MEGIDDO

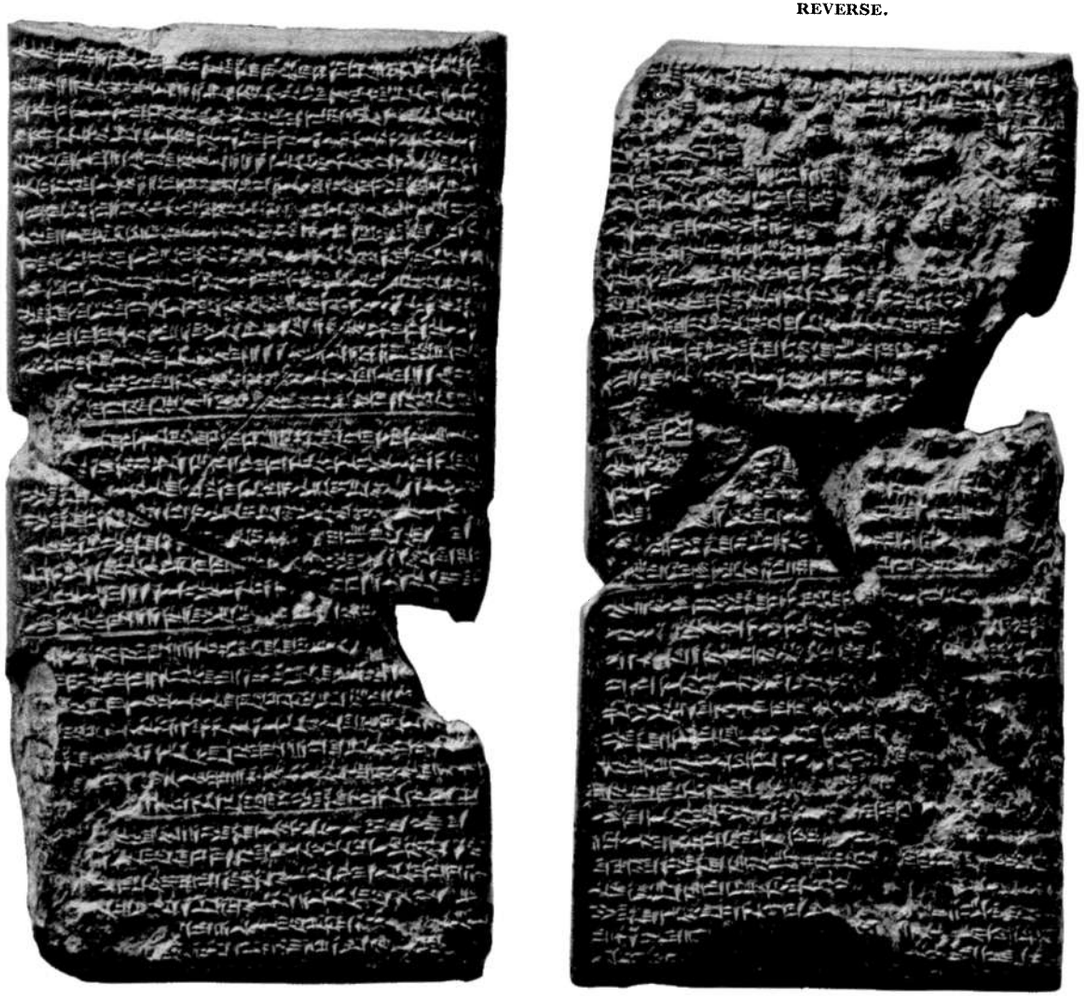
THE FALL OF NINEVEH.

THE BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE, No. 21,901, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

Frontispiece.

OBVERSE.

REVERSE.



BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE

describing the events of the 10th to the 17th year of Nabopolassar (B.C. 616–609).

[British Museum No. 21,901.]

THE FALL OF NINEVEH.

THE NEWLY DISCOVERED BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE, No. 21,901, IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

EDITED WITH

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION, NOTES, ETC.,

BY

C. J. GADD, M.A.,

ASSISTANT IN THE DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

WITH A

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION AND SIX PLATES.

PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES.

SOLD AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM;
AND AT
LONGMANS & CO., 39, PATERNOSTER ROW;
BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET;
KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH TRÜBNER & CO., CARTER LANE, E.C.;
AND
HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN CORNER, LONDON.

1923.

HARRISON AND SONS, LTD.,
PRINTERS IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE, W.C. 2.

THE present work contains the text of the important New-Babylonian Chronicle in the British Museum, No. 21,901, with a transcript, transliteration, translation, notes, etc. The subject of the document is the war which was waged between the waning power of Assyria, in alliance with Egypt, against the combined forces of Babylon, the Medes under Kyaxares, and the Scythians. This Chronicle embraces the years B.C. 616–609, *i.e.* the 10th to the 17th year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, the founder of the New-Babylonian or Chaldaean monarchy, which flourished between the end of the Assyrian Empire and the Persian conquest of Babylon by Cyrus the Great.

The information given by this Chronicle is of very special interest, for it supplies the date of the Fall of Nineveh in B.C. 612 and other Assyrian strongholds, and the fact, hitherto unsuspected, that the Assyrian kingdom actually survived this disaster and, under the rule of king Ashur-uballit, who is mentioned for the first time, was transferred to the city of Harran further westward.

This Chronicle throws a flood of light on a period otherwise very obscure, and supplies most valuable historical details concerning it in abundance. As a contemporary record, from which explanatory comparisons with later classical traditions can be made, it must always rank as an invaluable historical authority with the famous "Babylonian Chronicle" (No. 92,502), and the "Synchronous History" (K. 4401*a* + Rm. 854).

This Chronicle was discovered by Mr. C. J. Gadd, M.A., Assistant in the Department, who has prepared the transcript, transliteration, translation and notes which are printed in the following pages.

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN
ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.
June 8th, 1923.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.

(1) The Tablet B.M. 21,901.

The tablet which is inscribed with the important text that forms the subject of this publication is of baked clay, and of a dark brown colour, measuring $5\frac{3}{8}$ ins. by $2\frac{27}{32}$ ins. It is fortunately complete as to its length, though in certain other respects it has suffered damage. Broken into four pieces when found, it has been rejoined without leaving gaps, except to a small extent about the middle of the Reverse. Four small chips are missing at various points round the edges. A more serious kind of injury is the scaling away of the surface, which has effectually obliterated the inscription towards the lower left corner of the Obverse, and over two rather considerable tracts of the Reverse. For the most part, however, the text is well preserved and, where undamaged, presents few difficulties of decipherment. It contains 37 lines on the Obverse, 39 on the Reverse and upper edge, and one on the left edge, written in a small, but very neat and clear, New-Babylonian cuneiform, which probably, although the tablet is not dated, belongs like other Chronicles to the Achaemenid period. That it was actually written in Babylon is rendered very likely not only by the nature of its contents but by the scribal note which concludes it, "Whoso loveth Nabû and Marduk, let him preserve this, and not suffer it to leave his hands."[1] It is clear from the existence of a "catch-line" at the end that the tablet formed part of a series, to which most of the other extant Chronicles doubtless belonged, and which, in its complete form, extending from the earliest times to the Persian, and even later, periods, must have constituted an unrivalled historical document. That the few extracts from this comprehensive work which have hitherto been rescued should now be reinforced by a section so interesting and valuable as the present, is one of those fortunate accidents which are the more gratifying because of their rarity.

(2) Contents of the Tablet.

The text thus preserved belongs to the class of Chronicles, which is best exemplified, among the documents known to the earlier generation of

[1] For a similar scribal note, and the probability that it implies an origin from Babylon, see Zimmern, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxxiv, 191.

Assyriologists, by the famous "Babylonian Chronicle." But the most notable addition to this kind of literature was made by the late Prof. L. W. KING in his two volumes of "Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings" (1907),[1] and it is a curious chance that the whole of this material (apart from dynastic and date-lists), has hitherto been found in the British Museum, to which the present text also belongs. In style and language it has the closest affinity with the "Babylonian Chronicle" mentioned above, being doubtless a continuation of the same work. Owing, however, to the greater space which is allowed to each year, the narration, though still extremely concise, is a good deal fuller than in the former document. For whereas the "Babylonian Chronicle" deals, in 179 lines, with more than thirty of the years between B.C. 745 and 668, our text devotes 75 lines to the years B.C. 616—609, the 10th—17th years of the reign of Nabopolassar, the founder of the New-Babylonian Empire, for which reason it has seemed appropriate to style it the "Nabopolassar Chronicle."

By contrast with the last flourishing days of the Assyrian Empire, so lavishly documented by the numerous and detailed inscriptions of Ashur-banipal, the history of Assyria after about the year 637, and the whole period of the New-Babylonian kingdom, have been in almost complete darkness. Soon after that year began the great invasion of the Scythian hordes which reduced the already weakened power of Assyria to a precarious defensive, and the last quarter of Ashurbanipal's own reign witnessed one of those sudden and dramatic eclipses which are characteristic of Oriental monarchies. But before the final collapse at least two more shadow kings, Ashur-etil-ilâni and Sin-shar-ishkun, were still to reign at Nineveh, their memory feebly preserved to us by a few dates upon legal documents, one or two broken records of their building in Nineveh, Calah, and Ashur, and the faint echo of the latter's name (Sarakos) preserved by a late Greek epitomator. That the downfall of Nineveh was brought about by the Medes, with some uncertain measure of help from Nabopolassar, was evident from one or two vague inscriptional references, but much more from the strong Greek tradition which made of these events, in however garbled a form, one of the most celebrated and picturesque stories of ancient history. The New-Babylon kingdom itself, although it lasted not much less than a hundred years, and attained an almost unprecedented degree of magnificence, has been historically little better

[1] A conspectus of the Chronicles as yet discovered may be found in ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i, 483 ff. (6th edit.).

than a blank, since external evidence is of the most scanty, and its own inscriptions, copious as they are, record nothing but building operations, and abstain, with an almost sedulous perversity, from any but the vaguest references to contemporary affairs.

In these circumstances it is not surprising that a newly discovered document should throw a great deal of light upon the period with which it deals, and, in fact, everything which this Chronicle relates is entirely new. And further, since none of the events described are of a religious nature, the amount of purely historical information conveyed is extraordinary. Though written with a distinct Babylonian bias, which appears in the normal tendency to exaggerate successes or the Babylonian share in them, to minimise defeats, and to gloss over circumstances which might detract from the glory of victories, this almost contemporary record is, of course, by far our earliest and best authority for the events in question, and the facts it relates, even if not all the inferences it suggests, must be accepted without appeal, even though many of them are nothing less than revolutionary of opinions which have hitherto been most commonly held, and for which it has seemed possible to quote very strong evidence. Nevertheless, it will be seen, in the course of the following discussion, how naturally all these isolated facts fall into their true place in the actual context which is now first revealed to us, without necessitating some of the inferences which have been drawn from them.

The Chronicle, being merely the continuation of a preceding section, as it was itself followed by another, plunges into its matter without any preamble. It may well be, however, that it was for the purpose of avoiding uncertainty that the scribe specifically names Nabopolassar in his first and third lines, after which he consistently calls him "the King of Akkad." We are doubly fortunate, both in that the scribe took this precaution, and in that the beginning of the text is preserved.

It has usually been supposed that the position of Nabopolassar as a vassal of Assyria was not materially altered until a short time before the capture of Nineveh. This remains, in one sense, uncontradicted by the Chronicle, although Nabopolassar is openly at war with his nominal overlord as early as 616, a date which would hitherto have been universally rejected. The difference lies, of course, in the dates assumed for the Fall of Nineveh. While it was supposed that this disaster occurred in the year 606, it would indeed have been improbable that Nabopolassar should have defied Assyria ten years before. But it is the most signal contribution of this Chronicle to ancient

history that the Fall of Nineveh is now definitely dated in B.C. 612. It is likely, however, that the campaign of 616 was not the first rebellious enterprise of the Babylonian king, and, though these earlier events lie outside the purview of the Chronicle, it will be worth while to examine what other evidence is available upon this point.

