HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

I

Editions E, B₁₋₄, D, and K

By

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
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ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
TO
MY PARENTS
PREFACE

This study, one of the preliminaries to a history of the reign of Ashurbanipal which the writer is projecting, is intended to appear in two parts. The first, herewith presented, contains the text, in transliteration and translation, of Editions E, B₁₄₉, D₁, and K of the historical prism inscriptions, as far as it is available at present. The second part is planned to contain those sections of the later editions—C, F₁₅₉, and A—which differ from or supplement the earlier texts, together with a consideration of some sixty miscellaneous Oriental Institute prism fragments (Nos. A 8102–61), all apparently from the reign of Ashurbanipal, which have not been accounted for in the other editions. A complete concordance to the Assyrian texts of both groups is likewise planned for the second part.

With the exception of Rm 1, K 2732, and a small number of other fragments in the British Museum, all of them definitely exhibiting the text of Edition A, the writer has examined and transliterated (or collated) all available Ashurbanipal fragments identified as such in the Oriental Institute, the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, the Near East section of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin, and the Iraq Museum in Baghdad.

In the preparation of this study it has been the writer's privilege at one time or another to enjoy the advice, aid, and counsel of practically every member of the Oriental Institute staff. Particular thanks are due to Professor A. T. Olmstead for suggesting the project and for his freely given help and encouragement at every stage in its progress; to Professor Edward Chiera for permission to publish the fragments in the Oriental Institute, for the use of the transliterations which he had made of a considerable number as the first step in their publication, and for his ready assistance at all times; to Professor Arno Poebel, Assistant Professor Arnold Walther, and Dr. T. George Allen for examining the manuscript and making many valuable suggestions and corrections. The writer is especially indebted to Assistant Professor F. W. Geers. His unfailing helpfulness, in both Chicago and London, coupled with his intimate knowledge of and experience with
Sargonid historical inscriptions, solved many a knotty problem. A really adequate acknowledgment would demand recognition of his aid on every page. To the kindness of Professor James Henry Breasted, director of the Oriental Institute, this study owes the possibility of its publication.

Outside the Oriental Institute staff the writer is under obligation to Mr. Sidney Smith, curator of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, for graciously permitting the examination of the Ashurbanipal fragments in his care and for checking a number of readings and verifying several joins suggested by the writer after his return to America; to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to use and publish certain still unpublished fragments; to Dr. Hans Ehelolf for courteously according the privilege of collating the fragments in the Vorderasiatische Abteilung of the Staatliche Museen in Berlin; to Dr. Julius Jordan, director of the Iraq Department of Antiquities, for his kindness in permitting the writer to study and copy the Baghdad pieces; and to the Reverend Father Joachim Mayr, of Walchsee, Tyrol, Austria, for consenting to the inclusion of his study on the lunar eclipse referred to in B v 5–7 as an appendix to this first part.

ARTHUR CARL PIEPKORN
BASHIQA, IRAQ
March 25, 1933
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ABBREVIATIONS

AJSL American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures (Chicago etc., 1884——)

Bauer Bauer, Theo. Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals vervollständigt und neu bearbeitet (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1933)

Bezold, Catalogue

CT Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, etc., in the British Museum (London, 1896——)

Harper, Letters

Olmstead, Historiography
Olmstead, Albert Ten Eyck. Assyrian Historiography, a Source Study (Columbia, Mo., 1916)


R Rawlinson, Sir Henry. The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia (5 vols.; London, 1861–84)

RdA Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Berlin, 1928——)

George Smith, History
Smith, George. History of Assurbanipal, Translated from the Cuneiform Inscriptions (London, 1871)

Streck, Assurbanipal

Thompson, Prisms
Thompson, R. Campbell. The Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal Found at Nineveh, 1927–28 (London, 1931)

WKA Winckler, Hugo. Sammlung von Keilschrifttexten. III. Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals (Leipzig, 1895)
INTRODUCTION

Not the least interesting or important chapter in Professor Olmstead's significant Assyrian Historiography (Columbia, Mo., 1916) is the seventh, entitled "Ashur bani apal and Assyrian Editing." Although written in a day when the only collections of Ashurbanipal's historical inscriptions were George Smith's History of Assurbanipal (London, 1871), Samuel Alden Smith's sketchy publication of fragments (Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals, Königs von Assyrien [Leipzig, 1887–89]), and the autograph copies of fragments of Editions A and B in Winckler's Die Keilschrifttexte Assurbanipals (Leipzig, 1893), supplemented with scattered additional texts strewn through half-a-dozen books and periodicals, Assyrian Historiography set forth the correct order and interrelation of the various editions of Ashurbanipal's historical records in such a fashion that later finds have altered the final result but slightly.

Since then there have been made accessible to American students the sections of the annals published by V. Scheil, from squeezes supplied by his brother Sébastien, as appendixes to his Le prisme S d'Assarhaddon, roi d'Assyrie 681-688 (Paris, 1914), and Maximilian Streek's monumentally industrious compilation of all the Ashurbanipal fragments (letters and omens excepted) available up to August, 1915. Though both these works had been published before Professor Olmstead's study was off the press, it was not until later, due to the war, that they became available to students in this hemisphere.

1 Such as the three fragments in Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der K. Museen zu Berlin I (Leipzig, 1907), copied by Arthur Ungnad.

2 B iv 3–14, v 83–93; F i 30–32, 35–38, 60–61, ii 45–46, v 34–38. The plates at the end of the work reproduce squeezes of part of column ii of A 8022 (F i 30–ii 20), possibly an F, fragment, on Plate 6; and column ii of A 8077 (F ii 28–62), an F, fragment, and part of column iii of A 8046 (F v 19–43), an F fragment, on Plate 7.

More recently we have had publications by Clay, Meek, Scheil, A. W. A. Leeper, Thompson, Essad Nassouhi, and Weidner. The careful work of the late Professor Daniel David Luckenbill in preparing the translation of Ashurbanipal’s inscriptions for his Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (2 vols.; Chicago, 1926–27) and the no less painstaking labors lavished on these materials by Dr. F. W. Geers of the Oriental Institute in indexing them for the Assyrian Dictionary likewise shed new light on a number of complex problems.

At that, there still remained untouched several hundred fragments in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, while the purchase of several hundred more pieces by the Oriental Institute of the Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts I (New Haven, 1915) No. 42, transliterated and translated by Ungnad in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie XXXI (1917/18) 33–37. The text is a votive inscription to Ishtar of Erech. A duplicate has been published by H. F. Lutz, University of California Publications in Semitic Philology IX, No. 8 (Berkeley, 1931) 385 ff.; cf. Meissner’s observations in Archiv für Orientforschung VIII (1932) 51.


Revue d’Assyriologie XVIII (1921) 95–97; a votive inscription to Nabû.


Prisms, pp. 29–36 (Plates 14–18).


Archivo für Orientforschung VII (1931) 1–7.

II 290–407.

Most of these fragments have now been published in the first two volumes of the new series of Landesberger’s Assyriologische Bibliothek by Professor Theo Bauer of the University of Breslau under the title Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals (Leipzig, 1933). Unfortunately the present study had already been set up before Professor Bauer’s work was available, so that it could not be given the thorough attention which it would otherwise have received. Since both Professor Bauer and the writer had worked over the unpublished British Museum material, it was inevitable that both should, quite independently, come to identical conclusions upon many points. Under the circumstances, it was felt to be inadvisable to emphasize every agreement or difference with a special reference; consequently citations of Professor Bauer’s work are normally restricted to (a) bibliographical notices and (b) points where the writer is indebted to Professor Bauer for corrections. In the absence of such a reference it may be assumed in the case of agreements that the writer had reached his conclusion before Professor Bauer’s work appeared, in the case of differences that other evidence prevented him from accepting Professor Bauer’s decision.
University of Chicago\textsuperscript{12} has opened the way to their eventual publication. These two sources of material, particularly the latter, have increased E by two and a half times, given us almost the entire text of B, provided valuable additions to D and C, and permitted the reconstruction of F down to a few signs.

Past publications of the historical prisms in particular have definitely been somewhat less than satisfying. For one thing, as Professor Olmstead complained in his Historiography, "scholars have in general satisfied themselves with the publication and study of the latest edition,\textsuperscript{13} sometimes supplemented by more or less full extracts from the others,"\textsuperscript{14} to the inevitable confusion of historians. Worse, the student who did not have access to the originals was unwittingly in the same plight as the practical joker's unhappy victim described by Professor Macalister in his Century of Excavation in Palestine, "whose friend had presented her with a dissected picture puzzle into which she had mixed a handful from another set." This situation was particular-

\textsuperscript{12} Oriental Institute accession No. 809, under date of December 10, 1928; museum Nos. A 7919–8162. The actual number of fragments has been reduced through the effecting of numerous joins. The fragments were purchased by Professor Chiera from a native dealer in Mosul after having been on the market for a considerable number of years (V. Scheil's brother Sébastien made squeezes of several samples while they were in his possession; two pieces from the same collection are alleged to have found their way into the Yale Babylonian Collection while Professor Clay was in charge, but they have defied Professor Dougherty's diligent search). Although evidence which would suggest that joins could be effected with fragments in the Kouyunjik Collection is totally lacking, the building inscriptions indicate that they must have the same general provenience.

While in Mosul in April, 1933 (after this study had already been set up), it was the writer's good fortune to secure, through the helpful co-operation of Selim Effendi Lewi, of the Iraq Department of Antiquities, fifteen additional Ashurbanipal prism fragments (reduced to thirteen by joins since made) obviously belonging to the group of which the greater part has found its way into the Oriental Institute. Pending the final disposition of these texts, they have, for purposes of citation in this study, been assigned serial reference numbers with the prefix P.

\textsuperscript{13} I.e., A.

\textsuperscript{14} P. 53. Thus George Smith uses A as the basis for his history, citing other editions only as complementary accounts. Streck frequently quotes B only in terms of its variations from A. There is nothing in the earlier publications to indicate that throughout the historical portion D is an almost literal duplicate of B, or that C in the unpublished sections reproduces to a large extent the text of B, or that many of the expansions of A in the earlier section of the narrative have been taken over practically syllable for syllable from C.
ly pronounced in the case of B and its cognates. Tablet and prism fragments were indiscriminately published together, and pieces were assigned to one or the other edition with oftentimes only the flimsiest and frailest justification.\(^{15}\)

To rectify this situation as far as possible, the purpose of the present study is (1) to provide all the available Assyrian historical prism inscriptions of Ashurbanipal in their correct chronological sequence, as far as this sequence can be determined; (2) to assign the various published or otherwise available historical prism fragments to the proper edition in the degree to which our present knowledge makes this possible; (3) to make available for historians the additional information contained in the Ashurbanipal fragments of the Oriental Institute.

The scope of this present inquiry is thus deliberately delimited to exclude (1) all tablet inscriptions, historical or otherwise, except as they come into consideration in restoring a prism text; (2) all historical prisms in the Babylonian character,\(^{16}\) such as those recently edited by Nassouhi and Weidner, since these are uniformly late and present altogether different problems; (3) all so-called Prunkinschriften and inscriptions of a semihistorical character, commemorating only a single historical event, which is generally subordinated to the praise of the monarch's piety as evidenced by his concern for the restoration of some temple.\(^{17}\)

\(^{15}\) Thus Winckler included K (K 1703) among the B fragments \((WKA, pp. 76-78).\) K 1731, a D fragment, was used to reconstruct the building inscription of C \((Streck, Assurbanipal, p. xxix),\) giving the impression that C was a dūr qabal dī foundation deposit, whereas actually it was placed in the base of one of Esarhaddon's structures which Ashurbanipal rebuilt \((C x [49,] 68 (ekallu!), 72, 79 = Streck, ibid. pp. 144 ff., ll. [51,] 65, 69, 76).\) K 1729, a duplicate of Th 1929-10-12, 2, was assigned to B for no other reason than that the curses at the end, couched in some of the commonest formulas in Assyrian literature, agreed with those on K 2732 \((Streck, ibid. p. xxvi; III R No. 34, 96-97; PSBA XXVII 98).\) The list of such confusions is almost endless.

\(^{16}\) A 8105 excepted. This small fragment, the only Ashurbanipal inscription in the Oriental Institute collection written in Babylonian, will be published in the Appendix to the second part of this study.

\(^{17}\) To this last class belongs Th 1929-10-12, 2, published by Thompson \((Prisms, pp. 29-36 and Plates 14-18),\) of which the following are duplicates in whole or in part:

K 1729  
\(\text{dated the sixth of Ab, eponymy of Nabûšarraḫḫēšu, or nearly seven weeks before the Thompson prism}\)
INTRODUCTION

K 1769+DT 100 (Bauer, Plates 19-20 and p. 29)
K 1837 (Bauer, Plate 20 and p. 29)
K 2664 (Bauer, Plates 26-27 and pp. 34-35)
K 3065 (Bauer, p. 35)
Rm 2, 79
DT 94 (Bauer, Plate 52 and p. 29)
DT 160 (Bauer, Plate 53 and p. 29)
81-2-4, 43
81-2-4, 167
81-2-4, 176 (Bauer, Plate 56 and p. 29)
81-2-4, 343 (Bauer, Plate 57 and p. 36)
81-7-27, 112
81-7-27, 250
82-5-22, 6 (Bauer, Plate 60 and p. 29)

In addition to the corrections noted by Bauer (pp. 28-29, n. 7), the following should be observed:

i 25 read simply ú-bil ú-ša-ri (82-5-22, 6)

i 33 read 32 bitu 20 ma-na ṣar-ṣi rušṭ (81-7-27, 112)

i 34 read [. . . ] ša-ṣu u-ša-ša-ši (81-7-27, 112)

i 49 a-na ma-a-a-al taq-ni-e (ilu)bel (ilu)beš-te (K 1729)

i 50 ša-ka ša-ka-dī [. . . ] e-peš ru-ša-me (K 1729)

i 52 ina bīb [. . . ] maš-tak (ilu)ṣar-pa-ni-tum (K 1729)

i 53 ša ku-šu-šu ša-ša-ši (K 1729)

ii 29 read the last word im-ma-ad-[u] (A 8115+K 3065; cf. Bauer, p. 28, n. 7)

ii 30 um-mi a-li-ti la ba-na-at ina ša-bi-ṣa (A 8115+K 3065)

ii 38 nīš (meš) ar-ku-ti bi ša (K 3065 collated)

ii 39 ša (ilu)ṣul-ma-mu-šar-dū (A 8115+K 3065)

ii 40 apal (ilu)šar-nāšir-apli šar-ṣu pa-ni (A 8115+K 3065)

Lines iii 19–25 admit of restoration from 81-2-4, 343 as follows:

iii 19 [qi-ri] ša (ilu)ša-ša-ša-ši (cf. Bauer, pp. 28-29, n. 7)

iii 20 kār (matu)akur (ki) [abu bānu-u-a e-pu-šu]

iii 21 [u]-u-ša-ma ša-bi-ša

iii 22 e-na-aš-ma i-qip-pa ṣa (rdmeš)ša

iii 23 šu-rur ša-a-[ši] ina u-ša-ši ši-bi-šu

iii 24 ar-šīm ma ši-bi-ši a-na eš-ša-šu

iii 25 (u)šu-šu-šu (meš) (u)šu-šu (meš)

Further corrections are:

iii 50 restore end of line eri nam-ri (A 8011)

iii 51 restore end of line (ilu)nin-a-gal (ilu)guškin-ba-[la] (A 8011)

iii 52 restore end of line nakt-ši u-še-piš (A 8011)

iv 18 the last word should be bī-bi-ia (B i 13)

v 27 the last word is simply at-mu-ḫ (Rm. 2, 29+81-2-4, 177)

v 33 restore end of line (ilu)šištar beš-te (Rm. 2, 79)

v 44 read ina arḫi šal-me taime (meš) ša-me-e (E vi i 5)

The gap in column vi is nearly filled by three British Museum fragments:

82-5-22, 6 (cf. Bauer, p. 29):

vi 21 [. . . ] pālē (meš)-ia
In the texts which follow, the oldest edition for a given passage is always made basic, and later versions which follow the older edition more or less literally are quoted as variants. Additions of more than one line in later recensions are printed as part of the later edition, not as variants of the older.

Since for all versions except A there is no prism sufficiently preserved to admit its being made the standard, the texts which follow are frankly and necessarily "resultant," the accepted reading being that which is represented by the majority of texts of a given recension. The citation of variant fragments implies a greater or at least an equal number of witnesses to the reading of the text. Where the variant is of real importance, the evidence for all readings is quoted in full.

Aside from its intrinsic value, Th 1929-10-12, 2 is of considerable importance in proving that what Streck calls the tenth column of C (Assurbanipal, pp. xxviii, 146 f., 408 f.) is really the first, as George Smith had contended as early as 1875 (Assyrian Discoveries [New York, 1875] p. 377). Whether Streck was misled by the inaccurate reconstruction of the first column of K 1794 in the British Museum, which allows space for about sixteen lines (eighteen according to Streck, op. cit. p. 409), while the corresponding lines of Th 1929-10-12, 2 occupy only ten, or by Samuel Alden Smith’s statement (Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals Königs von Assyrien II [Leipsig, 1887] 18) cannot be decided.
INTRODUCTION

Purely orthographic variations between editions and between various fragments of the same edition are not noted, except in cases where they are of moment; the fuller spelling is preferred to the less full, a syllabically written word to the word sign, the more frequent to the rarer sign;\textsuperscript{18} ša and šd, šu and šû, ia and iû\textsuperscript{19} are regularly rendered by the respective unaccented syllable, since no importance attaches to these alternating signs, which are entirely interchangeable. The constructs of šarru, abu, and rabû are distinguished from the syllable signs šar, ab, and rab by appropriate accents: šâr (also for šarû), âb, and rab.

The sources of all restorations which are more than a syllable in length or which affect the root of the word are indicated in the apparatus.

The sign ¶ indicates the point where another recension is introduced as a witness to the text; the sign § indicates where it breaks off or diverges again. The various editions are cited throughout this study by means of boldface letters (A B C D E F K).

Notes have been reduced to the barest minimum.

\textsuperscript{18} An exception is ū, which is retained even where variants have u.

\textsuperscript{19} Particularly frequent in A 7947.
EDITION E

Date.—Although the date is not preserved on any of the four fragments thus far identified, Edition E must be reckoned the oldest historical account in Assyrian that has come down to us from the reign of Ashurbanipal. That it is older than the “Large Egyptian Tablets,” one of which Olmstead calls F, is clear from the fact that the story of Gyges’ embassy in the latter edition lacks the elaborate and vivid detail of the account in E. Since the “Large Egyptian Tablets” cannot be dated much later than the conquest of Thebes, a date no later than 667 can be assumed for E.

Contents.—Column i: Beginning missing; 1–3 too badly broken for

1 Since the tablet fragment K 2846 contains a fuller and more detailed account of the Kirbit campaign, which it ascribes to Nûrekallîšammu, and since it records no further events of the monarch’s reign, it has generally been dated before Edition E (Olmstead, Historiography, pp. 53–54), Winckler even putting it in Ashurbanipal’s réš šarrūti, 668 B.C. (Altorientalische Forschungen I [Leipzig, 1893] 475). This fragment, however, is written not in Assyrian but in Babylonian characters (Bezold, Catalogue, p. 481; Bauer, Pl. 31).

2 KK 228+3081+3084 (Bezold, Catalogue, p. 60) and K 2675 (ibid. p. 465); latest edition of the two combined in Streck, Assurbanipal, pp. 158–74. The fact that these two tablets are duplicates was long overlooked, although Bezold had pointed it out as early as 1886 (Kurzgefasster Überblick über die babylonisch-assyrische Literatur [Leipzig, 1886] p. 111). These two tablets are probably library or archival copies of the originals deposited in the foundation of the temple of Sin at Harran (Rev. 37 ff.).

3 K 2675. In this publication F (Bauer’s A4), following Streck (Assurbanipal, p. cdlxvi), designates the edition of Ashurbanipal’s annals promulgated in the eponymy of Nabûšaraḫḫêšu (645 B.C.), sections of which were published for the first time by V. Scheil (Le prisme S d’Assurhaddon [Paris, 1914] pp. 43–44, Plates 6–7), and of which the entire text will be published in the second part of this study, as far as it does not agree with Edition B. On K 2675 and the fragmentary stone duplicate found at Babylon (Delitzsch in Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft, No. 17, p. 2, n. 1) see Olmstead, Historiography, pp. 54–55.

4 Streck (Assurbanipal, p. cdlv), followed by Weissbach (RdA I 204a), gives ca. 664 for the death of Taharka and ca. 663–662 for the fall of Thebes. But Streek attaches too much importance to the account of the “First” Egyptian Campaign of B and A, which in view of the statement of F i 35–38 (ri-eš šarrû-ti-ia i-na maḫ-ri-e gir-ri-ia a-na (mâtu)me-šaḫ-ḫa uš-te-ci-še-ra ūa-ra-na (I)laš-da-am-ma-ni’ šarrûti lâr (mâtu)mu-u-ša a-lâk gir-ri-ia še-me-e-ma . . . ) must have taken place before Ashurbanipal’s réš šarrûti (668 B.C.). If Streek’s dates are correct, the silence of both E and the “Large Egyptian Tablets” on the First Elamite Campaign against Urtaku and the First Gambulu Campaign against
restoration; 4–21, résumé of Esarhaddon’s conquest of Egypt and Ethiopia; remainder missing. Column ii: Beginning missing; 1–4, flight of Taharka to Thebes; 5–6, capture of the Ethiopian ships and armies by the Assyrian garrison; 7–8, report of this coup to Ashurbanipal; 9–17, mobilization of the Transpotamian forces to strengthen the Egyptian garrison; 18–25 missing; 26 too badly broken for restoration; 27–48, plot of Necho, Šarrulúdāri, and Pakrruru against the Assyrian garrison; 49–55, discovery of the plot; remainder missing. Column iii missing. Column iv: Beginning missing; 1–10, Kirbit campaign; 11–14 too badly broken for restoration; remainder missing. Column v: Beginning missing; 1–18, embassy of the Lydian king Gyges; remainder missing. Column vi: Beginning missing; 1–14, standard building inscription, showing that the prism was deposited in the foundation of some temple (or palace); conclusion missing.

Relation to other editions.—The omission of a definite subject in ii 5–6 seems to indicate that this account is taken from an earlier record now lost, but it may simply be a faulty construction parallel to the anacoluthon in v 9 ff. The extant sections of column ii have been reproduced, with minor editorial variations, in the “Large Egyptian Tablets,” but the only passage which has been retained in later prisms with any degree of literalness is ii 32–51, which is re-edited in both C’ and A. 

Text.—The following prism fragments exhibit the text of Edition E:

A. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
A 7919 (i 4–18, ii 1–17)
A 7920 (v 1–18, vi 1–14)

B. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM
K 1821 (iv 1–10, v 3–15) published in George Smith, History, pp. 76–77, 82–83; Bauer, Pl. 17 and p. 27
K 1828 (i 1–21, ii 26–55); i 1–21 published in III R 29, No. 2; entire text in Bauer, loc. cit.

Béliqša, which he assigns to ca. 666–665 and ca. 665–664 respectively, cannot be accounted for. It would be better, considering all this, to assign a date in the neighborhood of 668–667 for the fall of Thebes.

The passage becomes even more confusing after the editor of the “Large Egyptian Tablets” has omitted the co-ordinating ī (Obv. 23), resulting in the erroneous translations of George Smith (History, p. 40) and Streck (Assurbanipal, p. 161).

Obv. 20–44. 7 ii 108 ff. 8 i 119–29.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

Column i

1  [  a(?)
2  [  -ma
3  [  šó e a

4 [(má)(tu)má-gan-na u (má)(ẗu)me-luḫ-ḫa na-gu-u²] ru-u-qu
5 [šá² . . . ] a-lak-ku
6 [(I)ašur]-aḫa-iddina(ma) šār (má)(ẗu)anš-šur(ki) abu ba-nu-u-a
7 [ir]-du-ma il-li-ku qī-rib-ša
8 [abi]jkta (I)tar-qu-u šār(má)(ẗu)ku-u-si iš-ku-nu-ma
9 ú-par-ri-ru el-lat-su
10 [(má)(ẗu)]mu-šur (má)(ẗu)ku-u-si iš-šu-du-ma
11 [ina³] la mi-ni iš-lu-la šal-la-as-su
12 [má](ẗu)² šu-a-tu ina si-ḫir-ti-ša i-be-el-ma
13 [a]-na mi-šir (má)(ẗu)anš-šur(ki) ú-tir
14 [šumē²](meš) ášanî(meš.ni) maḫ-ru-u-ti ú-nak-kir-ma
15 [a]-na eš-šu-u-te iš-ku-²na⁴ i-bi-iš-su-un
16 ardâni(meš)-šu a-na šarrû-ti (amēlu)šaknu-u-ti
17 [e]li ášanî(meš) šu⁵]-nu-u-te ú-pa-qī-du ina līb-bi
18 [b]iltu man-da⁶]-at-tu be-lu-ti-šu
19 [šat-ti-šam-ma⁶] ú-kin śi-ru-uš-šu-un
20 [  ] úš-li⁷ qaš-qi-ra
21 [  ] (alu)mi-im-pi

[Remainder of column missing]
Magan and Meluḫḫa, a distant [district] [(into) which . . . .] 

Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begat me, [had gone] forth and marched—in the midst of it he accomplished the defeat of Taharka, king of Ethiopia, and scattered his army, conquered Egypt (and) Ethiopia, and carried off booty (from) him [without number. He ruled over that [land] in its entirety and converted (it) [in] to a province of Assyria, changed the former [name]s of the cities and gave them names [a] new, appointed his servants to kingship (and) viceroyship [over th]ose [cities] in the midst (of them), placed upon them [tribute, gi]fts for his lordship, [yearly].

[Remainder of column missing]

NOTES FOR COLUMN I

1 The lines are numbered from the first line which has an identifiable sign.
2-2 Conjectural.
3 K 3083 (Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 216).
4-4 SUMER 7919.
5-5 After Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 154.
6-6 George Smith, History, p. 35.
7 An aslu is equal to 120 ammātu, 59.28 meters.
12 HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

Column ii

1 [uš]-ši-[ma a-na šu-zu-ub na-piš-ti-šu]
2 qš-ri-b (išu)elip[pi ir-kab-ma]
3 karas-su ú-maš-šir-[ma e-diš ip-par-šid-ma]
4 qš-ri-b (alù)ni-2 [e-ru-ub]
5 (išu)elippeti(meš) qa-ra-bi [ma-la it-ši-šu]
6 ú šabē(meš) tāḫāzi-ššu ú-[šab-bi-tu ina qātē(II)]
7 (amēlu)mār-ši-pru bu-su-r[ət ḫa-di-e]
8 a-ta-[m-ra]² iq-[ba-a ia-a-ši]
9 (amēlu)rá-bu-[a-qē (amēlu)]paḫāti(meš)]
10 ú šarrāni(meš) [e-bir nār [a rdu-šir pa-ni-ia]
11 a-di e-mu-qi-šu-nu (išu)[elippeti(meš)-šu-nu]
12 šarrāni(meš,ni) [mātu]mu-[šur ardāni(meš) da-gil pa-ni-ia]
13 a-di (išu)elippeti(meš)-šu-nu e-[mu-qi-šu-nu]
14 a-na ṣul-lu-uq (I)tar-qu-[u]
15 [u]-tu qš-ri-b (mātu)mu-šur (mātu)ku-[u-si]
16 [eli e]-mu-qi-ia maḫ-ra-[a-ti]
17 [u-rad-dì-ma] aš-pur a-ni/a (alù)ni-³

18-25⁵ [Missing]

18 [ṣa(?)] a-tam-ra(?)... ]
19 šar-ka-a-nu (I)ni-ku-[u (I)]šarru-lu-dá-ri
20 (I)pa-ak-ru-ru šarrāni(meš) [ṣa qš-ri-b (mātu)mu-šur]
21 iš-šu-nu [a-bu ba-nu-u-a]
22 a-di-e aṣur û ilāni(meš) rabûṭi[(meš) belê(meš)-ia]
23 e-ti-qu-u-ma [išu]ma-miṣ-un]
24 [a-]a-ba-bi-ti Ša-ba-ni-ia³ [¶ C išu-ma]
25 ša ba-ta-[a-tu-šu-ša [limuttu(tu)]
26 da-bab-ti sur-ra-a-ti id-[bu-bu-ma]
27 mi-lik la tuš-sīr Šim-e-li-ku [ra-man-šu-un]
28 um-ma (I)tar-qu-u ul-tu qš-[ri-b (mātu)mu-šur]
29 i-na-siḫ-u-ma at-šu-ni a-ša-[ba-ni me-i-nu]
30 e-li (I)tar-qu-u šār [(mātu)ku-u-si]
31 a-na ša-k[a] a-dî-e u [Σa-li-me]
32 [a-]a-ba-bi-ti Ša-ba-ni-ia³ [¶ C išu-ma]
33 Ša-ba-ni-ia³ Ša-ba-ni-ia³ [limuttu(tu)]
34 da-bab-ti sur-ra-a-ti id-[bu-bu-ma]
35 mi-lik la tuš-sīr Šim-e-li-ku [ra-man-šu-un]
36 um-ma (I)tar-qu-u ul-tu qš-[ri-b (mātu)mu-šur]
37 i-na-siḫ-u-ma at-šu-ni a-ša-[ba-ni me-i-nu]
38 e-li (I)tar-qu-u šār [(mātu)ku-u-si]
39 a-na ša-k[a] a-dî-e u [Σa-li-me]
40 Ša-ba-bi-ti Ša-ba-ni-ia³ [limuttu(tu)]
41 um-ma su-lum-mu-u [ina bi-rī-in-nil]
42 liš-ša-kīn-ma ni-[in-dag-ga-ra a-ha-meš]
43 mātu a-ḫi-en-na-a [ni-zu-uz-ma]
Column ii


4[All] the warships [that were with him] 4and his warriors they (i.e., the Assyrian garrison in Egypt) [captured with their hands].

