 10 (*É-gidri*(giš. pa)-*kalam-ma-[sum-ma]*)

This is the temple of Nabu in Babylon. See E. Ebeling, RLA 2, p. 281.

Eturkalamma

Temple

Babylon

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 6 (*É-tūr-kalam-ma*)

This was the temple of Ishtar at Babylon. See E. Ebeling, RLA 2, pp. 482f.

E-Ursag

Temple

Nippur

Religious Chronicle i 14 (*É-^dUr-sag*)

This temple is also mentioned in a list of temples. See E. Ebeling, RLA 2, p. 488.

EZEN-X-KAS

Chronicle 7 iv 5 (EZEN-X-KAS^{ki})

The reading and location are unknown. See the commentary to the Chronicle.

Gablini

City

On the Middle Euphrates

Chronicle 3:3, 6, 10 (*uruGab-li-ni*)

There were two cities of this name, one near Nippur and the other, which is meant here, on the Middle Euphrates. See E. Unger and E. F. Weidner, RLA 3, pp. 130f. and cf. D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 80.

Gannanate

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iv 3 (*uruGa-na-na-a-te*)

Gannanate was on the Diyala River. See E. Unger, RLA 3, pp. 139f.

Gurmarriti

City

Samarra (?)

Synchronistic History ii 17' (*Gur-mar-ri-ti*)

This is possibly the same place as Surmarratu, the ancient name of Samarra. See the commentary to the Synchronistic History.

Habaruha

City

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:19 (*uruHa-ba-ru-ha*)

This city is otherwise unknown.

Halahi

District

N. E. of Nineveh

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:28 (*kurHa-la-hi*)

Concerning the location of this district see H. Winckler, AOF 1, p. 292; Forrer, Provinz. pp. 35, 39, and 112; and E. F. Weidner, IAK p. 54, n. 10.

Halule

City

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 iii 17 (*uruHa-lu-le-e*)

The city Halule was situated on the Tigris (OIP 2, p. 44:60) probably in the vicinity of the Diyala River. Cf. Grayson, Studies Landsberger p. 342, n. 44.

Hamranu (Hamaranu)

City

On the Diyala River

Chronicle 1 i 4 (*uruHa-am-ra-nu*)

The location of Hamranu on the Diyala River is practically certain since it is listed among the cities and peoples conquered by Sennacherib on the Elamo-Babylonian border (OIP 2, p. 40:69 = AfO 20 [1963], p. 90:28 and cf. OIP 2, p. 25:48; p. 49:14; p. 54:56; p. 57:15) and the Diyala River Valley was probably the route which Sennacherib followed into Elam. See Grayson, AfO 20 (1963), p. 88. There may well be a connection between the ancient name

Hamranu and the modern Jebel Hamrin since they are located in the same general area. This is further supported by the writing with KUR = *šadû* "mountain" in K 7547 (Bezold, Cat. 2, p. 858). Cf. M. Streck, MVAG 11 (1906), p. 225.†

Hanu

People

Europe

Chronicle 8:6 (^{lú}ERÍN *Ha-ni-e*)

Chronicle 10:17 ([^{lú}] *Ha-ni-i*)

According to the King List of the Hellenistic Period 8 Seleucus I was assassinated in the land of the Haneans. Thus the district identified with these people is to be placed in eastern Thrace. Cf. D. J. Wiseman and A. Sachs, Iraq 16 (1954), p. 206 and J. R. Kupper, Les Nomades pp. 45f.

Hararatum

City

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 ii 25 (uru *Ha-ra-ra-tum*)

In the chronicle Hararatum is mentioned in connection with Hirimma (q.v.) which is in the East Tigris region. A. R. Millard, Iraq 26 (1964), p. 25, n. 52 suggests that Hararatum may be identical with Hirit. But Hirit (q.v.) is in South Babylonia, on the Elamite border, in the district of Gambulu. It is therefore hardly possible for the two to be identical. There is no connection between Hararatum and Harratim which is attested in Mari (ARM 4, 1:7) in the district of Sagaratim on the Habur. Hararatu also occurs in BRM 4, 25:45.

Hashmar See Bit-Hashmar

HI.HI

Mountain

Jebel Bishri (?)

Chronicle P i 8 (kur *HI.HI*)

kur *HI.HI* occurs in the Era Epic (Gössman, Era iv 139, 141, 143) after a passage mentioning the Kassites, Subarians, Suteans, etc. (Gössman, Era iv 131-134). In

the Lipshur Litanies it is said to be in Amorite territory (Reiner, JNES 15 [1956], p. 134:38). Thus one looks for a mountain (or mountain range) in the west which had some connection with nomads. The most obvious place is Jebel Bishri, the ridge from which bands of nomads descended into the Fertile Crescent (J. R. Kupper, Les Nomades p. 47 and pp. 136f.). Since the name *Bisir* is attested in cuneiform (ibid. p. 47, n. 2 and I. J. Gelb, AJSL 55 [1938], p. 73) for Jebel Bishri, *HI.HI* might be an ideogram for *Bisir* or the name of a mountain within the Bishri range. For a slightly different identification by Kupper see J. R. Kupper, Les Nomades p. 103, n. 2.

Hilmi

City

South Babylonia

Chronicle 1 ii 37 (uru *Hi-il-[m]i*)

Hilmi appears almost always in conjunction with Pillatum (q.v.) and both cities were located on the southern border of Babylonia and Elam in the district of Gambulu. See E. Unger, RLA 3, pp. 136f.

Hindanu

People, District, and City on the Middle Euphrates

Chronicle 3:2, 9 (kur *Hi-in-da-na-a-a*, uru *Hi-in-da-nu*)

For the location see D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 79 and cf. Deller, Or. n.s. 31 (1962), p. 17.

Hirimma

City

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 ii 25 (uru *Hi-ri-im-ma*)

Hiri(m)ma occurs frequently in the inscriptions of Ashur-nasir-apli II (KAH 1, 25:5; 2, 94:12; AKA p. 163:15; p. 169:17; pp. 173-5 r. 4; p. 181:27; p. 194 ii 20; p. 217:10; p. 344:130; p. 383 iii 124) where it is evident that the city is in the East Tigris area in the Assyro-Babylonian border region. Also see sub Hararatum.

Hirit

City

South Babylonia

Akitu Chronicle 14 (*Hi-rit*)

Hirit is a city in the extreme south of Babylonia situated near the Elamite border. It is identical with Hirutu (Lie, Sarg. p. 48:1) which is in the district of Gambulu (see E. Unger, RLA 3, pp. 136f.). Besides being attested in the late period (cf. M. Streck, MVAG 11 [1906], p. 227) it occurs in the Middle Babylonian period (*uruHi-ri-it* BE 15, 102:20), the Old Babylonian period (*luHi-ri-tum^{ki}* TCL 1, 21:4 and CT 6, 8:7), and Mari (*Hi-ri-tim^{ki}* ARM 2, 30:5). Due to its location it can hardly be identical with Hararatum (q.v.).

Hudada

City

North Babylonia

Synchronistic History iii 12 (*uruHu-da-[x]*)

Hudada, which might also be read Pagdada, was located in the central Babylonian plain between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers. See F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 9 (1912), p. 3 (the Caillou Michaux referred to there was published as I R 70) and W. J. Hinke, Kudurru p. 217. Also note the possible occurrence of a place *Hu-da-di* in an inscription of Shalmaneser III—see E. Michel, WO 4 (1967), p. 34 vi 6 and p. 35, n. 15. During the Second Dynasty of Isin it was the name of a province. See J. A. Brinkman, JESHO 6 (1963), p. 234. Without supporting evidence it is impossible, for the present, to accept Forrer's suggestion in RLA 1, p. 391 that it is identical both in location and name (reading Pagdada) with modern Baghdad.†

Hume

City and District

Cilicia

Chronicle 6:4 (*uruHu-me-e*)Nabonidus Chronicle i 7 (*Hu-me-e*)

Hume is the Babylonian name for Cilicia. The Assyrian name is Qua. See

W. F. Albright, BASOR 120 (1950), p. 23; A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² p. 305, n. 2; Wiseman, Chron. p. 87; Tadmor, IEJ 11 (1961), p. 144 and n. 7; and Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), p. 51. From the chronicle as well as from Iraq 27 (1965), p. 7 v 21 (Nebuchadnezzar II) it is evident that there was a city as well as a district of this name.

Hupapanu

City

South Babylonia

Chronicle 1 ii 38 (*uruHu-pa-pa-nu*)

Hupapanu regularly occurs in conjunction with Hilmi (q.v.) and Pillatum and therefore, like those cities, was located on the southern border of Babylonia and Elam in the district of Gambulu.

Hursagkalamma

City

South Babylonia

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 10 (*[Hur]-sag-kalam-ma*)

In an inscription of Sargon II published by C. J. Gadd, Iraq 16 (1954), p. 186:54, Hursagkalamma is mentioned in connection with Dur-Yakin (q.v.) which is an indication that it was in the south of the Babylonian plain.†

Ialman

Mountain

Holwan

Synchronistic History iii 3 (*kurIa-al-man*)

For the identification of the mountain and the various forms of the name see Appendix B sub Shalmaneser III.

Ianu

City

Chronicle 8:9 (*uruIa-a-nu*)

This city, which is called "the city of the Gutî" in the chronicle, bears a name similar to the Akkadian designation for the Greeks, Iamannāia.

Idi

City

Hit

Synchronistic History ii 8' (*I-di*)

For references to this place name and its identification with Hit see E. F. Weidner, Tn. p. 59 note to line 8. To his references add A. Musil, Middle Euphrates pp. 350–353. Cf. the commentary to the Synchronistic History.

Irriya

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History ii 11 (*uruIr-ri-ia*)

There is both a city and district called Irriya. See J. A. Brinkman, JESHO 6 (1963), p. 235, n. 2.†

Izalla

Mountain

Tur-Abdin

Chronicle 3:70 ([*kur*][*I*]-*za-al-la*)

For the identification of this mountain see Dilleman, Haute Mésopotamie pp. 29–35. Also cf. M. Falkner, AfO 18 (1957–58), pp. 14–16 and D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 82.

Kadmuhi

District

Zagros Mountains

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4:13 (*kurKad-mu-ḥi*)

Both Tiglath-pileser I (see E. F. Weidner, AfO 17 [1954–56] p. 384:13 and p. 385 with n. 10) and Tukulti-Ninurta I (see E. F. Weidner, Tn. p. 63, index) campaigned in this area.

Kar-bel-matati

City

North Babylonia

Religious Chronicle iii 7 (*uruKār-bēl-mātātīz* (kur.kur))

On the basis of the chronicle this must be a small town, situated at a location on the Euphrates where a crossing was possible, in the vicinity of Babylon and Borsippa. Perhaps it is identical with

Kar-Marduk (q.v.). It is not to be confused with the Assyrian name for the Egyptian city Sais (see M. Streck, Asb. 2, p. 163, n. 3).†

Kar-Ishtar (?)

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History i 25'

The reading of this place name in the Synchronistic History is uncertain. See the commentary.

Kar-Marduk

City

Dynastic Chronicle v 9 (*Kār-ḏMardu[k]*)

This city is also mentioned in BBSt. no. 9, top 23 and VAS 3, 226:1 but there is no indication as to its location. Perhaps it is identical with Kar-bel-matati (q.v.).†

Kilizi

District

East Tigris Region

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1:2, 6, 7 (*kurKi-li-zi*)

E. F. Weidner, AfO 20 (1963), p. 116 has placed Kilizi east of Nineveh between Arbail and Halahhu. Cf. W. W. Hallo, JCS 18 (1964), p. 88 who suggests that the Kalizit of the Old Babylonian Itinerary may be identical with Kilizi. The Kilizim attested at Mari (ARM 5, 74:5) can hardly be the same since it was in the district of Tuttul on the Balih. See ARMT 15, p. 128.

Kimuhu

City

Syria

Chronicle 4:13, 16 (*uruKi-mu-ḥu*)

Kimuhu was on the west bank of the Euphrates south of Carchemish. See D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 83.

Kirbitu

City

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 iv 37 (*uruKir-bi-tum*)Esarhaddon Chronicle 38 (*uruKir-bi-ti*)

On the location of this city see M. Streck, *Asb.* 1, p. CCCXLIX.

Kirriuri

Mountain

Herir

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4:6 (*kurKir-ri-ú-ri*)

For the identification with Herir on the Upper Zab see E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 3 (1926), p. 158, n. 8; *AfO* 17 (1956), p. 384; Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 105f.; and cf. P. Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 59. Also see R. M. Boehmer, *BJV* 5 (1965), pp. 187ff., 192f.

Kirshi

City

South Anatolia

Chronicle 6:15, 18 (*uruKi-ir-ši*)

For a possible identification of the site see D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 88.

Kudina

City

Near Nineveh (?)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:21 (*uruKu-di-na*)

In the chronicle fragment this city is mentioned after Tarbisu (q.v.) which suggests that it too is close to Nineveh. Cf. Ebeling, *IAK* p. 54, n. 3.

Kullar

Mountain and City

Zagros Mountains

Synchronistic History ii 2 (*uruKul-la-ar*)

Kullar, which is also known as Zamua, is a mountain range along the Lower Zab. See M. Streck, *ZA* 15 (1900), pp. 260f.; Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* p. 44 and p. 88; G. Cameron, *HEI* p. 153; E. Michel, *WO* 1 (1947-52), p. 19, n. 21; and Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 111-113. As is indicated by the Synchronistic History there was also a city of the same name in the vicinity.

Kundu

City and District

Syria

Chronicle 1 iv 8 (*kurKun-du*)

Kundu regularly appears in conjunction with Sisu and they are both known only from the references to Esarhaddon's activities in the chronicle and his royal inscriptions. See Appendix B sub Esarhaddon for references. They are obviously to be located somewhere near Sidon in a mountainous region. H. Winckler, *AOF* 2, pp. 118f. identified Kundu with Mount Anchiale in Cilicia.

Kutila

City

Near Nineveh (?)

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:20, 22 (*uruKu-ti-la*)

Since Kutila is mentioned in the same passage as Tarbisu (q.v.) it may have also been located in the vicinity of Nineveh.

Lahiru

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iv 3 (*uruLa-ḫi-ru*)

There can be no doubt that Lahiru was in the East Tigris Region, probably close to if not on the Diyala River. See sub Ugarsallu and cf. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung* p. 140 (index).†

Larak

City

Tell al-Wilaya (?)

Chronicle 1 ii 22 (*uruLa-rak*)

It has been suggested that this city in southern Babylonia be identified with the large mound called Tell al-Wilaya. See Sumer 15 (1959), p. 51.

Lubdi

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History ii 23' (*uruLu-ub-di*)

Lubdi is in the vicinity of Kirkuk. See J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 9 (1955), pp. 1f.†

Lullume

People and District

Zagros Mountains

Synchronistic History i 31' (*Lu-lu-me-e*)

For Lullumu (Lullubu) see most recently A. Goetze, JNES 12 (1953), pp. 118f. and n. 36 and H. Klengel, MIO 11 (1966), pp. 349-371.

Madanu

City

Near Kirkuk

Chronicle 3:12 (*uruMa-da-nu*)

Madanu rather than Badanu has been read in the chronicle (see the commentary) due to the occurrence of a place (A)madani in the same general region in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I. For references see E. F. Weidner, Tn. p. 62 and cf. Grayson, Bibbia e Oriente 6 (1964), p. 205.

Maliki

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iv 9 (*uruMa-li-ki*)

The precise location of Maliki is unknown. Cf. M. Streck, Asb. p. 187, n. 10. In the Kassite period it was the name of a province. See J. A. Brinkman, JESHO 6 (1963), p. 235. In older texts the name appears as Malgu. See M. Streck, op. cit. and ARMT 15, p. 129.

Mane

City

On the Middle Euphrates

Chronicle 3:7 (*uruMa-ni-e*)

The exact location of Mane is unknown.

Marad

City

Wannet es Sa'dun

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 9 (*Marad-da^{ki}*)Chronicle P iv 19 (*Marad-da^{ki}*)

For the identification of Marad with Wannet es Sa'dun see A. T. Clay, OLZ 1914, 110-112. For the location on a map see Jacobsen, Sumer 14 (1958), fig. 6. For the topography see F. R. Kraus, ZA 51

(1955), pp. 56-62 and cf. p. 73 note to line 61.

Meturan

City

On the Diyala River

Synchronistic History iv 4 (*uruMê-meš. Tûr-[an(?)]*)

Meturan (Meturnu) is to be located according to Weidner, AfO 9 (1933-34), p. 96 and n. 36 where the Narin-Su drains into the Diyala River.

Milidu

District

Anatolia

Chronicle 1 iv 10 (*kurMi-li-du*)Esarhaddon Chronicle 15 (*kurMi-li-du*)

Milidu is the district in Asia Minor which in Roman times was called Melitene. See M. Streck, Asb. 1, pp. CCCL-CCCLI.

Nagabbilhi

City

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:26 (*uruNa-gab-bil-hi*)

The location of this city is unknown. Cf. Ebeling, IAK p. 54, n. 3.

Nagitum

City

South Babylonia

Chronicle 1 ii 37 (*uruNa-gi-tum*)

Nagitum was the name of a city and island in the marsh of the Persian Gulf. A detailed description of it is found in the inscriptions of Sennacherib, among which particularly note OIP 2, pp. 73-76.

Nasibin

City

Nisibin

Chronicle 3:48 (*uruNa-si-bi-ni*)

For the location of the city see Dilleman, Haute Mésopotamie p. 343 (index). For a history of Nasibin see E. F. Weidner, Tell Halaf p. 10, n. 33.

Nigimhi

District

Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:13 (*kurNi-gim-hi*)

Nigimhi was conquered by Arik-din-ili, as the chronicle fragment indicates, and by Adad-narari I (see KAH 2, 35:11). Its location is unknown. Cf. Ebeling, IAK p. 52, n. 5.

Opis (Upe)

City

On the Tigris River

Nabonidus Chronicle iii 12 (*Upe^{k1}*)

Synchronistic History ii 20' (*uruU-pe-e*)

E. F. Weidner, AfO 18 (1957-58), p. 354 note to line 46 placed Opis on the east bank of the Tigris. Cf. E. Unger, RLA 1, pp. 64ff. sub Akšak. Opis has not yet been located with precision. See R. Adams, Land Behind Baghdad p. 49, n. 20 (on pp. 173f.).†

Parsa

City

Aqar Quf

Chronicle 24:10 (*[Pà]r(?)sa-a*)

W. G. Lambert, AfO 18 (1957-58), pp. 396f. has pointed out that Parsa is another name for Dur-Kurigalzu (Aqar Quf). W. L. Moran, Or. n.s. 29 (1960), pp. 103f. has added more material to this argument. Cf. W. W. Hallo, JCS 18 (1964), p. 67 and n. 16.

Pilasqi

District

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History i 29' (*kurPi-la-as-qi*)

That Pilasqi was in the East Tigris Area is clear from the Synchronistic History. But the name is otherwise unattested and its location is unknown.†

Pillatum

City

South Babylonia

Chronicle 1 ii 38 (*uruPi-il-la-tum*)

Pillatum regularly occurs in conjunction with Hilmi (q.v.) and Hupapanu and

therefore, like those cities, was located on the southern border of Babylonia and Elam in the district of Gambulu.†

Pirindu

District

Anatolia

Chronicle 6:1 (*kurPi-rin-d[u]*)

On the location of Pirindu see D. J. Wiseman, Chron. pp. 86f.

Pitusu

City

Anatolia

Chronicle 6:20 (*uruPi-tu-su*)

D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 88 suggests that Pitusu be identified with the island called Pityussa by the Greeks, present-day Karginicik Adasi.

Quramatu

City

Syria

Chronicle 4:20, 25 (*uruQu-ra-ma-ti*)

From the chronicle it is clear that Quramatu is on the Upper Euphrates. For various attempts to identify the site more precisely see D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 83 and M. C. Astour, JNES 22 (1963), p. 232.

Rabbilu

City

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 i 4 (*uruRab-bi-lu*)

In the chronicle Rabbilu is mentioned in conjunction with Hamranu (q.v.) which is almost certainly to be located on the Diyala River. Thus it seems probable that Rabbilu was in the same vicinity.

Rahilu

City

Middle Euphrates

Chronicle 3:33 (*[u]ruRa-hi-i-lu*)

Rahilu was a city on an island in the Euphrates, the precise location of which is unknown. See D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 81.

Rapiqi

City

Rahaja

Synchronistic History ii 24' (*uruRa-pi-qi*)

Rapiqi has been identified as Rahaja. It is near modern Ramadiyah which is on the Euphrates near Baghdad. See A. Goetze, JCS 4 (1950), p. 95 and nn. 52 and 53; A. Musil, The Middle Euphrates p. 34, n. 24; and ARMT 15, p. 132.†

The exact location of Sahiri is unknown. It is probably identical with the Assyrian town Sairi. See E. F. Weidner, Tell Halaf p. 16.

Sallat

City

On the Middle Euphrates

Chronicle 2:20, 22, 23 (*uruSal-lat*)

This may be identical with Salate. See D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 78.

Rashi

District

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 iii 10 (*kurRa-a-ši*)

On the location of this district in the East Tigris Region on the Elamo-Babylonian border see M. Streck, Asb. 2, p. 47, n. 6 and cf. *ibid.* 3, p. 804 and König, RLA 2, p. 38 sub Bit-bunakki.

Sallune

City

Anatolia

Chronicle 6:24 (*uruSa-al-lu-ni-e*)

For a possible identification of this city see D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 88.

Sapardu See Sardis**RUGdini**

City

Chronicle 7 i 19 (*uruRUG-di-ni*)

The location and reading are unknown.

Sardis (Sapardu)Chronicle 12 r. 1 (*kurSa-pa[r-du]*)

See the commentary to the chronicle.

Sarrabanu

City

South Babylonia

Chronicle 1 ii 22 (*uruSar-ra-ba-[nu]*)

Sarrabanu, like Larak with which it occurs in the chronicle, was in the southern part of the Babylonian plain. Its exact location is unknown.

Ruggulitu

City

Syria

Chronicle 3:56 (*uruRu-u[g]-[gu]-[li-ti(?)]*)

Ruggulitu was on the Upper Euphrates near Til-Barsip, modern Tall Ahmar. See D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 82.

Rusapu

District

Near Nasibin

Chronicle 3:49 (*kurRu-sa-pu*)

Rusapu is probably to be identified with Rasappa. Note that Rasappa was immediately north of Nasibin (q.v.) and in the chronicle Nasibin is mentioned just before Rusapu. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung p. 12 said the two places were not identical.

Sha-amile

City

South Babylonia

Esarhaddon Chronicle 20 (*uruŠá-amīlēmeš*)

On the location of this city see Appendix B sub Esarhaddon.

Shapazza

City

East Tigris Region

Chronicle 1 i 5 (*uruŠá-pa-az-za*)Chronicle 2:19 (*uruŠá-pa-az-zu*)

In Chronicle 1 Shapazza is mentioned in conjunction with Hamranu (q.v.) which is almost certainly to be located in the

Sahiri

City

On the Middle Euphrates

Chronicle 3:7 (*uruSa-ši-ri*)

region of the Diyala River. Thus it seems plausible that Shapazza was in the same vicinity. Cf. D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 78. Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* (Berlin, 1885) p. 651, n. 1 unjustifiably identified Shapazza with Pazitu-sha-Dunanu.

Shasili

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History i 21' (*Ša-si-li*)

Shasili, which is also written Shashillani, has been located south of the Lower Zab by A. Goetze, *JCS* 4 (1950), pp. 95f. Cf. J. J. Finkelstein, *JCS* 9 (1955), p. 5.†

Shaznaku

City

Chronicle 2:5 (*uruŠa-az-na-ku*)

The location of this city is unknown. D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 78 has proposed that it was somewhere in the region of the Diyala River but there is no evidence for this.

Shubria

District

Lake Van Region

Chronicle 1 iv 20 (*kurŠub-ri-«ZA»-a-a*)

Esarhaddon Chronicle 24 (*kurŠub-r[i-a-a]*)

Shubria was on the southwest shore of Lake Van and its capital was called Ub-bumu. See I. J. Gelb, *Hurrians and Subarians* p. 47 and W. G. Lambert, *AnSt* 11 (1961), p. 155.

Shubuhnu

District

Lake Van Region

Esarhaddon Chronicle 9 (*kur[Šu-bu(?)-ub-nu]*)

See the commentary to the chronicle.

Shunadiru

City

Syria

Chronicle 4:21 (*uruŠu-na-di-ri*)

This city was on the Upper Euphrates south of Carchemish. See D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 84.

Sippar-sha-Anunitu

City

Sippar

Synchronistic History ii 19' (*uruSi-ip-par Ša A-nu-ni-t[um]*)

This, as well as Sippar-sha-Shamash which is mentioned in the same passage, is a suburb of Sippar. Cf. Sippar-Amnanum, Sippar-Yahrurum, and Sippar-Aruru (references and comments in J. R. Kupper, *Les Nomades* pp. 76f.).

Sippar-sha-Shamash

City

Sippar

Synchronistic History ii 18' (*uruSi-ip-par Ša Ša-[maš]*)

See Sippar-sha-Anunitu.

Sisu

District

Syria

Chronicle 1 iv 8 (*kurSi-su-ū*)

Sisu regularly appears in conjunction with Kundu (q.v.).

Sugaga

City

On the Tigris River

Synchronistic History i 19' (*uruSu-ga-gi*)

Chronicle P iii 21 (*uruSu-ga-ga*)

Sugaga was probably on the west side of the Tigris River just north of the confluence of the Lower Zab. See W. W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), p. 70 and A. K. Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* p. 339 and n. 17a.†

Tabalu

District

Anatolia

Chronicle 1 ii 6' (*kurTa-ba-lu*)

Tabal was in Cappadocia. See M. Streck, *Asb.* 1, pp. CCCL-CCCLI and n. 1.

Takritain

City

Takrit

Chronicle 3:18–20 (*uruTak-ri-i-ta-in*)

For the identification of Takritain with modern Takrit on the Tigris see D. J. Wiseman, *Chron.* p. 80. To his references add A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates* pp. 363–367.

Tarbisu

City

Sherif Khan

Chronicle 3:25 (*uruTar-bi-šu*)Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:21 ([*u*]ru *Tar-bi-ši*)

For the identification of the site and its importance in the Sargonid period see C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh* p. 10 and n. 1; T. Jacobsen, *OIP* 24, p. 34 and n. 14; Wiseman, *Treaties* p. 4; and Frankena, *Takultu* p. 121.

Til-Bit-Bari

City

Bargird

Synchronistic History iii 20 (*uruTil-Bit-Ba-ri*)

Til-(Bit)-Bari has been identified with Bargird (a little south of the Lower Zab) by E. A. Speiser, *AASOR* 8 (1926–27), p. 19, n. 36. Further see A. K. Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* p. 339, n. 21.

Til-sha-Batani

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iii 21 (*Til-ša^mBa-ta-a-ni*)

This place is mentioned both in the Synchronistic History and in the inscriptions of Ashur-nasir-apli II in connection with Til-Bit-Bari (q.v.). It is therefore to be located somewhere in the vicinity of the Lower Zab. See A. K. Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* p. 339, n. 21.

Til-sha-Sabdani

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History iii 21 (<*Til*>-*ša^muruŠab-da-ni*)

This place, like Til-sha-Batani, is mentioned both in the Synchronistic History and in the inscriptions of Ashur-nasir-apli II in connection with Til-Bit-Bari (q.v.). It is therefore to be located somewhere in the vicinity of the Lower Zab. See Grayson, *Studies Landsberger* p. 339, n. 21.†

TurihaAssyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:19 ([...] *tu-ri-ha*)

It is unknown if this name has been completely preserved. Cf. Ebeling, *IAK* p. 53, n. 17.

†

Ugarsallu

City and District

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History i 25', 30'; ii 11, 22' (*Ugar-sa-al-lu*, *Ugar-sa-li*, *uruUgar-sa-a[l-lu]*)

Since Ugarsallu is mentioned more times in the Synchronistic History than in any other text one is compelled to discuss it at some length. There was both a city and a district called Ugarsallu. That there was a city is evident from the use of the determinative URU (to the examples above add an inscription of Tiglath-pileser I, Weidner, *AfO* 18 [1957–58], p. 350:38) and its listing with other cities such as Zabban and Irriya in ii 11. That there was a district by this name is evident from its position after the city name Arman in the Synchronistic History i 30' and in *AfO* 18 (1957–58), p. 350:38, and in the use of Lubdi in the Synchronistic History ii 22' f. to describe the limit of the conquered territory. Ugarsallu also occurs in an Elamite royal inscription. See F. W. König, *Elam* no. 54, § 37. The name means “the plain of Sallu” (cf. the writing *Ugar-uruSa-lum* in KAH 2, 84:28—inscription of Adad-nerari II) but a city Sallu is unknown.