In connexion with the dating of Nabopolassar's revolt it is important to consider the progress of his arms in subverting a part of the Assyrian Empire, as to the fortunes of which we have a few chronological indications. A number of "contracts" have been published which are dated in certain Babylonian cities during the reigns of the last Assyrian kings and of Nabopolassar. One of these, from the city of Sippar, was inscribed in the second year of Sin-shar-ishkun,[1] king of Assyria, and, although the precise date of this cannot even yet be established, we are now in a position to estimate the possible margin of error. Ashur-etil-ilâni reigned at least four years, and Sin-shar-ishkun at least seven, according to the dates upon surviving "contracts." But the first year of Ashur-etil-ilâni was 625, and Sin-shar-ishkun perished (as will be seen later) at the Fall of Nineveh in 612. Thus there are 13 years to be divided between these two kings, and 11 of these are already accounted for, so that Sin-shar-ishkun ascended the throne in one of the three years 621–619; his second year fell, therefore, in the period 620–618. To return to Sippar, the earliest known date of Nabopolassar quoted in that city is his 12th year,[2] *i.e.* 614. Hence it follows that Sippar fell into Babylonian hands sometime between 620 and 614. But the Chronicle mentions no capture of it in 616–614, so that the event can now be confined within the limits 620–617. It is natural to assume that the revolt of Nabopolassar began with his seizure of cities such as Sippar, which lay in the more immediate neighbourhood of Babylon. It is noticeable, however, that he seems to have made no attempt upon the great centres of Lower Babylonia, for no expedition against them is recorded in the Chronicle, and Erech, at least, was still under the control of Sin-shar-ishkun, in his seventh year,[3] *i.e.* 615–613. Moreover, the title of "king of Akkad" seems to show that the sphere of authority assigned to Nabopolassar by his Assyrian overlord was confined to Northern Babylonia, and excluded the middle and southern regions of the land, which remained under the direct rule of city-governors dependent upon Assyria,

[1] EVETTS, *Babylonische Texte*, Heft VI. B. p. 90.
[2] UNGNAD, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Heft III., no. 1.
[3] According to the date on a "contract" published by KING, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, iv, 398.

a system which appears to have been devised in earlier times when the sovereignty was divided between the brothers Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukîn.[1]

B.C. 616 We have seen that the revolt of Nabopolassar began in the years between 620 and 617, but the Chronicle takes up the story in his tenth year, 616. In the second month he attacked the districts of Suḫu and Ḫindanu which had been first conquered for Assyria by Tiglath-pileser I, and definitely incorporated by the arms of Ashurnaṣirpal in 878. The geographical position of these two districts can be determined with considerable exactitude from the annals of Tukulti-Enurta II and of his son Ashurnaṣirpal, but, as this question has been the subject of a recent study,[2] it will be sufficient here to summarise the conclusions. Suḫu was a loosely compacted Aramaean district lying on both sides of the Euphrates, along which its towns were strung, and reaching from a point some distance above Hît to the bend of the river above 'Ânah, where it adjoined the neighbouring district of Ḫindanu, which seems to have lain entirely on the right bank of the Euphrates up to a point nearly opposite the mouth of the Khâbûr. The latter district was called after the town of Ḫindanu, which may correspond with a place called Giddan mentioned by Isidore of Charax.[3] The Aramaean inhabitants of these provinces had never any cause to love their Assyrian masters, and the ready submission which they made is not surprising. Nevertheless, Ḫindanu seems to have been an important member of the later Assyrian Empire,[4] and the king of Assyria, though now powerless to save it, would not tamely acquiesce in its loss. Three months after, therefore, he appeared from the northward with his army to dispute its possession. Sin-shar-ishkun—for he it must have been, though his name is not here given—encamped in the town of Qablinu, where his presence was reported to Nabopolassar who at once marched upstream. The field of the ensuing battle is uncertain, for Qablinu does not appear to be mentioned elsewhere in the inscriptions. It must, however, have lain above Ḫindanu, which Nabopolassar passed again on his return march, and below the Balîkh, to the towns of which he sent a raiding expedition after the victory, and should probably be sought in the neighbourhood of the modern Dêr-az-Zûr. The Assyrian forces were increased by a contingent of the Mannai,[5]

[1] See STRECK, *Assurbanipal und seine Nachfolger*, vol. i, cclvii and cdxii.
[2] By S. HORN, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxxiv, 123 ff.
[3] *Ibid.*, 143, n. 2.
[4] FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 106.
[5] STRECK, *Assurbanipal*, vol. i, cccly ff., has collected all that is known of this people.

a hardy people living to the south and south-east of Lake Urmiyah, who, after troubling Assyria for many years, had finally been defeated by the generals of Ashurbanipal. Their survival is hardly less remarkable than the complete change in their relations with Assyria, though the latter is paralleled by the still more striking instance of Egypt, as we shall shortly see. In spite of this alliance, the Assyrians suffered a defeat, which the chronicler represents as very serious. This may be an exaggeration, but it is clear that they were driven from the field and retired up the river to rejoin other allies whom they hoped to find more effectual. Meanwhile, Nabopolassar occupied Qablinu, and sent a detachment of his army up the river in the wake of the retreating Assyrians, who had probably fallen back upon Ḫarran. These troops contented themselves with plundering three towns in the Balîkh region, the last of which, Baliḫu,[1] was a place of importance in the Assyrian province of Ḫarran. Unable to attack Ḫarran itself, they rejoined Nabopolassar, who returned to Babylon in the following month (Elul), picking up the spoil of Ḫindanu on his way.

The Assyrians were not far behind. Having rallied their forces in Ḫarran they now appeared in the opposite *rôle* of pursuers, for it is only natural to suppose that Nabopolassar's somewhat hasty retreat was occasioned by intelligence of the new advance against him, though the chronicler discreetly refrains from allusion to this. The Babylonian king was able to make good his retreat, and it was already the next month before the Assyrians and their allies reached Qablinu, the former battlefield, only to find that their intended victim had escaped. The factor which brought about this complete change of fortune is indeed unexpected. Egypt, which under Psammetichus I, no longer before than about 655, had thrown off the Assyrian domination, is now found, under the same king, and in the year 616, fighting in alliance with her former masters. The reason for this change of front, and doubtless also for that of the Mannai, may be found in the universal terror spread throughout Western Asia by the Scythian irruption. Of its effect upon Egypt we have the testimony of Herodotus.[2] Confronted by this menace, princes of all the lands would naturally look to Assyria as the only possible barrier against the flood; however much reduced, her prestige, won by centuries of conquest and rule, could not easily be extinguished. Hence the present co-operation of Egypt with Assyria, and the even more notable events which we shall find in the Chronicle for 609, and hence

[1] For the possible site of this town, see FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung*, 24 f.

[2] Book I, 105.

also the expeditions of Necho II in 608,[1] and again in 605, which ended in the disastrous battle of Carchemish.[2]

It was this Egypto-Assyrian alliance which Nabopolassar had now to face. The chronicler is at pains to assure us that he "hastened after them" up the Euphrates. Were this strictly true it would be strange indeed that he failed to meet them. Our suspicion of the chronicler's candour at this point is deepened by the haste with which he passes on to the topic of a successful battle which took place, on his own showing, five months later, and not west of the Euphrates but east of the Tigris! It is, in fact, most likely that, while Nabopolassar anxiously awaited the attack of these formidable allies, the Egyptians advanced ever more and more reluctantly as they moved away from Syria, conscious that by so doing they were simply exposing the passage which they had been sent to guard against the Scythians. In any case, no collision took place.

The year ends with an event which is introduced very abruptly by the chronicler, possibly, as suggested above, in order to gloss over the somewhat unheroic episode which precedes it. The Babylonian and Assyrian armies are next revealed as operating in the district of Araphu, *i.e.* the classical Arrapachitis, which is now identified[3] with the land to the south of the river Diyâlâ, occupying the eastern half of the territory lying between the Tigris and the table-land which leads up to the Zagros mountains. This land derived its name from the city of Araphu or Arrapha, which is possibly to be identified with the modern Khânikîn, and had been governed under the Assyrian Empire by a succession of officers who were among the most distinguished figures at court. The description of the battle which followed involves a geographical question. Though nothing is known of the exact position of Madanu, it is said to be "of the city of Araphu," which means simply that it was in the province which bore that city's name. It is related that the defeated Assyrians were driven back to the river Zab, and the word used appears to imply the result of the actual shock, not a continued pursuit. But in order to reach the Lower Zab from Araphu they must have crossed not only the Diyâlâ, but also the district of Arzuḫina, centred about the modern Karkûk.[4] Nevertheless, it is impossible

[1] II Kings, 23, 29. Necho did not "go up against the king of Assyria," but, as Josephus (*Antiq.*, X, 5, 1), rightly says, "to fight against the Medes and the Babylonians." On this question, see below, p. 16.

[2] Jeremiah, xlvi, 2, II Kings, xxiv, 7.

[3] By FORRER, *Provinz.* 44 f.

[4] *Ibid.*, 41.

to believe that the chronicler was capable either of ignoring this, or of confusing the two rivers, and we must suppose that he is actually describing a pursuit which was continued for several days, after which Nabopolassar recrossed the Tigris and carried his spoils home to Babylon.

B.C. 615 Encouraged by his success against the Assyrian provinces, Nabopolassar was early astir in the next year, and boldly carried the war into the enemy's homeland by an ambitious attack upon Ashur itself, the oldest capital, and still one of the four principal towns,[1] of Assyria. But he had over-estimated his strength. Assyria, even in her last hour, was not for the sword of the Babylonians whom she had so long despised. Not merely did Nabopolassar fail at Ashur, but he was compelled hastily to raise the siege and, after a disastrous conflict with the relieving forces from Nineveh, to flee down the right bank of the Tigris. The rout continued until a natural rallying-place presented itself in the famous citadel of Takrit, a town which here appears, for the first time in ancient inscriptions, under the name which it still preserves. It seems to have been more usually known, either by the purely descriptive style of "Fortress" (*birtu*),[2] or by the name of Itu'a,[3] derived from that of the people who inhabited the region. The citadel of Takrit has attracted the attention of mediaeval[4] and modern travellers no less than of ancient tacticians. Commander FELIX JONES, who carefully inspected and surveyed the citadel in 1846, says of it:—"The front facing the river is quite perpendicular, and exhibits horizontal strata of stiff clay, red earth, fine sand, and conglomerate, in successive layers, from the water's edge to its summit . . . . This isolated cliff is about 130 yards long by 70 broad, and in height 86 feet from the water's edge." . . . . A deep ditch, about 30 yards in breadth, but now filled up with rubbish, conveyed the waters of the Tigris around the base of the citadel, thus completely insulating and rendering it impregnable before cannon came into use."[5] So the Assyrians found it on this occasion, and, after a fruitless ten-days' siege, abandoned their hopeless task and marched away. We need not suppose, as the chronicler implies,

[1] Nineveh, Calah, Ashur, Arbela.

[2] Comm. FELIX JONES (*Steam-trip to the north of Baghdad*, p. 24, n. 1), says of Takrit "In an old atlas I observe Birtha is marked as situated on this spot." *Cf.* E. HERZFELD *Memnon*, i, 226 ff.

[3] See FORRER, *op. cit.*, 47, 104.

[4] The notices of the Arab geographers are summarised by Sir E. A. WALLIS BUDGE, *By Nile and Tigris*, ii, 107, and by LE STRANGE, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 57.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 22 f.

that they were seriously weakened by their losses. More probably they were disturbed by reports of the impending attack of a more formidable power than the Babylonians, and were unwilling to be detained longer away from their homeland.

With the autumn of this year the Medes make their first appearance in the Chronicle. This was certainly not their first collision with Assyria, for the disaster to Phraortes narrated by Herodotus[1] must at any rate be placed before the beginning of the Chronicle. As to the first siege by Kyaxares, which was ended by the sudden intervention of the Scythians, the question is more doubtful. It is impossible to follow the tradition that a 28-years' domination of the Scythians was ended by Kyaxares before his final attack on Nineveh, since this would take back the date of his first attack 612 + 28, *i.e.* 640 at the lowest, which is out of the question, and we shall be faced with the curious situation in 613 that the king of Assyria is apparently left free while his greater enemies, the Medes and Scythians, are engaged in settling their differences, which are so far composed in 612 that both can join in the destruction of Nineveh. Whether the so-called first siege might not actually be the attack in 614 may be postponed for later discussion. In this year, at least, the Medes do not venture to cross the Tigris, but merely descend upon the Assyrian province of Arapḫu and lay siege to a city. The name of this place, and the result of their enterprise, are both obscured by a defect of the text.

B.C. 614 In the summer of the next year Kyaxares mached without further ado against Nineveh itself. At this point an unfortunate break in the record somewhat obscures the narration, but it is clear that the Medes, discouraged by the seeming impossibility of their task turned soon upon easier game. But this notice of the first step in the final attack on Nineveh has a remarkable interest as at least a partial confirmation of the tradition which survives in Diodorus[2] that the siege of Nineveh extended into the third year. Since the city fell, as we shall see, in 612, the time was doubtless reckoned from this first attempt in 614. It is quite possible that the Medes did on this occasion sustain three reverses, as the same author relates,[3] though the chronicler does not see fit to record it, having little interest in events at which the Babylonian king was not present. This absence, which the Chronicle (l. 28) expressly attests is, of course, in contradiction of Diodorus, whose "Belesys," *i.e.* Nabopolassar, not only hatched the plot against "Sardanapallus," but was the moving spirit

[1] Book I, 102, 103. [2] Book II, 27, 1 (see p. 29). [3] II, 25, 6 (see p. 28).

throughout its execution. Powerless as yet against the capital itself, the Medes seem to have carried some of its outworks at the first assault. First to fall was Tarbiṣ, the modern Sharif Khân, a few miles north-west of Nineveh. This town had been much favoured by the great Sargonid kings,[1] both as a royal residence and as a cult centre, but their buildings availed little against the Median onslaught. The text of the Chronicle is damaged at this point, but we next find Kyaxares "pursuing" (perhaps the fugitives from Tarbiṣ, who may have been cut off from Nineveh) down the bank of the Tigris until he came upon Ashur, the scene of Nabopolassar's misfortune in the preceding year. This time the event was far different. The fortifications which have been made known to us by eleven years of recent excavation went down before the fury of the barbarians, and there followed a scene of horror which stirs even the detached chronicler to an expression of disgust. Some confused tradition of this bloody episode may lie behind the story of the last battle fought by "Galaimenes,"[2] when the stream of the Euphrates[3] ran red with blood. The city was completely destroyed on this occasion, but, unlike Nineveh, did not remain a ruin for ever afterwards. It was at least partly restored by Cyrus the Great,[4] is several times mentioned by classical authors,[5] and has yielded to its modern excavators various relics of the post-Assyrian and Parthian periods.[6]

Nabopolassar had set out to join in the new attack upon his arch-enemy, but Ashur had fallen before he arrived. This may have been accidental, or it may have been in observance of the precedent set by Merodach-baladan II, that the king of Babylon should not hurry when the issue was doubtful. Over the ruins of the city the Mede and the Babylonian met, and entered into a formal alliance. A further detail, which the chronicler ignores, was furnished at this point by the history of Berossus. According to the versions based upon this work by Alexander Polyhistor[7] and Abydenus,[8] the king of Assyria (whom

[1] Sennacherib had restored there the temple called E-meslam (RAWLINSON, *Cuneif. Inscr. of Western Asia*, i, 7, C and D, and iii, 3, no. 13), and Esarhaddon built a residence for the Crown Prince (*op. cit.*, i, 48, nos. 5, 6, 8).