7-8A messenger tol[d me] the tidi[ngs of joy] that I should behold(?)

9The rabshakeh, the g[overnors], 10and the kings of Transpotamia, [servants subject to me,] 11together with their armies, [their ships,] 12(and) the kings of Eg[ypt, servants subject to me], 13together with their ships, [their] a[rmy], 14to destroy Taharka 15[ou]t of Egypt and Ethio[phia] 16-17[I added to] my form[er forces] [and] sent (them) again[st Thebes].

18-25[. . .] 26 . . . [. . .].

27Afterward Nech[o, Šarrulûdâri], 28-29(and) Pakruru, kings [whom the father that begat me] had set up [in Egypt], 30transgressed the oath of Ashur and the grea[t] gods, [my lords,] and 31brok[e their solemn covenant]. 32[They forgot] the favor of the father who begat me (the favor which I had shown them A), [and] 33[their hearts plotted [evil].

34They s[poke] treacherously [and] 35discussed unrighteous proposals [of their own imagination], 36-37saying: "They have driven Taharka out [of Egypt], and [how] shall we rem[ain]?" 38To Taharka, king of [Ethiopia], 39to compact an oath-bound treaty and [alliance] 40they sent [their mounted messengers, 41saying: "Let brotherhood be established [among us], 42and let us [help one another]. 43[We shall

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Notes for Column ii

1 Except where some other source is specifically noted, all restorations in column ii are from K 228 + K 2675 Obv. 20-44 (George Smith, History, pp. 39-43).

2-4 So A 7919, as well as the parallel K 2675.

3 The exact extent of this gap cannot be determined; this estimate is based on K 228 + K 2675 Obv. 30-33.

4-4 e-pu-us-su-nu-ti A.

5-4 -nu E (K 1828) A (Rm 1); -nu-ti A (var.).

4-6 -ud C A.

7-7 A (Rm 1) om.

8-8 mi- A (var.).

2-3 u-ma-1-e-ru A.
14 Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

44 a-a ib-ba-ši ina bi-ri-[in-ni]
45 ša-ša um-ma-nat aṣur[20] an-ga-[ša-a-ti-ia][16]
§A 46 iš-te-ni-[u a-mat limuttim(tim)]§[11]
47 a-na na-kás na-piš-[ti-šu-nu ik-ri-mu]
48 šu-lu-qu [a-di la ba-še-e]
¶A 49 [amél(šu)]u[ut]-rēš[12]-ia [a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-te]
50 iš-[13]-mi-e-[ma]-š[14] iški-šu-ni un[14]
§A 51 (amél(šu)ra)k-bi-e-[šu-[un a-di šip-ra-a-ti-šu-nu]]
52 ša e-li [14](I)tar-qu-u šar (mátu)ku-u-si[15]
55 (I)ni-ku-u [17](I)šarru-šu-dá-ri (I)pa-ak-rū-rū[17]
[Remainder of column missing]

Column iii missing

Column iv
1 [qu-ra]-di-šu ú-ra-si-bu ina (šu)kakki
2 [imērē](meš) alpē(meš) ši-e-ni
3 [šal]-ša su ka-bit-tu iš-šu-šu-uni
4 [a-na qf]-rib (mátu)aš-šur(ki)
5 [(I)ta-an]-da-a-a (amél(šu)nāgir-šu-nu bal-tu-su ina qa-ti
6 [iš-ba]-tu-ni ub-lu-u-ni a-di maḥ-ri-ia
7 (niš̆(meš) u]l(?)-tu(?) ālānǐ(meš.ni) šu-nu-ti as-suḫ
8 [i]-na (I)qf-rib (mátu)mu-[šur ú]-ša-aš-bit
9 (niš̆(meš) ki-šit-ti] (šu)qasṭi-ia ša máti ša-ni-tim ma
10 (ina (šu))kír-bi-it ū ālānǐ(meš)-šu ú-še-šib
11 [ ] a-na-ku
12 [ ] -tim
13 [ ] ši
14 [ ] šepe(II)-ia
[Remainder of column missing]
divide] the land in two, [and] 44amon[g us] there shall not be 45an[ot]her <lord." Against the hosts of) Assyria, [my] mul[titudes] (the strength of my lordship, which I had set up as their allies A), 46they plot[te[d an evil plan] 47to cut [their] thro[ats; they set out to accomplish (lit., they began to destroy)]) 48(their) destruction [to the point of annihilation].

49An officer (Officers A) of mine heard [of these matters] 50and [met their cunning with cunning]. 51He captured the[ir] mounted messenger, [together with their messages] 52which [they had dispatched] to [Taharka, king of Ethiopia,] 54to compact an o[ath-bound treaty and alliance], 54and [discovered their rebellious plot]. 55Necho, [Şarr- 

[Remainder of column missing]

**Column iv**

1His [war]riors they cut down with the sword. 2[As]ses, cattle, sheep,
3his heavy [spoil] they carried off [t]o Assyria. 4[Tan]dayya, their
5leader, they [to]ok with their hand alive, 6brought him before me. 7I
tore away [the people out] of these cities, 8settled (them) [i]n Egypt.
9[People] of another land whom my bow [had conquered] 10I made

11[... ] I 12... 13... 14... my feet.

[Remainder of column missing]

**Notes for Column ii**

5a-5b So Dr. Geers and Bauer (p. 27). The grammar is most difficult. Possibly we
have here an error of hearing which has corrupted an original ša-(nu-)um-na
(be-lum a-na um-man (cf. B v 42)) (mdtu)asur. On this emendation (based on C
and A) the present translation rests.

5c-5d e-mug bēlū-ša a-na kil-ri-šu-u uš-er-e [A].
51 A om. ll. 46–47.
52 A adds (mēš).
53-54 -mu-u A.
54-55 A om.
56-57 Cf. ll. 38–40.
510-511 Cf. ll. 21–22.

**Notes for Column iv**

1 Column iv has been restored after George Smith, History, pp. 82–83.
Column v

1 [. . . \(\text{amêlu}\)mâr] šipri-šu it-[\(\text{ti ta-mar-til}\)]
2 a-na ša-\(\text{al}\) šul-me-ia \(\text{if-ša-a}\)
3 a-na mi-šir mâti-ia nišê(meš) mâti-ia i-mu-ru-šu-ma
4 man-nu-me-e a-ta a-\(\text{hu-u}\) iq-\(\text{bu-šu}\)
5 ša ma-\(\text{te-}\)ma \(\text{amêlu}\)rākbu(u)-ku-\(\text{un}\)²
6 da-\(\text{rag-}\)gu la \(\text{iš-ku-na}\) a-na kî-sur-ri
7 a-na ninua(ki) ál be-lu-ti-ia [nišê(meš)]¹
8 ú-\(\text{bi-}\)lu-ni-šu ina maḥ-ri-ia
9 lišâni(meş) ši-it-ti (ilu)šamši(si) e-rib (ilu)šamši(si)
10 ša (ilu)aš-šur ú-ma-al-lu-t\(\text{a-}\)qa-tu-u-a
11 be-el lišâni-šu ul \(\text{ib-}\)si-\(\text{ma}\)
12 lišâni-[\(\text{su}\)] na-ak-rat-ma
13 la i-šim-mu-u at-mu-šu
14 ul-tu mi-šir mâti-šu [ ]
15 it-ti-šu ú-bi-[la]
16 [ ] a da [ ]
17 [ ] bî(?) ba(?) pa(?) [ ]
18 [ ] ú [ ]
[Remainder of column missing]

Column vi

1 ina muḫ-ḫi [ ]
2 maš-kâni-šu [ ]
3 e-li ša [\(\text{ûme}(\text{me})\) pa-nîl]
4 šu-bat-sù ú-[-\(\text{rap-piš}\)]
5 ina arḫi šal-\(\text{me}\) [\(\text{ûmê}(\text{me})\) še-me-e²]
6 ušša-šu ad-di-ma [ ]
7 ul-tu ušši-šu a-di [\(\text{gaba-dib-bi-šu}\)³]
8 ar-šip ú-[-\(\text{šak-lîl}\)²]
9 a-na arkāt ūmê(me) ina [\(\text{šarrâni}(\text{meš})\) mârê(meš)-ia¹]
10 ša (ilu)a-šur u \(\text{[i}(\text{ilu})\)ištar¹]
11 a-na be-lut mâti ū(?) [\(\text{nišê}(\text{meš})\)²]
12 i-nam-bu-[\(\text{tu zî-kir-šu}\)²]
13 e-nu-ma e\(\text{kalli}(?)\) šu-a-tu²
14 i(?)-[\(\text{lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫa}\)²]
[Remainder of column missing]
Column v

1[... .] his [mes]senger wi[th a present] 2 approached to ask my health 3 to the border of my land. The people of my country looked at him and 4 said to him, "Who are you, stranger, 5 whose mounted mes-

1

sender hitherto 6 has never blazed a trail to the marches?" 7 To Nine-

1

veh, the city of my lordship, [the people] 8 brought him to me into my presence. 9 The tongues of the East and of the West, 10 which Ashur had poured into my hand—11 there was no master of his language, and 12 [his] tongue remained strange, so that 13 they could not understand his speech. 14 From the boundary of his land [. . . ] 15 he brought[t] with him 16 . . . . 17 . . . . 18 . . . .

[Remainder of column missing]

Column vi

1 Upon [. . . ] 2 his domicile [. . . ] 3 beyond [the former days] 4 his dwelling I(?) [widened]. 5 In a favorable month, [(on) a propitious day,] 6 I laid its foundation and [. . . .]. 7 From its foundation to [its cornice] 8 I erected it co[mpletely]. 9 In future days, among [the kings, my descendents], 10-12 [whose names] Ashur and [Ishtar] shall pro-

1

noun[ce] for the rule of land and [people], 13 when [this] te[mple(?)] 14 becomes old and dilapidated

[Remainder of column missing]

Notes for Column v

1-1 Conjectural.

2 The plural -kun probably refers to the people of the land from which the mounted messenger had come.

3 George Smith, History, p. 77.

Notes for Column vi

1-1 C i 93.

2-2 Cf. Th 1929-10-12, 2 v 44.

3-2 B viii 71 ff.

4-4 B viii 79 ff.
EDITION B

Date. — Six of the available B fragments have dates preserved. Of these, one (A 7997) has retained only the month in which it was written (Sivân) and the title of the eponym (šaknu). Four have preserved the name of the eponym under whom they were produced: A 7935 and A 7938, Abî-ila-a-a (PAP.DINGIR.A.A), šaknu of Carchemish (Gargamiś); the latter giving us the name of the month as well (Ab); K 2732 and 83–1–18, 602 (unpublished), Bēlšunu, šaknu of Hindana. The sixth (K 1741) has preserved the month (Tammuz), the title of the eponym (šaknu), and a few indecisive traces of the name of the city where he exercised his office.

Abilayya, whose name is the last in Canon III, is definitely fixed as the eponym of 649 B.C., and Bēlšunu is universally accepted as his successor in the eponymate. The eponymy of Nabûšaraḫḫešu (645) has

1 On the basis of the same internal evidence which moved Professor Olmstead to date K 3402 (published III R 35 No. 5), which he calls G (since the preserved section of this tablet is an exact duplicate of F i 57—ii 6, it is probably part of an archival copy of the foundation deposit), between the “Large Egyptian Tables” and Edition B (Historiography, p. 55), the writer was at first inclined to date F (Bauer’s A) and its cognates, F₂, F₃, F₄, and F₅, before the B series (Journal of the American Oriental Society LII [1932] 304); but the dating on the actual fragments of F makes this assumption untenable. All the F prisms the dates of which have been preserved were written in the eponymy of Nabûšaraḫḫešu, viceroy (šaknu) of Samaria (Samirina). From K 4773 (Johns, Assyrian Deeds and Documents II [Cambridge, 1901] Plate 160, No. 297) we learn that Nabûšaraḫḫešu was six years after Sagabbu (PSBA XXV 88), the third last name in Canon III (ibid. p. 85). Sagabbu is definitely fixed by external evidence to 651 (ibid. p. 87), hence Nabûšaraḫḫešu must be 645 (ibid. XXIV 238), three years after the latest date of B.

2 That he was viceroy of Carchemish was known as early as 1912, having been established by a sale contract found at Gezer by Macalister (Memoir on the Excavation of Gezer [London, 1912] I 27–29; A Century of Excavation in Palestine [New York, 1925] p. 189), an occurrence with which Streck was apparently unacquainted (Assurbanipal, p. cdlx, where other instances of the same eponym are listed).

3 PSBA XXV 88; Streck, Assurbanipal, p. cdlx; Weissbach in RdA I 207a. Abilayya is two years after Sagabbu; cf. n. 1 supra.

4 PSBA XXIV 238; Streck, Assurbanipal, pp. cdlv, cdlxi, 137, n. 6; Ebeling in RdA I 482a. In any case a terminus ante quem is provided by the Ptolemaic Canon,
falsely been given as a date for B, on the erroneous assumption that K 1729, a duplicate of Th 1929–10–12, 2, is a B fragment.

Contents.—i 1–49: Introduction (1–5, titulary and genealogy; 6–15, description of Ashurbanipal as favorite of the gods; 16–26, account of restoration of temples; 27–40, consequent messianic prosperity; 41–49, the dominance of Assyria during Ashurbanipal’s reign).

i 50—ii 17: First Egyptian Campaign (50–51, objective of campaign; 52–64, revolt of Taharka, who sets up his capital in Memphis; 65–70, mobilization of the Assyrian troops; 71–77, victory of the Assyrians at Karbaniti; 78–85a, terror and flight of Taharka from Memphis; 85b–95a, conquest of Memphis and reorganization of Egypt; i 95b—ii 2, conquest and punishment of the rebel cities, Sais, Binšiḫi, and Sa’nu; 3–6, capture of Šarrulûdāri; 7–9, death of Taharka in Thebes; 10–17, accession and revolt of Tašdamanë, climaxing in the siege of Memphis).

ii 18–40: Second Egyptian Campaign (18–19, objective of campaign; 20–24, flight of Tašdamanë from before Memphis to Thebes and submission of the Assyrian vassal-kings; 25–28a, flight of Tašdamanë to Kipkipi before the Assyrian advance; 28b–36, fall of Thebes; 37–38, establishment of Assyrian authority in Egypt; 39–40, return to Nineveh).

ii 41–70: Campaign against Ba’ali of Tyre (41–43, objective and cause of campaign; 44–52, siege of Tyre; 53–61, capitulation of Ba’ali; 62–64, end of siege; 65–66, return to Nineveh; 67–70, effect of campaign on neighboring princes).

ii 71–92: Relations with Arvad, Tabal, and Cilicia (71–81, submission of Yakinlû, Mugallu, and Sandišarme; 82–92, death of Yakinlû and submission of his sons).

which requires the death of Šamaššumukin some time after Tammuz 15, 648 (PSBA XXVII 100; A. T. Clay, Babylonian Records in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan 1 [New York, 1912] No. 38, ll. 39–40), an event which had not occurred at the time B was written.

* III R 34, 92–95b; Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 138a; Luckenbill, Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia (Chicago, 1927) II 340, n. 1; Bauer, p. 6, n. 14.

* Johns seems to have doubted the character of K 1729 as a B fragment, for he states that there is “no certainty from the fact that, so far as preserved, it [K 1729] is a duplicate of K 2732 [B], that it was a duplicate all through” (PSBA XXVII 98).
ii 93—iii 4: Conquest of the Cimmerians by Gyges with Assyrian aid.

iii 5–15: Campaign against Kirbit (5–9, objective and cause of campaign; 10–15, capture of Kirbit and deportation of the inhabitants to Egypt).

iii 16–iv 2: Campaign against Mannayya (16–18, objective of campaign; 19–22 badly broken; 23–30, Assyrian victory over the Manneans at the border; 31–42, invasion of Mannayya as far as Izertu; 43–46, flight of Aḥšēri to Atrašu; 47–51, siege and conquest of the capital district; 52–65, subjection of the territories of Paddiri, Aršaniš, and Eršteyana; 66–69, return to Assyria; 70–81, restoration of the border cities of Birrua, Šarruiqbi, and Gusune to Assyria; 82–85, revolt of the Manneans and death of Aḥšēri; iii 86—iv 2, accession and submission of Ualli).

iv 3–8: Successful foray into Media.


iv 18–86: First Elamite Campaign (18–20a, objective and cause of the campaign; 20b–26, favor shown to Urtaku by Ashurbanipal during the famine; 27–32, hostile propaganda of Bēliqša of Gambulu and Nabûšumereš; 33–34, Elamite attack in Babylonia; 35–48a, verification of the report; 48b–53, flight, defeat, and rout of Urtaku; 54–68, death of Urtaku, Bēliqša, Nabûšumereš, and Mardukšumibni; 69–73, overthrow of Urtaku’s dynasty; 74–86, flight of Urtaku’s relatives and their supporters before the usurper Teumman).

iv 87—vi 16: Second Elamite Campaign (87–96a, objective and cause of campaign; iv 96b–v 3a, refusal of Ashurbanipal to deliver Urtaku’s supporters to Teumman; 3b–9, portentous astronomical phenomena—an eclipse of the moon at dawn, accompanied by other unusual manifestations; 10–12, Teumman’s illness; 13–24, preparation of the Elamites for battle; 25–49a, prayer of Ashurbanipal to Ishtar for succor; 49b–77, Ishtar’s answer through a seer; 78–90, retreat of Teumman from Bit-Imbi to Susa before the advancing Assyrians; 91–99, Assyrian victory at Til-Tuba on the Ulayya; vi 1–3, decapitation of Teumman; 4–5, surrender of Elam; 6–9, Ummanigaš and Tammaritu installed as kings of Elam and Ḫidalu respectively; 10–16, résumé of the spoil).
vi 17—vii 2: Campaign against Gambulu (17–20, objective and cause of the campaign; 21–38, conquest of Gambulu; 39–42, execution of Massi . . . rā; 43–46, demolition of Šapībēl; 47–69, triumphant return to Nineveh; 70–75, execution of Merodachbaladan's grandson; 76–82, captivity of Dunannu and Samgunu; 83–92, punishment of the Gambulean rebel leaders; vi 93—vii 2, violation of Nabûšumereš's bones).


vii 55b–92: Reign of Indabigāš (55b–57, usurpation of the throne by Indabigāš; 58–76, reception of Tammaritu and his party in Nineveh; 77–92, submission of Indabigāš).


viii 64–96: Building inscription recording the restoration of the armory (bit mašarti).

viii 96–99: Date.

Relation to other editions.—Unfortunately we have no prisms of which we can definitely say that they were written in the two decades intervening between E and B.7 This does not necessarily imply the nonexistence of such documents—they may lie in the foundations of buildings as yet unexcavated at Kouyunjik or elsewhere,8 or they may be represented by some of the small and undated fragments which either cannot be located in the present scheme of things9 or cannot be distinguished from later editions. At all events, B has retained nothing of E literally, and in some cases the events themselves are so al-

7 The one deposited in the foundation of Ėşûlul in Harran, represented by the tablet copies K 228+K 2675 (Streck, Assurbanipal, pp. 158 ff.), excepted. At best, however, this cannot have been written very much after E; see p. 8.
8 Ėşarra, Ėmašmaš, or Ėgašankalamma, for instance (B i 20).
9 Such as those to be given in the Appendix to Part II of this study.
tered in the account that one might almost doubt whether they refer to the same incident. Thus the putting-down of the revolt of Taharka, which in E is definitely ascribed to the Assyrian garrison in Egypt, has become an exploit personally directed by the king. Similarly, Nūrekallīšammu, who directed the Kirbit campaign, has likewise surrendered his laurels to his imperial master.

B is the first of a series of at least four major editions. With D, the next in succession, it agrees almost word for word throughout the historical portion. K, of which fragments of only four columns are extant, reproduces B as far as B vi 82. After its column-long introduction C—as far as its fragmentary state permits us to judge—follows B very closely, except for a few expansions in the Egyptian campaigns, up to B vii 2 and again in B vii 13–65, B vii 77–92, B viii 30–43, and B viii 58–61. F is dependent on B for the account of the campaigns against Tašdamanē, Baʿali (and the events recorded in connection therewith), and Aḥšēri. A takes over all this, plus the account of the campaign against Taharka, and some of the Arabian campaign, expanding at some points and condensing in others. The marginal sigla in the text below indicate graphically the degree to which B influenced the later editions.

For the relation of B to B₂, B₃, B₄, and B₅, see page 94.

Text.—The text-type of Edition B is exhibited by the following prism fragments:¹⁰

A. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A 7921 (i 1–2, ii 7–15)
A 7922 (i 1–4, viii 9–20)
A 7923 (i 1–6)
A 7924 (i 1–9, ii 5–14)
A 7925 (i 2–31, viii 12–38)
A 7926 (i 9–37, ii 22–37)
A 7927 (i 14–27, viii 28–35)
A 7928 (i 45–50)
A 7929 (i 47–56, viii 56–62)
A 7930 (i 50–67, v 57–58, vi 38–63, vii 53–93, viii 57–84)

¹⁰ Since D₁, C, K, and, in a less degree, even F and A agree with B so exactly in many sections that criteria for distinguishing them are few, some of the fragments here listed under B, particularly among the smaller ones, probably come originally from prisms exhibiting the text of some other recension. The point is unimportant, however, except as it may affect the making of future joins.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

A 7931 (i 53–59, ii 61–67)
A 7932 (i 56–71, ii 40–65)
A 7933 (i 68–72, vii 82–86)
A 7934 (i 69–84, ii 60–88, iii 66–94)
A 7935 (i 74—ii 13, ii 67—iii 9, iii 76—iv 14, iv 71—v 9, vi 75–99)
A 7936 (i 85—ii 5, ii 88—iii 1)
A 7937 (i 86–99, viii 79–96)
A 7938 (i 89–98, vii 91—viii 18, vii 20–22, 83–99)
A 7939 (ii 3–16, iii 6–11)
A 7940 (ii 28–40, iii 25–32)
A 7941 (i 34–43)
A 7942 (ii 45–47, iii 39–53)
A 7943 (ii 68–80, iii 66–88)
A 7944 (ii 77—iii 2, iii 58—iv 2, iv 50–98, v 52–97, vi 66–73)
A 7945 (ii 78–88)
A 7946 (ii 79–92, iii 61—iv 1, iv 62–95)
A 7947 (ii 95—iii 12, iii 97—iv 19, v 1–15, v 94—vi 11, vii 3–18, viii 10–26)
A 7948 (ii 97—iii 7, iv 11–25, v 15–19)
A 7949 (ii 99—iii 4, iv 14–45, v 28–52)
A 7950 (iii 6–37, iv 8–43, v 2–42)
A 7951 (iii 9–16)
A 7952 (iii 11–18, iv 23–30)
A 7953 (iii 26–37)
A 7954 (iii 26–47, iv 27–43, v 33–43)
A 7955 (iii 27–49, iv 36–52)
A 7956 (iii 31–51, iv 43–57)
A 7957 (iii 40–45)
A 7958 (iii 51–79, iv 58–92)
A 7959 (iii 73–80, iv 65–89, v 67–80)
A 7960 (iii 93—iv 3, v 4–13)
A 7961 (iv 3–12, iv 99—v 16, vi 8–15)
A 7962 (iv 6–12, 16–17, v 1–17)
A 7963 (iv 22–29)
A 7964 (iv 34–37, v 37–46)
A 7965 (iv 35–49, v 52–55)
A 7966 (iv 44–64, v 49–62)
A 7967 (iv 45–55, v 46–52)
A 7968 (iv 54–99, v 52—vi 7, vi 53–92, vii 48–90)
A 7969 (iv 83—v 3, v 73–93, vi 90—vii 13, viii 3–10)

11 For the variant conclusion of A 7933 see p. 90.
12 For the variant conclusion of A 7937 see p. 90.
13 For the variant conclusion of A 7938 see p. 90.
14 Possibly a fragment of some other edition.
Edition B

A 7970 (iv 97—v 6, v 87—vi 4)
A 7971 (v 5—31, vi 10—31, vii 6—19)
A 7972 (v 9—27, vi 14—16)
A 7973 (v 22—37)
A 7974 (v 29—35)
A 7975 (v 36—41)
A 7976 (v 43—63, vi 34—59)
A 7977 (v 70—78)
A 7978 (v 75—81, vi 80—82)
A 7979 (v 83—86, vi 73—77)
A 7980 (v 96—vi 12)
A 7981 (vi 1—51, vii 26—73, viii 21—59)
A 7982 (vi 10—20)
A 7983 (vi 13—30, vi 95—vii 12)
A 7984 (vi 32—37)
A 7985 (vi 32—37, vii 44—51)
A 7986 (vi 32—52)
A 7987 (vi 39—41, vii 34—47)
A 7988 (vi 39—42)
A 7989 (vi 75—86)
A 7990 (vi 82—95)
A 7991 (vi 94—vii 5, vii 97—viiii 3)
A 7992 (vii 5—24)
A 7993 (vii 18—27)
A 7994 (vii 18—34)
A 7995 (vii 33—37)
A 7996 (vii 38—55, 59—60, viii 41—56)
A 7997 (viii 7—10, 98—99)
A 7998 (viii 22—39)
A 7999 (viii 35—45)
A 8000 (viii 43—50)

B. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM\textsuperscript{14a}

K 1705 (ii 50—76, iii 37—71, iv 37—71) \textit{WKA}, pp. 59—61
K 1707 (iii 72—94, iv 73—86) \textit{WKA}, p. 63
K 1709 (ii 80—90, iii 72—82) \textit{WKA}, p. 62
K 1710 (iv 81—82, v 84—87) \textit{WKA}, p. 69
KK 1713+1732+1737+1770+SS 1878+1989 (i 95—ii 14, ii 77—iii 3, iii 21—43, iii 88—iv 22, iv 59—70, v 21—22, vi 13—17, vi 99—vii 8, vii 18—30, viii 28—39). For the identity of these fragments see \textit{CT} XXXV 49—50 and \textit{WKA}, pp. 65, 71. Publication: K 1713 \textit{WKA}, p. 69; a better edition in

\textsuperscript{14a} The still unpublished British Museum prism fragments of \textit{B} here listed, together with fragments of \textit{D} and \textit{F} and additional duplicates of Th 1929—10—12, 2, approximately thirty-five altogether, will be edited shortly by the author.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

K 1779 WKA, pp. 56-58; a better edition in CT XXXV 49-50
K 1716 (iii 93—iv 5, iv 86–96) WKA, pp. 64–65
K 1717 (iii 85–94, v 21–29) Bauer, Pl. 19 and p. 11
KK 1741+1839+S 1887 (i 1, ii 10–12, iv 59–69, iv 72—v 4, v 62–90, v 95—
vi 9, vi 48–95, vii 32–45, 49–63, vii 75—viii 4, viii 41–43, viii 87–99)
KK 1741+1811+1852 WKA, pp. 49–54. K 1839 WKA, p. 68. S 1887
Bauer, Pl. 50 and p. 11
K 1752 (vii 12–18) KK 1752+2730 WKA, p. 70
K 1786 (i 60–77, ii 57–68) WKA, pp. 55–56
K 1796 (v 15–31, vi 14–23) WKA, p. 70
K 1839 (iv 59–71, vi 63–75) WKA, p. 68
K 1843 (iv 78–89) WKA, p. 68
K 2732 (i 1–30, ii 37–51, 53–70, 97–99, iii 1–60, iii 94—iv 32, iv 47–62,
K 3057 (iii 87–97) WKA, p. 64
K 7572 (iii 46–50)
K 10621 (v 8–18) WKA, p. 6915
K 11289 (vi 63–75) CT XXXV 46
K 11389 (vi 37–42) CT XXXV 46; Bauer, p. 11
K 13730 (i 31–41)
K 13750 (v 58–60) WKA, p. 70 (probably a prism fragment)
K 13764 (viii 26–34) WKA, p. 71
K 14429 (ii 38–40) Bauer, Pl. 47
Rm 15 (viii 9–10)
Rm 18 (iv 29–36, v 34–46)
Rm 24 (v 14–19, vi 11–16)
Rm 27 (v 82–83, vi 83–95)
Rm 28 (iv 85–86, v 80–85)
Rm 2, 546 (i 71–77)15a
S 344 (ii 94–95)
S 1879 (iv 48–59)
S 1882 (v 30–37, vi 30–37)
S 1890 (iii 42–52)
S 2103+2109 (v 32–35, vi 41–50) Bauer, Pl. 51 and p. 11
S 2107 (iii 20–27)
S 2127 (i 6–19, ii 13–22) Bauer, Pl. 52 and p. 12
S 1–7–27, 10 (viii 32–39)
S 1–7–27, 16 (iv 42–46, v 43–48) Bauer, Pl. 57
S 1–7–27, 18 (iv 87–99)

15 Probably a fragment of some other edition, possibly C.
15a Possibly a C fragment. The first column has not been identified.
Edition B

81–7–27, 92 (viii 8–21)
82–5–22, 7 (vi 39–59)
83–1–18, 602 (ii 8–20, viii 92–99)
Bu 89–4–26, 144 (vi 47–58)
Ki 1904–10–9, 90 (vi 82–87)
Th 1905–4–9, 62 (ii 3–20, iii 1–9) Bauer, Pl. 63 and p. 12
Th 1905–4–9, 63 (v 80–84, vi 81–87) Bauer, loc. cit.
99329 (vii 44–52)
105323 (i 58–82, viii 75–96) Bauer, Pls. 63–64 and p. 12

C. IN THE NEAR EAST SECTION OF THE STAATLICHE MUSEEN, BERLIN

VA 2972 (iv 23–42, v 28–48) Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler I (Leipzig, 1907) 83

D. IN THE AUTHOR’S POSSESSION

P 1 (i 80–95, ii 64–84)
P 2 (ii 69–99)
P 3 (iv 16–23, v 11–25)
P 4 (v 86–96, vi 67–80)

In the publication which follows, the intention is to give the text of Edition B as far as it has been published or has otherwise been made available for the writer's use in this place. The security of the text is not, however, to be measured by the frequency of square brackets; where restorations have been made from parallel editions, the texts have been so similar that the restoration is nearly as certain as if it were actually present on a B fragment. Serious doubt can be raised only in those cases where restorations are definitely conjectural.

