

# Babylonian and Assyrian Historical Texts

TRANSLATOR: A. LEO OPPENHEIM

## Texts from the Beginnings to the First Dynasty of Babylon

For this section, two documents have been selected to illustrate the content and the stylistic features of early Mesopotamian historiography, while two groups of texts have been translated to represent the historical source material, which is rather rare in this period.

The texts of the first part are: (1) an excerpt of the Sumerian King List, and (2) the "Sargon Chronicle." The second part contains (1) two inscriptions from statues of Sargon of Agade, (2) an excerpt from an inscription of Naram-Sin, and (3) excerpts from three inscriptions of the well-known Gudea of Lagash.

### HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

#### I. THE SUMERIAN KING LIST

In his book *The Sumerian King List* (AS, No. 11), Thorkild Jacobsen offers not only a critical edition of the entire text material<sup>1</sup> and an excellent translation,<sup>2</sup> but also critical examination of all textual, stylistic, and historical problems involved. On the basis of a systematic study of the numerous variant readings, Jacobsen has shown that all extant "manuscripts" go back to one single original written at the time of Utu-hegal, king of Uruk, the liberator of Sumer from the yoke of the Gutti domination. To demonstrate that his country had always been united under one king—though these kings were ruling successively in different capitals—the learned and patriotic author compiled this interesting document from two types of literary sources: from lists containing the names of the kings, the places and the lengths of their rules (established originally for practical chronological purposes), and from epical texts, legendary stories, local anecdotal traditions, etc., dealing with the biography and the marvelous deeds of some of these primeval kings. This literary material is referred to in very succinct sentences scattered throughout the monotonous enumeration of royal names, figures, and place names. To this opus has later been added a section dealing with the events before the Flood. This "preamble" has an entirely different literary background<sup>3</sup> and does not appear in all manuscripts.

The entire text material has been utilized by Thorkild Jacobsen (*The Sumerian King List*) to establish a "standard version" of this document on the basis of the most extensive "manuscript" published by S. Langdon from the Weld-Blundell Collection (= *Oxford Edition of Cuneiform Texts*, Vol. II [Oxford, 1923]), No. 1923, 444, pp. 13 ff. and Pls. I-IV.

The following translation contains lines I-IV 5 with the "ante-diluvian" preamble (cf. above) and the historical survey from the beginnings to the end of the First Dynasty of Ur. This section has been selected because it contains the names of the kings who ruled for an excessive length of time as well as nearly all the passages of mythological and literary interest.

<sup>1</sup> An additional text has been published since by V. Scheil, *Liste susienne des dynasties de Sumer-Accad*, in *Mémoires, inst. franç. d'archéol. orientale . . . du Caire*, LXII (1934), (= *Mélanges Maspero*, I), 393-400.

<sup>2</sup> My translation differs only slightly and in minor points from that of T. Jacobsen.

<sup>3</sup> cf., for a more detailed discussion, Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, pp. 63 f.

When kingship was lowered from heaven, kingship was (first) in Eridu. (In) Eridu, A-lulim<sup>4</sup> (became) king and ruled 28,800 years. Alalgar ruled 36,000 years. Two kings (thus) ruled it for 64,800 years.

I drop (the topic) Eridu (because) its kingship was brought to Bad-tibira. (In) Bad-tibira, En-men-lu-Anna ruled 43,200 years; En-men-gal-Anna ruled 28,800 years; the god Dumu-zi, a shepherd, ruled 36,000 years. Three kings (thus) ruled it for 108,000 years.

I drop (the topic) Bad-tibira (because) its kingship was brought to Larak. (In) Larak, En-sipa-zi-Anna ruled 28,800 years. One king (thus) ruled it for 28,800 years.

I drop (the topic) Larak (because) its kingship was brought to Sippar. (In) Sippar, En-men-dur-Anna became king and ruled 21,000 years. One king (thus) ruled it for 21,000 years.

I drop (the topic) Sippar (because) its kingship was brought to Shuruppak. (In) Shuruppak, Ubar-Tutu became king and ruled 18,600 years. One king (thus) ruled it for 18,600 years.

These are five cities, eight kings ruled them for 241,000 years. (Then) the Flood swept over (the earth).

After the Flood had swept over (the earth) (and) when kingship was lowered (again) from heaven, kingship was (first) in Kish. In Kish, Ga[ . . . ]ur became king and ruled 1,200 years—(original) destroyed! legible (only) to heavenly Nidaba (the goddess of writing)—ruled 960 years. [Pala-kinatim ruled 900 years; Nangish-lishma ruled . . . years];<sup>5</sup> Bah[i]na ruled . . . years; BU.AN. [ . . . ]um ruled [8]40 ye[ars]; Kalibum ruled 960 years; Qalumum ruled 840 years; Zuqaqip ruled 900 years; Atab ruled 600 years; [Mashda, son]<sup>6</sup> of Atab ruled 840 years; Arwi'um, son of Mashda, ruled 720 years; Etana, a shepherd, he who ascended to heaven (and) who consolidated all countries, became king and ruled 1,560 (var.: 1,500) years; Balih, son of Etana, ruled 400 (var.: 410) years; En-me-nunna ruled 660 years; Melam-Kishi, son of En-me-nunna ruled 900 years; Bar-sal-nunna, son of En-me-nunna, ruled 1,200 years; Samug, son of Bar-sal-nunna, ruled 140 years; Tizkar, son of Samug, ruled 305 years; Ilku' ruled 900 years; Ilta-sadum ruled 1,200 years; En-men-barage-si, he who carried away as spoil the "weapon" of Elam, became king and ruled 900 years; Aka, son of En-men-barage-si, ruled 629 years. Twenty-three kings (thus) ruled it for 24,510 years, 3 months, and 3½ days.

<sup>4</sup> For a late (Neo-Assyrian) reference to this first king of Mesopotamia, cf. my note in *BASOR*, 97 (1944), 26-27.

<sup>5</sup> The passage in square brackets does not appear in the Weld-Blundell text.

<sup>6</sup> Emendation of T. Jacobsen; cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 24.

Kish was defeated in battle (lit.: was smitten with weapons), its kingship was removed to Eanna (sacred precinct of Uruk).

In Eanna, Mes-kiag-gasher, the son of the (sun) god Utu, became high priest as well as king, and ruled 324 years. Mes-kiag-gasher went (daily) into the (Western) Sea and came forth (again) toward the (Sunrise) Mountains; En-me-kar, son of Mes-kiag-gasher, he who built Uruk, became king and ruled 420 years; the god Lugal-banda, a shepherd, ruled 1,200 years; the god Dumu-zi, a *šu-peš*-fisherman<sup>7</sup>—his (native) city was Ku'a(ra),—ruled 100 years; the divine Gilgamesh, his father was a *lillú*,<sup>8</sup> a high priest of Kullab, ruled 126 years; Ur-Nungal (var.: Ur-lugal), son of Gilgamesh, ruled 30 years; Utul-kalamma, son of Ur-nun-gal (var.: Ur-lugal), ruled 15 years; Laba[h . . .]ir ruled 9 years; En-nun-dara-Anna ruled 8 years; MES(?) .*hé*, a smith, ruled 36 years; Melam-Anna ruled 6 years; Lugal-ki-tun(?) ruled 36 years. Twelve kings (thus) ruled it for 2,310 years.

Uruk was defeated in battle, its kingship was removed to Ur.

In Ur, Mes-Anne-pada became king, ruled 80<sup>9</sup> years; Mes-kiag-Nanna<sup>10</sup> became king, ruled 36 years; [Elulu ruled 25 years; Balulu ruled 36 years. Four kings (thus) ruled it for 177 years. Ur was defeated in battle].

## 2. THE "SARGON CHRONICLE"

While in the Sumerian King List the references to legendary, pseudo-historical, and historical traditions occur only sporadically and are subordinated to the chronological framework elaborated by the author, here they have overgrown the basically annalistic structure in a type of chronicle to be represented by two tablets of the same series.<sup>1</sup> This literary work centers its attention around the most interesting of the historical figures and reports their outstanding achievements in peace and war with special regard to the unique and the memorable. Important events in neighboring countries as well as foreign invasions are recorded from time to time. For a literary evaluation of this document, cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII (NF VIII), 1 ff.

### a

The tablet (British Museum 26,472), written in the Neo-Babylonian Period, has been published by L. W. King in his *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (London, 1907), II, 113-119. Transliteration and translation: *op.cit.*, pp. 3-14. Latest complete translation: Ebeling in *AOT*, 335-336.

Sargon (*Šarru-kēn*), king of Agade, rose (to power) in the era of Ishtar<sup>2</sup> and had neither rival nor opponent. He spread his terror-inspiring glamor over all the countries. He crossed the Sea in the East and he, himself, conquered the country of the West, in its full extent,

<sup>7</sup> For this profession, cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 88, n.125.

<sup>8</sup> For this difficult word, cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 90, n.131; also, my remarks in *Orientalia*, NS XVI (1947), 233, n.3.

<sup>9</sup> For this figure, cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 93, n.145. From historical inscriptions of his own, we know that the name of the son of this king was A-anne-pada. For unknown reasons, he is not mentioned in the present list.

<sup>10</sup> *Nanna* to be emended to *nannu*; cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 94, n.146.

<sup>1</sup> This tablet belongs to the same literary work as the text translated p. 303. cf. B. Landsberger-Th. Bauer, *ZA*, xxxvii, (NF III), 61 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For the latest discussion of the enigmatic expression "era of Ishtar," cf. J. Lewy, *HUCA*, XIX (1946), 420, 480.

in the 11th year (of his rule). He established there a central government (lit.: he made its mouth be one). He erected his stelae in the West. Their booty (i.e. the booty of the countries in the Eastern and Western Seas) he ferried over on rafts. He made his court officials live (around his residence, thus covering an area) of five double-miles, and held sway over the totality of the countries, without exception.

He marched against the country of Kazalla<sup>3</sup> and turned Kazalla into ruin-hills and heaps (of rubble).<sup>3a</sup> He (even) destroyed (there every possible) perching place for a bird.

Afterwards, in his old age, all the countries revolted against him and they besieged him in Agade. (But) Sargon made an armed sortie and defeated them, knocked them over, and crushed their vast army.

Later on, Subartu<sup>4</sup> rose with its multitudes, but it bowed to his military might. Sargon made sedentary this nomadic society.<sup>5</sup> Their possessions he brought into Agade. He took away earth from the (*foundation*)-pits<sup>6</sup> of Babylon and he built upon it a (nother) Babylon beside the town of Agade. On account of the sacrilege he (thus) committed, the great lord Marduk became enraged and destroyed his people by hunger. From the East to the West he alienated<sup>7</sup> (them) from him and inflicted upon [him] (as punishment) that he could not rest (in his grave).<sup>8</sup>

Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, marched against the town of Apishal<sup>9</sup> and made a breach (in its wall to conquer it). He personally caught Rish-Adad, king of Apishal, and the *sukkal* of Apishal. He (also) marched against the country Magan and personally caught Mannu-dannu, king of Magan.<sup>10</sup>

Shulgi,<sup>11</sup> son of Ur-Nammu, took very good care of the town of Eridu which is on the seashore (but) he had evil intentions and he removed the property of the

<sup>3</sup> The British Museum text K 2130, a collection of hepatoscopic omina referring to historical events and personalities (first published in Rawlinson, Vol. IV, Pl. 34, No. 1), gives the name of the king of Kazalla, to wit: Kashubila.

