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The ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB
THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PRISM OF SENNACHERIB
The ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB

By

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IN REMEMBRANCE OF

GEORGE SMITH
DECIPHERER, EXCAVATOR, AND FIRST EDITOR
OF THE
ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB
PREFACE

In his Preface the author is, I believe, supposed to justify his infliction of another book upon a long-suffering world, and, having mollified the righteous wrath of his prospective reader, to pay some small tribute to those whose kindly aid and encouragement have lightened his labors and made possible the adequate publication of their results.

Any student of ancient oriental civilization who has conscientiously endeavored to make the Assyrian sources the basis of Assyrian history need not be told that the text of many of these sources was copied from the originals years before the study of the language had progressed far enough to make them even fairly intelligible; that such translations as have been made from time to time are found scattered through many books and journals; that most of the best translators seem to have had but a vague conception of what the historian expected of them (they were linguists)—in short, that there is a crying need for an up-to-date publication of the Assyrian sources, a publication in which the needs of the historian who is not a specialist in the ancient oriental languages are constantly kept in mind. (If that sentence does not mollify the prospective reader, nothing will.) Therefore, when the University of Chicago through its Oriental Institute came into possession of a splendid six-sided prism containing the final edition of Sennacherib’s royal annals, in almost as perfect condition as when it left the hands of the ancient scribe, it seemed an opportune moment to make available in translation a complete body of Sennacherib’s historical and building texts (these are almost always combined). The fact that many of these documents had already been edited for incorporation into the files of the Assyrian Dictionary was an additional incentive for pushing the work.

Professor Olmstead in his penetrating Assyrian Historiography has adequately discussed the nature of the Assyrian historical sources and the royal vanity to which we owe their preservation. He deplored the growing tendency among the historians to use the final Assyrian edition of a given document, which was the result of perhaps a dozen editings during which there was a steady progression from the record of events as they occurred to an idealized account that would please the royal fancy. I have, therefore, arranged the documents chronologically, following in the footsteps of George Smith, the first editor of Sennacherib’s annals, and the one in whose memory this work is sent out.

Mr. F. W. Geers, Fellow in the Department of Oriental Languages, and assistant on the Assyrian Dictionary staff, has done me the great service of comparing all the transliterations with the texts and has read the proofs. Professors Price and
Maynard have read page proof. If this volume is fairly free from typographical errors the credit is due these good friends of mine. My colleagues, Professors Breasted and Smith, are hard men to live with. Every time I talk with the latter I come away with the titles of half a dozen articles and three or four books that I want to start writing at once, and every time I rise from a conference with the former I am convinced that the surface of the ancient Orient has hardly been scratched, and I want to be up and digging. In spite of the dilemma they plunge me into, they have my thanks for their unfailing kindness and constant support.

The publication of this volume is part of the large program of the Oriental Institute, which owes its auspicious beginning to the generosity of Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. For a brief statement as to the origin and purpose of the Institute the reader is referred to the Preface (pp. 5 ff.) of Breasted's Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting, which is the first volume in the series of Oriental Institute Publications.
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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION. ON CERTAIN PHASES OF ASSYRIAN STATECRAFT

When the prophet, endeavoring to discourage the people who were clamoring for a change of government, described “the manner of the king” that should reign over them (I Sam. 8:16 f.), he became the author of what is perhaps at once the briefest and most accurate word picture of an oriental despotism that we possess. Had he added a sentence to the effect that the ruler would keep at his side a number of obsequious scribes who would magnify his smallest military success into a stupendous victory; who would demonstrate their mathematical ability by multiplying—by ten or twenty—the number of the enemy dead and captured, or the amount of tribute received from those who had warded off the royal wrath by speedy and abject submission; and who would, in balanced prose periods or in vague but ringing verse, transform a defeat which could not be passed over in silence, or a lucky escape from complete disaster in some foolish venture, into a dignified retreat before, say, the winter’s bitter cold or the floods of springtime—had the prophet done this he would have given us not only the picture, but the gilded frame as well. But he would have spoiled the small chance he had of making any impression upon his audience. The vanity of kings has always been gently dealt with, in the East and in the West, if for no other reason than that it often adds a touch of humor (in the Orient grim humor) to what would otherwise be a dull and dreary tale. The historian of David’s reign, as keenly aware of “what the public wants” as our modern editor, clinches the hold of his already popular hero upon the imagination of his readers with that marvelously well-told story of the encounter with the giant. Who was interested in the fact that “Elhanan the son of Jaare-oregim the Beth-lehemite slew Goliath the Gittite, the staff of whose spear was like a weaver’s beam” (II Sam. 21:19)? Would any Egyptian have cared, even if he had dared, to suggest that his Pharaoh, Ramses II, protested too much about that victory of his at Kadesh on the Orontes? Could one have found an Assyrian who would not have been outraged by the Babylonian chronicler’s report of the defeat of Sennacherib and the Assyrian army at Halulé?

History begins with the vanity of kings. (Will it end with the vanity of the demos?) In the earliest records that we possess from the Nile Valley

We see the king on ceremonious occasions appearing in some state, preceded by four standard-bearers and accompanied by his chancellor, personal attendants, or a scribe, and two

1 A Chinese student in a term paper, using English which was more meaningful than idiomatic, put it thus: “Ramses greatly claimed victory.”
fan-bearers. He wore the white crown of Upper or the red crown of Lower Egypt, or even a
curious combination of the crowns of both kingdoms, and a simple garment suspended by a
strap over one shoulder, to which a lion's tail was appended behind. So dressed and so
attended he conducted triumphant celebrations of his victories or led the ceremonies at the
opening of canals or the inauguration of public works. . . . He was a mighty hunter, and
recorded with pride an achievement like the slaying of a hippopotamus.1

From the Wadi Maghara (Sinai) relief of King Semerkhet, picturing that monarch
smiting the Beduin enemies of Egypt's earliest progress Asiaward, to the walls of the
temple of Amon at Thebes, where the long annals of Thutmose III's victories in Syria
were written down for the eye of god and man, and copiously illustrated, it was kingly
pride that gave the artist his cue. Similarly the history of Babylonia must be built
up about, and largely from, the records of royal achievement, whether these are the
simple sculptured plaque with brief inscription of Ur-Nina, the detailed accounts
of Gudea's pious deeds, the grim records of Assurnasirpal's "calculated frightfulness,"
or the plagiarizing annals of the flabby Assurbanipal. Wearisome and even nauseat­
ing as these records become, nevertheless they give us a true picture of the manner of
the king that ruled over the peoples of the ancient Near East.

Once upon a time during the days when we of the modern West were "making the
world safe for democracy," I conjured up the shades of Assurnasirpal, Sennacherib,
and Assurbanipal from the house of Irkalla in the Land of No-return, to listen to some
of the serious discussions of the day, such, for example, as that on the rights of weaker
or conquered nations. I soon read on their faces the question for whose utterance
they could find no words: "You do not mean to say that the smaller and backward
peoples are to be allowed to determine their own destiny without interference from the
king and land to whom the great gods have intrusted the rule of the world?" "Yes,"
I replied, "we are beginning to accept this proposition, for we see that it is a corollary
of another which has long since been formulated: 'Governments derive their just
powers from the consent of the governed.'"

But this was too much. The spirits left me, beating a hasty retreat to the under­
world "where clay is their food and sewer-water their drink," but whither, so far as we
are aware, democratic ideas have not penetrated as yet. And so I returned to my
cuneiform documents, there to find recorded the mighty deeds and pious works per­
formed by the hands of my late guests while they were still in the flesh, to discover the
principles, if there were any, which governed the Assyrian kings in their endeavors
to make the god Assur and his rule supreme.

The Assyrians were part and parcel of the ancient Orient, and the ancient oriental
outlook upon the world was imperialistic. It was self-evident to the men of those
days that the normal order of things was the domination of the "four quarters of the
world" by one and only one nation. There were times when this order of things was
disturbed, when the great gods allowed two and sometimes more nations to be so

1 Breasted, A History of the Ancient Egyptians, pp. 41 f.
INTRODUCTION

evenly matched in strength that a decision was impossible. Such a state of affairs obtained from about 1400 to 1000 B.C. This was the age of diplomacy. The kings of Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and the Hittiteland discovered that they were brothers, that boundary lines might be determined by treaty and that it was possible, the gods so willing, for nations to live at peace with one another. But no right-minded Oriental regarded such a condition of affairs as natural, much less as permanently possible. Of course, the theory that the rulership of the whole world was intrusted to one person on earth by the god who held the supremacy among the gods of heaven and earth was not formulated in a day, nor was its development independent of actual political conditions. However, the theory was well established in the thinking of the ancient oriental mind long before the Assyrians played any important rôle in history. It was from Babylonia (more accurately, the old Sumer and Akkad), the home of the western Asiatic culture, that Assyria inherited most of her ideas and ideals of government.

In the *Enuma elish*, the version of the creation stories edited by the priests at Babylon, it was the god Marduk to whom the dominion over all was given. "Niddínka karrútuq kiššat kal qimrēti," which is by interpretation: "To thee we give the rulership of the totality of the whole universe." In the prologue to the Code of Hammurabi we read:

When the exalted Anu, the king of the Anunnaki, and Enlil, the lord of heaven and earth, who determines the destinies of the land, committed to Marduk, firstborn son of Ea, the dominion over all mankind, and made him great among the Igigi; when they named the lofty name of Babylon and made it great in the four quarters of the world, and erected therein for him an everlasting kingdom, whose foundations are established firm as heaven and earth; then did Anu and Enlil call me, Hammurabi by name, the exalted prince, who fears god, to bring justice to prevail in the land, to destroy the wicked and the evil, that the strong might not injure the weak, that I might rise like Shamash over the black-headed people, to enlighten the land and to further the welfare of men.

Marduk is recognized as the chief among the gods; Babylon, his city, as the mistress of the world; and Hammurabi, the king, as the predestined ruler of all peoples. In like manner, in the Assyrian versions of the story of creation, Assur holds the first rank among the gods, and it was from his hands that the Assyrian rulers had their power.

But let us turn for a moment to the political development of Babylonia (using this term in its wider sense), for, as already intimated, the theory of world-dominion by one state grew out of the actual contest for supremacy in the Tigris-Euphrates Valley.

At the dawn of history we find the city-states of Babylonia in a tooth-and-claw struggle with one another. The kings of Kish seem already to have developed the idea that they were "emperors." At any rate we find Mesilim of Kish in the north intervening in the chronic strife between Lagash and Umma in southern Sumer, and attempting to fix the boundary between these rival cities. However, such intervention appears to have been exceptional. So long as these local quarrels continued,
none of the city-states would be likely to develop dangerous strength, nor would there be much chance of a coalition against the overlord.

In the course of time the “kingdom of Kish passed to Eanna (Erech).” Later the “kingdom passed” to another city. Now this city in Akkad was supposed to have exercised universal dominion, now that city in Sumer. How accurately the stereotyped phrases of the early Sumerian historian describe the actual course of events is still a matter of doubt. One “kingdom” at a time was his theory. It is not until we come to Lugalzaggisi of Erech, Sargon of Akkad, and Hammurabi of Babylon that the fuller records permit us to trace the steps in the progress toward world-rulership. In the case of the first two, although expeditions reaching to the Persian Gulf in the east and the Mediterranean in the west are spoken of, it is evident that the immediate problem was the subjugation and control of Sumer and Akkad. With Hammurabi the situation becomes more complicated. Himself an Amorite on the Babylonian throne, he was keenly aware of the political progress that had been made in the regions adjacent to the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, and realized that a campaign for world-dominion would have to be conducted “with the breadth of vision which Ea allotted” him and “with the might which Marduk granted” him. First of all the lesser tribes and nations to the north and east were brought into subjection. Not until he had been on the throne close to thirty years did he feel ready to undertake the decisive venture, the crushing of Rim-Sin, the Elamite king on the throne of the Sumerian city of Larsa. But as soon as victory was attained, Hammurabi turned his whole attention to restoring “normalcy” in all of the conquered territory. Temples were rebuilt and cults revived, from Sumer in the south to Assyria and Mesopotamia in the north and west. Everything was done to bring prosperity to the whole of the empire. Hammurabi codified the laws of the land and boasts that this was done in the language of the people. He made justice the cornerstone of the national life. The strong were no longer to injure the weak; an ideal, by the way, which we find expressed in almost exactly the same words more than half a millennium before Hammurabi, by the reforming usurper Urukagina of Lagash. But we must not think that Hammurabi felt that he was bound by his code of laws. That code he received from the hand of the god Shamash for the establishment of justice in the empire, for the rulership of which he had been predestined from the foundation of the world. From the gods he had his scepter and to them alone was he responsible.

The idea that a ruler derives his just powers from the consent of the governed, whether these were the “black-headed” Babylonians or peoples of conquered territory, would not have been abhorrent to Hammurabi, it would simply have been incomprehensible. Nor can we imagine any such idea arising in the minds of the governed in his day. Throughout the history of Babylonia and Assyria, the kings ruled by the grace of god. It was true that people sometimes did rebel and set the “son of a nobody” upon the throne, but such a procedure was contrary to all reason and cer-
taining always in defiance of the gods. This brings us to a point which we must never lose sight of as we turn to review the barbarous and unspeakable cruelty of the Assyrian kings. The oriental ruler had his scepter from the hand of his god. Victory over the nations round about was also a gift from him. Conquered peoples took the oath of obedience and servitude to the conqueror and the conqueror’s god. That they had no choice in the matter made no difference. The Assyrian kings always distinguished between enemies and rebels. Enemies were given a chance to submit and become tributaries, but rebels (“sinners” is a literal translation of the term employed), those who “sinned against Assur and the great gods,” were usually exterminated with the utmost savagery.

Shamshi-Adad, the first Assyrian king of whom we possess an inscription which is more than a mere dedicatory record, and who lived perhaps shortly after the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon (ca. 1926 B.C.), tells us that he fixed the prices in his city Assur, received the tribute of the kings of Tukrish and of the king of the upper country, and set up a memorial stela on the shores of the great sea (the Mediterranean). Here, almost at the beginning of Assyrian history, we come upon that which the Assyrian kings to the very last made their chief occupation, namely, the collection of tribute. That the Sumerian and Babylonian “emperors” were not averse to receiving more or less voluntary gifts is to be taken for granted, but the records do not indicate that this was first and foremost in their thoughts. Certainly Hammurabi realized that the stability of a state depends upon economic health and social justice. Babylonia was a land of unsurpassed productiveness, and agriculture and commerce became the foundation stones of the state. Assyria, on the other hand, was a poor country, and it was no doubt largely on this account that its inhabitants early began to cast covetous eyes upon everything that was their neighbor’s. Hammurabi saw that prosperous cities in Sumer and Akkad were likely to be contented cities. Only late in the game did any Assyrian king wake up to the fact that a community, most of whose inhabitants had been put to the sword and whose wealth had been carried off to Assyria, was not likely to be a valuable nor quiet addition to the empire. But we are anticipating.

We pass over the weary centuries during which weak Assyrian kings and weaker Kassite rulers of Babylonia warred with each other, or married one another’s daughters, having come to terms as to dowries and boundaries. We pause only for a moment to mention the deeds of Tukulti-Urta I (ca. 1290 B.C.). As is to be expected, we read of the tribute exacted from the countries round about. But of greatest moment is his capture of Babylon, an event described in the “Babylonian Chronicle” as follows:

Tukulti-Urta returned to Babylon. . . . He destroyed the wall of Babylon, and the men of Babylon he slew with the sword. The treasures of Esagila and of Babylon he profanely brought forth, and the great lord Marduk he removed from his dwelling place, and he carried him away to Assyria. The administration of his governors he set up in the land of Karduniash. For seven years did Tukulti-Urta rule over Karduniash.
We cannot help comparing this procedure with Hammurabi's methods. Hammurabi had sense enough to see that the restoration of temples and cults which had suffered from the ravages of war was one of the surest ways of healing war's wounds. But Tukulti-Urta was true to the Assyrian type and that type may best be described by an adjective for which we are indebted to Brander Matthews, osteocephalic.

Our text goes on to describe the end of Tukulti-Urta.

Afterwards the nobles of Akkad and Karduniash revolted and they set Adad-shum-usur upon his father's throne. Against Tukulti-Urta, who had brought evil upon Babylon, Assurnasirpal, his son, and the nobles of Assyria revolted, and from his throne they cast him, and they besieged him in a house in the city of Kar-Tukulti-Urta, and they slew him with the sword.

This sort of thing occurred time and again in the later history of Assyria. While the king was away on a plundering expedition, his sons and nobles at home would get their heads together and decide that a change of leaders was desirable. The limu-lists will then have an entry, siḫu, "rebellion," in the capital, followed by a heavy ruling to indicate a change on the throne.

It is not until we come to Tiglath-Pileser I (ca. 1100 B.C.) that we have Assyrian records showing carefully planned campaigns with world-dominion as their object. And here, too, we meet for the first time the detailed accounts of savagery which blacken the pages of Assyrian history to the last. Let me give a few quotations from the large Cylinder Inscription.

With their twenty thousand warriors and their five kings in the land of Kummuhi I fought and I defeated them. The corpses of their warriors in the destructive battle like the destroyer I hurled down. Their blood in the valleys and on the high places of the mountains I caused to flow. Their heads I cut off, and outside their cities, like heaps of pain, I piled them up. Their spoil, and their possessions in countless number I brought out. Six thousand men, the remainder of their troops, who from before my weapons had fled and had embraced my feet, I took away and as inhabitants of my country I counted them [Col. I, 74-88].

Here we have the beginning of the deportation of the inhabitants of conquered territory. But it is not until the reign of the third Tiglath-pileser (745-727 B.C.) that this becomes a carefully planned policy.

Continuing the quotation from Tiglath-pileser:

The land of Kummuhi in its length and breadth I conquered and I added it to the borders of my land [Col. III, 30-31].

His campaigns are summed up in the following words:

In all forty-two lands and their princes from beyond the Lower Zab, a region of difficult hills, unto the further side of the Euphrates, and the land of Hatti and the Upper Sea of the West, from the beginning of my rule up to the fifth year of my reign my hand hath conquered. I have made them to be under one rule [literally, of one mouth], I have taken hostages from them, and tribute and tax I have laid upon them [Col. VI, 39-48].

1 See King, *Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, pp. 36 f.
INTRODUCTION

But what had he accomplished? The name Assyria spread terror over the nations. But there is no evidence that any attempt was made to improve conditions in the lands which had been conquered. Security from attack and regular tribute from the conquered nations was all world-dominion meant to Tiglath-pileser, and neither had been gained.

Now follows a long period of Assyrian decline with the falling away of dependencies and the gradual cessation of the payment of tribute. The next conqueror which Assyria produced was Assurnasirpal, whose name is synonymous with "Schrecklichkeit."

Two hundred and sixty of their fighting men I put to the sword, and I cut off their heads and I piled them in heaps. . . . I built a pillar over against his city gate, and I flayed all of the chief men who had revolted, and I covered the pillar with their skins; some I walled up within the pillar, and some upon the pillar on stakes I impaled, and others I fixed to stakes round about the pillar. . . . Three thousand captives I burned with fire. . . . Their young men and maidens I burned in the fire.

These are a few sentences taken at random from his Annals. Flaying, impaling, mutilation, burning, these were the means by which Assurnasirpal sought to establish an empire. In a sense he was successful. Tribute came pouring in as in the days of old, and Assyria was a name to be spoken in a whisper. From his day to the end of Assyrian history, the power of Assyria was felt over all of Western Asia. In time even Egypt fell a victim to the Assyrian sword. But in that long period of two and three-quarter centuries, there was hardly a moment when an Assyrian king could lean back and be comfortable. Revolts were breaking out almost daily, at home and in the conquered territories. The death of an Assyrian king was usually the signal for a general uprising and refusal of tribute. As time went on, practically all there was to Assyria was the army, and tribute and plunder from the conquered regions about all there was to support the war machine. What methods did the Assyrians employ to hold their empire together? Did it ever occur to them that a sound economic policy and social justice might help? If so, the records of it have perished. As already indicated, Tiglath-pileser III thought he had found the solution of an emperor's troubles when he revived the policy of deporting the inhabitants of a province at one end of the empire and settling them among strangers at the other. Sennacherib attempted to solve the age-old problem of Babylon by wiping the city off the map. Though his son, Esarhaddon, by his restoration of this old capital of the South, gave promise of better things, nevertheless, "in him, in spite of mercy shown a number of times, there raged a fierceness and a thirst for blood and revenge that remind us forcibly of Assurnasirpal. His racial inheritance had overcome his personal mildness."

1 See King, op. cit., pp. 254 f.
2 Tukulti-Urta had tried this method earlier. See above.
3 Rogers, History of Babylonia and Assyria, II, 424.
The organization of the conquered territories into provinces of the Assyrian state, begun early and carried out methodically in the empire period, if done in an enlightened manner, might have resulted in time in the formation of a homogeneous culture. But here again there is no evidence that economic and social conditions were ever seriously studied. To the very end the problem was not how much a certain province might be made to produce, but always how much could be gouged out of that province. In the end this amount became small indeed. The disappearance of the free peasant class and the exorbitant rates of interest on money are but two of many indications we have in the business documents dating from the empire of the unhealthy economic and social conditions which prevailed in the homeland itself. And the Assyrian Code, dating from about a millennium after that of Hammurabi, gives evidence in almost every paragraph of the barbarous severity of the administration of the law.

I am aware that it is not good form to sit in judgment upon the kings of old whose deeds we pass in review; that these worthies must be studied in the light of their own time; etc. To which I reply, that to edit the inscriptions of such a man as Sennacherib is to pass judgment upon him. If Assurnasirpal, Tiglath-pileser, Sennacherib, and the rest insisted on spreading the accounts of their barbarities all over the walls of their palaces, why should we refrain from calling them barbarians? That the times in which these monarchs lived were strenuous ones none will deny, but if Assyrian justice was ever tempered by mercy the accounts of it have been lost. There is not much use in speculating as to what might have been, but there is no harm in contrasting the haughty imperialism of the Assyrian kings with the humane and paternal imperialism of such a Babylonian as Hammurabi. If the proprieties of historical science (or the postal laws) keep us from expressing our opinion as to the merits and demerits of Assyria’s imperialistic policy, it is possible to find relief for our feelings in the perusal of the opinions expressed by some of the victims of that policy. Did not Nahum, with his “Woe to the bloody city!” put into words the feelings which surged up in the heart of the whole ancient world when the doom of Assyria had been sealed? “All that hear the report of thee clap their hands over thee; for upon whom hath not thy wickedness passed continually?” Could the author of the Book of Jonah, that gospel story of the Old Testament, have chosen a better example to illustrate the inscrutable ways of providence, than Nineveh, object of god’s grace, recipient of Jehovah’s forgiveness?
CHAPTER II

THE REIGN OF SENNACHERIB

When Sargon moved into his magnificent palace at Khorsabad, there must have

come to his mind the thought that he had set Assyria's house in order and that he

and his land might now look forward with confidence to a season of peace and quiet­

ness. At Raphia he had shown the cities of Syria that "to take refuge in the shadow

of Egypt" would avail them nothing. In several hard-fought campaigns he had

shattered the power of Urartu which had long threatened Assyria from the north.

And finally, by a happy combination of successful military leadership and shrewd

diplomacy, he had found himself in possession of Babylonia with the Babylonians

hailing him as their champion.

Then suddenly there arose the cry: "A lion is gone up from his thicket, and a

destroyer of nations." Out of the north there were coming troops of barbarous

horsemen, descendants, perhaps, of the hordes of Gutium which had swept down over

Sumer and Akkad soon after the days of the elder Sargon, older cousins of the Scythians

who were to terrify Judah in Jeremiah's day—the products of the Eurasian grasslands

which have periodically belched destruction over the civilized areas of the twin

continents. Our records are obscure, but it would seem as if for a time Sargon failed to

realize the danger, and that when he did sally forth, it was to meet a violent death.

In breaking down the kingdom of Urartu, he had opened up the door for the Cimmeri­

ans, Scythians, and other Indo-European hordes, who were, within the century, to

exhaust and to overthrow the empire. But, as so often happens in this world of

ours, the storm clouds blew over. The Cimmerians were turned aside and it was

not until the days of Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal that they became a real menace

to Assyria.

However, Sennacherib, who succeeded to the throne on the twelfth of Ab, 705 B.C.,

was in no danger of finding time hanging heavy on his hands. There was the Baby­

lonian problem. Would Sennacherib proceed to Babylon, take the hand of Marduk,

and be proclaimed shakkanakku, viceroy, as his father Sargon had done, and thus salve

the feelings of the haughty Marduk priesthood? Sennacherib had evidently long

since made up his mind as to the manner in which Babylonian pride was to be handled.

He did not take the hand of Marduk as viceroy, but he had himself proclaimed

king of Babylon, and this without using a second name as Tiglath-pileser had done.

Nor does he seem to have taken the trouble to honor Marduk by calling on him in his

temple. And so, while the official state records have his name set down as king of
Babylon, the Ptolemaic Canon, reflecting the true Babylonian feeling in the matter, has the years 705 and 704 marked “kingless.”

Events moved rapidly. In Babylon, one Marduk-zakir-shumu, labeled “son of a slave” in the King List, was proclaimed ruler (703). He had enjoyed royal dignity but a month when Merodach-baladan appeared on the scene and regained the throne from which he had been ousted by Sargon back in 709. This time Shutur-nahundu, the Elamite, sent substantial aid in the form of 80,000 bowmen, supported by cavalry and under the command of the turtan and “left” turtan. Such backing brought all of the Chaldeans of Bit-Yakin, Bit-Amukkani, and the other petty states on the shore of the Persian Gulf, as well as the Aramaeans whose settlements were along the Tigris, to the standard of the Babylonian king. Sennacherib’s generals, who were sent on ahead, were attacked by the allies in the plain of Kish, and failed to hold their own. Messengers were dispatched to the king who was in the vicinity of Kutha. This city he immediately assaulted and captured. Raging like a lion and storming like a tempest, he now turned his face toward Kish. Merodach-baladan’s courage failed him and he fled into the swamps and marshes of Guzummanu, leaving the Elamite generals with the allied troops to face the Assyrian. Sennacherib’s victory was decisive. Among the captives are mentioned the stepson of Merodach-baladan and the brother of the Arab queen, Yat’e. After the spoil had been gathered together, the king marched upon Babylon, whose gates swung open on his approach, and Merodach-baladan’s palace was made to yield up its treasures. Sennacherib spent five days hunting for the fugitive Babylonian king down in the fens, but without bagging his quarry. The fields and date groves of the Arabs, Aramaeans, and Chaldeans (one sees from these names how the old Akkadian-Babylonian stock had been replaced by new blood) were stripped bare, and their produce accompanied the 208,000 captives and correspondingly large numbers of horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle, and sheep to Assyria. Before leaving Babylon, Sennacherib set Bêl-ibni, “a scion of Babylon,” who had grown up at the Assyrian court, “like a young hound,” upon the throne of Sumer and Akkad. Was he tempted to try leniency with the Babylonians? So ended the first campaign (702).

But if Merodach-baladan’s whereabouts remained unknown to the Assyrian king, he was not idle. His letters and a present reached Hezekiah, king of Judah, who lent him a ready ear (II Kings, 20:12 f.). The trouble in the west had doubtless begun as soon as the reports of Sargon’s violent death reached these regions. And with Sennacherib apparently kept occupied for some time after his accession by events in Babylonia, it is no wonder that the year 701 saw respect for Assyrian authority rapidly disappearing. In the north, the cities had rallied about Lulê (Elulæus), called king of Sidon, though Tyre seems to have been his real capital, while in the south Hezekiah

1 See p. 49, note 2.

1 Some would place this embassy before, others after, this date.
of Judah, with Egyptian aid in sight, became not an altogether unwilling center around which the anti-Assyrian forces rallied. In Ekron the staunch pro-Assyrian Padi was thrown in chains and turned over to Hezekiah at Jerusalem, there to be further humiliated.