16 For the variant conclusion of 105323 see p. 92.
17 See p. 3, note 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column i</th>
<th>¶D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ḫa-na-ku (I)āšur-bānī-apli šarru rabū šarru dan-nu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>šār kīšātī šār (mātū)āšur(ki) šār kib-rat iribri(tim)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>ši-lib-bi (I)āšur-aḫa-iddīna šār (mātū)aš-šur(ki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>šakkanak bābili(ki) šār māt šumerī u akkadi(ki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>liplipi (I.lūšīn)āḫḫē(meš)-irība šār kīšātī šār (mātū)aš-šur(ki)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ilānī(meš) rabūti(meš) ina puḫri-šu-nu ši-mat damiqti-tim i-šim-mu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>uz-nu ra-pa-šš-sum iš-ru-ku-u-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>kul-lat dup-šar-ru-ti ū-ša-ḫi-zi ka-ra-ši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>ina puḫur lu-li-me zi-kir šumi-ia ū-šar-ri-ḫu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ū-šar-ḫu-ḫu šarru-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>du-un-nu zik-ru-tu e-mu-qa-an ši-ra-a-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>ū-šat-lim-ḫu-ni ma-ta-a-ti la ma-ḫi-ra-i-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>ina qātē(II)-ia im-nu-ni ū-šam-šu-in-ni ma-la lib-bi-ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>(amēlu)ša-ḫa-an-gu-u-ti iḫ-šu-ḫu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>na-dan zi-bi-ia i-ḫiḫ eli lā-ḫu-šu-ḫu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>eḫ-ri-ilānī(meš) rabūti(meš) bēlē(meš)-ia ū-šak-lil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ū-šal-ša-ḫa ḫurāša (kaspa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>(ilū)šamasātē(meš) (ilū)še(meš) dim-me šīrūti(meš)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>ina bābi-šu-un ul-zīz ū-šār-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>ē-ma-ša-ša ē-gašša-kalam-ma ēḫūl-ḫūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>ki-ma ši-ṭir šami(e) ū-ban-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>mūmūšu ša-mat ekurri ša ḫurāši kaspi e-pu-[uš]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>e-li ša šarrānī(meš) abbē(meš)-ia ū-[ḫad-dī]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>sat-tuk-ku gin-nu-nu eli ša umē(me) ul-šu-u-ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>ū-ša-tir-ma ša-rat ilānī(meš) ṣā-ṭe-[4-*]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>at-tal-la-ka al-ka-[ka]-a-ti-šu-[nu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
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<th>¶A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
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<td>28</td>
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<td>29</td>
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<td>33</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<th>§A</th>
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| 35 | ūna šanāti(meš)-ia ku-um-mu-ru ḫa-gul-[š]-ša
Column i

1I, Ashurbanipal, the great king, the mighty king, 2king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four world-regions, 8offspring of the loins of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, 4duke of Babylon, king of the land of the Shumerian and the Akkadian, 5grandson of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria—

4(when as my fate) the great gods in their council decreed a favorable destiny, 7they gave me a broad comprehension, 8caused my mind to grasp all of the scribal art, 9exalted my name in the assembly of princes, 10magnified my rule.

11Strength, virility, enormous power 12they vouchsafed to me. The lands of my enemies 13they counted into my hands. They brought all my heart’s desire (lit., all of my heart) to perfect fulfilment. 14They desired my priesthood; 15that I should offer sacrifice (to them) was pleasing to their divinity. 16The sanctuaries of the great gods, my lords, I restored, 17with gold (and) [silver] I decked. 18Tutelary deities, storm-bird gods, lofty columns 19I erected in their gates. Êšarra, 20Èmašmaš, Êgašankalamma, Êhulhul 21I made shine like the writing of heaven. 22Every kind of gold (and) silver adornment of a temple I [ma]de, 23I ad[ded] to that of my royal ancestors. 24The stated revenues beyond those of the remotest days 25I increased, and the shrines of the gods I sought [out]; 26I walked (in) thei[r] wa[y]s. 27Adad sent down his rains for me, 28Ea opened for me his foun[t]ains. 29The grain waxed five cubits tall [in its luxuriant growth, 30an ear grew to [five]-sixths of a cubit in length. 31[The cultivated area consistently [produced] 32heavy harvests, luxuriant crops; 33the orchards yielded [fru]it [in abundance]; 34[the cattle brought forth their young successfully].

In my reign there was prosperity aplenty, 35[in my years there was

Notes for Column i

1 C i 28.
2 C i 110.
3-3 C i 111.
4-4 Th 1929-10-12, 2 iv 5.
5-5 A.
6 A (var.) adds iššēn.
7 D+A.
8 A om. ll. 36-49.
30 HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

36 12^a anše še. pad(meš) 2^a [11^a anše karáne(meš) 12^a]
37 [12^a śila šammé(meš) 1 bilat 1] šipáte(meš)
38 ina nap-šar máti-ia máhir[12^a ate 11 nap-su i-šam-mu 12 ... 12 x-pi]
39 [12 śat-ti^2]-šam-ma [12^a šin(a) šul^2 11 mi-ša-ri-iš^2]
40 [12 ar-te^2]-ša- [12 iz-12]-šat (ilu)en-lí^2]
41 [12 u un tam-tim e^2]-lit a-[12 di tam-tim šap-lí 12 ... ]
42 [12 šarráni(meš) ši-it (ilu)šamši(si) 12 14 u e-rib (ilu)šam-
ši(si) 14]
43 12 [iš-šu-u-ni bilat-su-nu ka-bit-tu]
44 12 [nišé(meš) qabal tam-tim a-sib šadé(e) ša-qu-ti]
45 [12 a-ša 12]k-ni-ša [12 a-na (išu)ní-li-ia 12]
46 [12 ina qf12]-bit asur ū [12 (ilu)štar šarráni(meš) a-sib 12 11 pa-
rak-ki 12]
47 [12 ú-na-dš-ša-[12 qu šepé(II)-ia 12]
48 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
49 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
50 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
51 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
52 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
53 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
54 [12 al-ki rabúti(meš) ša ši-taš [12 u ši-la-an 12]
fulness [to overflowing]. 36 Twelve (ten D) homers of edible barley (for) two (one D) homers of wine, 37 [twelve silas of oil (for) one talent] of wool—thus the market [prices went] throughout my land. 38 [Year after year [in prosperity righteously] I shepherded the domains of Enlil. 39 [From the] Mediterranean Sea to [the Persian Gulf I ruled(?)]. 40 [The kings of the East and the West brought their heavy tribute.] 41 [People living in the sea and those inhabiting high mountains] 42 [I subjected [to my yoke.] 43 [At the command of Ashur and Ishtar the kings who inhabit palaces] kiss[ed my feet]. 44 Mighty [princes of the East and West] besought me [to become] the[ir] ally.

50 On my first campaign I marched against [Magan and Meluhha]. 51 Taharka, [king of Egypt and] Ethiopia, 52 whose defeat Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begat me, 53 had accomplished, whose land he had brought under his sway, 54 forgot the might of Ashur and Ishtar and the great [gods], my lords, 55 and trusted in his own [ability (strength DCA)]. 56 Against the kings, the governors whom the father who begat me had ap[pointed in] Egypt, 57 intent on murder, loot, and the seizing of Egypt he marched.

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**NOTES FOR COLUMN I**

9 10 D.
10 I D (11528); text: B (K 13730).
11-11 The restorations in lines 36-38 and 44 are based upon D fragments A 8104 and Iraq Museum 11528, the latter being quoted with the graciously accorded permission of its discoverer, Dr. R. Campbell Thompson, of Merton College, Oxford, whose publication of this and other Sargonid prism fragments excavated by recent British Museum expeditions to Kouyunjik will appear shortly. The Iraq Museum fragment also confirms the reading isammu conjectured in line 38 by Dr. Arnold Walther. It is interesting to compare the price equations here given with those on the kudurr published by King in *Babylonian Boundary Stones* (London, 1912) Plate XCIV, ll. 8–9. This kudurr, though badly broken and lacking a date, is obviously, as Professor Olmstead has pointed out to his seminar, from the hand of one of Ashurbanipal’s scribes.
12-12 D.
13-13 Th 1929-10-12, 2 iv 10–11.
14-14 K 228 + K 2675 Obv. 1.
15 D adds -na.
16 D om.
17-17 e-muq D (A 8006) C A.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

60 il\textsuperscript{34} la\textsuperscript{18}-ka \textsuperscript{\(\text{l}^3\text{fru-uš-šu-un}\textsuperscript{19}\)} e-ru-um-ma ú-siš \textsuperscript{\(\text{3q-rib (alu)me-im}\textsuperscript{19}\)}-pi ālu
61 ša abu ba-nu-u-a ik-šu\textsuperscript{20}-du-ma
62 a-na mi-šir \textsuperscript{\(\text{2máti-šu}\textsuperscript{21}\)} ú-tir-ru
63 al-[la]-ku ḫa-an-ṭu ina\textsuperscript{22} qf-rib ninua(ki) il-lik-am-ma
64 ú-ša-an-na-a ia-a-ti eli ip-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti
65 號-bi i-gug-ma is-ṣa-ru-ḥ ka-bft-ti\textsuperscript{23}
66 ad-ki\textsuperscript{24} (amēlu)e-mu-qi-ia šfrāte(meš)
67 ša ašur u (ilu)ištār ú-mal-lu-u qa-tu-u-a\textsuperscript{24}
\textsuperscript{\(\text{§C A}\)}
\textsuperscript{\(\text{¶A}\)}
68 /lists/90594.xml
69 ša qf-rib (mātu)mu-šur ardāni(meš) da-gil pa-ni-ia
70 ur-ru-[hi]-iš ar-di-e-ma al-lik a-di (ālu)kar-\textsuperscript{\(\text{27ba-ni}\textsuperscript{22}\)}-ti
71 (I)tar-qu-u šār (mātu)mu-šur u (mātu)ku-u-si
72 qf-rib (ālu)me-im-pi a-lak gir-ri-ia
73 iš-me-ma a-na e-peš qab-li (išu)kakkē(meš)\textsuperscript{23} tāhāzi
74 \textsuperscript{\(\text{29a-na}\textsuperscript{29}\)} maḫ-ri-ia id-ka-a (amēlu)šabē(meš) tāhāzi-šu
75 i-na tu-kul-ti ašur \textsuperscript{\(\text{30(ili)be\textsuperscript{30}}\)} (ili)\textsuperscript{\(\text{31 nab\textsuperscript{31} ilānī(meš)}\)}
76 rabūti(meš) bēlē(meš)-ia \textsuperscript{\(\text{2a-li-kut i-di-i\textsuperscript{22}}\)}
77 i-na tāhāz šēri rāp-šē áš-ku-na abīkti ummanāte(hā)-šu
78 (I)tar-qu-u i-na qf-rib (ālu)me-im-pi
79 iš-me-a taḫ-te-e ummanāte(hā)-šu
80 nam-ri-ri ašur \textsuperscript{\(\text{33 (ili)ištār is-}\textsuperscript{\(\text{29}ṭu-pu\textsuperscript{34}šu}\textsuperscript{14}šu-ma}\)}
81 il-li-ka maḫ-ḥu-taš
82 mi-lam-me šarrīt-ti-ia ik-tu-mu-šu-ma
83 ša ù-za\textsuperscript{\(\text{-i-nu-u-ni ilānī(meš)}\) šu-ut šamē irṣiti
He broke in [upon them] and established himself [in Memphis], a city which the father who begat me had conquered and converted into a province of his land (Assyria A). A swift runner came to me in Nineveh and reported to me concerning these deeds. My heart became enraged, my liver seethed. (A adds: I raised my hands, I invoked Ashur and the Assyrian Ishtar.) I mustered my mighty forces which Ashur and Ishtar had poured into my hands. To hasten aid to the kings, the governors who were in Egypt, servants subject to me, I hastily advanced and marched as far as Karbaniti. Taharka, king of Egypt and Ethiopia, heard in Memphis that my campaign was in progress and so that he might offer battle and armed resistance he mustered up his fighting men against me. With the help of Ashur, Bêl, Nabû, the great gods, my lords, who walk beside me, I accomplished the defeat of his troops in a battle on the open plain. Taharka in Memphis heard of the defeat of his troops, the terrible majesty of Ashur and Ishtar overwhelmed him, and he fell into a frantic terror at the thought of me. (My) royal majesty, with which the gods of heaven and earth have adorned me,

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**NOTES FOR COLUMN I**

18 iš- D (K 1700).
19-20 D+A.
20-20 -ds C.
21-21 (mdtu)asur(ki) A.
22 C A (Rm 1) om.
23 A adds dš-ši qatlı-ia u-šal-lī ašur u (šlu)ištar aš-šur-il-tu.
24 B (105323) D C add -e-ma.
25 C and A insert an addition at this point.
26-26 A (Rm 1) om.
27-27 -(šlu)bāni- D (K 1731) A (Rm 1).
28 A adds ù.
29 ina A (Rm 1).
30-30 u (šlu)ištar A (var.).
31-31 B (Rm 2, 546) D A (var.) om.
32-32 A (var.) om.
33 D om.
34-34 -ḫup- B (P 1)
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

¶ C 84 (alu)me-im-pi ú-maš-šīr-ma a-na šu-zu-ṣub napišti(tim)-šu
85 in-na-bit 35a-na 36 qī-rib (alu)ni-_logout ūlu šu-a-tu aš-bat

§ C A 86 ummanâte(há,meš)-ia ú-še-rib ú-še-šib ina lib-biš
87 (šarráni(meš) 37 (amu)lu)paḫāti(meš) 38 ša qī-rib (mātu)-
mu-ṣur ū-pa-qi-du
88 abu ba-nu-u-a ša la-pa-an ti-bu-ti (I)tar-qu-u pi-qit-ta-šu-
un
89 ú-maš-še-ru im-lu-u ḡera ú-tir-ma a-šar
90 pi-qit-ti-šu-un
91 ina maš-kān-i-šu-nu "ul-zi-is 39-su-nu-ti
92 (mātu)mu-ṣur 40 (mātu)ku-u-si

§ D 93 ša abu ba-nu-u-a ik-šu-du a-na eš-šu-tiš aš-bat
94 maṣṣarat(meš)-šu eli ša 41 ūmē(me) pa-ni ū-dan-nin
95 ú-rak-ki-sa rikšt-suš 44(si-ešu 44š (alu)sa-a-a (alu)bi-in-ṭi-ti
(alu)sa-logout
96 ša ib-bal-kī-tu
97 it-ti (I)tar-qu-u iš-ku-nu pi-i-šu-un
98 əšanı(meš) ša-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud
99 nišē(meš) a-šib lib-bi-šu-nu a-ni-ir ina (iṣu)kakkē(meš)
overpowered him, he forsook Memphis, and to save his life he fled to Thebes. I conquered that city (i.e., Memphis), led my troops into it, and let them settle therein. The (Those) governors (CA add (and) prefects) whom the father who begat me had appointed in Egypt, who before the advance of Taharka had forsaken their posts (and) had filled the plain, I restored to their posts and in their dwelling-places I established (appointed A) them. Egypt (and) Ethiopia, which the father who begat me had conquered, I reorganized. I made its outposts stronger than in earlier days, I strengthened its organization (lit., bonds). Sais, Binṭiṭi, Sa’nu, which had revolted, had made common cause (lit., set their mouth) with Taharka—those cities I conquered, the people dwelling in them I slaughtered with weapons.

Notes for Column I

35-36 B (P 1) om.
36 C and A insert an addition at this point.
37 [C] A add an-nu-ti.
38 C A add (anētu)qi-pa-ni.
39-39 ap-qi-d- A.
40 C adds u.
41 B (A 7935) om.
42 A adds -ma.
43-43 -sa-a-te [C] A. After riksûte C and A insert an addition.
Column ii

\[ A \]
1 \( \text{(amelu)pagr(e)(me)š}-\text{su-nu} \) ëna (isu)ga-ši-ši a-lul\(^2\)
2 maškē(meš)-šu-nu \( \text{dš-šu-uš} \) dúr āli ū-šal-lip\(^3\)
3 \( \text{(I)sarru-lu-dá-ri} \) ša abu-u-a ëna (mátu)mu-qur
4 iš-ku-nu-uš a-na šarru-u-ti\(^3\)

\[ A \]
5 ša limuttu(tu) \( \text{iq-pu-du} \) a-na \( \text{mār(e)(meš)} \) (mátu)aš-sur(ki)\(^6\)
6 ina qa-ti aš-bat ú-ra-a a-na (mátu)aš-sur(ki)

\[ A \]
7 \( \text{(I)tar-qu-u} \) aš-sar in-nab-tu
8 ra-šub-bat (isu)kakki ašur bēl-i₇a is₄a₇u-pu₈a₉-su ma
9 il-lik šimat mu-ši-šu
10 arkānu(nu) (I)taš-da-ma-ni-e₇ mār aḥāti-šu₈
11 ú-šib ina (isu)kussi šarru-ti-šu
12 (alu)ni-’ (alu)d-nu a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun
Their corpses I (they A) hung on poles, flayed, covered the wall of the city (therewith). Ḡarruludâ, whom my father had made king in Egypt, who had plotted evil against the Assyrians, I captured with (my) hands, I brought to Assyria. Taharka in the place where he had fled—the terror of the weapon of Ashur, my lord, overcame him, and he died. Thereupon Tašdamanê, his nephew (the son of Shabaka A), put himself on his royal throne. Thebes, Heliopolis

Notes for Column II

1-1 i-šu-šu ina (ušu)ga-ši-ši A.
2-2 iš-šu-šu d-bal-li-pu dāš A.
3-3 šarrūn(mes) an-nu-ti A.
4-4 šute-ni'-u A.
5-5 ummanti(hā) A.
6 [C] and A insert an addition at this point.
7-7 There is no Egyptian or Ethiopian king or high official whose name can easily be equated with any reading of this combination of signs. The reading Tašdamanê is impossible, since, as Ranke has pointed out ("Keilinschriften Material zur ägyptischen Vokalisation," Abhandlungen der K. preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin. Phil.-hist. Klasse. Anhang. Abb. 2 [1910] p. 36, n. 2), UR does not possess a value tān, nor is the consideration which Streck (Assurbanipal, p. 399) urges against Ranke particularly convincing, being based entirely on an unsupported inference. Ranke states that it is impossible to make the equation with which historians have been contenting themselves, (1)UR-da-ma-ni-e = Tanutamon (loc. cit.). On the other hand, the force of the historical argument is too strong lightly to be set aside, especially since both Reisner's work in Ethiopia and Cairo statuette 42204 (Legrain, Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers III, "Catalogue général du Musée du Caire" LXXI [1914] 12) confirm the order: Shabaka, Taharka, Tanutamon. Sethe (Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft LXXVII 167, n. 3) seems willing to concede that Tanutamon and (1)UR-da-ma-ni-e are the same person. The reading here adopted posits an original form *Talmanâ, or something similar, with a palatal-dental l before the t. This could quite conceivably have been rendered by the Assyrians as Tašdamanê and by the Egyptians as Tanutamon. The element amanê militates against positing an original theophoric name compounded with Amon, since in such a case we should expect the last part to be a-mu-nu, the conventional rendering of Amon in this period (e.g., (1)u-na-mu-nu, Wenamon, in A i 97). The assimilation on the part of the Egyptians of amanê to the popular god's name is not without parallel under similar circumstances; cf. the Assyrian renderings of Šutruknaḫunte as Ištarmandil (K 2674 Obv. 7; George Smith, History, p. 141) and Sarduri as Ištar-dārī (A x 40, 43; AJSL XLVII 206).
8-8 (1)ša-ba-ku-u A (Rm. 1).
ú-paḥ-ḫi-ra il-lat-su
a-na mit-ḫu-ši ummanāte(šā) mãrē(meš) (mātu)aš-
šur(ki)
ša qa-rib (alu)me-im-pi id-ka-a qa-bal-šu
nišē(meš) ša-a-tu-nu e-si-ir-ma [iš-ba]-ta mu-uš-ša-šu-un
(amazon)mār-šipri ḫa-an-[tu a-na ninua(ki) il-lik-am-ma]
iq-ba-a in-a-ti
[10a-ni-ma] a-na (mtu)mu-ur [gu (mtu)ku-u-si9]
[a-na] lli(ma)-mir 
us-te-es-se-ra ḫar-[gra-nu]
(I)ta-da-[ma-ni-e]
[ga-lak gir-ria] is-me-[ga]
sa ak-bu-su [mi-šir (mātu)mu-šur13][alu]me-im-pi
[pa-šir-ma]
[a-na šu-za-ub napišti(tim)-šu] in-na-bit a-n[a qf-rib
(alu)ni-9]
šarrāni(meš) (amēlu)paḫati(meš) [iš(mēlu)qf-pa-a-ni]
[14] qa-rib (mātu)mu-šur aš-[gu-nu9]
ina ir-ti-ia il-lik-u-nim-[ma] ú-na-ša-ša-qu šepē(II)-i[a]
arki (I)taš-da[-ma-ni-i]
[15] ḫar-ra-nu aš-[bat]
al-lik a-di (alu)ni-7 ál dan-nu-ti-[šu]
ti-ib taḫazi-ia[e] e-mur-[ma17] (alu)ni-7 ú-maš-šir ū-in-na-bit
[Pa-na (šu)]ki-ši-ki-pi (alu)šu-a-tu ana si-ḫir-ti-šu18
he made his strongholds. 13 He gathered together his forces. 14To fight my troops, the Assyrians, 15 who were in Memphis, he mustered his battle array. 16Those people he shut up and took away their avenues of escape. 17A swift messenger [came to Nineveh and] told me (thereof). 18-19[A second time] (In the year of my accession, on my first campaign F F 2; on my second campaign A) I made straight for Egypt [and Ethiopia]. 20Tašdamanē (F F 2 add: the king of Egypt and Ethiopia) heard of [the advance of my army], 21that I had invaded [the territory of Egypt; so he deserted] Memphis [and] 22[to save his life] he fled to Thebes. 23The kings, prefects, [governors,] whom I (Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father who begat me F) had installed in Egypt, 24came before me [and] kissed my feet. 25I took the road after Tašdamanē, 26marched as far as Thebes, hi[s] stronghold. 27He beheld the advance of my (F F 2 A add: mighty) array and forsook Thebes, fled 28[to] Kipkipi. That city (Thebes and Heliopolis F F 2) in its (their F F 2) entirety 29my hands conquered [with] the help of Ashur (and) Ishtar (Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, and Nusku F F 2).