For the localization of Ugarsallu two passages are particularly helpful. In the Synchronistic History i 30' it is located on the bank of the Tigris and in AfO 18, p. 350:38 (Tiglath-pileser I) it is located on the southeast side of the Lower Zab. Thus it is probably the term for the whole district along the Tigris between the Lower Zab and the Shatt-el-Adheim, either bounded by or including Jebel Hamrin. The city Ugarsallu is of course to be located somewhere within this region. This identification agrees with what is known of the localization of other place-names connected with Ugarsallu. W. F. Albright, in his study of the name (JAOS 45 [1925], p. 214, n. 56), concluded that it was identical with Lahiru. But in KAH 2, 84:27f. Adad-nerari II states: "From Lahiri to Ugar-sallu" (*iš-tu uruLa-ḫi-ri a-di Ugar-uruSa-lum*) which shows that the two names cannot apply to the same district. In fact Lahiru (q.v.) was probably close to, if not on, the Diyala River. See the names connected with it in an inscription of the Elamite Shilhak-Inshushinak I—König, Elam no. 54 § 37 and cf. the analysis of G. Cameron, HEI pp. 115ff.†

Ura

City

Anatolia

Chronicle 6:12, 13, 15 (*uruŪ-ra'*)

For a possible identification of the site see D. J. Wiseman, Chron. p. 88. Also cf.

Iraq 18 (1956), p. 128, note to line 20 and A. Goetze, JCS 16 (1962), p. 48 and n. 7.

Yalman See Ialman

Yanu See Ianu

Zaban

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History ii 11 ([^{ur}]^u*Za-ban*)

Zab(b)an was on the Lower Zab according to M. Streck Asb. 1 p. LXXXVIII and A. Goetze, JNES 12 (1953), p. 123. Note, however, that E. F. Weidner, AfO 15 (1945-51), pp. 75-80 located it on the Shatt-el-Adheim.†

Zanqi

City

East Tigris Region

Synchronistic History ii 3' (*Za-an-qi*)

From the statement in the Synchronistic History it is apparent that Zanqi was on the Assyro-Babylonian border and since the border clashes described in this document normally take place in the East Tigris region, there should be little hesitation in placing Zanqi in this general area. Further see E. F. Weidner, AfO 10 (1935-1936), p. 3, n. 16 and to the various writings of the name given there add *Zāqu* (cf. Weidner, AfO 21 [1966], p. 41).†

APPENDIX D

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF CHRONOGRAPHIC AND RELATED SOURCES

The purpose of this appendix is to provide a bibliography of the chronographic and related sources referred to but not edited in this book. The texts have been arranged in the bibliography in the order in which they appear in the chart of categories in Chapter 1. For convenience there follows a list of the texts in alphabetical order with their number in the bibliography in the right-hand column.†

Assyrian King List	12
Assyrian King List Fragments	12a
Astronomical Diaries	6
Babylon I King List Fragment	15
Babylonian King List A	3
Babylonian King List B	10
Babylonian King List C	4
Eighteen-year Interval List	7
King List of the Hellenistic Period	9
Larsa King List	1
Ptolemaic Canon	11
Sumerian King List	8
Synchronistic King List	14
Synchronistic King List Fragments ...	14a
Tummal Chronicle	13
Ur-Isin King List	2
Uruk King List	5

1. LARSA KING LIST

Museum Number:

YBC 2142

Photograph:

YOS 1, pl. LII

Copy:

1915 A. T. Clay, YOS 1, no. 32

Editions:

- 1915 A. T. Clay, YOS 1, pp. 30-44
- 1918 F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 15, pp. 2-4
- 1920 A. Ungnad, ZDMG 74, pp. 423-428
- 1929 G. A. Barton, RISA pp. 354f.

Translations Only:

- 1919 E. M. Grice, YOR 4/1, p. 7
- 1952 F. Schmidtke, Chronologie p. 77

Studies:

- 1950 A. Goetze, JCS 4, pp. 99f.
- 1951 F. R. Kraus, JCS 3, pp. 16-18
- 1952 L. Matouš, ArOr 20, pp. 294f.
- 1957 D. O. Edzard, Zwischenzeit p. 22

2. UR-ISIN KING LIST

There are two versions of this list, both of which are in private possession. They were published in transliteration by E. Sollberger, JCS 8 (1954), pp. 135f.

3. BABYLONIAN KING LIST A

Museum Number:

BM 33332 (Rm III, 5)

Photograph:

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Zwei Hauptprobleme der altorientalischen Chronologie und ihre Lösung (Leipzig, 1898) pl. 1

Copy:

- 1884 T. Pinches, PSBA 6, two plates opposite p. 194
 - 1889 L. Abel in Winckler, UAG pp. 146f.
 - 1893 J. A. Knudtzon, AGS 1, pl. 60
 - 1897 P. Rost, MVAG 2, pp. 241f.
 - 1898 C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, op. cit. pl. 2
 - 1921 C. J. Gadd, CT 36, 24f.
- The same copy is reproduced in Schmidtke, Chronologie, pls. 2f.

Editions and Studies:

- 1884 T. Pinches, PSBA 6, pp. 193-198
- 1887 E. Schrader, SPAW 1887, pp. 579-607, 947-951
- 1891 F. E. Peiser, ZA 6, pp. 264-271

- 1893 F. Delitzsch, BSAW 1893, pp. 183–189
J. A. Knudtzon, AGS 2, p. 277
1898 C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, op. cit. pp. 13–29
1908 P. Schnabel, MVAG 13, pp. 3–11, 39–89
1946 M. B. Rowton, Iraq 8, pp. 94–97
1947 A. Poebel, AS 14, p. 110, n. 2; p. 117, n. 8; pp. 121f.
1955 A. Poebel, AS 15, pp. 4f., 11f.
1957 K. Jaritz, JSS 2, pp. 325f.†

Translations Only:

- 1890 E. Schrader, KB 2, pp. 286f.
1909 H. Winckler, KTAT³ pp. 68f.
1912 R. W. Rogers, Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament (London) pp. 201f.
1926 E. Ebeling, AOTAT² pp. 332f.
1952 F. Schmidtke, Chronologie pp. 77–80
1955 A. L. Oppenheim, ANET² p. 272

4. BABYLONIAN KING LIST C

The text is in private possession and was published, edited, and commented upon in detail by A. Poebel, AS 15 (1955). The following are some particularly important reviews of Poebel's book: A. Falkenstein, OLZ 1956, 417–419; E. Weidner, AfO 17 (1956), pp. 383f.; D. O. Edzard, ZA 53 (1959), pp. 308f.; W. von Soden, WZKM 55 (1959), p. 156.†

5. URUK KING LIST

Excavation Number:

W 20030, 105

Museum Number:

IM 65066

Copy:

1962 J. J. A. van Dijk, UVB 18, pl. 28a

Edition:

1962 J. J. A. van Dijk, UVB 18, pp. 53–60

Study:

1963 J. J. A. van Dijk, AfO 20, pp. 217f.†

6. ASTRONOMICAL DIARIES

The texts of this genre which have so far been published are either published or referred to by A. J. Sachs, LBAT pp. xii–xxi, 46–149.

7. EIGHTEEN-YEAR INTERVAL LIST

Museum Number:

Sp II 955 + Sp II 48

Text and Editions:

- 1884 T. Pinches, PSBA 6, pp. 202–204 (Sp II 48)
1892 J. N. Strassmaier, ZA 7, pp. 198–200 (Sp II 48)
1893 J. N. Strassmaier, ZA 8, pp. 106f. (Sp II 955)

Studies:

- 1885 J. Oppert, RA 1, pp. 69–73
1897 J. Oppert, ZDMG 51, pp. 157–160
1924 F. X. Kugler, SSB 2, pp. 363–366
1938 O. Neugebauer, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Mathematik, Astronomie, und Physik (Berlin) Abt. B, Bd. 4, p. 253, n. 96

8. SUMERIAN KING LIST

The most comprehensive edition and study of the documents which make up the Sumerian King List is by T. Jacobsen, AS 11 (1939). Texts not included in Jacobsen's edition or which subsequently appeared are: V. Scheil, "Mélanges Maspero", Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire 66 (1934), pp. 393–400; F. R. Kraus, ZA 50 (1952), pp. 33–45 (copies of these texts were published by S. N. Kramer, University Museum Bulletin 17/2 [1952], p. 19, fig. 9); M. Civil, JCS 15 (1961), pp. 79f. A list of antediluvian kings has been published by J. J. Finkelstein, JCS 17 (1963), pp. 39–51. A school tablet with a list of early kings has been edited by Nissen, ZA 57 (1965), pp. 1–5. The title of the Sumerian King List (nam.lugal "sovereignty") is preserved in a literary catalogue recently published by S. N. Kramer, RA 55 (1961), p. 171:25 (cf. p. 174). Since the

publication of Jacobsen's study, the following relevant works have appeared:

- 1952 F. R. Kraus, "Zur Liste der älteren Könige von Babylonien" *ZA* 50, pp. 29-60
 F. Schmidtke, *Chronologie* pp. 70-77
 1955 A. L. Oppenheim translates a portion of the list in *ANET*² pp. 265f.
 1957 D. O. Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* pp. 15f.
 1960 M. B. Rowton, "The Date of the Sumerian King List" *JNES* 19, pp. 156-162
 1963 W. W. Hallo, "Beginning and End of the Sumerian King List in the Nippur Recension" *JCS* 17, pp. 52-57
 S. N. Kramer, *The Sumerians* (Chicago) pp. 328-331†

9. KING LIST OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD Museum Number:

BM 35603 (Sp III 113)

The text has been edited together with a copy and photograph by A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 16 (1954), pp. 202-212. Also cf. J. Schaumberger, *Biblica* 36 (1955), pp. 423-435 and J. J. A. van Dijk, *UVB* 18, p. 59.†

10. BABYLONIAN KING LIST B

Museum Number:

BM 38122 (80-11-12, 3)

Photograph:

SPAW 1887, pl. XI

Copy:

- 1889 L. Abel in H. Winckler, *UAG* p. 145
 1897 P. Rost, *MVAG* 2, p. 240. This copy is reproduced in Schmidtke, *Chronologie* pl. 4.

Editions:

- 1880 T. Pinches, *PSBA* 3, pp. 21f.
 1890 E. Schrader, *KB* 2, pp. 288f.
 1907 L. W. King, *Chron.* 1, pp. 95f.

Translations Only:

- 1909 H. Winckler, *KTAT*³ p. 67
 1912 R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (London) p. 202

1926 E. Ebeling, *AOTAT*² p. 332

1952 F. Schmidtke, *Chronologie* pp. 80f.

1955 A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*² p. 271

Studies:

- 1887 E. Schrader, *SPAW* 1887, pp. 583-585
 1907 L. W. King, *Chron.* 2, p. 48, n. 2
 1947 A. Poebel, *AS* 14 pp. 110-122
 1955 S. I. Feigin, *JNES* 14, pp. 139-141
 (The article was prepared for publication by B. Landsberger.)
 A. Poebel, *AS* 15, pp. 4f.

11. PTOLEMAIC CANON

A list of the kings with their regnal years as found in the Ptolemaic Canon is given by F. Schmidtke, *Chronologie* pp. 98f. To his bibliography in note 22 on p. 98 add:

- I. P. Cory, *Ancient Fragments* (London, 1832) pp. 83f.
 E. Schrader, *SPAW* 1887, pp. 579-607
 R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (London, 1912) p. 239
Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft 23, 1823-1825†

12. ASSYRIAN KING LIST

There are four versions (here designated A, B, C, and D) of the Assyrian King List preserved.†

A is in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul.

B (Khorsabad List) is in the Oriental Institute, Chicago.

C (SDAS List) was in the Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Washington, but is now in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.

D (VAT 11554) is in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

D is the oldest version. A, B, and C are younger, the oldest of the three being A and the youngest C. In this book references to the Assyrian King List normally follow the line numbering of C as edited by I. J. Gelb (see below).

Photographs:

- A AfO 4 (1927), pls. If.
 B JNES 13 (1954), pls. XIVf.
 C JNES 13 (1954), pls. XVI f.
 D none

Copies:

- 1920 O. Schroeder, KAV 15 (text D)
 1927 E. Nassouhi, AfO 4, pp. 4f. (text A)
 No copy of texts B or C has been published.

Editions:

- 1927 E. Nassouhi, AfO 4, pp. 1-11 (text A)
 1944 E. F. Weidner, AfO 14, pp. 362-369
 (reverse of text B)
 1954 I. J. Gelb, JNES 13, pp. 209-230
 (texts B and C)
 1959 E. F. Weidner, Tn. nos. 38, 43, 45,
 46, 50, 54, 58 (selected portions of
 texts A, B, and C)

(For editions and studies of text D see the bibliography of the Assyrian King List Fragments.)

Translation Only:

- 1952 F. Schmidtke, *Chronologie* pp. 81-84
 (reverse of text B)†

Studies:

- 1927 E. F. Weidner, AfO 4, pp. 11-17
 (text A)
 1929 J. Lewy, ZA 38, pp. 95-107 (text A)
 1942-43 A. Poebel, JNES 1, pp. 247-306,
 460-492; 2, pp. 56-90 (texts A and B)
 1945-46 E. Cavaignac, RA 40, pp. 17-26
 (texts A and B)
 1945-51 E. F. Weidner, AfO 15, pp. 85-102
 (texts A and B)
 1946 M. B. Rowton, Iraq 8, pp. 94-104
 1954 B. Landsberger, JCS 8, pp. 31-45,
 47-73, 106-133 (texts A and B)
 1955 E. Cavaignac, RA 49, pp. 94-97
 (texts A, B, and C)
 1960 E. Reiner, JNES 19, p. 155†

12a. ASSYRIAN KING LIST FRAGMENTS

There are two fragments which are here designated A and B. KAV 16 may be a king list but it is not likely. Cf. E. F. Weidner, MVAG 26/2 (1921), p. 2, n. 1.

Museum Numbers:

- A VAT 9812
 B VAT 12058

Copies:

- A KAV 14 and Weidner, MVAG
 26/2, last plate.
 B KAV 18 and Weidner, MVAG
 26/2, last plate.

Editions and Studies:

- 1917 E. Weidner, MVAG 20/4, pp. 1-7
 E. Weidner, MDOG 58, pp. 1-4
 1918 O. Schroeder, OLZ 1918, 41-43
 1921 O. Schroeder, ZA 33, pp. 53f.
 A. Ungnad, OLZ 1921, 15-17
 E. F. Weidner, MVAG 26/2, pp. 2-9
 1927 D. D. Luckenbill, ARAB 2, §§ 1189-
 1191
 1942 A. Poebel, JNES 1, p. 251
 1954 B. Landsberger, JCS 8, p. 31; p. 39,
 n. 48; p. 108, nn. 198 and 200

13. TUMMAL CHRONICLE

Ten copies of the text have so far been discovered: A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, and J. A and B are in the Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung, Jena (HS 1454 and HS 1506 respectively). C, D, and E are in The University Museum, Philadelphia, and have been published as PBS 5, nos. 6 and 7 (no museum numbers given); 13, no. 48 (CBS 7849) respectively. F and G are in the Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul (Ni 3023 and Ni 9706 respectively). H, I, and J are in the British Museum (see the publications of E. Sollberger below).

Photograph:

- D PBS 5, pl. XCII

Copies:

- 1914 A. Poebel, PBS 5, nos. 6 and 7
 1922 L. Legrain, PBS 13, no. 48
 1944 S. N. Kramer, Sumerian Literary
 Texts from Nippur = AASOR 23,
 no. 131 (text F)
 1953 S. N. Kramer, Or. n.s. 22, pl. XXXVIII
 (text G)

1961 S. N. Kramer, *Sumerische Literarische Texte aus Nippur 1* (Berlin), nos. 34f. (texts A and B)

1965 E. Sollberger, *UET* 8, nos. 58–60 (texts H–J)

Editions:

1914 A. Poebel, *PBS* 4/1, pp. 143–147

1922 L. Legrain, *PBS* 13, pp. 80–82

1962 E. Sollberger, "The Tummal Inscription" *JCS* 16, pp. 40–47

Studies:

1924 A. Poebel, *OLZ* 1924, 263f.

1934 H. G. Güterbock, *ZA* 42, pp. 7f.

1960 S. N. Kramer, *CRRA* 7, pp. 61–63

14. SYNCHRONISTIC KING LIST

Excavation Number:

Ass 14616c

Copies:

1920 O. Schroeder, *KAV* 216 (reverse only)

1921 E. F. Weidner, *MVAG* 26/2, four plates at the end

1926 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 3, pp. 70f.

Edition:

1921 E. F. Weidner, *MVAG* 26/2, pp. 12–23

Translations Only:

1926 E. Ebeling, *AOTAT*² pp. 333–335

1927 D. D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2, §§ 1187–1188

1955 A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*² pp. 272–274

Studies:

1926 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 3, pp. 66–77

1955 A. Poebel, *AS* 15, p. 14

1956 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 17, p. 383, n. 1

1959–60 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 19, p. 138†

14a. SYNCHRONISTIC KING LIST FRAGMENTS

There are five fragments which are here designated: A, B, C, D, and E. B actually consists of two fragments which, although they do not actually join, certainly belong together. See E. F. Weidner *MVAG* 20/4 (1915), p. 5 and cf. Weidner, *MVAG* 26/2 (1921), p. 23. Weidner estimated that about eight lines were missing between the two fragments.

Museum or Excavation Numbers:

A VAT 11931

B VAT 11261 and 11345

C VAT 11262

D VAT 11338

E Ass 13956 dh (Photo 4198)

Copies:

A *KAV* 9

B *KAV* 10 and 13

C *KAV* 11

D *KAV* 12

E *KAV* 182

Editions and Studies:

1917 E. F. Weidner, *MVAG* 20/4, pp. 1–10

E. F. Weidner, *MDOG* 58, pp. 1–7

1918 A. Ungnad, *ZDMG* 72, pp. 313–316

1920 O. Schroeder, *OLZ* 1920, 204–207

1921 E. F. Weidner, *MVAG* 26/2, pp. 2–12

1924 A. Ungnad, *AfK* 2, p. 26

1927 D. D. Luckenbill, *ARAB* 2, §§ 1192–1193

1945–51 E. F. Weidner, *AfO* 15, p. 88, n. 17 (collation of A)

1959 E. F. Weidner, *Tn.* no. 55

15. BABYLON I KING LIST FRAGMENT

Museum Number:

K 14839

A copy of this tiny fragment was published by L. W. King, *Chron.* 1, p. 183.

APPENDIX E

NOTE TO THE TRANSLITERATIONS

In general the system of transliteration followed in this book is that followed by the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. But when an ideogram appears in the cuneiform text the corresponding Akkadian form has been reconstructed whenever possible. When there is more than one ideogram for a word or proper name diacritical marks have been used to distinguish them. For the sake of convenience the system of diacritical marks employed adheres as much as possible to that laid down by R. Borger, *Asarh.* p. X. Here follows a list of the words involved, some of which are in addition to Borger's list, as well as other ideograms which commonly appear.†

abu AD
Abu (MN) NE
Adad IM
Addaru ŠE
aḫu ŠEŠ
áḫu PAP
Aiīaru GUD
aplu A
áp̄lu IBILA
àp̄lu A X A
Araḫsamnu APIN
ašarēdu SAG.KAL
ášarēdu BAR
Aššur AN.ŠÁR

Bābīlī KÁ.DINGIR.RA
Bābīlī KÁ.DINGIR
Bābīlī TIN.TIR
*Bābīlī*₅ E
balātu TI.LA
bālātu DIN
banū D Û
Barsip BÁR.SIPA (cf. R. Borger, JNES 19

bēlu EN
bitu É

būšu NÍG.ŠU
dabdu ŠI.ŠI
dāku GAZ
damāqu SIG₅
Du'ūzu ŠU

ēkallu É.GAL
Elamtu NIM.MA
Elámtu NIM
ellu K Û
epēšu D Û
ezēbu KAR

ḫalāqu ZÁḪ

Idiglat IDIGNA
ištu TA
itti KI

kānu GI.NA
kānū DU
Kistimu GAN
kiššatu ŠÚ
kudurru NÍG.DU
kussū GU.ZA
kússū AŠ.TE

lamānu ḪUL

marāšu GIG
Marduk AMAR.UTU
Márduḫ MES
Màrduk ŠÚ
māru DUMU
mārtu DUMU.SAL
mātu KUR
mātu ÚŠ
makkūru NÍG.GA

na'ādu I
Nabū AG
Nábū MUATI

<i>nadānu</i>	SUM
<i>nádānu</i>	AŠ
<i>nàdānu</i>	MU
<i>nakāru</i>	PAP
<i>našāru</i>	PAP
<i>nášāru</i>	ŠEŠ
<i>Nergal</i>	U.GUR
<i>Ninurta</i>	BAR
<i>Nisannu</i>	BÁR
<i>parakku</i>	BÁR
<i>rābu</i>	SU
<i>rabú</i>	GAL
<i>Šimānu</i>	SIG ₄
<i>Šin</i>	XXX
<i>Šin</i>	EN.ZU
<i>šabātu</i>	DIB
<i>Šabātu</i>	ZÍZ
<i>šakānu</i>	GAR
<i>Šamaš</i>	UTU
<i>Šámaš</i>	GIŠ.ŠIR
<i>Šàmaš</i>	XX
<i>šapāku</i>	DUB
<i>šattu</i>	MU
<i>šáttu</i>	MU.AN.NA
<i>šarru</i>	LUGAL
<i>šárru</i>	MAN
<i>šul</i>	DI (Only in the name Šulmānu- ašarēd)
<i>Šumeru</i>	EME.KU
<i>tāru</i>	GUR
<i>Tašrītu</i>	DU ₆
<i>ṭābu</i>	DÙG
<i>Tebētu</i>	AB
<i>ultu</i>	TA
<i>Ulūlu</i>	KIN

<i>wašú</i>	È
<i>zakāru</i>	MU
<i>zēru</i>	NUMUN

When a verb is expressed by an ideogram in the late chronicles there is a problem as to whether it is to be reconstructed as a preterite, perfect, or stative since all three forms are well attested in these texts. In cases where it is impossible to decide which form to reconstruct on the basis of parallel passages (or other indications) the perfect has been used since it is the most common of the three forms in the late chronicles.

Another problem is the form of gentilics derived from names of cities such as Babylon, Nippur, etc. When these are written ideographically (e.g. ¹⁴TIN.TIR^{ki} meš in Chronicle 1 ii 19; and EN.LÍL^{ki} me in Chronicle 2:8) it is uncertain if one should read *Bābilā*, *Nippurā*, etc. (cf. W. von Soden, GAG § 56q) or *Bābilāia*, *Nippurāia*, etc. (cf. W. von Soden, GAG § 56p). The orthography TIN.TIR^{ki}-a-a in ABL 716 r. 8 certainly indicates that *Bābilāia* was the correct reading there. But are both forms possible as in the case of gentilics derived from certain territorial names such as *Elamū* (¹⁴E-la-mu-ú Streck, Asb. 2, p. 42 iv 127) and *Elamāia* (¹⁴NIM.MA-a-a ABL 1093:15 and ¹⁴NIM.MA^{ki}-a-a ABL 1127:12); *Aššurū* (see W. von Soden, GAG § 56q) and *Aššurāia* (*Aš-šur-a-a* Wiseman, *Treaties* 162)? In this book the slight evidence favouring the form *Bābilāia* has been accepted as the basis for transliterating such forms. But the issue is by no means clear. There is no problem with ¹⁴DUMU.E^{ki} (Chronicle of the Diadochi r. 38, 41, 43). The occurrence of ¹⁴DUMU.meš.E^k[i] in Chronicle 13a:3 indicates the reading *mārū Bābili*.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

PREFACE

A further four years have passed since I wrote the Preface and the discoveries of six years must now be included here. The interval has allowed me the opportunity to personally collate Chronicle 13b (see below). In addition Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3 (see below), the identity of which was recognized by Mr. C. B. F. Walker, has come to light and I have had time to collate and copy the fragment. Both texts are published with the permission of the Trustees of the British Museum and I am once again indebted to Dr. R. D. Barnett, Dr. Edmond Sollberger, and their staff for granting me every facility to study these two inscriptions. A particular word of thanks goes to Mr. Walker for

drawing the chronicle fragment to my attention. I am also grateful to Professor W. G. Lambert for examining both fragments and offering me the benefit of his wisdom. Professor Brinkman's *A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia* (PKB) has now appeared and where in my original text I have referred to his Dissertation I have added here the appropriate reference to PKB. The reader's attention is drawn in particular to the Addenda to Appendix B regarding Professor Brinkman's chronological scheme and his list of sources.

Toronto

March, 1973

ABBREVIATIONS

- | | | | |
|-------------------|--|-------------------|---|
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament | Hunger, Kolophone | H. Hunger, <i>Babylonische und Assyrische Kolophone</i> , AOAT 2 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968) |
| ARI | A. K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions 1, Records of the Ancient Near East</i> , ed. H. Goedicke, 1 (Wiesbaden, 1972) | Parpola, Toponyms | S. Parpola, <i>Neo-Assyrian Toponyms</i> , AOAT 6 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970) |
| Dietrich, Aramäer | M. Dietrich, <i>Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit</i> , AOAT 7 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1970) | PKB | J. A. Brinkman, <i>A Political History of Post-Kassite Babylonia</i> , AnOr 43 (Rome, 1968) |
| HKL | R. Borger, <i>Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur 1</i> (Berlin, 1967) | | |

PART I

p. 2, n. 13: Regarding the Akkadian letters see now ARI 1, LXXX, 1* and 2* and LXXXIV, 1* and 2*.

pp. 2-3: My comments upon historical epics, pseudo-autobiographies, and prophecies require revision. The reader is referred to my forthcoming *Babylonian Historical-Literary*

Texts. Another "miscellaneous historical text" worthy of note is the text mentioned below in the Addenda to Appendix B sub Nabonidus.

p. 3, n. 19: For Assyrian royal inscriptions see now ARI 1. Regarding the Ashur-uballit I text see ARI 1, LXXIII, 3. For the typology

of Gudea inscriptions see A. Falkenstein, *AnOr* 30, pp. 171–188.

p. 4, n. 26: Morawe's article was based on his dissertation written for Humboldt-Universität, Berlin (1956), and entitled: *Die neubabylonischen Chroniken untersucht nach Aufbau, Tendenz und Schreibgebrauch*. Some significant observations on chronicles which do not appear in my book I have published in "Chronicles and the Akitu Festival" in *CRRA* XVII (1970), pp. 160–170.

p. 5: Regarding Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists see my article "Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists: Collations and Comments" in *lišān mithurti*, Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden, ed. M. Dietrich and W. Röllig, *AOAT* 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), pp. 105–118 and pls. I–IV, and W. Röllig, "Zur Typologie und Entstehung der babylonischen und assyrischen Königslisten" in *ibid.* pp. 265–277. As Röllig noted in p. 265, n. 4, his approach to the subject and his conclusions differ from my own. Nevertheless what differences there are in our conclusions are not great and the fact that we agree on some basic issues is a strong indication that our conclusions here, at least, are valid.

Röllig's real concern in his study is with the origin, history, and sources of the Assyrian King List which he calls "AssKL A". His analysis of this is thorough, accurate, and his results convincing. Despite the title of his article he is concerned with other king lists only in passing and some lists, e.g. the Uruk King List and the King List of the Hellenistic Period, are not mentioned at all. Nor are chronicles considered for Röllig follows the traditional Assyriological division between "king lists" and "chronicles" although in the course of his article he emphasizes the strong chronicle element in the Assyrian King List. As I have already stated in this book, it is impossible to categorize all such texts as "king lists" or "chronicles". Some simply do not fit into either division exclusively which is indicative that such a dichotomy is invalid. They must be treated

as one large group which I have called "chronographic". Of course it is only when one studies the entire group that the distinctions between the various categories become obvious. Superficially there appears to be little difference between Babylonian King Lists A and C on the one hand and Babylonian King List B on the other. But there are several chronographic texts typologically identical to Babylonian King Lists A and C; there are, at the same time, several chronographic texts with a different typology and this is identical to that of Babylonian King List B. The subtle distinctions and their significance for the origin of these lists are apparent.