Such open defiance of Assyria could not be allowed to go unheeded, and Sennacherib, having subdued the Kassites and Yasubigallians, rude mountaineers to the east of the Tigris, in what is designated as his second campaign, now set out against the “Hittiteland,” that is, Syria. Lulê, like many another Phoenician prince before and after him, did not wait to see what an Assyrian army looked like, but took to his heels, or to be more exact, to his boat, and was soon at a safe distance from the scene of operations. Tuba’lu (Ethbaal) was set up as king of Sidon and a number of Phoenician cities were turned over to his rule. According to Sennacherib there now followed a mad rush of petty kinglets eager to ward off his wrath by speedy submission; among these were Mitinti of Ashdod, Budu-ilu of Beth Ammon, Kamusu-nadbi of Moab, and Malik-rammu of Edom. But the opposition in the south was not so readily broken down. In fact Sennacherib was compelled to do some real fighting. Beginning with Ashkelon, where the rebels had deposed Sharru-lu-dari, son of the Rukibti whom Tiglath-pileser had placed upon the throne, and set up Sidka as their king, one city after the other was attacked and taken. As the Assyrian was on the point of moving against Ekron, the Egyptian and Ethiopian armies made their appearance, and at Eltekeh the battle was joined. The Assyrians won. Eltekeh and Timnath were captured and Ekron’s rebels, who had ousted Padi, were now exposed to the fury of the royal wrath.

Sennacherib next turned his attention to Jerusalem. Siege was laid to the city and the daring Hezekiah was shut up “like a bird in a cage.” The Assyrian account of the investment of the city is very full and detailed, a sure sign that the victory claimed was not at all decisive.

As for Hezekiah, the Jew, who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong cities, as well as the small cities in their neighborhood, which were without number—by levelling with battering-rams (?) and by bringing up siege-engines (?), I besieged and took (those cities). 200,150 people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number, I brought away from them and counted as spoil. Himself, like a caged bird I shut up in Jerusalem, his royal city. Earthworks I threw up against him—the one coming out of the city-gate, I turned back to his misery.

The cities of his which I had despoiled I cut off from his land and to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Silli-Bel, king of Gaza, I gave. And (thus) I diminished his land.

I added to the former tribute, and laid upon him the giving (up) of their land (as well as) imposts—gifts for my majesty.

As for Hezekiah, the terrifying splendor of my majesty overcame him, and the Urbi (Arabs) and his mercenary (?) troops which he had brought in to strengthen Jerusalem, his royal city, deserted him (lit. took leave).
In addition to the 30 talents of gold and 800 talents of silver (there were), gems, cosmetics (?), jewels(?), large sandu-stones, couches of ivory, house chairs of ivory, elephant hide, ivory (lit. elephant’s teeth), natsu-wood, urkarinnu-wood, all kinds of valuable (heavy) treasures, as well as his daughters, his harem, his male and female musicians, (which) he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute and to accept (lit. do) servitude, he dispatched his messenger(s).

We have heard what Sennacherib had to say about the great event of his third campaign. We have also reached the most debated of the historical problems connected with his reign. Sennacherib’s attack upon Jerusalem and Judah is also fully reported in the Old Testament. The echoes of a reverse to his army, there recorded, reverberated down the centuries. Herodotus tells of the “multitude of field-mice” which came in the night and “which devoured all the quivers and bowstrings of the enemy, and all the thongs by which they managed their shields”; how “next morning they commenced their flight, and great multitudes fell, as they had no arms with which to defend themselves” (Book II, 141). And Byron has helped us to exult over the discomfiture of the Assyrian who “came down like a wolf on the fold.” The problem is whether the non-Assyrian accounts refer to one or two campaigns of Sennacherib in the West, one in 701 and another toward the end of his reign. Opinion has gradually shifted round to the two-campaign hypothesis. Without going into details, let us set down the pros and cons.

In the first place, the passage in II Kings 18:13 f. (and Isa. 36:1 f.) agrees with the Assyrian account in the report of Judean cities captured by Sennacherib and tribute paid the Assyrian by Hezekiah.

Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fortified cities of Judah, and took them. And Hezekiah king of Judah sent to the king of Assyria to Lachish, saying, I have offended; return from me; that which thou puttest on me will I bear. And the king of Assyria appointed unto Hezekiah king of Judah three hundred talents of silver and thirty talents of gold.

In the second place, it is evident from both accounts that there was a siege of Jerusalem. According to the Assyrian account this siege, conducted in 701, led to the submission of Hezekiah (it does not mention the capture of the city) and his payment of tribute. One is led to infer that operations were conducted by the king in person, but this is not expressly stated and the reliefs show him seated on his throne before Lachish (cf. II Kings 18:14). According to the Old Testament account, messengers were sent by the king from Lachish to interview Hezekiah and to scare him into submission. But without success. On their return to their master they found him “warring against Libnah” (II Kings 19:8 f.). The appearance on the scene of Tirhakah, king of Ethiopia, and a second embassy to Hezekiah are now recorded. The same insulting speech that had been used before, with but slight variations, is again directed at Hezekiah through his representatives at the parley. But Hezekiah,

1 This and what follows sounds almost as if an Assyrian scribe had written it.
encouraged by the prophet Isaiah, once more refuses to be intimidated. Then follows the account of the smiting of the Assyrian host in the night by the angel of Jehovah, the departure of Sennacherib to Nineveh, and his assassination there.

Those who hold the two-campaign hypothesis, and as already indicated, they are now in the majority, feel that the difficulties presented by the Old Testament story, especially the mention of Tirhakah and the placing of Sennacherib's assassination close upon his return to Nineveh after his disastrous defeat, are most easily overcome by assuming a first western campaign in 701 in which the Assyrian king defeated the Syrians and their Egyptian allies, devastated the cities of Judah, besieged Jerusalem but failed to take it, contenting himself with Hezekiah's release of Padi and his payment of tribute; and a second campaign in 687 or 686, when he met a crushing defeat (naturally not mentioned in the Assyrian annals). The Old Testament is supposed to have telescoped the two campaigns into one.

This hypothesis has many things in its favor. Nevertheless, its alternative which holds that one campaign, that of 701, is all we need to posit, is easily defended.

Sennacherib's annals make no mention of his presence before Lachish, but as already indicated, an inscribed relief shows him there. The repeated dispatch of his messengers to Hezekiah is right in line with what we should expect to have occurred. Although Sennacherib places his defeat of the Syrians and their Egyptian and Ethiopian allies before the siege of Jerusalem, it is altogether possible that this battle, in which he may have been fought to a standstill, came at the close of the campaign and was the reason for his abandonment of the siege. Hezekiah's release of Padi and his payment of tribute (the latter is placed at the very beginning of the Old Testament narrative) may have come soon after the Assyrian's appearance in southern Syria, or any time during the long siege. Or the siege itself may have been the result of some overt act of Hezekiah's inspired by the resistance that Ashkelon and the other cities of the plain were offering to Sennacherib. A drawn battle with the allies and the raising of the siege of Jerusalem would be basis enough for the story of the utter rout of Sennacherib as handed down by the Old Testament and Herodotus. That his campaign was not a brilliant success we may legitimately infer from Sennacherib's own account of it in the annals. And Bêl-ibni's willingness to listen to Merodach-baladan and the Elamites is additional evidence pointing in the same direction. That Sennacherib had not met with outright defeat is evidenced, I believe, by the silence of the Babylonian Chronicle, which was not slow to record Assyrian reverses. And a similar silence as to a defeat of Sennacherib in the West toward the end of his reign is not without significance. Would Sennacherib have been content to have such a defeat passed over in silence? Is it not more probable that he would have ordered his scribes to give to the world such an account as that of his battle of Halulê? As for the mention of Tirhakah, he may well have been in command of his

1 The miraculous elements of these accounts do not call for explanation here.
uncle Shabaka's troops in 701, some thirteen years before he became king (so Breasted, who finds no insuperable difficulty in assuming one campaign), as Hall, who argues for two campaigns, admits.¹

In 700 Sennacherib again marched on Babylon, captured the treacherous Bēl-ibni, who was sent back to Assyria, chased Shuzubu, the Chaldean, into the southern marshes, and conducted such a hot pursuit after Merodach-baladan that this arch-enemy of Assyria and the instigator of the trouble, packed up his gods and his people, embarked them in ships, and fled to the Elamite city of Nagitu on the east shore of the Persian Gulf. In place of Bēl-ibni, Sennacherib set his son Assur-nādin-shumu on the Babylonian throne and returned to Assyria. So ended the fourth campaign.

A period of comparative quiet now set in. But royal vanity demanded royal campaigns to be recorded in high-sounding phrases on dedicatory cylinders and prisms or on the walls of the steadily growing palace at Nineveh. So a raid against the villages on the slopes of Mount Nipur (the modern Jūdī Dāgh) northeast of Nineveh, becomes a fifth campaign (699). But a real military undertaking conducted the following year by his generals against Kirua, governor of Kue (Cilicia), who had risen in revolt, though recorded on a recently discovered cylinder which was inscribed in 694, was later passed over by the scribes who composed the royal annals. This campaign is of special interest to us today because it was the one event of Sennacherib's reign of which any extended account was handed down by the Greek and Roman historians.² Some years later (695) the Assyrian generals undertook an expedition against Til-garimmu (the Togarmah of the Old Testament), which had now for some unknown reason merited punishment.

The thought of Merodach-baladan, alive or dead, was a thorn in the flesh of Sennacherib. The escape of that arch-conspirator to Elam must have embittered the days and disturbed the nights' dreams of the Assyrian king. And so we find him ready in 694 to strike a blow at the Elamite coast whither Merodach-baladan and his people had fled. He had kept Phoenician shipbuilders busy building ships for some time on the upper Euphrates and at Nineveh on the Tigris, for a fleet to be used as transports for his army. The ships built on the upper Tigris were manned by Tyrian, Sidonian, and Cyprian sailors, and floated down that stream to Opis. Here, presumably because the lower Tigris was controlled by the Elamites, the ships were pulled up on shore, placed on sledges or rollers, and transported overland to the Arahtu canal. At a point downstream, probably where the canal joined the Euphrates below Babylon, the Assyrian troops, together with their supplies, were embarked and transported to Bāb-salimēti, at the mouth of the Euphrates. Sennacherib, not trusting himself to such unusual means of transportation, kept on dry land. At the head of the Persian Gulf, he and the fleet seem to have had a five-day battle with wind and waves, but

¹ The Ancient History of the Near East, p. 491. ² See p. 162.
after Ea, the god of the deep, had been placated by sacrifices which were offered him, and by a golden ship, a golden fish, and a golden aluttu which were cast upon the waters, the voyage across the gulf to the Elamite side was made without further accident. After a stubborn resistance, the cities of the coast were taken. Sennacherib calls it a great victory. The captive Chaldeans and Elamites were apportioned like sheep among his soldiers. He had his revenge upon Merodach-baladan, although, so it would seem, the Babylonian had not lived to see the Assyrian's great adventure.

Sennacherib makes no mention of the backfire from this invasion of Elam. But the Babylonian chronicler, who never failed to record the things the Assyrian king would have been willing to pass over in silence, has some information on the subject. "In the sixth year of Assur-nâdin-shumu, Sennacherib descended upon Elam, destroyed Nagitu, Hilmu, Pillatu, Hupapanu and plundered them. Thereupon Hallushu, king of Elam, came against Akkad, entered Sippar toward the end of the month Tashritu, and slew the inhabitants. Shamash did not leave Ebarra. Assur-nâdin-shumu was captured and carried off to Elam. Six years Assur-nâdin-shumu ruled as king in Babylon. The king of Elam placed Nergal-ushezib on the throne in Babylon and invaded (or, defeated) Assyria."

But the success of the Babylonians and their allies was short-lived. They had cut off Sennacherib from his base, and had him at a disadvantage. On the sixteenth of Tammuz (the fourth Assyrian month, corresponding to June-July) of his first year of reign, Nergal-ushëzik took Nippur. The first of Tashritu (seventh month) saw the capture of Erech by the Assyrian army, and the seventh of the same month marked the collapse of the allied advance. The Elamites aiding, Nergal-ushëzik had attacked the northward-moving Assyrian army near Nippur, was defeated, captured, and carried off to Nineveh (693), where he had a chance to reflect upon the transitory character of worldly glory. The defeat of the allies cost Hallushu his throne and life, for a rebellion broke out in Elam which ended in his overthrow and the accession of Kudur-nahundu, three weeks after the reverse at Nippur.

Events now moved apace. The defeated, but not hopeless, Babylonians placed Mushëzik-Marduk on their throne. But Sennacherib was not to be diverted from what he had come to know was the real center of the opposition. Late in the year he invaded Elam. We hear of the capture and destruction of forty-six cities: but the Elamites refused to let themselves be engaged. They were evidently too disorganized to warrant taking any risks, so Kudur-nahundu withdrew into the mountains. The rapid approach of winter, with rain and snow and bitter cold, was the only thing that prevented Sennacherib from following. He returned to Nineveh.

The Assyrian king was now in dead earnest. Kudur-nahundu was killed in an uprising ten months after his accession, and the time to strike another blow was at hand. As Sennacherib moved south, the Babylonians hastily stripped their great temple of Marduk of its treasures, to buy the support of Umman-menanu, the new
king in Elam. Umman-menanu, a man without any sense or judgment (this is the Assyrian’s estimate of him), accepted the bribe, mustered his armies, and came on to meet the advancing Assyrian host. At Halulê on the lower Tigris the great battle was fought.

With the dust of their feet covering the wide heavens like a mighty storm with (its) masses of dense (lit. pregnant) clouds, they drew up in battle array before me in the city of Halulê on the bank of the Tigris. They blocked my passage and offered battle. As for me, to Assur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nabû, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh, Ishtar of Arbela, the gods in whom I trust, I prayed for victory over the mighty foe. They speedily gave ear to my prayers and came to my aid. Like a lion I raged. I put on (my) coat of mail. (My) helmet, emblem of victory (battle), I placed upon my head. My great battle chariot which brings low the foe, I hurriedly mounted in the anger of my heart. The mighty bow which Assur had given me, I seized in my hands; the javelin, piercing to the life, I grasped. Against all of the hosts of wicked enemies, I raised my voice (lit. cried out), rumbling like a storm. Like Adad I roared. At the word of Assur, the great lord, my lord, on flank and front I pressed upon the enemy like the onset of a raging storm. With the weapon of Assur, my lord, and the terrible onset of my attack, I stopped their advance, succeeding in surrounding them. I decimated the enemy host with arrow and spear. All of their bodies I bored through like ——. Humban-undasha the field-marshal of the king of Elam, a trustworthy man, commander of his armies and his chief support, together with his nobles who wear the golden girdle-dagger and whose hands (wrists) are encircled with heavy (thick) rings of shining gold,—like fat steers who have hobbles put on them, —speedily I cut them down and established their defeat. I cut their throats like ——, cut off their precious lives (as one cuts) a string. Like the many waters of a storm I made (the contents of) their gullets and entrails run down upon the wide earth. My prancing steeds, harnessed for my riding, plunged into the streams of their blood as (into) a river. The wheels of my war chariot, which brings low the wicked and the evil, were bespattered with filth and blood. With the bodies of their warriors I filled the plain, like grass. (Their) testicles I cut off, and tore out their privates like the seeds of cucumbers of Siwan (June). Their hands I cut off. The heavy (?) rings of brightest gold which (they had) on their wrists, I took away. With sharp swords I pierced their belts and took away the girdle-daggers of gold and silver which (they carried) on their persons.

The rest of the nobles, together with Nabû-šum-ishedâ, son of Merodach-baladan, who had taken fright at (before) my onslaught and had gone over to their side, (these) my hands seized in the midst of the battle. The chariots and their horses, whose riders had been slain at the beginning of the terrible onslaught, and who had been left to themselves, kept running back and forth (lit. going and returning) for a distance of two double-hours:—I put an end to their headlong flight.

That Umman-menanu, king of Elam, together with the king of Babylon (and) the princes of Chaldea, who had gone over to their side, the terror of my battle overturned them (lit. their bodies) like a bull. They abandoned their tents and to save their lives they trampled the bodies of their (fallen) soldiers, they fled like young pigeons that are pursued. They were beside themselves (lit. their hearts were torn), they held back (?) their urine, but let their dung go into their chariots.

In pursuit of them, I despatched my chariots and horses after them. Those among them who had escaped, who had fled for their lives, wherever they (my charioteers) met them, they cut them down with the sword.
This is by all odds the best description of a battle that has come down to us from Assyria. The poet who portrayed Marduk's great encounter with Tiamat and the hosts of Chaos did no better. It is also the finest rhetorical smoke-screen that has ever been thrown around a monarch retiring with dignity from a situation that had proved to be too much for him. Its only serious competitor for first prize is the Egyptian account of the victory of Ramses II at Kadesh on the Orontes.

The Babylonian chronicler's report of the battle is brief: "In an unknown year [it was 691], Menanu mustered the armies of Elam and Akkad, made an attack upon Assyria at Halulê and defeated Assyria."

It was a drawn battle. The Elamites must have suffered frightful losses. Sennacherib boasts of the capture of an Elamite general and the son of Merodach-baladan. But Umman-menanu was still at large, and Mushêzib-Marduk still on the Babylonian throne, when Sennacherib returned to Nineveh.

Sennacherib remained at home all of the next year, assisting, perhaps, in the editing of the account of the victory at Halulê. And then, "Gott mit uns!" the Elamite king suffered a stroke, his jaw was locked so that he could not speak. Sennacherib was not slow to take advantage of this situation. He hurriedly marched upon Babylon (689, his eighth and last campaign of which the official records tell us), captured Mushêzib-Marduk, sent him and the statue of Marduk back to Assyria, while the city itself was totally wiped out.

The city and its houses,—foundation and walls, I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The wall and the outer-wall, temples and gods, temple-towers of brick and earth, as many as there were, I razed and dumped them into the Arahtu canal. Through the midst of that city I dug canals, I flooded its site with water, and the very foundation thereof I destroyed. I made its destruction more complete than that by a flood. That in days to come, the site of that city, and its temples and gods, might not be remembered, I completely blotted it out with floods of water and made it like a meadow. . . . After I had destroyed Babylon, had smashed the gods thereof, and had struck down its people with the sword,—that the ground of that city might be carried off, I removed its ground and had it carried to the Euphrates (and on) to the sea. Its dirt reached (was carried) unto Dilmun, the Dilmunites saw it, and terror of the fear of Assur fell upon them and they brought their treasures. With their treasures they sent artisans, mustered from their land, carriers of the basket, a copper chariot, copper tools, vessels of the workmanship of their land;—at the destruction of Babylon. To quiet the heart of Assur, my lord, that peoples should bow in submission before his exalted might, I removed the dust of Babylon for presents to (be sent to the most) distant peoples, and in that Temple of the New Year's Feast, I stored (some) of it in a covered bin.

Sennacherib had achieved the end toward which he had pushed since the early days of his reign. His remaining eight years were apparently years of peace (unless there really was another campaign to the West during these years). No doubt the king's generals were sent out on an occasional punitive expedition—we know of one against the Arabs—but he himself could now give his undivided attention to the improvement of his capital.
Plots and counterplots have always disturbed the peace of oriental courts. Queenmothers, wives and concubines, younger sons, all watching every move the king makes; priests and astrologers, all sorts of advisers telling him what to do and what not to do—is it any wonder that the Assyrian monarchs spent so much time away from home? As old age came on, the matter of the succession was bound to cause the king trouble. We are always left in the dark as to just what happened in these scrambles for the throne. The victor is not apt to divulge the secret of his success. So in the case of Sennacherib. Late in the reign, Esarhaddon seems to have won first place in his father's affections. When he was off on some expedition, his brother (or brothers) murdered the father "as he was worshipping in the house of Nisroch his god." This occurred on the twentieth of Tebet, 681 B.C. Six weeks thereafter Esarhaddon had overcome the rebels and seated himself on the throne.

The building operations in and about Nineveh extended from the beginning to the end of Sennacherib's reign. The old palace, which was much too small and plain, was torn down and replaced by a larger and more magnificent one. Wings must have been added to it from time to time and in the end the reality caught up with the name, "The Palace without a Rival." In his later years Sennacherib bestowed most of his energies upon the great armory, the Bit-kutallu. The streets of the capital were widened, straightened, and made to articulate with a royal boulevard sixty-two cubits in width. The greatly enlarged city was surrounded by huge walls, an inner and an outer, pierced by fifteen magnificent gates. Parks were laid out about the city and in them were planted all the trees of mountain and plain, including trees that bore wool. And the Ninevite could walk out into a real "Tiergarten" and see the birds and the fish and the animals in surroundings that were made to resemble their natural habitats down to the minutest detail. Back of the city a large area was subdivided into small plots which were assigned to the citizens. The improvement of the city's water supply must have occupied many a month of the king's time.

Did Nineveh contain any large temples and if so what did Sennacherib do for them? We hear little of temple building, nothing in most of the cylinder and prism inscriptions. There is only one temple in which Sennacherib seems to have taken much interest, the House of the New Year's Feast, and this was probably located outside the city walls of Assur. And it was in this old capital of the Assyrian state that he prepared his final abode, "the palace of rest, the sepulchre of repose, the eternal abode, of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria."

This is not the place for any discussion of the art and architecture of Sennacherib's public buildings. In fact a discussion would have to be based upon many detailed studies, and these are yet to be made. Paterson's The Palace of Sennacherib, useful...
as it is, serves mainly to bring home to one the painful inadequacy of the treatment Assyrian art has received. (The French works on Sargon’s palace at Khorsabad, published at enormous expense back in the days when public enthusiasm for such things could still be aroused, contain many magnificent pictures, but they are not, for the most part, Assyrian.)

On one point, however, a few remarks may be in order. It took many years to rid us of the notion that the Assyrian culture was but a poor reflection of the Babylonian, and to realize that the art of Assyria shows a great advance over that of Babylonia on which, to a great extent, it doubtless rests. But the pendulum seems to be swinging too far in the other direction. We may be inclined to utter a loud amen when Hall, speaking of the sculpture of Assurbanipal’s day says: “In the representation of animals and the chase the king’s sculptors shewed a power of observation, a love of truth, and a skilful hand previously unexampled in ancient art.” But is his footnote quite fair, does it rest upon fact?

The Phoenician has lost his old glamour now, and we know him for but a sorry imitator who could never have made such fine things; the Ionian borrowed oriental ideas to mingle with his Mycenaean art-tradition: he received from Nineveh rather than gave. It has been supposed that it was a Syrian art that produced these works.

When the people of Chaldea, the Aramaeans, the Mannai, the people of Kue and Hilakku, of Philistia and Tyre, who had not submitted to Sennacherib’s yoke, were snatched away from their lands and made to carry the basket and mold bricks, are we sure that they were merely put to the task of carrying out the plans of Assyrian architects? Sennacherib takes great pride in his Bit-hilanu, a Syrian portico, which was one of the show features of his great palace. Was the change from brick to stone as building material just an inspiration of Sennacherib? Has Hall ever laid down Sennacherib’s building inscriptions and taken up the Old Testament with its account of Solomon’s temple? The writer has derived much benefit from such a procedure. Sennacherib was not loath to have Phoenician shipbuilders provide him with a fleet; why should we think it impossible for him to have borrowed ideas on art and architecture from every available source? But, as already said, the time is not ripe for a discussion of Assyrian art. The inscriptions of Sennacherib will help the student to make his special study of the monumental remains that have survived.

1 Hall, Ancient History of the Near East, p. 515. 2 See p. 97.
CHAPTER III

THE SOURCES

The sources are here listed in the order in which they were written, so far as that is possible. Considerable uncertainty necessarily prevails since many of the documents were not dated by the ancient scribe and we are compelled to fall back on internal evidence. Worse than this is the pernicious habit our modern copyists and cataloguers have fallen into of calling lines so-and-so of a text duplicates of certain lines of the "Taylor Prism" when in reality the text is a duplicate of the "Bellino," the "Rassam," or some other cylinder. No attempt at a full bibliography has here been made, nor has it been thought necessary even to give references to every publication of a document. Texts will be quoted herein by letter and number.

A. Texts containing the record of the first campaign only, and presumably written before the date of the second campaign

1. British Museum (hereafter BM), No. 113203, published by Sidney Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib*

B. Texts containing the record of the first and second campaigns


C. Three campaigns

1. The "Rassam Cylinder" = 87-7-19, 1, published, in part, by Evetts in *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, III, 311 f. Dated in the *limu* of Metunu (700 B.C.)

2. Cylinder 80-7-19, 2

3. Cylinder 79-7-8, 302 variants only noted by Evetts

4. Cylinder 81-2-4, 42

5. Cylinders, VA (Vorderasiatische Abteilung der Königl. Museen zu Berlin) 7616, 7508, 7509, published in *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur, historischen Inhalts* (hereafter KAH), II, No. 120

D. Four campaigns

1. K 4492, published *CT*, XXVI, Plate 39; earlier by Meissner and Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Sanheribs* (hereafter M-R), Plate 13

2. Fragment of Prism, VA 8436, published KAH, II, No. 121. (This seems to be a duplicate of D1.)

E. Five campaigns


3. Rock Inscriptions on the Jöfl Dâgh, published, King, *PSBA*, XXXV (1913), 66 f. Panels I-VIII given as a, b, c, etc.
THE SOURCES

F. Six campaigns
1. Bull Inscriptions, published IIIR, 12 f. (= Bull Inscription No. 4 of Smith, History)
2. Bull Inscriptions, 1, 2, and 3 of Smith, History, pp. 3 f., 30 f., 51 f., 67 f., 86 f., 88 f.

G. Seven campaigns

H. Eight campaigns
1. The "Taylor Prism," published IR, Plates 37 f., and in the different editions of Delitzsch's Assyrische Lesestücke. Dated in the limu of Bel-emuranni (691 B.C.)
   Variants noted by Bezold in KB, II, 80 f., are given as H1a (= H2), H1b (= H3), etc.
2. The Oriental Institute Prism, herein published. Dated in the limu of Gahilu (689 B.C.)
3. The Bavian stela inscriptions, published IIIR, Plates 14 f. (A collated text of ll. 43-54 is given in King, Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib, I, 114 f.)