[2] Or "Salaimenes," Diodor., II, 26, 6, 7.

[3] So Diodorus throughout, instead of Tigris.

[4] Cyrus Cylinder, l. 30.

[5] *e.g.* Xenophon, Anab. ii, 4, 28 (under name of Kainai); Polybius v, 51 (Libba); Ptolemy VIII, § 25 (Labbana); Stephen of Byzantium (Libanai).

[6] See ANDRAE, *Festungswerke von Assur*, Textband, 8 f, 91 f, 129.

[7] *Euseb. chronic.* (ed. SCHOENE), lib. i, 29, 16–19 (see p. 30).

[8] *Ibid.*, i, 35, 28—37, 7 (see p. 30).

Abydenus rightly calls "Sarakos," *i.e.* Sin-shar-ishkun) sent the general "Bussalosoros,"[1] to take command in Babylon. But the latter, planning treachery, arranged a marriage between his son Nabukodrossoros (*i.e.* Nebuchadnezzar II) and Amuhean[2] the daughter of Ashdahak,[3] chieftain of the Medes, as a prelude to his attack upon Nineveh. Though this tradition is obviously confused, and partly distorted by the desire to give undue importance to the part played by Babylonia, the Chronicle confirms the fact of an alliance, and nothing is more probable than that this was cemented by a marriage between the son and daughter of the contracting parties. So ended the first of the years which tradition counts as devoted to the siege of Nineveh. The capital was still unscathed, but the fall of Tarbiṣ and Ashur had been a terrible earnest of what was to come. Meantime, the besiegers retired home for the winter.

B.C. 613 The next year forms an interlude in the story of the last days of Nineveh. Concerned, as usual, only with the doings of the Babylonian king, the Chronicle gives none but indirect information about events in Assyria. The Babylonian energies were spent in chastising revolters in the land of Suḫu,[4] the scene of the successful campaign in 616. Doubtless the new outbreak was inspired by Assyrian intrigues, as it was clearly supported by Assyrian arms. Nabopolassar marched up the Euphrates, carried the island-town of Raḫilu[5] at the first assault, and, though a serious defect in the text obscures the narrative at this point, it seems clear that he passed on from this success to besiege the more important town of Anatu, which is the modern 'Ânah, now lying on the right bank of the river, but in Assyrian[6] times, and during the middle ages,[7] built mostly upon an island in the middle of the stream. Some details of the tactics adopted are given in the Chronicle, but the condition of the text makes it a little difficult to follow them. Stones from the river-bank were thrown into the shallow stream to make a causeway over which the attacking troops could pass to the island and even bring up their siege-engines. In the case of Anatu this was built out from the right, or western, bank of the river, which was probably always occupied by a

[1] A corruption of Nabopolassar's name.

[2] Or Amuitis, Amuite, Aroite. Nothing else is known about her.

[3] A corruption of Astyages, and, whether referring to Astyages I (Phraortes) or II, an anachronism.

[4] See above, p. 5.

[5] See note on p. 33.

[6] Tukulti-Enurta II, *Annals*, Obv. 69 (ed. SCHEIL).

[7] LE STRANGE, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 106.

part of the town. When the causeway reached the city wall it was raised into a mound, according to the regular contemporary siege-methods best described in Sennacherib's classical account of his operations against the towns of Judah.[1] Against Anatu, the Babylonians seem to have failed, and the next information we have is that the Assyrian king came down and forced his enemy to retire. Evidently, then, an Assyrian army was operating in Suḫu, and the apparent abruptness of its introduction is perhaps due to the defective state of the text.

What was it that allowed the Assyrian king freedom to campaign away from home in this year? Obviously there was no blockade of Nineveh, and no renewed invasion of the Medes. As to the doings of the latter, which are all-important, the Chronicle gives no hint. That their inactivity against Assyria had something to do with the Scythians, who appear in alliance with them next year, is a supposition which could be supported by the tradition of Diodorus,[2] that, after the first defeats of the rebels, their consternation was completed by news of the approach of a "Bactrian" army, which was, however, finally persuaded to make common cause with them. At any rate, the three years' duration assigned to the siege of Nineveh is correct only in the formal sense that it began in 614 and ended in 612, with the whole of 613 as an intermission. It is curious, too, that Diodorus puts the incident of the "Bactrian" army between the first three battles, in which the rebels were defeated, and the last three, in which they were successful. His narrative thus falls into two parts, though he certainly represents the siege as protracted into the third year after all these events.

In view of such circumstances the question is bound to arise whether the first siege of Nineveh by Kyaxares, in which he was defeated by the sudden onslaught of the Scythians, was not in reality the operations of 614. It is true that Herodotus,[3] strictly interpreted, would place the whole of the 28-years' Scythian oppression[4] between the first and the second attacks of Kyaxares, but this is impossible since it would give far too early a date for the first. In 640, at any rate, Nineveh was still unthreatened, whether by Kyaxares or even by his

[1] Explained and illustrated by MEISSNER, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1919, 112, on the word *arammu*.

[2] Book II, 26, 1–4.

[3] Book I, 106.

[4] Herodotus' story that the Scythian chiefs were treacherously slain at a banquet by the Medes may be a distorted tradition of the agreement (actually peaceful) under which the two nations co-operated in the siege of Nineveh. Murder at a feast is a common Greek tale; apart from mythology, instances are found, *e.g.* in Herodotus I, 191 and 211, II, 100 and Diodorus II, 26, 4.

father Phraortes. In fact, it has long been recognized that the war against Assyria may have been carried on by Kyaxares within the 28-year period of the Scythian domination, and not necessarily either at the beginning or end of that time. Historical parallels for this unconcern of conquerors as to the private quarrels of their subjects, provided only that the tribute is duly paid, can be found without difficulty. It is certainly disappointing that the Chronicle makes no reference to external affairs in 613, and that therefore no light can be obtained upon this obscure question. But a situation which could permit the formerly beleaguered king of Assyria not merely to venture out of his fortress but to carry on a war in a distant province must point to a condition of extraordinary weakness in his principal antagonist. The traditions of Herodotus and Diodorus may perhaps represent the same series of events under different forms, Herodotus exaggerating the interval between the two sieges, and Diodorus regarding as one operation that which was actually two, though separated by the lapse of only one year. But it is best to admit that the Chronicle gives us no decisive evidence upon this much-debated matter.

B.C. 612 The following section of the text, which related one of the greatest events in ancient history, is unfortunately marred by the damage which the tablet has suffered at this point. In consequence of this lamentable accident, many of such details as the compressed style of the document allowed it to mention are much obscured or completely lacking. It would seem that Nabopolassar and the Scythian king met at an appointed rendezvous and that they were there joined by Kyaxares, who led the army across the Tigris, and marched up the left bank to Nineveh. The very name of their objective appears only in a half-obliterated form upon the tablet, but that this section actually deals with the Fall of Nineveh would be certain even if the name had completely disappeared since (1) the end of Sin-shar-ishkun is expressly indicated, (2) the Babylonian king receives in Nineveh the spoil of Assyrian provinces, and (3) henceforth the kingdom of Assyria and the struggle against it are transferred to the west. On this latter point there will be more to say subsequently, but meantime it will be well to consider the information gained from this new account of the destruction of Nineveh.

Although the fragmentary state of the text leaves us in much uncertainty as to the precise share taken by each of the allies in the final operation, the question is at least solved as to the participation in the victory. Many historians[1]

[1] References are given by STRECK, *Assurbanipal*, cdxxxv, n. 3.

have inferred from the silence of Herodotus, and from other indications, that the Babylonians had no part in the destruction of Nineveh, which was the work of the Medes alone. The Chronicle, however, expressly brings on the scene not only Kyaxares, but the king of Akkad and the Scythians (Umman-Manda)[1] as well. There is every reason to maintain the traditional view that the Babylonian army, though present at the siege, played only a subordinate part, and that the weight of the attack was borne by the Medes. This is indirectly confirmed by Nabopolassar himself, in whose extant inscriptions there are two passages[2] which refer only to his operations in Northern Mesopotamia,[3] and one other[4] in which he boasts, in general terms, of having thrown off the Assyrian yoke, but even here he is perhaps alluding only to his Mesopotamian successes after the Assyrian kingdom had been transferred to the Upper Euphrates. This is not the language of one who had taken a prominent part in so resounding a feat of arms as the capture of Nineveh.

The share taken by the Scythians is even more difficult to define. What is clear, at least, is that their attitude had completely altered since the days when Kyaxares' first siege of Nineveh had been so disastrously ended by the intervention of "the king of the Scythians, Madyes, the son of Protothyes."[5] It has already been suggested that the preceding year may have been occupied, if not by that event itself, at least by the negotiations which enabled Medes and Scythians to form a coalition against Assyria. In connexion, however, with this

[1] The name of Manda has a long history in the cuneiform documents, for which (especially for its unexpected appearance in the Hittite lands), the *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 76, 247 ff., may be consulted. In the later times with which the Chronicle deals it seems to be applied indiscriminately to all the various northern Aryan tribes which overran Asia Minor and the adjoining lands at this period. It is certainly used of the Cimmerians, though apparently not of the actual "Scythians" (Aššguzai, Išguzai) who are found in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon. There is no harm in translating it by "Scythians," so that it be remembered that both are purely generic terms to designate northern hordes. The distinction between Medes (Madai) and Scythians (Manda) is sometimes lost, for Astayges is called "king of the Manda" by Nabonidus (LANGDON, *Neubab. Königsinschr.*, 220, 32) and Cyrus (Cylinder, 13) refers to his conquest of the Medes as a defeat of the Manda. So far, however, as this confusion is said to be illustrated by Col. II of the Hillah Inscription of Nabonidus, it will later be shown that this is a misconception caused by referring that passage to the fall of Nineveh, with which, however, it has nothing to do.

[2] See LANGDON, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, p. 60, 29–31, and p. 66, Col. II., 1–4.

[3] Subartu. There is no reference to the country of Assyria proper, and the name Subartu is used in its strict sense, as will be seen later.

[4] LANGDON, *op. cit.*, p. 68, 17 ff.

[5] Herodotus, I, 103 (see p. 26).

topic, misunderstanding has been caused by a wrong interpretation of the Hillah stele of Nabonidus. Relying on the statement (Col. II, 3–19) that it was a king of the Umman-Manda who "overwhelmed like a deluge" the temples of the gods of Subartu, some writers have maintained that the Scythians were the real leaders in the attack on Nineveh. But it must be asserted, and will be demonstrated by the latter part of the Chronicle, that this passage does not refer at all to the Fall of Nineveh, but to subsequent events, and the whole ground for these opinions thereby disappears. The classical tradition, preserved by Diodorus,[1] of the "Bactrian" army which was summoned to the help of Nineveh, and then persuaded to throw in its lot with her enemies, seems, despite its confusion of names, to represent the true position of the Scythians, whose part was doubtless similar to that of the Babylonians, as an allied contingent under the general leadership of Kyaxares, so far, at least, as this particular operation is concerned. Of the Median king himself we get no glimpse from the damaged text of the Chronicle, nor is it likely that his pre-eminent influence was mentioned by the Babylonian scribe. All that we hear of him is the somewhat disappointing detail that he marched away in the month after the fall of the city.

About the date of the destruction of Nineveh, as about the whole subject, there has grown up a considerable literature,[2] which had not, however, succeeded in giving any impression of certainty to the results attained. The evidence was in fact, insufficient, and there was no prospect of satisfaction upon these matters so long as there was nothing to supplement it. It is certainly the greatest single contribution of this Chronicle to ancient history that the date of this all-important event is now securely placed in the month of Ab (*i.e.* July—August), of the year B.C. 612. In view of this positive and almost contemporary pronouncement it is unnecessary to seek confirmation further afield, or to pursue in detail the clues by which an answer to this question has hitherto been sought. But there is one piece of evidence which deserves a moment's examination, both for its own sake, and because it has been thought to provide a limit before which the Fall of Nineveh could not be dated. In the year 608,[3] "Pharaoh-nechoh, king of Egypt, went up against the king of Assyria to the river Euphrates."[4] His march was opposed by Josiah, the king of Judah, who was defeated and slain in the

[1] II, 26, 1–4.

[2] Summarised in STRECK. *Assurbanipal*, vol. i, cdxv, n. 4.

[3] For this date, see MARTI in *Encyclopedia Biblica*, vol. i, 795–799.