<sup>3a</sup> For this translation of the well-known nouns *illu u karmu* cf. E. F. Weidner in *Mélanges syriens*, II, 924, n.5.

<sup>4</sup> My translation differs from the usual by emending the vertical wedge before *mat* *šu-bir*.<sup>41</sup> The use of the verbs *tebú* and *kamdu* fits much better into the thus corrected phrase, and so does the word *gipšu*, which normally describes an unorganized army and therefore seems more likely to refer to the army of Subartu than to that of Sargon. The lines 15-16 (*abikta-lú-nu im-haš ka-mar-lú-nu iš-kun um-man lú nu rapaštim u-lam-gi-it*) have been omitted as an erroneous repetition of lines 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> Conjectural translation, text in disorder.

<sup>6</sup> This passage (and its parallel in the so-called "Weidner-Chronicle," cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII [NF VIII], 47 ff., rev. 17) has been lately elucidated by Güterbock, in *AJO*, XIII (1940-41), 50, who connected it with *is(s)á* "pit." The passage seems therefore to suggest that the contents (clean earth and sand) of the well-known deep pits under the emplacements of the images were considered endowed with the very essence of the "holiness" which pervaded the image, its temple, and its sacred city.

<sup>7</sup> The subject of all three verbs is necessarily Marduk.

<sup>8</sup> For this punishment, cf. lately E. F. Weidner, *AJO*, XIII (1940-41), 236, n.26.

<sup>9</sup> For this town, cf. I. J. Gelb, *AJSL*, LV (1938), 70 f.

<sup>10</sup> For a recent statement concerning the often discussed problem of the identification of Mannu-dannu (var.: Manium) with Menes, the first king of the list of Manetho, cf. E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (Paris, 1946), pp. 162 ff.; and of Magan with Egypt, cf. A. Ungnad, *AJO*, XIV (1941-44), 199 f.

<sup>11</sup> For the still uncertain reading of this name of the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, formerly often read Dungi, cf. T. Jacobsen, in *BASOR*, 102 (1947), 16 ff., where the transliteration *šay-gi* is proposed.

temple Esagila and of Babylon sacrilegiously. Bel be[came angry] and his corpse (i.e. of Shulgi) he (illegible) him.

Irra-imitti,<sup>12</sup> the king, installed Bel-ibni, the gardener, on his throne as a "substitute king"<sup>13</sup> and he (Irra-imitti) (even) placed his own royal crown on his (i.e. Bel-ibni's) head. (During the ceremonial rule of Bel-ibni) Irra-imitti died in his palace while sip[ping]<sup>14</sup> hot porridge, and Bel-ibni who was (still) sitting on the throne did not rise (any more), he (thus) was elevated to (real) kingship.

Catchline:<sup>15</sup> Ilshuma was king of Assyria in the time of Su(mu)abu (king of Babylon).<sup>16</sup>

## b

Continuation of the preceding text on tablet British Museum 96,152, published by King, *op.cit.*, pp. 121-127; transliteration and translation: *op.cit.*, pp. 17 ff. and Ebeling, *AOT*, 337.

## (obverse 8—reverse 17)

Hammurabi, king of Babylon, called up his army and marched against Rim-Sin, king of Ur. He personally conquered Ur and Larsa, he took their possessions to Babylon. The . . . of . . . he threw down, the [booty of . . .] he carried away.

[Samsuilu]na, king of Babylon, son of Ha[mmura]bi, the king, [did . . . , his army he cal]led up and . . . Rim-Sin . . . he marched. He personally conquered [Ur and Larsa]; [he caught] him alive in the palace. . . . He marched [against . . .] and laid siege . . . its inhabitants.

(end of obverse and beginning of reverse destroyed)  
[Ili]ma-ilum . . . water, he built . . . and made an attack against him . . . , their corpses [filled] the sea. For a second time, Samsuiluna rose to [attack] Ilima-ilum and [he inflicted] a defeat [upon his army].

Abishi (= Abieshuh), son of Samsuiluna, did . . . to defeat Ilima-ilum and he had the idea of damming up the Tigris;<sup>17</sup> he actually dammed up the Tigris, but he did not [catch] Ilima-ilum.

In the time of Samsuditana, the country of Hatti [marched] against Akkad.<sup>18</sup>

Ea-gamil, king of the Sea-Country, [marched] against Elam.

After him, Ulamburiash, brother of Kashiliash, of the country of the Kassites, called up his army and con-

quered the Sea-Country. He held (thus) sway over the (entire) country.

Agum, son of Kashiliash, called up his army and marched against the Sea-Country. He conquered the town Dur-Ea. He demolished the temple é.e.g.a.r.a. u.rù.na<sup>19</sup> of Ea in Dur-Ea.

## HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

## I. SARGON OF AGADE

The tablet is large, with 14 columns on either side, containing copies of inscriptions on votive objects and statues set up in the temple Ekur in Nippur. According to its paleographic features, the tablet was written soon after the rule of the Dynasty of Agade. The inscriptions are those of Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, and of Sargon, Rimush, Manishtusu, kings of Agade. Two fragments of this tablet have been successively published by A. Poebel in *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (Philadelphia, 1914, *UM*, v), Pl. xx, No. 34, and by L. Legrain, *The Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania), xiv (1923), 203 ff., Figs. 42-44. Translations and translations: Poebel (*UM*, iv), 173 ff., Legrain (*UM*, xiv), 12 ff.; G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 101 ff. (Inscription AB.) Latest translation of v-vi 5-52, Ebeling, *AOT*, 338.

## (i-ii 1—iii-iv 44)

Sargon, king of Agade, overseer of Ishtar, king of Kish,<sup>2</sup> anointed priest of Anu, king of the country, great ensi<sup>2</sup> of Enlil; he defeated Uruk and tore down its wall; in the battle with the inhabitants of Uruk he was victorious. Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, he captured in (this) battle, he brought him in a (dog) collar to the gate of Enlil. Sargon, king of Agade, was victorious in the battle with the inhabitants of Ur, the(ir) town he defeated and tore down its wall. He defeated (the town) E-Ninmar and tore down its wall and defeated (also) its (entire) territory from Lagash as far as the sea. His weapon (then) he washed in the sea. In the battle with the inhabitants of Umma he was victorious, the(ir) town he defeated and tore down its wall.

Enlil did not let anybody oppose Sargon, the king of the country. Enlil gave him (the region from) the Upper Sea (to) the Lower Sea. From the Lower Sea onwards, natives of Agade are holding the governorships. Mari and Elam are standing (in obedience) before Sargon, king of the country. Sargon, king of the country, restored Kish, he ordered them to take (again) possession of the(ir) city.

May Shamash destroy the potency<sup>3</sup> and make perish every offspring of whosoever damages this inscription.

Inscription on the pedestal of (a statue of) Sargon, king of the country.

<sup>19</sup> Not in Deimel, *SL*. For the sign a.g.a.r.a., cf. R. T. Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary AO 7661 (AS, No. 7 [1940])*, line 244, = *bīt ku-mu-ri-e* "store house." The name é.e.g.a.r.a. u.rù.na could therefore mean "temple . . . with an urunakku" (cf. Deimel, *SL*, 331/20, for this building (?)).

<sup>1</sup> For this title and its political implications, cf. T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, pp. 181 f.; also, J. Lewy in *HUCA*, xix (1946), 476. Furthermore, p. 274-275, n.2.

<sup>2</sup> Formerly read *pateri*; the new reading has been proposed by A. Falkenstein in *ZA*, xlii (NF viii), 152 ff., and has been generally accepted (cf. F. M. Th. Boehl, *MAOG*, xi [1937], p. 37, n.1, but contrast A. Deimel in *SL*, *Sumerisch-akkadisches Glossar* [Rome, 1934], p. 94a).

<sup>3</sup> This is the exact meaning of the idiom *idā nasāhu*.

<sup>12</sup> The ninth king of the Dynasty of Isin.

<sup>13</sup> cf. for this incident and its background R. Labat, *Le caractère religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939), pp. 103 f., and H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago 1947), pp. 263 f.

<sup>14</sup> According to the very suggestive explanation of A. Ungnad in *Orientalia*, NS xii (1943), 194 ff., this rite was performed on account of an eclipse of the moon which portended evil for the king. For *sarāpu* "to sip," cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, xlii (NF viii), 60, n.2.

<sup>15</sup> This "catchline" (colophon) indicates the first line of the next—here the third—tablet of the series.

<sup>16</sup> The founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon ("Hammurabi Dynasty").

<sup>17</sup> For the strategic use made in war of the changing levels of the Mesopotamian rivers, cf. also the damaged evidence contained in the report on the first campaign of Samsuiluna against Ilimailum of the Sea-Country. cf., further, n.12, p. 270. cf. also *CT*, 36, 4:5 f. (Ashduni-Erim, of Kish).

<sup>18</sup> These words are written, in smaller characters, over the line which separates the paragraphs.

(v-vi 5-52)

... Sargon, king of Kish, was victorious in 34 campaigns and dismantled (all) the cities, as far as the shore of the sea. At the wharf of Agade he made moor ships from Meluhha,<sup>4</sup> ships from Magan,<sup>4</sup> (and) ships from Tilmun.<sup>5</sup> Sargon, the king, prostrated (himself) in prayer before the god Dagan in Tutul<sup>6</sup> (and) he gave (him) the Upper Region (i.e.) Mari, Iarmuti (and) Ibla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountain. Enlil did not let anybody oppose Sargon, the king. 5,400 soldiers ate daily in his palace (lit.: presence).

May Anu destroy the name and Enlil finish off the offspring, Inanna do ... to whosoever destroys this inscription.

Inscription on a statue the pedestal of which is not inscribed.

2. NARAM-SIN IN THE CEDAR MOUNTAIN<sup>1</sup>

The text, published, transliterated, and translated by C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain in *UET*, as No. 275 (Vol. 1, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. II, Pl. LV1) is taken from a collection of late copies (approximately, Dynasty of Isin or First Babylonian Dynasty) made on a clay tablet from inscriptions of the kings of the dynasty of Agade. The copies are negligently made and offer therefore many difficulties.