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

9-9 C+A.
10-10 *ina šanē(e) gir-ri-ia A; ri-eč (*ina ri-eč F (105315)) šarru-ti-ia i-na maḫ-ri-e gir-ri-ia F F 2.
11-11 (mâtu)md-gan u (mâtu)me-luḫ-ḫa F F 2.
12-12 -am-ma-ni*I F F 2; F F 2 add šâr (mâtu)mu-sùr u (F (105315) om. (mâtu)mu-sùr u) (mâtu)ku-u-sì.
13-13 -uṭ-ri F (A 8022).
12-13a mi- in- pu F (105315).
14-14 ša (I)akṣur-aḫa-iddīna šâr (mâtu)ak-šur(ki) abu ba-nu-u-a iš-tak-ka-nu gt-riḫ (mâtu)mu-sùr F F 2.
14a F (105315) adds -am-.
15-15 J' F (A 8022).
17-17 A om.
18-18 F F 2 om., but both insert the phrase in the next line.
19-19 A.
20 A adds u.
21-21 (ilu)sīn (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bēl (ilu)nabū (ilu)ištar ša ninua(ki) (ilu)ištar ša (ilu)arba-ilu(ki) (ilu)ninurta (ilu)nergâl u (F (A 8022, 105315) F 2 om. u) (ilu)nusku (ilu)nî- (ilu)u-nu (ilu)u-nu F (A 8022) F 2 a-na si-ḫur-ti-šu (si-ḫur-ti-šu F (105315); si-ḫur-ti-šu-nu F 2) F F 2.
30 [kas]pu ḫurāšu ni-q-ti abnē(meš) 28bušū ekalli-šu 28
31 ma-la ba-šu-u lu-bul-[ti] bir-me kite(mes)
32 sīš(mes) rabūti(mes) [niše(mes)] 29zik-ra û sin-niš
33 2 dim-me širūti(mes) pi-tiq za-ḫa-li-e ib-bi
34 ša 2 lim 5 me bil[at] šuqilitu-šu-nu [mman-za-az bāb 19] ekurri
35 ul-tu man-zal-ti-šu-[19nu as 19]-suḥ-ma al-[qa]-a ana
(mātu)āšur(ki) § 8 8
36 šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu [19ina la me-ni áš-hu-la 19] ul-[24tu qī-
ribbon 29] (ālu)[nil] 29
37 eli (mātu)mu-šur [19u (mātu)k 19]u-u-si
38 [19(ušu)kakkē(mes)] 19 -ia û-šam-ri-i [24r-ma áš-ta-kan 24] li-
tu
39 it-ti qa-ti ma-li-te
40 šal-mes a-tu-raš a-na ninua(ki) ál bēlū-ti-ia
41 [jina 28šāši(si)] 28 gir-ri-[i]a eli (I)bā-’-li šār (mātu)šuṣ-ri
42 a-šēb qabal tam-tim 28slu-[t]u 26 al-lik 27āš-šu 27 a-mat šarrū-
ti-ia
43 la ḫa-su-ru [ll]a iš-mu-u zi-kir šāpi-ti-ia
44 [26(šu)habar(mes)] eli-šu ú-rak-kīs 29
45 a-n[a la] a-šēb-še(mes)-šu ú-dan-nin ma-ṣar-tu
46 [jina na tam-tim u na-ba-li gir-ri-ti-šu ú-šab-bit 31
47 a-lak-ta-šu ap-ru-us
48 [28mē(mes) 30] la-te’-u ta-bar-lat na-pištir(tim)-šu-nu
49 a-na pi-i-su-nu ú-ša-qi-ir
50 ina me-si-ri dan-ni ša la na-par-šu-di e-si-ir-šu-nu-ti
51 [nāp-šat-su-nu ú-si-iq ú-kar-ri
52 aš-na (išu)nir-i ú-ša-ki-is-su-nu-ti
53 [šu]mārat-su 32 ši-at ib-bi-šu ú-mārat(mes) aḫḫē(mes)-šu

HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL
[Silver, gold, precious stones, the goods (F F₂ add: possessions) of his palace (those cities F F₂), all there was, brightly colored (and) linen garments, great horses, [the people,] men and women, two tall obelisks, fashioned of glittering electrum, whose weight was 2,500 talents, [placed at the gate of the temple, I removed from the] positions and took off to Assyria. Booty, heavy (and) countless, I carried away from Thebes. Against Egypt [and Ethiopia I waged] [warfare (lit., sharpened] my [weapons] and established] (my) authority. With a full hand I returned safely to Nineveh, the city of my lordship.

On my third (second F F₂) campaign I marched against Ba'ali, king of Tyre, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, because he did not keep my royal command nor listen to the word of my lips. I threw up earthworks against him, and his people might not escape I strengthened the guard. By sea and land I seized his approaches, his road I cut off. Water, food to keep them alive I made precious to their mouth. With a mighty, inescapable cordon I surrounded them. I straitened their souls, hemmed them in, subjected them to my yoke. His daughter, the offspring of his loins,

**NOTES FOR COLUMN II**

22-22 buše(mēš) makkurē(mēš) dâni(mēš) (dli F (105315)) šu-a-tu F F₂.
23 F F₂ om. ll. 36-40.
24-26 D+A.
25-26 F F₂.
27-28 F F₂ om.
29-30 F F₂.
30 F F₂ A om. ll. 45.
31-30 D.
31 F F₂ A om. ll. 47-50.
31a C adds ụ.
32-32 mārtu D F [F₂] A.
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

54 a-na e-peš aбракку-u-ti[32] [39-d-bi[32]-la a-di maḫ-ri-ia[34]

§F F₂ A

55 mār-šu ša ma-ti-ma tāmta țla e-bi-ra
56 [33]iš[30]-ša-a[33] a-na e-peš ardū-ti-ia
57 mār[37]at-su[37] u[34] mārāt(meš) aḫḫē(meš)-šu
58 it-ti tir-ḫa-ti ma'-as-ši am-ḫur-šu
59 ri-e-mu ar-ši-šu-ma
60 māru ši-it lib-bi-šu

§F F₂ A

61 ú-tir-ma a-[37]ri-im[37]-šu[38]
62 (ālu)ḫalšē(meš) ša [e]-li (I)ba-[30]mū-šu šar (mātu)ṣur-ri
63 ú-rak-ki-su ap-tur ina tam-tim u na-ba-li
64 gir-ri-e-ti-šu ma-la ú-ṣab-bi-tu ap-ti
65 ma-da-at-ta-šu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur-šu[40]
and his nieces [he brought before me to be ladies-in-waiting. 

His son (A adds: Yahimilki), who had never crossed the sea before, [he brought to me (he caused to be brought to me at once F F A) to serve me. [His] daughter] and his nieces I received from him with large dowries. I took pity on him, and his son, the offspring of his loins, I gave back to him. The earthworks which I had thrown up against Ba'ali, king of Tyre, I tore down. By sea and land his approaches, as many as I had seized, I opened. His heavy tribute I ac-

NOTES FOR COLUMN II

33 Streck (Assurbanipal, p. 16, note w) states that both Jensen and Zimmern had suggested to him privately that SAL.AGRIG-U-ti should be read abarakkūti, and he so lists it in the glossary (ibid. p. 429). This conjecture is now confirmed by A 7093, which in iii 97 renders the SAL.AGRIG-U-ti of the other copies with ab-rak-kus-ti. For the translation the following considerations are decisive: (1) The term designates the occupation of the female counterpart of the male abarakku. Although in the Hittite Code the (amēlu)AGRIG is obviously a menial (Hethitica I [Paris, 1922] 28, par. 35), from the letters and other documents of the later Assyrian Empire the abarakku is clearly an official of high importance in the imperial household (Harper, Letters, No. 92 Rev. 7; No. 114, 15; No. 145, 1; No. 273, 6; (amēlu)-abarakku ša ummi šarrī is referred to ibid. No. 63, 8; No. 303 Rev. 3; Arbilayya, the “great abarakku,” is an eponym [Rec. de trav. XX 205, 6–7], as is also Daddi under Šalariššišun [Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 386]; in the lists published in PSBA XI 286, Nos. 749, 777, and 806, the order of the officers is: turtānu, nāgir ekalli, rub BILUB, abarakku; the term has been rendered variously as “chancellor,” “keeper of the seal,” “steward,” etc.). (2) It must also be parallel to the service (ardātu) performed by the various male hostages delivered to the Assyrian emperors by subject princes (ardātu implies personal rather than menial service, but throughout history even menial service when performed for royalty has partaken of the character of a privilege—one need but remember the etymology of “marshal” or the position of the king of Bohemia as buticularius of the medieval Holy Roman emperors). The idea of concubinage is certainly not an essential part of the concept (against Klauber, Assyrisches Beamtenamt [Leipzig, 1910] pp. 81–82; Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 16, note w; and others).

34 A adds (I)ia-ṭi-mūl-ki.


36 F (A 8013, A 8018) om.

37-38 di-ir B (K 1705) B, F F A. utirma artāmū might mean “I graciously returned to him,” or it might simply mean “I gave back to him.” That the latter, rather than the former, was intended is clearly shown by the unequivocal variant of the later texts.

39 F F A om. ll. 62–70.

40 B (K 1705) om.

41 D4 adds [pa-an (i sunt)ri-ṭla ut-ir-ram-[ma].
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

66 šal-meš a-tu-ra a-na ninua(ki) šš be-lu-ti-ia
67 ma-al-ki qabal tam-tim ū šarrānī(meš)
68 aši-bu-ti ša-di-e ša-qu-u-ti

70 e-mu-rum a ip-la-šu belu-šu-tiš

71 (I)ia-ki-in-lu-u šar (mātu) a-ru-ad da
dišše(meš) šarrānī(meš) išša(meš) aššarānī(mes)
72 (I)mu-gal-lu šar 4šš mātu šar šarrānī(meš) aššarānī(mes)
73 (I)ia-ki-in-lu-u šar (mātu)šarrānī(meš) aššarānī(mes)

76 mašarāte(meš) ši-it llb-bi-šu nu it-ti nu-dun-ni-e
77 maššarāt(meš) ši-it llb-bi-šu nu it-ti nu-dun-ni-e

78 a-na e-šè a-brekkū-ti a-na ninua(ki)

79 ūšš bi-lu-nimšš ši-šu šèpē(II)-ia

80 e-li (I)mu-gal-maššanšē(meš) šarrāt(meš) aššarānī(mes)

81 ma-da-at-tu šat-ti-šamšš ūšš šù-šù

82 (I)ul-tu (I)ia-ki-in-lu-u šar (mātu) aššarānī(mes)

83 šš bi-lu-nimšš ši-šu šèpē(II)-ia

84 ūšš bi-lu-nimšš aššarānī(mes)

85 ul-tu qabal tam-tim eššeš

86 šèpē(II)-ia

87 ūšš bi-lu-nimšš aššarānī(mes)
cepted from him. (B adds: I turned [the face] of my yoke and) I returned safely to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. When the princes in the midst of the sea and kings dwelling on high mountains beheld the might of these deeds of mine, they feared my dominion.

Yakinlu, king of Arvad (F2 A add: dwelling in the midst of the sea), Mugallu, king of Tabal, Sandisarme of Cilicia, who had not been submissive to my royal ancestors, submitted to my yoke (had not drawn their yoke A), brought me (their) daughters, the offspring of their loins, with great gifts and great dowries to Nineveh to be ladies-in-waiting, and kissed my feet. Concerning Mugallu—great horses as tribute annually I imposed upon him.

When Yakinlu, king of Arvad, had died, Aziba'al, Abiba'al, Adoniba'al, sons of Yakinlu, who dwelt in the midst of the sea, went up from the midst of the sea and came to me with their heavy tribute and kissed my feet.

Notes for Column II

41-41 ar-ú-a- B (K 1705) C (P 6); ar-ú-ad- F (A 8035, A 8036, A 8037) F2.
42 F F2 A add a-šīb qābāl tam-tim. A inserts a four-line addition here.
43-44 māt (ālu) F (A 8014).
45-44 -la-a B (P 1); -a-la C (P 6); -āl F [F2] A. A inserts a six-line addition.
45-45 -da- B (P 1) F2 A.
46 Not the classical Cilicia, but the strategia of that name in the province of Cappadocia (Olmstead, History of Assyria [New York, 1923] pp. 125, 420).
47-47 ỉl-nu-šu A.
48-48 la i-šu-ţi ap-ša-an-šu-un A.
49-49 A om.
51-51 -bi-il-am- A.
52-52 -šiq A.
53 II. 80-81 immediately precede the line corresponding to B ii 73 in A.
54-54 -lu C (P 6).
55-55 A om.
56-56 B (A 7934) om.
57-58 ar-ú-a- C (P 6); ar-ú-a- F (A 8014, A 8016, A 8039); ar-ú-ad- F (A 8018, A 8040) F2.
58-58 e-me-du šaddašu A.
59-59 B (K 1709) om.
60-60 B (A 7944) om.
61 A inserts an addition here.
62-63 F F2 om.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

88 (I)a-zi-ba-ʼ-al ḫa-diš ap-pa-lis-ma
89 a-na šarru-u-ti (mātu)₆₅-a-ru-ad₆₃-da āš-kun₆⁴
§A 90 (I)a-bi-ba₆⁶₆₆-al (I)a-du-ni-ba₆₄₆₄₆₄-al §₆₆
¶A 91 šu-bul-tu bir-me ū-lab-biš šemîrē(meš) ⁶⁷ḥurâšî āš-kun⁶⁷
§C 92 ina mah-ri-ia ul-zî-is-su$-nu-ti
93 (I)gu-ug-gu šâr (⁶⁵mâtu⁶⁴)lu-ud-di na-gu-u šâ₆₉ ni-bîr-ti tâmîti
94 āš-ru ru-u-qu ša šarrânî(meš) abbē(meš)-ia la iš-mu-u zî-
kir šumi-šu
95 ni-bit ⁶⁶sarrû-ši⁶⁶a ina šutti ū-šab-ri-šu-ma
§A 96 išur ⁷⁰šu₇₀ ba-nu-u-a $₇¹
¶A 97 ūmu(mu) šuttu an-ni-tu e-mu-ru (amēlu)rak-bu-šu iš-
pu-ra
¶C 98 a-na ša-ʼ-al šul-me-ia (amēlu)gi-mîr₇₂-a-₇₂(amēlu)nak-
ru iq-ṣu₇₃
99 ša la ip-tal-la-bu abbē(meš)-ia n ⁷₃ia-a-sî₇₄ la iš-ba-tu šēpā(II) šarru-ti-ia₇₅
feet. I looked favorably on Aziba'al and made him king of Arvad.

Abiba'al (and) Adoniba'al. I clothed with brightly colored garments, put rings of gold (on them) (encircled their fingers with rings), caused them to stand before me. Gyges, king of Lydia, a district which is by the shore of the sea, a distant place the mere mention of the name of which my royal ancestors had not heard— Ashur, the great god who begat me, caused him to see my royal name in a dream. The day on which he saw this dream he sent his mounted messenger to ask my welfare. The Cimmerian, a wicked foe who had not feared my ancestors and who as for me had not caught hold of my royal feet, (A adds: he conquered)

Notes for Column II

65-66 a-ru-a- F (A 8039); ar-ud- F (A 8014, A 8016).
67 A adds -šu.
68-69 B (A 7936, K 1713) om.
69-70 B (P 2) om.
70-71 A inserts a two-line addition here.
71-72 a-rak-ki-sa rit-te-e-šu-un A.
73 F₂ adds ina.
74-75 šumi- A.
76-77 B (A 7935) P (P 7) om.
78 A inserts a two-line addition here.
79 F (A 8039, A 8042) A add -ra-.
80-81 mu-dal-li-bu niše(mel) nati-šu A. On the reading of K 2732: Mr. Sidney Smith kindly examined the passage at the writer's request and wrote as follows (March 11, 1932): "The signs after (amel) gi-mir-ai cannot in my opinion be read at all. ša tšu-dš is an unsuccessful attempt to read marks in the clay where signs have disappeared. There is no reason to suppose the signs were not (amel)nak-ru šu-gšu."
82-83 ia-a-ti C; at-tu-u-a F F₂ A.
84 A adds tšu-ud.
Column iii

1 ina tu-kul-ti ašur ¹(ili)manduk² bēlē(meš)-ia²
2 ina ⁽išu⁾şi-şi-şi ⁽išu⁾eš³-qa-ti ⁴⁽išu⁾ṣi-ga-ri⁴ ú-tam-me-
iḫ-ma
3 it-ti ta-mar-ti-šu ka-bit-ti ú-še-bi-la
4 a-di maḫ-ri-ia§⁵ a-tam-ma-ru da-na-an ašur u (ili)-
manduk⁶

§F F₂ A

5 ina rebē(e) gir-ri-ia a-na (alu)kir-bit
6 ša qī-rib (alu)ḫa-ri-e-ḫa-as⁻²ta’ lu-u al-lik
7 ša (I)ta-an-da (amēlu)ḥazâni-šu-nu a-na šarrâni(meš)
  abbē(meš)-ia
8 la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri u nišē(meš) a-ši-bu-ti (alu)kir-bit
9 ka-a-an iḫ-ta-nab-ba-tu ḫu-bu-ut (mâtu)ia-mut-ba-li³
10 [⁸ina t³]ukul-ti ašur⁶b (īlu)bēl ṣa³ (alu)nabū ⁸[ṭilâni(meš)
  rabûti(meš)⁺²] bēlē(meš)-ia⁺²
11 ¹alu šu-a-[*šu¹¹ ak⁸*]-šu-ud āš-šu-lu-šal-lat-su

§C

12 (I)tan-da (amēlu)ḥazâna-šu-nu$ [Paš-bat¹²]
13 ina māt āli-šu al-qa-a a-na (mâtu)aš-šur(ki)
14 [¹nišē(meš)¹²] (alu)kir-bit ma-la āš-šu-šu
15 [²as-s²]uḥ-ma qī-rib (mâtu)mu-sur ú-ša-aš-bit
Column iii

1with the help of Ashur (and) Marduk (Ishtar F F \(2\); Ishtar, the gods A), my lords, (A adds: from among the governors of the Cimmerians whom he had conquered, two governors) \(4\)he bound with chains, shackles, (and) fetters (shackles of iron, bonds of iron A) and \(5\)with his heavy tribute sent \(4\)into my presence, (that) I might behold the might of Ashur and Marduk.

\(6\)On my fourth campaign I marched against Kirbit, \(6\)which is in the midst of Ḥarēḥasta, \(7\)whose mayor, Tanda, was not submissive to the yoke of my royal ancestors, \(8\)while the people inhabiting Kirbit \(9\)kept constantly plundering Yamutbal (C adds: that city). \(10\)[With the help of Ashur, Bēl, and Nabū, [the great gods,] my lords (Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabū, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela C), \(11\)[I captured that city, carried off its spoil. \(12\)Tanda, their mayor, [I captured] \(12\)in the domain of his city, carried (him) to Assyria. \(14\)[The people] of Kirbit, as many as I had taken, \(14\)[I took a]way and settled (them) in Egypt.

Notes for Column III

1-1 u (ilu)ištar šānāni(meš) (F \(F_2\) om. šānāni(meš)) F \(F_2\) A.
2 A adds ul-tu šū-bi (amēlu)baṣānāt(meš) ša (amēlu)gi-mir-ru-a-a ša ik-šu-du 2 (amēlu)baṣānāt(meš).
3 The sign has the shape of a KUR.
4 parsilli bi-ri-ti parsilli A.
5 A inserts an addition here.
6-6 C om. With reference to the reading of K 2732, Mr. Sidney Smith states (in the letter referred to above, p. 47, n. 73): "The signs are not perfect, and seem to have undergone 'cleaning' according to the methods described by Budge, Rise and Progress of Assyriology [London, 1925] p. 284. Winckler's reading is fantastic; but there are marks of a knife, not wedges, which explain it."
7-7 -ti B (A 7947).
8 C adds šīlu šu-a-tu.
8a-8a C.
9b C adds (ilu)šēn (ilu)šamaš.
9-9 B (A 7951) C om.
9a-9a (ilu)ištar ša nīn[ua(k)i] (ilu)ištar ša arba-ilu C.
10-10 Conjectural.
11-11 C om.
11-12 Conjectural; A 7952 allows space for about two signs.
12-12 E iv 7; K 228 + K 2675 Rev. 12.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

FF2A 16 \[ina^{14}\]anši(ši) gir-ri-ia eli (I)aḫ-še-e-ri

§F F2A 17 [šaršš] (mātu) man-na-a-a a\[19\]lu-u al-lik

18 [šš]a a-na šarrâni(meš) abbe(meš)-ia la kit-nu-šu

19 [. . . ]-a-ti

20 ad-ki šabē(meš)-[ia . . . ] (mātu) man-na-a-a [. . . ]

21 al-lik ma qf-rib [. . . ] aš(?)-šur(?) [. . . ] ad-di-ma aš-ku-nu

22 ["""". . . .""""] k’ja-ra-ši

†C 23 (I)aḫ-ṣe-e-ri al-lak gir-ri-[ia] iš-me-ma

24 ú-[ma]-’-e-ra [\[ummanātē(hā)-šu\]]

25 ina šat mu-ši ina ši-pir ni-kil-ti

26 a-na e-peš tāhāzi it-bu-u-ni

27 a-na [mit]-ḫu-uš-ši ummanātē(hā)-ia

28 šabē(meš) tāhāzi-ia it-ši-šu-un im-dab-ḫa-šu

29 iš-kun Nu aš-kta-šu-un

30 ma-lak 3 bēri eqli šal-ma-ti-šu-NU ú-mal-1 saltsa rap-šu

†F2A 31 \[ina qf-bit aš-šur\] (ilu)šu (ilu)šamaš \[20\]ilāni(meš) rabūtī-

(meš) bēl(e)meš)-ia\[29\]

32 [\[20\]]a ú-tak-ki-lu-in-ni qf-[\[14\]rib (mātu) man]-na-a-a e-ru-

33 ub-ma

§F F2A 33 at-tal-la-ka šal-tsiš\[31\]

34 [\[21\]]a me-ti-iq gir[22]-ri-ia (alu)a-a-ū-si-tē (alu)ḫal-šu\[24\]

35 (alu)(?)-ša(?)-[\[23\] . . . -šu(?)\[23\]] (alu)bu-su-tū (alu)āš-di-

36 (alu)ur-ki-ia-mu-un [(alu)]up-pi-tē (alu)si-ḫu-u-a (alu)na-

37 zī-ni-ri

†F2A 37 \[\[25\]ša ni-i-

38 [\[26\]]a-di qf-rib (alu)i-zer-te ak-šu-ud

39 ab-bul aq-qur ina (alu)iš,bâr qa-mu
On my fifth (third F; fourth A) campaign, I marched (made a straight road F A) against Alšeri, who had not been submissive to my royal ancestors. I mustered [my] troops [...]. I marched, and in the midst of [...]. Ashur? [...]. I threw and set up my [camp]. When Alšeri heard of the advance of [my] army he [dis]patched [his troops]. During the night stealthily they advanced to give battle, to engage my troops. The soldiers of my battle array fought with them, accomplished their defeat. (Over) an area three double-hours in length, they filled the wide plain with their corpses. At the command of Ashur, Sin, Šamaš (A add: Adad, Bêl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kidmuri, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, Nusku), the great gods, my lords, who came to my aid, I invaded Mannayya and advanced victoriously. (In the course of my campaign the fortress Ayyausias, Pasa...su(?), Busutu, Aššaš, Urkiamun, Upiš, Siḫuṣa, Naziniri, (A add: of his) strong [cities] and small ones as well [without number] all the way to Iszertu I conquered, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

NOTES FOR COLUMN III

14 F. halšiši F; rehē A.
15-16 uš-te-eš-ša-ra har-ra-nu F A; F A om. ll. 18-30.
17-17 A 7950 allows space for approximately eleven signs.
18-18 Conjectural; after George Smith, History, p. 89.
19-19 -ši C.
20-20 Sic!
21-21 (išu)adad (F om. (išu)adad) (išu)bêl (išu)nabû (išu)ištar ša nınua(ši) (išu)šar-rat kid-šu-rî (F om. (išu)šar-rat kid-ši-rišu) (išu)ištar ša (išu)arba-ši (išu)ninnura (išu)nır̃uš (išu)nır MATERIAL F A.
22-22 F A om.
23-23 C.
24 A 7954 shows that (išu)ḫal-šu is not to be taken as a proper name and included as one of the eight cities.
25-25 George Smith, History, p. 90. There is room in the gap for three signs at the most.
26-26 B (K 1713) om.
27 F A om.
28 F A add -šu.
29-29 F.
§C 40 nišē(mesš) šše(mesš) imēre(mesš) alpē(mesš) ši-e-ni
41 ul-tu qf-rib ālānī(mesš) ša-a-tu-nu
42 ū-šē-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
43 (I)āb-še-e-ri a-lak gir-ri-ia šiš-me-ma
44 ū-maš-šir (ālu)i-zer-tu al šarru-ti-šu
45 a-na (ālu)33-at-ra-a-na33 āl tukul-ti-šu in-na-bit32
§F F2 A
46 e-šu-uz mar-ki-tu33

§C 47 (ālu)i-zer-tu §(ālu)ur-me.34-te (ālu)uz-bi-a ālānī(mesš)
dan-nu-ti35ši33 al-me
48 nišē(mesš) a-ši-bu-ti ālānī(mesš) ša-a-tu-nu
49 e-si-ir-ma nap-šat-su-nu ū-si-iq ū-šar-ri

§F F2 A
50 ūna-gu-u šu-a-tu ak-šu-ud 35-ab-bul aq-qur ina (ilu)šiš.
51 ma-lak 10 ūmē(me) 5 ūmē(me) ū-sāh-ri-37ir37-ma ša-qu-
52 um-ma-tuṣ C at-bu-uk§F F2 A38

§B2
53 ša ina tir-ši šarrānī(mesš) abbē(mesš)-ia (mātu)man-na-a-a
54 e-kī-mu
55 a-na 46-di40 ra-ma-ni-šu-nu ū-tir-ru
56 ak-šu-ud ina (ilu)guš.bar aq-mu āš-lu-la šal-lat-sun
57 ālānī(mesš) ša-a-tu-nu a-na mi-ši-r (mātu)šašur(ki) ū-tir41
58 na-gu-u ša (ālu)ar-si-ia-ni-iš
59 ša bi-rit (ālu)a-za-qa.42-na-a.42-ni
60 ša 43(šadū)43 ša-ar-si ša-di-e
61 ša rēš (mātu)ku-mu-ur-da-a-a ša qf-rib (mātu)man-na-a-a
62 as-pu-un ina (ilu)guš.bar aq-mu (I)ra-a-a-di-ša-di-e
63 (amēlu)rab-(ālu)hal-sha-šu-nu a-duk āš-lu-la šal-lat-su
64 na-gu-u ša (ālu)46e46-ri-46is-te-ia-na
65 ak-šu-ud ālānī(mesš)-šu as-pu-un
66 ina (ilu)guš.bar aq-mu āš-lu-la šal-la-46sun46
67 ina ti-ib ta-ša-zia-na gu-u-šu ū-sāh-ri
68 ū-ša-ah-bi-ir nap-šib mātī-šu
69 it-ti ūb-ub-ti ma37-di

§B2
70 šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu šal-meš a-tu-ra
71 (ālu)bi-ir-46ru46-u-a (ālu)šarru-iq-bi
People, horses, asses, cattle, sheep out of those cities I led forth and counted as spoil. When Aḥṣeri heard of the advance of my army, he forsook Izertu, his royal city, fled to Atrana, a garrisoned city of his, sought refuge. Izertu, Urmète, Uzbia, his strong cities, I surrounded. The people inhabiting those cities shut up, straitened their souls, and hemmed (them) in. That district I conquered, destroyed, devastated, burned with fire. A distance of ten days, five days I laid it waste and deluged it with misery. In the course of my campaign I conquered the cities in the vicinity of Paddiri, which in the days of my royal ancestors Mannayya had seized (and) annexed to their own border (lit., side). I burned (them) with fire, carried off their booty. Those cities I annexed to the territory of Assyria. The district of Arsianišt, which is between Azqaqayâni and Mount Ḫarsî, a mountain which is at the head of the Kumurdean country, which is within Mannayya, I laid waste, burned with fire. Rayyadisâdêt, the captain of their defenses, I killed; his spoil I carried off. The district of Eristeyana I captured, laid waste its cities, burned (them) with fire, carried off their spoil. During the progress of my campaign I devastated his (i.e., Aḥṣeri’s) district, diminished the size (lit., total) of his land. With much plunder, rich booty, I returned safely, entered the territory of Assyria. Birrua, Šarruiqbi,
§D 72 (alu)gu-su-ni-e álání(meš) maḫ-ru-u-te
73 ša mi-sîr (mâtu)aš-šur(ki)
74 ša ina tir-ši šarrâni(meš) abbé(meš)-ia
75 e-ki-mu (mâtu)man-na-a-a
76 da-ad-me ša-a-tu-nu ak-šu-ud

¶F 77 (mâtu)man-na-a-a ul-tu lib-bi as-suḫ §
78 sisé(meš) (isu)be-li ú-nu-ut táḫâzî-šu-nu
79 aš-lu-la a-na (mâtu)aš-šur(ki)
80 álání(meš) ša-a-tu-nu a-na es-šu-ti aš-bat
81 ú-tir-ra a-na mi-sîr (mâtu)aš-šur(ki)

¶A 82 (I)aḫ-šê-ê.47*i27 a la pâ-liḫ bêlu-ti ia §
83 ašur 45 (šê)istar îm-nu-šu 49šu 58-i-na 50 qâtâ(II) ardâni-
(meš)-šu

¶C 84 išê(meš) mâti-šu si-šu eli-šu ú-šab-šu-u
85 ina sâq áli-šu 51 id-du-u 52 (amêlu)pa-gar-šu 53
86 arkanu (I)ú-51a64-al-li-54q 55 mâri-šu ûši-b i-na (išu)kussî-
šu
87 da-na-an ašur 55 (šê)bêl 56 (šê)nabê
88 (šê)istar ša (alu)ninua(ki) 57 (šê)istar ša (alu)arba-
ilu(ki) 58
89 ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) bêlê(meš)-ia e-mur-ma
90 ik-nu-ša a-na ni-ri-ia
91 aš-šu ba-lat napišî(ti)-šu up-na-a-šu
92 îp-ta-a ú-šal-la-a be-lu-u-ti
93 (I)e-rî-sî-in-nî már ri-du-ti-šu
94 a-na ninua(ki) îs-pur-am-ma ú-na-aš-ši-iq šeûî(II.meš)-ia
95 ri-e-mu ar-ši-šu 49ma 69
96 (amêlu)mâr-šîp-ri-ia ša šul-me ú-ma-lî-ir ši-ru-uš-šu
97 mârtu ši-î-lib-bi-šu ú-še-bi-la a-na e-peš 49ab-rak-ku-ti 60
98 ma-da-at-ta-šu maḫ-ri-tu ša ina tir-ši šarrâni(meš)
abbé(meš)-ia
99 ú-šab-tî-lu îš-šu-u-ni a-di maḫ-ri-ia
Gusunê, former cities of the Assyrian frontier, which in the time of my royal ancestors Mannayya had seized—these settlements I conquered, drove the Mannean out of them. Horses, weapons, their implements of war I carried off to Assyria, organized those cities anew, annexed them to the border of Assyria. Aḥšēri, who did not respect my dominion—Ashur and Ishtar counted him into the hands of his servants; the people of his land started an insurrection against him, threw his body into the street of his city (A adds: left behind his corpse, struck down his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house with weapons). Afterward Ualli, his son, seated himself on his throne. Because he had beheld the might of Ashur (B variant adds: Sin, Šamaš; A adds: Šin, Šamaš, Adad), Bēl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh (A adds: the Queen of Kidmuri), Ishtar of Arbela (B variant adds: Ninurta, Nusku, and Nergal), the great gods, my lords, he submitted to my yoke. To save his life he spread forth his hands, besought my lordship. Erisinni, his heir apparent, he sent to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I took pity on him and dispatched my messenger of peace to him. A daughter, the offspring of his loins, he sent to be a lady-in-waiting. The former tribute, which in the time of my royal ancestors they had permitted to lapse, they brought before me (again).