[4] II Kings, xxiii, 29. There is a less exact notice of the same event in II Chron. xxxv, 20, *cf.* also Herodotus II, 159.

ensuing battle of Megiddo. The account of Josephus,[1] however, names the Medes and Babylonians as the enemies against whom the expedition was directed, and, in view of the information derived from the Chronicle, this latter version must clearly be accepted. Necho's march was evidently but one among a number of efforts made by the Egyptian kings to bolster up the falling power of Assyria as the most reliable support against the northern barbarians. The operations on the Euphrates in 616, the reinforcements lent to Ashur-uballiṭ in 609, and the final collision at Carchemish in 605 form, together with the events of 608, successive steps in a consistent policy pursued by the Egyptian kings of the XXVIth dynasty. The only respect in which Josephus might be called in question concerns his mention of the Medes. To judge by the happenings of 610 and 609, as we find them in the Chronicle, it is much more likely that the Scythians (Umman-Manda)[2] were the allies of the Babylonians against whom Necho went to fight. These facts must necessarily alter our whole view of Egyptian policy at this time. So far from being merely anxious to secure a due share of the spoils of the fallen Assyrian Empire, it is evident that the aim of Egyptian kings was, on the contrary, to sustain at any cost the power of Assyria, as being the only state which had a common interest with themselves in fending off the Scythian onslaughts. When Nebuchadnezzar finally defeated Necho at Carchemish it was no combat of jackals over the lion's dead body, but simply the last blow of a long struggle between Babylon and the northerners on one side and Assyria and her Egyptian allies on the other. But, to return to the chronological question, from which the above has been a necessary digression, the words of the Old Testament cannot be adduced as a proof that the downfall of Nineveh was later than the year 608, since the expedition of Necho was directed not against the Assyrians,[3] but against the Babylonians and their allies, whether Scythian or Mede. It is true, of course, that Necho's campaign implies the existence of a kingdom of Assyria, with which he was in alliance, but since

[1] *Antiq.*, x, 5, 1. Νεχαὼ ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐγείρας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἤλασε ποταμὸν Μήδους πολεμήσων καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους οἳ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχήν.

[2] Such a confusion between Medes and Manda is, however, found even in Babylonian texts. See above, p. 14, note 1.

[3] In any case, the view that this year provided a *terminus post quem* for the Fall of Nineveh was bound to rest upon the totally artificial interpretation of κατέλυσαν as "they were (engaged in) destroying" proposed by V. NIEBUHR, *Geschichte Assurs*, 117 f. Josephus plainly regarded the Fall of Nineveh as the destruction of the Assyrian Empire, which, in truth, it was, for the precarious kingdom of Ḫarran had little but a name in common with Assyria.

we learn from the Chronicle the astonishing fact that the Fall of Nineveh did not involve the end of the nominal Assyrian kingdom, which was simply transplanted to Ḫarran, the year 608 has no significance in fixing the date of the disaster. As to the forty eponym-officials whose names seem to belong to the period after Ashurbanipal, we have not sufficient information to tell how they can have been included in the interval before 612.

The details which can be gained from the Chronicle as to the circumstances of the victory are disappointingly few. In part this is due to the mutilated condition of the text; but, even when complete, the document devoted only two lines to this great event! The final siege lasted from the month of Sivan to the month of Ab, *i.e.* from about the beginning of June till some time in August, about 2½ months. It has been remarked above that the classical tradition of a siege extending into the third year is probably based upon the fact, which the Chronicle supports, that the first phase of the Median attack took place two years before, in 614. There is, however, a considerable difficulty in regarding as a three years' siege an operation which was completely suspended throughout the second year, and it might consequently be held that the three months occupied by the final siege had been expanded by tradition into three years. Against this is the intervention of the "Bactrian" (*i.e.* Scythian)[1] army, which seems to demand a longer time, and it is therefore probably better to accept the three years as correct, on the understanding that the war was by no means continuous; indeed, the account of Diodorus seems to fall into two parts, marked first by the failure and then by the success of the attack.[2]

With a new version of the sack of Nineveh before us, we naturally look with particular curiosity to see what support it gives to the famous stories which legend has imperishably connected with this event. Diodorus[3] and Xenophon,[4] with varying degrees of confusion as to the details, relate that the capture of the city was rendered possible only by a great storm of rain and thunder, which caused the river to rise in flood[5] and sweep away the wall to a length of 20 *stadia*. It does not seem likely that the Chronicle,

[1] See above, pp. 12, 15, and below, p. 28 f.

[2] Some other possibilities have already been mentioned (p. 12 f.), but it is best to suspend judgment and admit that much obscurity remains upon this question.

[3] II, 27, 1.

[4] *Anabasis*, iii, 4, 7–12.

[5] Nahum i, 8. "But with an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof."

even when complete, made any mention of this mischance, but the conciseness of its style seldom permits of details, and there is nothing improbable in the story itself. Moreover, it would agree very well with the season as indicated in the Chronicle. The heaviest rainfall in the Tigris district occurs normally in March,[1] together with the melting of the Armenian snows, with the result that the river attains its greatest volume in April and May,[2] and begins to fall towards the end of the latter month. The truth doubtless is that Kyaxares simply took advantage of the devastation caused by an abnormally high Tigris in the preceding spring to press home his assault upon the only place in the walls which accident had rendered vulnerable. The Chronicle appears to say (though the reading is somewhat uncertain) that three battles were fought before the city was carried. In the account of Diodorus there are two pairs, as it were, of three battles each. The first of these may perhaps be assigned to the first year of the siege, when the Medes were uniformly worsted[3]; the second begins with the successful night attack[4] and continues with the two[5] defeats of "Galaimenes"; it is the latter three that are found in the Chronicle. Of the tradition that "Sardanapallus" sent away his family to a place of safety[6] when he saw that the city was in danger there seems to be no trace.[7] With regard to the most celebrated story of all, the self-immolation of the fabled Sardanapallus amid the flames of his hoarded luxury, we have to suffer a grievous disappointment, for the text becomes illegible at the very point where the fate of the Assyrian monarch was to be described. One thing at least is certain, that the hero of this episode, if it occurred, has been rightly identified as Sin-shar-ishkun by modern historians, following the correct version of Abydenus,[8] who alone has preserved the name of "Sarakos" instead of the legendary "Sardanapallus." The classical tradition is almost unanimous as to the fiery end of the Ninevite king, though there does, indeed, exist another version,[9] that he was slain by

[1] See the table in Sir W. WILLCOCKS, *The Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, p. 74.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

[3] Diodorus II, 25, 6. *γενομένης οὖν τρίτης παρατάξεως πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνίκησε.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 26, 4–5.

[5] *Ibid.*, 26, 6. *οἱ δ' ἀποστάται . . . . . δυσὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 26, 8, and a similar, though much confused, story in Xenophon, *Anab.*, iii, 4, 11, and Ktesias in Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, xii, 529 b.

[7] Unless this is a confused echo of the transference of the kingdom to Ḫarran.

[8] In Eusebius, *Chron.* i, 35, 28, and 37, 10 (ed. SCHOENE).

[9] Nicolaus Damascenus, fr. 9 (*Fragm. Hist. Graec.* iii, 358 f.), and Duris in Athenaeus *Deipnosophistae*, xii, 528 f.—529 a.

the hand of Arbakes (*i.e.* Kyaxares), who had enlisted the aid of one Sparameizes, a confidential eunuch. Modern critics have doubted the story of self-immolation on general grounds, seeing in it merely a confusion with the well-known fate of Shamash-shum-ukîn,[1] or a myth projected from a religious ceremony.[2] On the other hand, the reasons advanced against the tradition are purely speculative, and the ruins of the city show evident marks of the fire which destroyed it. However this may be, it is at least certain that the end of Sin-shar-ishkun is definitely indicated. Nineveh itself was 'turned into a mound and a ruin," and remains so to this day. With a supreme, if unconscious, irony her own end is described in the very phrase with which her kings had so often vaunted their former conquests.

Now begins the most novel section of the Chronicle. In spite of the damage to the text, it appears that a successful sortie was made by a body of the defenders who, seeing that the doom of the city was inevitable, directed their efforts to breaking through the ring of the besiegers and making their escape. In view of what follows, it is a very probable conjecture that the leader of this enterprise was one Ashur-uballiṭ,[3] a character who thus makes his appearance on the stage of history. Shortly afterwards he and his men are found installed in the city of Ḫarran, where the new leader (for there can be little question that it was he) assumed the crown of Assyria. This transplanting of the Assyrian kingdom to the west, after the destruction of Nineveh, is certainly the most surprising information we derive from the Chronicle, and its value can be gauged by the entirely new light in which it places certain matters that, in its absence, have been seriously misinterpreted.

The city of Ḫarran, which lay on the road from Nineveh to the Mediterranean, had from early times formed a sort of western capital of the empire, a position which had been signalised by the residence there, as provincial governor, of the Turtan, or commander-in-chief, the officer next in dignity to the king himself, and it is not very hazardous to suppose that this was the former rank of Ashur-uballiṭ. Moreover, this city had the advantage of being directly accessible to Egyptian armies, upon which it is evident that the new king had to rely. In fact, though the name of Assyria was preserved, the new power was north

[1] Ashurbanipal, *Annals*, col. iv, 46–52.

[2] *e.g.* ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, 373.

[3] It is curious that the last king of Assyria should thus bear the name of one of the greatest among his predecessors, the contemporary of Amenophis IV of Egypt. Similarly, the last Roman emperor of the West was named Romulus Augustus!

Mesopotamian, and was accurately described as the kingdom of Subartu[1] by the new Babylonian inscriptions. In his own building records Nabopolassar says, "I slew the Subaraean, and turned the enemy's land into mounds and ruins."[2] Elsewhere he boasts, "As for the Assyrians . . . . . from the land of Akkad their foot I banished and cast off their yoke."[3] In the Hillah inscription of Nabonidus it is said that "the king of the Umman-Manda (Scythians), the fearless, destroyed the temples of the gods of Subartu, all of them." Throughout these references it is most probable that the enemy is the same, though described indifferently as Subaraean and Assyrian, since, after the destruction of Nineveh and the removal of its kingdom to Ḫarran, the name of Subaraean became completely merged with that of Assyrian, just as the Greeks of the late Byzantine Empire maintained the style of Romans. While it may be doubtful whether the vague language of Nabopolassar alludes to his wars with Assyria before or after the Fall of Nineveh, it is at least certain that the Nabonidus passage has nothing to do with that event, but is concerned with the wars against the neo-Assyrian kingdom at Ḫarran, in which the Umman-Manda took the leading part. The erroneous reference of these words of Nabonidus to the Fall of Nineveh has caused a good deal of difficulty, which is happily cleared away by the new information derived from the Chronicle. Subartu is not a pedantic eccentricity for Assyria, nor are the Umman-Manda, in this passage, confused with the Medes, both of which assumptions had to be made so long as the siege of Nineveh was thought to be in question.

Of the remaining events of 612, little can be gained from the mutilated text. After the victory Kyaxares "returned to his land," and we hear that the Babylonian king also went back, though evidently not home, since he is next found in the city of Naṣîbîn where he deals with the prisoners and slaves captured at Nineveh. Still later, Nabopolassar seems to be back again at the ruined city, where he receives the plunder from Ruṣapu, *i.e.* the district west of Nineveh about the Jabal Sinjâr.[4] Here he remained for a short time, it

[1] This term, although evidently sometimes used to include Assyria proper, was particularly appropriate to the position of Ashur-uballiṭ's kingdom; see the literature quoted by STRECK, *Asurbanipal*, cdxvii, and UNGNAD, *Die ältesten Völkerwanderungen Vorderasiens*, 5 f. The nomenclature of Nabopolassar's and Nabonidus' inscriptions is more accurate and less eccentric than has usually been supposed.

[2] LANGDON, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 60, 29, and 66, Col. II, 1.

[3] *Ibid.*, 68, 17 ff.

[4] See FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung*, esp. 15, 105.

would seem, but at this point nothing survives of the text but disconnected fragments, and it is impossible to follow the course of events.

B.C. 611. The following year saw a marked relaxation of activities after the great events at Nineveh, and the Babylonian king, at least, undertook only minor operations. Marching up the Euphrates to Assyria[1] he defeated two tribes whose names are too mutilated to be identifiable, and then turned upon the city of Rugguliti, which had been captured by Shalmaneser III[2] in 856, and given by him a new name (which evidently never came into other than official use). Nabopolassar carried the city in the late autumn, and the broken text may possibly indicate that the success was followed by a slaughter of the defenders. Operating as he was in the territory of the new Assyrian kingdom, the fact that he made no attempt to molest the capital is significant of the feebleness of the Babylonian army unaided, and this is even more apparent in the next year, which was spent in fruitless marches and counter-marches, until the accession of a more formidable ally rendered possible a serious attack upon Ḫarran.