Röllig agrees that there is a close connection between Babylonian King List A and date lists and further, that eventually it became a running list of kings (see *lišān mithurti* p. 107). We are also agreed that the Assyrian King List eventually became a running list. There is no need to be puzzled by the appearance of chronicle entries in later sections of the Assyrian King List, a period when it must have been a running list. The reason, as I suggested in Appendix A, is that the scribes expanded their entry whenever there were difficulties in the succession. As I suggested in Appendix A this is similar to the Sumerian King List. On the other hand the evidence for an Assyrian Chronicle tradition, as is obvious from my book, is clear and Röllig's suggestion that this tradition goes back as far as the time of Shamshi-Adad I has much to be said for it. A similar view was expressed by H. Tadmor in *The World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times, Volume II*, ed. B. Mazar, (Tel-Aviv, 1970) p. 67. It is possible, as Röllig notes on p. 275, that the author of the *Synchronistic History* used this as a source (cf. Chapter 6).

p. 6: In connection with the Sumerian King List note the list of Lagash rulers published by Sollberger in *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 279–291 which the editor suggests is a parody on the Sumerian King List.

pp. 8–10, 14, 23f.: The publication in this Addenda of Chronicle 13b and Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3 necessitates alterations in this chapter. In particular the following changes should be noted throughout:

1. For "Chronicles 1–13a" read "Chronicles 1–13b (and possibly Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3)".
2. "Seven" not "six" distinct chronicles are now attested for the Late Babylonian Chronicle Series.
3. The latest known document in the Babylonian Chronicle Series is now Chronicle 13b and therefore the series is attested as late as 224 B.C.

p. 8: W. von Soden, *Leistung und Grenze Sumerischer und Babylonischer Wissenschaft*, in *Libelli* 142 (Darmstadt, 1965) (reprint of *Die Welt als Geschichte* 2, 1936, pp. 411–464 and 509–557), pp. 65f., has described the basic difference between the Babylonian Chronicle Series and "history" thus: "... der grundsätzlich *dynamische* Charakter aller Geschichte ... mußte den Babyloniern bei ihrem durchaus *statischen* Denken fremd bleiben." On the same occasion von Soden suggested that the authors of this work were priests of Marduk at Babylon. It is true that most chronicles known to us originate from Babylon—see my remarks in *CRRA* XVII (1970), p. 163 and n. 1—but a cultic provenance seems unlikely in view of the decidedly secular nature of the content of the majority of chronicles.

p. 9, n. 7: Another tablet with two columns on each side which possibly belongs to the Babylonian Chronicle Series is Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3.

p. 10: One slight qualification to the reliability and objectivity of the chroniclers is the omission of any reference to the abduction of Marduk in 689 B.C. (Chronicle 1 iii 22) although his return many years later is recorded (Chronicle 1 iv 35f.). See my remarks in *CRRA* XVII (1970), pp. 161f. Note a lapsus calami on p. 161: "there is no mention

of the capture ... of Babylon by Sennacherib". The word "capture" must, of course, be deleted—see Chronicle 1 iii 22.

p. 13: Regarding the Nabu-nasir Era cf. Brinkman, PKB pp. 226f.

p. 14: Note that Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3 also has two columns on each side.

p. 21: Regarding the question of a reference to Lydia in the Nabonidus Chronicle see the Addenda to Part II, Chronicle 7.

p. 22, n. 143: *ITI BI* also occurs in Chronicle 13b:3, 11.

p. 26: A detailed study of the historical content of the Chronicle Concerning the Diadochi has recently been presented by B. Funck, "Die Babylonische Chronik Smith ...", in *In Memoriam Eckhard Unger: Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des alten Orients*, ed. M. Lurker, (Baden-Baden, 1971), pp. 217–240. In his article Funck includes a transliteration of the text based (there are a few typographical errors) on Smith's edition. Some of Funck's remarks must be revised now in the light of my edition. In particular note B 42 (and commentary) where the first year of Seleucus is definitely not mentioned. Funck's attempt to revise Smith's dating of the content of the reverse of the tablet is thus questionable.

p. 28, add:

h) CHRONICLE CONCERNING SELEUCUS III: CHRONICLE 13b

The preserved section of this chronicle concerns the eighty-eighth year of the Seleucid Era (224/223 B.C.) which is the second regnal year of Seleucus III. Presumably the preceding section, of which only traces remain, was about Seleucus III's first regnal year. Thus this chronicle is very close in time to Chronicle 13. It is also the latest datable Babylonian chronicle.

In the first part of the section appears a detailed description of the offerings provided

for Esagil on the eighth day of Nisan.¹ This text thus provides firm evidence that the Akitu festival was still celebrated at Babylon.² Of particular interest is the information that the offerings were provided "from the house of the king" according to a royal decree issued some time before. The fact that the offerings were, in addition, presented "for the ritual of Seleucus, the king, and his sons" shows that the royal cult instituted by the Seleucids was not only practised at Babylon (in addition to other Seleucid cities)

but had been included in the Akitu festival (see the commentary).

A new episode is introduced by the standard date formula. An official, possibly a priest, of the king is mentioned but it is not known if the entire broken section refers to his activities. Reference to Syria and to someone being met and welcomed by the people suggest this may be a description of the arrival of Antiochus (later III), brother of Seleucus, in Babylonia where he resided until he succeeded to the throne.³

¹ Offerings for the eighth of Nisan: The ritual for the Akitu at Babylon is not preserved for the eighth day. But it is preserved for the Akitu at Uruk. See Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.* pp. 89–96 where it can be seen that food offerings to Anu played a major role on the eighth of Nisan in this ritual. Note Thureau-Dangin, *RAcc.* p. 148 who thinks the procession from Esagil to the Bit-Akiti took place on the eighth day. Cf. the commentary to Chronicle 13b:3–10.

² Evidence for the continuation of native Babylonian cults during the Seleucid period is abundant. I hope to collect and discuss this at some future date. The following summary is incomplete but will illustrate the kind of material available. The temple Esagil at Babylon was renovated during the time of Alexander the Great—see Chronicle 10 commentary to obverse 6 and Addenda. Antiochus I restored Esagil and Ezida—see Weissbach, *VAB* 3, pp. 132–135 and Oppenheim, *ANET*³ p. 317; Chronicle 11; and cf. Schnabel, *Berosos* (Leipzig/Berlin, 1923) pp. 9–13. He also apparently re-established the regular income of the temple Egishnugal at Ur—see Chronicle 11. Temple restoration at Uruk was undertaken during the reigns of Seleucus II—see Falkenstein, *Topographie von Uruk* (Leipzig, 1941) pp. 4f.—, Antiochus III (see *ibid.* pp. 6f.), and Antiochus IV—see Rostovtzeff, *Seleucid Babylonia*, *Yale Classical Studies* 3 (1932), pp. 6f. A cache of Babylonian rituals of the Seleucid period was discovered at Uruk—see Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* 6, etc. There are numerous references to the cults in business documents. For references to and discussion of texts mainly from Uruk see O. Krückmann, *Babylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungs-Urkunden aus der Zeit Alexanders und der Diadochen* (Weimar, 1931). More recently texts from Babylon, Borsippa, and Cuthah have been published by D. A. Kennedy in *CT* 49. Cf. J. Oelsner, *ZA* 61 (1971), pp. 159–170 who also has references to some other business texts.

p. 34: The evidence for Assyrian presence in Babylonian administration during the reign of Nabu-shuma-ishkun has disappeared due to a correction in the reading of a name. See Brinkman, *PKB* p. 225, n. 1420 and Lambert, *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 125.

p. 38, n. 75: Regarding the capturing of stray lions mentioned in Mari letters see Dossin, *Syria* 48 (1971), pp. 7–19.

p. 41: Regarding the interest in burial places displayed by the Dynastic Chronicle see my remarks in *ARI* 1 § 149 and n. 76.

p. 44: Further reflection on the date and purpose of the Weidner Chronicle has indicated possible answers. Bearing in mind the chief characteristics of the document—its condemnation of those who neglect Babylon, Marduk, Esagil, the fish cult, and especially of Sargon who dared erect a "second" Babylon near Agade—one looks for a period of time in which all of these features would be prominent. Thus an era which meets the following requirements should be sought:

1. A time in which there was a cogent reason for a lack of or disinterest in fish.
2. A time in which the capital of Babylonia was not Babylon but it was within Babylonia.
3. A time in which it was necessary to emphasize, in the extreme, the importance and power of Marduk.

³ See Polybius V 40:5ff. and cf. H. H. Schmitt, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte Antiochos' des Großen und seiner Zeit* (Wiesbaden, 1964) pp. 108f. and E. R. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* 1 (London, 1902), p. 204.

The one era which meets all of these conditions admirably is the latter Kassite and early Isin II period. At this stage in history there is a surprising lack of references to fish and fishing (an industry that had earlier been of major importance)⁴; the Kassites created a new capital, Dur-Kurigalzu, about ninety kilometres from Babylon (the early Isin II kings presumably had their capital at Isin rather than Babylon); the rise of Marduk to the pinnacle of the pantheon took place during this period and reached a climax with the reign of the fourth Isin II king, Nebuchadnezzar I. No other period of time, it seems to me, is such a reasonable choice and therefore I offer the suggestion that the Weidner Chronicle was composed about this time (probably early Isin II) with the purpose of magnifying the position of Marduk and castigating those who had built a rival capital to Babylon and were responsible for piscine poverty.

p. 52, n. 11: Regarding the boundary agreed upon at the end of the Battle of Sugaga see Appendix B sub Adad-narari I. Also note Brinkman, *BiOr* 27 (1970), p. 303 and nn. 26 and 27. Brinkman's point that we cannot press the exegesis of the passage in the *Synchronistic History* too much is well taken. Indeed the vagueness of the passage may be a deliberate attempt to obscure the fact that Assyria had actually lost ground. The Assyrian presence in Babylonia during Ashur-uballit's reign cannot be denied and an Assyrian admission in a slightly later period that territory north of Babylonia proper had to be divided with the Babylonians still indicates a loss of land. I shall not repeat here the various qualifications attached to the other evidence which I mentioned in my original article and which Brinkman has re-emphasized. Thus I would still hold to my original conclusion that the sparse evidence for the Battle of Sugaga indicates that Kurigalzu was the victor.

p. 55, n. 35: Also see the Addenda to the commentary to i 1'-7'.

p. 57, n. 60: For fragments of the Hittite version of the King of Battle Epic see the bibliography in E. Laroche, *Catalogue des Textes Hittites* (Paris, 1971) p. 53, no. 310.

p. 57, n. 62: For a discussion and partial translation of the Verse Account of Nabonidus see Lambert, *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar for Arabian Studies* (London, 1972).

p. 57: Regarding the historical epics see my forthcoming *Babylonian Historical-Literary Texts*.

p. 58, n. 69: Cf. Wiseman, *BSOAS* 31 (1968), pp. 603f. and Brinkman, *BiOr* 27 (1970), p. 303.

p. 60: The third sentence of this paragraph should be amended to read: "All of the obverse but only the upper half of the reverse are inscribed and there is no colophon."

p. 62: Further study of the prices quoted in this document has been pursued and a detailed presentation will be found in the Addenda to the commentary in Part II. I shall only summarize the results here. When comparing the prices to actual prices known for the periods referred to in the chronicle, no clear pattern emerges. Some of the prices are exceptionally high, others unusually low, some average, and in one reign both high and low prices are found. A comparison of the figures to the incredibly low prices found in royal inscriptions reveals no similarity. There is also no relationship in formal arrangement or phraseology between the royal inscriptions and Chronicle 23. Thus my comments about the possible contact with astronomical diaries are still valid. It may be more than coincidence that the chronicle seems to end in 748 B.C. and the Nabu-nasir Era begins in 747 B.C.

p. 66: Tadmor has made some important remarks on Assyrian chronicles in the *World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times, Volume II*, ed. B. Mazar, (Tel-Aviv, 1970) pp. 66f. Cf. the Addenda to p. 5.

p. 66, add:

⁴ See A. L. Oppenheim, *Letters From Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1967) pp. 44f.

b') FRAGMENT CONCERNING
TUKULTI-NINURTA I

On a fragmentary clay tablet from Ashur occur the names Tukulti-Ninurta and Kash-tiliash. At the bottom of the fragment appears the beginning of a date. Since the date contains a Babylonian month name (Elul) it cannot be earlier than Tiglath-pileser I. In view of this and the phraseology of the fragment it is possible that it is a piece of an Assyrian chronicle about Tukulti-Ninurta.

p. 67, add:

c) FRAGMENT POSSIBLY OF THE BABYLONIAN
CHRONICLE SERIES

This tiny fragment contains the remains of two columns. The right-hand column is divided into four sections by horizontal lines. The beginning of the first section is missing but the remaining three sections are introduced, in chronicle style, respectively by: "The eighth year, (the month) Iyyar, the Nth (day)"; "The tenth year, (the month) *Iy[yar]*"; "The eleventh year, (the month) Nisan, the Nth (day)". Both the format and typology suggest that the text belongs to the Babylonian Chronicle Series.

The text is a late copy as indicated by the use of BAR rather than BÂR for Nisan. The only text in the Babylonian Chronicle Series which also does this is Chronicle 13b, the latest exemplar in the series. The two-column

arrangement is unusual but not unique. Two other chronicles (1 and 7) in the series have this format (note that both Chronicle 7 and this fragment belong to the Sp II collection in the British Museum). It has already been observed (Chapter 2, n. 7) that Chronicles 1 and 7 were probably written by the same scribe. However, the typology of this fragment is slightly different in that it omits several elements in the introductory formula.⁵

It is impossible to date the contents of the fragment. Despite the indication that it is a late text, it does not conform to a characteristic feature of the Seleucid Chronicles, namely the use of the phrase "MN, that same month" (See Chapter 2, nn. 8 and 143). The year sequence (8, 10, 11) is reminiscent of the reign of Esarhaddon in Chronicles 1 and 14 (where the ninth year is omitted) but there is no similarity with this fragment in content. Thus one must conclude that the fragment probably represents a text from the Babylonian Chronicle Series which was greatly abbreviated (at least in the introductory formula) and which concerned a period possibly otherwise unattested in the preserved portions of the series.

⁵ The omitted elements are KÂM, ITI, and UD. Such omissions occur occasionally in the Babylonian Chronicle Series—see the commentary to Chronicle 1 iv 10. However this text appears to consistently omit them. But note it is only a tiny fragment.

PART II

Regarding the translations, a word of apology to the reader is necessary. In my manuscript wherever possible I had arranged the translations in paragraphs, with the relevant line numbers in parentheses. At the time the type was set this arrangement was regarded as unsuitable and the paragraphs were taken apart. Unfortunately this resulted

in a curious format (e.g. Chronicle 1 i 19f.) which could not be altered in proof.

CHRONICLE 1

i 1*: See now my comments in CRRA XVII, p. 162, n. 3.

i 25: For examples of omissions in dates in Assyrian royal inscriptions see ARI 1, §§ 415,

567, 705 and pp. 63f., n. 128. The numbers of beasts slain on a hunting expedition are omitted from the Broken Obelisk—AKA pp. 138–141 iv 4–25 and cf. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography* p. 13.

i 35: On *nabalkutu* also see now von Soden, *AHW* pp. 694–6. In view of this article my commentary should be emended to read: “But *nabalkutu* is not usually used of crossing water.” The phrase (KI).BALA ... *šakānu* is to be read *nabalkatta* ... *šakānu* according to von Soden, *AHW* p. 694. For *neḥēsu* also see von Soden, *AHW* p. 713 (sub *naḥāsu*).

ii 1': Regarding the taking of Bel's hand by the monarch see my remarks in *CRRA* XVII, pp. 164–170.

ii 20: The G perfect of *rābu* is *irtūb*—see von Soden, *AHW* p. 936—and therefore read here *ir-dip-ma*. On the Aramaic loan word *radāpu* see von Soden, *Or. n.s.* 37 (1968), p. 265, no. 124 and *AHW* p. 941.

ii 41: See my remarks in *CRRA* XVII, p. 161, n. 4.

iii 34–38: Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* pp. 138f. Note some errors there: 35—the number of years Sennacherib ruled is 24, not 23; 37—there is no KÁM after UD II; 38—regarding the day see my commentary.

iii 39–41: Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* pp. 140f. His suggested restorations are improbable (regarding 40 see my commentary). Also note that *it-ta-di* cannot be governed by *kī* and therefore his translation must be corrected.

iii 44: ^dKA.DI is to be read ^d*Ištarān*. See Lambert, *ZA* 59 (1969), pp. 100–103.

iv 4: *bihirtum ibtehir*—Also note Chron. 14:6 = Chron. 1 iii 48. In *CAD* 2 (B), p. 186 correct the last reference to read: “... *b[i-hir-tu ib-te-hir]* BHT pl. 1:6 and cf. CT 34 48 iii 48, see Borger *Esarh.* 122”.

iv 10: To the examples cited in the commentary of the omission of ITI, UD, and KÁM in chronicles add Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3 where all three elements are consistently omitted.

iv 11–13 (= Chron. 14:16–18): Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 37. Note that he has conflated the two passages.

iv 14f. (= Chron. 14:19): Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 48.

iv 22: Lambert, *RA* 63 (1969), p. 66 thinks the wife of Esarhaddon who died was Ešar-ḥamât.

iv 33: Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 71.

iv 34–36 (= Chron. 14:35f.): Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 72. Note that he has conflated the two passages and correct “Nineveh” in his translation to “Aššur”.

iv 39–43: Cf. Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 145.

iv 39: Regarding *pirsu* see also von Soden, *AHW* p. 855 (sub *persu*).

CHRONICLE 2

27: To the commentary add: *iš-šu-ru qa-du-ú šá iš-ta-su-[ú (...)] ina ši-tas-si-šú mi-na-a il-qí* “The Qatā-bird which shrieks, by its shrieking what does it achieve?” CT 13, 43 K 4470 ii 5f. and CT 46, 46:4f. and cf. Landsberger, *WO* 3 (1966), p. 264.

32: *iš(?)]-me-e-ma*: Emend to *iḥ-te-p]e-e-ma* and in the translation change “he]ard” to “rava]ged”.

CHRONICLE 3

46: Emend this line to read: *šá kur Aš-šur la-pan^(1gi) 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 iṣ-ḫi-ṭam-ma [šēpē^{II}] šār Akkad^{i^{k1}} 𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵𐎶𐎵 ⁱ[s(?)]-bat(?)...* “of Assyria escaped from the enemy and g[rasped] the feet of the king of Akkad to (plead for his) life”. If it is the king of Assyria pleading for his life then the restoration “died” in line 44 is incorrect. But it may have been a high officer. *šēpē* ... *šabātu*—this idiom has been mistakenly omitted in *CAD* 16 (S), p. 32b. Here are a few references: AKA p. 37 i 86f.; p. 43 ii 46 and passim in Tigl. I Prism; PRT 105 r. 12f.; E. Unger, *Reliefstele Adadniraris III. Aus Saba'a und Semiramis* (Constantinopel, 1916), Tf. II,

16f.; for references in Asb. see Streck, Asb. p. 582.

78: Add this example to Hunger, Kologophon p. 13b.

CHRONICLE 5

To the bibliography add: 1969 Oppenheim, ANET³ pp. 563f. (r. 5–15).

r. 12: *āla iṣ-ša-bat šarra ik-ta-šad*—In ANET³ p. 564 note “the king took the city”. But the chronicler, to avoid ambiguity, would have written *šār Akkadī^{ki}* in such a case. As it stands the obvious translation is: “he captured the city (and) seized (its) king”. For numerous examples of *kašādu* with persons as direct object see CAD 8 (K), pp. 277f.

CHRONICLE 6

7: Also see my article “New Evidence on an Assyrian Hunting Practice” in J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Semitic World*, Toronto Semitic Texts and Studies 1 (Toronto, 1970), pp. 3–5.

CHRONICLE 7

To the bibliography add sub Studies:

1944 S. Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL–LV, Literary Criticism and History* (Schweich Lectures, Oxford), Lecture II

1964 K. Galling, *Studien zur Geschichte Israels* (Tübingen), pp. 8–22

1971–72 W. H. Shea, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 9 pp. 51–67, 99–128; 10, pp. 88–117, 147–178

Also note the references in Borger, HKL 1, p. 490.

i 11: The CT 46 text mentioned in the commentary has been edited by Lambert, AfO 22 (1968–9), pp. 1–8.

i 15: Note Tallquist, APN (s.v.) who reads ^{md}*Nabû-tat(!)-tan-ûsur*.

i 16: Berger—see Weippert, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 224 (1972) p. 160 and n. 15—reads [*t*]am-tim šá ^{kur}Amurri (mar.tu).

See W. G. Lambert, *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar for Arabian Studies* (London, 1972) p. 55.

i 17: Read [... *Ū*]-du-um-mu “Edom”. Adummu is unknown and an identification of these traces with Adummatu/Adummutu—see Smith, *Isaiah* pp. 37f. and 137f., n. 80—is implausible.

ii 16 Regarding the problem of whether or not Lydia can be read here—Since completion of the manuscript it has come to my attention that a collation by W. G. Lambert and A. Sachs quoted by Galling, *Studien* p. 22 reads: ZU-x[...]. In view of this I have again collated the passage. A further trace at the end of the line, on the edge, was observed and could stand for [*il-li*]k. But the preceding traces are ambiguous. At best one can say it is not impossible to read:

ana kur¹Lu!?!-û!?!-[du? il-li]k

but such a reading is suggested by historical probability rather than any clear indication from the traces. Neither a reading SA nor IŠ (for Sapardu or Išpardu—cf. Smith, *Isaiah* p. 36 and nn. 73–74) is possible. During this recent collation I was fortunately able to examine the tablet with W. G. Lambert and E. Sollberger and derived much benefit therefrom. But sole responsibility for the opinion expressed here is mine.

iii 3: At the end of the line a reading ^{kur}*Pa[r-su(?)]* ... is preferable. This suggestion stems from Mrs. E. von Voigtlander and was communicated to me by Professor G. Cameron. My thanks are due to both.

iii 11: Cf. Grayson, *ARI* 1, § 464, n. 140.

iii 26: Cf. the Puzur-Sin inscription (*ARI* 1, §§ 173–177 and n. 82) where one of the non-Assyrian features of a descendant of Shamshi-Adad I was the manner of his dress (*lu-bu-uš-ta-šu*).

CHRONICLE 10

To the bibliography add: S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961) pp. 112f.; B. Funck, “Die Babylonische

Chronik Smith . . . ,” in *In Memoriam Eckhard Unger: Beiträge zu Geschichte, Kultur und Religion des alten Orients*, ed. M. Lurker, (Baden-Baden, 1971), pp. 217–240.

3: Cf. von Soden, AHW p. 667 sub *mu'erru(m)* and *mu'errātu*. He omits the forms *muma''eru* and *muma''erātu*.

6: The cuneiform evidence for the clearing of the dust from Esagil confirms the Classical sources, Arrian, *Anabasis of Alexander* vii 17 1 and Strabo xvi 1 5, which state that

Alexander the Great restored the temple of Marduk.

CHRONICLE 11

r. 10: Since the form of the verb should be *irkusū* my interpretation of this line should be rejected.

CHRONICLE 13a

r.? 2: Also see Chronicle 13b:8.

CHRONICLE 13b

CHRONICLE CONCERNING SELEUCUS III

Only the bottom portion of the tablet, BM 35421 (Sp II 1008), is preserved. It measures 130 mms. wide and 55 mms. long.

A brief note about the text, including a partial translation, was published by Pinches, BOR 6 (1892–93), p. 36.

Lacuna

- 1 [.....] x x [...]
- 2 [.....] x x [...] x [x] x [...] x x x di šú
- 3 [M]U LX(?)XXVIII^{kám} mSi-lu-ku šarri
iti Nisannu(bar) ITI BI UD VIII^{kám} iltēnen
mār Bābīl^{ki} lúša-tam Ê-sag-gíl
- 4 [x] x šá Ê-sag-gíl ina pî šarri lib-bu-ú
kušši-piš-tum šá šarri šá ina pāni-ma
iš-šá-a
- 5 [x G]IN KÙ.BABBAR ultu bīt šarri ultu bīt
ram-ni-šú XI alpē^{HI.A} ma-ru-tu I ME
lahrē(u₈)
- 6 [m]a-ru-tu XI mušenpaspasē(uz.tur) ma-
ru-tu a-na nindabé ina lib-bi 'Ê-sag-gíl
- 7 a-na ^dBēl u ^dBēlti(gašan)-ia u ilāni^{meš}
rabūti^{meš} u a-na dul-lu šá mSi-[lu]-ku
'šarri^l
- 8 u mārē(a)^{meš}-šú il-ta-kan H.A.LA^{meš} šá
alpē^{m[e]š} u niqē(siskur)^{meš} šu'ātīm(mu)
a-tīm [a(?)^lna(?)^l]
- 9 lúkalē(gala)^{meš} u lúšatammi iq(?)^l-bi a-na
lúdaiiānē^{meš} šá šarri u mār banī(dù)^l-
[šú(?)^l]

Lacuna

- 1 [.....] ... [...]
- 2 [.....] ... [...] ... [...] ... [...]
- 3 The *eighty*-eighth year of Seleucus, the king: In the month Nisan, that same month, the eighth day, a Babylonian, the bishop of Esagil,
- 4 established, according to the command of the king, precisely in accordance with the parchment letter which the king had sent before, *as [the offer]ing* of Esagil
- 5 [N] shekels of silver from the house of the king, from his own house, eleven fat oxen, one hundred fat ewes,
- 6 eleven fat ducks for the offering, within Esagil,
- 7 to Bel (Lord), Beltia (Mistress), and the great gods and for the ritual of Seleucus, the king,
- 8 and his sons. Portions of the oxen and those (other) sacrifices
- 9 *he designated* for the lamentation-priests and the bishop. To the judges of the king and [*his*] nobles

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>10 [x] x x x x x x <i>x-a-am(?) ul-te-bil</i> ([x])</p> <p>11 ^[iti]x ^{ITI} BI UD XIV^{kám} m<i>Lu(?)</i>-mu-šú
lúšEŠ šá m<i>Si-lu-ku</i> šarri TA [...]</p> <p>12 [x x x] x x x ¹a-di(?)¹ muḫ-ḫi ^{1d}Ma-rat-ta
ma-dak-tu₄ šarri ultu ^{1e}l-bir nāri</p> <p>13 [.....] x šarru-ú-tu šá ana muḫ-ḫi
^{1d}Idiglat u nār šarri ([x])</p> <p>14 [.....] ^{1á}mu^{meš}ma''er(?[gal(?)].ukkin) māti
u ^{1á}nišē^{meš} māti a-na pāni-šú ittašú^u ni-
gu-tú</p> <p>15 [il-tak-nu]</p> | <p>10 he sent</p> <p>11 [In the month ...], that same [month],
the fourteenth day, <i>Lumushu</i>, ... of
Seleucus, the king, <i>from</i> [...]</p> <p>12 [...] ... as far as the <i>Bitter Sea</i> (and)
the camp of the king, from Syria</p> <p>13 [.....] of royalty, which [<i>was</i>] at the
Tigris and the king's canal</p> <p>14 [.....] The <i>sa</i>trap and the people of
the land came out to meet him (and)
they [<i>made</i>] music.</p> |
|--|--|

Lacuna

Lacuna

COMMENTARY

3-10 Cf. the detailed list of offerings for the god of Uruk outlined in TCL 6, 38 reverse. Unfortunately the Akitu ritual is not preserved for the eighth of Nisan. Cf. the Addenda to Part I, p. 28, n. 1.

3-8 The interpretation of these lines depends very much on the broken word at the beginning of line 4. The version adopted here seems the most plausible although none of the words for offering (*ginû*, *gaqqānu*, *niqû*, etc.) seems to fit the traces. It is less likely that *iššá* is a main verb (*šipiš/rtam našû* is an attested idiom—cf. Ebeling, Glossar p. 235). I do not accept Pinches' suggestion: "a son of Babylon (= a Babylonian) [was made?] *šatam* of Éšaggil." Nor would I restore the name of another official at the beginning of line 4.

3 Although the beginning of the date is broken, it is reasonably certain that it is 88 S.E. Pinches' 28 S.E. is ruled out, apart from the evidence of the traces, by the fact that only until 19 S.E. were documents dated "MU N Seleucus, the king". Beginning in 20 S.E. and continuing until 31 S.E. they were dated "MU N Seleucus and Antiochus, the kings". See Parker and Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* p. 21. Although there are traces before the figure 28, they are not of a winkelhaken similar to those making up 20. The only plausible possibility left, therefore, is one upright (more than

one—i.e. 120+—would be chronologically impossible) preceded by MU thus giving MU 88.

"a Babylonian, the bishop of Esagil": Cf. *iltēn amīlu* PN *šumšu* VAB 3, p. 45 § 38 and p. 23 § 16. In other words he was not a Greek or Macedonian.