**NOTES FOR COLUMN III**

47a-47a-ra F (30425).
48-49 B (A 7946) om.
49-50 -u F (except P 8) F₂.
50-50 a-na B (A 7946).
51 A adds (amēṣu)ka-lam-ta-šu.
53 A adds aḫḫē(mēš)-šu qin-nu-šu zēr bēl abi-šu u-šam-qī-šu šna (išu)kaḫḫē(mēš).
54-54 F F₂ om.
55 B (K 1707) F F₂ add (išu)šīn (išu)šamaš; A adds (išu)šīn (išu)šamaš (išu)adad.
56 B (K 1707) adds u.
57 A adds (išu)šar-rat kiš-mu-ri.
58 B (K 1707) adds (išu)niḫurta (išu)nusku (išu)nergal; F F₂ A add (išu)niḫurta (išu)nergal u (A om. u) (išu)nusku.
59-60 B (A 7944, A 7960, K 1713) om.
60-60 A 7935; see p. 43, n. 33.
56 HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

Column iv

1 30 sisê(meš) eli ma-da-at-ti-su maḫ-ri-ti

§F F A 2 ú-rad-di-ma e-me-is-su §

§C 3 ina ȗmê(meš)-šu-2ma¹ (I)bi-ri-ți² §-ḫa-at-ri (amêlu)-ḫazânun
sha mad-a-a

4 (I)šar-a-ti (I)pâ-ri-ți³ ²² mårê(meš)-šu⁴ (I)ga-a-gi
5 (amêlu)ḫazân (mâtû)ša-ḫi ša is-šu-u-a (isû)nîr bêlu-umu-ia

¶C 6 775 álání(meš)-šu-șu-șu dan-nu-ti ak-šu-ud ȃs-šu-la šal-
lat-su-un
7 ša-a-šu-nu bal-ṭu-su-nu ina qa-ti aṣ-bat
8 ú-bî-la a-na (âlu)ninua(ki) āl be-lu-ti-ia
9 (I)an-da-ri-a 7(âmêlu)bêl-pâhât⁷ (mâtû)u-ra-ár-ți⁸
10 ša a-na ka-ša-ad (mâtû⁹)₂²up²²-pu-um-me ³¹u²¹ (mâtû²²)-
kul-li-im-me-ri
11 ir-da-a il-li-ka qî-rib mu-ši-ti
12 nîšê(meš) a-ši-bu-te (âlu)kul-li-im-me-ri
13 ardâni(meš) da-qi-pa-ni-ia
14 ina šat mu-ši di-ik-ta-šu ma²'-as-su i-du-ku
15 la iz-zi-bu a-a-um-ma
16 qaqqad ³²(I)an-da-ri-e³³ ik-ki-su-nim-ma
17 a-na (âlu)ninua(ki) ina¹⁴ maḫ-ri-ia ȗ-bi-û-ni

§C 18 ina šešši(ši) § gir-ri-ia eli (I)ur-ta-ki šâr (mâtû)elamti(ki)
19 lu-u al-liḵ ša taḫti abi ṣa-ni-ia la ḫa-as-su
20 la iṣ-su-ru īb-ru-ṭi ul-ṭu ina (mâtû)elamti(ki)
Column iv

'Thirty horses above the former tribute I added and imposed upon him.

At that time Birishatri, a chieftain of the Medes(?), Sarati (and) Parih, his two sons, Gagi, chieftain of the Sabi, who had thrown off the yoke of my dominion—seventy-five of their strong cities I conquered, carried off their spoil. Themselves I took alive with (my own) hands, brought them to Nineveh, the city of my lordship. Andaria, governor of Armenia, who had advanced to capture Uppumme and Kullimmeri, had marched out in the middle of the night, and had killed the people living in Kullimmeri, servants subject to me, by night in a great massacre (so that) not one escaped—the head of Andaria they cut off and brought to Nineveh into my presence.

On my sixth campaign I marched against Urtaku, king of Elam, who was not mindful of the favors of the father that begat me, and did not maintain friendly relations. When hard times arose in Elam

Notes for Column iv

1-1 B (K 1713) om.
2-2 -si- B (A 7947).
3-3 ša B (A 7935).
4-4 B (K 2732) likewise reads (I)pa-ri-hi 2, but a deceptive bit of dirt has lodged in the middle of the second wedge of the MIN, making it look very much like A.
5-5 B (A 7947, K 2732) om.
6-6 B (A 7935, K 1713) om.
7-1 LÚ:EN: NAM B (A 7947, A 7950, K 1713, K 2732); LÚ: NAM B (A 7935); (amélú)tur-la-[an] C.
8-4 (máta)ru-ra-dr-ši B (A 7935); (máta)ur-dr-ši B (A 7950); (máta)ur-ar-ši B (A 7947, A 7902). The editions of K 2732 read (máta)lu-un-mi (Smith, loc. cit.; WKA, p. 41), but in "cleaning" K 2732 the sign ūR in this passage was badly damaged, so badly that it does not look like an ūR. But lu it is not, nor can it have ever been!
9 (dulu) B (A 7935, K 1713); text: B (K 2732) C.
10-10 B (A 7947) om.
11-11 B (A 7935, A 7947) om.
12 (dulu) B (A 7935, A 7947, A 7950); text: B (K 2732).
13-13 (I)an-da-ri-a B (K 1713); (I)an-du-ra-a B (A 7947).
14 a-na B (A 7947).
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

21 su-un-qu iš-ku-nu ib-ba-šu-u ni-ib-ri-1-tu-1-ta
22 (ilu)nisaba ba-lāt napišti(tim) nišē(meš) ú-še-bil-šu-ma
23 aš-bat qat(II)-su nišē(meš)-šu ša la-pa-an su-un-qi
24 in-nab-tu-u-nin-ma ú-si-bu qr-rib (mātu)as-sūr(ki)
25 a-di zu-un-nu ina máti-šu iz-nu-nu ib-ba-šu-u e-bu-ru
26 nišē(meš) ša-a-tu-nu ša ina máti-ia ib-šu-šu ú-še-bil-šu-ma
27 (amēlu)elama(ki)-a-a ša ta-bu-us-su it-ti lib-bi-ia la da-
ab-ba-ku
28 la ḫa-as-sa-ku ši-lišu (I)bēl-iḫša(ša) (mātu)gam-bu-la-
29 (Lilu)nabū-šuma-ereš(eš) (amēlu)gu-en-na arda-ni(meš)
da-giš pa-ni-ia
30 (Lilu)marduk-šuma-ibni (amēlu)šu-ut-rēšē(meš) ša (I)-
ur-ta-ki ša

¶K 31 it-ši-su-nu iš-ku-nu pi-ṭi-šu a-na mit-ḥu-ši māt šSUMER(ki)
   u akkadi(ki)
32 ina pi-ir-sa-ša-te id-ku-u-ni (I)ur-ta-ki šār (mātu)elamti-
   (ki)
33 (I)ur-ta-ki ša la ag-ru-šu
34 qa-bal-šu id-ka-a a-na (mātu)kar-(ilu)dun-iā-āš ur-ri-ḫa-
ta-ḫa-zu
35 aš-šu ti-bu-ut (amēlu)e-la-me-e
36 (amēlu)mār-šipri a-na ninu(ki) il-li-kam-ma

§K 37 iqi-ba-a ia-a-ti a-ma-tiš
38 ša-a-ti-na ša ti-bu-ut (I)ur-ta-ki
39 ul iš-[I 10] ut ina lib-bi-ia
40 šu-ut (amēlu)rubē(meš)-šu ša su-lum-me-e
41 iš-ta-nap-pa-ra ina mab-ri-ia
42 a-na a-mar šār (mātu)elamti(ki) (amēlu)mār-šip-ri-ia

¶C 43 ú-ma`-1 ir ba-an-ši [I 16-pur-ma] il-lik f1-tu-ram-ma
44 a`-1 ma`-a-ati ka-a-a-ma`-na-ti`18
45 ū-ša-an-na-a ia-a-ti

§C 46 um-ma (amēlu)e-laš-su-šu khna tibūt(ut) aribē(ḥā)
47 ka-tim (mātu)akkadi(ki) ka-li-ša ši-ir ūbābili(ki)
48 uš-man-nu ša-kìn-ma na-di ma-dak-tu a-na na-ra-ru-ti

¶D 49 (ilu)bēl u (ilu)nabū` ilānii(meš)-ia ūša ap-tal-la-ḫu ilu-
   us-su-nu
50 šābē(meš) tāḥāzi-ia ad-ki-e-ma aš-ba-ta ḫar-ra-nu
51 a-lak gir-ri-ia iš-me`-e-ma ḫat-tu iš-ḫupš-su-ma
52 i-tur a-na máti-šu arka-šu aš-ba-a bi-ik-ta-šu aš-kun
53 aš-ru-šu-su a-di mi-šir máti-šu
54 (I)ur-ta-as-ku šār (mātu)elamti(ki) ša la iš-su-ru ib-ru-te
55 ina ūmē(me) la šim-ti-šu mu-u-tu ū-ga-ra-ru-u
and there was a famine, I sent him grain to keep his people alive, grasped his hand. Those of his people who had fled before the hard times and settled in Assyria until rain fell in his land and there was a harvest—those people, who had kept themselves alive in my land, I sent back to him. The Elamite, an attack by whom I had never considered with my heart, of whose enmity I had not even thought—Béliqīša, the Gambulean, Nabūšumereš, the guenna, servants subject to me, Mardukšumibni, a general of Urtaku who had made common cause with them, to war with the land of the Shumerian and the Akkadian they incited Urtaku, king of Elam, with lies. Urtaku, with whom I was not at enmity, mustered his army, rushed the war into the land of Karduniash. A messenger (with news) concerning the advance of the Elamite came to Nineveh and told me these things of the advance of Urtaku. I was unde[c]ded(?) in my heart. Those of his nobles who (were for) peace sent to me repeatedly. For reconnaissance upon the king of Elam I dispatched my messenger. [I sent him] in haste; [and] he went, returned, and reported reliable information to me, saying: "The Elamite like the encroachment of grasshoppers is covering all Akkad. Against Babylon the camp has been pitched, the halt made." To aid Bēl and Nabû, my gods (lords variant), whose divinity I worship, I mustered my warriors and took the road. When he heard of the advance of my army, fear overcame him, so that he returned to his land. I took after him, accomplished his defeat, pursued him to the border of his land. Urtaku, king of Elam, who had not maintained friendly relations—on a day (lit., days) not appointed by fate death became hostile
60 Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

56 ina ta-ni-hi iq-tu-u i-zu-bu
57 ina qa-qa-ar ba-la-ši šepâ(II)-šu ul iš-kun
58 ina šatti-šu na-piš-ta-šu iq-ti il-lik šimat mu-ši-šu
59 (I)bél-iqša(ša) (amêlu)mâtu)gam-su-la-a-a
60 ša is-lu-u (išu)nîr bélu-u-ti-ia
61 ina ni-sik Ġumšri iš-ta-kan na-piš-tu
62 (I.išu)nu-bû-shuma-érêš(es)(š) (amêlu)gü-en-na la na-šir a-di-e
63 iš-ši a-ga-la-tî-la-a më(šeu) malûti(meš)
64 (I.išu)nu)marدلuk-šuma-sibni (amêlu)šur-šiši-šî mu-šad-bi-
65 ša li-muttu(tu) ú-tak-pi-du a-na (I)ur-ta-ki
66 e-me-is-su (I.išu)marدلuk šâr ilání(meš) š-e-ša-ta-šu râbît-
67 ina îštî(tit) šatti mi-iḫ-ri-ta a-ḫa-meš
68 iš-ku-nu na-piš-tu
69 lib-bî ašur ag-gu ul i-nu-ulšu-nu-ti
70 ul ip-šaš-šu-nu-ti
71 ka-bît-ti (I.išu)ii-tar ša ú-tak-kil-an-ni
72 palê(e) šarrû-ti-šu iš-ki-pu
73 be-lut (mâtu)e-lam-ti ú-šal-qu-u ša-nam-ma
74 ar-ka (I)te-um-man tam-šîl gallê
75 ú-šîb ina (išu)kussî (I)ur-ta-ki

§B
76 a-na da-a-ki márê(meš) (I)ur-ta-ki$B
77 ú21 márê(meš) (I)um-man-al-da20-še

§D
78 aḫî (I)ur-ta-ki iš-te-nî'$a (ša)limuttu$D
79 (I)um-man-i-ĝaš 24(I)um-man-ap-pa23 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu
80 márê(meš) 21(I)ur-ta-ki24 šar (mâtu)elamti(ki)
81 (I)ku-dûr-ru (I)pa-ru-u márê(meš) (I)um-man-al-da-še
82 šarru25 a-li̇k pa-nî (I)ur-ta-ki
83 ú 60 zêr šarrî ina la me-nî (amêlu)šâbê(meš)-(išu)qašti
84 márê26 ba-nî-e ša (mâtu)elamti(ki)27
85 la-pa-an da-a-ki (I)te-um-man
86 i-nab-tu-nim-ma iš-ša-tu šêpâ(II.meš) šarru-u-ti-ia

87 ina si-bê(e) gi-ri-ia elî (I)te-um-man
88 šâr (mâtu)elamti(ki) lu-u al-li̇k
89 ša elî (I)um-man-2625-gaš (I)um-man-ap-pa (I)tam-ma-
90 ri-tu
91 (I)ku-dûr-ru (I)pa-ru-u márê(meš)
92 (I)um-man-al-da-še aḫî (I)ur-ta-ki
93 šâr (mâtu)elamti(ki)
94 (amêlu)rubê(meš)-šu iš-ta-nap-pa-ra a-na še-bu-li
to him, amid mourning he began to reach his end (and) seep away, his feet no longer stood in the land of the living (lit., life). That same year his life came to an end, he went to his dismal fate. Bélìiqiša, the Gambulean, who had cast off the yoke of my dominion, lost his life through the bite of a boar. Nabûšumereš, the guenna who did not keep his oath—dropsy carried him off. Mar-dukšumibni, his officer, who had misled him, who had brought evil upon Urtaku—Marduk, king of the gods, laid a heavy penalty upon him. In a single year both laid down their lives. Angry Ashur's heart was not appeased toward them; not quieted over them was the liver of Ishtar, who had helped me. His royal dynasty they overthrew, caused another to receive dominion over Elam. After Teumman, the image of a devil, had seated himself on the throne of Urtaku, toward murdering the sons of Urtaku and the sons of Ummانaldāše, Urtaku's brother, he plotted his evil plan. Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, Kudurru, Parû, sons of Ummانaldāše, the king who preceded Urtaku, and sixty (scions) of the seed royal, archers without number, freemen of Elam, fled before the murderous fury of Teumman and caught hold of my royal feet.

On my seventh campaign I marched against Teumman, king of Elam, who concerning Ummanigaš, Ummanappa, Tammaritu, sons of Urtaku, king of Elam, Kudurru, Parû, sons of Ummانaldāše, brother of Urtaku, king of Elam, had sent his officials to

Notes for Column IV

21 a-na B (A 7944, A 7959).
22-22 -di- B (A 7935, A 7959).
23-23 (I)um-ap-pi B (A 7959).
24-24 (I)te-um-man B (A 7935, A 7959 erased).
25 amēlu B (K 1707, K 1843).
26 mārēl(meš) B (A 7946, K 1707).
27 B (K 1707) adds ša.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

95 nišē(šeš) ša-a-tu-nu ša in-nab-tu-nim-ma
96 is-ša-tu šēpē(II)₃₄-šē-bel-šu-nu ul aq-bi-šu
97 ina muḫḫi me-ri-ḫi-e-te ina qāt(II) (I)um-ba-da-ra-a
98 ā (I.)ilum)u-nab₁₂-damiq(iq) iš-te-nap-pa-ra arḫi-šam
99 qi-riḫ (mātu)u-lam-ti uš-def-ra-aḫ ina puḫur ummanātē-(ḫa)-šu

Column v

1 aš-ša-kin ša ū-tak-ša-an-ni
2 qē-bit pi-šu ur-šu-u ul am-gur ul ad-din-šu
3 mun-ša-ti ša-a-tu-nu (I)te-un-man li-mut-tu
4 iš-te-ni₂-a (Ilu)šin iš-te-ni₂-šu
5 itāt(meš) (šal)limutti ina (arḫu)du’ūzi attalū šat ur-ri
6 uš-te-ni-an-ša (Ilu)išmaš₃-e-mur-šu-ma₃ ki-ma šu-a-tu-ma
7 kal² umē(me) uš-te-ša-an-ša a-na qi-it palē(e)
8 šār (mātu)elamti(ki) ḫalaq māti-šu
9 ū-kal-lim-an-ni enib purussē-šu ša la in-ni-in-nu-u
10 ina umē(me)-šu₃ mi-ilḫu-im-ḫur-šu-ma
11 šapat-su uk-tam-bil-ma šu(II)₃ is-ḫi-ir₃₄-ma₅
12 ga-šu₅ is-aš-ša-ki ina ilb-bi-ṭa₇ ša₇
13 it-ti ip-še-e-ti an-na-a-ti ša₈(šin)šin₃ u (Ilu)ištar₈
(secure) the extradition of these people, who had fled and caught hold of my (B variant adds: royal) feet. Their extradition I did not grant him, on account of the insolent messages which by the hand of Umbadarā and Nabūdamiq he had been sending me monthly, (when) he puffed himself up in Elam before his assembled troops.

Column v

1I trusted in Ishtar, who had helped me, did not grant him the request of his rebellious mouth, nor give him those refugees. Teumman plotted evil. 4Sin planned for him portents of evil. In the month of Tammuz (there was) an eclipse. From daybreak until sunrise he (i.e., Sin, the moon-god) went into eclipse (lit., rested), so that Šamaš (the sun-god) saw it and like him set all those days, to (signify) the end of the reign of the king of Elam (and) the destruction of his land. 9He (i.e., Sin) revealed to me the fruit of his decision, which is not altered. 10At that time an accident befell him (i.e., Teumman), and his lip was paralyzed and his eye was twisted and a gabašu was placed in its midst. 12By these things that Sin and Ishtar (variant: Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ashur, Sin, [Šamaš, Bēl,] Nabû, Ishtar of Nineveh, [Ishtar of Arbela,]

Note for Column iv

53-59 šarrā-tī-ia B (A 7935).

Notes for Column v

1-1 A 7962. On this entire passage see the Appendix at the end of this part, pp. 105 ff. Professor Olmstead sees a reference to this eclipse in a badly broken letter published by Harper (Letters, No. 284), transcribed and translated by Leroy Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire I (Ann Arbor, 1930) 196 f.

2 So also K 2732.
3 B (A 7962, K 2732) adds -ma.
4 B (A 7962, P 3, K 10621) adds -šu.
5 K 10621 (collated).
6-4 K 10621 om.
5a For the rendering of this term cf. Bauer, pp. 12-13, n. 5.
7-7 šu B (A 7962, K 2732).
8-3 ašur u (šu)štar (šu)štar erased, with the following added: (šu)šin (šu)-šamaš (šu)bēl (šu)nabû (šu)štar ša nimuški (šu)štar ša (šu)arba-šu (šu)-nimurta (šu)nusku (šu)nergal B (K 10621).
9 So also K 2732.
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

14 e-pu-šu-uš ul i-ba-daš id-ka-a ummanâté(ţa)-šu
15 ina (arpu)abi araḥ na-an-mur-ti kakkab qaṣṭi
16 i-sin-ni šar-ra-ti ka-bit-ti márat (ilu)en-lil
17 a-na pa-laḫ ilù-ti-ša rab-ti(ti) āš-ba-ak
18 ina (alu)arba-ilu ālu na-ram lāb-bi-ša
19 āš-šu ti-bu-ut (amēlu)e-lam-e šā ba-lu-u 1a-ilānī(mes)’a
   it-ba-a
20 ū-ša-an-nu-u-ni ū-e-ŠE-mu
21 um-ma (ilu)te-um-man ki-a-am iq-bi
22 ša (ilu)ji₃atar ū-ša-an-nu-u me-lik ū-e-me-šu
23 um-ma ma ū-maš-šir a-dī al-la-ku
24 it-ti-šu ip-pu-šu mit-šu-šu-tu
25 šu-ut me-rī-il-ti an-ni-ti ša (il)te-um-man
26 iq-bu-u am-šur ša-qu-te (ilu)ji₃-tar
27 a-zi-iz a-na ta-ri-ša ak-me-ša ša-pal-ša
28 ilu-us-sa ū-ša-ap-pa-a il-la-ka di-ma-a-a
29 um-ma (ilu)be-li₃it (alu)arba-ilu(ki) a-na-ku (il)š-šur-
   bānī-apli
30 šar (mātu)ša-šur(ki) bi-nu-ut qātē(II)-ki ša ḫ-šu-ḫu-šu
   ašur
31 abu ba-nu(ki) a-na ud-du-uṣ es-ri-e-ti šul-lum par-ši-šu-un
32 11na-šar(ii) pi-ri₃iš-ti-šu-un šu-ṭu-ub lāb-bi-šu-un im-bu-u
   zi-ki₃t-šu
33 a-na-ku āš-ri-e-ki āš-te-ni₃-i
34 al-li₃ka a-na pa-laḫ ilù-ti-ki ū šul-lum par-ši-ki
35 ū šu-u (ilu)te-um-man šār (mātu)elamti(ki) la mu-ša-kir
   ilānī(mes)
36 ku-ūṣ-su₃r ka-li a-na mit-šu-ug ummanâtē(ţa)-ia
37 um-ma at-ti (ilu)be-li₃iti i-lat qab-li be-li₃ tāḥāzi
38 ma-li₃kat ilānī(mes)
39 ša ina ma-ḥar ašur abī ba-ni-ki (šal)damîqtim taq-bi
40 ina mi₃-ēnē(II)-šu ellēti(mes) ḫ-šu-ḥa-an-ni a-na šarru-
   u-ti
41 āš-šu (ilu)te-um-man šār (mātu)elamti(ki) ša a-na ašur
42 šār ilānī(mes) abī ba-ni-ki ḫ-ṭu-tu bi₃-tu [12b ū-bi-la]₁₂
   id-ka-a um-man-šu
43 iq-su-ra ta-ḥa-zu ū-ša-₂-ša-la (isu)kakkē(mes)-šu
44 a-na a-la₃k (mātu)asur[(ki)] um-ma at-ti qa-rīt-ti ilānī-
   (mes) kīma bītī
45 ina qa-bal tam-ḥa-ri pu-ṭi-ri-šu-ma di-ki₃-šu me-šu-u
46 šāru lim-nu in-ḫi-ia šu-nu-ḫu-ti (ilu)ji₃atar i₃-me-e-ma
47 la ta-pal-laḫ iq-ba-a ū-šar-ḫi₃-a-an-ni lib-bu
Ninurta,] Nusku, Nergal) 14did to him he was not confounded. He
mustered his troops. 15In Ab, the month of the appearance of the Bow
Star, 16of the feast of the revered Queen, the daughter of Enlil, 18(when)
I was tarrying in Arbela, the city beloved of her heart, 17to worship
her great divinity, 20they brought me intelligence 19of the advance of
the Elamite, who had gone forth without the gods' consent, 21stating:
"Thus spake Teumman, 22whose reason Ishtar has dethroned: 23'I
will not give up until I have come 24and fought a battle with him.'" 25These
insolent words which Teumman 26had uttered I took; into exalted Ishtar's
presence I stepped; before her I bowed down; 28I besought her
divinity, my tears flowing, 29thus: "Lady of Arbela, I, Ashurbanipal,
king of Assyria, the creature of thy hands, whom Ashur, 31the father
who begat thee, desired, whom he called (by) name to renovate the
sanctuaries, to perform their ordinances, 32to protect their mysteries,
(and) to make glad their hearts—33I have sought out thy sanctuary, 34I
have come to worship thy divinity and to perform thy ordinances; 35and
this Teumman, king of Elam, who does not esteem the gods, 36has set in
motion all his resources to do battle with my troops. 37Now, O thou Lady
of Ladies, Goddess of War, Mistress of Battle, 38Queen of the Gods,
who didst speak (words of) grace before Ashur, the father who begat
thee, 39(so that) by the lifting up of his shining eyes he desired me to be-
come king, 41concerning Teumman, king of Elam, who against Ashur,
king of the gods, the father who begat thee, has sinned, [withheld]
tribute, mustered his troops, 43arrayed (his) hosts, invoked his weap-
ons, 44to march against Assyria—O thou Heroine among the gods,
like a bundle 45rip him open in the midst of the battle; raise up against
him a tempest, 46an evil wind!'" Ishtar heard the sighs I emitted, and
47she said, "Fear not!" and comforted me in my heart: 48'Because of

Notes for Column V
10-10 Var. of -ša B (P 3, K 10621, Rm 24).
10a-10b ili B (P 3).
11-11 id-ki B (VA 2972).
11-12 Conjectural.
66 HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

48 a-na ni-iš qâtê(II)-ka ša taš-ša-a ēnâ(II)-ka im-la-a di-im-tu
49 ar-ta-ši ri-e-mu ina šat mu-ši šu-a-tu ša a-na šururša.ši
§D 50 ištêni(en) (amēlu)šab-rû-u u-tu-ul-ma i-îna-at-šal šutta
51 i-gi-il-ti-ma tab-rit mu-ši ša (ilu)istan u-šab-rû-šu
§C 52 ū-ša-an-na aš-a-ti um-ma (ilu)ištê[ar] a-ši-bat (âlu)[arba]-ilu
53 e-ru-ub-am-ma imma u^12 šumêla tua-ul-la-ta iš-pa-a-ti
54 tam-ha-at (išu)qâsta i-na i-di-ša
§K 55 šal-pat nam-šu-[ru] zaq-tu ša e-peš ta-ḫa-zi§
56 ma-ḫar-ša ta-zi-iz ši-i ki-i ummi
57 a-li-ti i-tam-ma-a it-ti-ka
58 il-si-ka (ilu)istan Ša-qu-ut ilâni(meš) i-šak-kan-ka te-emu
59 um-ma ta-na-at-ta-la a-na e-peš ša-aš.ša-ne^12a
¶B 60 a-šar pa-nu-u-a šak-nu te-ba-ku ū=a-na-ku
61 at-ta ta-qa-b-bi^13ši^14 um-ma a-šar tal-la-ki
62 it-ti-ki lul-lik (ilu)be-lit belêti(meš)
63 ši-tu-ša-an-nak-ka um-ma at-ta a-kan-na
64 lu-u aš-ba-ta a-šar maš-kân-i-ka
§B 65 a-kul a-ka-lu ši-ti ku-ru-un-nu§
¶B 66 ū-šak-ša-du šu-un-me-rat lâb-bî-ka
67 a-di al-la-ku ši-pâ-ru šu-a-tu 16ip-[pu]-šu^15
68 ū-šak-ša-du šu-un-me-rat lâb-bî-ka
69 pa-nu-u-ka ul ur-rak ul i^14-nâr-ru-ta šêpê(II)-ka
70 ul ta-sam-mat le-ût(ut)-ka ina qabal tam-ha-ri
71 ina ki-rim-me-ša tâbi taḫ-ši-in-ka-ma
72 taḫ-te-na gi-mir laïša-a-nim-ka
73 pa-nu-u-ša (ilu)giš.bar in-â-pi-âb
74 raštâ-ša ta-at-ta-ši a-na a-ḫa-a-ti^17
75 e-li (I)te-um-ma šâ (mâtu)elamti(ki)
76 ša u-gu-ga-ta pa-nu-uš-ša taš-kun
77 ina^17a (arhu)ulûli ši-pîr (ilu)istanarâ(meš) i-si-ni ašûr šeri
78 arağ (ilu)šin na-an-nâr šamê(e) u iršiti(tim) at-kil a-na purussî
79 (ilu)nanna-ri nam-ri û ši-pîri^18a (ilu)istan bêtî-ia ša la in-nîn-nu
80 ad-kiigail(meš) taḫâzê(meš)-ia mun-taḫ-ši ša ina qâf-bit ašûr
81 (ilu)šin u^18 (ilu)istan it-ta-na-ash-rab-bi-tu ina^18 qa-bal tam-ha-ri
the raising of thy hands which thou hast raised, (because of) thy eyes, filled with tears, "I have had mercy upon thee." During that very same night in which I approached her a certain seer lay down and saw a dream-vision. When he awoke he recounted the vision which Ishtar had revealed to him to me, declaring: "Ishtar dwelling in Arbela entered, and right and left she bore quivers; she held a bow in her hand; she unsheathed a sharp sword for battle. Thou stoodest before her. Like the mother of a child she talked with thee. Ishtar, the exalted of the gods, addressed thee, giving thee this counsel: 'Thou beholdest a direction to go to war. O I will go with thee, O Lady of Ladies!' 