B.C. 610. A march up the Euphrates began in the following spring, but, though unopposed in the field, the expedition seemed likely to have no result, for the Assyrians remained in their fenced city, which the Babylonians knew themselves too weak to threaten. The chronicler's empty boast that their progress was "victorious" cannot conceal the ineffectiveness which allowed a whole summer to slip by without achieving anything that deserved record. Their failure is accentuated by contrast with the activity that began in the autumn. The Scythians, whose help had been hitherto for some unknown reason delayed, undertook an expedition against Ḫarran itself, and in this Nabopolassar joined; though the Chronicle seeks to represent the contrary, we shall hardly be wrong in supposing that his position was subordinate. The effect of this coalition was striking and immediate. Ashur-uballiṭ and his army, in spite of certain reinforcements which he had received, despaired of maintaining the city, evacuated it without a blow, and fled across the river, doubtless in the direction of Syria and his Egyptian supporters. When the allies arrived the city lay open to them, but its defenceless condition

[1] The name had shifted with the kingdom! For, although the names of the two tribes which he first overcame are mutilated, the city of Rugguliti, at least, is known to have lain in the neighbourhood of Til-Barsip (Tall Aḥmar), near the mouth of the Sajûr, see R. C. THOMPSON in the *Proc. of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1912, p. 66 ff.

[2] Shalmaneser III, *Monolith*, Col. II, 35

could not save it from the pillage of the barbarians. "Against that city and temple," says Nabonidus,[1] many years after, "the heart [of the god Sin] was angry; he caused the Scythians to attack it, he destroyed the temple and sent it down in ruins." Nabopolassar himself secured rich spoils, according to the Chronicle, though his pious successor is at pains to absolve him from the guilt of sacrilege.[2] It was by now late in the year, and the Babylonian king marched away, leaving behind him a garrison, of which more will be heard in the next year. The city of Ḥarran seems to have remained, however, in effective occupation of the Scythians.

It has already been noticed that the celebrated passage in the Hillah inscription of Nabonidus[3] refers to these and subsequent events rather than to the capture of Nineveh, and that the language used there is consequently much more precise than has usually been supposed.[4] There are, however, other references in the inscriptions of Nabonidus to the Scythian capture of Ḥarran, particularly to the date of this event. In one place,[5] after recounting the destruction of Ḥarran and the subsequent repentance of the angered gods, who now determined that it should be restored, the king continues: "At the beginning[6] of my enduring kingship they caused me to behold a dream," in which Marduk and Sin commanded him to undertake the work. Elsewhere[7] we are told that the temple in Ḥarran had lain in ruins for 54 years since its destruction by the Scythians. But since in the first inscription it is further recorded that the conquest of the Medes (here called the "Manda") by Cyrus took place "in the third year," it has been assumed that the 54 years are to be reckoned back from the third year of Nabonidus, *i.e.* 553, in which case the capture of Ḥarran would have been dated in 607,[8] *i.e.* 553 + 54. But, as the words "at the beginning of my enduring kingship" are sufficient to show, the 54 years are to be reckoned back from the accession-year (555) of Nabonidus. The Chronicle, then, gives the fall of Ḥarran in 610; the years

[1] LANGDON, *Neubab. Königsinschriften*, 218, 11–13.
[2] *Ibid.*, 274, 32–41.
[3] *Ibid.*, 272, Col. II, 1–41.
[4] See above, p. 20.
[5] LANGDON, *op. cit.*, 218, 8 ff.
[6] *i.e.* in the first year of his reign.
[7] LANGDON, *op. cit.*, 284, Col. X, 12 ff.
[8] Or rather 608, on the principle described below; but the evaluation of this mistaken date is of no importance.

between this and 555 are precisely 54, since the remaining fraction of 610 is not included in the calculation, which takes account only of complete years. On this point the Chronicle and the stele of Nabonidus mutually confirm each other in the most conclusive manner.

B.C. 609. The following section in the Chronicle begins without the usual note of the year. There can, however, be no doubt that this is a mere oversight, since the history of the preceding year had been brought down to the last month, and the Scythian occupation of Ḥarran, which had taken place in the autumn of 610, was to be contested by Ashur-uballiṭ in the summer of the following year. Why his Egyptian allies had not helped him to defend Ḥarran must remain unknown. As it was, they had by their own neglect set themselves the much more difficult task of recapturing it. If the object of contemporary Egyptian policy was, as suggested above,[1] to support the Assyrian power as a bulwark against the northern hordes, the co-operation with Ashur-uballiṭ in striking at the Scythian stronghold in Ḥarran was only one other step in that succession of military efforts which we can now trace from 616 to 605, when the issue against Egypt, and very probably the fate of the neo-Assyrian kingdom, were settled together at Carchemish. On this occasion the allies crossed the Euphrates and marched upon Ḥarran to expel the mixed garrison of Scythians and Babylonians who had been installed there in the previous year. There is, unfortunately, some doubt as to the circumstances in which Nabopolassar had left his men in this situation, and further mutilation of the text at this point only increases the uncertainty. In some way Ashur-uballiṭ evidently succeeded in getting a number of these men into his hands, and slew them by taking them up to some high place and casting them down. Despite the obscurity of these details, it is evident that this success was not connected with the capture of the city. It is possible that the Babylonians had been holding some small outlying post, for the attack against the city itself follows upon the slaughter of these prisoners. For two months the siege continued without any success. Nabopolassar then arrived and seems to have fought a battle with the besiegers, though we are left uncertain as to its result, save that we might infer its success from the ravaging expeditions which followed. Whether the approach of the Babylonian army had the effect of raising the siege, as the Chronicle appears to imply, might well be doubted. The Scythians in Ḥarran were

[1] See p. 16.

scarcely in need of such help as this to enable them to sustain all the efforts of Ashur-uballiṭ and his Egyptian allies.

The last four lines of the Chronicle are so mutilated that very little is to be gained from them. This is the more regrettable as they recorded an expedition against Armenia.[1] It is very probable, though not quite certain, that it was the Babylonian army which carried it out, for an easy restoration of the text in the preceding lines would show that Nabopolassar was already ravaging the country of Izalla, which lay to the north-east of Ḫarran and would thus be directly upon the road into Armenia. These events concluded the year, and the Babylonian king returned home. The "catch-line," which reproduces the opening words of the next tablet, shows that he was again in the field next year, when we might have expected, were that text still before us, to have obtained interesting details of the conflict, which probably occurred in 608, between Nabopolassar and his allies on one side, and on the other Necho II of Egypt, fresh from his victory over Josiah, king over Judah, who had endeavoured to oppose his march into Syria.[2] No livelier wish could be expressed than that this succeeding chapter may some day be discovered.

Summary of Events, B.C. 616–609.

Year.	Month.	—
616 (Nabopolassar 10).	Iyyar.	Submission of Suḫu and Ḫindanu.
	Ab.	Assyrian army reported in Qablinu.
		12th day. Battle of Qablinu. Defeat of Assyrians and Mannaeans. Capture of Qablinu.
		Expedition against Manê, Saḫiru and Baliḫu.
	Elul.	Return to Babylon. Ḫindanu enslaved on the way.
	Tisri.	Assyrian and Egyptian army reaches Qablinu. A battle avoided.
	Adar.	Battle of Madanu. Assyrians defeated and pursued to the Lower Zab. Nabopolassar recrosses Tigris and returns to Babylon with booty.

[1] *alUraštu*, Babylonian form of *Urarṭu*, cf. the Behistûn Inscr. of Darius, Bab. version, ll. 49 and 94. The "city of Urašṭu" is presumably Ṭuruspa, the modern Vân, which was the capital of the Urarṭian kings. See Streck, *Zeitsch. f. Assyr.*, xiv, 113 ff. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne de Sargon*, l. 150.

[2] See above, p. 15.

Year.	Month.	—
615 (Nab. 11).	Iyyar.	Siege of Ashur begun by Babylonians.
	Sivan.	?-th day. Unsuccessful attack on the city.
		Siege raised by Assyrian army. Defeat of Nabopolassar and flight down Tigris. Rally of Babylonians at Takrît. Fruitless 10-days' siege of Takrît by Assyrians. Siege abandoned, and Nabopolassar retires.
	Marcheswan.	Median raid on Assyrian province of Araphu.
614 (Nab. 12).	Ab.	Siege of Nineveh begun by Medes. Capture (?) of Tarbiṣu. Median siege of Ashur.
	?	Ashur captured and destroyed by Medes; slaughter of prisoners. Meeting and alliance of Nabopolassar with Kyaxares at Ashur. Both return home.
613 (Nab. 13).	Iyyar.	Revolt of Suḫu, with Assyrian support.
	Sivan.	4th day. Nabopolassar captures Raḫilu.
		Siege of ʿÂnah; unsuccessful (?).
		Assyrian army retires without achieving anything.
612 (Nab. 14).	?	Junction effected between Babylonians, Medes, and Scythians. March against Nineveh.
	Sivan—Ab.	Siege of Nineveh pressed; three battles.
	Ab.	?-th day. Capture of Nineveh. Death of Sin-shar-ishkun and many commanders. The city plundered and destroyed. Escape of a contingent of the defenders.
	Elul.	20th day. Departure of Kyaxares.
		The spoil divided at Nisibis. Nabopolassar receives booty from the province of Ruṣapu at Nineveh.
	?	Ashur-uballiṭ assumes the throne of Assyria in Ḫarran.
	Tisri.	? ? ?

Year.	Month.	—
611 (Nab. 15).	Tammuz.	Babylonian expedition to the Upper Euphrates (now Assyria).
		Conquest of two tribes or cities.
	Marcheswan.	28th day. Capture of Rugguliti.
610 (Nab. 16).	Iyyar.	March to Upper Euphrates.
	Iyyar—Marcheswan.	Indecisive operations by the Babylonian army.
	Marcheswan.	Junction with the Scythians and march upon Ḫarran. Ashur-uballiṭ and Assyrian army evacuate the city and retire to Syria. Capture of Ḫarran by Scythians and Babylonians. Nabopolassar leaves behind a garrison and returns home; the Scythians remain in possession of the city.
609 (Nab. 17).	Tammuz.	Ashur-uballiṭ and an Egyptian army advance upon Ḫarran. A Babylonian garrison slaughtered.
	Tammuz—Elul.	Unsuccessful siege of Ḫarran by the Assyrians and Egyptians. Nabopolassar advances to relief of his troops and devastates the country of Izalla.
	?	Expedition against Armenia; result uncertain.

Some Greek Traditions concerning the Fall of Nineveh.

"[Kyaxares], gathering the whole of his subject-peoples, marched against Nineveh, purposing to avenge his father and to capture this city. He defeated the Assyrians in a battle, but as he was besieging Nineveh, there came upon him a great host of the Scythians, their leader being the king of the Scythians, Madyes the son of Protothyes. . . . . Then the Medes came to conflict with the Scythians, and, being worsted in the battle, were deposed from their supremacy, and the Scythians gained the whole of Asia." Herodotus I, 103, 104.

Most of these (Scythians) were murdered by Kyaxares and the Medes, who entertained them and made them drunk, and thus it was that the Medes got back their mastery and regained sway over those they had ruled before. But also they captured Nineveh — how they did it I will relate elsewhere — and brought into subjection the Assyrians, except for the Babylonian portion. *ibid.*, 106.

Ch. xxiv.—1. A certain Arbakes, a man of Median origin, remarkable alike for his valour and for the brilliance of his talents, was in command of the Medes who were sent as the yearly contingent to Nineveh. In the course of his command he became acquainted with the Babylonian general, and was urged by him to overthrow the Assyrian supremacy. 2. This latter was named Belesys, and was the most distinguished of the priests whom the Babylonians call Chaldaeans. In virtue of his singular proficiency in astrology and soothsaying he used to foretell the future to the multitude infallibly, and had already acquired a reputation thereby when he predicted to his friend, the Median general, that he must of a surety become king of all the lands that Sardanapallus ruled. 3. Arbakes thanked him and promised him the satrapy of Babylon in the event of success; and now, elated by what he conceived to be the voice of a god, he consorted with the leaders of the other tribes and lavishly entertained them all at banquets and general gatherings, seeking to ingratiate himself with each and all. 4. He also made special efforts to see the king with his own eyes and to behold all his manner of life. To this end he bribed one of the eunuchs with a golden bowl, was introduced to the court of Sardanapallus, and, observing for himself the luxury and the effeminate extravagance of his pursuits, was inspired with contempt for so unworthy a king, and encouraged to cling all the more to the hopes which had been imparted by the Chaldaean. 5. Finally he agreed with Belesys to detach the Medes and Persians, while Belesys himself was to win the adherence of the Babylonians, and to procure his friend, the Arabian chief, for the attempt upon the supremacy. 6. At the end of the campaigning season fresh reliefs arrived, and the former contingents dispersed as usual to their homes. Arbakes now persuaded the Medes to grasp at the sovereignty, and the Persians to share in the compact as the price of their freedom. Belesys, on his side, persuaded the Babylonians to stand for their liberty, and went on a mission to Arabia, where he worked upon the native chief, who had been a friend and guest of his, to share in the enterprise. 7. When the annual season

came round, all of these gathered a large army and came in full force to Nineveh, ostensibly with the usual relief contingents, but actually to overthrow the Assyrian Empire. 8. The total number of these four nations I have mentioned, when they were assembled in one place, amounted to 400,000 ; they encamped together and took common counsel as to their interests. Ch. xxv.—1. Sardanapallus, discovering their treason, immediately brought against them the other tribal contingents. On the first occasion a battle was joined in the plain, and the rebels were worsted, and driven with great loss into the hills seventy stades from Nineveh. 2. Afterwards they came down once more to the plain, but as they were preparing for battle Sardanapallus, having first posted his own army, sent heralds to the enemy's camp to proclaim a reward of 200 talents of gold to the slayer of Arbakes the Mede, with double that sum and the governorship of Media to any who should surrender him alive. 3. Similar rewards were promised for the assassination or capture of Belesys the Babylonian. No attention being paid to these proclamations, he joined battle, killed many of the rebels, and pursued the rest of the army to their camp in the hills. 4. The followers of Arbakes, discouraged by the defeats, called a council of their friends and considered what steps were necessary. 5. Most of them were for returning to their countries, securing the strong places, and making such preparations of war material as were possible. But Belesys the Babylonian declared that the gods promised them ultimate success after labours and affliction, and with such other encouragement as he could, persuaded them all to face the dangers before them. 6. A third battle took place, the king was again victorious, took possession of the rebels' camp, and pursued the defeated army to the hills of Babylonia; Arbakes himself, after performing brilliant feats of arms and slaying many Assyrians, was wounded. 7. This succession of overwhelming disasters reduced the rebel leaders to despair of victory, and they began preparations to disperse to their several countries. 8. Belesys lay awake all night under the open sky, diligently scanned the stars, and announced to the despairing commanders that five days' delay would bring them unsolicited help and a complete revolution in their fortunes ; so much his celestial lore perceived as foreshadowed to them by the gods. He urged them, therefore, to wait these five days and put to the test his own art and the benevolence of the gods. Ch. xxvi.—1. All were therefore recalled and waited the appointed time, when news came that a force sent from Bactria to the king was hard at hand advancing by forced marches.