(i 1—ii 28)

Although since the era of the *si-k[i]-ti<sup>2</sup>* of man(kind) none of the kings has ever destroyed<sup>3</sup> (the towns) Arman and Ibla, *now*<sup>4</sup> the god Nergal did open up the path for the mighty<sup>5</sup> Naram-Sin, and gave him Arman and Ibla, and he presented him (also) with the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain and (with) the Upper Sea. And mighty Naram-Sin slew Arman and Ibla with the "weapon" of the god Dagan who aggrandizes his kingdom. And he ...<sup>6</sup> all the peoples with which Dagan had presented him for the first time,<sup>7</sup> from the Euphrates frontier as far as Ulisum and ...<sup>8</sup> the corvée-basket for his god Amal. And he *overpowered*<sup>9</sup> the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain.

<sup>4</sup> At this period, Magan and Meluhha are probably denominations of still unidentified countries on the eastern shores of Arabia. With the expanding geographical horizon, these names shift constantly towards the southeastern peripheral regions of the known *orbis terrarum*. cf. e.g., W. F. Albright, *JAO*, XI-II (1922), 317 ff.

<sup>5</sup> For this country, its geographical location, and its meaning within a certain type of Mesopotamian literature, cf. S. N. Kramer, *BASOR*, 96 (1944), 18-26; and A. L. Oppenheim, *JAO*, LXXIV (1954), 6-17.

<sup>6</sup> cf. for this town I. J. Gelb in *AJS*, LV (1938), 74.

<sup>1</sup> In the context, the expression "Cedar Mountain" clearly refers to the Amanus, but there are indications that this basically "mytho-geographic" term denotes also a region east of Mesopotamia. cf. S. N. Kramer *BASOR*, 96 (1944), 20 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Though one expects here a reference to the creation of man or the like, the term *šikitu* is difficult to interpret in this sense.

<sup>3</sup> Text: *u-sa-al-bi-tu*.

<sup>4</sup> For *in šu(?)*-e in this very dubious meaning, reference has to be made to Landsberger's guess in *OLZ*, xxxiv (1931), 131.

<sup>5</sup> Translation uncertain; "mighty" is nominative.

<sup>6</sup> Text: *u-ra-is* which is usually interpreted (cf. von Soden, *ZA*, XL1 [NF VII], 170) as "he crushed," but the context and the reference to the corvée-basket suggest a verb (expected: *warā'u*) referring to a transfer of the conquered population for forced labor.

<sup>7</sup> For this translation, cf. Jacobsen in *AJS*, XLVI (1929), 70.

<sup>8</sup> The text seems to have *na šu ni/um* (to *našā'u* "to carry"?) not *na-ab-num*.

<sup>9</sup> Text: *i-ik/g-mu-ur*.

## 3. GUDEA, EN S I OF LAGASH

a

From the "Cylinder A" published by E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884 ff.), Pls. 33-35. Latest translation: G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 205 ff.

(xv 1—xvi 24)

... from Elam came the Elamite(s), from Susa the Susian(s). Magan and Meluhha collected timber from their mountains, and—in order to build the temple of Ningirsu—Gudea brought (these materials) together in his town Girsu.

After the god Ninzagga had given him a (pertinent) order, they brought copper for Gudea, the temple-builder as if it be *ni. š e. m a ḥ*; after the god Ninsikila had given him a (pertinent) order, they brought great willow-logs, ebony-logs, together with a *b b a*-logs to the *ensi*, the temple-builder. Gudea, the *en*-priest of Ningirsu, made a path in(to) the Cedar Mountain which nobody had entered (before); he cut its cedars with great axes. With axes he fashioned (them) for the *sār.ūr*, the "Right Arm of Lagash," the "Floodstorm-Weapon" of his king. (Like) giant snakes, cedar rafts were floating down the water (of the river) from the Cedar Mountain, pine rafts from the Pine Mountain, *z a b a l u m*-wood rafts from the *z a b a l u m*-wood Mountain, and with them were floating down(stream) large rafts with great logs of *ū*-wood, *t u l u b u m*-wood and of *e r a l u m*-wood, in the main quay of Kasurra. ...

[In the quarries which nobody had entered (before), Gudca], the *en*-priest of Ningirsu, *ma[de]* a path and (thus) the stones were delivered in large blocks. Boats (loaded) with *ḥ a l u n a*-stone, boats (loaded) with *n a l u*-stone, they brought to Gudea, *en*-priest of Ningirsu, also bitumen (filled) in buckets, *i g i. e n g u r*-bitumen<sup>1</sup> and gypsum from the mountains of Madga as (if they be) boats bringing in barley from the fields. Many other precious materials were carried to the *c n s i*, the builder of the Ninnu-temple: from the copper mountains of Kimash—(after) the soil had been prospected (for copper ore)—its copper was mined in clusters;<sup>2</sup> gold was delivered from its mine (lit.: mountain) as dust for the *ensi* who wanted to build a house for his king, for Gudea they mined silver from its mine (lit.: mountain), delivered red stone from Meluhha in great amounts. In the *š i r*-quarry, they mined *š i r*-stone (alabaster) for him.

b

From the "Statue B" published by E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884 ff.), Pls. 16 ff., and p. vii. Latest translation: G. A. Barton, *op.cit.*, pp. 181 ff.

(v 21—40, v 53—vi 63)

When he (Gudea) was building the temple of Nin-

<sup>1</sup> Probably, "bitumen from a well."

<sup>2</sup> Text: *u š u b. b a* which could refer to copper ore found in globular druses, rather than describe the way in which the ore was transported from the mine. For *u š u b* "nest, basketlike boat," cf. Deimel, *SL*, 85/242.

girsu, Ningirsu, his beloved king, opened up for him (all) the (trade) routes from the Upper to the Lower Sea. In (lit.: from) the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, he formed into rafts cedar logs 60 cubits long, cedar logs 50 cubits long (and) KU-wood logs 25 cubits long, and brought them (thus) out of the mountain. He fashioned (from this wood) for him (i.e. Ningirsu) the SÁR.ÚR, his Floodstorm-Weapon for the battle, and he made for him the SÁR.GAZ-mace with seven copper knobs (lit.: eyes). In the town Ursu<sup>1</sup> in the mountains of Ibla,<sup>2</sup> he formed into rafts the timber of the mountain region: z a b a l u m -logs, great ù.ku-wood logs and t u l u b u m -logs. He made them into roof beams for (lit.: in) the Ninnu-temple. In (lit.: from) Umanum, in the mountains of Menua, he quarried great blocks of stone (and also) in Basalla, in the mountains of Martu (i.e. the Westland). He made stelae of them and set them up in the courtyard of the Ninnu-temple. From Tidanum<sup>3</sup> in the mountains of Martu (Westland) he brought alabaster in great blocks and fashioned it into u r . p a d . d a -slabs and erected them in the temple as barriers. In KÁ.GAL.AD, a mountain (region) in Kimash, he mined copper and fashioned it into the Mace-of-the-Relentless-Storm. He imported (lit.: brought out) e s i -wood from the mountains of Meluhha and built ( . . . ). He imported n i r -stone and made it into a mace with three lion-heads; from the Hahhum<sup>4</sup>-mountains, he imported gold in dust-form and mounted with it the mace with the three lion-heads. From the mountains of Meluhha he imported gold in dust-form and made (out of it) a container (for the mace). He (also) imported a b r i , he imported willow logs from Gubin in the Willow Mountains and fashioned (them) into the bird(-shaped part) of the SÁR.ÚR-mace. From Madga in the mountains of the Luruda river, he imported bitumen<sup>4</sup> and built (with it) the supporting wall ( k i s a ) of the Ninnu temple. He imported (also) ḥ a . u m -carth. From the mountains of Barsip he loaded n a l u a -stones on large boats and surrounded (with them) the foundation of the Ninnu temple.

## C

"Macehead A," published by E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey, *op.cit.*, Pl. 25 bis, No. 1. Latest translation: G. A. Barton, *op.cit.*, p. 261.

For his king Ningirsu, the powerful hero of Enlil, Gudea, the e n s i of Lagash, had quarried and imported (this) š i r . g a l -stone (marble) from the Uringiraz-mountains of the Upper Sea (Mediterranean Sea) and fashioned (it) into a macehead with three lion-heads, and dedicated it to him for (the preservation of) his life.

<sup>1</sup> cf. for these place names, I. J. Gelb, *AJSL*, LV (1938), 77 and 84.

<sup>2</sup> For the location of this country, cf. A. Poebel, *JNES*, I (1942), 257 f.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Gelb, *AJSL*, LV, 75 f.

<sup>4</sup> Text: e s i r . g ú . ḫ i + KASKAL. For the last sign (not in Deimel, *SL*), cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1898), No. 214.

## Texts from Hammurabi to the Downfall of the Assyrian Empire

The six texts of the first part (Historiographic Documents) illustrate the development of official historiography in Mesopotamia; at the same time, they give the chronological framework (in terms of the sequence of dynasties) and most of the royal names from the First Babylonian Dynasty to the end of the Assyrian domination in Babylonia.

The first text (1) contains the full wording of the names of the forty-three years during which Hammurabi was king of Babylon. The present list is based upon the compilation of A. Ungnad in his article, *Datenlisten*, in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 187 ff., in which he collected the names and arranged them in the sequence indicated by the official lists of abbreviated year-names. Such a list, compiled for obvious practical purposes, is given in the next text (2) which covers the thirty-eight years of the rule of Samsuiluna, son of Hammurabi.

The so-called Babylonian King List B, translated here under (3), shows a further step of this development. It contains the names of all the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon with the lengths of their reigns and—as a rule—their relation to their predecessors. The last line sums up the number of kings and indicates the name of the dynasty. The reverse of the same tablet lists the kings of another dynasty in exactly the same way. The unfortunately damaged tablet known as Babylonian King List A (4) lists first the kings of the Hammurabi Dynasty and continues the sequence of dynasties to the domination of Babylon by Assyrian kings, Kandalanu, the Babylonian successor of Shamashshumukin, being the last name before a break. From this "raw material" the historiographers of later periods compiled such lists as are exemplified in the famous Assyrian King List of Khorsabad, for which I refer—provisionally—to the articles of A. Poebel in the *JNES*, I, 247 ff., 460 ff.; and II, 56 ff. (cf., also, E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, XIV [1944], 362 ff.)

The Synchronistic Chronicle (5) deals with the period covered by the preceding text; its author, however, is not interested in dynasties and lengths of rule, but in relating chronologically, or synchronizing, the kings of Assyria (left column) with those of Babylonia (right column). The basic principle of arrangement is to mention within the same paragraph the names of the kings of one country who ascended the throne during the reign of the king of the other country. As an interesting innovation, the name of the vizier is mentioned in certain cases beside that of the ruling king.

The Excerpts from the Lists of Assyrian Eponyms (6) illustrate these Assyrian historiographic documents as a source of historic information.

### HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

#### I. LIST OF DATE FORMULAE

##### OF THE REIGN OF HAMMURABI

This list has been compiled by A. Ungnad, in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, 178-182. For the official lists containing the abbreviated names of the years of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, cf. the text material collected by Ungnad, *op.cit.*, pp. 164 ff.