She repeated to thee: 'Here thou shalt stay, where thou art dwelling. Eat food, drink wine, provide music, revere my divinity, until I go and do this deed (and) make thee attain the desire of thy heart. Thy face shall not turn green, thy feet shall not tire, thy strength shall not fail thee in the heat of the battle.' In her kindly embrace she folded thee and protected thy entire stature. From her face fire flared forth, fiercely she went off to the sides (angrily) strode forth to conquer [her foe] B2. Against Teumman, king of Elam, with whom she was angry, she set her face. In Ululu, (the month of greatest) effectiveness of the goddesses, the feast of Ashur the exalted, the month of Sin, illuminator of heaven and earth, trusting in the oracle of Nanna the Glittering and the message of Ishtar, my lady, which is not changed, I mobilized my warriors, my fighters, who by the command of Ashur, Sin, and Ishtar.
68  

**HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL**

82  
\[ \text{e-li (I)te-um-man šār (mātu)elamti(ki) ur-ḥu aš-bat-ma} \]

§B₂  
83 \[ \text{uš-te-es-še-ra ṭar-ra-nu el-la-mu-u-a§ (I)te-um-man šār} \]
\[ \text{(mātu)elamti(ki)} \]

§C §D  
84 \[ \text{i-na (alu)} \]
\[ \text{bitt-(I)im-bi-i na-di ma₁₀-dak-tu e-rib šarrū-ti-ia} \]

¶C  
85 \[ \text{ša ¶qf-rib (alu)dēri(ki) iš-me-e-ma _THAN}$ (I)te-um-man \]

¶D  
86 \[ \text{ip-lāḫ-ma a-na arki-šu i-tur e-ru-ub qf-rib (alu)šu-ša-an} \]
87 \[ \text{kaspū ṭurāšu a-¶na šu-zu-ub napišti(tim)-šu} \]
88 \[ \text{ú-za-₃-iz a-na nišē(₅₃) máṭi-šu} \]
89 \[ \text{ri-ṣi-e-šu a-liḳ idi(di)-šu ²⁰ nu-ub šu ²⁰ ú-tir-ram-ma} \]
90 \[ \text{ug-dap-pi-ša a-na maḥ-ri-ia} \]
91 \[ \text{(naru)ú-la-a-a a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun²⁰} \]
92 \[ \text{iš-bat pa-an maš-qē-e} \]
93 \[ \text{ina qf-bit aṣur (ilu)marduk ₂¹ ilānī(₅₃) rabūti(₅₃)²¹} \]
94 \[ \text{ša ú-tak-kil-u-in-[ni]₉} \]
95 \[ \text{ina itāt(₅₃) (šal)₂¹ nāmēkte(₅₃)₂¹ egirri ši-pir maḥ-} \]
\[ \text{ḥi-e} \]

§D  
96 \[ \text{ina₂² qf-rib ša₂² ₂₃ (alu)tu-ba₃₃ abiktu-šu-nu āš-kun§} \]
97 \[ \text{ina (amēlu)pagrē(₅₃)-šu-nu (naru)ú-la-a-a as-ki-ir} \]
§C  
98 \[ \text{šal-ma-a-te-šu-nu ki-ma (iṣu)balti²₄ (iṣu)aṣagi§} \]
99 \[ \text{ú-ma-al-la-a ta-mar-ti (alu)šu-ša-an} \]
sweep along in the heat of the battle. Against Teumman, king of Elam, I took the road and made straight the way. Before me Teumman, king of Elam, had made a halt in the city of Bit-Imbi. He heard of my majesty's invasion of Dér, and fear took hold of him. Teumman became afraid and turned back. He entered Susa. To save his life he divided silver and gold among the people of his land. His allies, who (usually) occupied his flanks (lit., going at his side), he sent to the rear (lit., turned back from before him) and prepared for a battle with me. Opposite my front he made the Ulayya his stronghold, seized my watering-places. At the command of Ashur (and) Marduk, the great gods, (C adds: my lords,) who strengthened me through the favorable omens of a revelation, the work of an oracle-priest, I accomplished his defeat at Tell-Tuba. I blocked the Ulayya with their corpses. Their dead bodies like weeds (lit., thorns and thistles) filled the plain of Susa.

Notes for Column V

19 mad- B (A 7970); man- D (K 1700).
20-20 B (A 7969) om.
20a B (P 4) adds -ma.
21-21 B (A 7970) D (K 1700) om.; after rabûti(mēš) B (P 4) C add bêlē(mēš)-ia].
31a-31a damîqti B (P 4).
22 B (A 7970, A 7980, K 1741) om.
23-23 (alu)tu-ba B (A 7947, A 7968); (alu)til-[tu-ba] B (K 1741); [(alu)til-tu-ba B (P 4)]; [(alu)til-tu-ba] C; text: B (A 7944, A 7970, A 7980). The hitherto accepted reading, (alu)til-tu-ba, is not supported by any available sources, and the ease with which lî and tu as well as iz and ba could be confused suggests that it is the error of a modern copyist. Cf. K 2974 Rev. i 15 (S. A. Smith, Die Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals III [Leipzig, 1889] 3; Streck, Assurbanipal, pp. 310, n. 6, and 331, n. 9).
24 C adds u.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

Column vi

1 qaqqad (I)te-um-man šâr (mâtu)elamti(ki)
2 ina qī-bit ăsûr (îlu)marduk îlânî(meš) rabûti(meš) belê(meš)-ia
3 akkîs(îs) ina puḫûr ummanâtê(hâ)-šû
4 mi-lam-me ăsûr u (îlu)ištâr (mâtu)elamti(ki)
5 îs-ḫu-up-mâ îk-nu-šû a-na ni-ri-ia
6 (I)um-man-li-ġaš ša in-nab-tu
7 îš-ba-tu šêpê(II)-ia ina (îsu)kussî-šû ú-šê-šib
8 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu aḫu-šû šal-ša-a-a
9 ina (Âlu)ḫi-da-lu a-na šarrû-ti û-š-kun
10 (îsu)narkabêti(meš) (îsu)šu-um-bi istsê(meš) parê(meš)
11 ši-mît-ti ni-i-ri (išu)be-li si-mat tâḫâzi
12 ša ina tu-kul-ti ăsûr 2(iîlu)ištâr2 îlânî(meš) rabûti(meš) belê(meš)-ia
13 bi-ri-t (Âlu)šu-ša-an ū (nâru)û-la-a a ik-šu-da qâtâ(II)-a-a
14 ina4 qî-bit ăsûr u îlânî(meš) rabûti (meš) belê(meš)-ia
15 ul-tu qî-rib (mâtu)elamti(ki) ḫa-diît ū-ša-am-ma
16 a-na gi-mîr ummanâtê(hâ)-ia ša-lîm-tu šak-na-at
17 ina šûman(e) gir-ri-ia elî (I)du-na-nu már (I)bêl-iqîša(ša)
18 a-na (mâtu)³gám-bu-li lu-u al-lik
19 ša a-na šû (mâtu)elamti(ki) it-tak-lu
20 lâ-a ik-nu-šû a-na ni-ri-ia
21 ta-ḫa-zi dan-nu (mâtu)⁴gam-bu-lu a-na si-ḫir-ti-šû
22 ki-ma imbâri ak-tum
23 (Âlu)ša-pî-i-(îlu)bêl âl dan-nu-ti-šû
24 ša qî-rib nârê(meš) na-da-at šu-bat-su ak-šu-ud
25 (I)du-na-nu aṣẖê(meš)-šû ul-tu qî-rib âlî šu-a-tu
26 bal-ṭu-su-un ú-šê-ša-a-§
27 aṣṣat-su márê(meš)-šû márâtê(meš)-šû (šal)sîk-ri-ti-šû
28 (amêlu)nârê(meš) (šal)nîrâtê(meš) ú-šê-ša-am-ma šal-la-tišt am-nu
29 kaspû ṭûrâšu bušû na-kam-ti ekalli-šû
30 ú-šê-ša-am-ma šal-la-tišt am-nu
31 (amêlu)šu-ut-reṣê(meš) man-za-az pa-nil-šû (amêlu)kit-kit-tu-u
32 mu-ša-ki-li-e-šû [ú-šê-ša²]am-ma šal-la-tišt am-nu
33 gi-mîr um-ma-[-...-šu-nî ma]-la ba-šu-u
34 mar-kaš âlî u šêrî ú-šê-ša-am-ma šal-la-tišt am-nu
35 alpê(meš) gi-e-nil istsê(meš) parê(meš) ša ni-ba la i-šu-u
36 ú-šê-ša-am-ma šal-la-tišt am-nu
37 nišê(meš) máti-šû zîk-ra sin-niš šiḫir u rabi e-du ul e-zib
38 ú-šê-ša-am-ma šal-la-tišt am-nu
"Column vi"

1. The head of Teumman, king of Elam, 2. at the command of Ashur (and) Marduk, the great gods, my lords, 3. I cut off before his assembled troops. 4. The splendor of Ashur and Ishtar overcame Elam, 5. and they submitted to my yoke. 6. Ummanigas, who had fled (and) 7. caught hold of my feet, I set upon his throne. 8. Tammaritu, his third brother, 9. I established as king in 9. lidalu. 10. Chariots, wagons, horses, mules 11. broken to the yoke, weapons suited for war, 12. which with the help of Ashur (and) Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, 13. my hands had captured between Susa and the Ulayya—14. at the command of Ashur and the great gods, my lords, 15. I brought (them) out of Elam, and 16. to each of my soldiers a piece of equipment was given.

On my eighth campaign 17. I marched to Gambulu against Dunanu, the son of Beliqisä, 18. who had helped the king of Elam (and) 19. had not submitted to my yoke. 20. With my mighty battle array I covered all Gambulu 21. like a storm. 22. Sapibêl, his stronghold, 23. which is situated in the midst of the rivers, his seat, I took. 24. Dunanu (and) his brothers I led forth from that city 25. alive. 26. His wife, his sons, his daughters, his concubines, 27. his singers, male and female—I led (them) forth and counted (them) as spoil. 28. Silver, gold, the treasure of his palace—29. I brought (it) forth and counted it as spoil. 30. The officials who stood before him, (his) smiths, 31. his quartermasters—I led forth and counted (them) as spoil. 32. All [their] artisans, [all] there were, 33. the bond of city and country—I led (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil. 34. Countless cattle, sheep, horses, mules—35. I brought (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil. 36. The people of his land, male and female, small and great, without exception, 37. the warriors (as well)—I

Notes for Column vi

1-1.-ni- B (A 7981).
2-2. B (K 2732) om.; B (Rm 24) adds (or substitutes?) û.
4. (dlu) B (A 7981).
5-5. D.
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39 [ (...)]

40 [ (...)]

41 āš-šbelieš rib (ālu)ša-pi-i-(išu)šbel bal-ṭu-us-su ina qa-ti aš-bat

42 qaqqad-su ak-kis it-ti pa-ni (I)du-na-nu kit-ri la mu-šē-

43 ālu šu-a-tu ab-bul aq-qur ina mé(meš) uš-ḥar-miṭ

44 a-di la ba-šē-e ú-ša-lik

45 na-gu-u šu-a-tu ú-šaḥ-rib

46 ri-ḡim a-mel-ū-lu-ti ap-ru-ša štr-u-šu §

47 ina ta-kul-ti ašur (išu)bēl (išu)šarūš ilāni(meš) raḇūṭi-

48 šbel(meš)-iaš (amēlu)nakrē(meš)-ia a-ni-ir

49 šal-meš a-ti-ru a-na (šalu)nīnu(ka)

50 qaqqad (I)te-um-man šar (mētu)elamti(ka)

51 ina ki-šad (I)du-na-nu a-lul

52 it-ti ki-šit-ti (mētu)elamti(ka)

53 šal-la-at (mētu)garm-bu-li

54 ša ina qa-bit ašur ik-šu-dagatā(II)-a-a

55 it-ti (amēlu)nārē(meš) e-peš nin-gu-ti§

56 a-na (šalu)nīnu(ka) e-ru-ub-maša ina ḫāṭē(meš)

57 (I)um-ba-da-ra-a (Išunu)šarūš-damīq(iq)

58 (amēlu)rūbē(meš) ša (I)te-um§-man šar (mētu)elamti-

59 ša (I)te-um-man ina qaṭē(II)-šu-nu ši-pu-ra

60 ši-pūr me-ri-īḫ-ti ša ina maḫ-ri-ia ak-lu-ū
led (them) forth, I counted (them) as spoil. 39 [Massi. . .] rā, the infantry general of Teumman, king of Elam, 40 [who to] assist Gambulu as guard of Dunanu 41 lived in Sapibēl, I took alive with my own hands. 42 His head I cut off. In the presence of Dunanu I struck the helper who had not saved him. 43 That city I destroyed, I devastated, demolished with water, 44 annihilated (lit., made it go into nonexistence). 45 That district I ruined. 46 The bustle of humanity I cut off from it. 47 With the help of Ashur, Bēl, Nabû, the great gods, 48 my lords, I wiped out my enemies 49 (and) returned safely to Nineveh. 50 The head of Teumman, king of Elam, 51 I hung around the neck of Dunanu (C adds: [round the neck] of Samgunu I hung [the head of Ištarnandi]; B adds: the head of Ištarnandi [I hung] around the neck of [Samgunu], the younger brother of Dunanu). 52 With the loot of Elam, 53 the spoil of Gambulu, 54 which at the command of Ashur my hands had captured, 55 with singers to make music, 56 I entered into Nineveh with joy. 57 Umbadarā (and) Nabūdamiq, 58 nobles of Teumman, king of Elam, 59 by whose hands Teumman had dispatched 60 (his) insolent mes-

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NOTES FOR COLUMN VI

6-6 D.
7 One is tempted to compare the name (I) MAs-da-ra-a occurring in one of the Elamite court documents (Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse IX, No. 259 Obv. 10); but the fragment is broken in such a way that it is difficult to decide from the traces whether the sign after si on K 1700 began with two or with three horizontal strokes. So du, da, and id are all possible; for du compare the variant Andaria-Andura in B iv 10 (A 7947), p. 57, n. 13.
8 Cf. Esarhaddon Th 1929-10-12, 1 i ii 61 (Thompson, Prisms, p. 19).
9 In Esarhaddon Th 1929-10-12, 1 i 58 (Thompson, op. cit., p. 11, esp. n. 2) arpisya ritiya, which Thompson interprets as "indicating the determination to carry on the rule," is probably the same gesture of snapping the fingers which Strabo cites as marking the statue (relief?) of Sardanapalos in Anchiale (Strabo, Geography, 14 v 9, ed. H. L. Jones [London, 1929] p. 340; Streck, Assurbanipal, pp. ccxxvii ff.), and which is probably, as Eduard Meyer at first believed (Forschungen zur alten Geschichte I [Halle a.S., 1892] 204), to be explained as a gesture of invocation. As such it fits the Esarhaddon context very well.
10-10 C om.
11 C adds [ina ki-šad] (I) sa-am-gu-nu [qaqqad (I) iš-tar-na-an-di] a-tul; B adds qaqqad (I) iš-tar-na-an-di ina kišad [(I) sa-am-gu-nu] aḫi (I) du-na-nu ku-ṭin-n[u a-tul]. For the restorations compare K 4459 (WKA, p. 75), but also K 2674 Obv. 6 (George Smith, History, p. 141), which has Umbakidinni bear the head of Ištarnandi.
12-12 B (A 7968) D (K 1700) om.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

61 ú-qá-šu pa-an ši-ki še-eme-ia
62 ni-ki šaqqad (I)te-um-man bēš-šu-nu qŕ-rib ni-na (ki)
63 e-ru-u-ma ša-ni-šu né-te-šu-iš-šu-la ka-ra-as-su
64 (I)um-da-ra-a qĺ-qu-ma zi-q-na-a-šu

§K
65 ¶(I.lu) nábū-damiq(iq) ina pāṭri purzilli šīb-bī-šu iš-šu-la
66 ni-ki šaqqad (I)te-um-man ina tarsī abulli qabal āli
67 ša (álu) ni-na (ki) d-maš-ši-ra maš-šu-riš
68 šš-šu da-na-an šu-ur uš (ili) ištar bēlē(meš)-ia nišš(meš)

§D
69 ni-ki šaqqad (I)te-um-man šār (matu)elamti(ki)
70 16šum-a-a mār (I.lu) nábū-sa-lim mār-mār (I.lu)-

mar-duk-apla-iddi
71 ša la-na-šu-šu-bi-ni-šu
72 abu-šu in-nab-tuš a-na (matu)elamti(ki)
73 ul-tu (I)um-man-i-gaš qŕ-rib (matu)elamti(ki) áš-ku-nu

§D
74 (I)šum-a-a mār (I.lu) nábū-sa-lim
75 iš-šu-bi-la a-di maš-ri-ša
76 (I)du-na-nu (I)sa-am-gu-nu
77 mārē(meš) (I.lu) bēl-iqša(ša) (matu)gam-bu-la-a-a
78 ša abbē(meš)-šu un a-na šarrāni(meš) abbē(meš)-ia

§D K
79 ¶(I)šul-li-bu-ma šu-[nu]
80 ú-nar-ri-ta e-peš šarru-ši-ia
81 qŕ-rib šur(ki) u (álu) arba-ilu(ki)
82 a-na daš-lāl aš-rā-a-te ú-bil-šu-nu-tiš
83 ša (I) man-nu-ki aššē(meš) (amelu) ša-nū(u) (I)du-na-nu
84 ū (I.lu) nábū-ša-gal-li amēlu ša elī āl (matu) gam-bu-li
85 ša elī ilāni(meš)-ia išq-bu-u šil-la-tu rāštu(tu)
86 qŕ-rib (álu) arba-ilu lāš-an šu-un áš-šu-ša
87 šš-šu-ša maššak-šu-un (I) du-na-nu qŕ-rib (álu) ni-na-a
88 elī (išu) ma-ka-a-ši id-du-šum-ma

§C
89 iš-bu-šu-uš ša aš-šiš-
90 si-it-ti aššē(meš)-šu ša (I) du-na-nu
91 ū (I)šum-a-a a ni-ir šērē(meš)-šu 17nu nu
92 ú-šē-bil a-na ta-mar-ti ma-ti-ta
93 (I.lu) nábū-na-id (I.lu) bēl-ešir(ir)
94 mārē(meš) (I.lu) nábū-šumā-ēreš(es) (amēlu) gū-en-na
95 ša abu ba-nu-šu-un (I) dur-ta-ki id-ka-a
96 18a-na niśš-šu-si (matu) akkadi(ki)
97 esmāte(meš) (I.lu) nábū-šumā-ēreš(es) ša ul-tu qŕ-rib
(matu) gam-bu-li
98 il-qu-u-ni a-na (matu) ašš-šur(ki)
99 esmāte(meš) ša a-te na
sage, whom I had detained in my presence to await my decision, saw the severed head of Teumman, their master, in Nineveh, and insanity seized hold of them. Umbadarā tore his beard, Nabūdamiq pierced his abdomen with his girdle dagger. The severed head of Teumman I displayed conspicuously in front of the gate in the middle of the city of Nineveh, that the severed head of Teumman, king of Elam, might show forth the might of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, to the people. Šumayya, the son of Nabúsalim, the grandson of Merodachbaladan, whose father before (the time of) the father of the father who begat me had fled to Elam—after I had established Ummanigas as king in Elam, he took Šumayya, the son of Nabúsalim, sent him into my presence. Dunanu (and) Samgūnu, sons of Bēliqiša the Gambulean, whose forefathers had made trouble for my royal ancestors, and who themselves had made difficult the exercise of my sovereignty, I brought them for future obedience. The tongues of Mannukiahhe, the lieutenant of Dunanu, and Nabūsalli, a man who was over a city of Gambulu, who had spoken most disrespectfully of my gods, I tore out in Arbela (and) flayed them. In Nineveh they threw Dunanu on a skinning-table and slaughtered him like a lamb. The other brothers of Dunanu and Šumayya I killed, their flesh sent to be gazed at throughout the land. Nabûna'id (and) Bēletir, sons of Nabûsumerēš, the guenna, whose father had incited Urtaku to fight against Assyria—the bones of Nabûsumerēš, which they had brought from Gambulu to Assyria—these bones

NOTES FOR COLUMN VI

11-13 ib-gu-u B (K 2732); ib-gu-nu B (A 7908).
14-15 B (K 1741) om.
16 D (K 1700) om.
16-17 (I)TUR.ūš-ia B (P 4).
17-17 B (K 1741) om.; B (Rm 27) adds Ṝ-nak-kis.
18-18 B (A 7983) om.
76 HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

Column vii

1 mi-ih-rit abulli qabal (ālu)ninua(ki)

§C 2 ú-šaḫ-ši-la mārē(meš)-šu $§

3 (I)um-man-i-gaš ša ṭa-ṣab-tu ma-" as-su e-pu-šu-uš
4 áš-ku-nu-uš a-na šarru-u-ti (mātu)elamti(ki)
5 ša damiqtı(tim) la ḫa-as-su
6 la iš-su-ru a-di-e ma-mit ilāni(meš) rabûti(meš)

¶D 7 ¶ul-tu qāṭā(II) (amēlu)mār-šiprē(meš) (I.ilu)šama-šuma-ukin
8 aḫu la ki-e-nu 1(amēlu)nakri-ia1 im-ḫu-ru ṭa-"a-tu
9 e-mu-qī-su it-ti-su-un iš-pu-ra
10 a-na mit-ḫu-ši ummanātē(hā)-ia
11 šābē(meš) tāḫāzi-ia $§a2 ina (mātu)kār-(ilu)dun-īā-dāš
12 it-ta-na-at-la-ku ú-kab-"ba4-su (mātu)kal-du
13 ina la i-di-e ši-ir ¶(I)un-da-si
14 mār (I)te-um-man šār (mātu)elamti(ki)
15 ū (I)za-za-az (amēlu)ḥazān (mātu)pil-la-te
16 (I)pa-ru-u (amēlu)ḥazān (mātu)ḥi-il-mu
17 (I)at-ta-me-tu (amēlu)ru-ū-(išu)qaštī
18 (I)ni-e-šu a-liq pa-ni ummanātē(hā) ša (mātu)elamti(ki)$§
19 a-na mit-ḫu-uṣ-ši it-ti ummanātē(hā) (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
20 [*[(I)um-man-i-gaš³ ú-ma²]-"ir-šu-nu-ti
21 iš-kun-šu-nu-te ṭe-e-mu
22 [*[(I)um-man-i-gaš³ "ra-na (I)un-da-si ki-a-am² iq-bi
23 [*'um-ma a-li'k ultu (mātu)aš-šur(ki)
24 tir-ra tuč-te-e abī ba-ni-ka
25 [*[(I)un-da-su²] (I)za-za-az (I)pa-ru-u
26 (I)at-ta-me-tu (I)ni-e-šu
27 [*"it-ti³] (amēlu)mār-šiprē(meš)$⁷b (I.ilu)šama-šuma-ukin
28 abī nak-ri [*'ur-ḫu iš-"ba4]-u-nim-ma
29 uš-te-eš-še-ru-u-ni ḫar-ra-nu

§C 30 [*šābē(meš) tā³]ḫāzi-ia ina (ālu)²š-man-gi-ši ša qf-rib (ālu)šu-man-dir
31 [eli³]šu-un e-lu-nim-ma iš-ku-nu taḥ-ša-šu-un
32 ša (I)un-da-si mār (I)te-um-man šār (mātu)elamti(ki)
33 ša (I)za-za-az (I)pa-ru-u (I)at-ta-me-tu
34 qaqqade(meš)-šu-nu ik-ki-su-nim-ma
35 ú-bi-šu-ni a-di maḫ-ri-ia
36 šu-ut a-ma-a-ti an-na-a-ṭe
37 (amēlu)mār-šiprē-ia ú-ma²-"ir ši-ir (I)um-man-"iš-gaš
38 (amēlu)šu-ut-rēši-ia ša aš-bu i-["na (ālu)man-gi²]-ši ik-la-ma
39 la ú-tir-ra tur-ti a-maṭ-ia
Column vii

1before the gate in the middle of Nineveh 2I had his sons crush.

2Ummanigas, for whom I had done many favors, 4whom I had established as king of Elam, 5who was not mindful of the favors, 6did not keep the oath (and) curse of the great gods, 7(but) accepted a bribe from the hand of an emissary of Šamaššumukin, 8the faithless brother, my enemy. 9He sent his forces with them 10to fight my troops, 11my warriors, who were marching about in Karduniash. 12They tramped through Chaldea, 13without its being known, toward Undasi, 14the son of Teumman, king of Elam; 15and Zazaz, mayor of Pillate, 16Parû, mayor of Ḥilmu, 17Attametu, general of infantry, 18(and) Nēšu, commander of the armies of Elam—(C adds: to Šamaššumukin’s assistance) 20[Ummanigas dispatched them, 21gave them the order 19to fight against the Assyrians. 22][Ummanigas] spoke [thus] to Undasi: 23"[G]o, from Assyria 24bring back revenge for the father who begat thee."