7 *dullu* "ritual": For the meaning see CAD 3 (D), p. 177 and von Soden, AHW p. 175. This is yet another piece of evidence that the royal cult created by the Seleucids was, among other places, practised at Babylon. See E. Bikerman, *Institutions des Séleucides* (Paris, 1938) pp. 236–257 and cf. S. K. Eddy, *The King is Dead* (Lincoln, Nebraska, 1961) p. 118 and n. 39.

10 *ul-te-bil*: BIL is certain.

11 *mLu(?)*-mu-šú: Of all possible readings LU is the most probable. The name is otherwise unknown to me in Babylonian sources and it does not conform to any pattern of Greek names in cuneiform.

^{1á}šEŠ: Perhaps read ^{1á}šEŠ. <GAL> = *šešgallu/aḫu rabû*, a high priest. An interpretation "brother" is theoretically possible since ^{1á}šEŠ is a late orthography for *aḫu*—see CAD 1/1 (A) pp. 195b and 198a. But the only brother of Seleucus III known is Antiochus (later III).

12 ^{1d}Ma-rat-ta: Is this the same as ^{1d}Marrat and, if so, is it the Persian Gulf or the Mediterranean in this context? Cf. von Soden, AHW p. 612. Or could it be an error for ^{1d}Pu-rat-ta?

CHRONICLE 14

2: The restoration *Na'[id(i)-Marduk ...]* suggested by Borger, *Asarh.* p. 121—cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 24—is speculative.

16–18: See the Addenda to Chronicle 1 iv 11–13.

19: See the Addenda to Chronicle 1 iv 14f.

20: Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 56.

35f.: See the Addenda to Chronicle 1 iv 34–36.

CHRONICLE 15

6: Arguments in favour of my interpretation have been presented by Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 81, n. 2.

21: Regarding the erroneous name cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 163, n. 995, and p. 164. At the end of the line read with Brinkman (cf. n. 999) *i-p[u-u]š*.

23: Cf. Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 164. Also note the following passage in K 8173 (reference originally supplied by Lambert and now edited in Hunger, *Kolophone* no. 307): *ki-i pi-i gišli-lu meš NU TÉŠ.A meš ù [...]*. To the examples of *miḥāru* cited by Millard in *Iraq* 26 (1964), p. 31 add: *ù-de-e kaspi la mit-ḥa-ru-ti* “miscellaneous silver utensils” TCL 3:381 (Sg. II).

CHRONICLE 16

9–12: Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* pp. 80f.

13–15: Cf. Dietrich, *Aramäer* pp. 172f.

CHRONICLE 17

ii 14: For the reference to Brinkman see now PKB p. 68, n. 345.

ii 16–18: Cf. my remarks in *CRRA* XVII, p. 165.

ii 24: See von Soden *AHw* s.v.

CHRONICLE 18

Regarding the connection of A and B see now Lambert and Millard, *Atra-ḥasis* (Oxford 1969), pp. 17f.

To the bibliography of A add the studies: 1967 L. Matouš, *ArOr* 35, pp. 3f.; 1968 G. Pettinato, *Or.* n.s. 37, p. 165, n. 3, pp. 169f., p. 199.

v 4 (and cf. v 14): Brinkman, PKB p. 155, n. 934 (and cf. p. 157) has suggested another interpretation, viz. “palace of/befitting a legitimate king”, and says the chronicler may have intended a contrast with the next king, Ea-mukin-zēri, who is called a “usurper” (v 5).

v 9: For the arguments in favour of reading Kār-Marduk see now Brinkman, PKB p. 162.

v 13f.: See now Brinkman, PKB p. 165 and n. 1004.

CHRONICLE 19

To the bibliography sub studies add:

1955 E. A. Speiser in R. C. Dentan, *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven and London), pp. 59f.

32: Perhaps read: *ù-šal-pit-m[a umm]ān(?)man-da*. See Gurney, *AnSt* 6 (1956), p. 163.

38: *šuhadaku* — see A. Salonen, *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap “Ex Oriente Lux”* 21 (1969–70), pp. 143f. and *Die Fischerei im Alten Mesopotamien*, *Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae*, *Sarja-Ser. B*, Nide-Tom. 166 (1970) pp. 46–48. Salonen says the *šuhadaku* was essentially a man who caught fish for drying and could be either a salt-water or fresh-water fisherman.

62: Cf. CT 51, no. 152 r. 16f. I am indebted to Prof. Reiner for this reference.

CHRONICLE 20

A 6: My interpretation (see Appendix B sub Sargon of Akkad) of *a-ma-a-ti* as a GN is almost certainly wrong. For the evidence that *amu*, pl. *amātu*, means “raft” see now CAD 1/2 (A), p. 85 and the literature cited there. Thus the chronicle passage should be translated: “He sent their booty across by rafts” and the Omen Collection (reading ina

<a>-ma-a-ti *tāmta*): “He sent their booty across the sea by rafts”. Other considerations aside, this interpretation has the advantage of eliminating the serious discrepancy (with one minor correction) between the two texts. The meaning of this passage is still not clear however. What are the two points between which the booty is transported by raft and was it practical to use such a vessel on the open sea (as *tāmta* implies)?

A 14: The rendering “he gathered in (Subartu) for (slaughter by) weapons” — CAD 8 (K), p. 115b—is implausible. Syntactically Subartu must be subject of *ikmissuma* for a change of subject (to Sargon) in indicated immediately afterwards (A 15).

CHRONICLE 21

i 4: Brinkman’s suggestion, ZA 59 (1969), p. 239, to restore [*Meli-š*]*i-ḥu* requires supporting evidence.

i 5: Read *ūmēme a-ša-a-ti*. In addition to the references given in the commentary note *ūmēme a-ša-ti* ADD 492: 8 and cf. CAD 1/2 (A), p. 385 where the reference to ADD should be corrected.

i 1’–7’: Regarding the reverse chronological order of the first two sections also note Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970), p. 308, n. 76. In Assyria there was a strong tradition of the chronological order of kings and therefore the suggestion that the confusion in the Synchronistic History arose through a misunderstanding of which Burnaburiaš was meant still does not explain how the chronicler could have confused the order of his own native kings.

i 14’: Cf. Röllig, Heidelberger Studien p. 177 and OLZ 63 (1968), 344. The traces do not support a reading [*ṁKa-ra-k*]*i(!)-in-da-áš*. King’s copy is accurate. Thus there is no real proof that *Ka-ra-ḥar-da-áš* should be read *Ka-ra-kín-da-áš*.

i 25’: A GN Kār-Ištar is attested as early as the reign of Adad-nērāri III—see Parpola, Toponyms p. 197.

i 27’: *pu’āgu*—cf. von Soden, AHW p. 874.

i 28f.: To the examples quoted in the commentary add *ti-bé-e-mi* W. H. Ph. Römer, Heidelberger Studien p. 186 i 6 and cf. *ibid.* p. 192.

i 30’: Also see CAD 1/2 (A), p. 76.

ii 1’: Also note the possible (restored) occurrence of the phrase in iii 2’ (see the Addenda below).

ii 12’: *ḥal-lu-up-tum* is probably better translated “equipment” as Brinkman, PKB p. 110, n. 603 suggests.

ii 17’: For the reason stated in the commentary I still cannot accept the emendation of GUR to URU which has most recently been accepted by Parpola, Toponyms p. 241 (sub Marriti).

iii 2’: Restore [*tu-ub-ta su-lu-um-ma-a ga-ma-ra it-ti a-ḥa-meš iš-ku*]-*nu* “[Together] they [made an entente cordiale]” on the basis of the parallelism between iii 2’–5’ and iii 18–21. Also cf. i 5’–7’ and ii 33’–37’. See my remarks in CRRA XVII, p. 165, n. 8.

iv 20: ŠE.PAD—see now Borger, RLA 3, p. 310a.

Colophon: Cf. Hunger, Kolophone no. 317.

CHRONICLE 22

To the bibliography sub Translations Only add: 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1, §§ 140f. (part of iv)

i 6: For *rabbû* see now von Soden, AHW p. 934.

CHRONICLE 23

To the commentary add the following notes:

The normal order in this chronicle seems to be: commodity, numeral, unit of measure (e.g. lines 2 and 9). This is consistent with the practice in astronomical diaries as opposed to business documents where the reverse order (numeral, unit of measure, and commodity) prevails. It appears, however, that the latter order is followed in lines 6 and 11. Without more context it is impossible to

state this with complete assurance or to provide an explanation.

A detailed study of the prices quoted in this document as compared to prices known from other sources is made difficult by the fragmentary nature of the chronicle. In this discussion I shall leave aside the question of whether or not prices were fixed for each reign and therefore whether the prices in the chronicle could reflect the real state of the economy for the entire period. Assuming that all of the quantities quoted were equivalent to one shekel of silver (the usual standard), the following emerges from a comparison with actual prices as summarized in B. Meissner, *Warenpreise in Babylonien, Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse 1936/1 and Nachträge in SPAW 1937*, pp. 5–7. Ten minas of copper (line 6) for one shekel of silver is ridiculously cheap as compared to the actual equivalent of two to three minas of copper (see Meissner, *ibid.* p. 30 and cf. Ešnunna Code § 1). For the reign of Kurigalzu (lines 8f.) the price of sesame is extremely low since the real price varies between five *qû* (Kassite period) and thirty-six *qû* (Meissner, *ibid.* pp. 8f.). But the price of wool (three minas for one shekel of silver) quoted for the same reign is far too expensive as compared to the actual price which varied anywhere from five to sixteen (Kassite period) minas of wool for one shekel, although there are some examples (not in the Kassite period) of higher prices (Meissner, *ibid.* pp. 23f.). The prices given for dates and barley—reign of Merodach-baladan I and another reign after Nebuchadnezzar I (lines 11 and r. 4 respectively)—of one cor of each for one shekel of silver each are average for most periods (Meissner, *ibid.* pp. 4f. and p. 10) although barley was twice as expensive in the Kassite period and at times (e.g. Ur III—Hallo and Curtis, *HUCA 20* [1959], p. 110) dates were fifty percent more expensive. On the other hand, if the restored phrase in r. 5 has been read correctly as “*For four shekels*” it would appear to be a statement of the equivalent value in silver and thus the price

for one cor of barley for this reign (of an unknown king) would be exorbitant. Indeed, if the phrase in r. 5 does read this way, it would suggest that our assumption at the beginning of this paragraph (that all quantities are the equivalent of one shekel of silver) is false. But the broken nature of the text prevents us from pursuing this possibility further.

Looking back over the results of this study of prices, no clear pattern appears. For the second reign we have a ridiculously low price; for the fourth (Kurigalzu) one exceptionally high and one exceptionally low price; for the fifth (Merodach-baladan I) two fairly average prices; and for the second last reign the one preserved price seems to be average. If the purpose in quoting these prices was related to the idea of “good” and “bad” times, therefore, it is not immediately obvious from the fragment of the chronicle preserved. For the use of prices in describing good and bad times see Meissner, *SPAW 1937*, p. 5 and R. Borger, *EAK 1*, p. 15. Examples of high prices in bad times may be found in H. Güterbock, *ZA 42* (1934), pp. 35f. and O. Gurney, *AnSt 5* (1955), p. 106:143 (cf. *AnSt 6* [1956], p. 164). Examples of low prices in good times will be given in the next paragraph.

Besides the actual prices, there is one other set of prices which should be compared. A few Mesopotamian rulers quote prices of various commodities during their reigns and usually these prices are incredibly low. The purpose, of course, was to illustrate what a happy reign it was. Cf. *maḥīru damqu* “good prices” in Adad-šuma-ušur’s description of Aššurbanipal’s reign as a utopian period (*ABL 2:12*). This phenomenon is attested for Sîn-kāšid (see Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* p. 154 and n. 817), Sîn-iddinam (Sollberger, *UET 8*, no. 72:61–68), Sîn-iqīšam (? *BM 132226*—see Sollberger, *UET 8*, p. 15), Šamši-Adad I (Meissner, *IAK* p. 24 iii 13–iv 3), Aššurbanipal (Weidner, *AfO 13* [1939–41], pp. 210–213 and cf. the price of camels in Streck, *Asb.* pp. 74–77 ix 42ff.), and Nabonidus (*BBSt* No. 37—cf. Röllig, *ZA 56* [1964], pp. 248f.).

A convenient chart comparing these "official" prices for the early period will be found in Sollberger, UET 8, pp. 15f. With the exception of the market values given by Nabonidus (his prices are reasonable for that period—see Röllig, *ibid.* pp. 248f. and n. 89) the figures given are exaggerated. The price of barley varies from two to thirty cor for one shekel of silver, wool from ten to thirty minas, oil from twenty to thirty *qû*, and in Sîn-kāšid's time ten minas of copper sell for one shekel of silver (Meissner, *op. cit.* pp. 4f., 8, 23, 30 remarked on the improbability of these prices; also see Weidner, AfO 13, p. 211, n. 38 and Edzard, *Zwischenzeit* p. 154; but note C. J. Gadd, *Ideas of Divine Rule in the Ancient East* [Schweich Lectures, Oxford, 1948] pp. 66–68). Leaving aside the price of copper for the moment, there is no relationship between these prices and those given in the chronicle. It is further interesting to note that with all four kings (Sîn-iddinam, Sîn-kāšid, Šamši-Adad I, and Aššurbanipal—inscription of Sîn-iqīšam unpublished) virtually the same commodities are listed and in essentially the same order: Sîn-iddinam—barley, dates, wool, oil; Sîn-kāšid—barley, wool, copper, oil; Šamši-Adad I—barley, wool, oil; Aššurbanipal—barley, oil, wool. This order shows no similarity to that found in the chronicle nor is there any resemblance in phraseology. (It should be noted at this point that there is also no similarity in order or phraseology—for the prices see the preceding discussion of actual prices—with the Ešnunna Code—§§ 1–2—or any other "law code".) The only parallel is the ten minas of copper mentioned in the Sîn-kāšid inscriptions and the same amount mentioned in the reign of an unknown king (line 6) just before the reign of Hammurapi in the chronicle. Is this coincidence or does this chronicle passage refer to Sîn-kāšid?

To sum up the study of prices: a comparison with actual prices reveals no clear pattern in the chronicle of good or bad reigns since, although there are examples of unusually high or low prices, in at least one case an example of each extreme occurs in

the same reign and there are also examples of average prices. A comparison with the "ideal" prices of royal inscriptions reveals no relationship in the prices quoted, the formal arrangement of the commodities in the inscriptions, or in phraseology. Thus we must turn elsewhere, viz. to astronomical diaries, to probe this matter further.

CHRONICLE 24

5: Brinkman, PKB p. 132 (cf. n. 782 and p. 133 and p. 388) restores: '105' *šarrāni*^{me} *šá mātāti*(kur.kur) *A[ḫ-la-me-e ina māti illikū*^{meš-ma nuḫša} *u ḫegalla imurū*^{meš} "105 kings of the lands of the A[ḫlamu came into the land] and enjoyed abundance and [prosperity]." The suggestion is a good one although by no means definitive.

7: Brinkman, PKB p. 133 and n. 790 points out, quite correctly, that "the king" must refer to the Babylonian king (Marduk-šāpik-zēri in this case) in a Babylonian chronicle. He suggests that the Babylonian monarch was returning after the conclusion of the treaty. This still leaves open the question of the significance of the line. In a chronicle noted for its succinct style, the journey to Sippar in itself must be of some importance. (Cf. the theories mentioned by Brinkman, PKB p. 133, n. 791.) But we must await further evidence on this point.

14-r. 1: See now my remarks in CRRA XVII, p. 162 and nn. 5–6.

r. 8: Cf. Poebel, JNES 2 (1943), pp. 80f. and regarding the numeral also see Brinkman, PKB p. 213, n. 1327.

p. 187, add:

2a) FRAGMENT CONCERNING TUKULTI-NINURTA I

For comment see the Addenda to Part I, pp. 66–67. Not enough of the text is preserved to warrant an edition.

Museum Number:

VAT 9525

Copy:

1922 Schroeder, KAH 2, 157

Studies:

1961 Borger, *Einleitung* 1, pp. 72 and 96f.

1972 Grayson, ARI 1, §§ 868–9.

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENT 3

iv? 11: Regarding the scribal error in the name also see Brinkman, PKB p. 98, n. 529.

ASSYRIAN CHRONICLE FRAGMENT 4

12: Possibly better is *uruNinua kurKi-!li(!)l-[zi]*. I am grateful to Mr. J. N. Postgate for this suggestion.

p. 192, add:

3) FRAGMENT POSSIBLY OF THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE SERIES

The fragment, BM 34779 (Sp II 271), is 45 mms. by 50 mms. Only one side is preserved. Not enough is preserved to warrant an edition. For comment see the Addenda to Part I, pp. 66, 67.

APPENDIXES

p. 193: The reader is referred to the Addenda to Part I, pp. 2–6, where several points are made which also apply here.

p. 201, n. 70: Also see the article “Gottesbrief” by Borger in RLA 3, pp. 575f. to which add Kraus, RA 65 (1971), pp. 27–36.

p. 203: The dates used in Appendix B and followed throughout this book are based on Brinkman’s chronological tables published in A. L. Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia* (Chicago, 1964, 1st ed, 1st printing) pp. 335–352. In a subsequent printing of that book Brinkman made some minor changes and for a full explanation and a new chronological chart for Babylonian kings of the first half of the first millennium B.C. see now Brinkman, PKB Chapter II and pl. II. To conform to Brinkman’s revised tables the following changes should be made in the dates used in my book (see Brinkman, *ibid.* pl. II, for the maximum and minimum variables):

a) Add two years to all figures from Marduk-kabit-ahheshu to Mar-biti-ahhe-iddina (i.e. 1158–943 instead of 1156–941 B.C.);

b) Note the more precise dates for the following:

Shamash-mudammīq	?–900
Nabu-shuma-ukin I	899–888
Nabu-apla-iddina	887–855

Marduk-zakir-shumi I	854–819
Marduk-balassu-iqbi	818–813
Baba-aha-iddina	812
(Interregnum: Unknown kings?)	
Ninurta-apla-x	
Marduk-bel-zeri	
Marduk-apla-usur	?–770
Eriba-Marduk	769–761
Nabu-shuma-ishkun	760–748

References to sources for Babylonian kings from Marduk-kabit-ahheshu to Shalmaneser V (c. 1158–722 B.C.) were given according to Brinkman’s preliminary catalogue in JCS 16 (1962), pp. 83–109. A more up-to-date list will now be found in his PKB pp. 323–364 and cf. the concordance between the preliminary and final catalogues on pp. 380–382.

For sources for Assyrian kings from the beginning down to Ashur-resha-ishi I see now Grayson, ARI 1. For royal inscriptions of early kings see E. Sollberger and J. R. Kupper, *Inscriptions Royales Sumériennes et Akkadiennes* (Paris, 1971) and for the Isin-Larsa Period see in addition I. Kärki, *Die Sumerischen Königsinschriften der Frühaltbabylonischen Zeit* (Helsinki, 1968).

Adad-apla-iddina: Add to the sources stamped bricks, Birot, Syria 45 (1968), pp. 246f. and Arnaud, Syria 48 (1971), p. 291.

Brinkman, PKB pp. 136f. has rightly pointed out that since Itti-Marduk-balatu is also attested as an ancestral name—Lambert, JCS 11 (1957), p. 12:2—the name of the real father remains uncertain. The Sutean invasion is also described in an inscription of Simbar-shihu—see Goetze, JCS 19 (1965), pp. 121–135:10ff. and cf. Hallo, IEJ 16 (1966), p. 239 and n. 61. For the possibility that this king's reign is mentioned in a Prophecy see Hallo, *ibid.*, pp. 238f. Regarding this king's activities at Ur see Brinkman, Or. n.s. 38 (1969), p. 335.

Adad-narari I: Battle of Sugaga—see Part I, Chapter 6, n. 69 and the Addenda. Note the recent discussion by Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970) pp. 302f. who agrees that Babylonia was probably the victor. On the other hand Brinkman, like Röllig—and cf. Gadd, CAH II/18, p. 13 and Röllig, OLZ 63 (1968), 344—is inclined to accept the Synchronistic History's evidence for the name of the Assyrian king, Enlil-narari. I can only reiterate that until there is more conclusive evidence we must reserve judgement.

Regarding the boundary see Part I, Chapter 6, n. 11 and the Addenda.

Adad-nerari II: Brinkman, PKB p. 177, n. 1090 suggests that the Assyrian campaign against Shamash-mudammīq should probably be dated between 908 and 902 B.C. Concerning the possibility that Adad-nerari II actually lost ground in the time of Nabu-shuma-ukin I see now Brinkman, PKB p. 181.

Adad-nerari III: A new stele for this king has been discovered at Tell al Rimah. See D. Oates, Iraq 30 (1968), pp. 125–132 and S. Page, *ibid.* pp. 139–153 and cf. Faisal El-Wailly, Sumer 22 (1966), p. g. Also see Brinkman, RA 63 (1969), p. 96; Page, Or. n.s. 38 (1969), pp. 457f.; Tadmor, IEJ 19 (1969), pp. 46–48; Donner, Archäologie und Altes Testament, Festschrift für K. Galling (Tübingen, 1970), pp. 49–59; Malamat, BASOR 204 (1971), pp. 37–39.

Adad-shuma-iddina: On the writing of the name see Brinkman, ZA 59 (1969), p. 233.

Brinkman, PKB p. 86 believes he was a vassal of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

Adad-shuma-usur: On the writing of the name see Brinkman, ZA 59 (1969), p. 233–238. Concerning his reign see now Brinkman, PKB p. 87.

Ashur-bel-kala: Note the passage in the Broken Obelisk (AKA pp. 133f.) iii 4–8 in which a campaign against Dur-Kurigalzu is described. Brinkman, JCS 16 (1962), p. 91 sub 8.2.11 and PKB pp. 142f. believes this must be a campaign of Ashur-bel-kala against Adad-apla-iddina. For a more detailed discussion of royal marriages and their relation to vassalship see Brinkman, PKB p. 142, n. 856.

Ashur-nadin-shumi: For a new text and a recent bibliography of the sources for this king see Brinkman, Or. n.s. 41 (1972), pp. 245–248. Also note the reference in a letter: “The people who seized Ashur-nadin-shumi and handed him over to Elam” Parpola, Iraq 34 (1972), p. 22:26f.

Ashur-nasir-apli (son of Tukulti-Ninurta I): See now my remarks in ARI 1, § 876 and n. 261.

Ashur-uballit I: For the most recent discussion of the rebellion and the confusion of names see Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970), pp. 308f. and nn. 83 and 84. Also cf. Wiseman, BSOAS 31 (1968), pp. 603f.

Bazi: See now Brinkman, PKB pp. 157–160.

Bel-etir: Whether he is identical with the astrologer of the same name is uncertain. See Parpola, Iraq 34 (1972), p. 29.

Damqi-ilishu: Brinkman, PKB p. 151 and n. 908 thinks it more likely that the ancestor of Simbar-shihu was Damqi-ilishu of the first Sealand Dynasty since Simbar-shihu was the founder of the second dynasty of that name.

Enlil-nadin-shumi: The unhappy reign of this king appears to be the subject of column v of the Shulgi Prophetic Speech edited by Borger, BiOr 28 (1971), pp. 14–24. On the writing of the king's name see Brinkman, ZA 59 (1969), pp. 231f. Brinkman, PKB

p. 86 believes he was a vassal of Tukulti-Ninurta I.

Enmeduranna: There was a MB tradition of the royal line at Babylon going back to him. See Lambert, JCS 21 (1967), pp. 126–138.

Esarhaddon: Nabu-zer-kitti-lishir—for unpublished letters in which this man appears see Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 12, n. 2.

Sha-amilo—see Dietrich, *Aramäer*, p. 56 and n. 1.

Eulmash-shakin-shumi: Add the inscribed Luristan bronze sword published by Lambert, *AfO* 22 (1968–9), p. 9.

Gubaru: See now Röllig, *RLA* 3, pp. 671f. and Shea, *Andrews University Seminary Studies* 9 (1971), pp. 51–67, 99–128; 10 (1972), pp. 88–117, 147–178.

Kadashman-Harbe: Concerning the chronology of his reign see Brinkman, *PKB* p. 66 and n. 336.

Karahardash: In *OLZ* 63 (1968), 344 Röllig has reiterated his proposal to read *Ka-ra-kín-da-áš*. Cf. the Addenda to Part II, *Chronicle* 21 i 14'.

Kiten-Hutran: Concerning this king's raids on Babylonia see now Brinkman, *PKB* pp. 86f.

Kudurru: See Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 31, n. 2.

Kurigalzu II: The most recent discussion of the chronological problems connected with this name (especially the number of Kurigalzus there were) is by Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 38 (1969), pp. 315–328, who concluded there were only “two well-established Kassite kings named Kurigalzu” (p. 327). Brinkman (p. 323, n. 1) feels *Chronicle* P is at fault in the genealogy of Kurigalzu but admits “there are far too many unknowns” in this area.

After Lipit-Ishtar insert:

Lumushu

Chronicle 13b:11 (^m*Lu*(?)*-mu-šú*)

See the commentary.

Mannudannu: Poebel, *AS* 14, p. 42, n. i believed *da-an-nu* originated from *ma-an-nu*

which was written above the line after *Man-nu* as a gloss. But I still prefer to regard Mannudannu as a garbled version of a foreign name.

Marduk-nadin-ahhe: For the possibility that his reign is mentioned in a Prophecy see Hallo, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 236f. Regarding his activities at Ur see Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 38 (1969), p. 334.

Marduk-shapik-zeri: Add Buccellati and Biggs, *AS* 17, No. 56. For the possibility that his reign is mentioned in a Prophecy see Hallo, *IEJ* 16 (1966), pp. 236–238. Regarding his activities at Ur see *Or. n.s.* 38 (1969), p. 334.

Merodach-baladan I: Add the kudurri published by Page, *Sumer* 23 (1967), pp. 45–67 and pls. 1–6 and Borger, *AfO* 23 (1970), pp. 1–26. On the writing of his name see Brinkman, *ZA* 59 (1969), pp. 242–244.

MU.MU: According to Dietrich, *Aramäer* p. 48 the name is to be read Shuma-iddina.

Nabonidus: For the CT 46 text see now the edition by Lambert, *AfO* 22 (1968–69), pp. 1–8 and his discussion in *Proceedings of the Fifth Seminar for Arabian Studies* (London, 1972) pp. 53–64. The form of this document is unique and is certainly not related to the form of the Babylonian *Chronicle* Series. Lambert in *ibid.* p. 53, no. 2 has called it “The Royal Chronicle.”

Nabu-mukin-apli: Add the inscribed Luristan bronze arrow-head in Lambert, *AfO* 22 (1968–9), pp. 9f.; and the kudurru fragment in J. A. and M. E. Brinkman, *ZA* 62 (1972), pp. 91–98.

Nabu-mukin-zeri: Another possible mention of this man, although it may be someone else of the same name, is in a private building inscription from the reign of Nabu-nasir. See Brinkman, *WO* 5 (1969), p. 47.

Nabu-nasir: For a private building inscription from his reign see the Addenda to Nabu-mukin-zeri.

Nabu-shuma-ishkun: Brinkman's 37.2.1 (= 32.2.3 in PKB) has recently been edited by Lambert, JAOS 88 (1968), pp. 124-130.

Nabu-shumu-libur: For the possibility that his reign is mentioned in a Prophecy see Hallo, IEJ 16 (1966), p. 239.

Naram-Sin: Add the inscriptions published by Goetze, JAOS 88 (1968), p. 55 and M. Lambert, Or. n.s. 37 (1968), pp. 85f. To the bibliography of his treaty with Elam add Hinz, ZA 58 (1967), pp. 66-96.

Nazimuruttash: Add Buccellati and Biggs, AS 17, no. 55.

Nebuchadnezzar I: See Lambert, AfO 22 (1968-9), p. 11. Note Text I in Lambert, JCS 21 (1967), pp. 126-138 which is definitely of Nebuchadnezzar I as shown by new evidence to be published by Lambert. The Marduk Prophetic Speech was, as Borger, BiOr 28 (1971), pp. 3-24 has shown, written at his time. Regarding his activities at Ur see Brinkman, Or. n.s. 38 (1969), pp. 333f.

Ninurta-nadin-shumi: See Borger, AfO 23 (1970), p. 26, for a kudurru possibly from his time.

Rim-Sin II: Cf. D. L. Ormsby, JCS 24 (1972), pp. 89-92.

Sargon (of Akkad): Regarding *a-ma-a-ti* see the Addenda to Part II, Chron. 20 A 6. In the NA omen collection King, Chron. no. 3:28f. read *e-ki-a-am* "Whither (should we go)?" See von Soden, AHW p. 195, GAG Ergänzungsheft = AnOr 47, § 81f., and CAD 1/1 (A), p. 233.