I. Miscellaneous building inscriptions and epigraphs
2. Foundation stela (VA 8248), published KAH, II, No. 122
3. Inscription on limestone block (Assur, 10983), published in KAH, II, No. 117
4. Inscription on limestone block (Assur, 10936), published in KAH, II, No. 118
5. Inscription on limestone block (Assur, 11047), published in KAH, II, No. 119
6. Inscription to go on a foundation stela (?), K 1356, published M-R, Plate 16
7. Octagonal Stone Prism, VA 8254, published KAH, II, No. 124
8. K 1635, published M-R, Plate 15
9. Building inscriptions, published IR, 7, E
10. Building inscriptions, published M-R, Plate 10
13. Inscriptions on door-sockets, 81-2-4, 1 and 2; see M-R, p. 45 and Plate 11
14. Inscriptions on granite slab, published IR, 6, No. VIII, a
15. Inscriptions on limestone slab (VA 3132), published VS, I, No. 75
16. Brick inscriptions from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 48
17. K 5413a, published M-R, Plate 14
18. Inscription on limestone block from Assur, KAH, I, No. 73
19. Inscription on limestone block from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 74
20. Brick inscription, from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 72
22. Inscription on limestone block from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 43
23. Inscription on limestone block from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 44
24. Inscription on limestone block from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 45
25. Brick inscription from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 46
26. Brick inscription from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 47
27. Brick inscription from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 49
28. Vase inscription from Assur, published KAH, I, No. 50
29. Inscription on slabs from wall of Nineveh, published IR, 6, No. VIII B
31. K 2662, Rev. published M-R, Plate 12
32. Brick inscription from Nergal temple at Tarbisi (Sherif Khan), published, IR, 7 C; duplicates VA 3215, published VS, I, No. 74
33. Inscription on slabs from same place, published IR, 7 D
34. Cone inscription from same place, published III R, 3, 13
35. Brick inscription from the temple at Kakai, published, IR, 7 H
36. A collection of epigraphs, published III R, 4, No. 4
37. Epigraph, Sennacherib at Lachish, published Paterson, op. cit., Plates 74-76
38. Epigraph over city of Dilbat, published Paterson, op. cit., Plate 13
40. Epigraph over unknown city, published Paterson, op. cit., Plate 39
41. Epigraph over the king in a chariot, published Layard, Inscriptions, Plate 75, E
42. Epigraph over Sennacherib receiving tribute of the marshes, published Paterson, op. cit., p. 13
43. Epigraph over camp of Sennacherib, published Paterson, op. cit., Plate 8 (38)
44. Epigraph over tent of Sennacherib, published Paterson, op. cit., Plates 74-76

J. Non-Assyrian Sources
1. Excerpts from the Babylonian Chronicle, CT, XXXIV, Plates 46 f.
2. Excerpts from Eusebius' Chronicle, quoting Polyhistor (see Schnabel, Berossos, pp. 268 f.); and Abydenos (see Cory's Ancient Fragments [new ed., 1876], p. 89)

The abbreviations of determinatives used in the transliterations of the following chapters are those adopted for the Assyrian Dictionary and are self-explanatory. Brackets inclose restorations; broken brackets indicate that part of the sign is preserved. The words inclosed in parentheses in the translation are either variant or literal renderings, or such additional words as are required by our idiom to make the sense of the original intelligible.
CHAPTER IV

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PRISM INSCRIPTION (H2)

THE FINAL EDITION OF THE ANNALS

1. Sin(EN-ZU)-eriba šarru rabá(u)1
2. šarru dan-nu šar kik-ša-ti šar 'Aššur2
3. šar kib-rat turbûtim(tim)3 ri-ē-um it-pi-šā
4. mi-gir ilāni4 rabāti5 na-gir kit-ti
5. ra-2-im mi-ša-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti
6. a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḥi-ru dan-ša-a-ti
7. id-lum git-ma-lum zi-ka-ru šar-du
8. a-ša-rid kal ma-li ki rab-bu la-2-t4
9. la ma-gi-ri mu-ša-bri-šu za-ma-a-ni
10. 'Aššur šadā(u) rabā(u) šarru-ut la ša-na-an
11. ú-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma eli gimi-n3
12. a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-4a 'kakkēr4-ballā
13. ul-tu tammi(A-AB-BA) e-li-ni-ti ša ša-lam4 šamši4a
14. a-di tam-tim šap-lu-ti ša gi-it šamši4a
15. gimi-ni šal-mat kakkadi ú-šak-niš še-pu-u-a

1 H1 and El, om. 2 H1, hu. 3 H1 and El, ma-ad. 4 H1 and E1, gi-mir. 5 H1 and E1, šul-mu.
16. and mighty kings feared my warfare—
17. leaving their abodes and
18. flying alone, like the suätunü, the bird
    of the cave (? cliffs),
19. to (some) inaccessible place.
20. In my first campaign I accomplished
    the defeat of Merodach-baladan,
21. king of Babylonia, together with the
    army of Elam,
22. his ally, in the plain of Kish.
23. In the midst of that battle he forsook
    his camp,
24. and made his escape alone; (so) he
    saved his life.
25. The chariots, horses, wagons, mules,
26. which he left behind at the onset of
    battle,
27. my hands seized. Into his palace,
28. Babylon, joyfully I entered.
29. I opened his treasure-house:—gold,
    silver, vessels of gold and silver,
30. precious stones of every kind (name)
    goods and property
31. without limit (number), heavy tribu-
    tute, his harem,
32. (his) courtiers and officials, singers,
    male and
33. female, all of his artisans,
34. as many as there were, the servants of
    his palace,
35. I brought out, I counted as spoil. In
    the might of Assur

1 H1, ši.  4 H1 and E1, šaMarduk (AMAR-UD)-apla(TUR-UŠ)-iddina(na).
2 E1, om.  5 H1, še.
3 E1, ši.  6 Text of H1 and KB II, ba, but Delitsch, Lesestücke, bi.
  H1, tu.  7 H1, ti-ti.
36. my lord, 75 of his strong walled cities, their spoil I carried off.

37. of Chaldea, and 420 small cities

38. of their environs (within their borders), I surrounded, I conquered, their spoil I carried off.

39. The Arabs, Aramaeans, and Chaldeans,

40. who were in Erech, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalamma,

41. Kutha and Sippar, together with the citizens,

42. the rebels (lit. sinners), I brought out, as booty I counted.

43. On my return (march) the Tu'muna

44. Rihihu, Yadakku, Ubudu

45. Kibrê, Malahu, Gurumu,

46. Ubulu, Damunu, Gambulu

47. Hindaru, Ru'âa, Bukudu,

48. Hamrânû, Hagarânû, Nabatu,

49. Li'tau, Aramaeans (who were) not submissive,

50. all of them I conquered. 208,000 people, great and small,

51. male and female, horses, mules, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, without number,

52. a heavy booty, I carried off to Assyria.

53. in the course of my campaign, I received from Nabû-bél-shumâ'te.
55. amki-pi: Hararate, gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
governor of the city of Hararate, 
56. rabûtesî: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
asses, camels, cattle and sheep, 
57. la-mar-la-šu: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
58. Hi-rim-me: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
59. e-du: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
60. a-lul-ma: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
61. ša-a-tu: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
62. 10 lambs, 10 homers of wine, 20 homers of dates, 
63. its choicest, (as gifts) for the gods of Assyria, 
64. bēlē-t-a: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
65. i-na: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
66. a-na: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
67. ki-rib: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
68. lu: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
69. ekîl: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
70. narkabat: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
71. as-ru: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
72. Btt-Ki-lam-za-aḫ: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, 
73. Btt-Ku-bat-ti: gold, silver, great musukkani-trees,
Col. I
74. dan-nu-ti al-me akṣud(ud) nišṭi zīštī
75. parē pi imērē pi ālptē pi ū ги-e-ni
76. ul-tu kir-bi-šu-un ū-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-
la-tiš am-nu
77. ū alāmiš-nu-šu-nu šīrūtī šā ni-ba la i-šū
78. ab-bul ak-šur ū-še-me kar-meš bit šeri
kul-la-ri
79. mu-ša-bi-šu-nu i-na girri ak-mu-ma
ṭi-tal-liš
80. ū-še-me ū-ṭir-ma "Bit-=Ki-lam-za-ah
81. šu-a-tu a-na aš bir-ti-ši aš-bat
82. elī šā ām(um)̄ pa-ni dārdāniš-šu
ū-dan-nin-ma

Col. II
1. nišṭi madāti ki-šī-ti ḫādā-ia ina bibbā
ū-še-šib
2. nišṭi mdā =Kaš-ši-i ū māt =Ia-su-bi-
gal-la-ai
3. šā la-pa-an ḫakkēš-ia ṣi-par-ṣīd-du
4. ul-tu ki-rib ṣādī(i) ū-še-ri-dam-ma
5. i-na ḫar-diš-pi "Bit-=Ku-bat-li ū-kar-
me
6. i-na ḫādē =šū-us-rēši-ia =₇hēl piḥāti
"Arrap-ḥa
7. am-nu-šu-nu-li =₇nārād ū-še-piš-ma
8. li-i-ṭum ki-šī-ti ḫādē šā elī-šu-un
9. aš-tak-ka-nu šī-ru-uš-šu ū-ka-ṭir-ma

74. I besieged, I captured. People, horses,
75. mules, asses, cattle and sheep,
76. I brought out from their midst and
counted as booty.
77. And their small cities, which were
numberless,
78. I destroyed, I devastated, I turned
into ruins. The houses of the steppe,
(namely) the tents,
79. wherein they dwelt, I set on fire and
80. turned them into (a mass of) flames. I
turned round, and
81. made that Bit-Kilamzah into a
fortress,—
82. I made its walls stronger than they
had ever been before,—
10. In the midst of the city I set it up. The front of my yoke I turned (that is, I turned about) and
11. took the road to the land of the Elippi.
12. Before me (my approach) Ispabara, their king,
13. forsook his strong cities, his treasure-houses (cities),
14. and fled to distant (parts).
15. Over the whole of his wide land I swept like a hurricane.
16. The cities Marubist and Akkuddu,
17. his royal residence-cities, together with 34 small cities
18. of their environs, I besieged, I captured, I destroyed, I devastated,
19. I burned with fire. The people, great and small, male and female,
20. horses, mules, asses, camels,
21. cattle and sheep, without number, I carried off.
22. I brought him to naught, I diminished his land.
23. Sisirtu and Kummahlum,
24. strong cities, together with the small cities of their environs,
25. the district (province) of Bilt-Barrû in its totality,
26. I cut off from his land and added it to the territory (lit. border) of Assyria.
27. Elenzash I turned into the royal city
28. and stronghold of that district.

1 H1 adds El, šu.
2 E1, šu.
3 E1, še.
4 H1, ki-ma.
5 H1, aššud(ud).
6 H1, bu-ul.
7 E1, ina.
8 H1 and E1, aš-ši-ir.
9 See p. 68, n. 1.
10 H1, ū.
11 H1 and E1, šu.
12 H1 adds ki.
29. I changed its former name, Peoples of the lands my hands had conquered 30. calling its (new) name Kar-Sennacherib.19 Peoples of the lands my hands had conquered

31. I settled therein. To my official, the governor of Harhar, I handed it over (counted it). Thus I extended my land.

33-35. On my return, I received the heavy tribute of the distant Medes, whose name no one among the kings, my fathers, had (ever) heard.

36. To the yoke of my rule I made them submit,

37. In my third campaign I went against the Hittite-land.20 Peoples of the lands my hands had conquered

38. Luš, king of Sidon,—the terrifying splendor (lit. terrors of splendors) of my sovereignty overcame him and far off into the midst of the sea he fled. (There) he died.

41. Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahalliba, Akzib, Akko, his strong, walled cities, where there were supplies (lit. fodder and drinking places),

1 H1 and El, nak.
2 Vars. have different ideograms.
3 El, māḏātû.
4 H1 and El, insert kāṭā́ after ina.
5 H1c, inserts u.
6 H1a, Māḏ-a-ī.
7 H1, ti; El, inserts u.
8 H1 and El, add (ni).
9 H1 and El, ḫa-ati.
10 El, šā.
11 H1a, te.
12 H1 and El, ḫabāl.
13 H1a, kir(bū).
14 H1 and El, om.
15 El, ši-ib-ru.
16 H1 and El, te.
17 H1, ti.
18 H1, adds (ni).
19 Sennacherib-burg.
20 Here, as frequently in the late Assyrian inscriptions, Syria
45.  for his garrisons,—the terrors of the weapon of Assur,
46.  my lord, overpowered them and they bowed in submission at my feet.
47.  Tuba'lu I seated on the royal throne
48.  over them, and tribute, gift(s) for my majesty,
49.  I imposed upon him for all time, without ceasing.
50.  From Menachem, the Shamsimu-runite,
51.  Tuba'lu, the Sidonite,
52.  Abdi-liti, the Arvadite,
53.  Uru-nilki, the Gublite,
54.  Mitinti, the Ashdodite,
55.  Budu-ilu, the Beth-Ammonite,
56.  Kammusu-nadbi, the Moabite,
57.  Malik-rammu, the Edomite,
58.  kings of Amurru, all of them, numerous presents,
59.  as their heavy tribute,
60.  they brought before me for the fourth time, and kissed my feet. But Sidka,
61.  king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted
62.  to my yoke,—the gods of his father-house, himself, his wife,
63.  his sons, his daughters, his brothers, the seed of his father-house,
64.  I tore away and brought to Assyria.
65.  Sharru-lu-dari, son of Rukibti, their former king,
66. I set over the people of Ashkelon and
67. I imposed upon him the payment of
tribute (in the form of) presents to
my majesty.
68. He accepted (lit. bore) my yoke. In
the course of my campaign,
69. Beth-Dagon, Joppa,
70. Banaibarka, Asuru, cities
71. of Sidka, who had not speedily bowed in
submission at my feet, I besieged, I
conquered, I carried off their spoil.
72. The officials, nobles and people of
Ekron,
73. who had thrown Padi, their king,
bound by (lit. lord of) oath and curse
of Assyria,
74. into fetters of iron and
75. they (lit. their heart) became afraid,
76. and called upon the Egyptian kings,
the bowmen, chariots and horses
77. of the king of Meluhha (Ethiopia), a
countless host, and
78. these came to their aid.
1. they offered battle. (Trusting) in the
aid of Assur,
2. my lord, I fought with them and

1 H1, om.
2 El, da.
3 *El, om.
4 El, ši.
5 H1 and E1, add (ni).
6 H1, sun.
7 E1, úš.
8 El, ša-
9 H1, ša, H1a, ša-a.
* El, ša-
10 E1, šiub-ša.
11 E1 and H1a, ša.
3. brought about their defeat. The Egyptian charioteers and princes, 
4. together with the charioteers of the Ethiopian king, 
5. my hands took alive in the midst of the battle. 
6. Eltekeh (and) Timnah 
7. I besieged, I captured and took away their spoil. 
8. I drew near to Ekron and slew the governors and nobles 
9. who had committed sin (that is, rebelled), and 
10. hung their bodies on stakes around the city. The citizens 
11. who sinned and treated (Assyria) lightly, I counted as spoil. 
12. The rest of them, who were not guilty (carriers) of sin 
13. and contempt, for whom there was no punishment,10— 
14. I spoke their pardon. Padi, their king, 
15. I brought out of Jerusalem, 
16. set him on the royal throne over them and 
17. imposed upon him my kingly tribute. 
18. As for Hezekiah, the Jew, 
19. who did not submit to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities, as well as 
20. the small cities in their neighborhood, 
21. which were without number,—by levelling with battering-rams (?) 

1 El and H1a, ba, 2 H1 and El, u. 3 El, sw-un. 4 El, u. 5 H1, te. 6 El, and H1e, ma. 7 El, ina. 8 El, šu. 9 El, adds (ni) and has word before danni. 10 Or, against whom there was no charge.
Col. III
22. 22. and by bringing up siege-engines (?),
   by attacking and storming on foot,
23. by mines, tunnels and breaches (?),
   I besieged and took (those cities).
24. 200,150 people, great and small, male
   and female,
25. horses, mules, asses, camels,
26. cattle and sheep, without number, I
   brought away from them
27. and counted as spoil. Himself, like
   a caged bird
28. I shut up in Jerusalem his royal city.
29. Earthworks I threw up against him,—
30. the one coming out of the city-gate,
   I turned back to his misery.
31. The cities of his, which I had
   despoiled, I cut off from his land and
32. to Mitinti, king of Ashdod,
33. Padi, king of Ekron, and Silli-bél
34. king of Gaza, I gave. And (thus)
   I diminished his land.
35. I added to the former tribute,
36. and laid upon him the giving (up) of
   their land. (as well as) imposts—
   gifts for my majesty.
37. As for Hezekiah,
38. the terrifying splendor of my majesty
   overcame him, and
39. the Urbi (Arabs) and his mercen­
   ary (?) troops which he had brought
   in to strengthen
40. Jerusalem, his royal city,

1 El, š.
2 El, šenìal.
3 H1, šu.
4 El, ša.
5 El, ša-ir.
34 THE ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB

Col. III

41. ir-šu-ú bašt-la-a-ti² it-ti 30 bilît šurqa
   deserted him (lit. took leave).

42. 800 bilît kaspa ni-sîk-li gu-ul̂-li
   In addition to the 30 talents of gold and

43. dag-gas-ei as-sandê rabûle²i *virê²i
   jewels(?), large sandu-stones, couches
   of ivory,

44. *kuset²i nî-me-di šînî mašâk priši šîn
   house-chairs of ivory, elephant hide,

45. *ušu urkarinnu mimma šam-šu ni-
   ivory (lit. elephant’s “teeth”)

46. ū mardâr²i-šu šîgrêtî²¹(?)-šu *zam-
   as well as his daughters, his harem,

47. *zammarâle²i a-na ki-rîb Ninuati²
   his male and female

48. arki-ia ū-shi-bi-lam-ma a-na na-dan
   musicians, (which) he had (them)

49. ū e-piš ardu-ú-li iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šu
   bring after me

50. i-na ribê(e) gir-ri²a Aššur be-lî ū-tak-
   to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay

51. um-ma-na-te-iia gab-ša²-te ad-ki-ma
   tribute

52. a-la-ku ašt-bî i-na me-li-iḵ gir-ri-ia
   and to accept (lit. do) servitude, he

53. ša “Šu-zu-bi = Kal-da²-ai a-šib ki-rîb
   dispatched his messengers.

54. i-na² “Bi-it-tu-ú-tu² aš-la-kan tahê-šu
   In my fourth campaign Assur, my

55. šu-ú ḫar-ba-su² tehâšî²*a eli-su im-
   lord, gave me courage, and

56. it-ru-ku lib-bu²i-su ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš
   I mustered my numerous armies and

57. ul in-na-šir²i a-šar-šu² pa-an ni-ri-ia
   gave the

58. u-tir-ma

59. a-la-ku ak-bî i-na me-li-iḵ gir-ri-ia
   command to proceed against Bît-

60. Yakin. In the course of my campa-

61. ign I accomplished the overthrow of

62. Shuzubi, the Chaldean,—who sat in

63. the midst of the swamps,—

64. at Bitûtu.

65. That one,—the terror (lit. ague,

66. chills) of my battle fell upon him, and

67. broke his courage (lit. tore his heart);

68. like a criminal(? he fled alone, and

69. his place was seen no more. The

70. front of my yoke I turned and
58. to BÎt-Yakin I took the way.
59. That (same) Merodach-baladan, whose defeat I had brought about
60. in the course of my first campaign, and whose forces I had shattered,
61. —the roar of my mighty arms
62. and the onset of my terrible battle he feared and
63. he gathered together the gods of his whole land in their shrines,
64. and loaded them into ships and fled
65. like a bird to Nagite-rakki, which is in the middle of the sea. His brothers,
66. the seed of his father-house, whom he had left by the sea-shore,
67. together with the rest of the people of his land,
68. I brought out of BÎt-Yakin, (from) the midst of the swamps and canebreaks,
69. and counted as spoil. I turned about and ruined and devastated his cities:
70. I made them like ruin-heaps. Upon his ally, the king of Elam,
71. I poured out terror. On my return,
72. I placed on his (Merodach-Baladan's) royal throne,
73. Assur-nîdin-shum, my oldest son, offspring of my loins (knees).
74. I put him in charge of the wide land of Sumer and Akkad.
75. In my fifth campaign, the warriors of Tumurru,

1 El, û-a.  
* El, gûrri.  
* El, ra-ak.

* The text of this and preceding line was abbreviated in El.
* H1, ma-šê.  
* H1, om.  
7 E1, tu.  
8 El, û.
36 THE ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB

Col. III
76. Sa-ru-um1 *E-za2-ma *Kib-šu *Hal-gid-da
77. Ku-u-a *Ka-na šá kmA Ŝin-ni
našri31 a-ša-rid
78. ĭṣūrārā ĭṣ-ir zuḫ-ti 16Ni-pur šad(i)
mar-ši
79. šu-bat-sun4 šī-ku-na-al-ma la kil-nu-šu5 a-na ni-ri6
80. i-na šēpā6 16Ni-pur ka-ra-ši ū-ša-aš-kin-ma
81. ī-lī ēmūdur pu-ti šēpā6-ia na-aš-ku-ti

Col. IV
1 ʻū ēmābō1 taḥāzi2-ia la ga-me-lu-ti
2 a-na-ku kima Šimi ši-di pa-Šu-šu-
un aš-bat
3 ṣu-r̄i na-bal-li na-ad-baš7 šad(i)
me-li-e
4. mar-su-ti i-na Škussi aš-ka-am8-di-ih
5. a-šar a-na Škussi šup-šu-ku i-na
šēpā6-ia aš-ta-h-id9
6. kima10 ar-me a-na zuḫ-ti ša-ku-ti11 Ši-
r̄u-uš-šu-un
7. e-li a-šar bir-ka-ai ma-na-Ša-tu i-Ša-a
8. ĭṣ-ir aban šad(i) ū-šiš-ma mē12
maška-ri-di ka-pu-te14
9. a-na Šu-um15-me-ia lu aš-ti i-na
ubbānā16
10. ṣu-r̄a-ni ar-di-Šu-šu-ti-ma aš-la-
kan
11. Ša-ba-šu-un alûni17-Šu-šu aššu-aš-
alû-la šal-la-eun1

1 H1, Ša-ar-ma.
2 El, inserts a.
3 H1 and El, Ši.
4 El, su-un.
5 El, Ši.
6 H1 and El, inserts i.
7 El, aš
8 H1 and El, ta-ša-ti.
9 El, ba-ki.
10 H1, tam.
11 H1, ši-id, El, hš-ma.
12 El, ki-ma.
13 H1, ši; El, inserts u.
14 H1 and El, Ši.
15 El and H1g, om.
16 El, su-un
17 H1, ši; El, inserts u.
12. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The front of my yoke
13. I turned. Against Maniae, king of Ukku,
15–17. Before my day, none of the kings who lived before me, had traveled the unblazed trails and wearisome paths which (stretch) along these rugged mountains.
18. At the foot of Mt. Anara and Mt. Uppa, mighty mountains, 
19. I had my camp pitched, and I, on a house-chair, 
20. together with my seasoned warriors,
21. made my wearisome way through their narrow passes 
22. and with great difficulty climbed to the highest peak of the mountains. 
23. That Maniae saw the clouds of dust raised by the feet of my armies,
24. abandoned Ukku, his royal city,
25. and fled to distant parts. 
27. 
28. I carried away from it, and counted as booty. Furthermore, 33 cities 
29. within the bounds of his province I captured. People, asses, cattle
30. and sheep, I carried away from them as spoil.
31. I destroyed, I devastated and I burned (them) with fire.
32. In my sixth campaign, the rest of the people of Btt-Yakin,
33. who had run off before my powerful weapons like wild asses,
34. who had gathered together the gods of their whole land in their shrines, had
35. crossed the great sea of the rising sun and
36. in Nagitu of Elam had established their abodes;
37. in Hittite (Syrian) ships I crossed the sea. Nagitu
38. Nagitu-di'bina, together with the (lands of) Hilmu, Billatu
39. and Hupapanu, provinces of Elam, I conquered.
40. The people of Btt-Yakin, together with their gods, and the people
41. of the king of Elam, I carried off—
42. not a rebel (lit. sinner) escaped. I had them embarked in vessels,
43. brought over to this side, and started on the way
44. to Assyria. The cities which were in those
45. provinces I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. To tells and ruins
46. I turned (them). On my return, Shuzubu,
47. the Babylonian, who during an uprising in the land
had turned to himself the rule of Sumer and Akkad,
accomplished his defeat in a battle of the plain (open battle).

I seized him alive with my (own) hands, I threw him into bonds and fetters of iron and
brought him to Assyria. The king of Elam, who
gone over to his side and had aided him, I defeated.
His forces I scattered and I shattered his host.
In my seventh campaign, Assur, my lord, supported me,
and I advanced against Elam. (The cities of) Btt-Ha‘iri (and)
which the Elamite had seized by force during the time of my father,—
in the course of my campaign I conquered and I despoiled them.
I settled my garrisons therein,
restored them to the borders of Assyria.
and I placed them under (in hand of) the commandant of Dér. (The cities of)
Bubê, Dumnı-Shamash, Btt-Risia
Btt-Asusi, Kar-Z6r-iklsha,
Btt-Imbia, Ham&nu, Bit Arrabi, Burutu

1 H1, ú. 5 H1, adds (ni). 11 H1, om.
* H1, ta-ṣa-ar. 6 H1, om.
* H1, inserts us. 7 H1, akṣud-ma.
* H1, Elam̄. 8 H1, ram.
66. Dimtu-sha-Sulai, Dimtu-sha-Marr-bitietir
67. Harri-ashlaki, Rabbai
68. Rasu, Akkabarina Tal-Uhuri,
69. Hamranu, Naditu, together with the cities
70. of the passes of Bit-Bunaki, Tel-Humbi,
71. Dimtu-sha-Dume-ilu, Bit-Ubia,
72. Balti-lishir, Tagab-lishir,
73. Shanakidate, the lower Masutu,
74. Sar-hudiri, Alum-sha-belite-biti,
75. Bit-ahedidina(na), Ilte-uba,
76. 34 strong cities, together with the small cities
77. of their environs, which were countless,
78. I besieged, I conquered, I despoiled,
79. I burned with fire, with the smoke of their conflagration
80. I covered the wide heavens like a hurricane.
1. The Elamite, Kudur-nahundu,
81. heard of the overthrow of his cities,
}
5. and took his way to Haidala which is in the distant mountains.
6. I gave the word to march against Madaktu, his royal city.
7. The month of rain, (with) extreme cold set in and the heavy storms sent down rain upon rain and snow. I was afraid of the swollen mountain streams;
8. the front of my yoke I turned and took the road to Nineveh. At that time, at the command of Assur, my lord, Kudur-Nahundu, the king of Elam, in less than three months (lit. did not fill three months) died suddenly before his appointed time (lit. on a day not of his fate).
9. After Him, Umman-menamu, who possessed neither sense nor judgment, his younger(?) brother, sat on his throne.
10. In my eighth campaign, after Shuzubu had revolted, and the Babylonians, wicked devils, had closed the city-gates,—their hearts planning resistance;
11. Shuzubu, the Chaldean, a weakling hero, who had no knees, a slave, subject to the governor of
22. *La-ṣi-ri 𒈪-A-ra-me ḫal-ku mun-nab-taš a-mir da-me
23. ḫab-bi-lu si-ru-uḫ-šu ip-ḫu-ru-ma ki-rīb ʾa-gam-mē
24. ú-ri-du-ma ú-ṣab-šu-u ṣi-ḫu a-na-ku ni-tum al-me-šu2-ma
25. nap-ša-tuš ú-si-ka la-pa-an ḫal-ti ú ni-ib-ri-te
26. a-na ʾElamti* in-na-bit ki-i ri-kil-ti
27. ú kil-la-ti si-ru-uḫ-šu ba-ši-i ul-tu ʾElamti
28. i-ḫi-ṣam-ma ki-rīb Šu-an-na2 e-ru-ub Ša-bilū2 ti
29. a-na la si-ma-ti-šu i-na *kuesi ʾu-še-ši-bu-šu
30. be-luš Šumeri ʿAkkadī ʾu-ṣad-gi-lu pa-ni-šu
31. bī niṣirī ša E-sag-ilā ip-tu-ma ṣurāṣa kaspa
32. ša ʾBēl ʿShar-pa-ni7-tum buša bī ṣūn ʾElamti
33. a-na ʾUm-man-me-na-nu šar ʾElamti ša la i-ša-ša
34. ṣe-emu ʿu mil-kā ʾu-še-bi-lu-uš da-2-tu
35. pu-ub-ḫiš um-an-ka di-ka-a karāš-ka
36. a-naš ša-Babiliš ši-ṣam-ma i-da-a-ni i-zi-ša
37. tu-kul-ta-ni lu a-ta ša-šu ʾE-la-mu-šu
38. ša i-na a-lak gir-ri-ta maḫ-ri-ti ša ʾElamti
39. alănii šu ak-šu2-du-ma ú-ti-ru a-na kar-me

1 H1, tu. "H1, lu-ut.
2 H1, ši. "H1, u.
3 H1, ṣi. "H1, dnu.
4 H1, ša. "H1, ši.

22. the city of Lahiri,—about him there gathered the fugitive Arameans, the run-away,
23. the murderer, the robber. Into the marshes
24. they descended and made rebellion. But I surrounded him completely.
25. I pressed him to the life. Through fear and hunger
26. he fled to Elam. When plotting
27. and treachery were (hatched) against him (there),
28. he hastened from Elam and entered Shuanna. The Babylonians
29. placed him on the throne,—for which he was not fitted,
30. and entrusted to him the government of Sumer and Akkad.
31. The treasury of the temple Esagila they opened and the gold and silver belonging to Šūl (Marduk) and Sarpanit, the property of the temples of their gods they brought forth
32. and to Umman-menanu, king of Elam, who possessed
33. neither sense nor judgment, they sent them as a bribe (saying):
34. "Gather thy army, prepare thy camp, haste to Babylon, come to our aid (lit. stand at our side), for
35. thou art our trust." That Elamite,
36. whose cities I had conquered and turned into ruins
37. on my former campaign against Elam,
CoL.V
40. lib-bu-uṣ ul iḥ-su-uṣ da-ṣ-tā

41. iṃ-ḫur-šu-nu-ti-ma ummāndātē*ni-šu karāš-su u-pa-ḫiš-ma

42. * narkabāti² *ṣu-um-bi e-ša-ra šeši³

43. parē³ is-ni-ka ši-in-di-šu 'Par-eu-aš

44. 'An-za-an 'Pa-še-ru 'El-li-pi *ṣa-as-za-an

45. =La-ka-ba³ *Ha-ar-su-nu =Du-um-mu-kū

46. =Su-la-a³ =Sa-am³-ū-na mār =Marduk(ṢIT)-apal(A)-iddina(na)⁴

47. 'Bīt-*A-di-ni 'Bīt-*A-muk-ka-na 'Bīt-*Ṣī-la-na

48. 'Bīt-*Sa-la-tā-ša-ak-ki 'La-ši-ru =Bu-šu-du

49. =Gam-bu-lum =Ha-la-tum⁵ =Ru₂₃-ū³-a

50. =Ū-bu-lum =Ma-la-šu =Ra-pi-šu

51. =Hi-in-da-ru =Da-mu-nu kil-ru rabā(ā)

52. iŋ-te-ra iš-ti-šu gi-ššu-su-un ū-ru-uḥ

53. 'Akkad²³ iš-ba-tu-nim-ma a-na Bābil³⁴ te-bu-ni

54. a-di *Šu-zu-bi *Kal-da-ai šar Bābil³⁴

55. a-na a-ba-meš iŋ-ru-bu-ma pu-ḫur-šu-nu in-nin-du

56. ki-ma ti-bu-ut a-ri-bi ma- правительственное сопротивление, ša-pa-an šat-ši

57. muḫ-ša-riš a-na e-piš tuk-ma-te² te-bu₁⁰-ni ši-ri-u¹¹-a

---

1 H1, tu.
2 H1, ummāndātē* pl.
3 H1, ši.
4 H1, ri.
5 H1, tu.²
6 H1, ʿAMAR-UD-TUR-ÜŠ-iddina(na).
7 H1, tu.
8 H1, u.
9 H1, šu.
10 H1, inserts ši.
11 H1, ú.