1. Hammurabi (became) king.
2. He established justice<sup>1</sup> in the country.

<sup>1</sup> This refers to a royal act aiming at the restoration of the social equity whenever economic or other changes created a discrepancy between the social status established and protected by law (termed *kiṭṭu* "correct/normal [status]") and the needs, or claims, of certain groups of the population. Under such circumstances, it is the official duty of the king to "make (Akk.: *šakānu*, Sum.: *gar*) *mišaru* (Sum.: *nig.si.sá*)" i.e., to readjust the law to the necessities of an ever changing world. In practice, however, *mišaram šakānum* refers probably always to a remission of (certain) debts or to a moratory. cf. also B. Landsberger, *Die baby-*

3. He constructed a throne for the main dais of the god Nanna (var. adds: in the temple é.kiš.šir<sub>3</sub>.gal) in Babylon.
4. The wall of (the sacred precinct) Gagia was built.
5. He constructed the enka.aš.barr<sup>a</sup>.
6. He constructed the šir<sub>3</sub> of the goddess Laz.
7. Uruk and Isin were conquered.
8. The country Emutbal (var.: the land on the embankment of the Shumundar-canal<sup>3</sup>).
9. The canal (called) Hammurabi-hegal (was dug).
10. Army (var.: City) (and) inhabitants of Malgia were crushed.
11. He conquered Rapiqum and Shalibi (var.: Rapiqum and Ibiq-Adad).
12. He constructed a throne for the goddess Sarpanit.
13. A copper stand for a royal statue (and) the pertinent du<sub>3</sub>.maḥ.<sup>4</sup>
14. He constructed a throne for the goddess Inanna of Babylon.
15. The seven statues.
16. He constructed the throne of the god Nabium (Nebo).
17. He made the image of the goddess Inanna of Kibalarru "as high as the sky."
18. He constructed the main dais for Enlil in Babylon.
19. The big wall of Igi-hursag.
20. The year following: "The wall of Igi-hursag." Also: The throne of Meri (i.e., Adad).
21. The wall of the town Bazu<sup>5</sup> was built.
22. The statue of Hammurabi (as) king (granting) justice.
23. The APIN<sup>6</sup> of the wall of Sippar.
24. He redug the tilida<sup>7</sup>-canal for (the benefit of the temple of) Enlil, and (also the bed of) the Euphrates.
25. The great wall of Sippar<sup>8</sup> was built (var.: for the gods Shamash and Shenirda).
26. The great daises of gold.
27. He constructed the main emblem of reddish gold which is carried in front of the army, for the great gods, his helpers.
28. The temple é.na.m.ḥé ("House of Abundance") of Adad in Babylon was built.

lonischen Termini fuer Gesetz und Recht (*Studia et Documenta ad Iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia*, II, pp. 219 ff.) and B. A. Prossdi, *Sar mīšdrim*, titre des rois babyloniens comme législateurs (*ibid.* vol. III, p. 29 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> For this obscure term, cf. Deimel, *SL*, 15/35, and 556/310 and 311.

<sup>3</sup> For the country Sumandar, cf. B. Landsberger, *OLZ*, XIX (1916), 33 f.

<sup>4</sup> cf. A. Schott, *ZA*, XL (NF VI), 20 ff. for this term.

<sup>5</sup> This town was, later on, the seat of a dynasty, cf. p. 272.

<sup>6</sup> For this term which corresponds to Akk. *ušu* and refers to the ledge of a wall, cf. my Mesopotamian Mythology III, *Orientalia*, NS XIX, 138, n.3.

<sup>7</sup> Meaning: "Flowing Vase Canal" (reading after B. Landsberger, *AfO*, XII [1938], 140). For the pertinent implications and the iconographic material, cf. E. (Douglas) van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the God with Streams* (Berlin, 1933).

<sup>8</sup> For the wall of Sippar, cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII (NF VIII), 85. Also, below, n.13.

29. He constructed the image of the goddess Shala.

30. The year following, "He constructed the image of Shala."

Also: The leader, beloved of Marduk, after having defeated the army which Elam—(counting<sup>9</sup>) from the frontier of Marhashi, also Subartu, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgi—had raised in masses, through the mighty power of the great gods, re-established/consolidated the foundations of (the empire of) Sumer and Akkad.

31. (Encouraged) by an oracle (given) by Anu and Enlil who are advancing in front of his army, (and) through the mighty power which the great gods had given to him, he was a match<sup>10</sup> for the country (var.: army) of Emutbal and its king Rim-Sin, and . . . and (thus) forced Sumer and Akkad to (obey) his orders.

32. The hero who proclaims the triumphs of Marduk, overthrew in battle with his powerful weapon the army of Eshnunna, Subartu (and) Gutium and was a match (also) for the country Mankizum and the country along the bank of the Tigris as far as (the frontier of) the country Subartu.

33. He redug the canal (called) "Hammurabi-(spells)-abundance-for-the-people, the Beloved-of-Anu-and-Enlil," (thus) he provided Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Uruk (and) Isin with a permanent and plentiful water supply, and reorganized Sumer and Akkad from (its) confusion (lit.: scattering). Mari and Malgi he overthrew in battle and made Mari, and . . . and also several other cities of Subartu, by a friendly agreement, (listen) to his orders.

34. He built the temple é.tùr.kalam.ma ("Fold of the Country") for Anu, Inanna and Nana.

35. Upon the command of Anu and Enlil he destroyed the wall(s) of Mari and Malgia.

36. He restored the temple é.me.te.ur.sag ("The Pride of the Hero") and built the temple tower, the mighty abode of Zababa<sup>11</sup> (and) Inanna, whose top is sky-high and (thus) he greatly increased the glamor of Zababa as well as of Inanna in a pious manner.

37. Through the great power of Marduk he overthrew the army of (var.: Sutium), Turukku, Kakmu and of the country Subartu.

38. Upon the command of Anu and Enlil—and with the splendid wisdom with which Marduk has endowed him—he . . . Eshnunna which a flood had destroyed<sup>12</sup> . . .

39. With the mighty power which Anu (and) Enlil have given him, he defeated all his enemies as far as the country of Subartu.

<sup>9</sup> The translation of this year name follows T. Jacobsen, *Philological Notes on Eshnunna and Its Inscriptions* (*AS*, No. 9 [1934]), p. 7.

<sup>10</sup> The text uses the verb *si...sá* which, in legal texts, means "to correspond in value."

<sup>11</sup> The reading Ilbaba (cf. R. Labat, in *Revue des études sémitiques* 1942-45/1, pp. 1-8) has to be abandoned (cf. E. F. Weidner, *AfK*, II, 1925, p. 13 n. 1, 7, *AfO*, XIII, 1939-40, p. 318).

<sup>12</sup> The reference to the wisdom which inspired this warlike exploit seems to suggest an attack made by Hammurabi upon the stricken city. This would offer an interesting parallel to the incident reported by the Pharaoh Pi-ankhi at the conquest of Memphis.

40. He made the temple é. m e s. l a m ("Temple of the spreading m e s -tree") as high as a mountain.

41. The goddess Tashmetum (who listens) to his supplication.

42. After the year "Tashmetum."

Also: He made the great wall at the embankment of the Tigris high as a mountain, called its name "Pier of Shamash," and built also the wall of Rapiqu at the embankment of the Euphrates.

43. (As to) Sippar, the primeval city of the sun-god Utu, he provided (it) with a wall made of piled-up earth.<sup>13</sup>

## 2. LIST OF YEAR NAMES:

### SAMSUILUNA, KING OF BABYLON

British Museum Bu 91-5-9,284, published in *CT*, vi, Pls. 9 f. (rev. iii 45—iv 35) and by L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, etc. (London, 1898 f.), II, Nos. 101, 217 ff. Latest translation: A. Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, Nos. 146-183, p. 165 f.

Year: Samsuiluna (became) king.

Year: He established freedom (from taxation)<sup>1</sup> for Sumer and Akkad.

Year: Canal *Samsuiluna-naqab-nuḫši* ("Samsuiluna is a source of prosperity [for the people]").

Year:<sup>2</sup> Canal *Samsuiluna-ḫ e g a l* ("Samsuiluna is a-bundance").

Year: b i z e m<sup>3</sup> -throne.

Year: Statues of adorants.

Year: Emblem weapon.

Year: Copper stand for royal statue.

Year: Kassite army.

Year: Army of Idamaras.

Year: Wall of Uruk. (10)

Year: All the enemies.

Year: Kisurra as well as Sabu.

Year: The evil usurper-king.

Year: The wall of Isin was demolished.

Year: The sky-reaching wall.

Year: The several great walls.

Year: é. b a b b a r (the temple of the sun-god) Utu in Sippar.

Year: The two golden thrones for the dais.

Year: The rebellious (lit.: not obedient) foreign countries. (20)

Year: The throne for the great dais.

Year: The temple tower, the mighty abode.

Year: (Through) the terrible power.

Year: The wall of Kish.

<sup>13</sup> cf. W. F. Albright in *BASOR*, 88 (1942), 33, for this date formula; also, A. Poebel in *AJO*, ix (1933-4), 283 f.

<sup>1</sup> cf. for this institution, E. F. Weidner, *ZA*, XLIII (NF IX), 122.

<sup>2</sup> Break in the tablet; restored after BrM No. 16,324 published by King, *op.cit.*, No. 102, p. 231.

<sup>3</sup> The sign which appears here is explained in the syllabary Poebel, *UM*, v, 108:7 as *pi-s[a]-an-nu*, Sumerian reading: [b i] . z é . e m . It recurs in the list of names of gods *CT*, xxv, 27c (K 2117), line 8, with the gloss b i . z i . è m while the parallel passage (*CT*, xxiv, 48, K 4349B, line 17) has clearly *pi sa na s*. These quotations have been indicated to me by Dr. F. W. Geers. The *bizem*-throne could etymologically be explained as a "covered throne," because *bizem* (which through the process of *Rückentlehnung* became *pisannu* "box" in Akkadian) seems to be a loan from a Semitic word (*psn/m* "to cover").

Year: (His) statue brandishing the weapon.

Year: (In) the mountains of Amurru.

Year: A shining votive object.

Year: Upon the command of Enlil.

Year following (the year): Upon the command of Enlil.

Year following (the year): Following (the year): Upon the command of Enlil. (30)

Year: His statue of n i m -wood he [fashioned].

Year: He redug the canal Durul and Taban.<sup>4</sup>

Year: The town Kagaratum.

Year: The palace of rulership.

Year: (The countries) Amal (and) Arkum.

Year: The army of (the country of) Amurru.

Year: In the land Akkad.

Year: Ubanuil (name of the mace of Ninurta).

38 year-(names) of king Samsuiluna.

(Written) Aiaru 2nd (of)

the year: Ammi-zaduga (son of Samsuiluna, became) king.

## 3. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST B

British Museum 80,11-12-3 (now No. 38122), published by H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (1889), p. 145, and P. Rost, *MVAG*, II/2 (1897), 240. Latest translation: E. Ebeling in *AOT*, 332.