Sargon II: Add the stele published by L. D. Levine, Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran, Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology Occasional Paper 23 (Toronto, 1972); M. Ford, "The Contradictory Records of Sargon II of Assyria and the Meaning of *Palû*" JCS 22 (1969), pp. 83f.

Regarding the battle at Der read in the relevant passages not *ina rēbit Dēr^{ki}* but *ina talbūt Dēr^{ki}* "in the environs of Der"—see CAD 3 (D), p. 144b.

Insert after Seleucus I:

Seleucus III

Seleucid king

225-223 B.C.

Chronicle 13b:3, 7, 11 (^m*Si-lu-ku*)

Sennacherib: To the list of inscriptions add:

Nassouhi, MAOG 3/1 (1927), p. 19, No. IX which is yet another duplicate of Luckenbill's I 29. Also note the treaty in Ebeling, Stiftungen und Vorschriften für Assyrische Tempel, Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, Institut für Orientalforschung, Veröffentlichung 23 (Berlin, 1954), No. 2—see Borger, HKL 1, p. 109.

Concerning the date for the Elamite raid on Babylonia in Chronicle 1 ii 40 see now Brinkman, PKB pp. 63-67 and n. 328.

Shalmaneser III: Halman (etc.)—the identification with modern Holwan (Sarpol-e Zohāb) has finally been verified by the discovery of a kudurru in that region—see Borger, AfO 23 (1970), p. 1. Also cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 195, n. 1195.

Shalmaneser V: For references to six bronze lion weights from his reign and some letters that may have been sent by him to his father, Tigl. III, see Brinkman, PKB p. 243, n. 1564 and cf. p. 360.

For the Aramaic text in which the ravage of Bit-Adin is mentioned see the recent edition by Donner and Röllig, Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften No. 233 and cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 244, n. 1566.

Regarding the double name cf. von Soden, ZA 58 (1967), p. 243; Brinkman, PKB p. 62.

Shamshi-Adad V: Regarding the treaty with Marduk-zakir-shumi see also the valuable comments of Brinkman, PKB pp. 204f. and nn. 1261-1267.

With regard to the dating of his campaigns see Brinkman, PKB p. 208, n. 1291.

The importance of the Nergal cult at Cuthah to some NA kings has been recently discussed by E. von Weiher, Der Babylonische Gott Nergal, AOAT 11 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1971), p. 99. Note that von Weiher

inadvertently omitted the evidence of the Synchronistic History for the Babylon, Borsippa, Cuthah sequence at the time of Shamshi-Adad V.

Simbar-shihu: Further discussion of the proper reading of the name may be found in Brinkman, PKB p. 150, n. 901 and ZA 59 (1969), pp. 239–242. For a detailed discussion of the identity of the Sibir in the Annals of Ashur-nāṣir-apli II see Brinkman, PKB p. 154, n. 929.

Sin-sharra-ishkun: Delete the reference to the cylinder published by Wiseman since it is included in Borger's edition of Cylinder B. Add Grayson, "Cylinder C of Sîn-šarra-ishkun, A New Text from Baghdad" in *Studies on the Ancient Palestinian World*, ed. J. W. Wevers and D. B. Redford, (Toronto, 1972), pp. 157–168 and the references to more recent literature there.

Tiglath-pileser III: Add the stele published by L. D. Levine, *Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae from Iran*, Royal Ontario Museum Art and Archaeology, Occasional Paper 23 (Toronto, 1972). Also see H. Tadmor, *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8 (1961), pp. 252–258; "Introductory Remarks to a New Edition of the Annals of Tiglath-Pileser III" in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities* 2 (1967), pp. 168–187. For the number and chronology of his Babylonian campaigns see now Brinkman, PKB pp. 229 and 236. The first took place in 745 (not 744); there was a second in 731 against Shapiya; and a third in 729 in which Nabu-mukin-zeri was finally defeated. Regarding the double name cf. von Soden, ZA 58 (1967), p. 243 and Brinkman, PKB pp. 61f.

Regarding the reading BALA Šá-pi-i in Babylonian King List A iv 7 cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 236, n. 1494.

Tukulti-Ninurta I: The prophetic description of his sack of Babylon occurs in the Prophetic Speeches of both Marduk and Shulgi—see Borger, BiOr 28 (1971), pp. 3–24. On the question of how he exercised his authority over Babylonia see Brinkman, PKB p. 65,

p. 77 and n. 398, p. 86 and n. 444. On the business documents from Tell al-Rimah see H. W. F. Saggs and D. J. Wiseman, Iraq 30 (1968), pp. 154–205 and pls. XLIII–LXXIV and cf. D. Oates, Iraq 29 (1967), pp. 90f.

Tukulti-Ninurta II: Add W. Schramm, "Die Annalen des Assyrischen Königs Tukulti-Ninurta II." in BiOr 27 (1970), pp. 147–160 and pls. I–VI. Regarding the expedition to Babylonia see now Brinkman, PKB pp. 183–186.

Utu-hegal: Cf. H. Sauren, "Der Feldzug Utuhengals von Uruk gegen Tirigan und das Siedlungsgebiet der Gutäer" RA 61 (1967), pp. 75–79.

Zababa-shuma-iddina: On the writing of this name see Brinkman, ZA 59 (1969), p. 245. For the history of his reign see Brinkman, PKB p. 88.

p. 251: In accordance with the principle stated in my original introduction to Appendix C I have simply added here some of the more important references and discussions which have recently appeared. The reader's attention is also called to Parpola, *Toponyms* and see my review in JNES 31 (1972) pp. 215–220 and that of Postgate, BSOAS 34 (1971), pp. 389f; Borger, ZA 62 (1972), pp. 134–137.

Adummu: Delete this entry. See the Addenda to the Nabonidus Chronicle i 17.

Amati: Delete this entry. See the Addenda to Chronicle 20 A 6.

Amukkanu: See now Dietrich, *Aramäer*, passim.

Arzuhina: Cf. H. Lewy, JAOS 88 (1968), p. 162 who equated this GN with the Azuhinni of the Nuzi texts and identified both with Leilan near Kirkuk. In passing it should be noted that this Leilan is not to be confused with Tell Leilan (inside the Syrian border) with which W. W. Hallo, JCS 18 (1964), pp. 65 and 73f. has identified Šubat-Enlil.

Bazza: See further Brinkman, PKB p. 160, n. 970.

Bit-Gura: Cf. Edzard, RLA 3, p. 381 sub Girâ.

Bit-Hashmar: On the problem of the improbable identification of this place with Hashmar (Hashimur) south-east of Jebel Hamrin see further Brinkman, PKB p. 156, n. 941.

Bit-reduti: Cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 90, n. 473.

Dakkuru: See Dietrich, *Aramäer*, passim.

Ekurigal: Also see Brinkman, PKB p. 152, n. 920.

Hamranu: Cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 230, n. 1446.

Hudada: Cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 271, n. 1745. It was also identified with Baghdad by E. Herzfeld, *The Persian Empire* (Wiesbaden, 1968), pp. 38ff.

Hursagkalamma: This is the name of the eastern sector of Kish. Cf. Langdon, *Excavations at Kish* 3, pp. 17–20 and Gibson, *Iraq* 34 (1972), p. 117.

Irriya: See now Brinkman, PKB p. 126, n. 738 and note the proposed identification (suggested by Professor Fuad Safar) with Šātu Qālā in the neighbourhood of Taqtaq on the Lower Zab.

Kar-bel-matati: For further references see Brinkman, PKB p. 122 and n. 706.

Kar-Marduk: See now Brinkman, PKB p. 162 and note his qualifications about the reading of VAS 3, 226:1.

Lahiru: Also see Brinkman, PKB p. 178, n. 1093.

Lubdi: Also see Brinkman, PKB p. 178, n. 1096.

Opis: See Gullini, *Mesopotamia* 1 (1966), pp. 17–20 who locates Opis on the east bank of the Tigris directly before Seleucia-on-the-Tigris. Also note Brinkman, PKB p. 111, n. 608.

Pilasqi: Cf. Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970), p. 309, n. 96.

Pillatum: Cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 396.

Rapiqi: Brinkman, PKB p. 127, n. 748 notes that although it is certainly to be located in the vicinity of Ramadi, Rahaja is only one of the possibilities in this area.

Shasili: Cf. Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970), p. 303, n. 26.

Sugaga: Cf. Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970), pp. 313f.

Til-sha-Sabdani: Also see Brinkman, PKB p. 181, n. 1112.

After Turiha insert:

Udummu

Edom

Nabonidus Chronicle i 17 ([*U*]-*du-um-mu*)

See the Addenda to Nabonidus Chronicle i 17.

Ugarsallu: Cf. the remarks of H. Lewy, *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 155f.

Zaban: See further Brinkman, PKB p. 188, n. 1151.

Zanqi: Brinkman, PKB p. 101, n. 555 thinks it may have been located on the Middle Euphrates because of its association with Hit (Idu).

p. 267: In general see my "Assyrian and Babylonian King Lists: Collations and Comments" in *lišān mīthurti* Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden, AOAT 1 (Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1969), pp. 105–118 and pls. I–IV. On p. 108 I suggested that the numeral in Babylonian King List A ii 1 (for the reign of Kurigalzu) might be either 45 or 55. In January 1971 I re-examined the traces (with Professor H. Tadmor) and decided that 25 was virtually certain. Cf. H. Tadmor, "The Chronology of the Ancient Near East in the Second Millennium B.C.E." in *The World History of the Jewish People, First Series: Ancient Times*, 2, ed. B. Mazar (Tel-Aviv, 1970), p. 267, n. 109; and Brinkman, BiOr 27 (1970), p. 306, n. 58. Also for translations and general comments on the king lists see ARI 1, passim.

3. BABYLONIAN KING LIST A

Editions and Studies:

1968 Brinkman, PKB pp. 37–67.

4. BABYLONIAN KING LIST C

Add: Brinkman, PKB passim and especially p. 83, n. 429.

5. URUK KING LIST

Add the translation: 1969 Oppenheim, ANET³ p. 566.

Add the study: 1965 R. Borger, JCS 19, pp. 74f.

8. SUMERIAN KING LIST

1969 W. G. Lambert and A. R. Millard, Atra-ḫasis (Oxford), pp. 15–21 and 25.

1971 W. W. Hallo, JCS 23, pp. 57–67.

9. KING LIST OF THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD

Add the translation by Oppenheim, ANET³ pp. 566f.

11. PTOLEMAIC CANON

For further bibliography see Brinkman, PKB p. 323.

12. ASSYRIAN KING LIST

A fifth version (E), BM 128059, has been published by A. R. Millard, Iraq 32 (1970), pp. 174–176.

Translation Only: 1969 Oppenheim, ANET³ pp. 564–566.

Studies:

1965 F. R. Kraus, Könige die in Zelten wohnten, Mededelingen der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, N.R. 28/2.

1966 H. Lewy, Assyria 2600–1816 B.C., CAH I, Chapter XXV, pp. 17–26.

14. SYNCHRONISTIC KING LIST

1972 Brinkman, Or. n.s. 41, p. 246 (iv 6).

p. 272: The second edition of W. von Soden and W. Röllig, Das Akkadische Syllabar, AnOr 42 (Rome, 1967) did not appear in time for me to use the system of diacritical marks for ideograms outlined on pp. 75f. Fortunately my system agrees with the Syllabar in all but the following cases: *aplu*, *ašarēdum*, *Bābili*, *balātu*, *kiššatu*, *Marduk*, *na'ādu*, *nadānu*, *našāru*, *Ninurta*, *tābu*.

INDEXES

PUBLISHED TEXTS

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>ADD 888
 AfO 4, pp. 213–217
 AfO 17, p. 321
 AfO 17, p. 384
 AfO 20, pp. 115f.</p> <p>BA 2, p. 501
 BOR 6, p. 36
 BRM 4,49</p> <p>CT 13, 45
 CT 34, 38–43
 CT 34, 43–50
 CT 37,21
 CT 37, 22
 CT 46, 5</p> <p>Iraq 26, pp. 14–35</p> <p>JRAS 1894, pp. 811–815</p> <p>KAH 2, 157
 King, Chron. 2, pp. 3–24, 113–127
 King, Chron. 2, pp. 46–56, 143–145
 King, Chron. 2, pp. 57–69, 147–155
 King, Chron. 2, pp. 70–86, 157–179</p> <p>Smith, BHT pp. 1–21 and pls. I–III
 Smith, BHT pp. 22–26 and pl. IV
 Smith, BHT pp. 98–123 and pls. XI–XIV
 Smith, BHT pp. 124–149 and pls. XV–XVII
 Strassmaier, Actes du Huitième Congrès ... no. 28</p> <p>Wiseman, Chron. nos. 1–5</p> <p>ZA 42, pp. 47–57</p> | <p>Chron. 18
 Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 3
 Chron. 19
 Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4
 Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1</p> <p>Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1
 Chron. 13b
 Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2</p> <p>Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1
 Chron. 21
 Chron. 1
 Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2
 Chron. 8
 Chron. 18</p> <p>Chron. 15</p> <p>Chron. 22</p> <p>Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2a
 Chron. 20
 Chron. 18
 Chron. 24
 Chron. 17</p> <p>Chron. 14
 Chron. 16
 Chron. 7
 Chron. 10
 Chron. 9</p> <p>Chronicles 2–6</p> <p>Chron. 19</p> |
|--|--|

WORDS DISCUSSED

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p><i>amātu</i>
 AN.ILLAT
 <i>arādu</i></p> <p><i>bāba ina pānišu ip̄hi</i>
 BALA ... <i>šakānu</i></p> | <p>Chron. 20 A 6, Addenda
 Chron. 18 B ii 1–4
 Chron. 1 iii 40</p> <p>Chron. 1 ii 33
 See <i>nabalkatta</i> ... <i>šakānu</i></p> |
|---|---|

<i>biḫirtum ibteḫir</i>	Chron. 1 iv 4
<i>galû</i>	Chron. 1 ii 28
<i>galûtu</i>	Chron. 3:48
GUŠKIN.KÙ	Chron. 22 iii 8
IR IR	Chron. 1 ii 47
<i>kal ūmi</i>	Chron. 2:2
<i>kī šalmū</i>	Chron. 7 ii 7
<i>lú.tuš.a</i>	Chron. 18 B v 2
<i>maḫīru ... inneppuš</i>	Chron. 23
<i>mimma ul ilqû</i>	Chron. 2:27
<i>mišra taḫūma kunnu/šakānu</i>	Chron. 21 i 7'
<i>muma''erûtu</i>	Chron. 10:3
MU.MU NU TÊŠ.A ^{me}	Chron. 15:23
<i>mūtānu</i>	Chron. 1 ii 5'
<i>nabalkatta ... šakānu</i>	Chron. 1 i 35 and Addenda
<i>nabalkutu</i>	Chron. 1 i 35
<i>nadû</i>	Chron. 1 iii 40
<i>nammaššû</i>	Chron. 19:32
<i>neḫēsu</i>	Chron. 1 i 35
<i>pu'āgu</i>	Chron. 21 i 27'
<i>radāpu</i>	Chron. 1 ii 20
<i>riksa/rikista rakāsu</i>	Chron. 21 i 2'f.
<i>sakāpu</i>	Chron. 1 i 35
SAR SAR	Chron. 10 r. 27
<i>suššu</i>	Chron. 17 ii 24
<i>šābu</i>	Chron. 18 B v 3
<i>šalta ... epēšu</i>	Chron. 1 i 7f.
<i>ša lišāni</i>	Chron. 22 iii 5
<i>šaqû</i>	Chron. 1 iii 40
<i>šatpû</i>	Chron. 19:50
<i>šēpē ... šabātu</i>	Chron. 3:46 Addenda
<i>šeššimur</i>	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:18
<i>šīditu</i>	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:11
<i>šīmāti</i>	Chron. 1 i 11
<i>šuḫadakku</i>	Chron. 19:38
<i>taḫūmu</i>	Chron. 21 i 7'
<i>ṭūbta sulummā gamra itti aḫāmeš iškunū</i>	Chron. 21 ii 1'
<i>ukkušu</i>	Chron. 22 iv 16
<i>ummānu</i>	Chron. 1 i 36
<i>ummatu</i>	Chron. 20 A 8

TABLET NUMBERS

Ass 13955 gv	Chron. 19
BRITISH MUSEUM	
BM 21901 (96-4-9,6)	Chron. 3
BM 21946 (96-4-9,51)	Chron. 5
BM 22047 (96-4-9,152)	Chron. 4
BM 25091 (98-2-16,145)	Chron. 14
BM 25124 (98-2-16,178)	Chron. 6
BM 25127 (98-2-16,181)	Chron. 2
BM 26472 (98-5-14,290)	Chron. 20
BM 27859 (98-7-11,124)	Chron. 24
BM 31450 (76-11-17,1177)	Chron. 9
BM 32171 (76-11-17,1898)	Chron. 13
BM 32235 (76-11-17,1962)	Chron. 12
BM 32310 (76-11-17,2039)	Chron. 13a
BM 32440 (76-11-17,2176)	
+ 32581 (76-11-17,2324)	
+ 32585 (76-11-17,2328)	Chron. 11
BM 32957 (78-6-31,46)	Chron. 12
BM 34660 (Sp III 143)	Chron. 10
BM 34779 (Sp II 271)	Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3
BM 35382 (Sp II 964)	Chron. 7
BM 35421 (Sp II 1008)	Chron. 13b
BM 35968 (Sp III 504)	Chron. 17
BM 36304 (80-6-17,30)	Chron. 8
BM 36313 (80-6-17,39)	Chron. 10
BM 38284 (80-11-12,166)	Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2
BM 48498 (81-11-3,1209)	Chron. 23
BM 75976 (AH 83-1-18,1338)	Chron. 1
BM 75977 (AH 83-1-18,1339)	Chron. 1
BM 86379	Chron. 16
BM 92502 (84-2-11,356)	Chron. 1
BM 92701 (82-7-4,38)	Chron. 22
BM 96152 (1902-4-12,264)	Chron. 20
BM 96273 (1902-4-12,385)	Chron. 15
K 2973	Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1
K 4401a + Rm 854	Chron. 21
K 4401b	Chron. 21
K 5763	Chron. 19
K 8532 + 8533 + 8534	Chron. 18
K 11261 + 11624	Chron. 18
Sm 2106	Chron. 21
76-11-17,1177	See BM 31450
76-11-17,1898	See BM 32171
76-11-17,1962	See BM 32235
76-11-17,2039	See BM 32310
76-11-17,2176	See BM 32440

76-11-17,2324	See BM 32581
76-11-17,2328	See BM 32585
78-6-31,46	See BM 32957
79-7-8,36	Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1
80-6-17,30	See BM 36304
80-6-17,39	See BM 36313
80-11-12,166	See BM 38284
81-7-27,117	Chron.18
81-11-3,1209	See BM 48498
82-7-4,38	See BM 92701
AH 83-1-18,1338	See BM 75976
AH 83-1-18,1339	See BM 75977
84-2-11,356	See BM 92502
96-4-9,6	See BM 21901
96-4-9,51	See BM 21946
96-4-9,152	See BM 22047
98-2-16,145	See BM 25091
98-2-16,178	See BM 25124
98-2-16,181	See BM 25127
98-5-14,290	See BM 26472
98-7-11,124	See BM 27859
1902-4-12,264	See BM 96152
1902-4-12,385	See BM 96273
Sp II 271	See BM 34779
Sp II 964	See BM 35382
Sp II 1008	See BM 35421
Sp III 143	See BM 34660
Sp III 504	See BM 35968
MLC 1300	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2
VAT 9525	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2a
VAT 10281	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 3
VAT 10453 + 10465	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 4
VAT 13056 (formerly VAT 10349)	Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 1
VAT 14515	Chron. 19

DIVINE NAMES

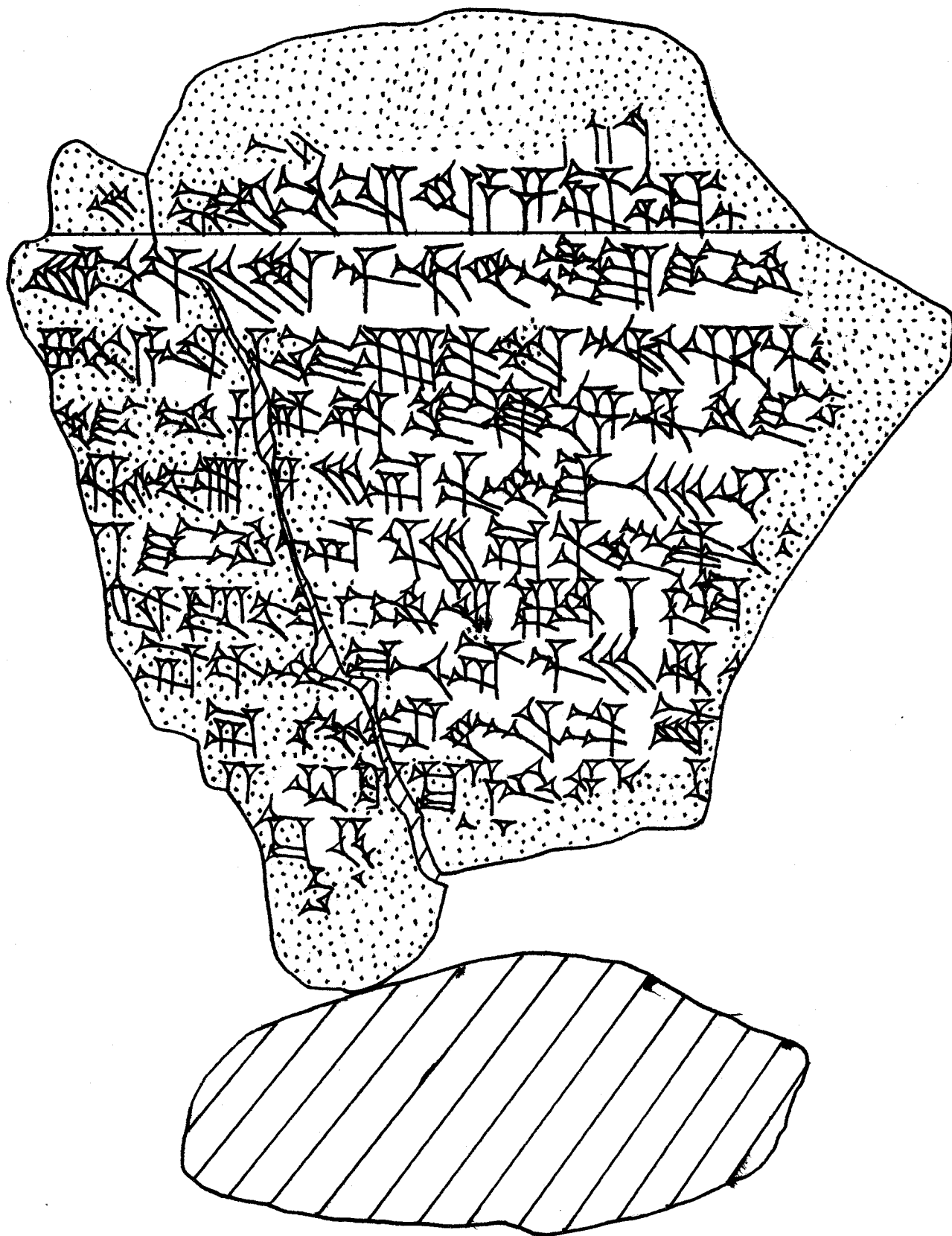
Adad	Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2:2
Anu	Chron. 19:16
Anunîtu	Chron. 21 iv 8
Anu-rabû	Chron. 14:3; 15:1; 21 iv 7
Aššur	Chron. 21 i 1; Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 3 i 11,14
Bēl (cf. Marduk)	Chron. 1 i 1*(?), ii 1', iv 35; 5:14; 7 ii 6,11,20,24, iii 5,8,28; 8:13; 13b:7; 14:32,33,35; 15:4,5,22; 16:3,5,18-23,27; 17 ii 2,17,18, iii 6,9, 14,15; 19:39,50; 20 A 30; 22 iv 5,12
Bēlit-Akkadi	Chron 21 iv 7

Bēlit-Ninā	Chron. 17 i 6
Bēltiia	Chron. 13b:7
Enlil	Chron. 18 i A 15,16; 19:16; 20 B r. 18; 24:13; Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 A i 5,9, ii 1, r. ii 4; B obv.(?) i 5, ii 6, r.(?) i 3
Ḫumḫumia	Chron. 14:4; 21 iv 7
Ištar	Chron. 20 A 1; Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2:7
Ištar Agade	Chron. 1 iv 17
Ištarān (^d KA.DI)	Chron. 1 iii 44 and see the Addenda
^d KA.DI	See Ištarān
Mār-bīti	Chron 21 iv 8
Marduk (cf. Bēl)	Chron. 3:78; 19:44,48,59; 20 A 20; 22 iii 8, iv 5; 24:11; Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2:7
Nabû (mār Bēl)	Chron. 3:78; 5:14; 7 i 15, ii 6,11,20,24, iii 5,25,26,28; 14:33,37; 15:22; 16:8,18,27; 17 iii 5,8,14,15,18; 24 r. 10
Nergal	Chron. 10 r. 29; 15:10
Ninurta	Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 A i 1
Palil	Chron. 21 iv 8
Sîn	Chron. 11:6,7,9; 17 i 2; Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2:2
Šamaš	Chron. 1 ii 41, iv 9; 2:19; Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2:2
Šarrat-Dēri	Chron. 21 iv 7
Šimaliia	Chron. 14:4; 21 iv 8
Tašmētum	Chron. 17 i 21

PLATES

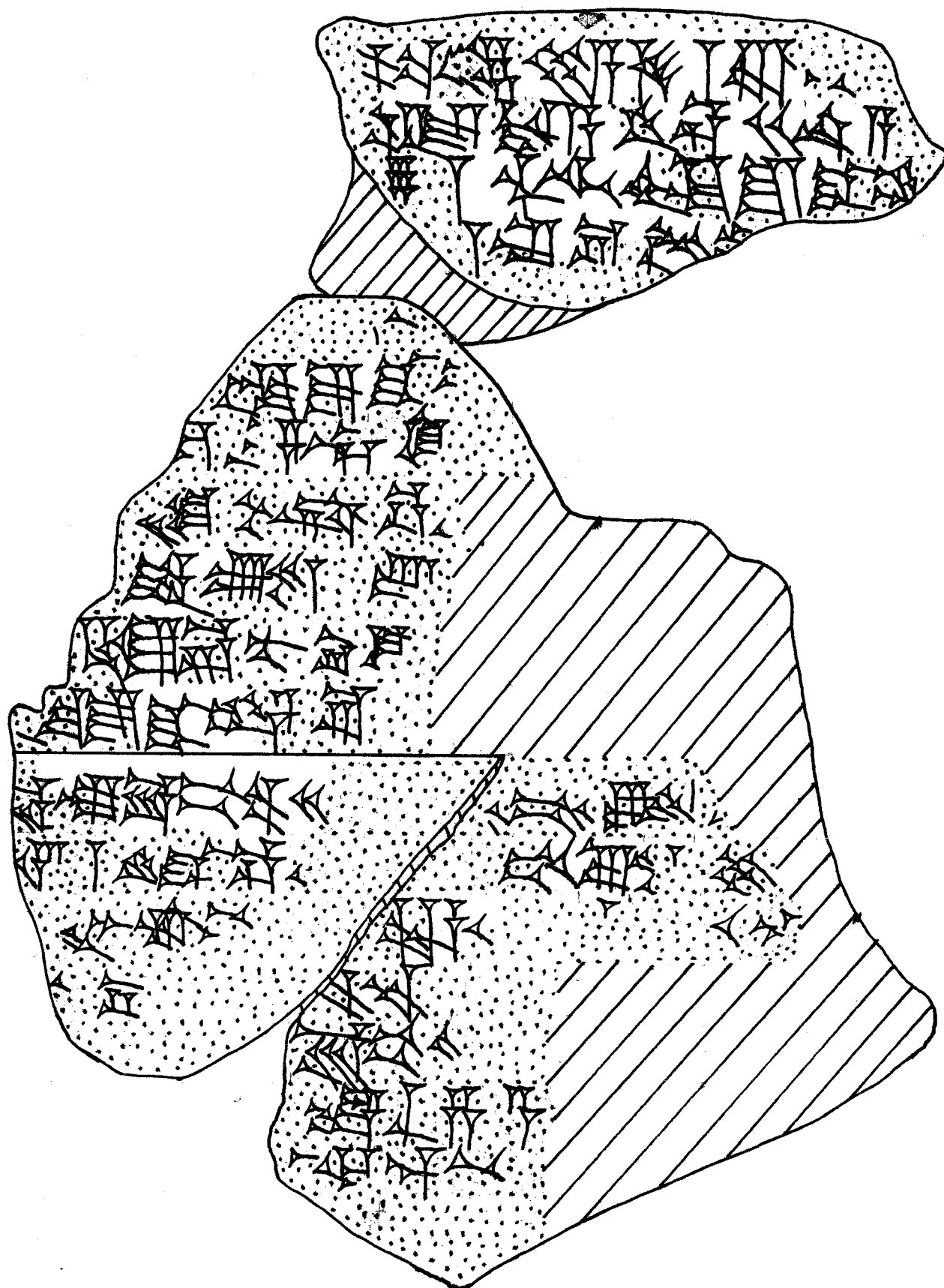
Chronicle 11 (BM 32440 + 32581 + 32585)