40. without thinking (lit. his heart did not consider)

41. received the bribes from them, gathered his army and camp,

42. collected (his) chariots and wagons, hitched (his) horses

43. and mules to them. The lands of Parsuash

44. Anzan, Pasheru, Ellipi, the men of Yazan,

45. Lakabra, Harzunu, Dummuku,

46. Sulai, Samuna, the son of Merodach-baladan,

47. the lands of Bīt-Adini, Bīt-Amukkanu, Bīt-Sillana,

48. Bīt-Salatu-akki, the city of Lahiru, the men of Bukudu,

49. Gambulum, Halatum Ruʿus,

50. Ubulum, Malahu, Rapiku,

51. Hindaru, Damunu,—an enormous vassal host

52. he called to his side. The masses of them

53–55. took the road to Akkad. Drawing nigh to Babylon, they exchanged courtesies with Shuzubu, the Chaldean king of Babylon, and brought their host to a stand.

56. Like the onset of locust swarms (many locusts) of the springtime,

57. they kept steadily coming on against me to offer battle.
Col. V
58. epîrši šeṗešu-nu ki-ma1 ši kab-ti2
59. ša dun-ši e-ri-ia-ti3 pa-an ša-me(e) ḫa-te4 ka-lim5
60. é-la-mu-ú-ia ina ʿHa-lu-li-e šá ki-šad
 ʿIdiglat
61. šu-ku-nu si-dir-ta pa-an maš-ki-ia
 ṣab-tu-ma
62. ú-ša-lu *kakkiš-šu-um a-na-ku a-na
 ʿAššur
63. ʿSin ʿŠamaš ʿBel ʿNabû ʿNergal
 ʿIštar šá Ninua6
64. ʿIštar šá ʿArba-ilu ʾilāni7 ti-ik-ši-ia
65. a-na ku-ša-di *nakri dan-ši am-ḫur-
 šu-nu-li-ma
66. su-pi-e-a ur-ru-ḫi-ši8 iš-mu-ú il-li-ku
67. ri-šu-ti la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma at-tal-
 ḫi-ša
68. si-rī-ia-am ṣu-li-ia-am si-mat ši-il-ti9
69. a-pi-ra ra-šu-ú-a i-na *narkabat
 taḫāzi-ia
70. šî-rī-sa-pi-na-at za-ri-ri ina ug-gat
71. liḫ-ši-ia ar-ta-kab ḫa-an-šiš *kaštu
dan-na-ti2
72. ša ʿAššur ū-ša-li-ma i-na ḫātē-ši-a
 aš-bat
73. ʿtar-ta-ḫu pa-ri3 nap-ša-ti8 at-muḫ
 riš-tu-u-a
74. ši-ir gi-miš um-ma-na-te9 na-ki-ri lim-
nu-ti
75. ši-me-iš zar-biš10 al-sa-a kīma ʿAdad
 aš-gu-um

58. With the dust of their feet covering the wide heavens
59. like a mighty storm with (its) masses of dense (lit. pregnant) clouds,
60. they drew up in battle array before me in the city of Halulê, on the bank of the Tigris.
61. They blocked my passage and offered battle.
62. As for me, to Assur.
63. Sin, Shamaš, Bêl, Nabû, Nergal, Ishtar of Nineveh,
64. Ishtar of Arbela, the gods in whom I trust,
65. I prayed for victory over the mighty foe.
66. They speedily gave ear to my prayers and came
67. to my aid. Like a lion I raged I put on
68. (my) coat of mail. (My) helmet, emblem of victory (battle),
69. I placed upon my head. My great battle chariot,
70. which brings low the foe,
71. I hurriedly mounted in the anger of my heart. The mighty bow
72. which Assur had given me, I seized in my hands;
73. the javelin, piercing to the life, I grasped.
74. Against all of the hosts of wicked enemies,
75. I raised my voice (lit. cried out), rumbling like a storm. Like Adad I roared.

1 H1, kîma. 2 H1, inserts a. 3 H1, ti-im. 4 H1, ši. 5 H1, tum. 6 H1, a-ti. 7 H1, te. 8 H1, ti. 9 H1, biš. 10 H1, ši-meš u-me-iš.
Col. V
76.  ina ki-bit āššur bēli rabi bēli-ia a-na šid-dī u² pu-tī²
77.  ki-bit dāššur beli rabt beli-ia u² ti-ib lāḥa-zi-ia iš-zi
78.  ip a-ki na "kakke² "āššur bēli-ia u² ti-ib lāḥa-zi-ia iš-zi
79.  ina ku-mu-un a-na²-ia sūh-ḫur-ša-nu aš-kun
80.  um-māntātēt na-ki-ri ina uṣ-qi mul-mul-li
81.  ū-ša-kīr-ma gim-ri ṣam-pāt-šu-nu ṣu-pal-li-ša
82.  ūm(?)-zi-zi-iš = ṣūm-ba-ri-un-da-ša um-nagiru⁴
83.  šē šar 'Elamti² id-lum pil-ku-du num-na-ir
84.  um-māntātēt-šu tu-kul-la-šu rabû(∪) a-di ṣa-rabûte²⁴-tu
85.  šē šaṭar šî-bî hūrašî šî-ku-nu
86.  ū ina še-meṭe² aš-pi hūrašî ru-uš-ši-i
87.  ruk-ku-sa rit-li-šu-un ki-ma šû-û-ri
88.  ma-ru-ti šē na-du-û šum-man-nu

1.  ur-ru-bi-iš³ ū-pal-likš-šu-nu-ti-ma aš-ku-na laḥ-ta-šu-un
2.  ki-ša-da-te-šu-nu ū-na²-kis az-liš³ aš-ra-a-li³
3.  nap-ša-te-šu-nu ū-par-ri² gu-ū-û-ši ki-ma³ mlī
4.  gab-ši šē ša-mu-tum si-ma-ni ū mun-ni-šu-nu ū-šar-da-a
5.  ši-ir ir-ši-li ša-dī-il-li³ la-az-mu-ti

1.  speedily I cut them down and established their defeat.
2.  I cut their throats like—,
3.  I cut off their precious lives (as one cuts) a string. Like the many waters
4.  of a storm, I made (the contents of)
5.  run down upon the wide earth. My prancing

76.  At the word of Assur, the great lord, my lord, on flank and front
77.  I pressed upon the enemy like the onset of a raging storm.
78.  With the weapons of Assur, my lord, and the terrible onset of my attack,
79.  I stopped their advance, I succeeded in surrounding them,
80.  I decimated the enemy host with arrow and spear.
81.  All of their bodies I bored through like—.
82.  Humban-undasha, the field-marshal of the king of Elam, a trustworthy man, commander
83.  of his armies, his chief support, together with his nobles
84.  who wear the golden girdle-dagger
85.  and whose hands (wrists) are encircled with heavy (thick?) rings of shining gold,—
86-87.  like fat steers who have hobbles put on them,—

*H1, te, om. a.
*H1, te, om.
*H1, ba-an.
*H1, nak.
*H1, ḫiš.
*H1, iš-īš.
*H1, ḫiš.
6. steeds, harnessed for my riding, plunged
7. into the streams of their blood as (into) a river. The wheels of my war chariot,
8. which brings low the wicked and the evil,
9. were bespattered with blood and filth. With the bodies of their warriors
10. I filled the plain, like grass. (Their) testicles
11. I cut off, and tore out their privates like the seeds
12. of cucumbers of Siwan (June). Their hands I cut off.
13. The heavy (?) rings of brightest gold which (they had) on their wrists
14. I took away. With sharp swords
15. I pierced their belts and took away
16. the girdle-daggers of gold and silver which (they carried) on their persons. The rest of his nobles, together with Nabû-shum-šakun,
17. son of Merodach-baladan, who had taken fright at (before) my onslaught
18. and had gone over to their side, (these) my hands
19. seized in the midst of the battle. The chariots and their horses,
20. whose riders had been slain at the beginning of the terrible onslaught,
21. and who had been left to themselves,

1 H1, pi. 2 H1, šá. 3 H1, šá. 4 H1, i-na. 5 Text of H1, šu-šu. 6 H1, i-da. 7 H1, i-ši. 8 H1, ak-šišu. 9 H1, iš-ša. 10 H1, šu-šu. 11 H1, Šu-šu.
Col. VI

22. it-na-ala-ka mit-ša-ri ša-tir-ra
23. a-di 2 brī mi-il-li-ku da-ak-šu'-nu ap-ru-us
24. šu-ú "Um-ana-me-na-nu šar 'Elamī" 1
25. a-di šar Băbili "na-sik-ka-ni šá 'Kal-di
26. a-li-kut idāš-šu ār-ba-šu taḫāši-ia ki-ma li-e
27. su-mur-šu'-un iš-šu-up za-ra-te-šu-un ú-mak-še-ru-ma
28. a-na šu-su-ub napšāteši-šu-nu pay-ri ummānātesši-šu-un
29. ú-da-ši-šu eš-ti-šu ki-š ša ad-mi summatušu 2
30. kū-šu-di i-tar-ra-ku lib-šu-šu-un ši-na-te-šu-un
31. ú-sarš-šu-šu ki-rib "narkabātimšu-nu ú-mak-še-ru-ni
32. su-uš-šu-un a-na ra-da-di-šu-nu "narkabātimši
33. sīš-ši ú-maš-ir arkiš-šu-un
34. mun-na-rīš-šu-nu šā a-na nap-ša-ša-tešu-šu-šu
35. ašar i-kāš-ša-du ū-ra-sa-pu i-na "kakki.

22. kept running back and forth (lit. going and returning)
23. for a distance of two-double-hours,— I put an end to their headlong flight.
24. That Umman-menanu, king of Elam,
25. together with the king of Babylon (and) the princes of Chaldeas,
26. who had gone over to their side, the terror of my battle
27. overturned them (lit. their bodies) like a bull. They abandoned their tents
28. and to save their lives they trampled
29. the bodies of their (fallen) soldiers, they fled like young pigeons
30. that are pursued. They were beside themselves (lit. their hearts were torn)
31. they held back (?) their urine, but let their dung go into their chariots.
32. In pursuit of them
33. I despatched my chariots and horses after them.
34. Those among them who had escaped, who had fled for their lives,
35. wherever they (my charioteers) met them, they cut them down with the sword.

(See pp. 128 f. for the remainder of this document.)

1 H1, šá.
2 H1, om.
3 H1, 4.
4 H1, ša.
5 H1, ša.
6 H1, ša.
7 H1, ar-ši.
CHAPTER V
THE HISTORICAL RECORDS ARRANGED
CHRONOLOGICALLY

I. THE FIRST CAMPAIGN (A1)

1. "Sin-aḫē-perti-ya šarru ra-ba šarruṣ"a
dan-nu šarāššur kā šarru la ša-na-an
ri-ē-tum mu-ti-ni-nu-ū pa-liš ilānīs
rabūte

2. na-[ṣir kit-ti ra^-im mi-ša-ri e]-piš
ū-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ul a-ki-i su-ḫi-ru
dam-kā-ti

3. id-[lum gi-ma-lum si (text ri)]-ka-ri
kar-du a-ša-riš) kal ma-al-ki ra-bu-
la^-it la ma-ki-ri mu-ša-bi-ku za-
ma-a-ni

4. "Aššur šadū(ū) ra-ba(ū) šarru-ut la
ša-na-an u-ša]-li-ma-an-ni-ma eli gi-
mīr a-šib pa-rak-ki ū-šar-ba-a
kakku-[ia]

5. [i-na riš šarri-i-fa ša i-na "kussi-
(rabīš ū)-]ši'-bu-ma ba-ḫu-la-a-le
Aššur[ ] ū-ma-i-ri i-na taš-me-e ū
ša-li-me

6. "[Marduk-apla-iddina(na)] šar-i Kar-
du-an-ša ša li-bi-šu ig-šu] ba-ra-nu-ū
ka-raḫ sur-rā-a-ti e-piš li-mut-ti ša
an-zil-laša šu kab(t)-a

1 Sennacherib, the great king, the
mighty king, king of Assyria, king
without a rival; prayerful shepherd
(ruler), worshipper of the great
gods;

2. guardian of the right, lover of justice,
who lends support, who comes to the
aid of the needy, who turns (his
thoughts) to pious deeds;

3. perfect hero, mighty man, first among
all princes, the powerful one who con-
sumes the insubmissive, who strikes
the wicked with the thunderbolt;

4. the god Assur, the great mountain, has
entrusted to me an unrivalled kingship
and above all those who dwell in pal-
aces, has made powerful my weapons.

5. At the beginning of my reign, when
I solemnly took my seat on the
throne, and ruled the inhabitants of
Assyria with mercy and grace.

6. Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia,
(whose heart is wicked), an instigator
of revolt, plotter of rebellion (lit.
belly, mind, of rebellion), doer of
evil, whose guilt is heavy,

1 Contrary to the usual procedure (see p. 22), the bracketed portions of the transliteration of
ll. 1-9 of this text are not conjectural readings but restorations from a duplicate text, Ki, 1902-5-10,
1 (following Smith's edition). In these lines I have therefore inclosed the conjectural readings in
parentheses.
7. brought over to his side Shutur-Nahundu,\(^7\) the Elamite, and gave him gold, silver and precious stones, and (so) secured him as an ally.

8. Imbappa, tartan of the king of Elam, Tamānu, the left tartan, 10 commanders, together with Nergal-nasir, the Sutaean, who was fearless in battle,

9. 80,000 bowmen, . . . horses which were with them, he sent to Sumer and Akkad (Babylonia) to his aid.

10. And that (Merodach-baladan) . . . .

11. Bit-Yakin, Bit-Amukkāni, Bit-Salli, Bit-Dakkuri, all the Chaldeans, as many as there were,

12. who (dwell) on the shore of (the Salt-sea), the Tu'muna, the Rihihu, the Ubudu, the Yadakku, the Kiprē, the Malihu,

13. who (dwell) on the bank of (the Tigris), the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Hindaru, the Ru'ua, the Bukudu,

14. who (dwell) on the bank of (the Karha); the Hamranu, the Hagaranu, the Nabatu, the Li'tāu, Aramaeans who are not submissive, who do not heed death(?),

15. Nippur, . . . . Borsippa, Kutha, all of Babylonia, he gathered together and marshalled for the fight.

\(^7\) Smith reads šašu rakbu. But the existence of such an officer is doubtful. The šašu rakbu is well known. The “second” (šani) or “left” (šumētu) tartan, as over against the “right” (imnu) tartan, is a regular staff-officer of the Assyrian military organization (Harper, Letters, 144, 13, II R, 31, 26-7a).

\(^8\) This should be the Ishtar-hundu of the Babylonian Chronicle, cf. p. 159, l. 33.
16. To me, Sennacherib, whose heart is exalted, they reported these evil deeds; I raged like a lion, and gave the command to march into Babylonia against him.

17. That evil prop of the devil heard of my march to battle, and the horse and bowmen of the Elamites, the Aramaeans, and Chaldeans, together with Nergal-nasir and the ten commanders of Elam, who take no heed of death(?),

18. who had with them a countless host,—the organization of these he perfected (strengthened), brought them all into Kutha, and (there) had a steady watch kept on the progress of my campaign.

19. I had my teams (yokes) prepared, on the 20th day of Shabatu I set out from Assur ahead of my army, like a mighty bull; I did not wait for my host, I did not hold back.

20. My general (and) governors I sent on to Kish, ahead of me, (with the order): "Take the road against Merodach-baladan; advance, keep a close watch over him (lit. strengthen his guard.)."

21. That one saw my governors, and with all of his troops salled out of the gate of Zamama and did battle with my captains in the plain of Kish.

22. As for my captains, the enemy’s onset of battle against them was mighty and they could not stand before him. They sent their messengers for help to me (while I was) in the neighborhood of Kutha.
23. In the anger of my heart I made an assault upon Kutha; the troops about its walls I slaughtered like wild animals and took the city.

24. The horse and bowmen of the Elamite, the Aramaeans (and) the Chaldeans, the commanders of the king(?) of Elam, as well as Nergal-nasir, together with the citizens, the rebels (lit. sinners), I brought forth and counted as spoil.

25. I raged like a lion, I stormed like a tempest, with my merciless warriors I set my face against Merodach-baladan, (who was) in Kish.

26. And that worker of iniquity saw my advance from afar; terror fell upon him, he forsook all of his troops, and fled to the land of Guzummanu.

27. Tannànu, together with the armies of Elamites, Chaldeans and Aramaeans, who had stood at his side (espoused his cause) and had come to his aid,—their defeat I accomplished and I shattered his forces.

28. Adinu, son of the wife of Merodach-baladan, together with Baskànu, brother of Yatfe, queen of the Arabs, along with their armies I seized as living captives.

29. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels, and dromedaries, which had been abandoned during the battle, my hands captured.

30. In joy of heart and with a radiant face, I hastened to Babylon and entered the palace of Merodach-baladan, to take charge of the property and goods (laid up) therein.
31. I opened his treasure-house. Gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, beds, couches, palanquins, his royal standards(?), whose inlay was of gold and silver,
32. all kinds of property and goods, and without number,—an enormous treasure, his wife, his harem, his slave-girls(?), his chamberlains, his officials, his courtiers, the male and female musicians,
33. the palace slaves, who gladdened his princely mind, all of the artisans, as many as there were, his palace menials(?), (these) I brought forth and counted as spoil.
34. I hurried after him, sent my warriors to Guzummanu, into the midst of the swamps and marshes and they searched for him for five days, but his (hiding) place was not found.
35. The rest of his horses and troops, who were without a place to go, who had fled from him like hinds and had not gone with him, I gathered together from the midst of plain and highland.
36. In the course of my march the cities Amatu, Hauae, Supabu, Nukabu, Bitt-Sannabi, Kutain, Kidrina, Dür-Ladini, Bitt-ti, Banitu, Guzummanu, Dür-Yansuri, Dür-Abiyata', Dür-Rudumme
37. Bitt-Rahê, Hapisha, Sadi-ili, Hurudu, Sahrina, Iltuk, Allallu, Marad, Yakimuna
38. Kubruna, Bitt-Kudurri, Sûka-Marusi, in all 33 strong, walled cities of Bitt-Dakkuri with 250 hamlets within their
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Historical Record</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>40.</td>
<td>the cities Dūr-Appē, Dūr-Tanē, Dūr-Sama', Sararatu, Salaratu, Dūr-Abdai, Sappimari, Sibtu-sha-Makkamē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>in all 8 strong, walled cities of Bit-Sa'allī, with 120 hamlets within their borders;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>the cities Sapia, Sarrajanu, Larak, Parak-marri (BAR.MAR.RI), Bit-Ilu-bani, Ahedu, Sha-issur-Adad, Sha-harratu, Mahhu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Sha-amēlē, Dūr-Akkia, Nagitu, Nurarbinu, Harssara, Dūr-Rukbī, Dan dahulla, Dūr-Bir-Dāda,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Bit-ri'e, Dūr-Ugurri, Hindaina, Dūr-Uait, Bit-Taurā, Saphuna, Buharru,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Harbe-Iddina, Harbe-Kalbi, Sha barrē, Bit-Bani-ilūa, Sulādu, Bit-Iltamasama', Bit-Dini-ilū,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Dakala, Hameza, Belā, Tairu, Kiprānu, Iltaratu, Akam(-?)-shakina, Sagaratu-sha-Mardukia,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>in all 39 strong, walled cities of Bit-Amukkāni, with 350 hamlets within their borders;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>the cities Bit-Zabidion, Larss, Kullab, Eridu, Ki-is-r×Ki-Nim-Laguda, Dūr-Yakini and Kar-Nabū which is (are) beside the Salt-sea (the Persian Gulf)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49.</td>
<td>in all 8 strong, walled cities of Bit-Yakin, with 100 hamlets within their borders;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
50. a total of 88 strong, walled cities of Chaldea, with 820 hamlets within their borders, I besieged, I conquered, I carried away their spoil.

51. The grain and dates which were in their plantations, their harvest of the plain, I had my army devour. I destroyed, devastated and burned with fire (their towns), and turned them into forgotten tells.

52. The Arabs, Aramaeans, Chaldeans, who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kish, Harsagkalamma, together with the citizens, the rebels (sinners), I brought forth and counted as spoil.

53. The grain and dates which were in their plantations, the planting of their garden-beds, the harvest of their plain and highlands(?) I had my troops devour.

54. Bēl-ibni, son of a master-builder, a scion of Shuanna, who like a young hound had grown up in my palace, I placed over them as king of Akkad and Sumer.

55. On my march back, the Tu'muna, the Rihīhu, the Yadakku, the Ubudu, the Kiprē, the Malihu, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Hindaru, the Ru'ua, the Bukudu, the Hamrnū, the Hagar&nu, the Nabatu, the Li'tau,—Aramaeans, who were not submissive, all of them, I captured and I carried off as spoil.

57. In the course of my campaign, I received the heavy tribute of Nabū-bēl-shumâte governor of Hararati,—gold, silver, great musukkanni-trees, asses, camels, cattle and sheep.

1 That is, a Babylonian.
II. CAMPAIGNS ONE AND TWO (THE BELLINO CYLINDER B1)

1. Sin-a-bi-i ya-hi, šarru rabâ šarru
dan-nu šar 'Assur' šarru la ša-na-an
ri-ê-um mul-nil-nu-ê pa-liḫ šâ-ni
rabâ³
2. na-sir kit-ti ra-³-im mi-sa-ri e-piš
ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ul a-ki-i sa-ši-ru
dam-kâ-ti

3. id-lu giš-ma-lum zi-ka-ru šarru aša-
rid kal ma-âl-ki rab-bu la-³-it la ma-gi-
ri mu-sâ-ri-ku sa-ma-a-ni

The same epithets are applied to Hezekiah, cf. p. 77, l. 21.

1. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of Assyria, the
king without a rival; the pious ruler (shepherd), fearing the great gods;
2. guardian of the right, lover of justice,
who lends support, who comes to the
aid of the needy, who turns (his
thoughts) to pious deeds;
3. perfect hero, mighty man, first among
all princes, the powerful one who con-
sumes the insubmissive, who strikes
the wicked with the thunderbolt:—

58. The warriors of Hirimmu, evil ene-
mies, who from of old had not sub-
mitted to any of the kings, my fathers,
I slew with the sword. Not a soul
escaped.

59. That district I reorganized: one ox,
10 lambs, 10 homers of wine, 20 homers
of dates, of his best, as standing dues
for the gods of Assyria, my lords,
I established for all time.

60. I returned to Assyria with 208,000
men, a huge spoil, 7,200 horses and
mules, 11,073 asses, 5,230 camels,
80,050 cattle, 800,100 ewes.

61. This does not include the men, asses,
camels, cattle and sheep which my
troops had carried off and parcelled
out among themselves.

62. And the enemy warriors, strong and
proud,¹ who had not submitted to
my yoke, I cut down with the
sword and hung on stakes.

(The remainder of this document, containing the record of Sennacherib's early
building activities, is given on pp. 94 f.)

5. i-na rēš šarru-ti-ia ša "Marduk-apla-iddina(na) šar 'Kar-dun-īda-aš a-di ummānāt" Elamti i-na ta-mir-ti Kištī aš-la-kan taḥlab-šu

6. i-na ḫabal tam-ḫa-ri šű-a-tu e-rīb karas-su e-diš ip-par-šid-ma a-na 'Gu-uzu-um-ma-ni in-na bit ki rib 'a-gam-mē ū ap-pa-ra-a-te e-rū-um-ma na-piš-tuš e-ti-ir


9. aḫšat-su sinnisēterši ekalli (ṣigrēti?)-šu "amēarih śman-za-az pa-ni ši-ḫir-ti um-ma-an-ma la-ba-šū-ū muš-tab-tu-tu ekalli u-šen-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

10. aḫ-ḫate ma arki-šu a-na 'Gu-uzu-um-ma-ni śmun-daḫ-ši-ia a-na ki-rib 'a-gam-mē ū ap-pa-ra-a-te ū-ma-ir-ma ū-μe i-ša-bar-ra-um-ma u-ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu

11. i-na e-muk "Assur šē-li-ia 89 alānīni(ni) dan-nu-ti bā-di-dārāni(ni) šā 'Kal-di ū 820 alānīni ši-ḫrēteši šā li-(me-li)-šu-nu al-me ak-šud(ud) aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un

4. the god Assur, the great mountain, has entrusted to me an unrivalled kingship and above all those who dwell in palaces, has made powerful my weapons.

5. At the beginning of my kingship, I brought about the overthrow of Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, together with the armies of Elam, in the plain of Kish.

6. In the midst of that battle he forsok his camp, made his escape alone, fled to Guzummanu, went into the swamp and marshes, and (thus) saved his life.

7. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels and dromedaries which he had forsaken at the onset of battle, my hands seized.

8. Into his palace in Babylon I entered joyfully and I opened his treasure-house:—gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones of all kinds, goods and property, an enormous (heavy) treasure,

9. his wife, his harem, his courtiers and officials, all of his artisans, as many as there were, his palace servants, I brought out, I counted as spoil,

10. I seized. I sent my soldiers after him to Guzummanu, into the midst of the swamps and marshes, and for five days they hunted him, but his (hiding)-place was not found (lit. seen).