(obverse)

Sumuabi,<sup>1</sup> king, 15<sup>2</sup> years.

Sumulail,<sup>1</sup> 35 years.

Sabu, his son, same (i.e. king) 14 years.

Apil-Sin, his son, same, 18 years.

Sinmuballit, his son, same, 30 years.

Hammurabi,<sup>1</sup> his son, same, 55 years.

Samsuiluna,<sup>1</sup> his son, same, 35 years.

Ebishum,<sup>1</sup> his son, same, 25 years.

Ammiditana,<sup>1</sup> same, 25 years.

Ammisaduga,<sup>1</sup> same, 22(!) years.

Samsuditana(!),<sup>1</sup> same, 31 years.

Eleven kings, dynasty of Babylon.

(reverse)

Uruku(g): Ilimailum, king.

Ittiilnibi.

Damqiilishu.

Ishkibal.

Shushshi.

Gulkishar.

Peshgaldaramash, his son, same (i.e. king).

Adarakalama, his son, same.

Akurulanna.

Melamkurkurra.

Eagam[il].

Ten (*sic*) kings, dynasty of Uruku(g).

<sup>4</sup> For the names of these canals, cf. the inscription of Samsuiluna published by A. Poebel, *AJO*, ix (1933-4), 241 ff., col. ii 27.

<sup>1</sup> For these names (meaning and language), cf. Th. Bauer, *Die Ostkaananäer* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 10, 13, 19, and 38.

<sup>2</sup> For the figures of this list, cf. A. Poebel, *The Use of Mathematical Mean Values in Babylonian King List B* (Study v, *Miscellaneous Studies*=AS, No. 14 [1947]).

## 4. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST A

BrM No. 33332; published by T. G. Pinches, *PSBA*, vi (1884), pp. 193 f. (CT, xxxvi, Pls. 24-25); H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 146-147; P. Rost, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (MVAG, II/2, 1897), 241-242. Latest translation: Ebeling in *AOT*, 332-333.

## (i)

(11 lines missing)

[...] (years), 11 kings, dyn[asty of Babylon]  
 60 (years) Ilima<sup>1</sup>  
 56 Ittili  
 36 Damqiili  
 15 Ishki  
 26 Shushshi, brother  
 55 Gulki...<sup>2</sup>  
 50 Peshgal  
 28 Aiadara  
 26 Ekurul  
 7 Melamma  
 9 Eaga  
 368 (sic) (years), 11 kings, dynasty of Uruku(g)  
 16 Gandash  
 12 Agum the First, his son  
 22 Kashtiliashi  
 8 Ushshi, his son  
 [...] Abirattash  
 [...] Tazzigurumash

## (ii)

(more than 13 lines missing)

x + 22 (years) [...]  
 26 [...]  
 18 [...]  
 [...] Kadesh [...]  
 6 Kudur-[Enlil], his [so]n  
 13 Shagarak[ti], his [so]n  
 8 Kashtil, his son  
 1 year 6 months Ellilnadinshumi  
 1 year 6 months Kadashman-Harbe  
 6 Adadnadinshumi  
 30 Adadshumnasir  
 15 Melishipak  
 13 Mardukaplaiddin, his son  
 1 year Zababa[shumiddin]  
 3 Ellilnadin[ahhe]  
 576 (years) 9 months, 36 king[s, dynasty of ...].  
 17 (years) Marduk[shapikzeri]  
 6 ...

(destroyed)

## (iii)

(destroyed)

22 (years) [...]  
 1 year 6 months Marduka[hheriba]

<sup>1</sup> The names of the kings of this dynasty appear here in abbreviated forms; cf. King List B for the full names.

<sup>2</sup> Follows one horizontal wedge (as between lines 5 and 6) of obscure meaning.

12 Mardukzer [...]

8 Nabushum[libur]

132 (years) 6 months, 11 kings, dynasty of Isin.

18 (years) Simmashshi

5 months Eamukin

3 (years) Kashshunadinahhe

21 (years) 5 months, 3 kings, dynasty of the Sea Country.

17 (years) Eulmashshakinshumi

3 Ninurtakudurra

3 months Shi[riqti]-Shuqamu

20 (years) 3 months, 3 kings, dynasty of Bas[u].

6(?) (years) I [...]

38(?) (years) [...]

8 months 12 [days ...]

(destroyed)

## (iv)

(destroyed)

[...] Nabushumishkun [his] s[on]

[...] Nabun[asir]

2 (years) Nabunadinzeri, his son,

1 month 12 days Nabushumukin, his son,

22 (years or kings?), dynasty of E.

3 (years) Ukinzer, dynasty of Shashi

2 Pulu<sup>3</sup>5 Ululaia,<sup>4</sup> dynasty of Bal-til<sup>5</sup>

12 Mardukaplaiddin, dynasty of the Sea Country,

5 Sargon

2 Sennacherib, dynasty of Habigal,

1 month Mardukzakirshumi, son of Ardu,

9 months Mardukaplaiddin, a native of Habi,

3 (years) Belibni, dynasty of E,

6 Ashurnadinshumi, dynasty of Habigal,

1 Nergalushezib

5 Ushezib-Marduk, dynasty of E,

8 Sennacherib

[...] Esarhaddon

[...] Shamashshum<sup>6</sup>[...] Kandal<sup>7</sup>

(destroyed)

## 5. THE SYNCHRONISTIC CHRONICLE

Istanbul, Assur 14616c; latest publication by E. F. Weidner, *Die grosse Königsliste aus Assur, AfO*, III (1926), 66-70 (copy: 70-71). Latest translation: Ebeling, *AOT*, 333-335.

## (i)

(destroyed)

Ad[asi, same (i.e., king of Assyria)] [Damiqilishu, same (i.e., king of Babylon)]

<sup>3</sup> = Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (744-727).

<sup>4</sup> = Shalmaneser V of Assyria (726-722).

<sup>5</sup> The name of this town (BAL-BAD OF BAL-TIL) was discussed recently by J. Lewy in *HUCA*, XIX (1946), 467 ff. (especially, n.305), who considered it as denoting the "innermost, and, hence, oldest part of the city of Assur."

<sup>6</sup> Short for Shamashshumukin, son of Esarhaddon and brother of Ashurbanipal.

<sup>7</sup> Short for Kandalanu (formerly identified with Ashurbanipal), a Babylonian successor of Shamashshumukin ruling in Babylon for 22 years. cf. W. H. Dubberstein, *JNES*, III (1944), 38 ff.



Belbani, same	I[shk]ib[al, same]	Ashurbelkala, same	[Mardukahheriba, same]
Lubaia, same	Shush[i, same]	same same	[Mardukzer- . . . ]
Sharma-Adad, same	Gulkisha[r, same]	same same	[Nabushumlibûr, same]
LĪK.KUD-Shamash, same	[ . . . ]en[ . . . , same]		(iii)
Bazaia, same	Pesh[gal]daramash, same	Eriba Adad, king	
Lulla, same	Aiadarakamma, same	[of Assyria]	
Shininua, same	Ekurulanna, same		[NN his vizier . . . ]
Sharma-Adad, same	Mela[m]kurra, same	Shamshi-Adad, same	Ea[mukinshumi, same]
Erishu <sup>1</sup>	Eagamil, G[and]ush, same	Ashurnasirpal, same	Kashshu[nadinahhe, same]
Shamshi-Adad, same	[Ag]um, the former, his son, same	Shulmanuasharidu, same	Ulmash[shakinshumi, same]
same same	Kashtil[a]shu, same	Ashurnirari, same	Ninurtaku[durrausur, same]
same same	Abirattash, same		Shiriqui[Shuqamuna, same]
same same	Kashtil[ashu, same]	Ashurreshishi, same	Marbiti[aplausur, same]
same same	Tazzigurumash, same	Tukultiapilesharra, same	[Nabumukin]apli, same
same same	Harba[shipa]k, same	same same	[Ninurtakudurr]ausur, same
same same	Tiptakzi, same		[Marbiti]ahiddin, same
same same	Agu[m], same		. . . his vizier
[Ishme]-Dagan, same	Burnab[uri]ash, same	Ashurdan, same	Shamashmudammīq, king of Babylon
[Shamshi]-Adad, same	. . .	Adad-nirari	same
[Ashurnira]ri, same	Kashtil[ashu, same]		Qalia [his vizier]
[Puzur-Ashur], same	Ula[mb]uri[ash, same]	Tukulti-Ninurta, same	Nabushum[ukin, same]
[Enli]lnasir, same	same	Gabbiilaniresh	[his] vizier
[Nu]rili, same	same	Ashurnasirpal, same	Nabuaplaidin
[Ashurshadu]ni, same	same	Gabbiilaniresh	[his] vizi[er]
		Shulmanuasharidu, same	[Nabuzakirshumi, same]
		[Me]luhhaia [his] vi[zier]	(destroyed)
			(iv)
(ii)		Sennacherib	
(one line destroyed)		([Sīn]ahhēriba), king	
Tukulti-[Ninurta, king of Assyria]	[Kashtiliash . . . ]	of Assyria	[and of Babylon]
. . .	[NN his vizier]	Nabuaplaidin [his] vizier	(anepigraph)
Ashurnadinapli, same	[Enlilnadinshumi, same]		[for two] years Sennacherib was king of Akkad;
same same	Ka[dashmanharbe, same]		then the inhabitants of Akkad
[A]shurnirari, same	Adad[shumiddin, same]		revolted and
Enlilkudurrausur, same	same		Ashurnadinshumi, the
[Ni]nurtaapilekur, same	Adad-shumiddin, same		father [ceded] him the throne, <sup>2</sup>
same same	M[el]ish[i]pak, same		Nergalushezib, son of
same same	[Marduk]aplaiddin, same		Gahul,
[Ashurdan], same	Zababa[shumiddin, same]		Mushezib-Marduk, a
same same	[Enlil]nadin[ahhe, same]		native <sup>3</sup> of Bit-Dakkuri
Ninurtatukulti-Ashur, same	Marduk[shapikzeri, same]		were the kings of
Mutakkil-Nusku, same	[NN his vizier]		[Ak]kad.
Ashurreshishi, same	Ninurta[nadinshumi, same]		
same same	Nabukudurrausur, same	Sennacherib	
same same	Enlilnadinapli, same		
Tukultiapil[e]sarra, same	[Marduk]nadinahhe, same		
Ash[arid]apilekur, same	Itti-Mardukbalati, same		
	NN his vizier		
Ashurbelkala, same	Marduk[shapikzermati, same]		
Ashurbelkala, same	Adad[aplaiddin, same]		
		Sennacherib, king of Assyria	and of Babylon,
		Belupahhir (and)	Kalbu, his viziers;

<sup>1</sup> First of the royal names of the present list to be mentioned (as No. 33) in the Assyrian King List of Khorsabad, cf. A. Poebel in *JNES*, 1 (1942), 282.

<sup>2</sup> cf. for this passage E. F. Weidner in *AfO*, III (1926), 75 f.