Obverse



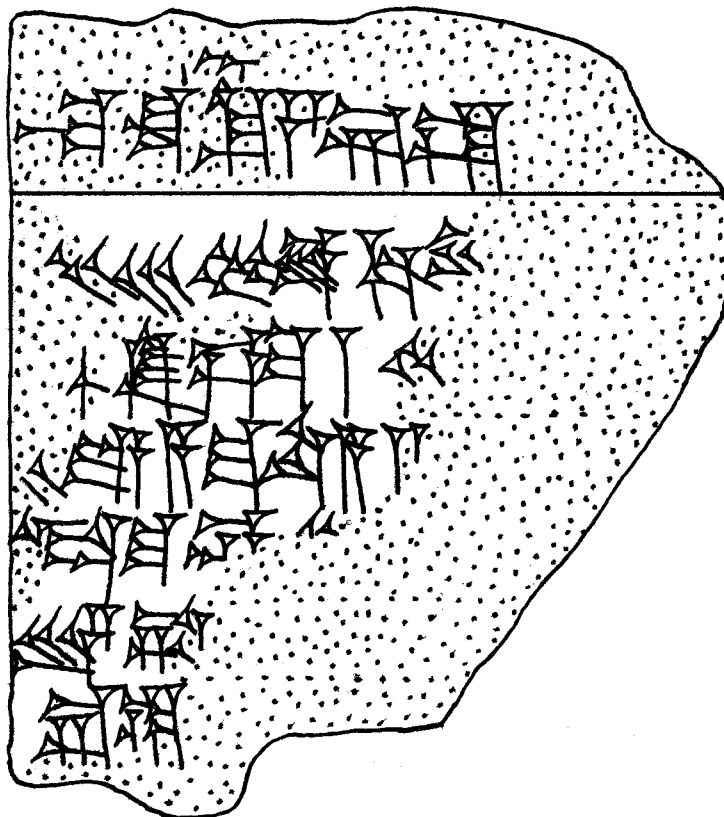
Chronicle 11 (BM 32440 + 32581 + 32585)

Reverse



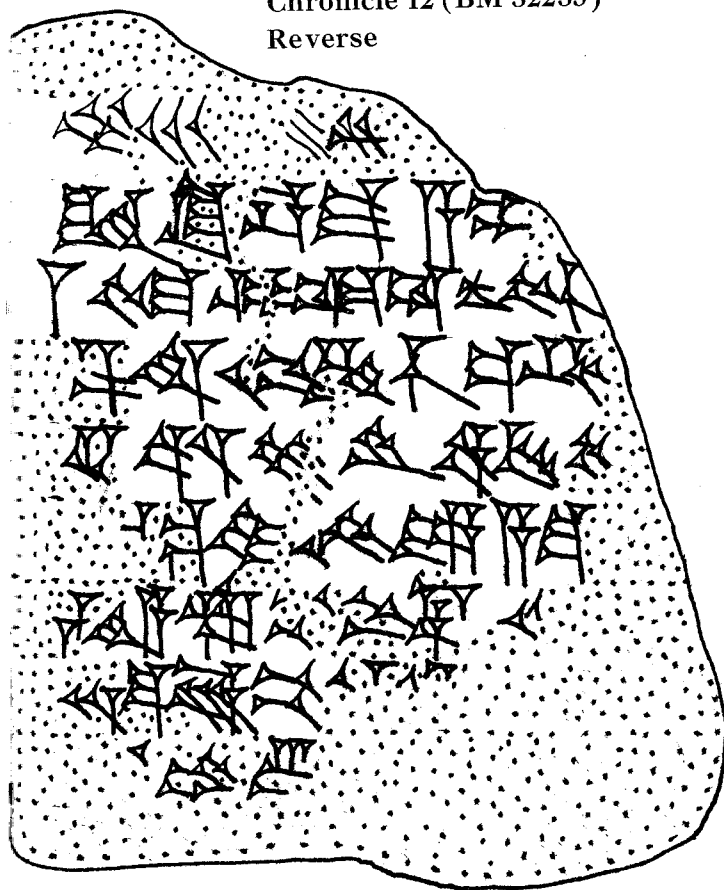
Chronicle 12 (BM 32235)

Obverse

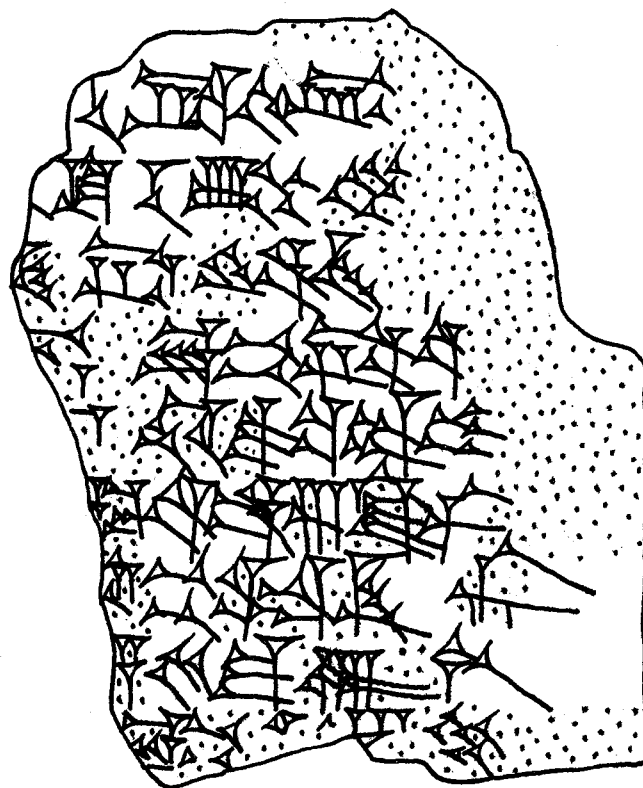


Chronicle 12 (BM 32235)

Reverse



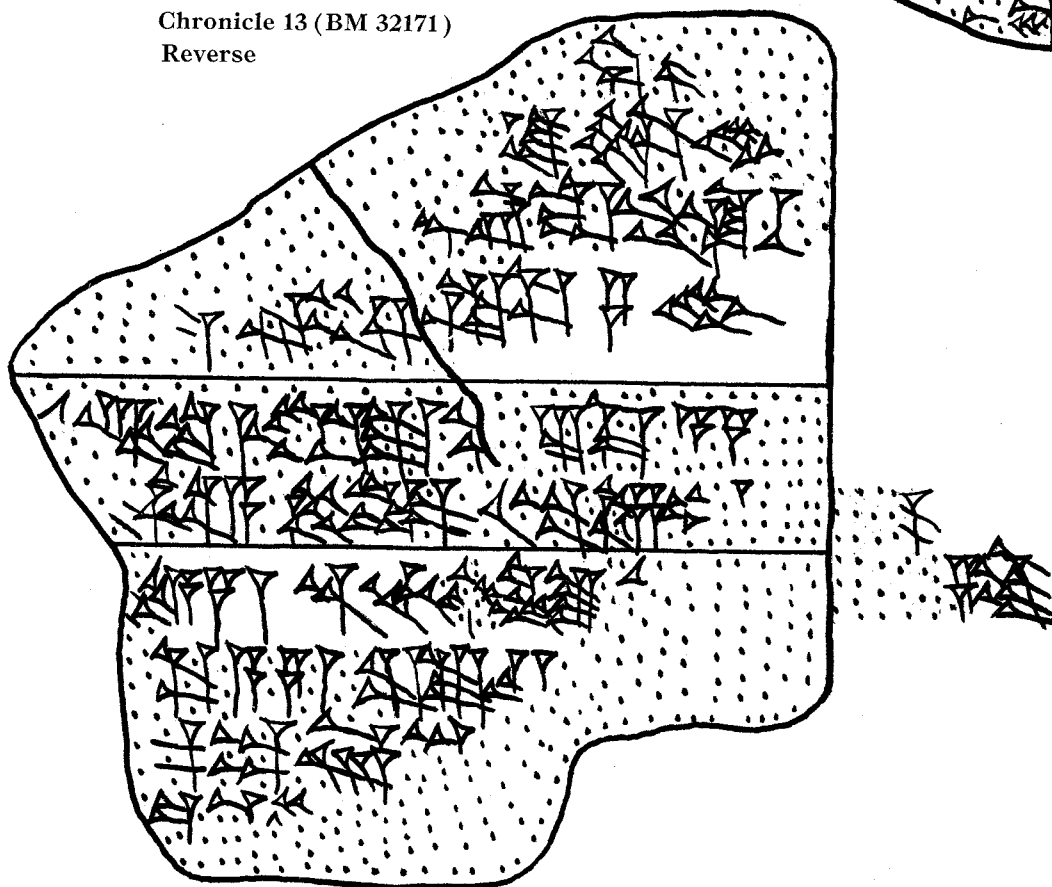
Chronicle 12 (BM 32957)



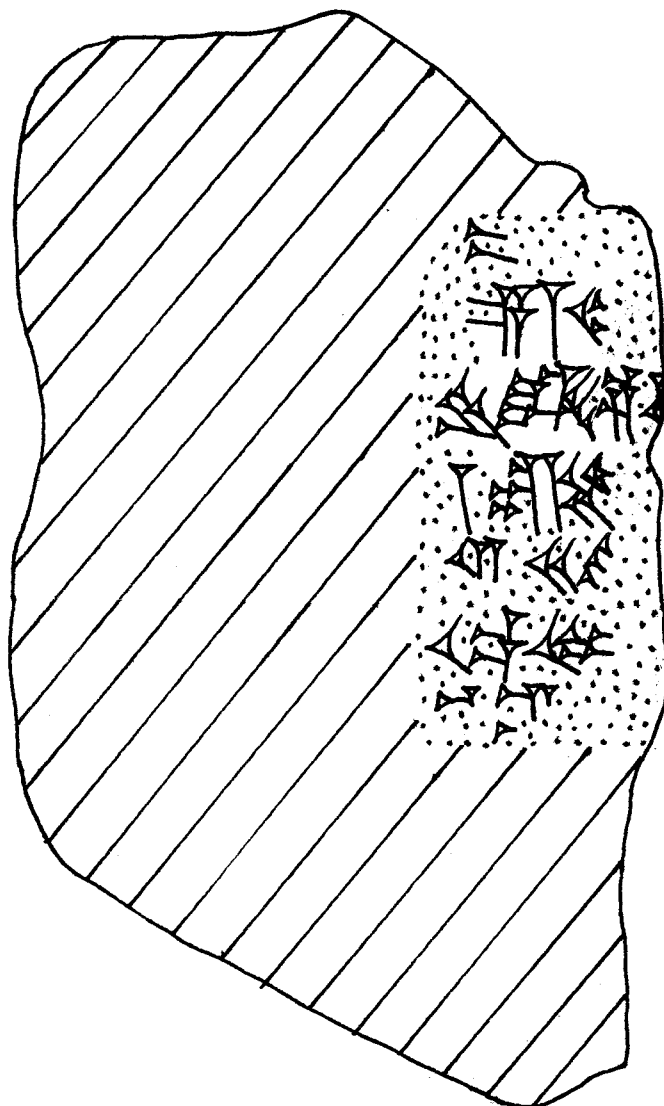
Chronicle 13 (BM 32171)
Obverse



Chronicle 13 (BM 32171)
Reverse



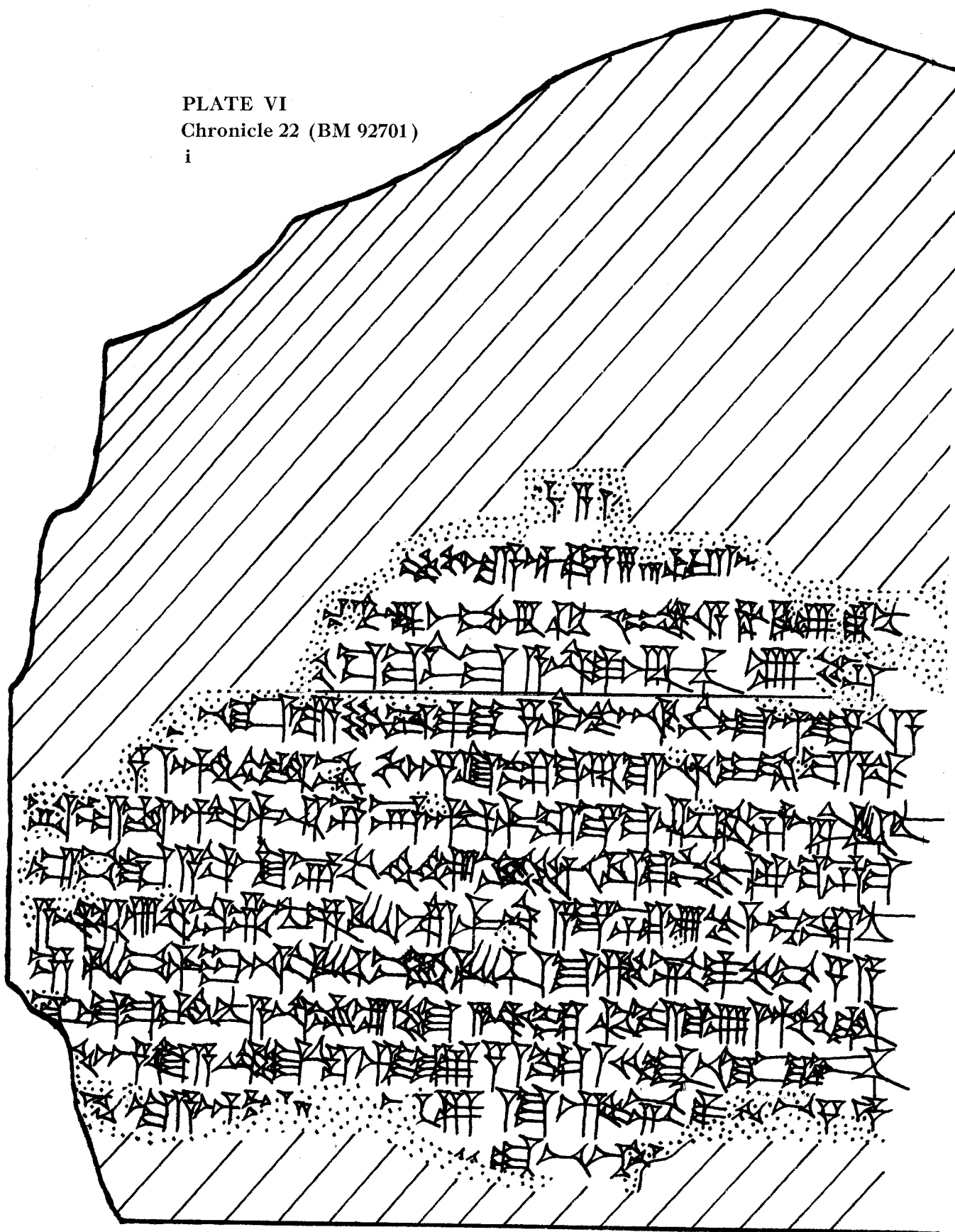
Chronicle 13a (BM 32310)
Obverse?



Chronicle 13a (BM 32310)
Reverse?

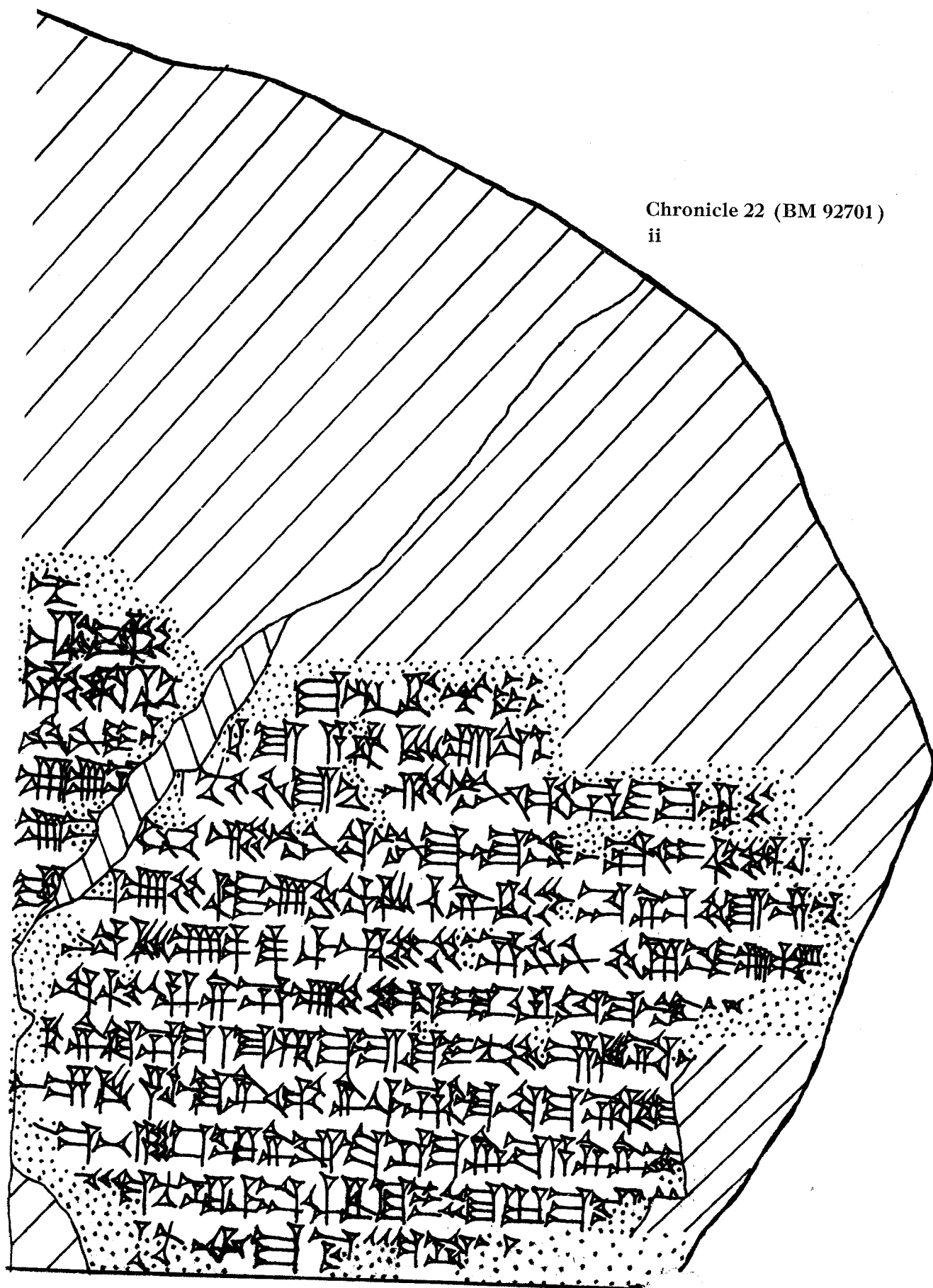


PLATE VI
Chronicle 22 (BM 92701)
i



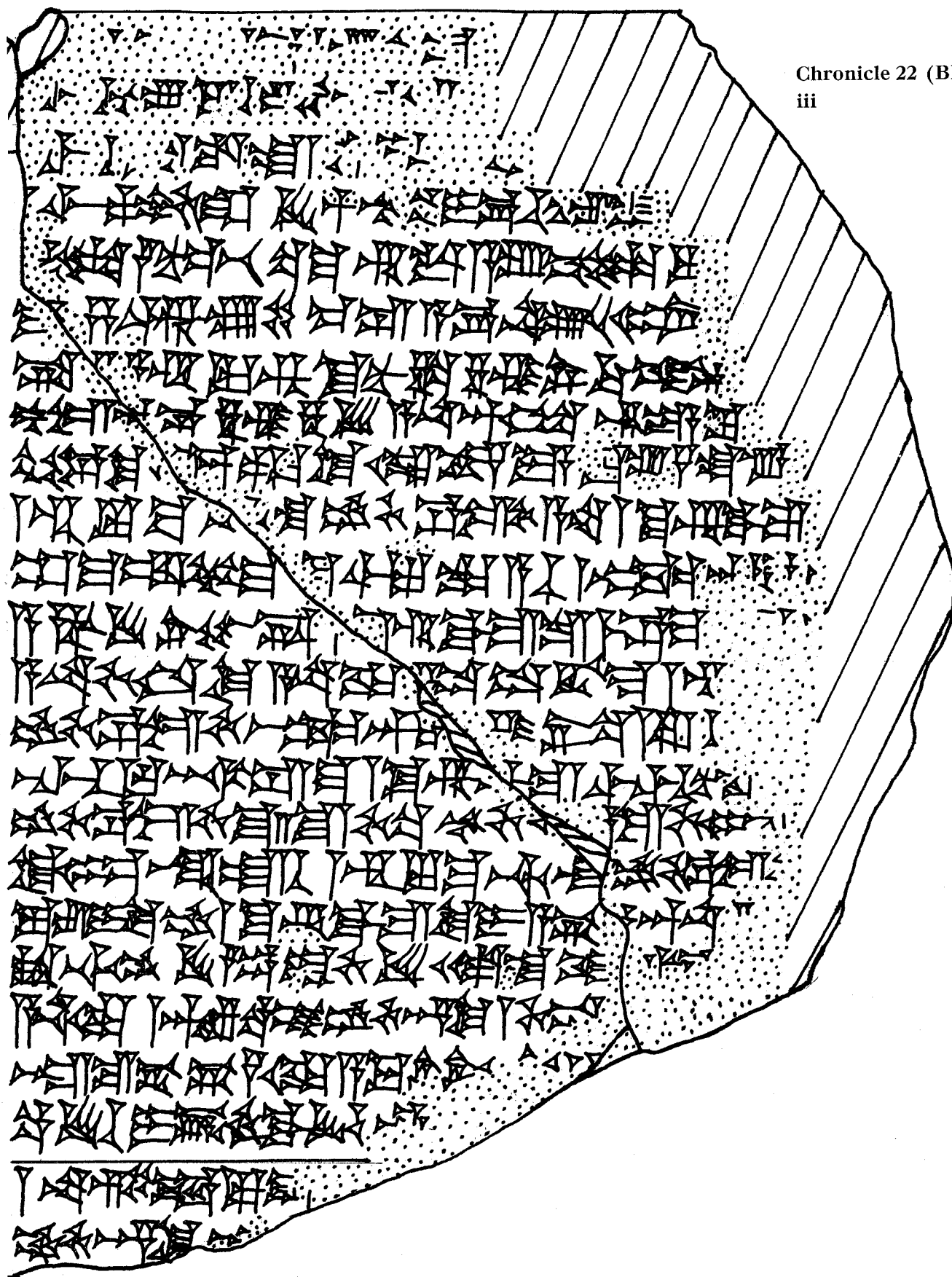
Chronicle 22 (BM 92701)

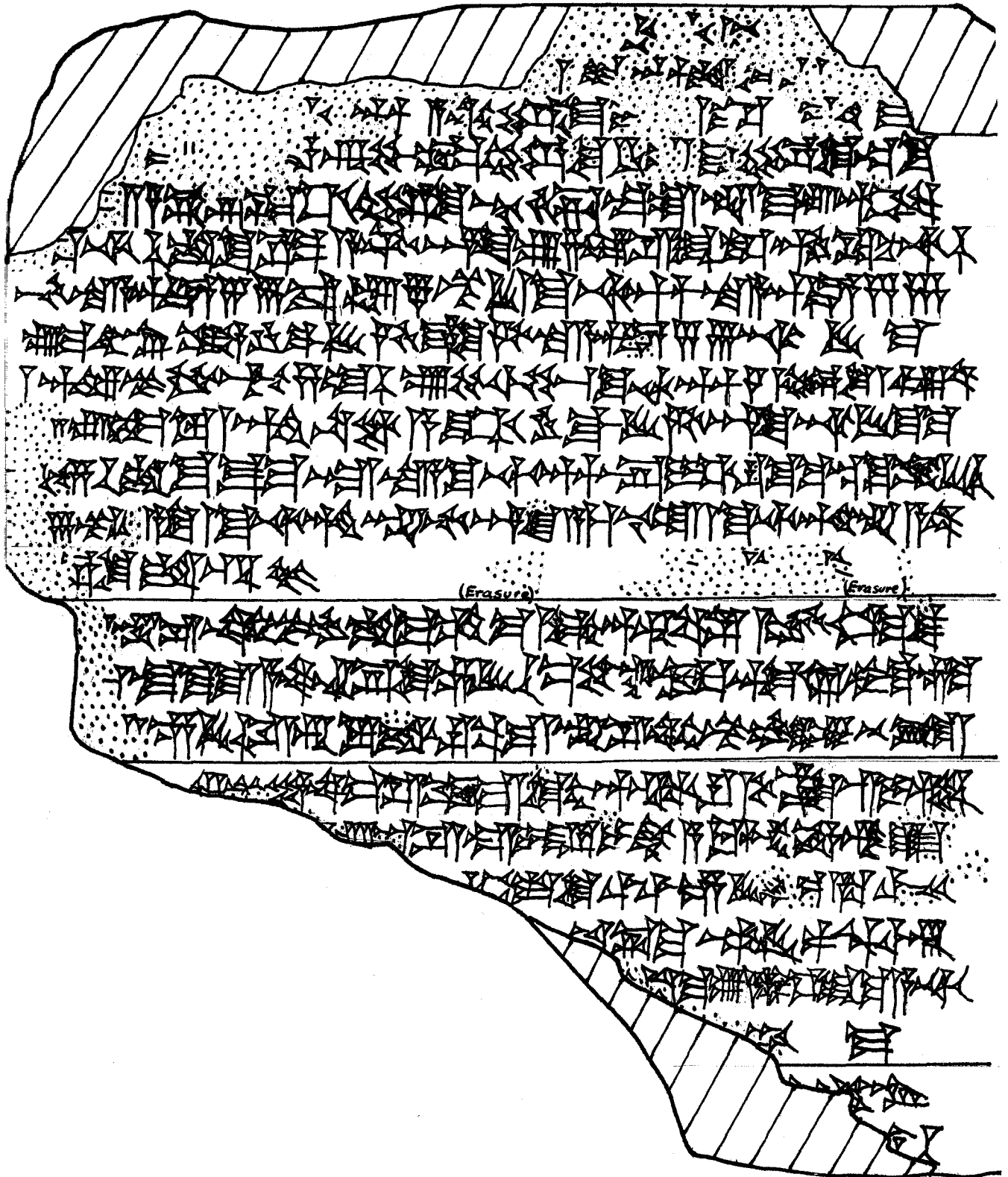
ii



Chronicle 22 (BM 92701)

iii





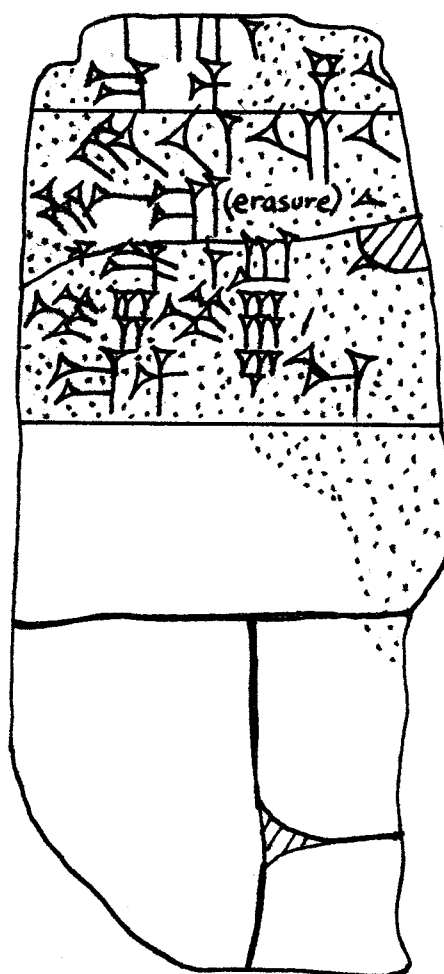
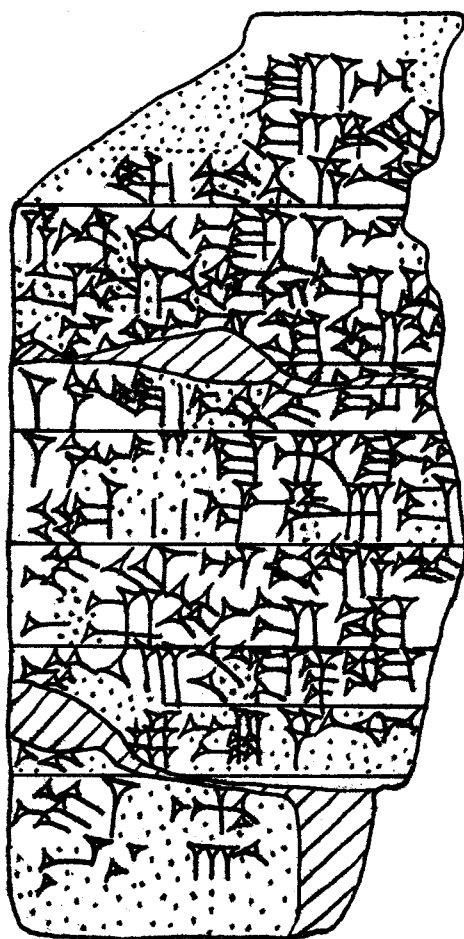
Chronicle 9 (BM 31450)