24[Undasu,] Zazaz, Parû, 30Attametu, Nēšu, 27[with] the messengers of Šamaššumukin, 28(my) hostile brother, [to]ok [the road] and 29made straight the way. 30My [warriors in Mangisi, which is in Sumandir, 31went up [against] them and accomplished the defeat 32of Undasu, son of Teumman, king of Elam, 33Zazaz, Parû, (and) Attametu. 34Their heads they cut off and 35brought before me. 36Concerning these words 37I dispatched my messenger to Ummanigas. 38My officer who dwelt in Mangisi he restrained, and 39he did not return an answer to my

Notes for Column vii

1-1 bēl nak-ri-ia  B (A 7947); bēl (amēlu)nak-ri-ia  B (A 7969).
2-2  B (A 7969, A 7983) om.
3-3 -tal-  B (A 7947).
4-4 -bi-  B (A 7983).
5 C adds a-na ri-šu-[ut (I)šu]šamaš-šuma-ukin].
6-1 C.
7-2 Conjectural; George Smith, History, p. 172.
176-76 ki-a-[am a-na (I)un-da-si]  C.
7b C adds ša.
7c (mātu)  C.
8 Conjectural.
9-9 -ni-  B (A 7981).
10-10 Conjectural; suggested by Dr. George Cameron.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

40 ašur (ilu)šin (ihu)šamaš (ilu)bēl (ilu)naḫbu (ilu)nergal

¶C 41 [ilānīnu]¶c (meš) ti-ik-li-ia di-in kit-ti
42 it-ti (I)um-man-ui³²-gaš i-di-nu-in-ni

¶F F₂ A 43 ¶(I)tam-ma-ri-tu štru-uš-šu ib-bal-kit-ma
44 ša-a-šu gā-du kim-ti-šu ū-ra-sīpa¹⁴ ina (išu)kakkē(meš)¹⁴
45 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu ša ¹⁵-e-la ša-šu iq-šu¹⁶

§F F₂ A 46 ¹⁶ušib¹⁶ ina (išu)kussi (matu)elammt(i)ki §¹⁷
47 ki-ma ša-a-šu-ma¹⁷ ta'-a-ti im-ḫur

¶A 48 ¶[ulu]¹⁸ ¹⁹š-al¹⁹ šu-lum šarrū-ti-ia

¶B₂ F F₂ §C 49 ¶²⁰a-na²⁰ ²¹kit-ri²¹ (Iš,ilu)šamaš-šuma-ukīn
50 ašī²¹la ki-e-nu²² il-li-ik-am-ma
51 a-na mit-ḫu-ši ummanāteṭ(ḫa)-ia ur-ri-ša (išu)kakkē-
(meš)-šu

52 ina²³ su-up-pi-e ša ašur u (ilu)ištar ū-sap-pu-u
53 ²⁴ta-ni-hi-ia im-ḫu-ru²⁴ iš-mu-u ²⁵zi-kišapti-is²⁵

§F F₂ A 54 ²⁵ardānu(meš)-šu²⁶ štru-uš-šu ib-bal-²⁷ki-tu²⁷-ma§
55 aḫa-meš ū-ra-si-bu bēl ²⁷₈išallimmu₂⁷-ia
56 (I)in-da-bi-gaš arad-su ša si-ḫu
57 eli-šu ū-šab-šu-u ū-šib ina (išu)kussš-šu
58 (I)tam-ma-ri-tu šar (matu)elammt(i)ki

§B₂ 59 ša ²⁸me-rī-iḫ-tu išš-bu-u
60 e-li ni-kiš qaqqadi (I)te-um-man²⁸
61 ša ik-ki-su aḫu-ru-u ummanāteṭ(ḫa,meš)-ia
62 ū aḥḥē(meš) qin-nu-šu zēr bit a-bi-šu
63 it-ti ²⁹rubē(meš) ša (matu)elammt(i)ki a-li-kut idi(II.-
meš)-šu
64 ša la-pa-an (išu)kakkē(meš) ašur u (ilu)ištar

§C 65 ²⁹ip-par-ši-du²⁹ ip-paršš-su-nim-ma.
66 a-na da-lāl īlu-u-ti-šu-un ³⁰rabtti(ti)³⁰
67 it-ti (Iš,ilu)marduk-šarra-uṣur (amēlu)šu-ut-rešš-iša
68 ša ib-ši-mu-šu ina da-na-ni
69 mi-ra-ušš-šu-un ina muḫḫi liš-bišu-nu
words. Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabû, Nergal, [the gods] who helped me, returned a righteous verdict against Ummanigāš. Tammaritu, even worse than he, seated himself on the throne of Elam. Like him he accepted bribes, failed to ask after my health, marched to the aid of Šamaššumukin, the faithless brother, and hastened his weapons to fight my troops. In answer to my prayers which I addressed to Ashur and Ishtar, they received my petitions, heard the cry of my lips. His servants (Indabigaš, his servant, F [F₂] A) revolted against him, and they killed one another off. My enemy, Indabigaš, his servant, who had instigated the revolt against him, seated himself upon the throne. Tammaritu, king of Elam, who had spoken insolence concerning the severed head of Teumman, a common soldier in my army had cut off, and his brothers, his family, the seed of his father's house, together with eighty-five nobles of Elam who walked at his side, who before the weapons of Ashur and Ishtar had fled, hastened and, to revere their great divinity, with Marduksarrusur, my officer, whom they had urged by force, naked (lit., in their nakedness) on their bellies crept to

NOTES FOR COLUMN VII

11 Conjectural; cf. l. 74.
12 Sic!
13 F (A 8052) adds -su.
14 A adds arkānu.
15-16 arka (I) um-man-i-gaš F F₂ A.
16-16 di-ši-bu F F₂ A.
17 F F₂ A om. l. 47; F F₂ om. l. 48.
17a C seems to have added a few words, now lost, at this point.
18 la A.
19-20 iš-a-lu A.
20-20 ša a-na F F₂.
21-22 ri-gi-šu-u-te F F₂ A.
22-22 nak-rī A (Rm 1).
23 a-na B (K 1741).
24-24 un-nin-ni-ia il-gu-u B₂ A; F F₂ om.
25-26 un-ni-ni-ia F [F₂].
27-27 ardāni(mēš) B (K 1741); (I) in-da-bi-gaš arad-su F [F₂] A.
27-27 -kit- F F₂ A.
27a-27b dariš-tim)- D (K 1700).
28-29 B (A 7930) D (P 5) om.
29-30 B (A 7981) om.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

80 HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

70 ip-ši-lu-nim-ma₂¹ iq-ba-tu šépé(II) šarrû-ti-ia
71 (I) tam-ma-ri-tu a-na e-peš ardû₂²₃-ti-ia ra-man-šu im-nu-
72 ma
73 ana kat-a-ri-šu ú-šal-la-a bēlu-u-ti
74 šu-ut ana bēl šu-ut-rēši-ia ašur (ilu)ši(n) (ilu)šamaš (ilu)bēl
75 (ilu)nabû
76 ip-i-lunim-ma 3 'iý-ba-tu §epe(II) §arrf-ti-ia
77 (I) tam-ma-ri-tu a-na e-peš ardû₂²₃-ti-ia ra-man-šu im-nu-
78 ma
79 da-na-an (išu)kakkê(meš)-ia 3švi-di-3šub-ma
80 sa ú-šam-ri-ru eli (mâtu)elamti(ki)
81 māre(meš) (mâtu)aš-sur(ki) ša āš-pu-ra
82 a-na kit-ri (I.ilu)nabû-bēl-šumâte(meš)
83 már (I.ilu)₃marduk-apla-iddin ša kūma ib-ri u tap-pi-e
84 na-šar mâtîš-šu it-ta-na-al-la-ku it-ti-šu
85 ša (I.ilu)nâbû-bēl-šumâte(meš) ina pi-ir-ša-a-ti
86 ina šat mu-ši uš-šab-bi-tu ik-lu-u ina ki-li
87 (I) in-da-bi-gaš šár (mâtu)elamti(ki)
88 ul-tu bīt ši-bit-ti û-še-ša-aš-šu-nu-ti
89 ki-i ša-bat ab-bu-ut-ti qa-bi-e (šal)damiqti-šu
90 la ḫa-ti-e mi-šir māti-šu
91 ina qâṭ[(II)] (amēlu)mâr-špri-šu ša ṭu-[3ub llb-bi₃³] u su-
lum-me-e
92 û-še-bi-la [a]-di maḥ-ri-ia$...

$C 93 [³¹(I)a-ut-ta-³²] már (I)ḫa-za-ili
94 šâr (mâtu)qa-da-ri [³²e-peš ardû³³]-ti-ia
95 [³³šaš-šu ili₃⁴ ][meš]-šu im-ḫur-an-ni-ma
96 [³³šaš-la³³]-a šarru-u-ti
97 šu[³⁴m ili₃⁴ ][meš] rabûti³⁴ [(meš) ú-ša-[az]-kir-šu-ma
98 (ilu)a-[³³tar-sa-ma-in³³]ú-tir-ma a-din-šu
99 [³³ar-k[³⁴n-a₃₄]-in₃³] a-di-ia iy₃⁴-ti-a-ma₃₄
me and took hold of my royal feet. 71 Tammaritu counted himself to the number of my servants and 72 besought my lordship to deal kindly with him. 73 Himself Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabū, 74 the gods, my strength, to the master of my officers . . . . before me. 75 Tammaritu (and) the people, as many as (were) with him—76 I stationed them in my palace. 77-78 Indabigaš, who sat on the throne of Elam after Tammaritu, 79 recognized the power of my arms, 80 which I had made bitter against Elam. 81 The Assyrians whom I had sent 82 to help Nabūbēl-šumāte, 83 son of Merodachbaladan, who like a friend and companion 84 walked about with him, guarding the country, 85 whom Nabūbēlšumāte through deceit 86 had seized during the night (and) forcibly restrained—87 Indabigaš, king of Elam, 88 let them go forth out of prison. 89 To take my side, to express his friendly regard, 90 that he would not overstep the boundary of his land—91 (this assurance) by the hand of his messenger of go[od faith] and friendship 92 he transmitted [i]o me.

93 [Yauta’], the son of Hazael, 94 king of Kedar, [who serve]d me, 95 appealed to me [about] his [god]s and 96 [besought] my lordship. 97 I made him pro[nounce the oath of the great gods] and 98 returned A[tarsamain] to him. 99 La[ter] he violat[ed] (his) oath to me and

**NOTES FOR COLUMN VII**

21 Dr. Geers has called the writer’s attention to the following parallels: S. Smith, *First Campaign of Sennacherib* (London, 1921) 1. 80; Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon* (Paris, 1912) ll. 58, 345; *AJSL* XXXIV 236.

21a D (P 5) adds (meš).

21b-21b e-mur- C.

22-22 Conjectural.


24-24 ša A.


25-26 -tu-u A.
82  HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

Column viii

1 ūtabti¹ la miş-su-ra-ma² is-la-a (ışu)nīr be-lu-ti-ia
2 a-na ša-³-al šul-me-ia šōpē(II)-šu ip-ru-us-ma
§A 3 ik-la-[a] ta-mar-ti§
4 nišē(meš) (mātū)ar-ri-it-ti-šu ú-ša-bal-kit-ma
5 iḫ-ta-nab-ba-tu ĥu-bu-ut (mātū)amurri(ik)
6 ummanātē(hā)-ia [ša ina mi]-gīr mātī-šu ûš-bu
7 ú-ma-¹(-e)-ra gī-ru-uš-šu
¶DA 8 ¶Dabikta-šu-nu [miş-kū-n]u ¶Anišē(meš) (mātū)ar-ri-bi
§A 9 ma-la⁻¹-it-b[ȗ-u-ni⁶] ū-ru⁻³-si-bu⁶ ina (ışu)kakkē(meš)§⁷
¶A 10 ¶(bit-ašir)kul-ta-ri⁸ mu-ša-bi-šu-nu
§A 11 [ȗ(ilm)Gi.BAR⁹] ú-[ša]-ḫi-zi uš-qī-du a-na⁹ (ilm)Gi.BAR§
12 alpē(meš) gi-e-[ni] (imērū)mūrē(meš) (imērū)gamallē-(meš)
13 a-me-šu-u-šu lu-lu-ŠE-ŠU ina la me-ni
¶A 14 ū-li-ip mātī ¶ku-la-mu a-na šiḫir-ti⁻⁸ša¹⁰
15 un-ta⁻¹⁻¹al-al-ŠU a-na pāṭ gim-ri-Ša
16 (imērū)gamallē(meš) ki-ma ši-e-ni ū-par-ri-is
17 [ȗ-za⁻¹]-iz a-na nišē(meš) (mātū)as-šūr(ši)¹¹
18 qa-bal-ti mātī-ia (imērū)gamallē(meš) ina 1 šiqlu ina¹²
½ šiqlu kāš-pi
19 [ȗ-ša³]m-mu i-na bāb ma-ḫi-ri
20 šu-tam-mu ina ni-id-ni (amēlu)strāšū¹³ša ina (karpatu)ḥa-
bi-e
21 (amēlu)lakuruppu ina ki-išši¹⁴ im-da-na-ḫa-ru
22 [ȗ(ilm)ibi]¹⁵lē(meš) ū a-me-lu-ti
23 [ȗ(ilm)ib-ua-ta⁻¹] a-di⁻¹¹ si-it-ti (amēlu¹⁷)ar-ri-bi¹⁸ ša la-pa-an
(ışu)kakkē¹⁸(meš)-ia¹⁸
Column viii

I showed no regard for my favors and threw off the yoke of my dominion. He restrained his feet from asking my health and kept back from me (his) gifts. The people of Arabia he incited to revolt with him, and they repeatedly plundered Amurru. My troops [which] dwelt in the territory of his land I dispatched against him. Their (i.e., the Arabians') defeat they [accomplished]; and the people of Arabia, as many as had advanced (A adds: with him), they struck down with weapons. The tents (B variant adds: of Arabia), their dwellings, [they set on [fire], allotted (them) to the flames. Cattle, sheep, asses, camels, (and) slaves without number they took. The whole territory of my land in its entirety they filled (with them) to its farthest border. Camels I distributed like sheep, [divided (them) among the people of Assyria. Throughout my land camels [were bought for a shekel and a half of silver at the gate of barter. The sutammu as pay, the brewer for a tun (of beer), the gardener as wages, received [camel]s and slaves. Yauta', together with the rest of the Arabians (his troops who had not kept my oath A) who had fled before my weapons (the weapons of Ashur, my lord, and run away

Notes for Column viii

1 A adds e-pu-šu-uš.
2-2 iq-sūr-um A.
3-3 Restored after George Smith, History, p. 285.
4 A adds ills-ti-šu.
5-5 A.
6-6 as-sip A.
7 A inserts a two-line addition.
8 B (A 7938) adds -bi.
9-9 iq-ma-ša A.
10-10 B (A 7925) A -ed.
11-11 B (A 7947) A om.
12 A adds ina.
13 A om.
14 A adds -šu ša u-šin.
15-15 Restored after A.
16-16 (amālu)ummandē(hā)-šu ša a-di-ia la iq-šu-ru A.
17 (mātu) B (A 7981).
18-18 ašur beli-ia A.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

24 ip-par-ši-du\textsuperscript{19} ú-šam-qit\textsuperscript{20} (ilu)ira(ra) qar-du
25 su-un-qu ina bi-ri-šu-un iš-ša-kin-ma
26 a-na bu-ri-šu-nu e-ku-lu šērē\textsuperscript{21}(meš)\textsuperscript{21} mārē(meš)-šu-un\textsuperscript{22}
27 ar-ra-a-ti ma-la ina a-di-šu-un šaṭ-ru ina pi-it-ši
28 i-ši-mu-[u] ašūr (ilu)šīma\textsuperscript{23} (ilu)bel\textsuperscript{24} (ilu)\textsuperscript{25}nabū

\$A\$
29 (ilu)\textsuperscript{26}ištar ša ninua(ki)\textsuperscript{25} (ilu)\textsuperscript{26}ištar ša (alu)ar-\textsuperscript{26}ištar (ilu)\textsuperscript{26}ilāni(meš)

\$\text{A}$
30 rabūti(meš) belē\ textsuperscript{26}(meš)-ia \textsuperscript{26}I\textsuperscript{26}(I)a-\textsuperscript{26}u-ta\textsuperscript{26} ma-ru-uš-tu
31 im-\textsuperscript{26}ḫur-šu-[i]ma e-diš-ši-šu in-na-bit\textsuperscript{27}
32 (I)a-bi-a\textsuperscript{28}a-te\textsuperscript{28}\textsuperscript{28} már (I)te\textsuperscript{28}-ri
33 a-na (alu)ninua(ki) il-li-kam-ma ú-na-āš-šiq šēpē(II)-ia
34 a-di-e a-na e-šes ardū-ti-ia it-it-šu āš-kun
35 ku-un (I)a-u-ta\textsuperscript{29}- āš-kun-šu a-na šarru-u-ti
36 šurūšu (abnu)ēnāte(II,meš) (abnu)\textsuperscript{30}ud.Aš gu-uḫ-šu
37 imērē(meš) bit-ri-du-ti man-da-at-tu šat-ti-šam-ma
38 ū-ki-n šīru-uš-šu
39 (I)am-mu-la-ad-di-in šār (mātu)qa-ad-ri ša ki-ma ša-a-šu
30 ik\textsuperscript{29}ki-ru\textsuperscript{29}
40 šē-\textsuperscript{26}ta-
41 i-na zi-ki-šum-ia ša ašūr (ilu)šīn [\textsuperscript{27}il(\textsuperscript{26}šamaš (ilu)bel\textsuperscript{29}]
42 (ilu)\textsuperscript{26}ilāni(meš)
43 (I)\textsuperscript{26}ištar ša ninua(ki)\textsuperscript{26} (ilu)\textsuperscript{26}ištar ša (alu)ar-\textsuperscript{26}ištar (ilu)\textsuperscript{26}ilāni(meš)
44 ardu da-giš-pa-ni-ia
45 ina tāhāz šērī iš-ku-nu abīkta-šu
46 (I)am-mu-[I\textsuperscript{28}a-di\textsuperscript{28}] si-it-ti nišē\textsuperscript{26}(meš)-šu
47 ša la-p\textsuperscript{[28]}a-an da-a-ki\textsuperscript{[28]} i-ši-tu-u-ni
48 ū-šab-b\textsuperscript{[24]it ina qātā(II)\textsuperscript{24]}
49 qātā(II) u šēpē(II) bi-ri-tu parz\textsuperscript{[24]illi 35}di-\textsuperscript{[24]ma\textsuperscript{[24]}
50 a-na (alu)ninua(ki) a-di maḫ-ri-[I\textsuperscript{24}a ū-šē-bi-la\textsuperscript{[24]}

\$\text{C}$
51 (I)na-at-nu šār (mātu)na-b\textsuperscript{[24]a-a-ti\textsuperscript{[24]}

\$\text{A}$
52 (I)a-bi-a\textsuperscript{28}a-te\textsuperscript{28} már (I)te\textsuperscript{28}-ri
from them A), mighty Ira struck down. Famine broke out among them, and to still their hunger they ate the flesh of their children.

The curses, as many as were written in their oath, Ashur, Sin, šamaš (A adds: Adad), Bēl, Nabū, Ishtar of Nineveh (A adds: the Queen of Kidmuri), Ishtar of Arbela (A adds: Ninurta, Nergal, Nusku), the great gods, my lords, brought upon them suddenly. (As for) Yauta’, evil befell him, and he fled by himself (C A add: to Nabatea). Abiate’, the son of Te’ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I made an oath-bound treaty with him that he should serve me, put him in place of Yauta’ as king. Gold, “eye”-stones, UD.AA stone, antimony, camels, and stud-asses as annual tribute I laid upon him. Ammuladdin, king of Kedar, who like him was hostile (and) plundered Amurru—by the mention of my name (and the names) of Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bēl,] Nabū, Ishtar of Nineveh (C adds: the Queen of Kidmuri), Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal, (and) Girru (C adds: who make) great [my reign]) Kamashalta, king of Moab, a servant subject to me, accomplished his defeat in a pitched battle. Ammul[addi] (and) the rest of his people who had escaped before the shambles he captured with (his own) hands. Hand and foot [he bound (them)] with iron fetters and had them brought to Nineveh into [my] presence. Nathan, king of Nab[atea], whose

Notes for Column VIII

19 A adds -ma in-nab-tu-ni ma-ḫar-šu-nu.
20 A adds -su-nu-ti.
21-21 A om.
22 A (Rm 1) adds ina.
23 A adds (išu)adad.
24 B (A 7998) adds u.
25 A adds (išu)šar-rat kid-mu-ri.
26-26 (I)ā-a-a-te’ A.
27 C A add a-na (mātu)na-ba-a-te.
28-28 -ta- B (A 7927; 81-7-27, 10).
29-30 C.
30 C adds [(išu)šar]-rat kid-mu-ri.
31 Conjectural.
33-34 K 4459 (WKAs, p. 75).
35-36 D.
36 ad- K 4687 (WKAs, p. 74).
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

52 ša ašar-šu ru-u-qu ²⁸
53 ²⁷šiš-ma-a²⁷ da-na-[an] ašur ²⁸(šu)marduk²⁸ ša ú-t²⁹[ak-
kiš²⁹]-in²⁹-ni
54 ša ma-ti-ma "(aššu)mār-šipri-[šu]
55 [²¹ša-nu²⁵] šarrānī(me)²⁷ abbē(meš)²⁷-ia²⁷ la iš-pu-ra
§A la iš-[š]-a-lum šu-lum [²²šarru-ti-šu-un²²]§
57 e-nin-na ia-a-ti (aššu)mār-šipri-šu [²²ša šul-me²²]
¶ C
58 [iš-pu-²³šram-ma ū-nā-dā²³]-šiq šēpē(²²)-ia
59 a-na ša-kān a-di-e su-lum-mo-e [²²e-peš ardū-ti-ia²²]
60 ū-ša-na-al-la-a be-lu-u-ti
61 a-na-ku ḫa-diš ap-pa-lis-[šu-šu²³]
§ C
62 pa-ša-ša šunati(meš) elī-šu āš-[šu]
§ D
63 ša ša-ši-(šu)-ma ū-siš-ti-šam-ma ū-šu ša-šiš-ti-šam-ma ū-šu-million
64 la umē(me)-šu-ma ēkal ma-sár-ti²⁴ ša qī-riša ninua(ki)
65 ša (šu)māt-su aššu-ma šīr (mātu)aššur(ki) ab-abi
bānī-ia
66 e-pu-shu la-ba-riš il-līk-am-ma tim-me-en-šu ir-bu-ub-ma
67 i-qu-pa igaratē(meš)-šu
68 ēkal ma-sār-ti šu-a-tu ša la-ba-riš il-la-ku
69 e-na-šu ušši-šu miqit-ta-šu ad-qī
70 ak-su-da a-sur-ru-šu ultu ušši-šu
71 a-dī gaba-dib-bi-ešu ar-sip ū-šak-līl
72 e-li ša umē(me) pa-ni ū-dan-ni-na tim-me-en-šu
73 mu-šar-šu ši-ṭir šumi-ia u ta-nīt-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia
74 ina takul-ti ašur (šu)šašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašašaşı
(dwelling-)place was afar off (A adds: to whom Uayyate' had fled), 
5heard of the powe[r] of Ashur (and) Marduk, who str[engthened] me, and 
4he, who previously had not sent [his] ambassador 5[to] my roya[l ancestors], 6had not a[s]ked the health of [their majesties], 
5now se[nt to me] his ambassador [of peace] 5[and kiss]ed my feet. 
6He besought my majesty 5[to establish an oath-bound covenant of 
brotherhood (and) [the performance of my service]. 6I looke[d] upon 
him graciously [and] 6turned my favoring countenance upon him. 
6A tribute of yearly presents I imposed upon him.

64At that time the storehouse-palace which (is) in Nineveh, 65which 
Sennacherib, king of Assyria, father of the father who begat me, 66had 
erected, had grown old and its base had become shaky, so that 67its 
walls were about to collapse. 68That storehouse-palace which had 
grown old, 69whose foundation was dilapidated—I cleared away its 
ruined parts, 70I found its retaining walls. From its foundation 71to its 
cornice I built it completely. 72Stronger than formerly I made its base. 
7A memorial inscribed with my name and the praise of my heroism— 
74(how) with the help of Ashur, Šin, Šamaš, Bêl, Nabû, 75Ishtar of 
Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, 76Nusku, (and) Nergal I walked 
back and forth in the lands, 77established (my) power and authority— 
78I wrote and left (it) for the days to come. Let a later prince (Let in 
later days (my) sons, grandsons, [son]s, and sons B variant) 79among my

---

**NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII**

27-37 iš-me-e-ma A.
30-38 A om.
40-40 -an- A.
41-41 a-na šarrâni(meš) abê(meš)-ia (amêlu)mâr-šipri-ši D A.
42-42 D.
43 The writer shares the opinion of Dr. Geers that the word is to be read mašartu 
rather than maḫirtu and that the term is to be derived from ašâru, "to be 
concerned about," "to care for," the word which Sennacherib uses to describe 
the purpose of the structure (ana šutēšur kardâši; Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 
p. 128, l. 39; p. 131, l. 55).
44 ina B (A 7930).
45-48 a-na arkât âmê(meš) mārê(meš) mār-mârê(meš) in-mârê(meš) B (A 7930); [ ... ] ù mārê(meš) B (105323). For the restoration of A 7930 cf. Th 
1929-10-12, 2 vi 28 (p. 4, n. 17).
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

79 ina šarrāni(mesš) mārē(mesš)-ia ša ašur u (ilu)īštar
80 a-na be-lut màtì u nišē( mesš)
81 i-nam-bu-u zì-kir-šu e-nu-ma
82 ēkal ma-šār-te šu-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu
83 an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš
84 mu-šar-u ši-ṭīr šumi-ia
85 li-mur-ma šammē(mesš) liq-quš (immeru)niqē liq-qē
86 it-ti mu-šar-e ši-ṭīr šumi-šu u ūšum (Lilu)šin-ahḫē(mesš)-
87 irība
88 āb-abī-ia [a-na āš-ri-šu 40lu-ti]r-ma  ūš-kun ilāni(mesš)
89 rabūti(mesš)
90 ina mu-šar-e an-nî-e šaṭ-ru
91 [šarru-us-su liq-tar-ra-bu]\41
92 [lim-gu]-ru ašri-šu da-na-nu u li-i-tu
93 ša mu-šar-u ši-ṭīr šumi-is\2 ib-ba-tu
94 [šarru-us-su liq-tar-ra-bu]\52
95 [šarru-us-su liq-tar-ra-bu]\53
96 šum-šu zēr-šu ina màtì lu-ṭal-li-qua
97 (aḫu)abu ūmu [. . . ](kām)
98 lim-mu (Daḫi-ila-a-a)
99 (amēlu)ša-ki[n] (ālu)gar-ga-miš\54
royal descendants, whose names Ashur and Ishtar 8s for the dominion of (my) land and people 8will nominate, when 8t that storehouse-palace shall have grown old and dilapidated, 8r restore its ruins. 8t The memorial inscribed with my name 8l let him behold, anoint (it) with oil, offer sacrifice; 8w with the memorial inscribed with his name and the name of Sennacherib, 8m my grandfather, [let him return (it) [to its place] and set (it) up. May the great gods, 8a as many as are written in this memorial, 8a [incline to his majesty,] 8a [permit] power and strength [to be] fall his position. 8t Whoso destroys (this) memorial inscribed with my name (B variant adds: and the name of [my grandfather]), 8t (or) through some deceitful machination permits it to become lost, 8t (or) does not set it up beside the memorial inscribed with his name — 8t may the great gods of (inhabiting B variant) heaven and earth 8t curse him in wrath, smite down his kingship, 8t eradicate his name (and) his seed out of the land.