11. In the might of Assur, my lord, 89 of the strong, walled cities of Chaldea, and 820 small cities of their environs I besieged, I conquered, I carried off their spoil.
12. The Arabs, Aramaeans and Chaldeans who were in Erech, Nippur, Kish, Har sagkalamma, Kutha, together with the citizens (of these places), the rebels (sinners), I brought out, I counted as spoil.

13. Bél-ibni, the son of a master builder, a scion of Shuanna (Babylon), who had grown up in my palace like a young hound, I set over them as king of Sumer and Akkad.

14. On my return (march), the Tu'muna, Rihihu, Yadaku, Ubudu, Kipré, Malihu, Gurumu, Ubulu, Damunu.

15. Gambulu, Hindaru, Ru’āa, Bukudu, Hamrānu, Hagarānu, Nabatu, Li’tāu,—Aramaeans (who were) not submissive, all of them I conquered.

16. 208,000 people, male and female, 7,200 horses and mules, 11,078 asses, 5,230 camels, 80,100 cattle, 800,500 sheep, an enormous spoil, I carried off to Assyria.

17. In the course of my campaign, I received from Nabu-bel-shum&te, governor of the city of Hararate, gold, silver, great musukkani-trees, asses, camels, cattle and sheep, as his onerous contribution.

18. The warriors of Hirimme, wicked enemies, who from of old had not submitted to my yoke, I cut down with the sword. Not a soul escaped.

19. That district (province) I reorganized: One ox, 10 lambs, 10 homers of wine, 20 homers of dates, its choicest, (as gifts) for the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established for all time.
20. In my second campaign, Assur, my lord, encouraged me, and against the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallai, wicked enemies, who from of old had not been submissive to the kings, my fathers, I marched.

21. In the midst of the high mountains I rode on horseback, where the terrain was difficult, and had my chariot drawn up with ropes; where it became too steep, I clambered up on foot like the wild-ox.

22. Bit-kilamzah, their stronghold, I besieged, I captured. People, great and small, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, I brought out from its midst and counted as booty.

23. Their small cities, which were numberless, I destroyed, I devastated, I turned into ruins. The houses of the steppe, (namely) the tents for their protection (i.e., wherein they dwelt), I set on fire and turned them into (a mass of) flames.

24. I turned round, and made that Bit-Kilamzah into a fortress,—I made its defences stronger than they had ever been before, and settled therein people of the lands my hands had conquered.

25. The people of the land of the Kassites and the land of the Yasubigallai, who had fled before my arms, I brought down out of the mountains and settled them in Hardishpi and Bit-Kubatti.

26. Into the hand(s) of my official, the governor of Arrapha, I placed (lit. counted) them. I had a stela made,
and the might of my conquering hand which I had established upon them, I had inscribed thereon. In the midst of the city I set it up.

27. The front of my yoke I turned (that is, I turned about) and took the road to the land of the Ellipi. Before me (my approach) Ispabâra, their king, forsook his strong cities, his treasure-houses (cities), and fled to distant (parts).

28. Over the whole of his wide land I swept like a hurricane. The cities Marubishti and Akkuddu, his royal residence-cities, together with 34 strong cities and the small cities of their environs, which were without number,

29. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. Their orchards I cut down, over their fertile (?) fields I poured out misery. The Ellipi, in their totality, I brought to naught.

30. The people, great and small, male and female, horses, mules, asses, cattle and sheep, without number, I carried off and brought them to naught.

31. Sisirtu and Kummahlum, strong cities, together with the small cities of their environs, the district (province) of Bit-Barrû, in its totality, I cut off from his land and added it to the territory (lit. border) of Assyria.

32. Elenzash I turned into the royal city and stronghold of that district. I changed its former name, calling its (new) name Kar-Sennacherib.
33. On my return I received the heavy tribute of the distant Medes, whose name no one among the kings, my fathers, had (ever) heard; to the yoke of my rule I made them submit.

(Continued on p. 99)

III. RECORDS WRITTEN SOON AFTER THE THIRD CAMPAIGN
(THE RASSAM CYLINDER, C1)

(The text of the "Rassam Cylinder," written 700 B.C., became the standard text for campaigns one to three. (See pp. 28 f.) Only the closing lines of the historical section, which were omitted in the later editions, are here given.)

56. (In addition to the) thirty talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, (there were) gems (precious stones), antimony, jewels(?), great sandu-stones (carnelian ?) ivory beds, house-chains of ivory, elephant hides, ivory (elephant's tusks, teeth), ebony(?), boxwood(?), colored garments, garments of linen, violet and purple wool,

57. vessels of copper, iron, bronze, lead, iron, chariots, shields, lances, armor, girdle-daggers of iron, bows and arrows, spears, countless implements of war,

58. together with his daughters, his palace-women, his male and female musicians (which) he had (them) bring after me to Nineveh, my royal city. To pay tribute and to accept servitude, he dispatched his messenger(s).

59. From the booty of those lands which I plundered, 10,000 bows, 10,000 shields I took therefrom and added them to my royal equipment.
60. The rest of the heavy booty (taken from) the enemy, I divided like sheep among my whole camp (army) as well as my governors and the citizens of my large cities.

(Continued on p. 102)

IV. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE FIFTH CAMPAIGN

(At the close of the historical section containing the standard record of campaigns one to five [see pp. 23 f.], BM, 103,000 has the account of two campaigns conducted by Sennacherib's generals.)

a) CAMPAIGN AGAINST CILICIA, 698 B.C. (BM, No. 103,000. El)

61. In the eponymy of Shulmu-bél, the governor of Rimusi,

62. Kirua, prefect of Illubru,

63. a slave, subject to me, whom his gods forsook,

64-65. caused the men of Hilakku (Cilicia) to revolt, and made ready for battle.

66. The people who dwelt in Ingira and Tarsus

67. came to his aid (lit. side) and

68. seized the Kue (Cilician) road, blocking traffic.

69. Bowmen, bearers of shield and lance,

70. chariots, horses, my royal host,

71. I sent against them.

72. The defeat of the men of Hilakku

73. who had come to his aid,

74. they brought about in the midst of a difficult mountain.

75. Ingira and Tarsus they took

76. and carried off their spoil.

77. That one they besieged and attacked in Illubru, his stronghold

1 Os, zi.
78. and prevented his escape.
79. With the assault of siege-engines and “great wall flies” (some siege-engine),
followed by a rush through the breaches (?) (and) the attack of the foot-soldiers,
they brought about their overthrow and took the city.
81. they brought about their overthrow and took the city.
82. Kirua, the prefect, together with the spoil of his cities,
83. and the people of Hilakkku, who had come to his aid,
84. with asses, cattle and sheep,
85. they brought to Nineveh into my presence.
86. I flayed Kirua.
87. I restored Illubru again:
88. people of the lands which my hands had conquered, I settled therein.
89. The weapon of Assur, my lord, I established in its midst.
90. An alabaster stela I had (them) fashion
91. and set up before him (Assur or the “weapon” of Assur).

b) CAMPAIGN AGAINST TILGARIMMU, 695 B.C. (EI, CONTINUED)
1. In the eponymy of Assur-bēl-usur, the governor of . . .
2. against Til-garimmu,1
3. a city on the border of Tabalu,
4. whose kingdom Hidl
5. had consolidated,
6. I leveled my weapons. Bowmen, bearers of shield
7. and lance, chariots, horses,
8. my royal host, I sent against him.

Cf. p. 77, l. 24.
HISTORICAL RECORDS ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

Col. V

9. alu šu-a-tum ni-i-tum al-[m]u-ma
10. i-na 'maš'-pak e-pi'-ri ú 1 kür-ru-ub šu-pi-
11. mit-šu-šu zu-[uk šepd]aš ša-ba-tu ala
12. nisse 1 a-di ilâni 2 a-[šib lib-bi-šu] am-nu šal-la-ti-iš
13. alu šu-a-tum [. . . .] ik-ku-ru
14. a-na tili ú [kar-me] ū-tir-ru
15. i-na šal-lat mdâtši 3 [šá] aš-lu-la
16. 30,000 *š[ašu . . . . . .] a-ri-tu
17. i-na [lib-bi-šu-nu] ak-šur-ma
18. e[li ki-pir šarru-ti-ia] ū-rad-di
19. [si-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri] ka-bit-tu
20. [a-na gi-mir karðši-ia] bēl-pîhâši 3-ia
21. [ā nisse 1 ma-ša-za-ni-ia] rabâtiš 1
22. [kûna gi-cu-ni] lu ū-zaz-iz

1. Assur, Sin, Shamash, Adad,
2. Ninib and Ishtar, the great gods,
3. who stand at the side of the king, their favorite,
4. and make bitter his arms against all enemies:
5. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king,
6. king of the universe, king of Assyria, the exalted prince,
7. to whom your (the gods') hands are stretched out, who through
8. your grace advances (triumphantly),

1  a, u.
2  a inserts ša aššu.(?) ša-ba-tu kal.(?) ma-ša-zi.
3  c probably had same addition.
4  a and c. iša.
10. mātēl1 la ma-gi-ri šābē1 šur-ša-ni1
11. la-kan-šū-ti2 ụ-šak-ni-ša2 še-pu-uṣ-šu

10–11. bringing in submission at his feet insubmissive lands (v. kings) and unyielding mountain peoples.—

12. ina ụ-me-šu-ma Tu-mur-ra
13. ʻṢa-ri-im ʻHar-gi-dā4
14. ʻKi-ib-ša ʻEša-a ma Šu-a-a
15. ʻKa-na ša me-šir ʻKūl-mu-hi

12. At that time the cities of Tumurra, Sharim, Halgidda, Kiibsha, Esama, Kuua, (and)
15. Kana, which are on the border of Kutmuho (Commagene)

16. šā kmī ši-ni nāšriš1 ši-ir
17. ubandē1 Ṣad-Dī-di-i
18. ši-kū-na-a šā-bal-su-un
19. ša ul-tūš ul-la ina šarrānī2 abēr3-iäd9

16. and, like the nest of the eagle,
17–18. are situated upon the peaks of Mt. Nipur;
19. who from days of old, in (the time of) the kings, my fathers,

20. ši-pū be-ru la i-du-ū
21. pa-lah be-lu-ti ina palê bēlu-ti-iäd

20. were strong and proud, not knowing the fear of (Assyrian) rule,—in the
time of my rule,

22. ilānīšu-un i-zi-bu-
23. šu-nu-ti-ma ū-šab-šu-ul9
24. ri-ku-ul-šu-un1
25. šeq(f) pal ki
26. ul-tā ri-šeq
27. ụ Ædīgal
28. ụ aλ-na Aššur8
29.
30. ụ màrē4 . . . . ụ màru-
šu . . . . -pu-su . . . . ri
31. ụ-λ-a-bu . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ia

31. they sank in the river . . . . . .

1 Instead of this line c, šarrānī2 šabē1 šur-ša-ni. The following line of c, of which only a few traces remain, seems to have differed considerably from b; e seems to have had the same text as c.

d, tu.

d, šu.

e has town names in dif. order?

d, tu.

d and e, la.

The old Assyrian spelling. Cf. AJSL, XXVIII (1912), 178, n.

The text of the different panels seems to have varied very considerably at this point. In a only the beginnings of the lines are preserved: 23. i-na šarrānī2(?) . . . . 24. ilānīšu-un . . . .
27. ú-ma(f) ir (pu-su (s)ki-ru) ú-la-bu . . . . 28. sī-[ru]-luš-šu-un (s)l-šik šep(?) Ṣad-Nipur šad- . . . .
32. ṣi-tu-šu-un al-lįk šēpātu bû(N)pur šadēti ka-ra-ši
33. ú-ša-ša-kīn1-ma ú šābēti
34. giš-ma-liš-ti bû(N)pur a-na² ši-ni
35. ti al-me 'ḫar-ri1 na-að-ba-ši šadēti
36. ti ši-ir ubānāšuš ša-ka-ti
37. šd1 ti ša-ni
38. a-na i-na "kussi
39. kima nipšmi 1pa-šu-šuš [aš-bat] ša-šar ina "kussi
40. šu-šu-šu ina šēpātu-līš-taš-ḥi-id
41. kī-ma ar-me  a-[šar] bir-ka-ši
42. 5 i-ša-a ma-na-ah-[lu] ši-ir ab-ša-ši-baš-ma
43. muš1 manuš-a-diš ka-su-ti a-na šu-šu-šu-šu ina šēpātu-līš-taš-ḥi-id
44. [alāni]² ša-a-tu-nu al-me aššuš [aš-bat] aš-šuš-tir²
45. la la ra (f)
46. muš-luš1 ti-šu-nu ši-ir ubān1 bû(N)pur
47. ḫuš-nu ši-ir zuḫ-ti šadēti(e)

1 t, ki-in.
² t, šābēti ša-ša-si-i-a.
³ a-na restored from f.
⁴ d, [u-ša-a-ti ša-ša-si-i-a].

32. against them I went. (At) the foot of Mt. Nipur
33. I pitched my camp and I . . . .
34. who fight my battle(s). Mt. Nipur for . . . .
35. I besieged. Gullies, mountain torrents,
36. [I surmounted in my (sedan-)chair] to the high(est) summits,
37. which . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . the stars of heaven . .
38. to . . . . . . on my (sedan-) chair . . .
39. like a wild bull I went before them. Where it was
40. too steep for my (sedan-) chair, I advanced on foot like
41. a young gazelle (ibex). Where my knees
42. (failed) and found a resting-place, I sat down on (some) mountain boulder and
43. drank the cold water from the waterskin (to quench) my thirst.
44. . . . . . those cities I besieged, I conquered (v. adds I carried off their booty, I destroyed), I devastated.
45. . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . .
46. their rebellious people on (to) the top of Mt. Nipur
47. — their — . to the mountain-tops.
48. ar-di-ma .......................... ù-senarād
ú-še-piš-ma
49. li-i-tu da-na-nu ša Aššur bēli-ia u-ša-
aš-šir
50. eli zuk-ti *edNi-pur a-šar ..............
51. ul- ........... ra ...... kir ši-šır-ia
52. Aššur ilânī ........................ rabûtem 1. . . . . 1. lik
kil-mu-šu 4 lis-ki-[pu-šu]

V. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE SIXTH CAMPAIGN

a) BULL INSCRIPTION FROM THE PALACE AT NINEVEH (F1).

1. ekal Šin-aḫē-nēbi-er-ri-šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar 'Aššur šar kiš-rat irblittim(tim) mi-gir ilânin²
tabûtem ir-šû ti-pi-šu zi-ka-ru kār-du a-ša-rid kal mal-kī
gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ši ū-šar-ba-a kakkēn³-ša
3. ul-tu tam-ti (A.A.B.B.A) e-li-ni-ša šul-mu Šamsi(ši) a-di tam-tim šap-li-
ti ša ši-it šamsi(ši) gim-rî ma-al-ki ša kīb-ra-a-ti ū-šak-nîd še-pu-u-a i-na maḫ-rî-i
4. gir-rì-ša ša Marduk-apla-iddīna(na) šarru 'Kar-šun-id-dû a-di ummānātco² 'Elamti² ri-ṣi-šu i-na la-mīr-ti Kīš²

1 Read, perhaps, instead of ma, ši-nu-ši; a and f had [ar]-di-šu-ni-ma aš-ša-kān tab-[la-šun].
2 f has an additional clause before this, and like a, ended the inscription somewhat differently.
3 a has a before this word.
4 a reads ag-šī k-šir-[ru-šu].
5 Pl. sign omitted.
6 Variant, curse him in anger.
historical records arranged chronologically

5. ip-par-ši-du *narkabam* \*šu-um-bi \*ši-ši\* par\* ša ú-maṣ-ši-ru ik-kù-da kātā\*-aị a-na ekalli-šu ša ki-rib Bābili\* e-rù-um-na ap-te-e ma

6. biš ni-ši-ri šu ħuruṣa kaspì ū-nu-tū ū-hurṣi kaspì ānu a-šar-tū bûšā makkāra ekalli-šu aš-lù-la alāni\* ti šu dan-nu-ti bē ṣāri-ti\* śi-hurṣa ti śa li-mi-ti-šu-nu

7. akšud(ud)-ma aš-lù-la šal-la-su-un i-na ta-ai-ar-ti-ia \*A-ra-me ša šid-di \*Idiglā 'Puratti ak-šud(ud) aš-lù-la šal-la-su-un i-na mi-ti-ik gir-ri-ia

8. ša \*mi-pi \*Ḫa-ra-ra-ti man-da-šu ka-bi-tu am-ḫur ba-šu-la-ti \*Ḫi-rim-me \*nakri ag-ši-i-na \*kakkā\* šu-šam kiti ma e-du ul e-sīb ala šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ši

9. aš-bat isšel(šen) alpa 10 immer\* ti 10 imēr karāšā ṣu\* ṣu-ša-ta ū-ni kiši ša-ta ū-ni i-na šanē(e) gir-ri-ia a-na ḫaš-ši-ši i-ša-ešu-bal-la-ai išiši ki-riḫ hur-su-ša-ni

10. ekil nam-ra-qi i-na sīši ar-kab aš-rū šup-šu-šu i-na šepā-ši-ia ri-ma-niš at-ša-ṣi-ši \*Ḫar-diš-ši-Ḫar-diš-pi \*Ḫa-ba-t-shu-šu-nu bē ṣāri-ti\* dan-nu-ti

11. akšud(ud)-ma aš-lù-la šal-la-su ū alāni\* šu-šu-šu-šu-šu ni-ṣa la i-šu-šu aš-bul aš-kur bē šeši kul-la-ri

Elam, his ally, in the plain of Kish. That one fled alone to save his life, and
5. the chariots, wagons, horses and mules which he abandoned, my hands captured. Into his palace in Babylon I entered and I opened
6. his treasure-house,—gold, silver, vessels of gold and silver, precious stones, property and goods of his palace I took as spoil. His strong, walled cities of Chaldea, together with the small cities of their environs,
7. I captured, I carried off their spoil. On my return the Aramaeans who lived along the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, I conquered and carried off their spoil. In the progress of my campaign
8. I received the heavy tribute of the governor of Hararati. The men of Hirime, wicked enemies, I cut down with the sword. Not one escaped. That city
9. I rebuilt: one ox, 10 lambs, 10 homers of wine, 20 homers of dates, its choicest, (as gifts) for the gods of Assyria, I appointed. In my second campaign I went against the Kassites, and the Yasubigallai. In the midst of the mountains
10. I rode on horseback where the terrain was difficult, and where it became too difficult (for this) I clambered up on foot like a wild-ox. Btt-Kilamzah, Hardišpi, Btt-Kubatti, their strong, walled cities,
11. I captured, I carried off their spoil, and the small cities of their environs, which were numberless, I destroyed,
12. a-na al bi-r-tu-ti aš-bat niššiš matātī ki-
šit-tī kāṭāš-ia i-na lib-bi ăše-bib i-na
kāṭāš =bēl piẖāti ʾArba-ḥa am-nu-
šu-nu-ti pa-an ni-ri-ia ă-tīr-ma a-na

13. a-su-bat ḫa-r-a-nu el-la-mu-a “Is-pa-
ba-a-ra šarru-šu-un alānīšu dan-nu-
ti ă-maš-šir-ma a-na ru-ki-e-ti ăn-nab-
it “Mar-ŭ-biš-tī ʾAk-ku-ud-du alānīšu
bīl šarru-ti-šu

14. a-di alānīšu šā li-mi-li-šu-nu akšūd-
(ud)-ma aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ab-bul
ak-šur i-na girī ak-šu ʾŠi-ši-ir-tū
Ku-um-ma-ahūm alānīšu dan-nu-ti
a-di alānīšu šīhrātūšu

15. šā li-mi-li-šu-nu akšūd(ud) ʾBlūm-
aru-ū na-gu-ū a-na gi-mir-tī-šu ul-tu
ki-riḥ matī-šu ab-tuk-ma eli mi-šir
ʾAššūrīšu ū-riš-dū ʾEl-en-za-āš a-na
dan-na-at na-gi-e

16. šū-a-tu aš-bat šum-šu ă-nak-kir-ma
Kar-4Sin-aḫēr-eriba at-la-bi ni-bit-
su niššiš matātī ki-šit-tī kāṭāš-ia i-na
lib-bi ăše-bib i-na kāṭāš =bēl piẖāti
Ḥa-r-ḥar

17. am-nu i-na ta-ai-ar-ti-ia šē ʾMa-da-ai
ru-ṣu-ti šā šarrānišubēl-ši-ta la iš-mu-ū
zi-kiḥ māti-šu-un man-da-ta-šu-nu am-
ḥu-r a-na ni-ri-ia ă-šak-ni-su-nu-šu

18. i-na šal-li girī-ri-ia a-na ḫa-at-ti lu
al-lik “Lu-ši-i šēr ʾṢi-du-un-ni [pu]-

I devastated. Their houses of the
plain, (that is) tents, I burned with
fire. I turned back, and that Bit-
Kilamzah

12. I made into a stronghold. People of
the lands which my hand had seized,
I settled therein, and placed them
under (lit. counted them into the
hand of) the governor of Arrapha,
I turned the front of my yoke

13. and took the road against the Ellipi.
Ispahāra, their king, forsok his
strong cities, and fled to distant
parts. Marubishiti and Akkuddu,
his royal residence-cities,

14. together with the cities of their
environs, I captured, I carried off
their spoil, I destroyed, I devastated,
I burned with fire. Sisirtu, Kum-
mahlim, strong cities, together with
the small cities

15. of their environs, I captured. The
district of Bit-Barrū in its totality I
cut off from his land and added it to
the territory of Assyria. Elenzash
I turned into the stronghold of
that
district. I changed its name, and
called it Kar-Sennacherib. Peoples
of the land which my hands had con-
quered, I settled therein, and placed it
under the governor of Harhar.

17. On my return I received the gifts of
the distant Medes, whose name the
kings, my fathers had not heard,
and I made them submit to my
yoke.

18. In my third campaign I went against
the Hittite3 land, Lull, king of Sidon
—my terrifying splendor overcame him, and from Tyre he fled to Cyprus.

19. in the midst of the sea, and died. Tuba’lu I placed on the royal throne, (and) imposed my kingly tribute upon him. The kings of Amurru, all of them,

20. brought their heavy tribute before me in the neighborhood of Usu, and Sidkâ, king of Ashkelon, who had not submitted to my yoke,—his fatherhouse, himself, together with his family,

21. I tore up and carried away to Assyria. Sharru-lu-dari, son of Rukibtí, their former king, I placed over the people of Ashkelon, and imposed my royal tribute upon him.

22. In the course of my campaign, his cities, which had not submitted at my feet, I captured, I carried off their spoil. The governors and people of Ekron, who had thrown into iron fetters Padî, their king,

23. who was bound by oath to Assyria, and had given him to Hezekiah, the Jew,—he kept him in confinement, like an enemy,—they became afraid, and appealed to the Egyptian kings, the bow-men,

24. the chariots and horses of the king of Meluhha, a countless host. In the plain of Eltekeh I fought with them, I defeated them. The charioteers

25. and Egyptian princes, together with the charioteer of the king of Meluhha, I captured alive with my (own) hand.

1 So Smith-Sayce, III R has ‘A-mur-ri.

2 Yadnan, the isle(s) of the Danoai. Cf. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, XXVIII (1914), 92 f.
ru-na ak-rib-ma šakkannakkešši šad hi-it-tu

26. ú-ša-šu-ú i-na *kakšši a-dač maršši ali e-piš an-ni a-na šal-la-ti an-nu si-it-tu-tu-šu-nu šd hi-ti-la-šu-un la šiš-šu úš-šur-šu-un aš-bi *Pa-di-i ša-ra-šu-nu


28. a-na ni-ri-i ašiš ša₃⁄₄ dārdnišiš ši li-me-tiš-šu-nu šd ni-ba la iš-šu al-me akšud(ud) aš-ši-la šal-la-tiš am-nu ša-šu kima imša ku-up-pi ki-rù


I drew near to Ekron,—the governors who had rebelled (committed sin)

26. I slew with the sword. The citizens who had rebelled (sinned) I counted as spoil. The rest of them, who had not rebelled, I pardoned. Pad, their king,

27. I brought out of Jerusalem and placed on the throne over them. My royal tribute I imposed upon him. As for Hezekiah, the Jew, who had not submitted

28. to my yoke, 46 of his strong, walled cities and the cities of their environs, which were numberless, I besieged, I captured, I plundered, as booty I counted. Him, like a caged bird in

29. Jerusalem, his royal city, I shut up. Earth works I threw up about it. His cities which I plundered, I cut off from his land and gave to

30. the kings of Ashdod, Ashkelon, Ekron and Gaza,—I diminished his land. To the former tribute, I imposed and laid upon him the giving up of his land as a gift. That Hezekiah,—the terrifying splendor of my royalty

31. overcame him, and the Arabs and his picked troops whom he had brought into Jerusalem, his royal city, ran away. With 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver

32. and all kinds of treasure from his palace, he sent his daughters, his palace women, his male and female singers, to Nineveh, and he dispatched his messenger to pay the tribute.
33. In my fourth campaign I went against Bit-Yakin. In the course of my campaign, I defeated Shuzubu, the Chaldean, who dwelt in the midst of the marshes, at Bittutu.

34. That one feared my weapons, fled alone, and his (hiding) place has not been found (seen). The front of my yoke I turned, and took the road to Bit-Yakin. That

35. Merodach-baladan, whom I had defeated in my first campaign, became afraid at the tumult of my mighty arms, and fled to Nagitu which is in the midst of the sea (Persian Gulf).

36. His brothers, the seed of his father-house, whom he abandoned by the sea-shore, the rest of the people of his land, I carried off as spoil from Bit-Yakin, out of the marshes and swamps. I turned about and

37. destroyed his cities, I burned them with fire. On my return, I placed my son Assur-nadin-shum on his royal throne, and made (the land) submit to him. In my fifth campaign, the

38. people of Tumur, whose abodes are situated on the peaks of Mt. Nipur, a difficult mountain, like the nests of the eagle, and who had not submitted to my yoke:—at the foot of Mt. Nipur

39. I pitched my camp. With my relentless warriors, I, like a strong wild-ox, led the way. Gullies and difficult mountain torrents I surmounted in my (sedan-)chair.

40. Where it was too steep for my chair, I advanced on foot, like a young
gazelle. Where my knees gave out and found a resting-place, I sat down upon (some) mountain boulder and drank

41. cold water from the water-skin (to quench) my thirst. To the summits of the mountains I pursued them, and brought about their overthrow. Their cities I captured and I carried off their spoil,

42. I destroyed, I devastated, I burned (them) with fire. I turned the front of my yoke. Against Maniae, king of Ukku, who was not submissive, I took the road. Among the unblazed trails and wearisome paths which stretch along these rugged mountains,

43. none of the kings who went before me, had traveled before the yoke. At the foot of Mt. Anara and Mt. Uppa, mighty mountains, I had my camp pitched, and

44. I, on a house-chair, together with my warriors, with difficulty climbed to the summits of the wearisome mountains.

45. That Maniae heard of the approach of my army (lit. campaign), left Ukku, his royal city and fled to distant parts. I entered

46. into his palace. All kinds of property and goods, without number, I carried off,—heavy treasure was his. His cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire,

47. and I overwhelmed them (so that they) were like a tell (left by) the deluge.
48. In my sixth campaign, against
49. Nagitu (and) Nagitu-dibina,
50. cities belonging to the king of Elam, which
51. are situated (lit. whose abode is situated) on the other side the Bitter-Sea (Persian Gulf),
52. whither the people of Bit-Yakin had scattered before
53. the mighty weapons of Assur,—
54. leaving their towns, and crossing over the Bitter-Sea,
55. they had settled down peacefully therein:
56. Assur, my lord, strengthened me,
57. I ordered the march to Nagitu.
58. Assur, my lord, strengthened me,
59. I ordered the march to Nagitu.
60. ships (after) the workmanship of their land, they built dexterously.
61. Sidonian and Cyprian sailors, captives of my hand, I ordered
62. (to descend) the Tigris with them and come to land at the wharves (?) at Opis.
63. From Opis (where) they drew them up on land,
64. they dragged them on sledges (?) [to the Arahtu-canal (?)].
65. They launched (lit. threw) them on the Arahtu-canal. To the channel of Bit-Dakkuri (?) of Chaldea I had them descend.
66. Below (?) in . . . . (a city), the bearers of my terrible weapons,
66. who know no fear, my picked foot-
soldiers, my brave warriors,

67. who know no rest(?), I embarked
them in the ships, and

68. provided supplies for the journey,
together with grain and straw for the
horses, which I embarked with

69. them. My warriors went down the
Euphrates on the ships while I

70. kept to the dry land at their side.
I had (them) proceed to Bāb-salimet.