Chronicle 23 (BM 48498)

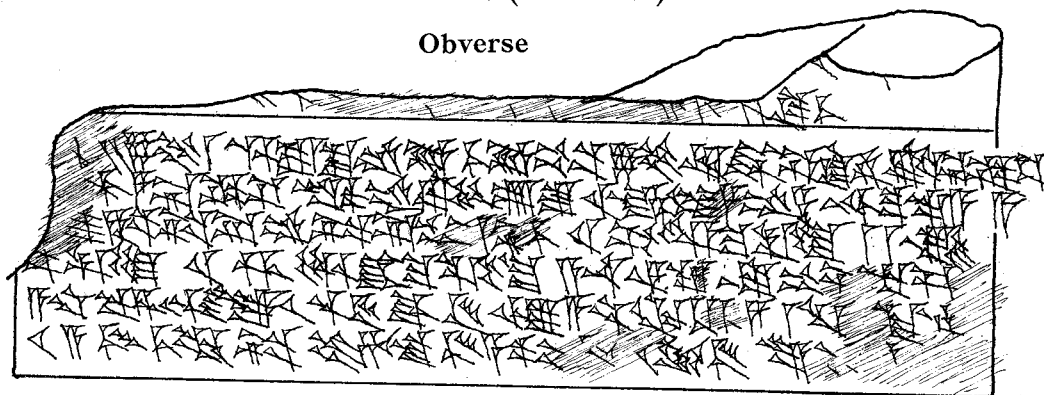
Obverse

Reverse

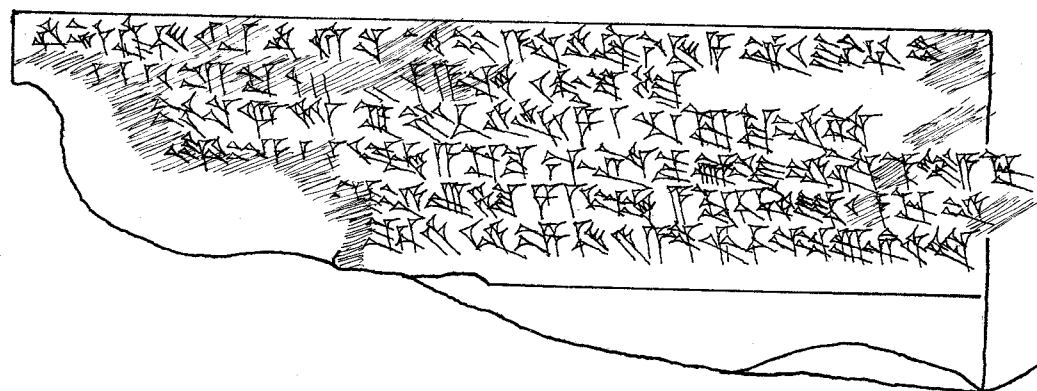


Chronicle 13b (BM 35421)

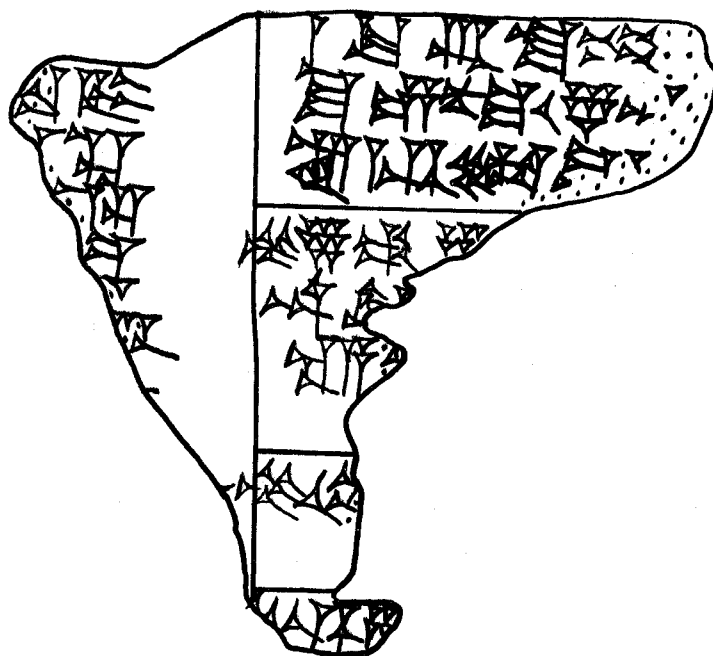
Obverse



Reverse

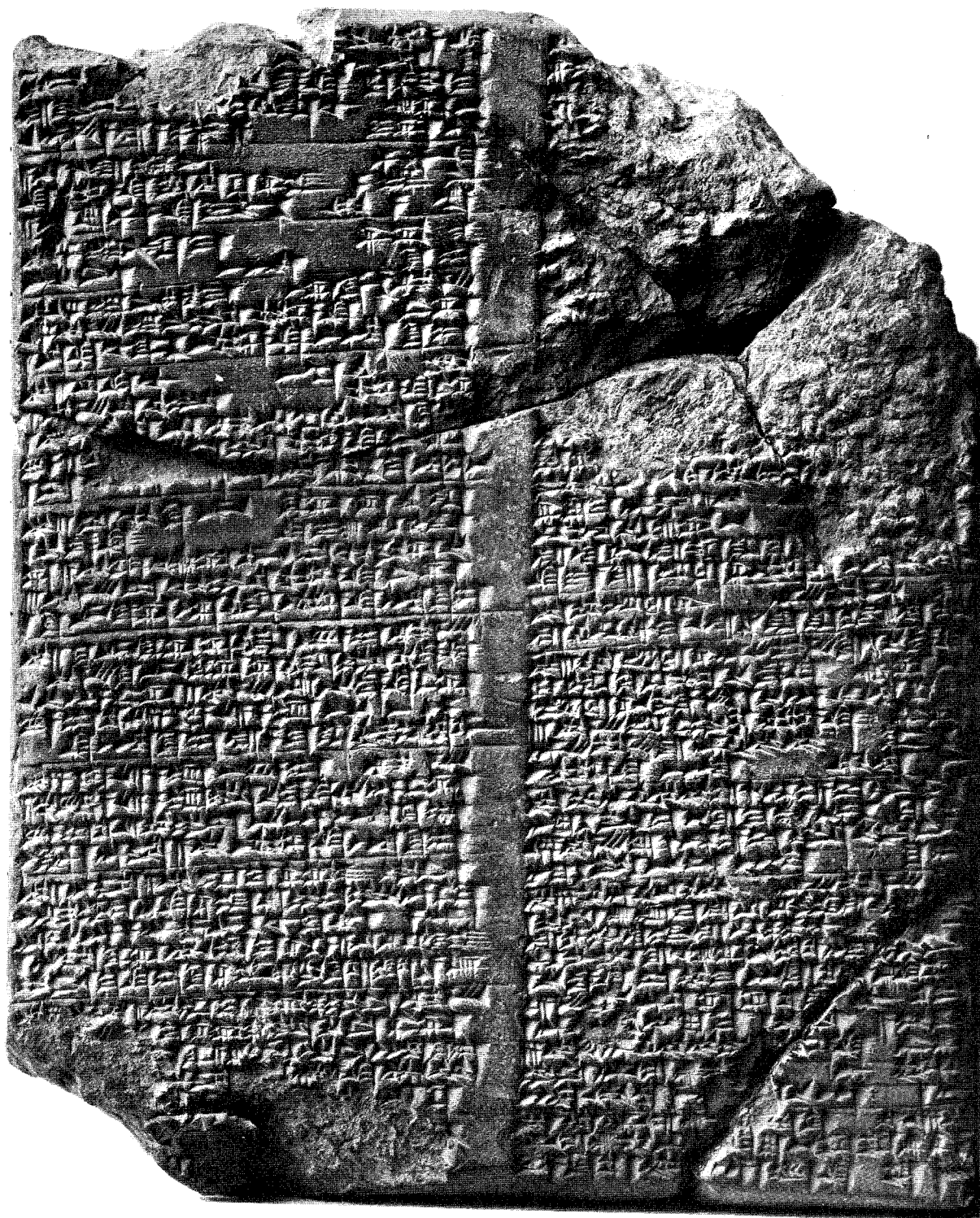


Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3 (BM 34779)

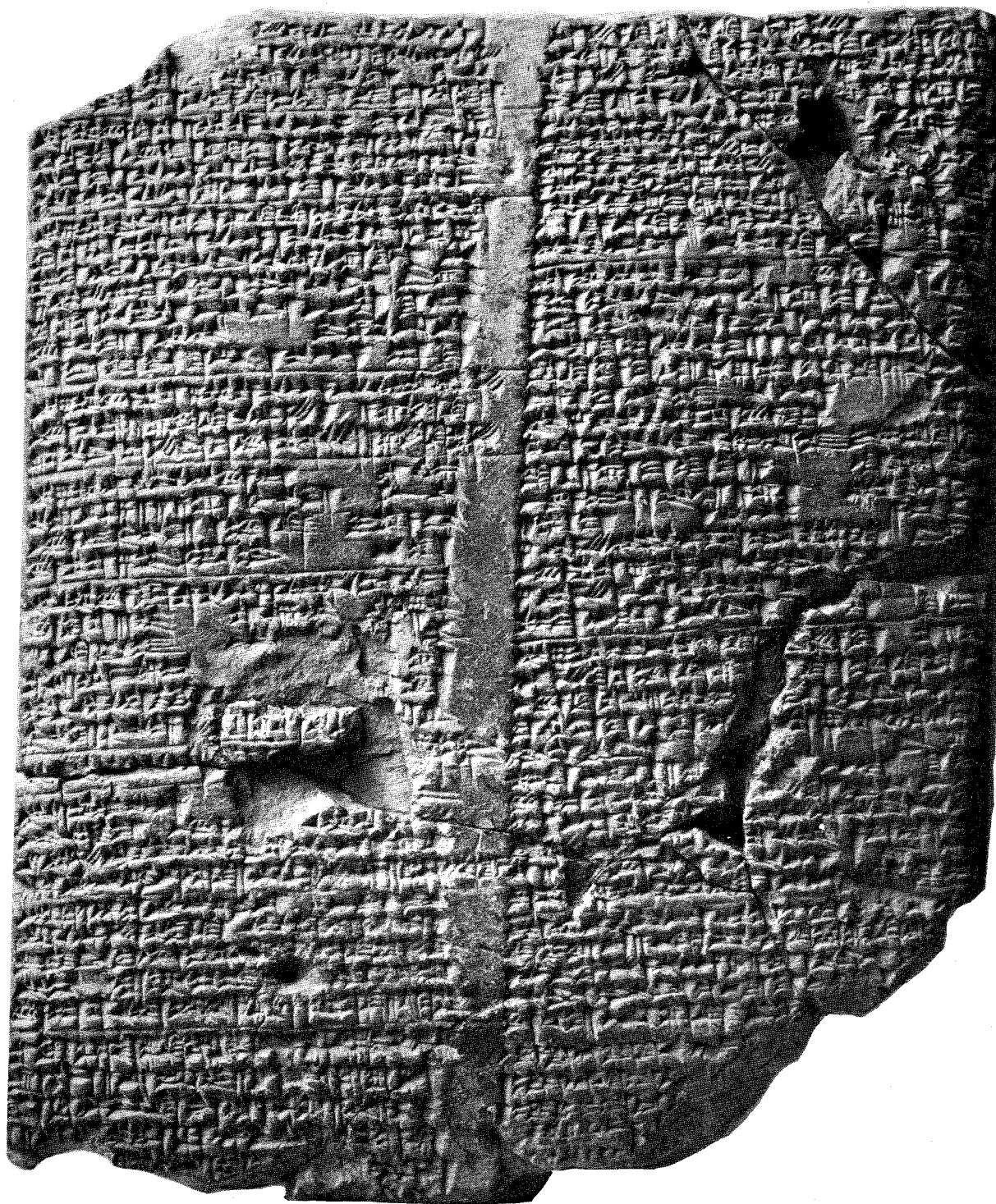


Chronicle 1 A (BM 92502)

Obverse



Chronicle 1A (BM 92502)
Reverse



Obverse

B (BM 75976)

Reverse

C
(BM 75977)

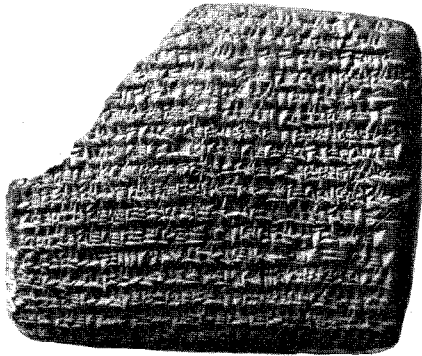


Obverse

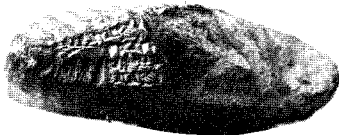
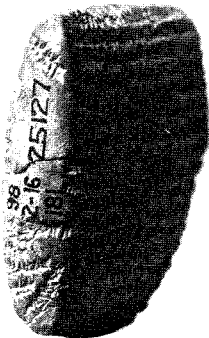
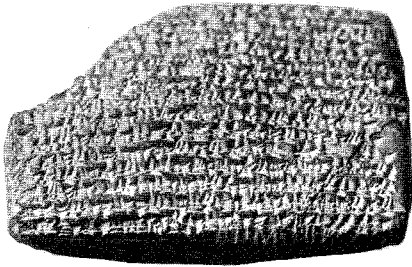
Chronicle 2 (BM 25127)

Obverse

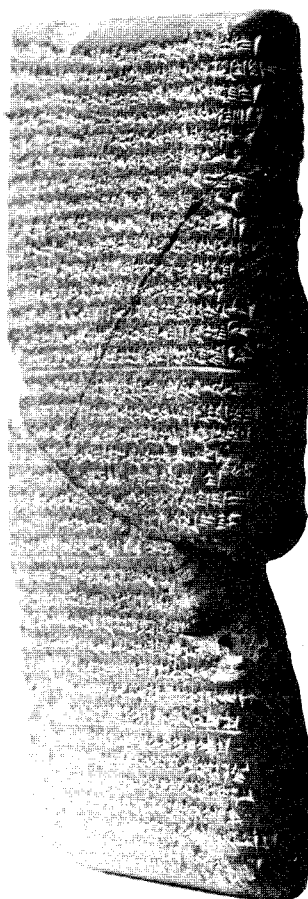
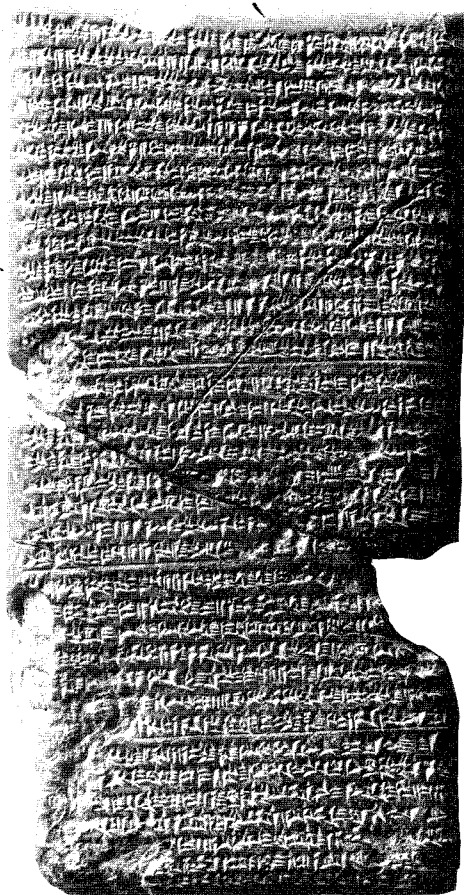
Reverse



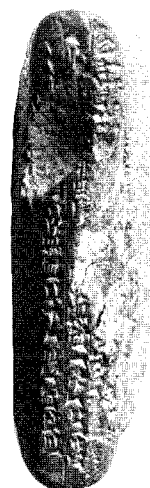
Rev



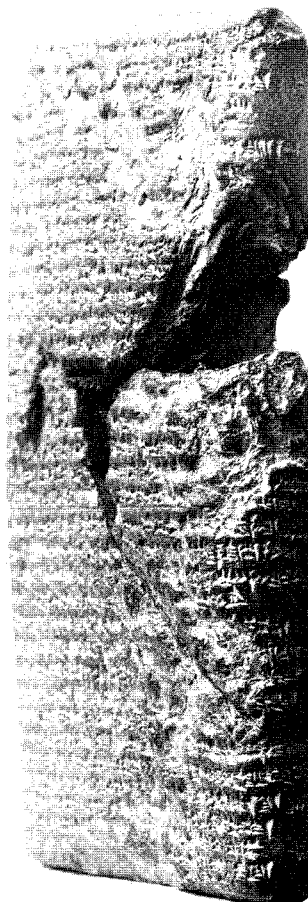
Obverse



Chronicle 3
(BM 21901)

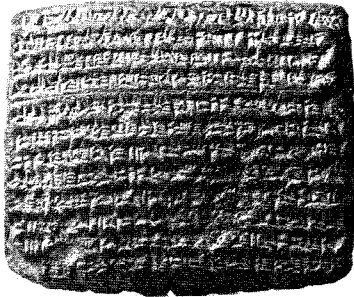


Reverse



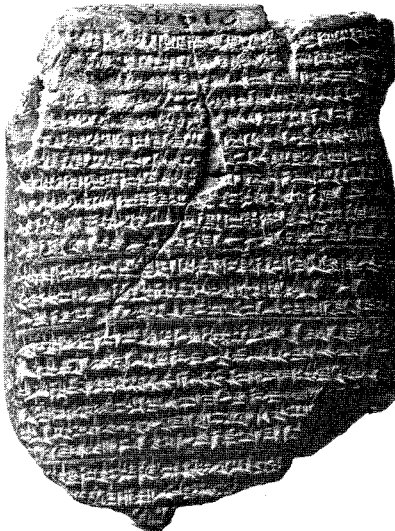
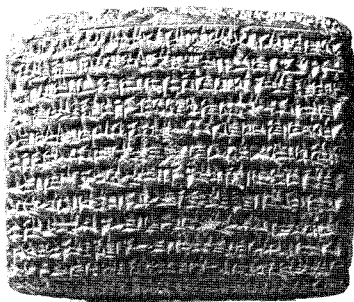
Chronicle 4 (BM 22047)

Obverse

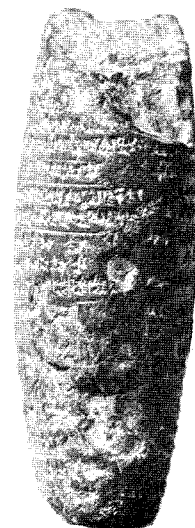
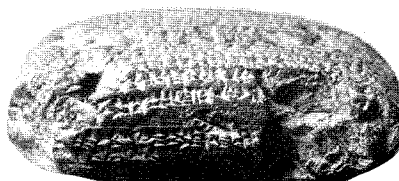


Chronicle 5 (BM 21946) Obverse

Reverse



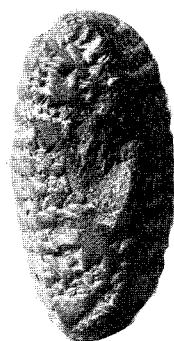
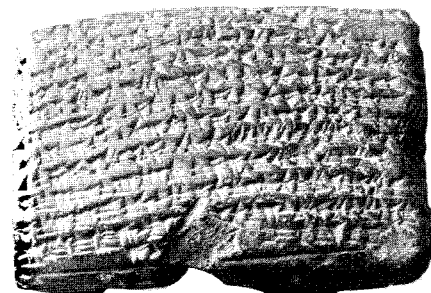
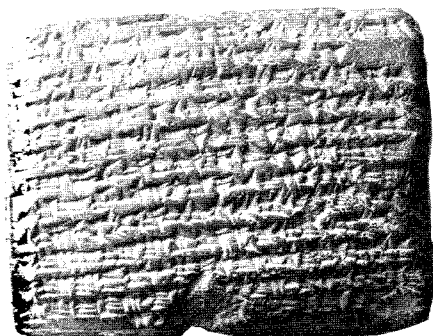
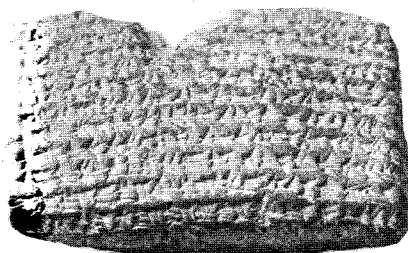
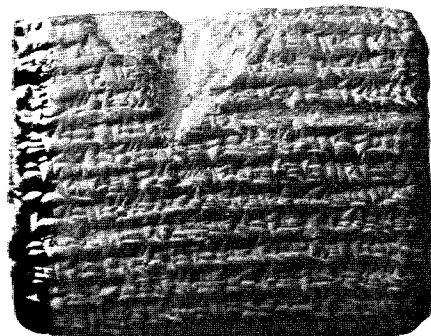
Chronicle 5 (BM 21946) Reverse



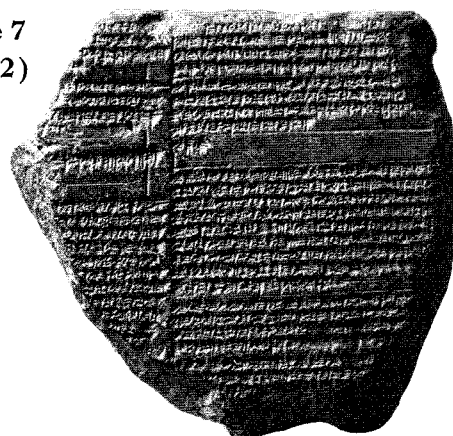
Chr



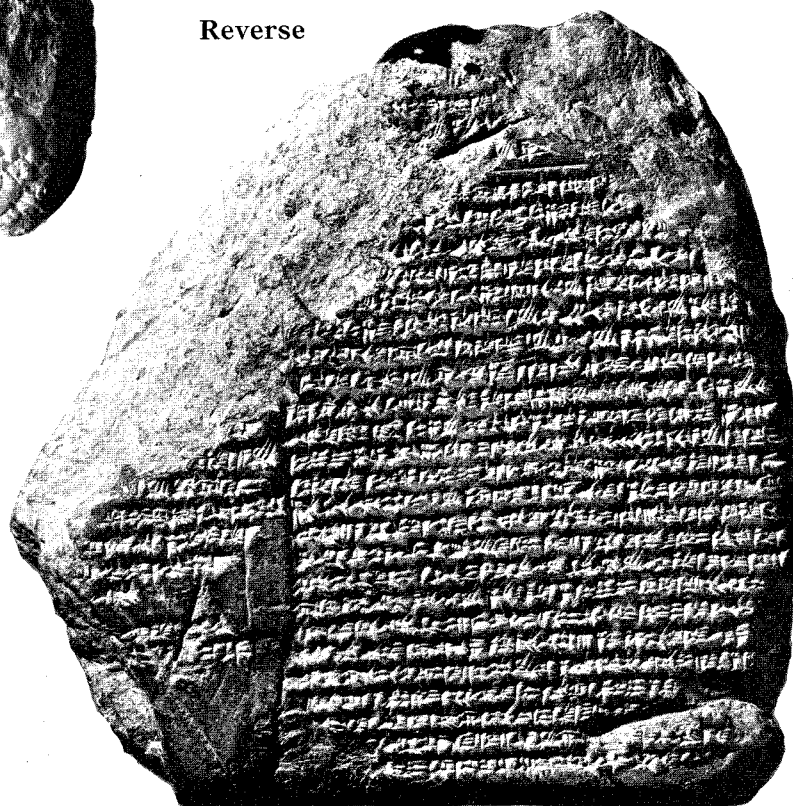
Chronicle 6 (BM 25124)



Chronicle 7
(BM 35382)
Obverse



Reverse



Chronicle 8
(BM 36304)

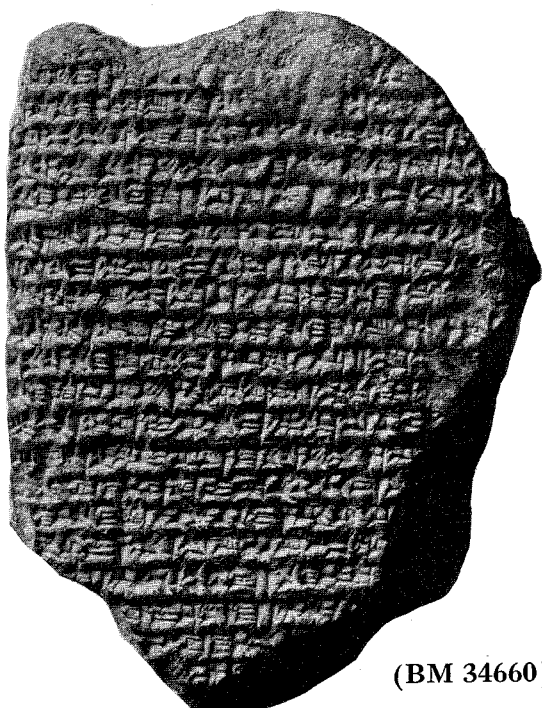




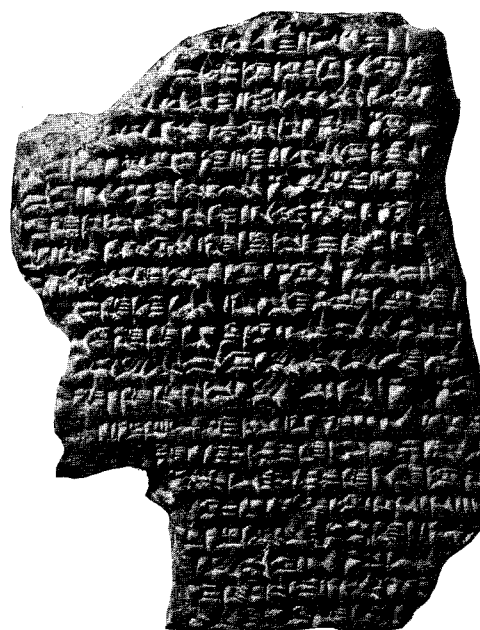
(BM 34660) Obverse

Chronicle 10

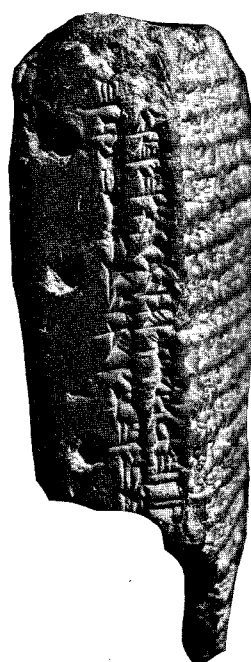
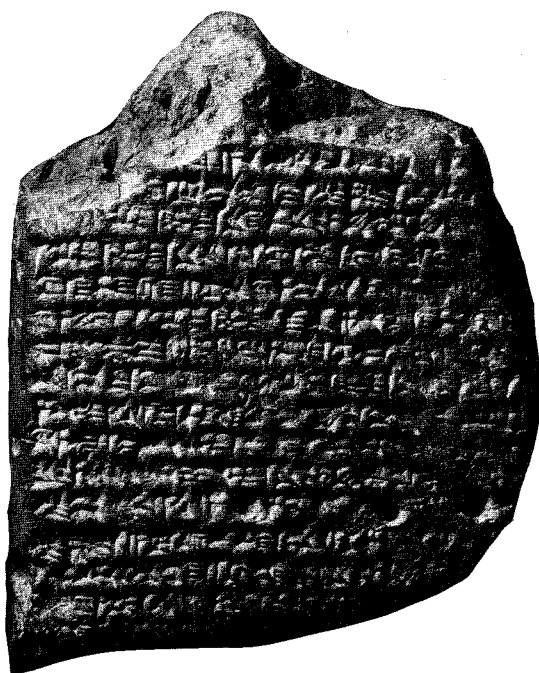
(BM 36313)



(BM 34660)
Reverse



Left Edge



Chronicle 11

(BM 32440 + 32581 + 32585)

Obverse



Reverse



Chronicle 12 (BM 32235)

Obverse



Reverse



Chronicle 12 (BM 32957)

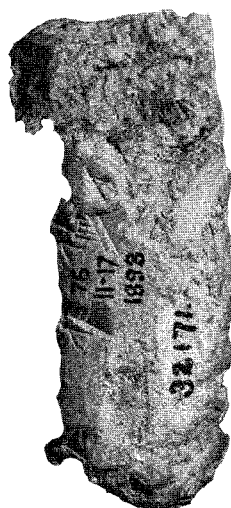


Chronicle 13 (BM 32171)

Obverse



Reverse



Chronicle 13a (BM 32310)

Reverse?