2. The supporters of Arbakes determined to pick their most vigorous and active troops and to meet the generals of this force as soon as possible, intending, if words could not avail to persuade the Bactrians to join in the revolt, to compel their adherence by force of arms. 3. In the end, the prospect of freedom was welcomed, first by the leaders, then by the whole army, and all encamped together. 4. Meantime the Assyrian king, alike ignorant of the revolt of the Bactrians and elated by his former successes, gave way to negligence, and distributed to his soldiers meats and liberal supplies of wine and provisions in general to make merry upon. While the whole army was thus carousing, the friends of Arbakes learned from some deserters of the slackness and drunkenness which prevailed in the enemy's camp, and made an unexpected attack by night. 5. Discipline and preparation overcame the disorder and neglect of the enemy ; they captured the camp, killed many of the soldiers, and pursued the rest right up to the city. 6. After this, the king appointed Galaemenes, his wife's brother, to command in the field, and himself took charge of the city. In two battles, fought on the plain before the city, the rebels defeated the Assyrians, slew Galaemenes, slaughtered many of the opposing force in the pursuit, and as for the rest, cut off as they were from retreat to the city and thus compelled to cast themselves into the Euphrates, they slew them all with few exceptions. 7. So great was the multitude of the slain that the flowing stream mingled with blood, changed its colour for a considerable distance. The king being now beset by a regular siege, many of the subject peoples revolted, each falling away to secure its own independence. 8. Sardanapallus, realising the parlous condition of his whole kingdom, sent away his three sons and two daughters with much treasure into Paphlagonia, to the governor Kottas, the most loyal of his subjects, and sent posts to all those who were subject to him, demanding reinforcements, and made all preparations for the siege. 9. Now he had an oracle handed down from his ancestors that none should capture Nineveh by force of arms unless the river first became an enemy to the city. Imagining that this could never happen, he clung to his hopes, purposing to withstand the siege and to wait for the levies which were to be sent by his subjects. Ch. xxvii.—1. The rebels, encouraged by their advantages, pressed the siege, but were foiled by the strength of the walls from harming the defenders, for in those days, artillery, defences for sappers, or battering-rams had not been invented. Moreover, there was great abundance of all provisions for those in the city, as the king had attended to this beforehand. Consequently the siege dragged on for two years, assaults were continually made upon the walls, and

the occupants were cut off from egress to the country, but in the third year, a succession of heavy downpours swelled the Euphrates, flooded part of the city, and cast down the wall to a length of 20 stades. 2. Thereupon the king realised that the oracle had been fulfilled, and that the river had manifestly declared war upon the city. Despairing of his fate, but resolved not to fall into the hands of his enemies, he prepared a gigantic pyre in the royal precincts, heaped up all his gold and silver and his kingly raiment as well upon it, shut up his concubines and eunuchs in the chamber he had made in the midst of the pyre, and burnt himself and the palace together with all of them. The rebels, hearing of the end of Sardanapallus, burst into the city where the wall was down and captured it, then arrayed Arbakes in the royal robe, saluted him king, and invested him with supreme authority.

DIODORUS II, 24-27.

Now after Samuges, Sardanapallus reigned over the Chaldaeans for 21 years. But he [Nabopolassar] sent an army to the aid of Ashdahak, the chief and satrap of the Medes, in order to take Amuhean, one of the daughters of Ashdahak, as wife for his son Nabukodrossoros.

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR
(in EUSEBIUS, *Chronicles I.*, 20, 14-19).

After him, Sarakos reigned over the Assyrians. And, being informed that an army like locusts was coming up from the sea to attack him, he sent the general Busalossoros in haste to Babylon. But the latter, planning revolt, first betrothed Amuhea, the daughter of Ashdahak, prince of the Medes, to his son Nabukodrossoros. Departing straightway, he marched to attack Ninus, that is to say, the city of Nineveh. But king Sarakos, being informed of all these things, burnt himself and his royal palace, and Nabukodrossoros received the rule over the kingdom and surrounded Babylon with a strong wall.

ABYDENUS
(in EUSEBIUS, *Chronicles I.*, 35, 28—37, 13).

TRANSLITERATION.

OBVERSE.

1. *šattu* X-KAM $^{m.d.}$*nabû-apal-uṣur ina* ^{arah}*aiari umman* ^{mat}*akkadi-KI id-ki-e-ma kišad* ^{nâr}*puratti*[1] *illik-ma*
2. $^{mat?}$*su-ḫa-a-a* ^{mat}*ḫi-in-da-na-a-a ṣal-tam ana libbi-šu ul epušu*^{su} *man-da-at-ta-šu-nu a-na pani-šu iš-ku-nu*
3. ^{arah}*abi umman* ^{mat}*aššur ina* ^{alu}*qab*[3]*-li-ni iq-bi-u-*[4]*ma* $^{m.d.}$*nabû-apal-uṣur ana muḫ-ḫi-šu-nu iš-qi-ma*[5]
4. ^{arah}*abi ûmu XII-KAM ṣal-tam a-na libbi umman* ^{mat}*aššur epuš-ma umman* ^{mat}*aššur ina pani-šu ittabalkitu* $^{pl.}$[6]*-ma taḫtu*[7] ^{mat}*aššur ma-a-diš ittaškan*[8]*an*
5. *ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš iḫ-bi-tu* ^{mat}*man-na-a-a ša ana ri-ṣu-ti-šu-nu illiku*$^{pl.}$*-ni u* ^{amel}*rabute*$^{pl.}$ *ša* ^{mat}*aššur*
6. *uṣ-ṣab-bi-tu ina û-mu ša-a-šu* ^{alu}*qab-li-ni iṣ-ṣa-bat ina* ^{arah}*abi-ma ša*[9] *akkadi-KI ummani*$^{pl.}$*-šu*
7. *ana* ^{alu}*ma-ni-e* ^{alu}*sa-ḫi-ri u* ^{alu}*ba-li-ḫu iš-pur* (?)[8]*-ma ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu iḫ-tab-tu-nu*
8. *šil-lat-su-nu ma-at-tam iš-tal-lu-nu ilani*$^{pl.}$*-šu-nu i-tab-ku-nu ina* ^{arah}*ululi šar akkadi-KI u ummân-šu*
9. *ana arki-šu itur-am-ma ina ḫarrani-šu* ^{alu}*ḫi-in-da-nu u ilani*$^{pl.}$*-šu ana babili-KI il-te-qa-a*
10. *ina* ^{arah}*tašriti ummanini* ^{mat}*mi-ṣir u ummanini* ^{mat}*aššur arki šar akkadi-KI adi* ^{alu}*qab-li-ni illiku*$^{pl.}$*-nim-ma*

[1] 𒀀𒈾 𒊏𒄿 𒌝𒀀 𒉌𒌝 𒀀𒀀𒀀 𒀀𒊏, contrast ll. 33, 34, $^{(nâr)}$ *pu-rat-tu*; similarly the name of the Tigris is written ^{nâr}𒀀𒇷 𒁀𒁀𒁀 in l. 16 and $^{(nâr)}$ *ḫ-dIq-lat*, (𒁀𒀀𒀀 𒁀𒀀 𒌝𒌝) elsewhere.

[2] On the use of the determinative 𒌝𒌝 see THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, xviii, 154. For the situation and chief towns of Suḫu and Ḫindanu, *cf.* S. HORN, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxxiv, 219 ff., 142 ff.

[3] 𒁀𒀀, *qab*, or *taḫ*? The place does not seem to be otherwise known.

[4] *iq-bi-u-ma* is doubtless the correct reading, *ik-kaš-šam-ma* would present insuperable difficulties of form, tense, and construction.

[5] *cf.* Bab. Chron. Col. iii, 40, *ki-i iš-qa-a*.

[6] 𒁀𒀀𒌝𒀀, common in the Bab. Chron. though used there as a noun, see DELITZSCH. *Die Bab. Chronik*, 27, l. 34, *cf.* Chron. 'P.' Col. iii, 15, *ina pani-šu ib-bal-kit-ma*.

[7] 𒀀𒁀 𒀀𒁀, not *abiktu*, *cf.* THUREAU-DANGIN, *Sargon*, 22, n. 7. This is finally proved by *Cuneif. Texts*, xxxvi, 7, 28, 29, *a-bi-ik-ti* ŠI-ŠI (=*taḫtû*).

[8] The restoration *iš-pur* (!) is partly conjectural, though the traces support it.

11. *šar akkadi-KI la ik-šu-du a-na arki-šu-nu iḳ-ḳi-iš ina* ^{arah}*addari umman* ^{mat}*aššur u umman* ^{mat}*akkadi-KI*

12. *i-na* ^{alu}*ma-da-nu ša* ^{alu}*a-rap-ḫu ṣal-tam ana libbi a-ḫa-meš epušu*$^{pl.}$*-ma umman* ^{mat}*aššur*

13. *ina pân ummani* ^{mat}*akkadi-KI ittabalkitu*$^{pl.}$*-ma taḫta-šu-nu ma-a-diš iškunu*$^{pl.}$ *a-na* ^{nâr}*za-ban it-ta-du-šu-nu-tu*

14. *i*[*mer*$^{épl.}$*-šu*]*-nu u sisê*$^{pl.}$*-šu-nu uṣ-ṣab-bi-tu-nu ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš iḳ-bi-tu-nu*

15. . . . . *šu ma-du-tu itti-šu-nu* ^{nâr}*ì-dìq-lat*[1] *u-še-bi-ru-nim-ma ana babili-KI ušeribu*$^{pl.}$*-ni*

16. [*šattu XI-KAM šar*] *akkadi-KI umman-šu id-ki-e-ma kišad* ^{nâr}*idiqlat illik-ma ina* ^{arah}*aiari ina libbi aššur-KI ittadi*^{di}[2]

17. [*ina ûmi . . . .*$^{-K}$]^{AM} *ša* ^{arah}*simani ṣal-tam ana libbi ali epuš-ma ala ul iṣ-bat šar* ^{mat}*aššur umman-šu id-kam-ma*

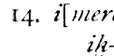
18. *šar akkadi-KI ultu aššur-KI si-kip-ma adi* ^{alu}*tak-ri-i-ta-in*[3] ^{mat}*aššur kišad ì-dìq-lat arki-šu illik-*^{ik}

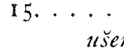
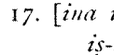
19. *šar akkadi-KI umman-šu ana bir-tu ša* ^{alu}*tak-ri-i-ta-in ul-te-li* [*šar*] ^{mat}*aššur u ummani*$^{pl.}$*-šu*

20. *ina eli ummani šarri akkadi-KI ša ina* ^{alu}*tak-ri-i-ta-in ku-lu-u id-di-ma*

21. *X ûmê*$^{pl.}$ *ṣal-tam ana lib-bi-šu-nu epuš*^{uš}*-ma ala ul iṣ-bat ummani*^{ni} *šarri akkadi-KI ša ana bir-tu ku-lu-u*

22. *taḫtê* ^{mat}*aššur ma-a-diš iltakan*^{an} *šar* ^{mat}*aššur u umman-*[*šu ip*(?)*-par*(?)[4]*-ku-ma a-na mati-šu i-tur*

[1] ^{nâr}  , the interpretation of this group as an artificial means of writing *ì-aìq-la* was divined by DHORME, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, viii, 60, 97 ; see also MEISSNER in the *Orientalistische, Literaturzeitung*, 1917, 266. The correctness of this interpretation is placed beyond doubt by the present text ; l. 15, from Arrapḫa to Babylon across the *NI.NI.LAT.* ; l. 18, pursuit from Ashur to Takrît down the *N.N.L.* ; l. 41, march to Nineveh up the *N.N.L.* The determinative is sometimes omitted, *e.g.* l. 18, 26?, and *cf.* 33 f.

[2]  , *ittadi*, *cf.* ll. 26, 35, 68, but l. 20, *id-di-ma*, *cf.* also Bab. Chron. Col. iii, 40, *ina eli Uri it-ta-di âlu* . . . . , where DELITZSCH (p. 33) proposed to restore the line ), but, apart from the strangeness of such a phrase as $^{(alu)}$*karašu*, there can be little doubt that the correct restoration is ), *cf.* ll. 17, 21 of the present text.