71. At the lifting of my head, from the
bank of the Euphrates, to the shore of
the sea, a journey of two double-
hours, by land,

72. all finished (?) [safely] ...........

73. of the sea. ........ And I, the
word of his command did not heed.

74. In that place I pitched my camp.
The mighty waves of the sea came
up and

75. entered my tent. And they com-
pletely surrounded me while in my
camp, causing all of my men

76. to camp in the mighty ships as in
cages for five days and nights. The
ships of my warriors

77. reached the swamps at the mouth
of the river, where the Euphrates
empties (lit. carries) its waters

78. into the fearful sea. I met them on
the shore of the Bitter-Sea (the
Persian Gulf).

79. To Ea, king of the deep, I offered pure
sacrifices, and with a ship of gold,
80. al-lu-tu ḫurāši a-na ki-rib tam-tim ad-di-ma "elippāṭeš"-ia a-na eli "Na-gi-itī
81. ur-ru-ḫi-iš ú-še-bir i-na ki-bi-ri tam-tim gal-la-ti šā a-na ši-ik-nu a-na e-li-e
82. sišēti ṣi-it-kun šēpi amēli la na-tu danniš šum-ru-ush-ma ba-ḫu-la-ti ʾKāl-dī
83. a-šīb "Na-qi-tī "Na-qi-ti-di-ki-bī-na nišēti ʾHī-il-mu ʾBil-la-tū
84. ú Ḫu-pa-pa-nu "elippāṭeš" kū-ra-di-ia i-mu-ru-ma šābēši ṣašši šu-um-bi
85. sišēti parēši e-muḫ la ni-bi ú-ka-p-pi-tū miš-ḫa-riš
86. el-la-mē-šu-un i-na
87. Ḫ-la-a na-ru šā ki-bir-ša
88. ṭābu si-id-ru šū-ku-nu
89. me-li-e ummanāš-šī-i a-na šab-tu-ma
90. ú-ša-še-šu-un "kakkēšī-šu-un
91. kū-ra-du-ū-ša a-na ka-a-ri
92. ma-kal-li-e ik-šu-du šir-u-šu-šu-un
93. ul-tu ki-rib "elippāṭeš" a-na ki-biri ar-ri-biš
94. ip-par-ša-ma iš-kū-nu taḫ-la-šu-un ʿNa-qi-tū
95. "Na-qi-ti-di-ki-bī-na Ḫi-il-mu ʾBil-la-tū
96. ú Ḫu-pa-pa-nu ašām šē šar ʾElam-ti ik-šu-du
97. dan-nu-su-un te-ne-šiši "Kal-di ilāniš-gim-ri ʾBī-ʾIa-kin
98. a-di makkāri-šu-nu ú nišēšī ʾEl-la-me-i šu-um-bi
99. parēši imērēši iš-šu-lu-ni ki-rib "elippāṭeši-[šu-nu]

80. I cast into the sea a golden fish and a golden aluttu. My ships
81. I speedily brought over to Nagitu. On the shore of the fearful sea, which for landing and loading
82. horses, and for men to walk upon, was unsuitable, (indeed) exceedingly wearisome, the people of Chaldea,
83. who lived at Nagitu and Nagitu-di'ba, the people of Hilmu, Billatu
84. and Hupapanu, saw the ships of my warriors and they gathered together bowmen, wagons,
85. horses, mules, a countless host,
86. against them. By
87. the Ulai, a river whose bank was good, the battle line was drawn up.
88. was good, the battle line was drawn up.
89. Seizing the place where my armies were to land (lit. the landing place of my armies),
90. they offered battle.
91. My warriors gained the
92. banks of the levees, against them
93. they swarmed from the ships to the shore, like locusts, and
94. established their overthrow.
95. Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Hilmu, Billatu,
96. and Hupapanu, cities belonging to the king of Elam, they captured.
97. Their garrisons, men of Chaldea, all the gods of Bit-Yakin,
98. together with their goods, and the Elamites, and wagons,
99. mules and asses, they carried off as spoil, loaded them on their ships
100. ú-še-lu-ma a-ḥa-an-na-a a-na *Bāb-

100. and brought them over to Bāb-

101. ú-še-bi-ru-ni alānī2 iš-tub-ru lu

101. Those cities they destroyed, devas-

102. eli Elamti4 yapat-im(tim) it-bu-ku

102. Over the wide land of Elam they

103. 30,500 *kašiti 30,500 *a-ri-tu i-na

103. 30,500 bows, 30,500 arrows, I selected

104. šarru-ti-ia ú-rad-dii it-ti šal-lat na-qi-

104. to my royal equipment. From the

105. karāš-ia =bēl piḥaṭe3-ia ú niṣe2

105–6. to all of my camp, my governors,

106. lu ú-zə-İZ

106. and the people of my large cities.

5 OTHER BULL INSCRIPTIONS (F2)

1–6. Ekal =Sin-ahšeri-balatu šarru rabu

1–6. Palace of Sennacherib, the great

7. i-na ta-ḥa-az šeri [ina ta-mi-rī Kiš2]

7. In open battle (in the plain of Kish),

8. =Marduk-apla-iddina(na) šar 1Kar-

8. Merodach-baladan, king of Baby-

9. e-ki-ma be-lu-du gīm-ri =Kal-di4 a-di

9. I deprived him of his kingdom (lit.

10. um-ma-na-a-ti Elamti4 (v. E-la-

10. hosts of Elamites, his allies, I cut

11. i-na kakkāši Aššur-na-din-šumu

11. with the sword. Assur-nadin-shum, my

12. ori-la. 2E2, an-ni. 3So E2.

12. ori-la, E2, om. a-a.
12. I placed on the royal throne and made the wide land of Akkad (Babylonia) submit to him.

13. I uprooted all the Ahlamu and Sutu (Aramaean tribes).

14. The men of Hirimme I cut down with the sword, and

15. no offspring of theirs escaped. I conquered the Yasubigallai,

16. treacherous enemies, overthrew the Ellipi and destroyed their towns.

17. And Lulf, king of Sidon, was afraid to fight me (lit. feared my battle) and fled to Cyprus,

18. which is in the midst of the sea, and there sought a refuge. In that land,

19. in terror of the weapons of Assur, my lord, he died. Tuba'lu I placed on the throne of his kingdom, and imposed upon him my royal tribute. I devastated

20. the wide district of Judah, the strong, proud Hezekiah, its king, I brought in submission

21. to my feet. The people of Tumur, who dwell on Mt. Nipur, a steep mountain,

22. I cut down with the sword. Ukku, together with all of its towns, I destroyed (so that they were) like a ruin (left) by a deluge.

23. The people of Hilakku, who dwell in the high mountains, I slaughtered like wild animals. Til-garimmu, which is on the border of Tabal, I conquered, I turned into a ruin. The men of Chaldea

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1 E2, i.
2 E2, i om.
3 E2, E2, tu.
4 E2, ša.
5 E2, omakriti.
6 E2, om.
26. who feared the onset of my battle and, gathering the gods of their whole land from their shrines,

27. crossed the sea, and settled in Nagitu.

28. I crossed over after them in Hittite (Syrian) ships. Nagitu, Nagitu-di'bina, Hilmu, Billatu

29. and Hupapanu, the province which is on the other side the Bitter-Sea, I conquered.

30. And the people of Chaldea, together with their gods, the people of the king of Elam, I carried off. Not a sinner escaped.

VI. RECORDS WRITTEN AFTER THE EIGHTH CAMPAIGN

1. Assur, Anu, Enlil, Ea, Sin, Shamaah, Adad, Marduk, Nabû, Nusku, Ishtar, Sibi, the great gods,

2. who in all lands give attention (lit. raise the eye) to the rule of the black-headed race of men, (who) named (me) ruler:

3. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world), the prince who endows (their cults): in their enduring grace,

4. from the upper sea to the lower sea, I have marched in safety, and the princes of the four quarters (of the world) I have brought in submission to my feet.
5. i-šu-tu ap-ša-a-ni i-na ā-me-šu-ma šá Ninua₆ i-na u-me-su-ma 
so that they drew my yoke. At that 
time I greatly enlarged the site (lit. 
abode) of Nineveh. Its wall, and 
the outer-wall thereof, which had not
6. existed before, I built anew, and 
raised mountain-high. Its fields, 
which through lack of water had 
fallen into neglect (lit. ruin), and
7. came to look like pitch(?), so that 
its people did not have (lit. know) 
any water for watering, but turned 
their eyes heaven-ward for showers 
of rain,—(these fields)
8. I watered, and from the villages of 
Masiti, Banbakabna, Shapparishu, 
Kar-Shamash-nâsir, Kar-nûri, 
Rimus, 
9. Hatâ, Dalain, Rêsh-êni, Sulu, Dur- 
Ishtar, Shibanâ, Ispârra,
10. Gingilinish, Nampagâte, Tillu, Alum-
susi, the waters which were above the 
town of Hadabiti, (through) eighteen 
canals which I dug, 
11. I brought (lit. directed their course) 
into the Khosr River. From the 
border of the town of Kisiri to the 
midst of Nineveh, I dug a canal, and 
brought down
12. those waters therein. Sennacherib-
Channel, I called its name. And 
the surplus of those waters I led out 
through the midst of Mt. Tas,
13. a difficult mountain, on the border 
of Akkad.² Formerly they called that 
canal. . . . Now, I, at the command of
14. Assur, the great lord, my lord 
directed into it (the canal mentioned)

¹ Conjectural reading. ² Or Urartu, Armenia?
15. in whose sides are the . . . . of Me—, Kuk—(and) Biturra, towns of the neighborhood: with stone I walled that canal, and called its name Sennacherib-[Channel].

16. In addition to the waters from springs, and the waters which [I had earlier secured] by digging (canals), . . . . I directed their course

17. to Nineveh, the great metropolis, my royal abode, whose site since days of old, the kings my fathers, had not enlarged,

18. and whose adornment they had not undertaken, At this time, I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, first among all princes, who from the rising sun

19. to the setting sun, . . . . (with) waters from the canals which I had caused to be dug [supplied] Nineveh, together with its neighborhood. Gardens, vineyards,

20. all kinds of . . . . products of all the mountains, the fruits of all lands,

21. . . . . I planted(?), setting free the waters where they did not reach the thirsty (field), [and reviving] its vegetation,

22. damaged (by drought) . . . . of all the orchards, at the entrance . . . . above (the city) and below(?) . . . . from the midst of the town of Tarbisi

23. to Nineveh, providing for all time, water for the planting of corn and sesame . . . . among the kings
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24. my sons, whoever reflects (communes with his heart) and cannot bring himself to believe that with these few people

25. I had dug that canal:—by Assur, my great lord I take oath. If with these men I did not dig that canal,

26. and in a year (and) three months did not complete its construction, then [its construction] was not finished [nor] its excavation brought to completion.

27. To dedicate (open) that canal I sent an ashipu and a kalû priest, ... sandu-stone (carnelian), lapis-lazuli, Mushgarru, Hulalu, UD-ASH stones,

28. precious stones, a Balgi fish, and a Suhur-fish ... of gold, herbs, choice oil, to Ea, lord of the springs, fountains

29. and the plain (?), (and) Enbilulu, lord of rivers, the lords who answer my prayers (?), I presented as gifts. I prayed to the great gods, and

30. they heard my prayers, and prospered the work of my hands. A canal-gate [I built] and the sluice-valve opened by itself and

31. supplied the water of abundance;—through man's handiwork the sluice was not opened. . . . For the heart's comfort (?) of the gods I dug water (courses). After I had planned

32. the canal and directed its construction, to the great gods, who go at my side, and who establish prosperity, sleek oxen and

1 A fish mentioned in the Omen literature.
33. fat sheep I offered as pure sacrifices. Those men who dug that canal I clothed with brightly colored linen (?) garments.

34. Golden rings, daggers of gold, I put upon them. In the same year with the opening (lit. flowing) of that canal which I dug, against Umman-menanu,

35. king of Elam and the king of Babylon together with many kings of mountain and sea, who were their allies, in the plain of the city of Halulé

36. I drew up the battle line. At the command of Assur, the great lord, my lord, like a swift javelin I went into their midst and accomplished

37. the defeat of their armies. Their hosts I shattered, I broke up their organization. The chieftains of the king of Elam, together with Nabû-shum-ishedun, son of Merodach-baladan,

38. king of Babylonia, my hands took alive in that battle. As for the king of Elam and the king of Babylonia, the dread of my terrible onslaught

39. overcame them, they forsook their chariots, and they fled their lands to save their lives.

40. And they did not come back. Thereupon Sennacherib became violently angry and as he ordered (his army) to turn toward Elam,

41. fear and terror were poured out over all of Elam, and they left their land and, to save their lives, like the eagle
42. Sad-da-a mar-šu in-ni-du-ma ki-i
na is-šu-ri kùš-šú-di i (text, at)-lar-ra-[ku] liš-bù-šu-un a-di ú-mi ši-tim-ti šu-nu tu-du
43. la iP-tu-ma la e-pu-šu la-ba-zu i-na šant(i) girri-ia a-na Babili ša (v. ša)
a-na ka-ša-di ú-ša-am-me-ru-šu ḫi-il-mu-tiš
44. al-līk-ma ki-ma ti-i še me-ḫi-e a-sik-ma
ki-ma im-ba-ri as-ḫu-up-šu (v. šu) ala ni-i-ti al-me-ma i-na

45. pil-ši ū na-p(b)al-ka-ti kātā-[ai ik-šu-da] šu-bu-ut . . . . . . donnāteššu ǧihi ʿer ćad(a) la e-si-b-ma ʿem-pagṛššu-šu-nu ri-bil ali
46. ū-mal-ti ʾṢā-šu-bu šar Babili ga-du
kim-ti-šu [. . . . .] ʾṣu bal-tu-su-un a-na ki-ri₇-bati-ia ū-bil-šu (v. la)
47. makkār ali šu-a-tu kaspu ṣurṣu
abnē-ni-si₇-kūš makkāra a-na kātāš (nišša⁷-i₇-am-ni-ti ma a-na i-di ra-ma-ni-šu-nu ū-tir-ru
48. ʾilāniš a-bih bī-šu kātāš nišša⁷-i₇-ia
ik-šu-nu-ti-ša ū-sab-bi-ru-ma [buṣ]-šu-nu makkāra šu-nu šš-šu [v. i₇] ʾAdad ʾṢa-la ʾilāniš
49. ša ʾEkkalāṭiš ša ʾMDrdg-nādīn-aḥša⁷ šar ʾAkkadtiš a-na šar-ša
ʾTukulti-ši apal-e e šdr-ra. šar ʾAr ʾAssuruš šš-šu-ma a-na Babiliš ʿu-bil-šu
50. i-na ʾIšanātiš ul-lu Babiliš ú-šē-ya-
am-ma a-na ʾEkkalāṭiš a-na aš-rī-
šu-nu ū-tir-šu-nu-ti ala ʿu bitāššu

42. betook themselves to the inaccessible mountain(s), and, like unto birds that one pursues, their hearts were rent. To the day of their death
43. they did not come out (lit. open any way) nor did they make war. In my second campaign I advanced swiftly against Babylon, upon whose
conquest I had determined, like the oncoming of a storm I broke loose, and I overwhelmed it like a hurricane. I completely invested that
city, with
44. mines and engines my hands (took the city), the plunder . . . . . . his powerful . . . . whether small or great, I left none. With their corpses
45. I filled the city squares (wide places). Shuzubu, king of Babylonia, together with his family and his (nobles) I carried off alive into my land.
46. The wealth of that city,—silver, gold, precious stones, property and goods, I doled out (counted into the hands of) to my people and they made it their own.
47. The gods dwelling therein,—the hands of my people took them, and they smashed them. Their property and goods they seized. Adad and Shala,
48. the gods of Ekkalāṭe (a city), whom Marduk-nādin-ahša, king of Babylon, in the reign of Tiglath-pileser, king of Assyria, had seized and carried off to Babylon,
49. after four hundred and eighteen years I brought them out of Babylon and returned them to their place in Ekkalāṭe. The city and (its) houses,—
51. foundation and walls (lit. from its foundation to its walls), I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire. The wall and outer wall, temples and gods, temple-tower of brick and earth, as many as there were,

52. I razed and dumped them into the Arahtu-canal. Through the midst of that city I dug canals, I flooded its site (lit. ground) with water, and the very

53. foundations thereof (lit. the structure of its foundation) I destroyed. I made its destruction more complete than that by a flood. That in days to come, the site of that city, and (its) temples and gods,

54. might not be remembered, I completely blotted it out with (floods) of water and made it like a meadow. At the mouth of the canal which I dug through the midst of the mountain of Tas,

55. I fashioned six great stelas with the images of the great gods, my lords, upon them, and my royal image, with face averted

56. (in prayer), I set up before them. Every deed of my hands, which I wrought for the good of Nineveh, I had engraved thereon,

57. to be a memorial(?) to the kings, my sons. If ever there is a future prince among the kings, my sons, who

58. destroys the work which I have done, (and) breaks the covenant I have (hereby) made with him, diverts the course of the waters of those canals from the plain of Nineveh,
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59. ildni\textsuperscript{1} rabātē\textsuperscript{1} ma-lā i-na \textsuperscript{8}mumārē an-ni-e šú-mu na-bu-ū i-na și-il pi-ī-šu-[nu] 59. may the great gods, all whose names are named in these stelae, by the word of their mouth,

60. parsī el-li šā la na-[du-u ar-rat limul]-ti li-ru-ru-šu-ma lis-ki-pu palē-šu 60. a holy decree which cannot fail, curse him with an evil curse, and overthrow his rule.

b) THE NEBI YUNUS INSCRIPTION (H 4)

1. ekal șin-aḫē\textsuperscript{2} -ēri-ba šarru rabū šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar ʾAššur\textsuperscript{3} šar kī-rat ir-bitītim (tim) 1. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world);

2. mi-qīr ildni\textsuperscript{1} rabātē\textsuperscript{1} lu-li-mu ir-šu ma-al-ku pil-šu-du ri-ē-um ba-ḫu-la-a-ti 2. favorite of the great gods; wise sovereign, provident prince, shepherd of peoples,

3. mut-tar-ru-ū nišē\textsuperscript{1} rap-sa-a-ti a-na-ku ʾAššur abu ildni\textsuperscript{1} i-na kul-lat ma-li-ki 3. ruler of widespread nations, am I. Assur, father of the gods, regarded me with favor

4. ki-nī šapala-na-ma ʾelī gi-mir a-šīb pa-rak-ki ū-šar-ba-a ḫakkē\textsuperscript{2} -ia . . . 4. above (lit. among) all princes, and made my arms great above all (those) who dwell in palaces;

5. ḥaṭṭu i-šar-tu mu-rap-pi-šat mi-iṣ-ri šī-bir-ru la pa-du-ū a-na šum-kuš za-ri 5. a righteous scepter, which enlarges the border, an unsparing lance for the overthrow of my enemies,

6. ū-šat-me-iḥ rī-tu-ū-a i-na ta-ḥa-az ʾērī ʾMar-dūk-apla-iddina(na) šar ʾKar-ṣu-dun-id-dī 6. he put into my hand. In open battle (lit. a battle of the plain) like a hurricane (deluge) I cast down Merodach-baladan, king of Babylon,

7. ʾA-ra-me a-di ummānāt\textsuperscript{1} Elami\textsuperscript{2} ri-gi-šu a-bu-biš aš-pu-un šu-ū 7. the Chaldeans and Aramaeans, together with the armies of Elam, his ally. That one

8. a-na māṭ tam-tim e-diś ip-par-šīd-ma ʾildni\textsuperscript{1} ma-šal māti-šu tī-mēšēti (GIR-PAD-DU)\textsuperscript{1} abē\textsuperscript{2} -šu 8. fled alone to the Sea-land and the gods of his whole land, with the bones of his fathers,

9. maḥ-ru-ti u-ṭu ki-rīb ki-nābḥi iḥ-pi-ṭir-ma nišē\textsuperscript{1} [šu] a-na ki-rīb elippātē\textsuperscript{1} 9. (who lived) before (him), (which) he gathered from their coffins, and his people,

10. ū-še-li-ma a-na Na-gi-ti šā e-bir-tan ʾMar-rat e-bīr-ma i-na aš-ri 10. he loaded on ships and crossed over to Nagitu, which is on the other side of the Bitter-Sea (Persian Gulf); and in that
11. šú-a-tu i-miš šad-dash-gim-mir mát-tu-šu akšud(ud)-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu alāniššu ab-bul aš-šur

12. i-na girri ak-mu akšud(ud) CLUD-rimmu ū mát šu-bi-gal-la-ai mát Ellipiš


14. *Tu-ba-šu i-na *kusšaššu ú-šešib-ma man-da-at-tu béluš-ša ú-kin ši-ruššu

15. úšal-pit-rapšu na-gu-ú ša-ú-di *Yaša-ši-ša šarrásu e-miš ap-ša-ani

16. amlátu *Tu-mur-ra-ai aši-bu-šu šadšiš i-na *kakki ušam-kît *Uk-šu

17. a-di nap-har da-ád-meš ša ki-ma ši a-bu-bi ú-ab-biš niššiš *Yi-lakki ašši-bu-šu

18. šurša-ani a-nar i-na *kakki alānššu nu-ab-bul aš-kur i-na girri ak-mu

19. *Tu-ga-šum ša pa-at *Ta-bá-li akšud(ud)-ma ú-tir a-na kar-me *Na-gittu


21. šá šar *Elamšiš šá i-na e-biš-tan tamtim šit-ku-na-at ša-bat-sun ša niššišši

22. *Bit-ša-kin la-pa-an *kakkišša dannu-ti šinšišši mátšišu-un i-na šubtiššu

23. id-ku-ú tam-tim e-bi-ru-ma ú-si-bu kiribšu-un i-na *ellippadešši *Hu-tiši

That is, Syrian, Phoenician, ships.

11. place he died. The whole of his land I conquered and counted as booty. His cities I destroyed, I devastated,

12. I burned with fire. I conquered Hirimmu and the land of the Yasubigallai; the land of the Ellipi I

13. overthrew, and I destroyed its towns. I deprived Lult, king of Sidon, of his kingdom.

14. Tuba’lu I set on his throne and imposed my royal tribute upon him.

15. I overthrew the wide province of Judah. On Hezekiah, its king, I laid my yoke.

16. The people of Tumur, who live in the steep mountains, I cut them down with the sword. Ukku

17. with all of its towns, I destroyed (so that they were) like ruins (left by) a hurricane (deluge). The people of Cilicia, who live

18. in the mountains, I slew with the sword; their cities I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.

19. Til-garimmu, which is on the border of Tabalu, I captured and turned into ruins. Nagitu,

20. Nagitu-diššina, Hilmi, Billatu, Hupapašu, the provinces

21. of the king of Elam, which lie on the other side of the sea, where the people

22. of Bit-Yakin, gathering the gods of their lands out of their shrines, before my mighty arms, and crossing the sea,

23. had settled,—in Hittite ships
24.  šá i-na Ninua\textsuperscript{1} ū 'Til-bar-ni-îp e-pu-
šu tam-tim lu e-bir alâni\textsuperscript{2} šá ki-rîb
25.  na-gi-e ša-tu-nu aššud(ud)-ma i-na
girr āk-mu nišê\textsuperscript{3} 'Bitt=Ia-kin ū
ilâni\textsuperscript{4} šu-nu
26.  a-di ba-ḫu-la-a-te šar 'Elamti\textsuperscript{5} aš-lu-
lam-ma a-na 'Āšur\textsuperscript{6} ū-ra-a
27.  ar-ka Bâbilî\textsuperscript{7} šá i-ši- t ùMarduk-
apla-iddina(na) ū-šu-û in-nab-tu E-
lam-taš
28.  šar 'Elamti\textsuperscript{8} a-na Bâbilî\textsuperscript{9} (i)i-šiku-
nim-ma ŠŠu-šu-šu mār Ga-ḫul i-na
\textsuperscript{10} w
\textsuperscript{11} kuši šarru-ti
29.  eli-šu-nu ū-še-ši-ma šâbê\textsuperscript{12} \textsuperscript{13} kakki
(sö Sm.-Sayce, IR has ša(ṭi)
warkabât\textsuperscript{14} sisê\textsuperscript{15} ki-šir šarru-ti-a
a-na mi-ši-rît
30.  šar 'Elamti\textsuperscript{16} ū-ša-šir ummânâtêr\textsuperscript{17} ma-
du it-ti mārī-šu i-du-ku-va i-tur
ar-ka-ništ
31.  šā-nu a-di\textsuperscript{18} Uruk\textsuperscript{19} iš-lam-dai-ḫu
išmaš šá Larsa\textsuperscript{20} išmaš šá Eridu\textsuperscript{21}
(\textsuperscript{1} text NUN-E-SI) Bēltu šá Uruk\textsuperscript{22}
na-na-a
32.  iš-lam-dai-ḫu Kurun-nam (GAS-TIN-nam)
Kaš-ši-tu
\textsuperscript{24} Nergal (IGI-DU) ilâni\textsuperscript{25} a-ši-bu-ut
33.  Uruk\textsuperscript{26} a-di iš-tu-nu makkâra-
šu-nu ša la ni-bi iš-tu-šu-šu i-na na-a-
maš-ta
34.  Ša-šu-šu šar Bâbilî\textsuperscript{27} i-na taḫás šērî
baš-ta-u ıš-šu-da kâlûšu-un e-ri-
in-nu
\textsuperscript{1} Smith-Sayce, na.
\textsuperscript{2} Usually identified with Bīrjik, on the upper Euphrates. But see Hall, Ancient History of the
\textsuperscript{3} Near East, p. 488, n. 4, where reference is made to R. C. Thompson's identification of this place with
\textsuperscript{4} Tell Ahmar, near Jerabis.
35. bi-ri-tu id-du-su-ma a-di maḫ-ri-ia
ub-lu-niš-šu i-na abu-li šašab ali ša
Ninuaki
36. ar-ku-su da-bu-ú-eš šar ʾElamtiši ša
ri-šu-ui ʾBabilši i l-il-ki
37. a-na māti-šu lu al-li-lik alāniš dan-nu-ti
bit-niḫir-ti-šu u alānišiḫššüt ša
li-me-ti-šu nu
38. a-di ne-ri-bi ša ʾBitti-nu-na-ak-ki
al-me ak-šu(ud) al-lu-la šal-la-su-un
ab-bul
39. ak-kur i-na girri aš-mu šar ʾElamtiši
kaš-ad alāniššu iš-me-ma im-ku-su
ḫal-tum
40. si-it-ti nisṭiššu māti-šu a-na dan-na-a-ti
uš-šiš šu-šu ʿMa-da-ku al šarru-ti-šu
41. e-sīb-ma a-na Ḥa-i-da-la ša ki-rīb
šad-diš is-ta-kan pa-ni-šu
42. a-na ʿMa-da-ku el šarru-ti-šu aš-la-ku
ak-timiššu Tekitu ku-uš-šu dan-nu ik-šu-
dam-ma
43. ša-mu-tum la zi-iz-tum il-lik-ma šal-šu
na-ba-lum na-ad-bak šad(ī) a-du-ra
ūtir-ma
44. a-na šašurši aš-ba-la ḫar-ra-na ar-ka
šar ʾElam-ti Par-su-αš An-za-an
45. ʾPa-ši-riʾ El-li-pi nopp-ḫar ʾKal-di
ʾA-ra-me ka-li-šu-un kit-ru rabā(u)
46. ti-ta-ra ʾil-ti-šu a-di šar ʾBabilši a-na
aḫa-meš ḫir-ri-bu-ma a-na e-piš
47. taḫāzi i-na irti-ia iliku-ni i-na e-muk
ʾAššur beli-ia i-na ta-mir-ti Ḥa-lu-
li-e (text, na)
35. him fettered into a cage and brought
him before me. I tied him up in
the middle city-gate of Nineveh,
36. like a pig. The king of Elam who
had come to aid the Babylonians,—
37. against his land I marched. The
strong 'cities, his treasure-houses
(cities), and the small cities of their
environs,
38. as far as the pass of (or, entrance to)
Bit-Bunakki, I besieged, I captured,
I carried off their spoil, I destroyed,
39. I devastated, I burned with fire. The
king of Elam heard of the capture of
his cities and terror fell upon him.
40. The remnant of the people of his
land he brought up into strongholds,
while he (himself) forsook Madaktu,
his royal city,
41. and turned his face toward Haidala
which is in the midst of the mountains.
42. To Madaktu, his royal city, I ordered
the march. Tebitu (the tenth Baby-
lonian month) (with) severe weather
(cold) set in,
43. uninterrupted rains came on, and
snow. I was afraid of the swollen
mountain streams and turned back and
44. took the road to Assyria. Thereupon
the king of Elam gathered to himself
a large body of confederates,—(the
men) of Parsua, Anzan,
45. Pashiru, Elipi, the whole of Chaldea,
and all the Aramaeans.
46. These, with the king of Babylon,
drew near en masse, and set upon me,
offering battle.
47. (Trusting) in the might of Assur, my
lord, I fought with them in the plain
of Halulē,
48. \( \text{it-ti-šu-nu am-da-ši-ša taḫā-šu-nu} \)  
\( \text{aš-kun 150,000 šabētī taḫāši-šu-nu} \)  
\( \text{i-na} \)  
49. \( \text{uš-šam-ki} \)  
\( \text{ur-nu-nu-a-ti} \)  
\( \text{aš-ša-nu-nu-nu e-ki-mū-nu-ti} \)  
49. I defeated them, cutting down with 
the sword 150,000 of their warriors.  
50. \( \text{na-šu-nu a-dī} \)  
\( \text{mār} \)  
\( \text{šar-um-šum-iddina(ka) šā i-na} \)  
50. Their chariots, wagons and royal 
tents I took from them.  
51. [\( \text{šu-um-ba-ti} \)  
\( \text{u-nu} \)  
\( \text{mīn a-na} \)  
\( \text{šu-nu-nu} \)  
51. were bedecked with golden orna-
ments, wore golden daggers,  
52. [\( \text{u-maM-še~ru-wi} \)  
\( \text{zu-ti} \)  
\( \text{tī} \)  
\( \text{ki-rib} \)  
52. had their fingers covered (lit. bound) 
with golden rings,  
53. \( \text{u-šu-um-ba-ti} \)  
\( \text{u-nu} \)  
\( \text{šu-nu-nu} \)  
53. I (lit. my hands) captured alive in 
the battle. As for the king of Baby-
lon and the king of Elam, the chilling 
terror of my battle overcame them,  
54. \( \text{u-nu} \)  
\( \text{u-Marduk-apla-iddina(na) i} \)  
54. they let their dung go into their 
chariots, they ran off alone,  
55. \( \text{u-nu} \)  
\( \text{u-maM-še~ru-wi} \)  
\( \text{zu-ti} \)  
55. and fled their land.  