97 Month of Ab, [...], th day, 98 eponymy of Aḫilaya, 99 vicere[oy] of Carchemish.

NOTES FOR COLUMN VIII

42 B (105323) om.
47 B (105323) om. l. 86. For a variant version of ll. 86 ff. as contained in A 7933 see p. 90.
48 For variant versions of ll. 87–91 and 87(?)-90, in A 7938+105323 and K 1741 respectively, see p. 92.
49-50 B (A 7937) om.
56 For a variant version of ll. 89–93 as contained in A 7937 see p. 90.
51-52 Cf. infra, K 1741, line e.
52 B (K 1741) adds u šu-me [ab-abi-ia].
53 B (A 7935) om.
53a-53a -la- B (105323).
54-55 a-ši-šu-di B (A 7937).
55-56 [B (A 7938)] om.
58 Dating of A 7938.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

ADDITIONAL DATING

\[
\text{[(arbu)} \ldots \text{lim-mu (I)ḫḫi-ila}-a-a \\
\text{[(amēlu)ša-kin (ālu)gar]-ga-miš}^4 \]
\]

\[
\text{(arbu)siwān [lim-mu (I) \ldots .]} \\
\text{(amēlu)ša-kin (ālu) \ldots ]}^3
\]

\[
\text{(arbu)du′uzi lim-mu [(I)bēl-šu-ну(?)]} \\
\text{(amēlu)ša-kin (ālu)ḫḫ[i](-i)[n(?)-da-na]}^3
\]

\[
\text{(arbu)abu [ūmu \ldots .(kām)]} \\
\text{lim-mu (I)bēl-šu-ну [(amēlu)ša-kin (ālu)ḫḫi-in-da-na]}^4
\]

\[
\text{[arhu \ldots ] ūmu 8(κάμ)]} \\
\text{[lim-mu (I)bēl]-šu-ну} \\
\text{[(amēlu)ša-kin (ālu)ḫḫi-in-da-na]}
\]

VARIANT CONCLUSIONS

A 7933 (corresponding to ll. 86 ff.)

\[
a \ [a-na āš-ri-šu lu]-tīr ki-i ša a-na-ku \\
b \ [mu-šar-u ši-ṭir šu-me (I.īlu)šn-aḫḫē](meš)-iriba échange ab-
\]

\[
c \ [a-mu-ru-ma šammâ(meš) ap-šu-šu [immeru]niqē aq]-qu-u \\
d \ [it-tī mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šumi-ia āš-ku]-nu \\
\text{[Remainder of column broken off]}
\]

A 7937 (corresponding to ll. 89–93)

\[
a \ [ki-ma in-a]-ti-ma liz-ku-ru-uš da-na-nu li-i-tu \\
b \ [ša mu-šar]-u ši-ṭir šumi-ia ib-ba-tu \\
c \ [it-tī mu]-šar-i-šu la i-šak-ka-nu \\
\text{[illāni(meš) rabūtī(meš) a-ṣi]-bu-ti šamē(e) etc.}
ADDITIONAL DATINGS

Month of Siwan, [eponymy of . . . ], viceroy of [ . . . ].
Month of Tammuz, eponymy of [Bēlšunu(?)], viceroy of Ḫi[nda-]
na(?).
Month of Ab, [ . . . day,] eponymy of Bēlšunu, [viceroy of Ḫin-
dana].
[Month of . . . .], 8t[h] day, [eponymy of Bēlšunu, [viceroy of Ḫjindana.

VARIANT CONCLUSIONS

A 7933

*[Let him] restore (it) [to its place] even as I *[beheld the memorial
inscribed with the name of Sennach]erib my grandfather *[and anoint-
ed (it) with oil and off]ered [sacrifice] *(and) plac[ed (it) [beside the
memorial inscribed with my name].

[Remainder of column broken off]

A 7937

*[May they pronounce to him strength (and) authority even [as
(they did) to m]e. *[Whoso] destroys (this) [memorial]al inscribed with
my name, *does not set it up [beside] his own [m]emorial—may [the
great gods inhab]iting heaven. . . .

NOTES FOR ADDITIONAL DATINGS AND VARIANT CONCLUSIONS

1 A 7935.
2 A 7997.
3 K 1741.
4 K 2732.
4a 83-1-18, 602.
5 Ll. 86–93 above reproduce essentially the text of A 7935, with the variants of
the other fragments noted, as far as possible, in the apparatus. Since for these
lines, however, practically every fragment exhibits readings which vary so widely
from the text as given and from one another that they cannot be catalogued con-
veniently, and since it is possible that in one or another case a fragment may event-
ually prove to contain the lost conclusion of Editions D or K, these variant pas-
sages are herewith reproduced in full as far as they can be reconstructed.
4-6 Prism: abi-ia-ia.
HISTORICAL PRISM INSCRIPTIONS OF ASHURBANIPAL

A 7938+105323 (corresponding to ll. 87–91)

a a-na åš-ri-šu lu-tir [ki-ma ia-a-ši]
b mu-šar-u ši-[ir šu-me] ãb-abi ba-ni-ia
c a-mu-ru šamnê(meš) ap-šu-[uš (immeru)niqê aq]-qu-u
d it-ti mu-šar-e [ši-ṭir šumi]-ia åš-[ku]-nu
e at-ta ki-ma ia-[a-ši mu-šar-a]-a a-mur-ma
f šamnê(meš) pu-šu-[uš (immeru)niqê] iq-qi
g it-ti mu-šar-e [ši-ṭir šumi-ka šu-kun
h ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) ma-la [ina mu-šar-e an]-ni-e šaṭ-ru
i šarru-ut-ka lik-tar-ra-b[u li-iql]-šu-ru palê(meš)-ka
j ša mu-šar-u [ši-ṭir šumi-ia]
k ù "ši-ṭir šu-me" ãb-abi bâni-ia [ib-ba-t]u
ina mimma etc.

K 1741 (corresponding to ll. 87–90)

[Upper portion of column broken off]
a [ši-ṭir] šumi-ia åš-ku-nu at-ta ki-i [ia-a-ši]
b mu-šar-a-a a-mur-ma šamnê(meš) pu-šu-[uš [(immeru)-niqê iq-qi]
c it-ti mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šumi-ka [šu-kun]
d ilâni(meš) rabûti(meš) ma-la ina mu-šar-e an-ni-e [šaṭ-ru]
e šarru-ut-ka lik-tar-ra-bu li-[im-gu]-ru
ša mu-šar-u etc.
Let him return (it) to its place, [even as I] beheld the memorial inscribed with the name of the father of the father who begat me, anointed (it) with oil, offered sacrifice, placed (it) beside the memorial inscribed with my name. Do thou like me behold my memorial and anoint (it) with oil, offer sacrifice, place (it) beside the memorial inscribed with thy name. (Then) may the great gods, as many as are written in this memorial, incline to thy kingship (and) protect thy reign. Whoso destroys (this) memorial and inscribed with the name of the father of the father who begat me, (or) by some deceitful machination.

NOTE FOR VARIANT CONCLUSIONS
7-7 umi B (105323).
EDITIONS B₂-₅

Under this head are listed a number of fragments conforming in general to the text-type of B, but departing from it at some place, though not sufficiently to warrant positing a separate edition. It may ultimately develop that some of these fragments are parts of one or another parallel edition, such as D, K, or C. All are undated, and their relation to B in time cannot be determined. Since there are no additions of more than one line, all have been listed simply as variant editions of B and their beginnings and endings indicated in the margin with the usual signs.

B₂.—The only difference from B is in v 74, where B₂ substitutes for šamriš tattaši ana aḥāṭi the following: ʾiz-zi-ʾiš na[m-ri-ri-ʾiš tattaši- ma] a-na ka-ša-ad (amēlu)[nakri-ša tallik(ik)]. The restoration is from K 3040 (WKA, p. 73), which exhibits the same peculiarity. B₂ is represented by two texts: A 8001, corresponding to B iv 51-62 and v 66-79, and K 1704 (WKA, pp. 66-67; cf. Bauer, p. 8), corresponding to B iii 52-69, iv 59-76, and v 72-83.

B₃.—After B vi 51 B₃ adds: qaqqad (I)iš-tar-na-an-di ina kišad [(I)sa-am-gu-nu] aḥi (I)du-na-nu kuṭ-iṭin-n[u a-lul]. For the restoration see K 4459 (WKA, p. 75) and the note ad loc. B₃ is represented by A 8002, corresponding to B v 60-65 and vi 42-59.

B₄.—After B ii 65 B₄ adds: [pa-an (iṣu)ni]ri-ia ú-tir-ram-[ma]. B₄ is represented by A 8003, corresponding to B ii 55-70.

B₅.—B vii 59-60 is inverted in B₅, where these two lines read: e-li ni-kiś [qaqqad (I)te-um-man] me-ri-[tu] ša iṣq-[bu-u]. Two fragments represent B₅: A 8004, corresponding to B vi 41-46 and vii 49-60, and A 8162, corresponding to B vii 54-61.
EDITION D

Date.—None of the preserved fragments of D is dated, but since the prism throughout the introduction and historical portion reproduces B with scarcely more than orthographic variants, it cannot have been written very much before or after B. It is highly probable that the bit mašarti and the dār qabal āli were built simultaneously and as a single project. If they were built separately, one would naturally expect the wall to have been built after the palace. The fact that in the one even relatively important variant where we have a check on other prisms, the inverted order of words in B viii 54–55, A follows D rather than B might be interpreted as indicating that D is the later prism, although too much importance should not be attached to this consideration.

Contents.—D is essentially identical with B throughout the introduction and historical sections, and has been quoted as a variant of B on the preceding pages. The building inscription D viii 64–81 follows B very closely in its formulas and marks D as the foundation deposit of the wall in the midst of the city (dār qabal āli), probably the wall between the storehouse-palace (bit mašarti) and the other palace-fortresses of the capital.

Text.—The text-type of Edition D is exhibited by the following prism fragments:

A. IN THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
A 8005 (i 43'-60, ii 30–74, iii 38–77, iv 49–74, viii 64–66)
A 8006 (i 55–83, viii 53–78)
A 8007 (i 59–63, viii 68–75)
A 8008 (i 62–93, viii 76–81)
A 8009 (vi 27–72, vii 39–84, viii 62–79)

B. IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

1 Because of D's close agreement with B, its text is quoted in terms of the corresponding lines in B.
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

K 1731 (i 61–76, ii 64–72, vii 66–79?) WKA, pp. 54–55
S 2033 (i 48–49, viii 53–66) Bauer, Pl. 51
81–7–27, 12 (viii 45–56)

C. IN THE IRAQ MUSEUM
11528 (i 1–55, ii 27–45, vi 18–39, vii 7–56, viii 8–53). To be published shortly by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson; cf. p. 31, n. 11.

D. IN THE AUTHOR’S POSSESSION
P 5 (vi 57–62, vii 53–84, viii 69–83)

2 Unwarrantedly used to reconstruct the conclusion of C (Streck, Assurbanipal, p. xxix).
3 See p. 3, n. 12.
### Edition D

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<td>1–48</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>49–78, B iv 49–78</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79–99</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Column v</td>
<td>1–49</td>
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<td>50–85, B v 50–85</td>
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<td></td>
<td>86</td>
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<td>87–96, B v 87–96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>97–99</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Column vi</td>
<td>1–17</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<td></td>
<td>18–72, B vi 18–72</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>73–78</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>79–82, B vi 79–82</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83–99</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<tr>
<td>Column vii</td>
<td>1–6</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7–84, B vii 7–84</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>85–99</td>
<td>[Missing]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Column viii

1–7 [Missing]
8–63 B viii 8–63

64 ina úmê(me)-su-ma dûr qabal āli šu ninua(ki)
65 ša (Ilu)iša-aḫḫe(meš)-išba šar (mātu)ašur(ki) 1āb-abi1
66 2ba-ni-ia2 e-pu-šu 3ša3 ina zunnê 4taḫ-du-3ti ra-a-di gap-šu-u-ti
67 ša šat-ti-šam-ma ina palê-ia (Ilu)adad ú-maṭ-ṭi-ra ina māṭ-ia
68 tim-me-en-šu ir-bu-ešg-em-ma i-qu-pa ri-ša-a-šu
69 dûru šu-a-tu ša la-ba-riš illiku(ku) e-na-ḫu ušši-šu
70 mi-qit-ta-šu ad-ki ak-šu-da a-sur-ru-šu6
71 [ti-n]a aban ša(di)-i tim-me-en-[šu e-puš]
72 [. . .]-en(?) dûri šu-a-tu [. . .]
73 [. . .] akšudu(du) [. . .]
74 ultu ušši-šu a-di gaba-dib-4bi-e5-šu ar-šip úšak-lil
75 eli ša úmê(me) pa-ni ú-dan-ni-na tim-me-en-šu
76 mu-šar-ru ši-šur šumi-ia u ta-nit-ti qar-ra-du-ti-ia
77 ša [ina tukul-ti ašur (Ilu)šin (Ilu)šamas (Ilu)bēl (Ilu)naβu
78 (Ilu)ištar ša (Ilu)ninua(ki) (Ilu)ištar ša (Ilu)arba-šu (Ilu)mnurta
79 (Ilu)nušku (Ilu)nergal ina māṭâte at-tal-la-ku [šaš-ku-nu9]
80 da-na-nu u li-šu ša-ṭur-ma ša [šaš-raṭ-šu(me) e-zib
81 [rubu arku(u) ina šarrāni(meš) mārē(meš)-ia8] ša ašur u (Ilu)ištar
82 [ša na be-šu u nišē(meš) i-nam-šu-ne zi-šu8] e-nu-šu
83 dûru [šu-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu8]

[Remainder of column missing]
In those days the wall in the midst of the city of Nineveh, which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, father of the father who begat me, had erected; whose base through the abundant showers and heavy rains that Adad had yearly sent down upon my land during my reign had become shaky so that its turrets were on the verge of falling—that wall, which had grown old and whose foundation had become dilapidated— I cleared away its fallen portions, I discovered its retaining walls. I made its base of mountain stone. From its foundation to its cornice I built (it) completely. Stronger than before I made its base. A memorial inscribed with my name and the praise of my heroism—that with the help of Ashur, Šīn, Šamaš, Bēl, Nabū, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nusku, (and) Nergal I walked about in the lands (and) [established] (my) power and authority—I wrote and left for days to come. 

[Remainder of column missing]
EDITION K

Date.—Although the date of K 1703, the only representative of K now available, has not been preserved, there are at least two considerations which speak for a date posterior to that of Editions B and D: (1) The embassy of Rusā of Armenia (K iii 21–24) is not mentioned in the other editions; and since Ashurbanipal thought this mission of sufficient importance to commemorate it on a slab in his palace,² it is improbable that he would so soon have omitted it if K were earlier than B and D. (2) The siege of Babylon seems to have entered upon its last stage when K was written (K iv 20–22), if indeed the missing portion did not actually report the city’s fall, whereas when B and D were written the War of the Brothers was still undecided. We have consequently in the fall of Babylon (some time after Tammuz, 648) a rough date for K. If the assumption that K was written after the death of Šamaššumukin is correct, this would become a terminus post quem. A terminus ante quem would be the composition of C, which belongs between K and F (645). In view of the introduction to C, which agrees to a large extent with that of Th 1929–10–12, 2 (also 645), it will probably be best to assign C to 646.³ We have thus late 648 or 647 as the probable date of K.

Contents.—Columns i and ii and all but the last four lines of column iii agree with the corresponding sections of B, with only orthographic variations; iii 21–24 brings the account (or at least its beginning) of the embassy of Rusā; and iv 1–22 describes the progress of the War of the Brothers, the defeat of Indabigaš, and the horrors of the siege of Babylon.⁴

Text.—K is thus far represented only by K 1703 (i 1–10; ii 1–22; iii 1–24; iv 1–22), WKA, pp. 76–78; cf. Bauer, p. 8.

¹ Bauer’s G (pp. 8, 28); “K” was chosen when this study was initiated, to avoid confusion with the series of letters assigned to the various editions by Professor Olmstead in chapter vii of his Historiography.

² George Smith, History, pp. 146–47.

³ The eponymy of [Adad]nadinah(?). A 8104, which is possibly a C fragment, is dated in this eponymy.

⁴ Hereto see IV R No. 93, dated in the twentieth year of Šamaššumukin (648), Ayyaru 29.
Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal

Column i
[Top of column broken off]
1–101 B iv 31–37
[Remainder of column missing]

Column ii
[Top of column broken off]
1–22 B v 39–55
[Remainder of column missing]

Column iii
[Top of column broken off]
1–20 B vi 65–82
21 [iina ämê(me)-šu-ma²(I)ru-ss-a²] šār (mâtu)ur-ar-țî
22 [‘da-na-an ilâni(meš) bêlê²](meš)-ia iš-me-e-ma
23 [‘pu-luḫ-tu šarrâ-ti-ia is-ḫu-up²]-ṣu-ma
24 [‘amêlu]rabûte(meš) a-na ša¹-al šul-me-ia iš-pu-ra ana qa²-rib
arba-ilu(ki)
[Remainder of column missing]

Column iv
1 (išu)qâšâti(meš) ša (I)tam-ma-ri-tu [...]
2 qî-rib (mâtu)elamti(ki) uš-[‘man-nu id-du-u¹]
3 a-na mit-ḫu-ši [...]
4 e-nin-na qî-rib (mâtu)aš-šur(ki) (išu)qâš[äti(meš)]²¹a [...]
5 uq-ṭa-na-ar-ra-ša a-[...]
6 ašur (išu)šīn (išu)šamaš (išu)bêl [(išu)šušabû]
7 (išu)ištarr ša (išu)ninnu (išu)šar-rat kid-mu-ti [(išu)ištarr ša (išu)arba-ilu]
8 (išu)numurtâ (išu)nusku (išu)nergal ša (amêlu)nakkû(meš)-[iša i-ni
9 ru¹]
10 ǔ si-it-tu-ti im-[išu-u qât(II)-u-a ... iš¹a]
11 ǔ-bî-šu² (I)išušamaš-[išum-i-ti-ki a-šu la ki-e-nu²]
12 ǔ nišê(meš) (mâtu)akkadî(ki) ma-la [‘ib-bal-ki-tu²]
13 ša ia-a-ti ū-[iš-nak-ki-ru²]
14 it-ti (I)um-man-i-ša² [iš-ku-nu pi-i-šu-un¹]
15 (I)in-da-bi-gaš iš-[...]
16 e-gu-ug-ma ašur[r ...]
17 iq-ba-a sa-pa-aḫ [išâti-šu² ...]
18 āš-šu da-na-an (išu)[...]
19 ǔ pu-luḫ-ta-šu (mâtu)[...]
20 e-miš-su še-rit-[išu rabûtu(tu)² ...]
21 nišê(meš) (mâtu)akkadî(ki) ša [...]
22 ākiltî(meš) šèrê(meš) u i₃mî[mi-[m-me² ...]
[Remainder of column missing]
Column iii

21[In those days Rusâ], king of Armenia, 22[heard of the might of the gods], my [lords], and 23[the terrible splendor of my majesty overcame] him, so that 24[he sent nobles to me to Arbelo [to ask my health].

[Remainder of column missing]

Column iv

[Top of column missing] 1The archers of Tammaritu [. . .] 2[pitched] camp in Elam 3[to make war on [. . .]. 4Meanwhile in Assyria 5I was drawing up [. . .] 6[?] . 7Ashur, Sin, Šamaš, Bêl, [Nabû,] 8Ishtar of Nineveh, the Queen of Kimmuri, [Ishtar of Arbelo,] 9Ninurta, Nusku, Nergal, who [smote down my] enemies 8and cou[n]ted the remnant [into my hands . . .], 10confounded Šamaš-sumukin, the faithless brother, 11and the people of Akkad, as many as [had revolted], 12who had [been hostile] to me (and) 13[had made common cause] with Ummanigaš. 14Indabigaš [. . .] 15became angry, and Ashur[r . . .] 16decreed the destruction of [his land . . .]. 17On account of the might of [. . .] 18and his terrible splendor, the land of [. . .]—19he laid upon it [its heavy] punishment [. . .]. 20The people of Akkad who [. . .] 21eating the flesh and [whatever . . .]—22I made precious [to their mouth . . .]

[Remainder of column missing]

Note for Column I

1 Lines are numbered from the first one which has an identifiable sign; columns are numbered from the first column preserved.

Notes for Column III

1-1 Conjectural.
2-2 Cf. III R 37, No. 1, 3–6; also George Smith, History, p. 147.

Notes for Column IV

1–2 Conjectural; cf. K 3405 Rev. 2 (Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 224).
1a–1a Conjectural; cf. Bauer, p. 8, n. 4.
\[\text{Or } \dot{a}-\text{kaš-šu, "they gave"?}\]
3–3 Conjectural.
4–4 Conjectural; cf. B i 97.
5–5 Conjectural; cf. K 2631 Obv. 17 (George Smith, History, p. 251) and Streck, Assurbanipal, p. 176, note c.
6–6 Conjectural; cf. B iv 66 and Streck, p. 176, note d.
7–7 Conjectural; cf. B ii 49.
APPENDIX

THE LUNAR ECLIPSE OF JULY 13, 653 B.C.

BY THE REVEREND JOACHIM MAYR
Walchsee, Tyrol, Austria

In the account of Ashurbanipal’s second Elamite campaign the following reference to a lunar eclipse occurs:

**EDITION B**

*Column v*

3 . . . . (I)te-um-man li-mut-tu
4 iš-te-ni'-a (ilu)šīn iš-te-ni'-šu
5 itat(meš) (šal)šimutti ina (arḫu)duʿāzī atatū šat ur-ri adi nūri
6 uš-ta-ni-il-ša (ilu)šamaš e-mur-šu-ma ki-ma šu-a-tu-ma
7 kal ūmē(me) uš-ta-ni-il-ša-na qif-it palē(e)
8 šār (maṭu)elamti(ki) ḫalaq máti-šu

The translation of this passage is complicated by the uncertainty which attaches to the meaning of *ustaniḥ*, a form of the verb *nahū*, “to rest”:

Teumman plotted evil. Sin planned for him portents of evil. (There was) an eclipse in the month of Tammuz during the last night watch until sunrise. (The moon) *ustaniḥ*, (so that) Šamaš saw it and like him *ustaniḥ* all (those) days, to presage the end of the reign of the king of Elam (and) the destruction of his land.

Even if the meaning of *ustaniḥ* in the foregoing cannot be definitely decided, no doubt can attach to the fact that an eclipse of the moon took place in the month of Tammuz around sunrise. Tammuz is the third month after Nisan, which begins with the new moon about the time of the vernal equinox. Between 701 and 601 B.C. the equinox fell on March 28. The extreme limits for the full moon in Tammuz during this period are consequently July 1 and August 15. As far as the year is concerned, the eclipse must have taken place after the death of Urtaku (*ca.* 665) and before the beginning of the hostilities between Ashurbanipal and Šamaššumukin (Tebet 19, 651).

Between January 1, 665, and Tebet 19, 651, the following thirty lunar eclipses took place:
The time given for some of these eclipses refers to their midpoint. Consequently the following four eclipses are the only ones which can claim consideration as having taken place about sunrise between July 1 and August 15:

4. 664 August 14; midpoint: 2h49m; total eclipse possible, partial eclipse certain
6. 663 August 3; midpoint: 3h6m; total eclipse possible, partial eclipse certain
8. 662 July 23; midpoint: 6h58m; partial eclipse possible
27. 653 July 13; midpoint: 4h15m; total eclipse possible, partial eclipse certain
Of these, eclipses 4 and 8 may be eliminated from further consideration. When there is a full moon on August 14, Nisan 1 must fall on about May 5, more than thirty days after the equinox; furthermore, exact calculation indicates a partial eclipse of 7.2 inches, coming to an end about 4°11′, or nearly an hour before sunrise. The eclipse of July 23, 662, if it ever occurred, must have been very slight and began long after sunrise.

Thus there remain the eclipse of August 3, 663, which Kugler takes as the eclipse of our text, and the eclipse of July 13, 653. Historically 653 fits the facts far better than 663, and exact calculation proves that astronomically the same is true.

The results which follow have been secured with the help of Neugebauer's well known astronomical tables, and they agree with independent calculations made by Professor Neugebauer in Berlin, thus insuring against the possibility of errors in calculation. The dependability of the tables is likewise raised above question, since they embody the empirical corrections of Schoch, which are accurate to the minute even for eclipses in ancient times. Arbelā has been taken as the point of observation, but the results would not be essentially different had Nineveh been chosen instead. The eclipse of 663 was total, while that of 653 was a partial eclipse of 9.4 inches; that is, more than three-quarters of the moon's face was obscured by the shadow of the earth.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>August 3, 663</th>
<th>July 13, 653</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of the partial eclipse</td>
<td>1° 8′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beginning of the total eclipse</td>
<td>2°13′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the total eclipse</td>
<td>3°59′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of the partial eclipse</td>
<td>5° 4′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunrise (upper rim)</td>
<td>4°56′</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setting of the moon (upper rim)</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>True time, Arbelā</td>
<td>.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculation of the setting of the moon for August 3, 663, is unnecessary, since the words of the text, "Ṣamaš saw it," do not apply, the partial eclipse coming to an end only eight minutes after sunrise, beyond the possibility of perception by mere rough observation. The situation is altogether different in the case of the eclipse of July 13, 653. There the eclipse reached its maximum at 4°15′, thirty-two min-
utes before sunrise, and came to an end only an hour after sunrise. The moon set two minutes after sunrise, or, to speak more exactly, while the sun was coming up over the horizon in the east, the half-obscured disk of the moon was sinking below the western horizon. Thus the sun “saw” the eclipsed moon. There is consequently no reason astronomically to doubt that our text refers to the eclipse of July 13, 653.

But what does uštanīḫ mean? Father Schaumberger of Munich informs me in a letter that uštanīḫ occurs a single time in the sense of “set,” but that this rendering is not entirely certain. In our text uštanīḫ occurs twice in close succession, and we may properly conclude that in both cases it has essentially the same meaning. The translation would read accordingly: “In the month of Tammuz, in the last night watch, (there was) an eclipse until sunrise. As he (the moon-god) set, Šamaš saw it, and like him he (the sun-god) set all (those) days.”

How the sun could set like the moon all those days is unintelligible. The text cannot mean that the sun and the moon both set at the same point on the horizon, for in July the sun sets in the northwest and the moon goes down in the southwest. Consequently “set” as the meaning for uštanīḫ seems inapplicable in this passage.

Bezold gives the following equivalent for the III/II₂ of nāḫu (Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar, s.v.): “Die Tätigkeit einstellen, nicht scheinen (Mond).” Hence we should possibly translate our text: “(Because of) an eclipse in the month of Tammuz during the last night watch until sunrise (the moon) did not shine. The sun saw this and like it it also did not shine all (those) days, to presage the end of the reign. . . . .”

It would not be impossible to refer this to a period of cloudy weather, which follows rather frequently upon a change of moon. Astrology may have attached some significance to the sun’s becoming invisible as a result of clouds. Until more light has been shed on the meaning of uštanīḫ, it is doubtful whether a more satisfactory translation will be found. This uncertainty, however, does not affect the fact that the eclipse in question can only be that of July 13, 653.

In line 15 of the same column it is stated that Ashurbanipal was in Arbela “in Ab, the month of the rising of the Bow,” ina (arḫu)abi
APPENDIX: THE LUNAR ECLIPSE

arəh na-an-mur-ti hakkab  qašti. The Bow consists of the stars ε δ τ Canis Majoris and κ 1 Puppis. According to Kugler (Ergänzungen to his Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel [Münster in Westfalen, 1913] p. 48) the heliacal rising of the Bow is as follows:

ε Canis Majoris on Ab 5
κ 1 Puppis ........ on Ab 15

This holds for the middle of Ab around 500 B.C. In 653 B.C. the Bow rose heliacally from the fifth to the tenth of August, and Ab fell within the period from the end of July to the end of August.

Although the periodicity of Schoch's Babylonian calendar can hardly be traced back historically to this early date, it is significant to note that according to his calculations July 13, 653, fell on Tammuz 13, while August 3, 663, fell on Ab 13. Thus the eclipse on the latter date loses all claim to consideration.
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