[3] For other references to Takrît under the names of Itu'a and Birtu see FORRER *Provinzeinteilung*. With the ending of the name *cf.*^{alu} *qu-ṭa-a-a-in* (SMITH, *First Camp. of Sennacherib*, l. 36).

[4] The verb may probably be thus restored, *cf.* l. 37, "the king of Assyria . . . . *ip-dam-ma*" (if this be the true reading).

23. *ina* ^{arah}*araḫsamni* ^{mat}*ma-da-a-a ana* ^{mat}*a-rap-ḫu* (*!*)[1] *ur-dam-ma ṣal-tam ana libbi* ^{ali} . . . . . .

---

24. *šattu XII-KAM ina* ^{arah}*abi* ^{mat}*ma-da-a-a ana eli ninua-KI ki-î*[2] . . . . . .

25. . . . . *ma i-ḫi-šam-ma* ^{alu}*tar-bi-ṣu alu ša pi-ḫat ninua-KI iṣ-ṣab-tu* (*?*) . . . . . .

26. [*kišad ì*]*-dìq-lat irdi*[3]*-ma ina eli aššur-KI it-ta-di ṣal-tam ana libbi ali epuš-ma* . . . . . .

27. *alu* (*?*) *it-ta-qar taḫtê nišê*$^{pl.}$ *rabute*$^{pl.}$ *lim-niš*[4] *iltakan*^{an} *ḫu-bu-ut-su iḳ-ta-bat šil*[*-lat-su iš-ta-lal*].

28. [*šar*] *akkadi-KI u umman-šu ša ana ri-ṣu-ut* ^{mat}*ma-da-a-a illiku*^{ku} *ṣal-tam ul ikšudu*^{du}[5] *alu* (*?*) . . . . . .

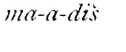
29. [*šar akkadi*]*-KI u* $^{m.}$*u-*[*ma-ki*]*š-tar*[6] *ina eli ali a-ḫa-meš itamru*[7] *ṭub-tu u su-lum-mu-u itti a-ḫa-meš iškunu*$^{pl.}$[8]

30. [. . . $^{m.}$*u-ma-kiš*]*-tar u umman-šu ana mati-šu it-tur šar akkadi-KI u umman-šu ana mati-šu itur*

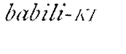
31. [*šattu XIII-KAM ina* ^{arah}*aia*]*ri* ^{mat}*su-ḫa-a-a* [*itti*][9] *šarri akkadi-KI ibbalkitu*$^{pl.}$*-ma nukurtam i-te-ip-šu*

32. [*šar akkadi-KI um*]*man-šu id-ki-e-ma ana* ^{mat}*su-u-ḫu il-lik ina* ^{arah}*simani ûmu IV-KAM*

33. [*ṣal-tam ana libbi*] ^{alu}*ra-ḫi-i-lu*[10] *ali ša qabal-tu pu-rat-tu epuš-ma ina ûmi-šu-ma alu iṣ-ṣa-bat*

[1] Scribal error,  for .

[2] Possibly *ki-i* [*iš-qi* . . . . .] *cf.* l. 3, above, and note , but the traces are quite uncertain.

[3]  *-ma* i.e. *ir-di-ma*.

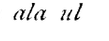
[4] *Cf.* Chron. 'P.' Col. iv, 19, *taḫtu = nišê* . . . . . *lim-niš im-ḫaṣ*.

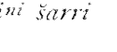
[5] *Cf.* Bab. Chron. Col. i, 36 f.

[6] For this form of the name of Kyaxares see KING and THOMPSON, *Behistûn Inscr.* p. lvi. It was doubtless pronounced, in accordance with Babylonian usage, Uwakishtar, not Umakishtar, *cf.* the Persian form, Uwakhshtra.

[7] , parallel with l. 39, *i-ta-am-ru*, and so to be read.

[8] *Cf.* Synchron. Hist. Col. ii, 27, 28.

[9]  omitted by the scribe.

[10] Evidently the same as  in the inscr. of Šamaš-reš-uṣur, Col. iv, 1, (WEISSBACH, *Babylonische Miscellen*, Tafel v, and p. 10), where that governor built a palace and planted palms. Various other towns in Suḫu are described as standing upon islands, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxxiv, 135 f.

34. . . . . *šu ib-ni abna ša kišad* ^{nâr}*pu-rat-tu a-na pani-šu it-tar-du-ni*

35. . . . . [*ana eli*] ^{alu}*a-na-ti it-ta-di ṣa-pi-tam ultu (?) bal-ri erib šamši*

36. . . . . *kir ṣa-pi-tam ana duri uq-tar-rib ṣal-tam ana libbi* [*ali*] *epuš-ma ala (?) ul (?) iṣbat (?)* [1]

37. . . . . *šar*^{mat}] *aššur u umman-šu ur*[2]*-dam-ma šar akkadi-*KI *u umman-šu is-ḫur-ma-*[*ana mati-šu itur*][3]

REVERSE.

38. [*šattu XIV-*KAM] *šar akkadi-*KI *umman-šu id-ki-*[*e-ma . . . . . .*] *mat (?) šarri umman-man-da ana tar-ṣi šarri akkadi-*KI

39 . . . . . *u a-ha-meš i-ta-am-ru*

40. *šar akkadi-*KI . . . . . *ma* [$^{m.}$*u-ma-ki*]*š-tar . . . . . -a-ni u-še-bir-ma*

41. *kišad* ^{nâr}*i-diq-lat illiku*$^{pl.}$*-ma . . . . . [ina e*]*li n*[*inua-*KI] . . . . . ^{MEŠ}

42. *ultu* ^{araḫ}*simani adi* ^{araḫ}*abi III ta-ḫa (?)-zu (?)*[4] . . . . . *u*

43. *ṣal-tam dan-na-tam ana libbi ali epušu*^{šu} ^{araḫ}*abi* [*ûmu . . . .* KAM *alu iṣṣabat . . . . . taḫtu niše*$^{pl.}$] *rabute*$^{pl.}$ *ma-a-diš ittaškan*^{an}

44. *ina û-mi-šu-ma* $^{m.d.}$*sin-šar-iškun*^{un} *šar* ^{mat}*aš*[*šur*] . . . . . .

45. *šil-lat ali ma'dutu ê-lat mi-na*[5] *iš-tal-lu ala ana tili u ka*[*r-mi utirru*] . . . . . .

46. *ša* ^{mat}*aššur la-pan šarri iš-ḫi-ṭam-*[6]*ma emuq (?) šarri akkadi-*KI *?* . . ^{DI} . . . . . .

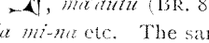
47. ^{araḫ}*ululi ûmu XX-*KAM $^{m.}$*u-ma-kiš-tar u umman-šu ana mati-šu it-tur arki-šu šar ak*[*kadi-*KI] . . . . . .

[1] Reading appears to be  .

[2] The sign might also be *iḫ*, in which case the meaning would be "he desisted," *cf.* l. 22.

[3] With the end of this line *cf.* Synchr. Hist. Col. ii, 7, *is-ḫur-ma a-na mati-šu i-tur.*

[4] On the "three battles," (if this be the true reading), see Introduction, pp. 18, 29.

[5]  , *ma'dutu* (Br. 8710) *ê-lat mi-na* occurs also in l. 64 below. The phrase is a variant of *la mi-na* etc. The same phrase should perhaps be restored in l. 55.

[6] For *šaḫaṭu* = 'to leap, escape' see esp. Meissner. *Orient. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1908, 407, and Thureau-Dangin. *Sargon*, p. 4, n. 5 and p. 14, n. 6.

48. *a-di* ^{alu}*na-ṣi-bi-ni il-li-ku ḫu-ub-ti u ga-lu-tu*[1] *ka-*[*šit-ti ?*] . . . . . .

49. *u* ^{mat}*ru-ṣa-pu ana pa-ni šarri akkadi-*KI *ana ninua-*KI *u-bil-lu-ni ina* ^{araḫ}*(?)* . . . . . [$^{m.d.}$*aššur-uballiṭ*][2] . . . . . .

50. *ina* ^{alu}*ḫar-ra-nu ana šarru-ut* ^{mat}*aššur ina kussi ittašab*^{ab} *adi* ^{araḫ} . . . . . .

51. *ina ninua-*[KI] . . . . . *ultu (?) ûmu XX-*KAM *ša* ^{araḫ} . . . . . *šarru* . . . . . .

52. ^{araḫ}*tašriti-ma ina ali* . . . . . .

53. *šattu XV-*KAM ^{araḫ}*du*'[*uzi*] . . . *šar akkadi-*KI . . . . . .

54. *ana* ^{mat}*aššur illik . . . . . šal-ta-niš . . . . . [umm*]*an ša* ^{mat}*ḫa (?)-az (?)-zu (?)*[3] *ḫa-an* . . . . . .

55. *u* ^{mat}*šu (?)*[4] . . . . . *a ik-šu-ud ḫu-*[*bu-ut-su-nu*] *iḫ-tab-tu šil-lat-su-nu U* . . . . . .

56. *ina* ^{araḫ}*araḫsamni šar akkadi-*KI *pa-ni ummani-šu u-*[*tir-ma ina*] *eli* ^{alu}*ru-ug-gu-lí-*[*ti*] . . . . . .

57. *ṣal-tam ana libbi ali epuš-ma* ^{araḫ}*araḫsamna ûmu XXVIII*[5] *ala iṣbat (?)* . . . . . *e-du amela ul* . . . . . [*ana mati*]*-šu itur.*

58. *šattu XVI-*KAM *ina* ^{araḫ}*aiari šar akkadi-*KI *umman-šu id-ki-e-ma ana* ^{mat}*aššur illik*^{ik} *ultu* [^{araḫ}*aiari(?)*] *adi* ^{arah}*araḫsamna*

59. *ina* ^{mat}*aššur šal-ṭa-niš illiku*$^{pl.}$ *ina* ^{araḫ}*araḫsamna* ^{mat}*umman-man-da* . . . . . [*ana ri*]*-ṣu-ut šarri akkadi-*KI *illiku*$^{pl.}$*-nim-ma*

60. *ummane-šu-nu ana libbi a-ha-meš is-mu-ḫu*[6]*-ma ana* ^{alu}*ḫar-ra-nu* [*ana arki*] $^{m.d.}$*aššur-*[*uballiṭ*]^{iṭ} *ša ina* ^{mat}*aššur ina kussi u-ši-bi*

61. *illiku-ma* $^{m.d.}$*aššur-u-bal-liṭ u ummani*^{ni} ^{mat}*gul* . . . . . $^{illiku^{pl.}\text{-}ni}$[7]

[1] *ga-lu-tu* for *qallutu* (?).

[2] The name of Ashur-uballiṭ must have occurred somewhere in the broken part of this line, *cf.* l. 60, below.

[3] ^{mat}*ḫa (?)-az (?)-zu (?)*, if this be the correct reading, is perhaps to be identified with ^{alu}*ḫa-za-zu* mentioned among the conquests of Tiglath-pileser III. The probable situation of this place, not far from the modern Killiz, would also be favourable to this conjecture.

[4] Or *ga*[*l*] . . . .

[5]  omitted by the scribe.

[6] For *samaḫu cf. Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi. I.*, No. 2, 660, 29, [*e-nu-m*]*a mâr-šu itti ardâni* $^{pl.}$*-šu us-si-im-me-iḫ.*

[7] Probably to be restored [*ša ana ri-ṣu-ti-šu*] *illiku* $^{pl.}$*-ni.*

62. *pa-laḫ* ^{amel}*nakri im-qut-su-nu-ti-ma ala u-máš*[*-še-ru-ma . . . .] i-bi-ru*

63. *šar akkadi-*^{KI} *a-na* ^{alu}*ḫar-ra-ni ik-šu-dam-ma . . . . . [al]u iṣ-ṣa-bat*

64. *šil-lat ali ma'dutu i-lat mi-na iš-ta-lal ina* ^{arah}*addari šar akkadi-*^{KI} *. . . . . šu-nu u-maš-šer-ma*

65. *šu-u ana mati-šu itur u ummun-man-da ša ana ri-šu-ut šarri akkadi-*^{KI} *ill*[*iku-ni*] *. . . . . te-iḫ-su*

66 *ina* ^{arah}*du'uzi*[1] $^{m.d.}$*aššur-uballiṭ*^{ṭ} *šar* ^{mat}*aššur ummun* ^{mat}*mi-ṣir ma-at-tam . . . . . .*

67. *nâra ibbalkit-ma ana eli* ^{alu}*ḫar-ra-nu ana ka-ša-*[*di*] *illik . . . . . tu*

68. *šu-lu-tu ša šarri akkadi-*^{KI} *ana lib-bi u-še-lu-u id-du-um(?)-ma(?) i-du-ku ina eli* ^{alu}*har-ra-nu it-ta-*[*di*]

69. *adi* ^{arah}*ululi ṣal-tam ana libbi ali epuš*^{uš} *mimma ul il . . . . . ul iṣbat(?)-su*

70. *šar akkadi-*^{KI} *ana ri-šu-ut ummani-šu illik-ma ṣal-tam(?) . . . . . [*^{mat}*i-]ṣa-al-la*[2] *i-li-ma*

71. *alani*$^{pl.}$ *ša matati*$^{pl.}$ *ma-a-du-tu . . . . . -šu-nu ina išati iš-ru-up*

72. *ina û-mi-šu-ma ummun . . . . . adi pi-ḫat* ^{âlu} *u-ra-aš-ṭu*[3]

73. *. . . . . ina mati iḫ . . . . . .* $^{pl.}$*-šu-nu iḫ-tab-tu*

74. *šu(?)-lu-tu ša š*[*arri*] *. . . . . -ḫu-nim ma*

75. *ana* ^{alu} *. . . . . i-lu . . . . . šar akkadi-*^{KI} *ana mati-šu itur*

ina ša[*tti XVIII(?)-*^{KAM} *ina* ^{arah} *. . . .] šar akkadi-*^{KI} *ummun-šu id-ki-e-ma* [*ša* $^{d.}$*nab*]*û u* $^{d.}$*marduk i-ra-am-*[*mu*] *li-iṣ-ṣu-ur ana qate ul ušeṣi.*[4]

[1] Number of the year omitted by the scribe: see Introd. p. 23.