<sup>3</sup> cf. below p. 308, n.9 for a possible different interpretation of the phrase *mār Bit Dakḫūri*.

Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and of Babylonia

Nabuzerlishir (and) Ishtarshumeresh, his viziers,  
Ashurbanipal, same Shamashshumukin, same  
Ashurbanipal, same Kandalanu, same  
Ishtarshumeresh, his vizier.

82 kings of Assyria from (the time of) Erishu, son of Ilushuma, to Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon (correspond to)  
98 kings of Akkad from (the time of) Sumulail to Kandalanu.

#### 6. EXCERPTS FROM THE LISTS OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMS

In contradistinction to the Babylonian custom (attested from the time of the kings of Agade to that of the Kassite rulers) of naming each year after an important event, the Assyrians used the names of certain high officials for the same purpose. The first (full) year of the reign of a king is always named after himself, the following years have originally been named after that official who won when lots were thrown to determine the eponym.<sup>1</sup> Later on, the position of the official within the hierarchy was decisive for the sequence, the highest official (*tartanu*) following the king immediately, while important palace officers (such as, e.g. the *nāgir ekalli* "overseer of the royal property," the chief cupbearer, etc.) and the governors of the foremost provinces took their turn in well-established order. After the exhaustion of all eligible candidates for the office of the *limu*, within the rule of one and the same king, the sequence of officials started anew, beginning with the king.

For the throwing of lots (done by means of a "die" called *pāru* thrown into a bowl), cf. E. F. Weidner, *AFO*, XIII (1941), 308 f.;<sup>2</sup> for the sequence of officials, cf. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1921), after p. 6, with an instructive diagram.

For practical and chronological purposes, the Assyrian scribes made elaborate lists<sup>3</sup> of the names of the *limu*-officials which either contain only name and rank (termed by Delitzsch: C[anon]<sup>a</sup>) or additional short notices referring to historical events (C<sup>b</sup>).<sup>4</sup> These lists have been studied and edited repeatedly, the most recent studies being those of A. Ungnad in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, sub Eponym, 412-457, and E. F. Weidner, *AFO*, XIII (1941), 308-318.

The following excerpts utilize A. Ungnad's transliteration and restoration of C<sup>b</sup> on pp. 428 ff., to the arrangement of which the numbering of lines refers.

(Reign of Adad-nirari II)  
(obverse)

(15) [In the eponymat of Ashurbaltinishe, (governor) of Arra]pha:

(campaign) against the sea; a plague.

(Reign of Shalmaneser IV)

(43) [In the eponymat of] Pali[erish, (governor) of Ras]appa:

<sup>1</sup> For literature on *pāru*, cf. J. Lewy, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, v (1939), 117 ff. (especially p. 117, n.2); also, A. Ungnad, in *Reallexikon*, II, 412, n.2; E. F. Weidner, *AFO*, XIII (1941), 308.

<sup>2</sup> Such a "die" has been preserved—as Weidner has ingeniously established—and is published in F. J. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria* (YOS, Vol. IX), No. 73, and Pl. XLV.

<sup>3</sup> The possibility that the rows of stela found in Ashur are meant to serve as a sort of monumental "index" of *limu*-officials, has been discussed by A. Ungnad, *op.cit.*, p. 412. These officials would then have had two essentially royal prerogatives: to give their name to the year and to set up stela.

<sup>4</sup> Various other types of such lists (rarely attested, however) are mentioned by Ungnad, *op.cit.*, p. 414.

(campaign) against Damascus (*Di-maš-qa*).  
(Reign of Tiglath-pileser III)  
(reverse)

(40) [In the eponymat of Beldan], (governor) of Kalha:

(campaign) against Palestine (*maš Pi-liš-ta*).

(41) [In the eponymat of Ashurdanninanni], (governor) of Mazzamua:

(campaign) against Damascus (*Di-maš-qa*).

(42) [In the eponymat of Nabubelusu]r, (governor) of Si'me:

(campaign) against Damascus (*Di-maš-qa*).

#### HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

This part contains the records which ten kings of Assyria have left us—on stone slabs, clay foundation documents, inscribed stela, etc.—of their campaigns for the conquest of Syria, Palestine, the island of Cyprus, Arabia, and, eventually, of Egypt.

#### I. SHAMSHI-ADAD I (ABOUT 1726-1694):<sup>1</sup>

##### FIRST CONTACT WITH THE WEST

L. Messerschmidt, *KAH*, I, No. 2. Transliteration and translation: B. Meissner, in *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, (*Altorientalische Bibliothek*), I (Leipzig, 1926), 24 f.

(iv 4—17)

At that time, I received in my town Ashur the tribute<sup>2</sup> of the kings of Tukrish and of the kings of the Upper Country.<sup>3</sup> I erected a stela (inscribed) with my great name in the country Lab'an (*La-ab-a-an*<sup>4</sup>) on the shore of the Great Sea.

#### 2. TIGLATH-PILESER I (1114-1076): EXPEDITIONS TO SYRIA, THE LEBANON, AND THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

a

Foundation document (clay) of the Anu-Adad temple in Ashur. Published by O. Schroeder, in *KAH*, II, No. 68. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, I, §§300-303. cf. also Schroeder, *JSOR*, x, 291.

(1—29)

Tiglath-pileser, the legitimate<sup>1</sup> king, king of the world,<sup>2</sup> king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rims (of

<sup>1</sup> The dates given after the names of Assyrian kings are those of A. Poebel in *JNES*, II (1943), pp. 85-88.

<sup>2</sup> For the various terms appearing in the historical texts with the approximate meaning "tribute" or the like—such as *biltu*, *mandatu*, *mihirtu*, etc.—cf. W. J. Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyriern*, *Studia Orientalia*, VIII (1936), 20 ff. The hendiadys *biltu mandatu* is, in the present pages, translated by one English term (to wit, "tribute"), because it is not admissible to render literally the well-known stylistic feature of the Akkadian (cf. H. Ebelolf, *Ein Wortfolgeprinzip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, *LSS*, VI/3 [1916]) to use two nearly synonymous nouns to express one concept on the level of a solemn and dignified diction. Therefore I translate, e.g., *qablu (u) idhazu* simply with "battle," *bāsu (u) makḫuru* with "possessions," *kitu (u) misaru* with "justice," etc.

<sup>3</sup> cf. B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen, 1930), p. 10.

<sup>4</sup> In the title *lugal.kala.ga* (Akk.: *šarru dannu*), the adjective *kala (g)* or *dannu* has a definite meaning which is difficult to render exactly. From such references as e.g. *našparu dannu* (cf. below p. 309, n.4), *sukḫallu dannu* ("regular *sukḫallu*-official"), etc., the meaning "legitimate, orderly, correct" results (cf. also Deimel, *SL*, 322/18 for the Sum. verb *kala (g)* "to deliver regularly"), while other references point towards *dannu* in the meaning "potent, full-grown, powerful." With regard to the ancient Near Eastern concept of kingship, it seems possible that the title is meant to express both aspects: the legitimacy of the ruler and his full personal vigor, both being equally essential prerequisites for the exercise of kingship.

<sup>2</sup> For the history of this age-old royal title, cf. p. 267, n.1. The rendering

the earth), the courageous hero who lives (guided) by the trust-inspiring oracles given (to him) by Ashur and Ninurta, the great gods and his lords, (and who thus) overthrew (all) his enemies; son of Ashurreshishi, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, also king of the world, king of Assyria.

At the command of my lord Ashur I was a conqueror (lit.: my hand conquered) from beyond the Lower Zab River to the Upper Sea which (lies towards) the West. Three times I did march against the Nairi countries. The widespread Nairi countries I conquered from the country Tumme as far as Daiaeni, Himua, and even as far as Paiteri and Habbhi. I made bow to my feet 30 kings of the Nairi countries, I took hostages from them. I received as their tribute horses, broken to the yoke. I imposed upon them (regular) tribute and *amartu*-gifts.

I went to the Lebanon (*Lab-na-a-ni*). I cut (there) timber of cedars for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and carried (them to Ashur). I continued (my march) towards the country of Amurru. I conquered the entire country of Amurru. I received tribute from Byblos (*Gu-bal*), Sidon (*Si-du-ni*), and Arvad (*Ar-mu-da*). I crossed over in ships (belonging) to Arvad, from Arvad which is on the seashore, to the town Samuri which (lies) in Amurru (a distance of) 3 double-miles overland. I killed a narwhal<sup>2</sup> which they call "sea horse," on high sea.

And (afterwards) on my return march (towards Ashur) I subjected the entire country of Great-Hatti, I imposed upon Ili-Teshup, king of Great-Iatti a tribute of [...] talents [of ...] and of cedar beams.

## b

Two excerpts from a fragmented octagonal prism (perhaps the foundation document of the royal palace). Published by O. Schroeder, in *KAH*, II, No. 63. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, I, §§286 and 287.

## (ii 10—16)

Upon the command of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I went to the Lebanon mountains (*šadē Lab-na-ni*), I cut cedar beams for the temple of Anu and Adad.

(iii 3—14 = *KAH*, II, 71 [tablet] 19—23)

I twenty-eight times (I fought) the Ahlamu peoples and the Arameans, (once) I even crossed the Euphrates twice in one year. I defeated them from Tadmar (Palmyra) which (lies) in the country Amurru, Anat<sup>4</sup> which (lies) in the country Suhu as far as the town Rapiqu which (lies) in Kar-Duniash (i.e. Babylonia). I brought their possessions as spoils to my town Ashur.

## c

Rock Inscription from Sebeh-Su. Published first by Rawlinson, Vol. III, Pl. 4, No. 6, and again by F. Lehmann-Haupt, in *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (Abh. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen NF IX/3, 1907).

"King of the world" does not do justice to the complex political and colonial implications involved.

<sup>2</sup>For *nāhiru* "narwhal," cf. B. Landsberger and I. Krumbiegel, *Die Götter des alten Mesopotamiens etc.* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 142.

<sup>3</sup>For the town Anat, cf. J. Lewy in *HUCA*, XIX, 431, n.18.

No. 7 (cf. also King, *AKA*, p. 127, n.1). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, I, §271.

With the help of Ashur (and) Shamash, the great gods, my lords, I, Tukultiapilesarra, king of Assyria, son of Ashurreshishi, king of Assyria, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, likewise king of Assyria, am a conqueror (of the regions) from the Great Sea which is in the country Amurru as far as the Great Sea which is in the Nairi country. I have marched three times against the Nairi country.

## 3. ASHURNASIRPAL II (883-859):

## EXPEDITION TO CARCHEMISH AND THE LEBANON

From the annals inscribed on the large pavement slabs of the temple of Ninurta in Calah, the new royal residence built by Ashurnasirpal II. Published by Rawlinson, Vol. I, Pls. 17-26; also, by King, *AKA*, p. 254 ff. (with transliteration and translation) and I. Y. Le Gac, *Les inscriptions de Aššur-našir-aplu III* (Paris, 1907), p. 3 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, I, §§475-479.