1. . . . .  
2. [\( \text{a-dī ba-šu-la-ti} \)  
\( \text{šar} \)  
\( \text{Elamiti aššu-lam-ma ana} \)  
\( \text{Aššur}^4 \) ]  
2. [\( \text{the men of} \)  
\( \text{the king} \)  
\( \text{of Elam I} \)  
\( \text{carried off and brought} \)  
\( \text{them to Assyr} \)  
3. . . . . . ]  
3. Afterwards [\( \text{the Babylonians who} \)  
\( \text{had} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]  
4. . . . . . [\( \text{with} \)  
\( \text{Merodach-baladan} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]  
4. . . . . . [\( \text{before} \)  
\( \text{my mighty weapons} \)  
\( \text{had run away and} \)  
5. . . . . . [\( \text{Elam} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]  
5. . . . . . [\( \text{had gone forth and fled to} \)  
\( \text{Elam} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]  
6. . . . . . [\( \text{the Elamite came} \)  
\( \text{to Babylon} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]  
7. . . . . . [\( \text{and} \)  
\( \text{the Elamite king} \)  
\( \text{placed} \)  
\( \text{[Shuzubu]} \)  
\( \text{on the royal throne over} \)  
\( \text{them} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]  
8. . . . . . [\( \text{to Babylon} \)  
\( \text{. . . . .} \) ]
9. [Soldiers, chariots] horses, my royal host, against
10. [the king of Elam I sent]. Many of his host, together with his son, they slew. But
11. [I turned back, while they] marched on to Erech, Shamash of Larsa,
12. [the gods] dwelling therein (that is, in Erech) together with their property
13. [and their goods,—there was no numbering it], they carried off as spoil. On their return (march), Shuzubu
14. [king of Babylon] they captured alive in open battle
15. and [brought him] before me. I tied him up [in the gate] in the middle the city of Nineveh like a pig.
16. [The king of Elam] who had come to the aid of the Babylonians,—
17. [against his land I marched.] The strong cities, his treasure-houses (cities) and the small cities
18. [of their environs, as far as] the pass of (or, entrance to) Bt-Bunakki, I besieged, I captured,
19. [I carried off their spoil], I destroyed, I devastated, I burned with fire.
20. [The king of Elam] heard of the [capture of his cities] and terror fell upon him. The remnant of the people of his land
21. [he brought up into strongholds,] while he himself forsook Madaktu, his royal city and
22. turned his face to [Haidala which is in the] midst of the mountains.
23. [To Madaktu, his royal] city, I ordered the march. Tebetu,1 with severe weather

The tenth Babylonian month, that is, December-January.
24. ... [a-du-ra] ḫa-ra ḫar-ra-nu
25. ... šu-ub na-gi-šu i-na eli ti-la-ni
26. ... [si-it] nišši māt-šu ša-la-pa-an *kakkēti-ia
27. [ipparšidi] ... u-še]-ri-dam-ma
28. ... nišši māt-šu ak-šu-ud-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
29. ... ina gīrri aš-mu "Bābilā" ši
30. ... [ip-ḫu]-ru-ma ik-nu-šu ša-pal-šu
31. ... [a-na] Šu-an-na ki a-la-ku aš-bi

Rev.
1. ... ū ni-sa-ti-iš ḫat-tum im-kūt-su-nu-ti
2. [. . .] ip-tu-ū ḫūrāša kaspa nī-sīk-ti abnēti a-na šar Elamti
3. [iš-pu]-ru-šu ki-a-am a-na Bābilāti
4. ... tu-kul-ta-ni lu at-la šu-ū šar Elamti
5. ... [akšu]-ma aš-ta-la šal-la-su alāni šu ab-bu-la
6. ... aš-mu ū i-na uz-ni-šu ul iš-ša-a
7. ... [da]-tu "Bābilāti ši im-ḫur-[ma]
8. ... ul iš-ba-a e-pi-su-un
9. [. . .] ū-pa]-bi-ir-ma 'Par-su-aš 'An-za-an 'Pa-ši-ru
10. ... with lamentation. Fear fell upon them.
11. [The treasury of Esagila they opened], gold, silver, precious stones to the king of Elam
12. [as a gift they sent. Their messenger] they dispatched with the message:
13. "To Babylon [hasten, come to our aid (side)] for thou art our trust." That Elamite [king]
14. [whom in the course of my former campaign I had defeated], had carried off his spoil, had destroyed his cities,
15. [had devastated and] burned [them] with fire, who hadn’t any sense,
16. ... received the gifts of the Babylonians.
17. ... did not tell them what to do (?)
10. . . . amA-rama ka-li-šu-un kit-ru
    rab(u)
11. . . . 1Babiliš[m] mărê Babiliš[Bar-
        sipš]
12. . . . [a]-na e-piš ta-ḫa-si a-na irti-ia
    illiku(ku)-ni
13. [ina emuk 4Aššur bēlia ina] ta-mir-ti
    [ Ya-šu-i]-e it-ti-šu-nu
14. [amdaḫiš taḫāšunu aškun] 150,000
    =šaḫēriš ta-ḫa-zi-šu-nu
15. [ina *hakki ušamkit *narkabāt[i *šu]-
    um-bara-ti *za-ra-ti [šarru-tišu-nu
    e-kinšu-nu-ti
16. [raḫē]-šunu adi *Nabû]-šum-šikun
    (un) măr =Marduk-apla-iddina-na
17. [ša ina *narkabāt[i kaspi ušu]-zu (♀
    as-ma-a-ti ḫurāši Tul-šu-[ma-tir]-
    ḫarāši ši-ku-nu
18. [u ina šeunuši ḫurāši ru]-uk-šu-[text
    lu]-ša riši-šu-un bal-tu-us-su-[un]
19. [kirib tambari ik-ša-da kātda]-ai šar
    Babiliš[ù šar ʻElamtiš]
20. [harbašu taḫāša is]-ḫupaš-u-nu-ti 4ri
    *narkabāt[i-šu-nu ú-maš-šu-ru-ni
21. [zūšun edīš ṭippasiduš-ma ma-tu-uš-
    šu-un in-na-bu-tu
22. [. . . . ]Telhu]-nu šar-rašt Am-ra-bi
    i-na ki-rih mad-bar-i
23. [. . . . ]x,000 gammal[aš]-e-kin ka-tušša
    ši-it-ti ḫa-za-šu
24. [. . . . ]harbašu ta-ḫa-ziš-a is-ḫup-
    šu-nu-ti kul-ta-rišu-nu ú-maš-šu-ru-
    ma
25. [. . . . ]-u ʻAdumuš-Šama ta-na napsa-
    ša-a-ti in-na-bu-tu

10. . . . all the Aramaens, an enor-
    mous host of confederates
11. [he called to his side. Babylon1 and
    the Babylonians, Borsippa
12. [and the men of Borsippa . . . . ]
    to make battle they came on against
    me.
13. [In the might of Assur my lord,] in
    the plain of Halulê, [I fought] with
    them,
14. [I defeated them], 150,000 of their
    warriors
15. [I cut down with the sword. Their
    chariots], wagons, and royal tents I
    took from them.
16. Their nobles, as well as Nabûšum-
    ishken, son of Merodach-baladan,
17. who stood (?) on silver chariots, were
    bedecked with golden ornaments,
    wore golden daggers,
18. [had their fingers] covered with
    [golden rings], these, alive
19. [in the midst of the battle] my hand
    captured. The king of Babylon and
    the king of Elam,—
20. [the chilling terror of my battle]
    overcame them and they let their
    dung go into their chariots.
21. [They ran off alone] and fled their
    land.
22. . . . [Telhunu], queen of the Arabs,
    in the midst of the desert,
23. . . . x thousand camels I took
    from her hand. She, with Hazael,
24. . . . [the terror of my battle]
    overcame them, they left their tents,
25. . . . to the . . . of Adummatu
    they fled for their lives.
HISTORICAL RECORDS ARRANGED CHRONOLOGICALLY

27. [. . . ] gu-me ša ri-i-tu maš-ki-tu la ba-šu-ú ki-ri[b-šu-[un]

4) SEAL OF TUKULTI-URTA I (H6)

1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.

1. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.
2. Booty of Babylonia. Who blots out my inscribed name,
3. may Assur and Adad destroy his name and his land.
4. This seal found some hidden way from Assyria to hostile Akkad.
5. I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria,
6. after 600 years, took Babylon,
7. and from the wealth (booty) of Babylon, I selected it.

Property of Shagarakti-Shuriash, king of the universe.

1. Tukulti-Urta, king of the universe, son of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.
2. Booty of Babylonia. Who blots out my written name,
3. may Assur and Adad destroy his name and his land.
4. Property of Shagarakti-Shuriash, king of the universe.
5. What was on a seal-cylinder of lapis-lazuli.
CHAPTER VI

"THE PALACE WITHOUT A RIVAL"

I. EARLIEST RECORD OF THE IMPROVEMENTS UNDERTAKEN BY SENNACHERIB AT NINEVEH (A 1)

63. i-na ú-ma² šu-ma Ninua¹ ma-ḫa-su² ši-i-ru alu na-[ram] Ishtar ša nap-ḥar ki-du-di-e ilāni³ iš¹ Ištar-di¹ ba-šu-ú⁴ ki-rib-šu

64. tim-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du-ru-uš ša-[a]-ti ša ul-ṭa ul-la ši-ṭir bu-ru-um⁵ me iš-rat-su iš-ril-ma šu-pu-ú ši-ṃ-du-šu⁶

65. aš-ru nak-lu⁷ šu-bat pi-ris-ti ša mimma šum-šu⁸ ši-pir ni-kil-tim¹⁰ gi-mir bi-lu-di-e ni-pi-ti¹¹ LAL.GAR šu-la-bu-lu¹² ki-rib-šu

66. ša ul-ṭa ul-la šarrānir²²²(ni) a-[i]-kut maḥ-ri abê³³³-[a] ul-la-nu-u-a be-šu-ud⁴ ʾAššur⁴ c-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-i-ru⁵ ba-ru-lat ⁶En-lil

67. u šat-ti¹⁸šam la na-par-ka-a [e]-rib la¹⁷ nar-ba-a-ti bilat ma-li kiš-rat ar-ba-i im-da-na¹⁹-ḫa-ru ki-rib-šu

63. At that time, Nineveh, the noble metropolis, the city beloved of Ishtar, wherein are all the meeting-places of gods and goddesses;

64. the everlasting substructure, the eternal foundation; whose plan had been designed from of old, and whose structure had been made beautiful along with the firmament of heaven;

65. the beautiful (artistic) place, the abode of divine law (decision, rule), into which had been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, every secret and pleasant (?) plan (or command, of god);

66. where from of old, the kings, who went before, my fathers, had exercised the lordship over Assyria before me, and had ruled the subjects of Enlil, and yearly without interruption, had received therein an unceasing income, the tribute of the princes of the four quarters (of the world).

¹ Written after the first campaign. The bracketed portions of the transliterations are for the most part restored from variants, and are therefore not conjectural.
² CI-4, me. ³ CI-4, ša. ⁴ CI-4, ši. ⁵ CI-4, u. ⁶ CI-4, d. ⁷ CI-4, šu. ⁸ CI-4, la. ⁹ CI-4, abu. ¹⁰ CI-4, ū. ¹¹ CI-4, ša. ¹² C1, 3, la. ¹³ B1, 8, 9. ¹⁴ C1, 1, 4, om. ¹⁵ B1, C2, 3, insert ah.
68. Not one among them had given his thoughtful attention to, nor had his heart considered, the palace therein, the place of the royal abode, whose site had become too small;

69. (nor) had he turned his thought (lit. ear), nor brought his mind (lit. liver), to lay out the streets of the city, to widen the squares, to dig a canal, to set out trees.

70. But I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, gave my thought (ear) and brought my mind, to accomplish this work according to the command (will) of the gods.

71. The people of Chaldea, the Aramaeans, the Mannai, (the people) of Kue and Hilakku, who had not submitted to my yoke, I snatched away (from their lands), made them carry the basket and mold bricks.

72. I cut down the reed marshes which are in Chaldea, and had the men of the foe whom my hands had conquered drag their mighty reeds (to Assyria) for the completion of its work.

73. The former palace, which was 30 GAR on the side and 10 GAR on its front, which the kings, who went before, my fathers, had built, whose structure they had not, however, made artistic,
74. up to whose side the Tebiltu river had come from days of old, had worked havoc with its foundation and destroyed its platform,—

75. that small palace I tore down in its totality. The course (that is, the channel) of the Tebiltu I improved and directed its outflow.

76. In a propitious month, on a favorable day, in its (the river’s) hidden bed, (for a space of) 60 (GAR) on the side, and 34 (GAR) on the front, I covered over great mountain boulders, and made a field rise up from the water, and made it like unto the dry land.

77. Lest in the passing of days its platform should give way before the (floods of) high-water, I set up great slabs of limestone around its walls, and strengthened its structure (lit. up-heaping,—of earth);

78. over these (slabs) I filled in the terrace to a height of 170 tipku,—I added to the site (lit. measurement) of the former palace, and widened its bulwarks.

79. Thereon (lit. therein) I had them build a palace of ivory, ebony (?), boxwood (?), musukannu-wood, cedar, cypress and spruce, the “Palace without a Rival,” for my royal abode.

80. Beams of cedar, the product of Mt. Amanus, which they dragged with difficulty out of (those) distant mountains, I stretched across their ceilings(?).

81. Great door-leaves of cypress, whose odor is pleasant as they are opened and closed, I bound with a band of shining copper and set up in their doors.
82. A portico, patterned after a Hittite palace, which they call in the Amorite tongue a bit-tulšni, I constructed inside them (the doors),\(^{3}\) for my lordly pleasure.

83. Eight lions, open at the knee, advancing, constructed out of 11,400 talents of shining bronze, the workmanship of the god Nin-a-gal, and exceedingly glorious,

84. together with 2 colossal pillars whose copper work came to 6,000 talents, and two great cedar pillars, (which) I placed upon the lions (colossi), I set up as posts to support their doors.

85. Four mountain-sheep, as protecting deities, of silver and copper, together with mountain-sheep, as protecting deities, of great blocks of mountain stone, I fashioned cunningly, and setting them toward the four winds, (directions) I adorned their entrances.

86. Great slabs of limestone, the enemy tribes, whom my hands had conquered, dragged through them (the doors), and I had them set up around their walls,—I made them objects of astonishment.

87. A great park, like unto Mt. Amanus, wherein were set out all kinds of herbs and fruit trees,—trees, such as grow on the mountains and in Chaldea, I planted by its (the palace's) side.

88. That (they might) plant orchards, I subdivided some land in the plain above the city, into plots of 2 PI each,\(^{2}\) for the citizens of Nineveh, and gave it to them.

\(^{1}\) That is, a "western," Syrian, palace, as the next phrase clearly shows. For the kind of structure that is meant we must turn to the seventh chapter of I Kings.

\(^{2}\) The portico opened on the inner court.

\(^{3}\) A PI, or 60 ša, was probably a little under an acre.
89. To increase the vegetation, from the border of the city of Kisiri to the plain about Nineveh, through mountain and lowland, with iron pickaxes I cut and directed a canal.

90. For (a distance) 1½ bēru* (double-hours) of land, the waters of the Khoš, which from of old sought too low a level (lit. place), I made to flow through those orchards in irrigation-ditches.

91. After I had brought to an end the work on my royal palace, had widened the squares, made bright the avenues and streets and caused them to shine like the day,

92. I invited Assur, the great lord, the gods and goddesses who dwell in Assyria, into its midst. I offered sacrifices in great numbers and presented my gifts.

93. In the days to come, whoever among the kings, my sons, whose name Assur calls to rule over land and people, when that palace shall have become old and have fallen to ruins,—

94. (whoever) restores its ruins, looks upon the memorial-stela with my name inscribed upon it, anoints it with oil, offers sacrifices, and returns it to its place, his prayers Assur will hear.

The Assyrian bēru, like the neo-Babylonian, was equivalent to about 3.8 miles.
II. BUILDING RECORDS FOUND ON THE BELLINO CYLINDER, (B 1) 1

(WRITTEN 702 B.C.)

44. As for the former palace which (measured) 360 cubits on the side toward the enclosure of the temple-tower, (was) 80 cubits wide on the side toward the bit-namari of the temple of Ishtar, and 134 cubits wide on the side toward the bit-namari of the Kidmuri-temple, and 95 cubits wide (on the fourth side),

45. which the kings who went before me, my fathers, had built for their royal dwelling, but had not beautified its workmanship,—

46. the Tebiltu-river, a raging, destructive stream, which at its high water, had destroyed the mausoleums inside the city and had exposed to the sun their tiers of coffins (lit. piled-up coffins),

47. and, from days of old, had come up close to the palace and with its floods at high water had worked havoc with its foundation and destroyed its platform:

48. that small palace I tore down in its totality. I changed the course of the Tebiltu, repaired the damage, and directed its outflow through its covered channel (bed). Below, reeds, above, mighty blocks of mountain-stone, I covered with asphalt, and raised up a field out of the waters and turned it into dry land.

1 Lines 34-43 are duplicates of A1, 63-72 (see pp. 94 f).
50. 700 ina suk-lum rabhti(ti) šiddu 162 ina suk-lum rabhti(ti) pātu ēltu īlāni 217 ina suk-lum rabhti(ti) pātu ṣablītim
(tīm)

51. 386 ina suk-lum rabhti(ti) pātu šapīṭu šāti ītā(UŠ-SA-DU) ʿIdiglat tam-la-a ʿu-mal-li-ma am-šu-uh me-šī-šī-ša

52. la-ba-rīti ʿāmēz i-na mīlī kišša-ti tim-me-en-šu la e-ni-šē as-kup-pat ša-me-i-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-ṣū u-ša-ṣa-ḥī-ra ʿu-dan-nīn šā-pu-uk-šu


55. tar-pa-šu-ēṣīp ša-ūme pa-nī ʿu-ṣar-bi ši-ir me-šī-ḥtī ekalli maḥ-ri-tē ʿu-rad-di-ma ʿu-ša-an-di-la ši-kīt-taš

56. ekal šīn pīrī ušē u urkarinnu musuk-kan-ni erini šurmeši burāši u bu-uṭ-ni ēkal ZAG-NU-DI-NU-TUK- A (šāmina la šaš) a-na mu-sab šarru- ti-ia ʿu-še-pi-ša ki-rib-šu

50. (On a plot of ground) 700 great cubits on the side, 162 great cubits on its upper, north, front, 217 great cubits on its inner front,

51. 386 great cubits on its lower, south, front, along the Tigris, I filled in a terrace, and made a careful survey of it (lit. surveyed its survey).

52. That in days to come its platform might not be weakened by the floods at high water, I had its sides (lit. walls) surrounded with mighty slabs of limestone, and (so) I strengthened its structure.

53. A stela with my name inscribed I wrote (and buried) 160 tipku deep in the terrace, and left it deep down in the foundation for the days to come.

54. Later my heart urged me to make the terrace higher, so I added 20 tipku to the former altitude and made it 180 tipku high.

55. I enlarged the area (thereof, lit. the width) and added to the size (lit. measurement) of the former palace, and enlarged its structure.

56. Thereon (lit. therein) I built a palace of ivory, ebony(?), boxwood(?), musukannu-wood, cedar, cypress, and spruce, the "Palace without a Rival," for my royal abode.
57. A great park, like unto Mt. Amanus, wherein were set out all kinds of herbs and fruit trees, trees, such as grow in the mountains and in Chaldea, I planted by its side.

58. That (they might) plant orchards, I subdivided some land in the plain above the city into plots, of 2 PI each, for the citizens of Nineveh, and gave it to them.

59. To increase the vegetation, from the border of the city of Kisiri to the plain about Nineveh, through mountain and low land, with iron pickaxes I cut and directed a canal.

60. For (a distance) of 1½ bēru (double-hours) of land, the waters of the Khosr, which from of old sought too low a level (lit. place), I made to flow through those orchards in irrigation ditches.

61. I increased the size (site) of Nineveh, my royal city, I widened its squares, made bright the avenues and streets and caused them to shine like the day.

(Here follows the blessing as in A1, cf. p. 98)
III. BUILDING RECORDS AS FOUND ON THE RASSAM CYLINDER (C I)\(^1\)

77. (On a plot of ground) 700 great cubits on the side, 176 great cubits on its upper, north, front, 268 great cubits on its inner front opposite the enclosure of the building back of Ishtar's (temple?);

78. 383 great cubits on the second inner front, facing the west (lit. west-wind), back of the temple tower of Ishtar's temple;

79. 386 great cubits on the lower, south, front, along the Tigris, I filled in a terrace and made a careful survey of it.\(^2\)

90. Opposite the gate within the city, I made my royal road pass over a bridge (built) of burnt brick and white limestone.

91. I fashioned a memorial stela, had engraved thereon (lit. therein) the might and power which, with the help of Assur, the great lord, my lord, I wielded (established) over all enemies,

92. together with every work which I had accomplished, and left it for all time to come in the foundation-platform of my royal palace.

\(^3\) Except for the passages here given this is a duplicate of the Bellino Cylinder.

\(^4\) C2, turn.
\(^5\) C2, tum.
\(^6\) C2, 3, sik-kur-rat.
\(^7\) C3, ina.
\(^8\) C3, tum.
\(^9\) This section also in D1.
\(^10\) C2, 3, `Assur.
\(^11\) C3, tum.
\(^12\) C3, 4, add (e).
IV. A VERY FULL RECORD OF THE IMPROVEMENTS IN AND ABOUT THE CAPITAL (El)  
(WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 694 B.C.)