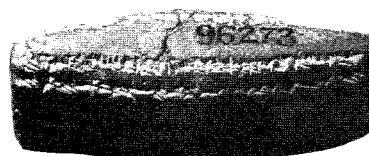


Obverse?

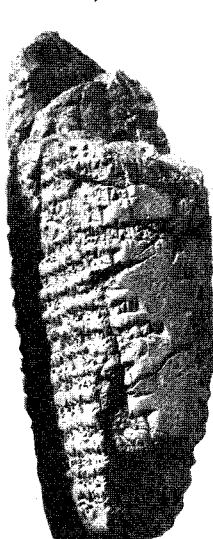
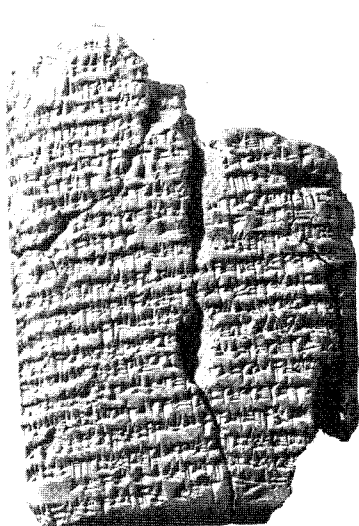


Chronicle 15 (BM 96273)

Obverse

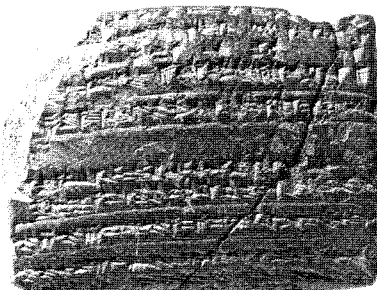


Chronicle 14 (BM 25091) Obverse

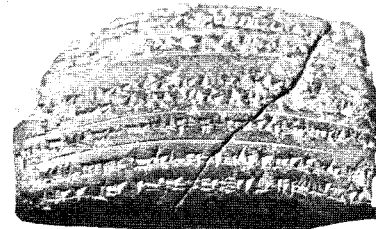
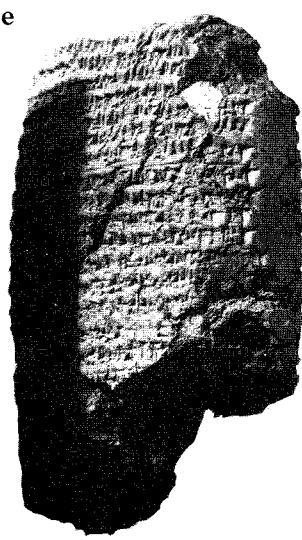
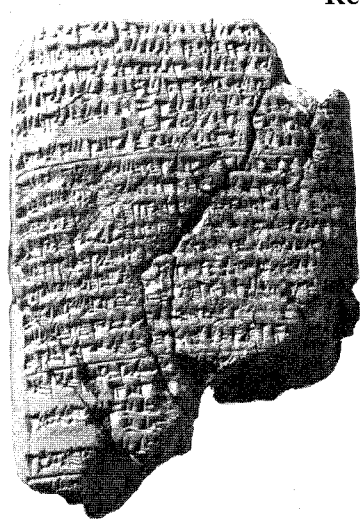


Chronicle 15 (BM 96273)

Reverse

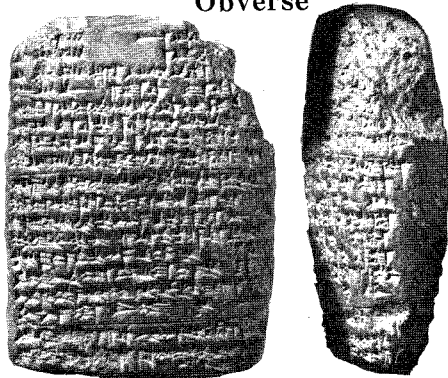


Reverse



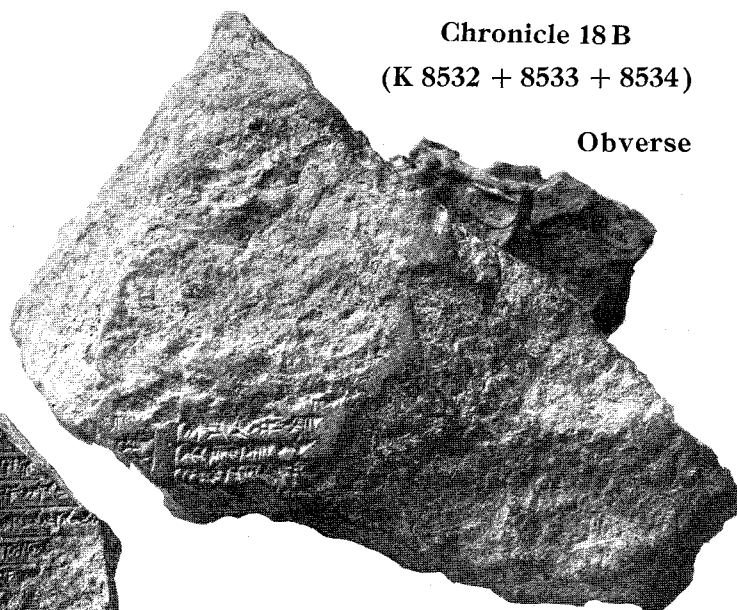
Chronicle 16 (BM 86379)

Obverse



Chronicle 18 B
(K 8532 + 8533 + 8534)

Obverse



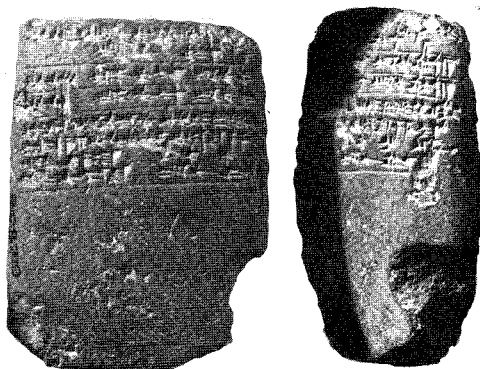
Chronicle 18C (81-7-27, 117)

Reverse

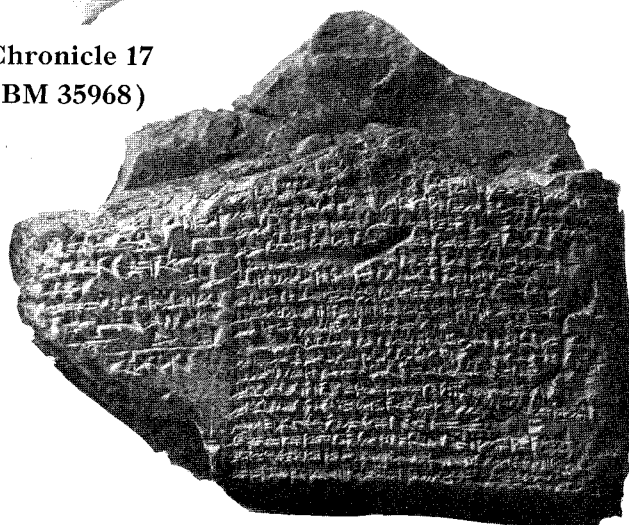


Chronicle 16 (BM 86379)

Reverse



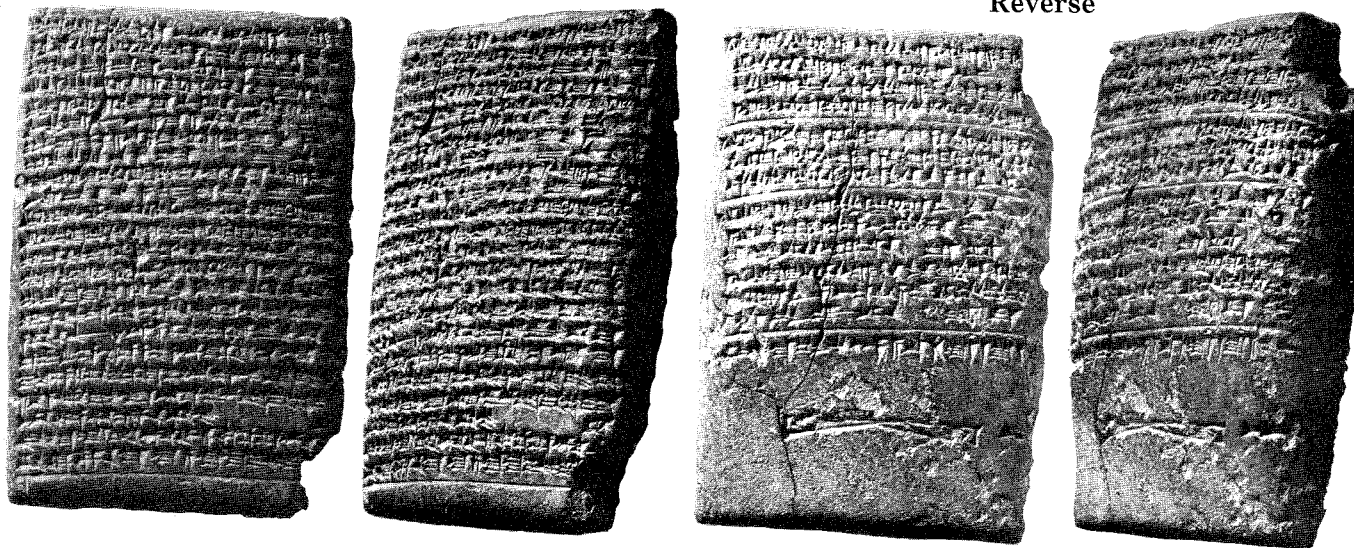
Chronicle 17
(BM 35968)



Chronicle 20 A (BM 26472)

Obverse

Reverse



Chronicle 20 B (BM 96152)

Obverse

Reverse

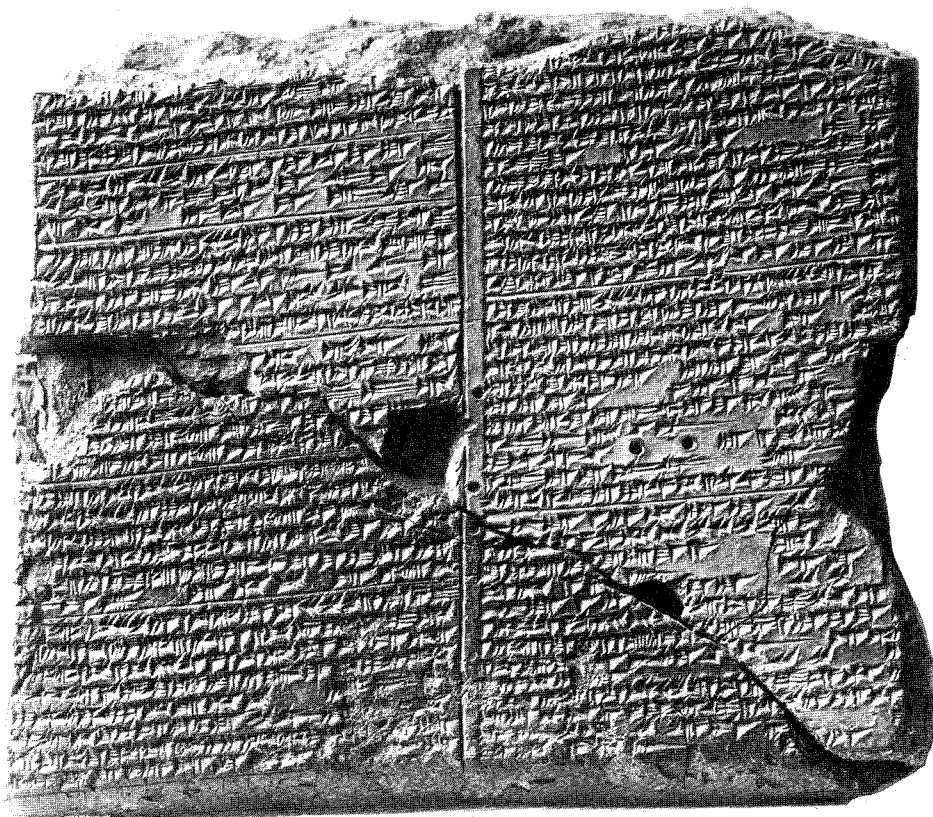


Chronicle 21

B (K 4401b)

C (Sm 2106)





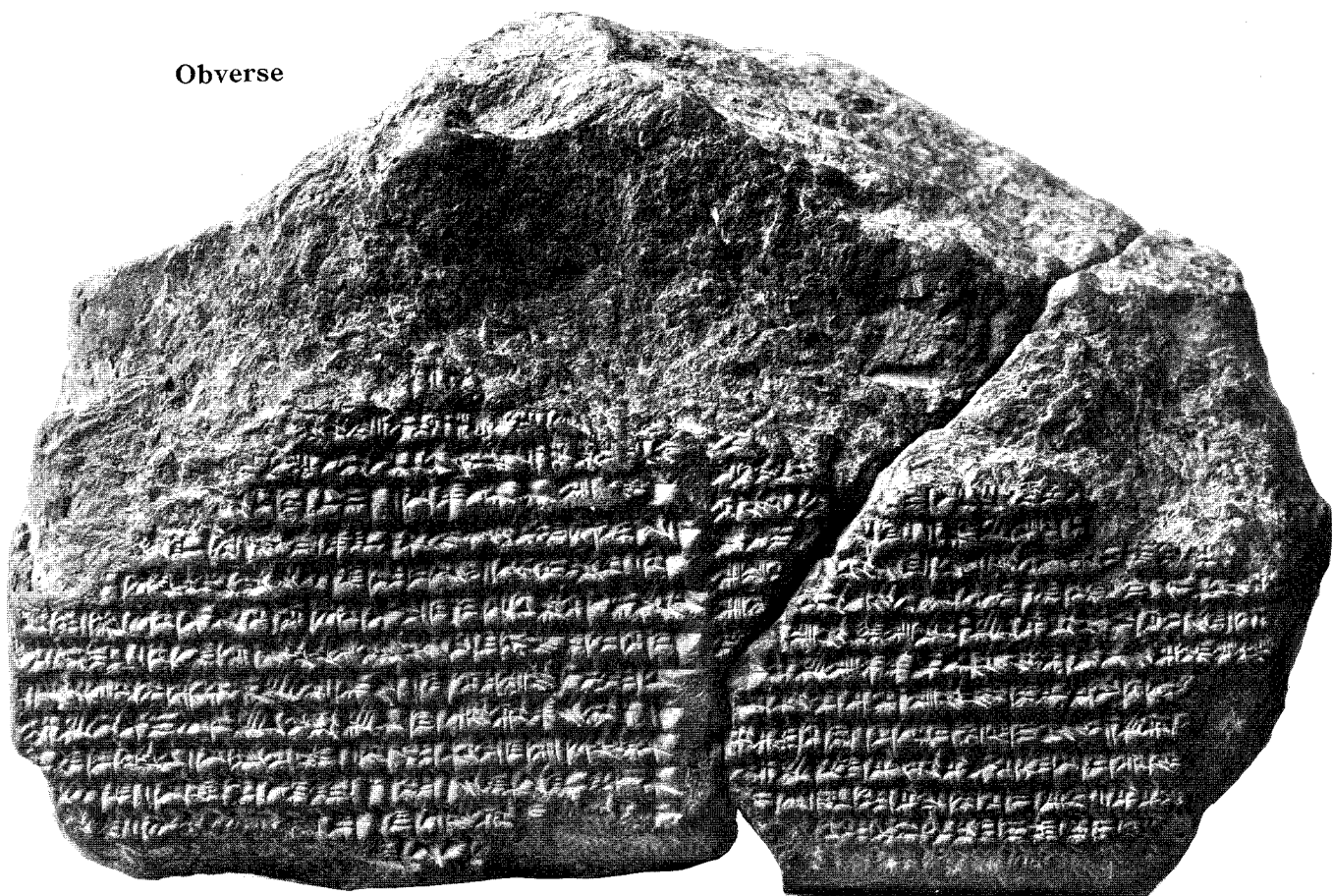
Obverse

Chronicle 21 A (K 4401 a + Rm 854)



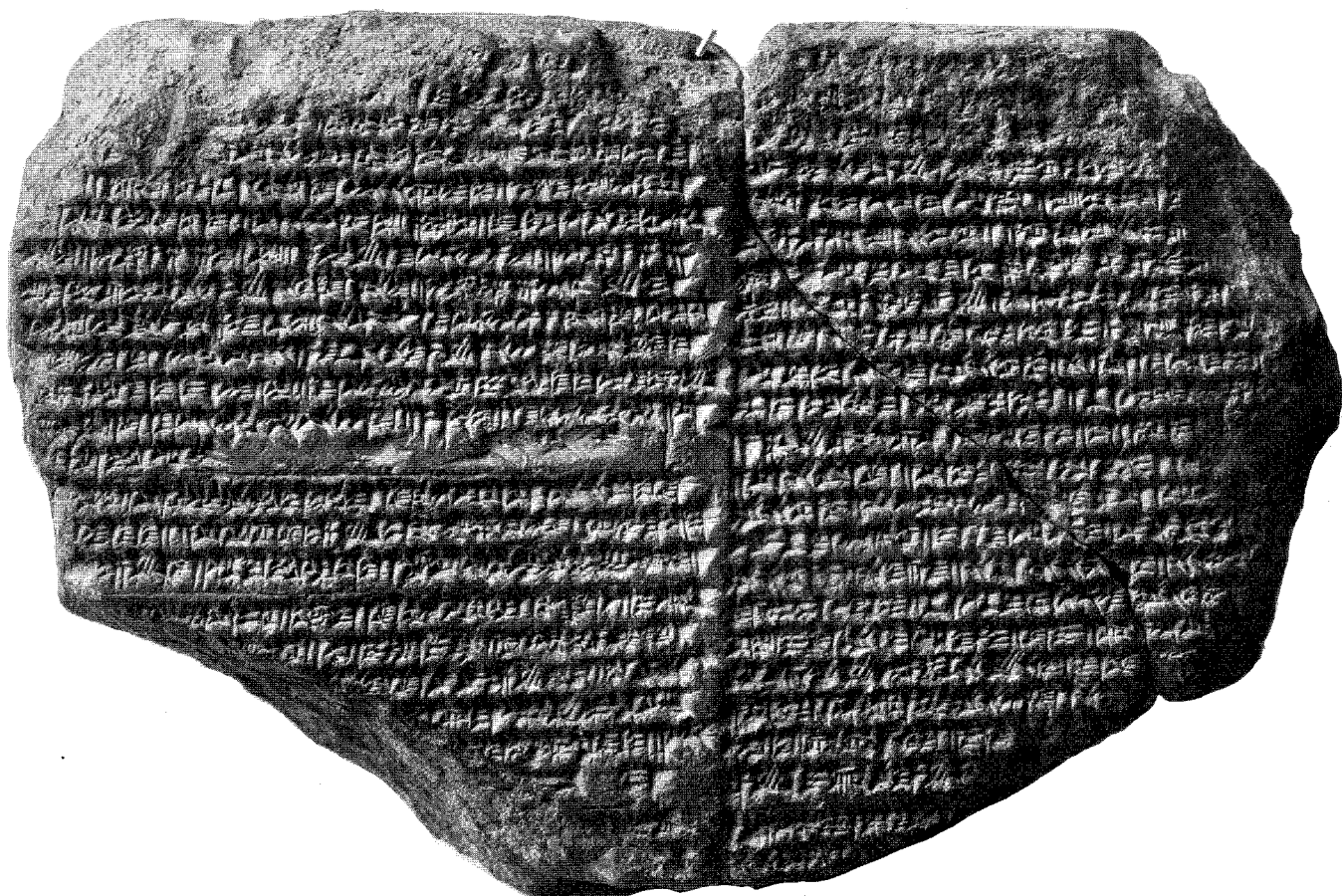
Reverse

Obverse



Reverse

Chronicle 22 (BM 92701)

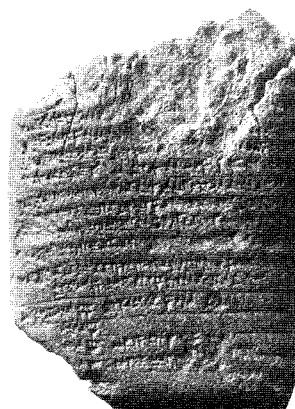


Chronicle 23 (BM 48498)

Chronicle 24 (BM 27859)

Obverse

Obverse

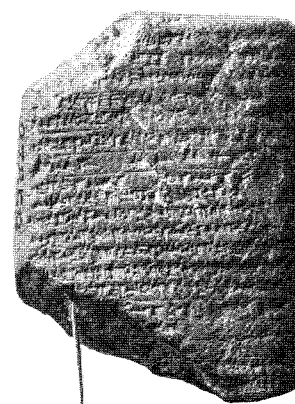
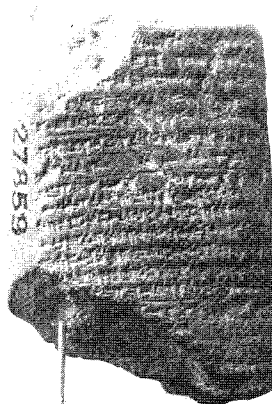
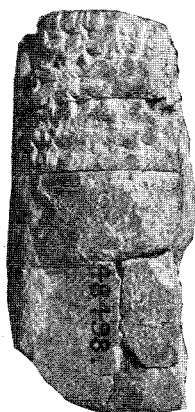


Chronicle 23 (BM 48498)

Chronicle 24 (BM 27859)

Reverse

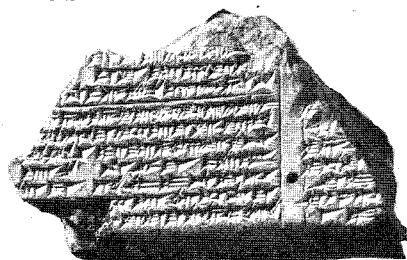
Reverse



Obverse

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 A (K 2973)

Reverse

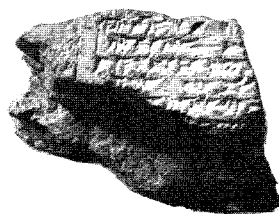


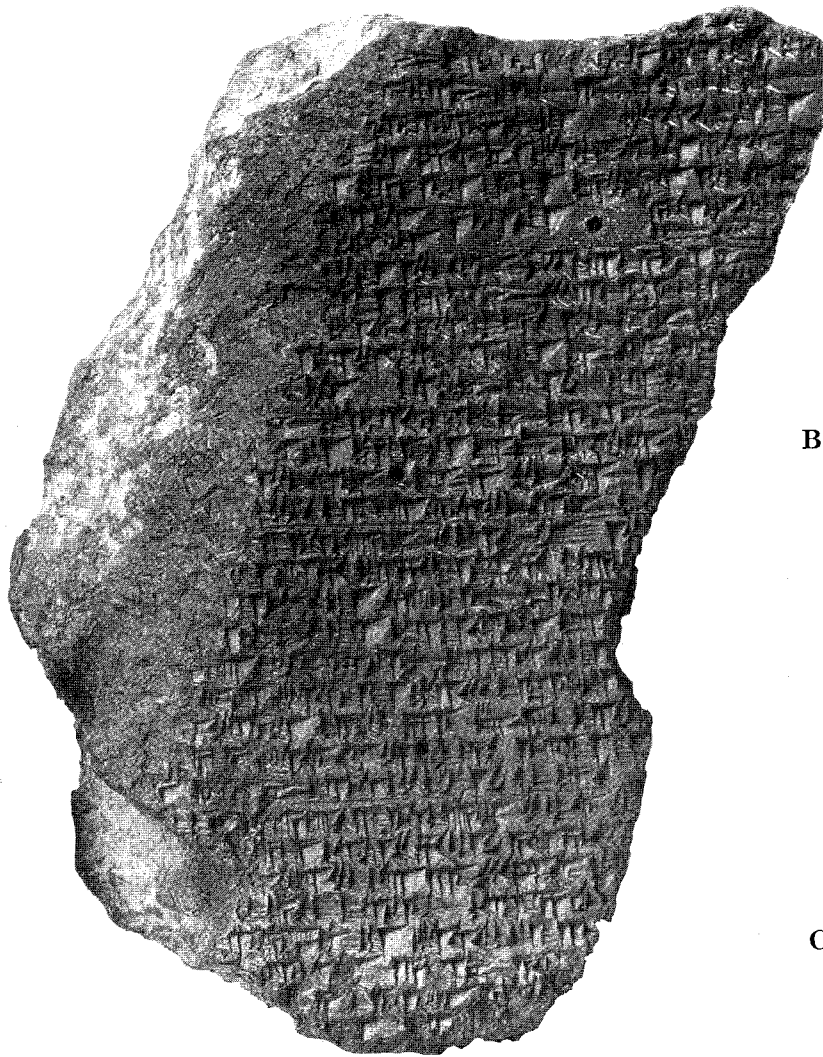
Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 1 B (79-7-8, 36)

Obverse?

Reverse?

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 2
(BM 38284)



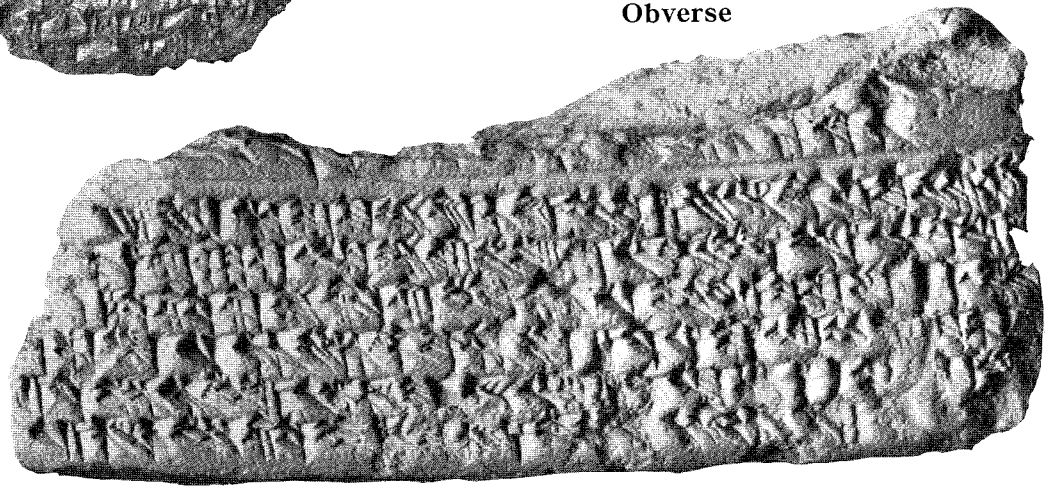


Assyrian Chronicle Fragment 2
(MCL 1300)

Babylonian Chronicle Fragment 3
(BM 34779)



Chronicle 13b (BM 35421)
Obverse



Reverse