## (iii 64—90)

I departed from the country Bit-Adini and crossed the Euphrates at the peak of its flood by means of (rafts made buoyant with inflated) goatskin (bottle)s. I advanced towards Carchemish. (There) I received from him(self) the tribute of Sangara, the king of the Hittites (amounting to): 20 talents of silver, a *sa'aru* object of gold, a ring of gold, golden daggers, 100 talents of copper, 250 talents of iron, (furthermore) bull-images<sup>1</sup> of copper, copper basin-and-ewer sets<sup>2</sup> for washing, a copper brazier—(all) his own furniture,<sup>3</sup> the weights of which were not taken (separately),—(furthermore) beds of boxwood,<sup>4</sup> a *šti*-chairs<sup>5</sup> of boxwood, tables of boxwood, (all) inlaid with ivory, also 200 young females (clad in) linen garments with multi-colored trimmings<sup>6</sup> made of dark and reddish purple (dyed) wool, (also) alabaster, elephants' tusks (and even) a shining chariot (and) a golden *nimattu*-chair<sup>7</sup> with panels<sup>8</sup>—his (own) royal insignia. I took over the chariot (-corps), the cavalry (and) the infantry of Carchemish. The kings of all (surrounding) countries came to me, embraced my feet and I took hostages from them and they marched (with me) towards the Lebanon (*Lab-na-na*) forming my vanguard.

<sup>1</sup> This translation is based upon the variants *am* "wild bull," and *dingir* "(image of a) god," describing the very same object. cf. for these variants, L. W. King, *AKA*, I, 366, n.3.

<sup>2</sup> The words *haritu* and *narmaktu* refer to the two containers needed in the Orient for washing and taking a bath: a spouted vessel to pour the water and a recipient with wide opening to collect it. cf. the corresponding Egyptian word *hmn*.

<sup>3</sup> Literally: "furniture of his palace": the term *ekallu* denotes in Mesopotamia the personal property of the king.

<sup>4</sup> The reading *taskarinnu* (instead of *\*urkarinnu*) was indicated to me by Dr. B. Landsberger, who made reference to syllabic spellings in Old-Assyrian and texts from Nuzi as well as to Aram. *'ekra* "boxwood."

<sup>5</sup> The Sumerian words *a šti* or *a šte* denote a special type of chair, often a royal throne.

<sup>6</sup> This refers to linen garments decorated with sewn-on narrow woven bands or tresses made of wool thread in various colors (termed *birnu*). This typically Syrian technique is often depicted on Egyptian murals and reliefs. The Assyrian kings mention these garments always in their reports on booty or tribute received from Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine.

<sup>7</sup> A certain type of easy chair.

<sup>8</sup> For the technical terms *ihzu* "frame, border, mounting" and *tamlā* "panel, filling," cf. e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tash* (Paris 1931), p. 139.

Einnahme von Jerusalem," *VT*, Supplement iv (1957), pp. 67-95; E. Auerbach, "Wann eroberte Nebukadnezar Jerusalem?" *VT*, xi (1961), pp. 128-136; A. F. Johns, "The Military Strategy of Sabbath Attacks on the Jews," *VT*, xii (1963), pp. 482-486.

BM 21946: r. 5-15 (Years 4 to 8 of Nebuchadnezzar II, 601-597 B.C.)

Year 4: The king of Akkad sent out his army and marched into Hatti land. [They marched] unopposed through Hatti land. In the month of Kislimu he took the lead of his army and marched toward Egypt. The king of Egypt heard (of it) and sent out his army; they clashed in an open battle and inflicted heavy losses on each other. The king of Akkad and his army turned back and [returned] to Babylon.

Year 5: The king of Akkad (stayed) in his country. He organized his chariots and many horses.

Year 6, month Kislimu: The king of Akkad moved his army into Hatti land. He dispatched his army from Hatti land, they raided the desert, took much booty from the land of the Arabs, (also) their herds and divine images in great number. In the month Addaru, the king returned to his country.

Year 7, month Kislimu: The king of Akkad moved his army into Hatti land, laid siege to the city of Judah (*Ia-a-hu-du*) and the king took the city on the second day of the month Addaru. He appointed in it a (new) king of his liking, took heavy booty from it and brought it into Babylon.

Year 8, month Tehetu: The king of Akkad (went) into Hatti land as far as Carchemish [...] from [...] and in the month Shabatu he returned to his country.

## The Assyrian King List

There are three copies extant (apart from the small fragment *KAV*, 15) of the composition known today as "The Assyrian King List"; one was published by E. Nassouhi, "Grande Liste des rois d'Assyrie" in *AfO*, iv (1927), pp. 1-11, the two others by I. J. Gelb, "Two Assyrian King Lists" in *JNES*, xiii (1954), pp. 209-30. The first comes from the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (no reference to provenience known), the second from Khorsabad (*Dūr-Šarru-kin*) and the third is deposited in the Seventh-Day Adventist Theological Seminary in Washington, D.C., and is likewise of unknown origin. While the shape of the Istanbul tablet cannot be ascertained because of its bad state of preservation, the other two tablets are clearly in the form of amulet texts (see Erica Reiner, *JNES*, xix, [1960], pp. 148 ff.). The contents are practically the same in all these instances but for the fact that the tablets were written at different periods and hence the sequences of the Assyrian kings are brought to different points in time. Thus, the tablet from Istanbul ends with the year 935 B.C., the Khorsabad copy with 745 B.C., and the tablet from Washington with 722 B.C.

The tablets have been repeatedly studied with regard to their value as documents bearing on the history of Assyria, cf. A. Poebel, "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad" in *JNES*, i (1942), pp. 247-306, 460-92; ii (1943), pp. 59-60; I. J. Gelb in the aforementioned article; E. F. Weidner, "Bemerkungen zur Königsliste aus Chorsābād" in *AfO*, xv (1945-51), pp. 85-102; B. Landsberger, *JCS*, viii (1954), pp. 33-43, 47-73 and 106-114; F. R. Kraus, "Könige, die in Zelten wohnten," *Mededeelingen*

*der koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Af. Letterkunde Nieuwe Reeks*—Deel 28, No. 2 (Amsterdam, 1965)

(i)

Tudiya, Adamu, Yangi, Kitlamu, Harharu, Mandari, Imsu, Harsu, Didanu, Hanu, Zuabu, Nuabu, Abazi, Belu, Azarah, Ushpiya, Apiashal—

Total: 17 kings living in tents.

Aminu (was) the son of Ilu-kabkabi, Ilu-kabkabi the son of Yazkur-ilu, Yazkur-ilu the son of Yakmeni, Yakmeni the son of Yakmesi, Yakmesi the son of Ilu-Mer, Ilu-Mer the son of Hayani, Hayani the son of Samanu, Samanu the son of Hale, Hale the son of Apiashal, (and) Apiashal the son of Ushpiya—

Total: 10 kings who are ancestors.<sup>1</sup>

Sulilu son of Amini, Kikkiya, Akiya, Puzur-Ashur (I), Shallim-ahhe, Ilu-shuma—

Total: 6 kings [mentioned on] brick (inscriptions); their (lists of) eponyms are missing.<sup>2</sup>

Erishu (I) son of Ilu-shuma whose [...]; he ruled as king for 40 years.

Ikunu son of Erishu; he ruled as king for [x years].

Sharru-kin (I) son of Ikunu; he ruled as king for [x years].

Puzur-Ashur (II) son of Sharru-kin; he ruled as king for [x] years.

Naram-Sin son of Puzur-Ashur; he ruled as king for [x] years.

Erishu (II) son of Naram-Sin; he ruled as king for [x] years.

Shamshi-Adad (I), the son of Ilu-kabkabi, went away to Babylonia in the time of Naram-Sin; in the eponymy of Ibni Adad, Shamshi-Adad came back from Babylonia; he seized Ekallate; he stayed in Ekallate for three years; in the eponymy of Atamar-Ishtar, Shamshi-Adad came up from Ekallate and removed Erishu, son of Naram-Sin, from the throne,

(ii)

seized the throne, (and) ruled as king for 33 years.

Ishme-Dagan (I) son of Shamshi-Adad; he ruled as king for 40 (var.: 50) years.

Ashur-dugul, the son of a nobody, without right to the throne; he ruled as king for six years.

<sup>1</sup> i.e. their names are given in genealogical, not in chronological, sequence.

<sup>2</sup> Everything is uncertain in this sentence. Apparently the scribe gives here the reason why the lengths of the individual rules are not indicated.

During the lifetime of that same Ashur-dugul, son of a nobody, (the following) six kings, (likewise) sons of nobodies, ruled as kings in periods of less than one year:<sup>3</sup> Ashur-apla-idi, Nasir-Sin, Sin-namir, Ibqi-Ishtar, Adad-salulu (and) Adasi.

Bel-bani son of Adasi; he ruled as king for ten years.

Libaya son of Bel-bani; he ruled as king for 17 years.

Sharma-<sup>a</sup>IM (I) son of Libaya; he ruled for 12 years.

Ib-tar-Sin son of Sharma-<sup>a</sup>IM; he ruled for 12 years.

Bazaya son of Ib-tar-Sin; he ruled for 28 years.

Lullaya son of a nobody; he ruled as king for six years.

Kidin-Ninua son of Bazaya; he ruled as king for 14 years.

Sharma-<sup>a</sup>IM (II) son of Kidin-Ninua; he ruled as king for three years.

Erishu (III) son of Kidin-Ninua; he ruled as king for 13 years.

Shamshi-Adad (II) son of Erishu; he ruled as king for six years.

Ishme-Dagan (II) son of Shamshi-Adad; he ruled as king for 16 years.

Shamshi-Adad (III), son of Ishme-Dagan, brother of Sharma-<sup>a</sup>IM (II), son of Kidin-Ninua; he ruled as king for 16 (var.: 15) years.

Ashur-nirari (I) son of Ishme-Dagan; he ruled as king for 26 years.

Puzur-Ashur (III) son of Ashur-nirari; he ruled as king for [x] (variants: 14 and 24) years.

Enlil-nasir (I) son of Puzur-Ashur; he ruled as king for 13 years.

Nur-ili son of Enlil-nasir; he ruled as king for 12 years.

Ashur-shaduni son of [Nur-ili]; he ruled as king for one full month.

Ashur-rabi (I), the son of Enlil-nasir, removed [Ashur-shaduni,] seized the throne (and) [ruled as king for x years].

Ashur-nadin-ahhe (I) son of Ashur-rabi; [he ruled as king for x years].

(iii)

His brother Enlil-nasir (II) remo[ved him] from the throne (and) ruled as king for six years.

Ashur-nirari (II) son of Enlil-nasir (I or II); he ruled as king for seven years.

Ashur-bel-nisheshu son of Ashur-nirari (II); he ruled as king for nine years.

Ashur-rim-nisheshu son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu; he ruled as king for eight years.

Ashur-nadin-ahhe (II) son of Ashur-rim-nisheshu; he ruled as king for 10 years.