[2] Probably to be restored [*mât i-*]*ṣa-al-la*, the district about the upper waters of the Khâbûr, N.E. of Ḫarran. Whether this might be connected with the expedition to Urarṭu related in l. 72 ff. is uncertain. At least the road from Ḫarran to Urarṭu would traverse Izalla.

[3] ^{âlu}*u-ra-aš-ṭu* = Urarṭu, *cf.* Behistûn Inscr. Babyl. Version, ll. 48, 56, 94.

[4] With this scribal note compare that of D.T. 114 (THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels accadiens*, 152), and the comment of ZIMMERN, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, XXXIV, 191.

TRANSLATION.

OBVERSE.

1. In the tenth year Nabopolassar, in the month of Iyyar, mustered the army of Akkad, and marched up the Euphrates.
2. The men of Suḫu and Ḫindanu did not fight against him; their tribute they laid before him.
3. In the month of Ab they reported that the army of Assyria [was] in the city of Qablinu. Nabopolassar went up against them,
4. in the month of Ab, the 12th day, he did battle against the army of Assyria, and the army of Assyria was routed before him, and a great havoc was made of Assyria,
5. prisoners in great number they took. The Mannaeans who had come to their aid and the chief men of Assyria
6. were captured. On that day the city of Qablinu was captured. Also in the month of Ab the king of Akkad his army
7. sent (?) against the cities of Manê, Saḫiru, and Baliḫu; prisoners from them they took,
8. and carried off a great booty from them, and brought out their gods. In the month of Elul the king of Akkad and his army
9. turned back. On his march the city of Ḫindanu and its gods he took to Babylon.
10. In the month of Tisri the army of Egypt and the army of Assyria marched after the king of Akkad as far as the city of Qablinu
11. (but) did not overtake the king of Akkad. He hastened after them. In the month of Adar the army of Assyria and the army of Akkad
12. in the city of Madanu which [is in the territory] of the city of Araphu did battle against each other. The army of Assyria
13. before the army of Akkad was routed; they made great havoc of them and threw them (back) to the river Zab,
14. their asses and horses were captured, and prisoners they took in great number,

15. his many . . . . . they brought with them across the Tigris and made them to enter Babylon.

---

16. [In the eleventh year, the king] of Akkad mustered his army, and marched up the bank of the Tigris, and in the month of Iyyar encamped against Ashur.

17. On the — day of the month of Sivan he made an assault upon the city, but did not capture the city. The king of Assyria mustered his army, and

18. the king of Akkad was driven from Ashur, and as far as the city of Takritain the Assyrian marched after him along the bank of the Tigris.

19. The king of Akkad made his army to go up into the citadel of Takritain. The king of Assyria and his army

20. against the army of the king of Akkad, which was shut up in Takritain, encamped.

21. For ten days he made assault on them, but did not capture the city. The army of the king of Akkad which was shut up in the citadel

22. made great havoc of the Assyrians; (wherefore) the king of Assyria and his army ceased (?), and returned to his land.

23. In the month of Marcheswan the Mede came down upon the land of Arrapḫa, and [made] an assault upon the city of ———

—

24. In the twelfth year in the month of Ab the Mede against Nineveh . . . . . .

25. . . . . and hastened, and the city of Tarbis, a city in the district of Nineveh they captured (?) . . . . . .

26. [down the bank of the Ti]gris he pursued, and encamped against Ashur. An assault he made upon the city . . . . . .

27. [the city] he destroyed, and cruel havoc he made of the chief men; he took prisoners from it [and plundered its spoils].

28. [The king] of Akkad and his army, who had come to the help of the Mede, were not in time for the assault; the city (?) . . . . . .

29. [The king of Akk]ad and Ky[axar]es at the city met one with the other. Friendship and alliance they established together.

30. [Kyaxar]es and his army returned to his land, the king of Akkad and his army returned to his land.

---

31. [In the thirteenth year, in the month of Iyy]ar the men of Suḫu [against][1] the king of Akkad revolted and committed hostilities.

32. The king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Suḫu. In the month of Sivan, the fourth day,

33. he made an assault upon Raḫilu, a city which is in the middle of the Euphrates. On that day the city was captured

34. . . . . its . . . . he built; stone from the bank of the Euphrates they laid (?) down against it

35. . . . . [against] the city of Anatu he encamped, and siege-engines from the westerly direction

36. . . . . the siege engines he brought near to the city-wall and made an assault upon the city, but did not capture (?) it.

37. . . . . [the king of As]syria and his army came down,[2] and the king of Akkad and his army turned [and went back to his land].

REVERSE.

38. [In the fourteenth year] the king of Akkad mustered his army . . . . the men (?) of the king of the Umman-Manda to meet the king of Akkad

39. . . . . they met one with the other

40. The king of Akkad . . . . . and [Kyaxa]res . . . . . he made to cross

41. by the bank of the Tigris they marched . . . . . against Ni[neveh] . . . . . they . . . . .

42. From the month of Sivan to the month of Ab three battles (?) . . . . . .

[1] Omitted in the original.
[2] Or "desisted" if the reading be *ip-dam-ma*.

43. A mighty assault they made upon the city, and in the month of Ab, [the . . . . day the city was captured] . . . . . a great [havoc] of the chief [men] was made.

44. At that time Sin-shar-ishkun, king of Assyria . . . . . .

45. The spoil of the city, a quantity beyond counting, they plundered, and [turned] the city into a mound and a ru[in] . . . . . .

46. of Assyria before the king escaped and the forces of the king of Akkad . . . ? ? . . . . . .

47. In the month of Elul, the 20th day, Kyaxares and his army returned to his land, and the king of Akkad (turned ?) back . . . . . .

48. they went as far as the city of Nisibis, and the prisoners and the slaves (?) . . . . . .

49. and of the land of Ruṣapu they brought to Nineveh before the face of the king of Akkad. In the month of . . . . . [Ashur-uballiṭ]

50. in the city of Ḫarran sat upon the throne as king of Assyria[1]. Until the month of . . . . . .

51. in Nineveh . . . . . from the 20th of the month . . . . . the king . . . . . .

52. also in the month of Tisri in the city of . . . . . .

53. In the fifteenth year, the month of Tammuz . . . . . the king of Akkad . . . . . .

54. marched to Assyria . . . . . victoriously . . . . . the army of the land of Ḫazzu (?) ? . . . . . ,

55. and of the land of Shu (?)[2] . . . . . a he conquered; prisoners they took from them, their spoil and[3] . . . . . .

56. In the month of Marcheswan the king of Akkad [turned] the front of his army and against the city of Rugguli[ti] . . . . . .

[1] Lit., "for the sovereignty of Assyria."
[2] Or, Gal . . .
[3] Or possibly to be completed "a quantity beyond counting," *cf.* ll. 45, 64.

57. he made an assault upon the city, and on the 28th of the month of Marcheswan he captured the city . . . . . no man he . . . . . [to] his [land] he returned.

58. In the sixteenth year, in the month of Iyyar, the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Assyria. From the month of Iyyar (?) to the month of Marcheswan

59. they marched victoriously in Assyria. In the month of Marcheswan the Umman-Manda . . . . . came to the help of the king of Akkad,

60. their armies they united[1] and to the city of Ḫarran [after] Ashur-[uballiṭ] who had sat upon the throne in Assyria

61. they marched. Ashur-uballiṭ and the army of the land of . . . . . [which to his help] had come

62. fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city . . . . . they crossed.

63. The king of Akkad reached Ḫarran . . . . . the city was captured

64. the spoil of the city, a quantity beyond counting, he plundered. In the month of Adar the king of Akkad . . . . . their . . . . . he left behind.

65. He himself returned to his land, and the Umman-Manda, who had come to the help of the king of Akkad . . . . . ?

---

66. In the month of Tammuz Ashur-uballiṭ, king of Assyria, a great army of Egyptians . . . . . .

67. he crossed the river and marched upon Ḫarran to conquer it . . . . . .

68. the garrison of the king of Akkad they sent up to it, and cast them down (?) and slew them. Against Ḫarran he encamped,

69. until the month of Elul he made assaults upon the city, but nothing [succeeded ?] . . . . . he did not capture (?) it.

70. The king of Akkad came to the help of his troops, and a battle . . . . . [I]zalla (?) he went up

[1] Lit., "they added to each other."

71. the cities of many lands . . . . . their . . . . . he burnt with fire.

72 At that time the army . . . . . as far as the district of the city Urashṭu

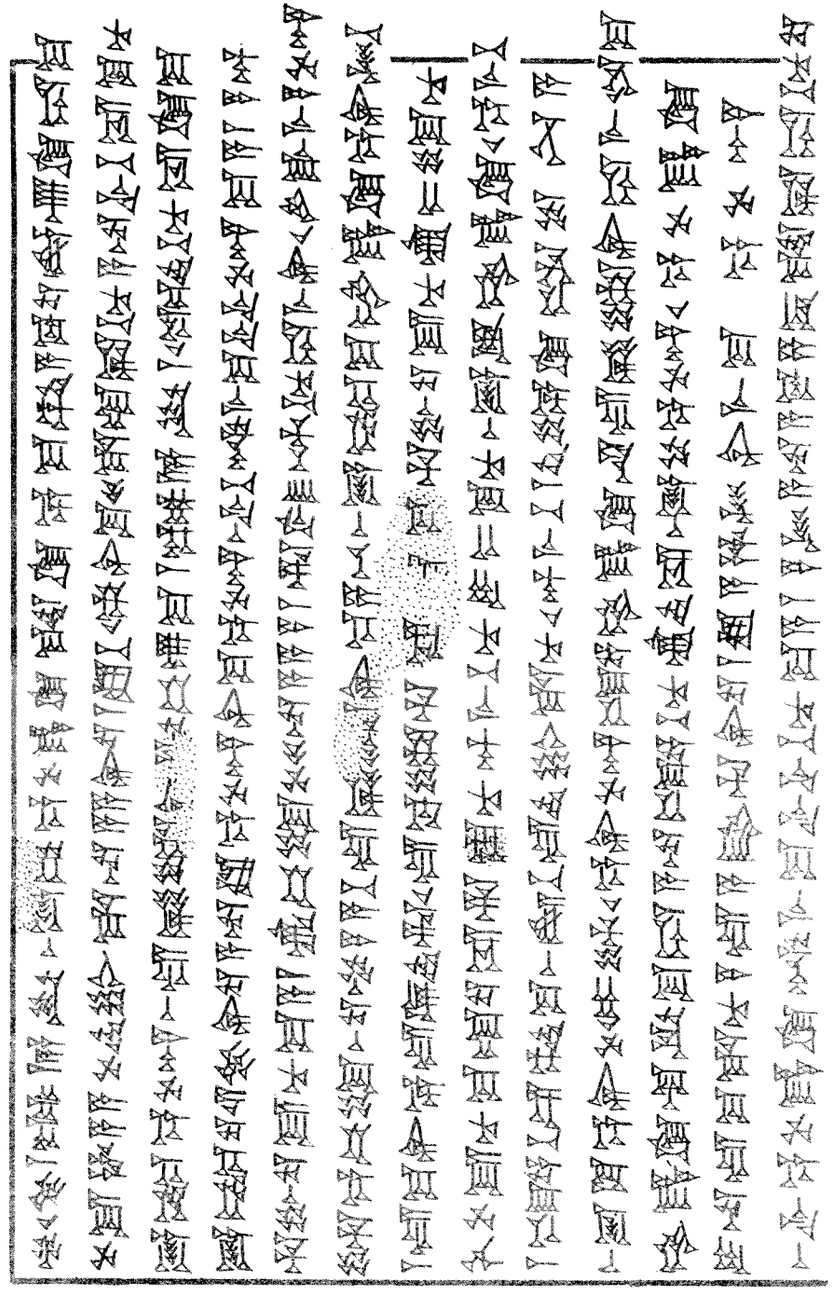
73. . . . . in the land . . . . . their . . . . they took prisoner,

74. the [gar]rison of the ki[ng] . . . . . they . . . . , and

75. to the city . . . . . The king of Akkad returned to his land.

Catch-line : In the [18th] year [in the month of . . . .] the king of Akkad mustered his army.

Scribal note : "He that loveth [Nab]û and Marduk, let him preserve this, and not suffer it to leave his hands."



B.M. 21901. OBVERSE.

OBVERSE (contd.)

OBVERSE (contd.)

REVERSE.

REVERSE (contd.)

ERASURE.

REVERSE (contd.)

LEFT EDGE.