Eriba-Adad (I) son of Ashur-bel-nisheshu; he ruled as king for 27 years.

Ashur-uballit (I) son of Eriba-Adad; he ruled as king for 36 years.

Enlil-nirari son of Ashur-uballit; ditto ten years.

Arik-den-ili son of Enlil-nirari; ditto 12 years.

Adad-nirari (I) brother of Arik-den-ili; he ruled as king for 32 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (I) son of Adad-nirari; ditto 30 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta (I) son of Shulmanu-ashared; ditto 37 years.

While Tukulti-Ninurta was . . . , his son Ashur-nadin-apli seized his throne (and) ruled for three (var.: four) years.

Ashur-nirari (III) son of Ashur-nasir-apli; he ruled as king for six years.

Enlil-kudur-usur son of Tukulti-Ninurta; he ruled as king for five years.

Ninurta-apli-Ekur, the son of Ili-ihadda, a descendant of Eriba-Adad, went to Babylonia; he came back from Babylonia, seized the throne (and) ruled as king for three (var.: 13) years.

Ashur-dan (I) son of Ninurta-apil-Ekur; ditto 46 (var.: 36) years.

Ninurta-Tukulti-Ashur son of Ashur-dan ruled as king for less than a year.<sup>3</sup>

His brother Mutakkil-Nusku fought with him and defeated him; he sent him away to Babylonia. Mutakkil-Nusku held the throne for less than a year;<sup>3</sup> he (then) disappeared forever.

Ashur-resh-ishi (I) son of Mutakkil-Nusku; he ruled as king for 18 years.

Tukulti-apil-Esharra (I) son of Ashur-resh-ishi; he ruled as king for 39 years.

Ashared-apil-Ekur son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for two years.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of the word *tuppu* is still enigmatic; for the more recent pronouncements see Landsberger, *JCS*, viii (1954), 37 f. and 109 ff.; *JNES*, viii (1949), 265 f.; M. B. Rowton, *JNES*, x (1951), 186 ff.

Ashur-bel-kala son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for 18 years.

Eriba-Adad (II) son of Ashur-bel-kala; ditto<sup>4</sup> two years.

(iv)

Shamshi-Adad (IV), the son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra, came from Babylonia; he removed Eriba-Adad, the son of Ashur-bel-kala, from the throne; he seized the throne (and) ruled as king for four years.

[Ashur-nasir-apli (I) son of] Shamshi-Adad (IV); ditto for 19 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (II), son of Ashur-nasir-apli; he ruled as king for 12 years.

Ashur-nirari (IV) son of Shulmanu-ashared (II); ditto six years.

Ashur-rabi (II) son of Ashur-nasir-apli; ditto 41 years.

Ashur-resh-ishi (II) son of Ashur-rabi; he ruled as king for five years.

Tukulti-apil-Esharra (II) son of Ashur-resh-ishi; he ruled as king for 32 years.

Ashur-dan (II) son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for 23 years.

Adad-nirari (II) son of Ashur-dan; he ruled as king for 21 years.

Tukulti-Ninurta (II) son of Adad-nirari; ditto seven years.

Ashur-nasir-apli (II) son of Tukulti-Ninurta; he ruled as king for 25 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (III) son of Ashur-nasir-apli; he ruled as king for 35 years.

Shamshi-Adad (V) son of Shulmanu-ashared; he ruled as king for 13 years.

Adad-nirari (III) son of Shamshi-Adad; he ruled as king for 28 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (IV) son of Adad-nirari; he ruled as king for ten years.

Ashur-dan (III) brother of Shulmanu-ashared; he ruled as king for 18 years.

Ashur-nirari (V) son of Adad-nirari (III); he ruled as king for 10 years.

(The earlier copy ends here with the subscript:)

Copy from Ashur; written by (lit.: hand of) Kandalanu, the scribe of the temple inside of Arbela. Month

<sup>4</sup> The abbreviated form of the sentence is given in this translation only when it appears in the Khorsabad text.

Lulubu, the 20th day; eponym: Adad-bel-ukin, governor of the inner city of Ashur, in his second eponymy.

(The later copy continues:)

Tukulti-apil-Esharra (III) son of Ashur-nirari (V); he ruled as king for 18 years.

Shulmanu-ashared (V) son of Tukulti-apil-Esharra; he ruled as king for 5 years.

Written and checked against its original. A tablet of the *mašmašu*-priest, Bel-shum-iddin, a native of Ashur May Shamash take away him who takes (this tablet) away.

## The Uruk King List from Kandalanu to Seleucus II

Publication: J. van Dijk, W 20030,105 in *UVB*, xviii (1962) pp. 53-60 and Pl. 28, with extensive discussion of the historical background and pertinent Assyriological literature. Literature: Joan Oates, "Assyrian Chronology 631-612 B.C.," *Iraq*, xxvii (1965), pp. 136-59; R. Borger, "Der Aufstieg des Neubabylonischen Reiches," *JCS*, xix (1965), pp. 59-78.

[x] years [...]

Other name: [...]

21 years: K[anda]lan

1 year: Sin-shum-lishir

and Sin-shar-ishkun

21 years: Nabopolassar

43 [ye]ars: Nebuchadnezzar (II)

2 [ye]ars: Amel-Marduk

[x] + 2 years, 8 months: Neriglissar

[...] 3 months: Labashi-Marduk

[x] + 15 years: Nabonidus

[9 years: Cy]rus

[8 years: Cambys]es

[36 years: Dari]us

(break)

(rev.)

[whose] second name (is) Nidin-<sup>a</sup>B[el]

5 [y]ears: Darius (III)

7 years: Alexander

6 years: Philip

6 years: Antigonos

31 years: Seleucus (I)

22 years: Antiochus (I)

15 years: Antiochus (II)

20 [years]: Seleucus (II)

(break)

## A Seleucid King List

Publication: A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, "A Babylonian King List of the Hellenistic Period" in *Iraq*, xvi (1954), pp. 202-211. Literature: J. Schaumberger, "Die neue Seleukidenliste

BM 35603 und die makkabäische Chronologie" in *Biblica*, xxxvi (1955), pp. 423-35. J. van Dijk, *UVB*, xviii, p. 58 f.

[ . . . ] Alexander (the Great) [ . . . ]

Philip, the brother of Alexander [did . . . ].

For [x] years there was no king in the country. Antigonus, the commander of the army was [ . . . ].

Alexander, the son of Alexander<sup>1</sup> (was reckoned as king) for six years.

Year 7 is the first year (of Seleucus). Seleucus (I, Nicator) became king; he ruled for 25 years.

Year 31, month Elulu: king Seleucus (I) was killed in the West.<sup>2</sup>

Year 32: Antiochus (I, Soter), son of Seleucus (I) became king. He ruled for 20 years.

Year 51, month Ajaru, 16th (day): Antiochus (I), the great king, died.<sup>3</sup>

Year 52: Antiochus (II, Theos), son of Antiochus (I), became king. He ruled for 15 years.<sup>4</sup>

Year 66, month Abu: The following (rumor) was he[ar]d in Babylon:<sup>5</sup> Antiochus (II), the great king [has died].

(rev.)

[Year] 67: Seleucus (II, Gallinicus) [ . . . ]

[ . . . ]

[Year] 87: Seleucus (III, Soter) [ . . . ]

<sup>1</sup> The scribe uses, with the exception of the writings A-lik-sa-an-dar and Pi-lip-su, abbreviations to refer to the kings. Thus Seleucus is consistently written Si and Antiochus An, Demetrius Di and Arsaces, probably, Ar; in line 5 Alexander is rendered by A-lik. The translation uses the full names with the ordinals and the identifying Greek by-names for the convenience of the reader.

<sup>2</sup> The text uses the geographical name Hanî in this context which in earlier Akkadian documents refers to Assyria. Since the king was killed on the European side of the Bosphorus, the name Hanî seems to have been used also to refer to the regions to the west of Assyria. See, however, Sachs, *Iraq*, xvi, 206.

<sup>3</sup> The use of NAM.MEŠ for "to die" is characteristic of the chronicle style (see the "Synchronistic Chronicle") and underlines the continuity pointed out by Sachs (*Iraq*, xvi, 202 f.) with respect to the Sumerian formula mu x in.ag, "he ruled for x years."

<sup>4</sup> The formulation here deviates from that in lines 7, 9, r. 8 and 10 so that it is very likely that the scribe intended to convey a special nuance (possibly: he did not rule for full 15 years).

<sup>5</sup> The repeated references to events which happened outside Babylon by *ittešme umma* are quite unique; I know of no parallel.

[Year] 90: King Antiochus (III, the Great) asc[ended] the throne.

He ruled for 35 [years].

[From] the Year 102 to the Year 119, Antiochus [ . . . ]

[ . . . ] and Antiochus, (his) sons ruled as kings.

Year 125, month Simanu: the following (rumor) was heard in Babylon: Antiochus (III), the king, was killed in Elam.

In the same year, his son Seleucus (IV, Philipator) ascended the throne. He ruled for 12 years.

Year 137, month Elulu, 10th day: Seleucus (IV), the king, died. . . .<sup>6</sup> In the same month, his son Antiochus (IV, Epiphanes) ascended the throne. He ruled for 11 years.

In the same year, month Arahsamnu, Antiochus (IV) and his son Antiochus were kings.

[Year 1]42, month Abu: Antiochus, the king was put to death upon the command of his father, King Antiochus (IV).<sup>7</sup>

[Year 14]3: Antiochus became king.

[Year 148], month Kislimu: It was heard that K[ing] Antiochus (V, Eupator) [died . . . ]

[ . . . ]

[ . . . ]

on left edge: Demetrius son of Demetrius [ . . . ] Arsaces, king [ . . . ].

<sup>6</sup> Two clear but unintelligible signs (diš 101).

<sup>7</sup> Attention should be drawn to the discussion and parallel passages offered by Sachs on p. 208. The latter show that the king was killed in the midst of his nobles called, respectively, LÚ.GAL.MEŠ and A.SIG. The latter designation should be taken as variant writing for LÚ.A.SIG<sub>2</sub> (clearly indicated as such in K.4395 v 10 in *Babyloniaca*, vii, p. 1.6) as seen already in W. J. Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistungen* . . . , *Studia Orientalia*, viii (1936), p. 32 f., and read *mār damqi*. The syllabic writings have been given in *damqu* (B.I), *AHW*, 157b, from NA and NB texts but without the passages written LÚ.A.SIG in *ABL*, 154:12 and 20, 304:11, Klauber, *PRT*, 44:5, *ADD*, 862:1. The related designation LÚ.SIG<sub>2</sub> occurs in Mari, Alalakh (MB) (see *CAD*, *damqu* mng. 3), Boğazköy (see now G. Meyer, *MIO*, i, 114 f.: 9, 24, 28) and NA (see *AHW*, *loc. cit.*). All these words refer either to a type of soldier or to a social class, according to time and region.