Col. V

23. [i-na ū-mi-šu-ma Ninu assimhi ma-ḫa-e]u ši-i-ru  23. At that time Nineveh, the noble metropolis,
   24. [alu na-ram ḫš-tar]  24. the city beloved of Ishtar,
   25. [ša nap-ḫar ki-ḫu-di]-e ilāniš  25-26. wherein are all the meeting-places of gods and goddesses;
   26. [ū ḫš arratiš ba]-šu-ū ki-rib-šu  27. the everlasting substructure, the eternal foundation;
   27. [tim-me-en-nu da-ru-u d]u-ru-uša-a-ti
   28. [ša ul-lu ul-la ši-tir bu-ru-um-me]  28. whose plan had been designed from of old,
   29. [iš-ral-su iš-riš-ma šu-p]u-ū ši-in-šu  29. and whose structure had been made beautiful along with the firmament of heaven,
   30. [aš-ru nak-lu] šu-bat pi-riš-ti  30. the beautiful (artistic) place, the abode of divine law,
   31. [ša mimma šum-šu] ši-pir ni-kil-ti  31-33. into which had been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, every secret and pleasant plan;
   32. [gi-mir bil-lu-di-e] ni-pir-ši LAL-GAR
   33. [šu-la-bu-lu] ki-rib-šu
   34. [ša ul-lu ul]-la šarrāniš(ni)  34. where from of old, the kings
   35. [a-š]-lu-ka mah-rī abēš-ia  35. who went before, my fathers,
   36. ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ut 'Aššurši e-pu-šu-
   37. ú-ma-uru ba-um-lat "En-lil
   38. ai-um-ma i-na lib-ši-šu-nu a-na šum-
   39. e-piš dāri ša-tešur su-ka-ni  39. had turned his thoughts (lit. ear)
   40. ū ḫa-ri-e nāri za-ka-ap ṣip-pa-a-ti  40. nor brought his mind
   41. ú-su-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma  41. to widen the city's area (lit. abode), to build a wall, to lay out streets,
   42. ul uš-la-bil ka-ras-su  42. or to dig a canal (and) to set out trees,—
   43. a-na ekalli kir-šu-šu kum-mu ri-miš  43. nor to the palace therein, the royal abode and dwelling-place,
   44. ša-su-ub-ḫu-raš šu-bat-ša  44. whose area was too small,
   45. e-piš-laš la nak-lat-ma  45. whose construction was not artistic,
46. nor had he given his energy
47. nor his heart's thoughts;
48. but I, Sennacherib,
49. I, king of the universe, king of
50. Assyria,
51. gave my thought and brought my
52. to accomplish this work according to
53. the command (will) of the gods.
54. The people of Kaldù (Chaldea), the
55. Aramaeans, the Mannai,
56. (the people of) Kue and Hilakku,
57. (of) Philistia and Tyre,
58. who had not submitted to my yoke,
59. I snatched away (from their lands),
60. made them carry the basket and
61. mould bricks. The former palace
62. whose dimensions were
63. 360 cubits on the side
64. and 95 cubits on the front,
65. and whose site had become too small;
66. (the palace) which the kings who
67. went before, my fathers,
68. had built as an abode of royalty,
69. but had not made its structure
70. artistic:
71. bull-colossi of white limestone,
72. they3 quarried in Tastiate, which lies
73. across the Tigris,
74. as supports for their (the new pal­
75. aces') doors.
76. For the construction of boats (rafts)
77. they3 ferried mighty trees
78. in the forests throughout the whole of
79. their land.
80. In Airu, at the regular time of the
81. spring floods,
71. i-na elippâ'ê ˙ ši-ra-a-te
72. a-na a-♭a-an-na-a ˙ ú-♭ib-bi-ru-ni mar-
ši-ił
73. i-na ni-bir ka-a-ri GIŠ-MA-GU-LA²³
74. ú-♭i-♭i-bu-ú ba-♭u-la-te-šu-un
75. ú-♭a-ni-♭u ú-lam-me-nu ka-raa-śi-in
76. i-na da-na-ni ˙ ú-♭up-śu-ki
77. mar-śi-ił ˙ ú-♭i-lu-nim-ma
78. ú-♭a-as-bi-tu bâbâti²² ˙ ši-in
79. Te-bi-li-ti a-♭u-♭it-mu-ru
80. ša ul-tu _CONDITIONS:2 arkaṭi²¹
81. ti-♭i ekallî i-ba-♭-û-ma
82. i-na mlî-ša gab-♭î i-na ū-♭i-śi-♭a
83. ab-bu ♭-a♭-♭û-û ♭-ri-♭i-bu tim-me-en-
ša
84. ekalla .yahoo(ra) ♭a-tu a-na si-♭i-rt-
ša ak-ku
85. ša Te-bîli-ti ma-la-kša
86. ul-tu ka-bal-ti ali ap-ru-♭u-ma
87. i-na ta-♭i-ti ku-tal ali ū-♭e-♭i-r mu-
šu-♭a
88. i-na ½ GAN ma-la-k  mĕ²¹ 4 akşim-pi-
♭i rabûti²¹
89. it-♭i kupri ak-si-ma kanâte²² a-pi
90. ū ku-pi-♭e ♭-a♭-♭î-rî-♭a el-♭u-un
91. 340 ina ammatu šiddu

71–72. they²¹ laboriously brought them²² over to this side on the mighty rafts.
73. As they¹ crossed the quay-wall, the large boats
74. went down. Their crews
75. strained and injured their bodies,
76. but by might and main
77. with difficulty they landed them (lit. brought)
78. and placed them by their doors.
79. The Tebiltu, a raging stream,
80. which from days of old
81. had come up close to the palace,
82. and with its great floods at high water
83. worked havoc with its foundation and destroyed its platform:
84. that small palace I tore down in its totality:
85. the course of the Tebiltu
86. I turned aside from the city's midst,
87. and directed its outflow into the plain back of the city.
88. Into (the space) of half a gan of the water's course, (I placed) four great blocks of limestone
89. and covered (them) with bitumen; reeds of the cane-brake
90. and rushes I spread over them.
91. (A piece of) land, 340 cubits on the side,
6. and raised the whole of it to the height of 190 tipki.
7-8. Lest in the passing of days the platform of that terrace should give way before the (floods) of high water,
9-10. I built the facing-wall around it of great blocks of limestone, and strengthened its structure (lit. up-heaping).
11. To 700 large cubits on the side
12. and 440 large cubits on the front,
13. I brought the size of the palace,
14. and enlarged its site. A palace of gold, silver,
15. copper, carnelian(?), breccia,
16. alabaster, ivory, ebony(?), boxwood(?)
17. musukanni-wood, cedar, cypress,
18. spruce,
19. for my royal dwelling
20. I built and portals ("door-houses")
21. patterned after a Hittite (Syrian) palace
22. I had constructed in place of doors.
23. With (beams) of cedar and cypress,
24. whose scent is pleasant, products of Amanus
25. and Sirara, the snow-capped (lit. shining) mountains,
26. I roofed them.
27. Door-leaves of cedar, cypress, pine
28. and sindu-wood, I bound with a band of silver and copper
29. and set up in their doors.
30. In the room within the building, I arranged (lit. opened) chambers,
31. and opened corridors (?).
32. Female-colossi of marble and ivory,
33. wearing horned-headaddresses (?), their fore-legs (lit. hands) kneeling,
34. clothed with strength and vigor,
35. full of splendor, I set up by their doors and
36. made them a wonder to behold.
37. The dark color of the roofing timbers in the chambers,
38. I brightened (painted ?)
39. and made them shine like the day.
40. Clothes-hooks (pegs) of silver and copper
41. I put up around their interior.
42. With burnt-brick, KA-stone, and lapis-lazuli,
43. I adorned the walls, cornices
44. and all of their copings.
45. That I might accomplish the construction of my palace,
46. and bring to an end the work of my hands,
47. at that time, Assur and Ishtar,
48. who love my priesthood,
49. and have called me by name,
50. which had grown large in the days gone by,
51. and had become enormously tall as they stood
52. concealed in the mountains of Sirara.
53. Alabaster (marble) which in the days of the kings, my fathers,
54. was precious enough for (inlaying) the hilt of a sword,
55. they disclosed to me in the darkness of Mt. Ammanana.
56. showed me how to bring out the mighty cedar logs

D1 and 2 have text of ll. 45–47 preceded by C1, 77 f. (cf. p. 102) and followed by lines containing city names, including Balatai.
57. And breccia for all kinds of great jars, such as had never been seen before, in Kapridargilâ, which is on the border of Til-Barsip, disclosed itself. Near Nineveh, in the land of Balatai, by decree of the god, white limestone was found (appeared) in abundance; and bull-colossi and sculptured statues of alabaster, which were carved out of one stone, of enormous proportions, towering high upon their own bases; alabaster cow-colossi, whose appearance was splendid, whose bodies shone like the bright day; great slabs of breccia I fashioned and cut free on both sides, in their mountain, and had them dragged to Nineveh for the construction of my palace. The bull and cow-colossi of white limestone, with Ninkurra’s help, “caused to be begotten,” and made complete as to their members. In times past, when the kings, my fathers, fashioned a bronze image in the likeness of their members, to set up in their temples, the labor on them exhausted every workman; in their ignorance and lack of knowledge,
86. anm $ip-ri fyi-Mfy-ti-Su-nu
87. Samna iš-ku-ru na-al-ba-aš ści-ni
88. ú-ki-ru ści-rib šadēši-šu-un

89. $i-ša-ri-at $i-ša-ri-at $i-ša-ri-at
90. a-ša-ri-at kal mal-ki mu-di-e $ip-ri

91. ka-la-ma dim-me erti rabātāti
92. ur-mah-hi pi-lan bir-ki ši ma-nam-
93. ma

94. la šip-ti-šu šarru pa-ni maḥ-rī-ia

95. 1. through the clever understanding
2. which the noble Nin-igi-kug had given me,
3. (and) in my own wisdom,
4-5. I pondered deeply the matter of carrying out that task, following the advice of my head (will)
6. and the prompting of my heart,
7. I fashioned a work of bronze
8. and cunningly wrought it.
9. Over great posts and cross-bars of wood, 12 fierce lion-colossi
10. together with 12 mighty bull-colossi,
11. complete in form,
12. 22 cow-colossi, clothed with exuberant strength
13. and with abundance and splendor heaped upon them,—
14. at the command of the god, I built a form of clay and poured bronze into it,
15. as in making half-shekel pieces,
16. and finished their construction.
17. Bull-colossi, made of bronze,
18. two of which were coated with enamel (gilding),
19. bull-colossi of alabaster,
23. together with cow-colossi
24. of white limestone, I placed
25. at the thresholds of my palaces.
26. High pillars of bronze, together with
tall pillars of cedars,
27. the product of Mt. Amanus,
28. I enclosed in a sheathing of bronze and lead,
29. placed them upon lion-colossi,
30. and set them up as posts to support
their doorways.
31. Upon the alabaster cow-colossi,
32. as well as the cow-colossi made of
bronze,
33. which were coated with enamel(?)
and the cow-colossi
34. made of GU-AN-NA,
35. whose forms were brilliant,
36. I placed pillars of ebony, cypress,
cedar, dupranu-wood,
37. spruce and sindu-wood, with inlay
of pasalli
38. and silver,
39-40. and set them up as columns in
the rooms of my royal abode.
41. Slabs of breccia and alabaster,
42. and great slabs of limestone,
43. I placed around their walls;
44. I made them wonderful to behold.
45-46. That daily there might be abund­
ant flow of water of the buckets,
47. I had copper cables(?) and pails
made,
48. and in place of the (mud-brick)
pedestals (pillars) I set up
great posts and cross-beams over the
wells. Those palaces, all around the
(large) palace,
"THE PALACE WITHOUT A RIVAL"

Col. VII
50.  ši-bi-r-ti  ekalli a-na  tab-rat  kiš-šat
nišši
51.  ul-la-a  riši-ša  ekalli  ša-ni-na  la-iš-u
52.  ni-bit-sa  az-kur
53. *šar-maḫ-šu  tam-šiši  ša-ma-nim
54.  ša  gi-mir  riḥkēšti  ši-ip-tu-a-te
55.  išēši  biblat(lat) ša-ši išši  'Kal-di
56.  a-di  išēši  na-ad  šipātiši
57.  ki-rīb-šu  ṯar-ra-šu  iš-a-ša  az-šu-up
58.  Ninuaš ša  ul-šu  ú-me  pa-ni
59.  9,300  ina  ammatu  ša-bal  li-me-ti-šu
60.  dāru  u  šalḫu  ul-še-pi-šu
61.  a-li-kul  maḫ-ri  ma-ši-ki
62. 12,515 a-šar  ta-miri  li-mi-ši
63.  ši-ir  meši-iš-te  maḫ-ri-ti  ú-rad-di-ni
64.  21,815  ina  suk-lum  raḫiti(ti)  ú-kiš
man-da-šu
65.  ša  dāri-šu  rabši(i)  BAD-NI-GAL-BI-
[KUR-RA-ŠU-ŠU]
66.  du-ú-su  ša  nam-ri-ru-šu  na-ki-ri  sēb-
pu
67.  ši-ir  še-bu-pi-i-li  ti-me-en-šu  ad-di-ma
68.  40 lišittu  ú-kabi-biš
69.  ina  180  tiš-ki  ul-la-a  riši-šu
70.  a-na  ir-bit-ti  ša-ši-ši  15  abullēši
71.  pa-nu  u  ar-ka  i-na  ši-li  ki-lal-la-an
72.  a-na  e-ri-bi  u  ši-ši

50.  I beautified; to the astonishment of
all nations,
51.  I raised aloft its head. "The Palace
without a Rival"
52.  I called its name.
53.  A great park, like unto Mt. Amanus,
wherein all kinds of herbs and fruit-
trees,
54.  trees, such as grow on the mountains
and in Chaldea,
55.  as well as trees bearing wool.
56.  were set out, I planted by its (the
palace’s) side.
57.  Nineveh, whose site, in former days
measured 9,300 cubits in circumference,
58.  (for which) the princes who lived
(went) before me had built neither
wall nor outer-wall;
59.  12,515 (cubits) of the land of the plain
around the city
60.  I added to its earlier site (lit. survey).
61.  21,815 great cubits, I made its
circumference.
62.  I laid the platform of its great (inner)
wall, Bad-nigalbi-Kurra-Shushu,
63.  "The Wall whose Splendor Over­
whelms the Foe,"
64.  upon a limestone (foundation)
65.  I made it 40 bricks thick,
66.  and raised its top (head) to 180 tiški.
67.  toward the four winds (directions).
68.  15 gates
69.  for entrance and egress,
70.  front, back and on either side,
61.  In BM, 3330 (See King, Supplement, pp. xviii f.), written in 696 n.c., the names of the fifteen
gates present many variants:  ši-bur for li-bur of l. 74;  paššu for paššu;  ša-maḫ for ša-maḫ and
ša-a-gal for ša-gal of l. 77;  šar-za-nin Ki-KUR-BI for ša-nin Ki-KUR-BI, etc., of l. 79;  Am-ša-ē for Am-
ša-ē of l. 88;  Ur-ra  mušam-bi  ša-bi  for  name  in  l. 89;  4GI-SIG-SIG  mušam-mi-ši  ši-ip-po-ade  for
ša-nin-nu, etc., of l. 91;  abul Kirdtēši for ša-nin-nu of l. 91;  abul maš-ki-šu for  ša-nin-nu of l. 94.
73. I had opened through it.
74. “May Assur’s Viceroy Prevail,” the Gate of Assur of the city of Assur;
75. “Overthrowing all Foes.”
76. the Gate of Sennacherib, towards (lit. of) the land of Halzi;
77. “Enlil, Establisher of my Rule,” the Gate of Shamash, toward the land of Gagal;
78-79. “Sennacherib’s Rule Establish thou (fern.) in the Station of the Lance,” the Gate of Nin-lil, toward the city of Kar-Ninlil;
80. “Providing Egress for the Sick,” the Mushlal-Gate;
81. “The Choicest of Grain and Flocks are ever within it,”
82. the Gate toward the city Shibaniba;
83. “Bringing the Products of the mountains,” the Gate toward the land Halahhi;
84. total: seven gates toward the sunrise,
85. facing the south and the east.
86. (So) I called their names.
87. “Adad, Bestower of Abundance to the Land,”
88. the Gate of Adad toward (the land of) Ambasi;
89. “Urra, Destroyer of My Enemies,”
90. the Gate of Nergal, toward the city of Tarbis;
91. “Nannar, Guardian of my Royal Diadem,” the Gate of Sin;
92. total: 3 gates, facing north.
93. (Thus) I called their names.

1 Suggested by Mr. Geers. The Halah of II Kings 17:6 and f. ?
2 D1 [mu-sam]-kî́ tî́ ai-bi-ia.
3 D1, tî́.
4 D1, ki̇n.
94. "Ea, who causes my Springs to Flow," the Gate of the Watering-places;

95. "Furnishing an Entrance in Front of the Residences," the Quay-gate;

96. "The Gifts of the Sumu'-anite and the Temeite Enter through it," the Desert-gate;

2. “Protector of All,” the Gate of the Armory;

3. “Shar-ur, Overthrower of the Foe of the King,” the Handûri-gate;

4. total: 5 gates, facing west.

5. (Thus) I named them.

6. I opened up trenches for the outer wall,


8. I dug down 45 gar and

9. reached the waters under the earth.

10. In the midst of those nether waters I laid (lit. fastened) great blocks of mountain stone,

11. and above, up to its coping, I carefully

12. built it of great lime-stone blocks.

13. The area of Nineveh, my royal city, I enlarged.

14. I widened its squares, and made it shine like the day.

15. The outer-wall I built and made it mountain high.

16. Above the city and below the city I laid out parks.

17. The wealth of mountain and all lands,
18. all the herbs of the land of Hatti (Syria), myrrh-plants, among which
19. fruitfulness was greater than in
20. all kinds of mountain-vines, all the
21. herbs and fruit-bearing trees I set
22. The river Khosr, whose waters from old
23. took a low level and none
24. among the kings my fathers, had
dammed (confined) them as they
25. to increase the productiveness of the
cultivable (lit. low-lying) fields,
26. from the border of the city of Kisiri,
27. through the high and low (ground)
28. I dug with pickaxes, I ran a canal
(through) the steep mountains,
29. those waters I brought across the
plain (around) Nineveh, and
30. made them flow through the orchards in irrigation-ditches.
31. To Bit-rêmâne, which is at the foot
of Mt. Musri, I took the road and
32. climbed up and with great difficulty came to the city of Elmunakinne.
33. At the head of the cities of Dûr-
Ishtar, Shibaniba,
34. and Sul, I saw pools and
35. enlarged their narrow springs and
36. To (give) these waters a course
(through) the steep mountains,
37. I cut through the difficult places with
pickaxes and
38. directed their outflow on to the plain of Nineveh.

39. I strengthened their channels, heaping up (their banks) mountain-high,

40. and brought those waters into them.

41. Following (my) plan, I added

42. them to the Khoar's waters forever.

43. I had all of the orchards watered in the hot (season).

44. In winter, a thousand fields of alluvium,

45. about and below the city, I had them enclose (?) every year.

46. To arrest the flow of these waters,

47. I made a swamp and set out

48. a cane-brake within it. Igiru-birds, wild swine (lit. swine of the reeds),

49. beasts of the forest, I let loose therein.

50. By the command of the god, within the orchards, more than in their (native) habitat,

51. the vine, every fruit-bearing tree,

52. and herbs throve luxuriously.

53. The cypress and musique tree, all kinds of trees, grew large and

54. sent out many shoots(?).

55. The cane-brakes developed rapidly (mightily);

56. the birds of heaven, the igiru-birds, whose home is far away,

57. built their nests; the wild-swine and beasts of the forest

58. brought forth young in abundance.

59. The musique-tree and the cypress, the product of the orchards,

60. the reeds of the brakes which were in the swamp, I cut down and
62-63. used them as desired, in the building of my royal palaces.
64. The wool-bearing trees they sheared, and wove (the wool) into garments.
65. When I had made an end of building my palace,
66. Assur, the great lord, the gods and goddesses
67. who dwell in Assyria,
68. I invited therein and
69. offered countless sacrifices,
70. and gave (them) presents.
71. Oil of the fruit-tree (the olive) and products
72. of the gardens (more than these trees bore in their native habitats)
73. I brought them in abundance.
74. At the dedication of the palace,
75. I drenched the foreheads of the people of my land with wine,
76. with mead I sprinkled their hearts.
77. In days to come, among the kings my sons,
78-79. (the prince) whose name Assur shall call to rule land and people,—
80. when that wall
81. shall have become old and weak,
82. may he repair its ruins, may he
83. look for the written memorial
84. of my name, may he anoint it with oil,
85. may he offer sacrifice, and restore it to its place.
86. (Then) Assur and Ishtar,
87. will hear his prayers.
88. The month Ab, the eponymy of Ilu-itti-ia, governor of Damascus.
V. UNDATED BULL INSCRIPTION (I)

1. Ekal mdSin-aḫēl-eriba (v. eri-ba) šarru rabū šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar 'Aššur\(^1\) šar kib-rat īrītīti mi-gīr ʾilāni\(^2\) rabātī\(^2\)

2. lu-li-mu ir-šā mal-ku pi-la-du ri-lūm ba-šu-la-ti mul-āt-ru-ū nišēr\(^1\) rap-ša-at a-na-ku

3. *Be-lit ʾilāni\(^3\) be-lit nab-ni-tī i-na ša-surri a-ga-ri-in-ni a-līt-tī ia ki-nīš ippalsa-an-ni-ma ʿa-ṣab-ba-a


5. gi-mīr ʾal-mat kakkādi ʿu-kak-nīš šep-pu-ū-a a-na ri-ē-u(m)-ut ma-tī ʿu nišēr\(^1\) ul-la-a ri-šī-ia id-di-na ḫaṭṭu i-šar-tu mu-rap-pi-šat

6. ma-a-tī *kakkku la pa-du-ū a-na šum-ku-t sa-ri-šu-ši-ir ki-li-ū-a i-na ʾu-me-šā-ma te-ne-st ni-ki-ri ki-šē-ti ḫalāʾu-īa

7. dup-šik-ku ʿu-ša-aš-šī-šu-nu-tī ma il-bīnu liḥtti ekallu kabal ali ʾēd ʿNī-ni-a ʾēd 360 ina ammatu šiddū ʾēd ina ammatu pātu

8. ma-ra-ku šī-ku-na-at-ma qu-uh-šu-rat šu-ba-ta ša šarrāni\(^2\) a-li-kū maḥ-ri aḥēl-īa a-na ri-mīl be-līti šu-un ʿu-šep-šū-ma

1. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of the four quarters (of the world); favorite of the great gods;

2. wise sovereign, provident prince, shepherd of peoples, ruler of widespread nations, am l.

3. The queen of the gods, the goddess of procreation, looked upon me with favor (while I was still) in the womb of the mother who bore me, and watched over

4. my conception, while Ea provided a spacious womb, and granted (me) keen understanding, the equal of Master Adapa's. Assur, father of the gods, brought in submission to my feet

5. the whole race of blackheaded men, raised aloft my head to be ruler of land and people, gave me a righteous scepter which enlarges

6. my land and put into my hands an unsparing sword for the overturn of my enemies. At that time, I made the enemy population which my hand had conquered

7. carry the basket (do forced labor) and mould bricks. The palace inside the city of Nineveh, which extended 360 cubits on the side, 95 cubits on the front,

8. and whose site had become too small, which the kings who went before, my fathers, had built for their royal abode,

1 Undoubtedly published late in the king's reign.  
2 PI, Ninua\(^1\)  
3 PI, hi.\(^1\)

\(\text{F1, Ninua}^1\)  
\(\text{F1, šu}^1\)
9. but had not beautified:—bull-colossi of white limestone, they fashioned in the city of Tastiate to flank their (the palaces') doors.

10. For the construction of boats (rafts) they felled mighty trees in the forests throughout the whole of their land. In Airu, at the time of the regular spring floods,

11. they laboriously brought them over to this side on the mighty rafts. As they crossed the quay-wall, their large boats went down.

12. Their crews strained and injured their bodies, but by might and main with difficulty they landed them and placed them by their doors. The Tebiltu, a raging stream, which from days of old had come up close to the palace

13. and with its great floods at high water, had destroyed its foundation-platform:—that small palace I tore down in its totality.*

14. The course of the Tebiltu I changed; I directed its outflow through its low-water channels; below, reeds, above, bitumen (were laid)

15. and (with) great blocks of lime-stone I covered it over good and strong. (A tract) 454 cubits on the side, 289 cubits in width, I raised up out of the water (in the form of) a field

16. and the captives mentioned in l. 6.

*The captives mentioned in l. 6.

1 F1, šin.  *F1, rib.  *F1, ši-šir.

4 F1, māti-šu-un, E2, māṭati-šu-un.  4 F1, ši-šir.

* After losing himself in a maze of dependent clauses, Sennacherib is now back at the point where he started in the middle of line 7.
17. and turned it into dry-land. I enlarged the extent (of the available palace area) over that of former days, and added it to the site (survey) of the former palace.

18. I raised its height (head) to 190 tipku. Lest in the passing days its platform should give way before the (floods) of high water,

19. I built a facing wall around it of great blocks of limestone and strengthened its structure. To 914 great cubits on the side

20. and 440 great cubits on the front, I brought the size of the palace and enlarged its site. A palace of breccia, marble, ivory, ebony(?), box-wood, musukannu-wood, cedar, cypress, spruce, elammaku-wood, for my royal abode

21. I built and portals, patterned after a Hittite palace, I had constructed in place of the doors; with beams of cedar (and)

22. cypress, whose scent is pleasant, products of Amanus and Sirara, the snowcapped (lit. shining) mountains, I roofed them.

23. Door leaves of cedar, cypress and spruce I bound with a band of silver and copper and set them up in their doorways. In
25. the room within the building, I arranged (lit. opened) chambers, and opened corridors(?). Female colossi of marble and ivory,

26. wearing horned head dresses(?), their fore-legs (lit. hands) kneeling, clothed with strength and vigor, full of splendor,

27. I set up by their doors and made them a wonder to behold. The dark color of the roofing timbers in

28. the chambers, I brightened (painted ?) and made them shine like the day. Clothes-hooks (pegs) of silver

29. and copper I put up around their interior. With burnt brick, KA-stone and lapis-lazuli I adorned

30. the walls,

31. cornices,

32. and all their copings.

33. That I might accomplish the construction of my palace,

34. and bring to an end the work of my hands,

35. at that time, Assur and Ishtar,

36. who love my priesthood,

37. and have called me by name,

38. showed me how to bring out the mighty cedar logs

39. which had grown large in the days gone by,

40. and had become enormously tall as they stood concealed in the mountains of Sirara.

41-48. Alabaster (marble) which in the days of the kings, my fathers, was precious enough for (inlaying) the hilt of a sword,

\(^{1}\) F1, si-iz. \(^{2}\) F1, om. \(^{3}\) So also F1.
they disclosed to me in the darkness of Mt. Ammanana, and breccia (used) for all kinds of great jars, such as had never been seen before, in Kapridargal, which is on the border of Til-Barsip, disclosed itself.

Near Nineveh, in the land of Balata,
122 THE ANNALS OF SENNACHERIB

No. 2
12. i-na lip-ta-at 4NIN-KUR-RA i-na (v. ina) ir-si-il
13. 'Ba-la-la-at ú-ša-2-lid ma ú-shak-li-la
14. gat-la-su-un šá ul-tú(v. tu)1 ul-la šarrání2(ni)3 abêr-l-ia
15. ša-lam eri tam-šiš gut-ti-šu-un a-na šú-su-zi ki-rib
16. ekurrátí1 ib-nu-ma ina(v. i-na)1 e-piš-li-šu-nu ú-sá-ni-ḫu gi-mir
17. márš1 um-ma-ăn i-na la bi-riš uz-ni la ba-sa-as
18. a-ma-ti a-na šip-ri hi-šiš-ti-šu-nu šáma iš-ku-ru
19. na-al-ba-aš ši-e-ni ú-ki-ru ki-rib šadér1 šu-un
20. ia-a-ti 4Sin-aḫer1-er-ba a-ša-rid kal mal-ki
21. mu-di-e šip-ri ka-la-ma dim-me eri rabúret1 ur-maḫ-ḫi
22. [pi]1-tan bir-ki šá ma-na-ma la ip-ti-xu šarru pa-ni mah-ri-ia
23. [i-na]5 uz-ni ni-kil-ti šá ú-šat-li-ma ru-bu-ú(u. w)6
24. NIN-IGI-KUG i-naš-tul-ti ramni-ia
25. a-na e-piš šip-ri šú-a-tu ra-biš am-tallik-ma ina me-liq te-me-ia um-reš ka-bi-ti-ia
27. 12 ur-maḫ2 ni-ru-ti a-di 12§ šik-šik-lamasèt3 §šú-tu 22 4ša-za-za-te (v. li)" §

13. I "caused to be begotten" and made complete as to their members.
14. In times past, when the kings, my fathers,
15. fashioned a bronze image in the likeness of their members,
16. to set up in their temples,
17. the labor on them exhausted every workman;
18. in their ignorance and lack of knowledge,
19. they drank oil, and wore sheep-skins to carry on the work they wanted to do in the midst of their mountains.
20. But, I, Sennacherib, first among all princes,
21. wise in all craftsmanship, great pillars of bronze,
22. colossal lions, open at the knees, which no king before my time had fashioned,—
23. through the clever understanding
24. which the noble Nin-igi-kug had given me,
25. (and) in my own wisdom, I pondered deeply the matter of carrying out that task, following the advice of my head (will) and the prompting of my heart
26. I fashioned the work of bronze and cunningly wrought it. Over great posts and cross-bars of wood,
27. 12 fierce lion-colossi together with 12 mighty bull-colossi, complete in form, 22 cow-colossi

1 So also F1.
2 F1, eriba.
3 So also F1.
4 F1 has 4NIN-IGI-KUG.
5 F1 has 4NIN-IGI-KUG.
No. 2
"THE PALACE WITHOUT A RIVAL" 123
28. id ku-uz-bu u ul-gu hi-it-lu-pa bal-tu la-la-a kum-mu-ru si-ru-uš-šin ki-ı te-im ili-ma
29. zi-kiš-šu ı̄t, ul-§u fyišt-lu-pa bal-tu la-la-a kum-mu-ru ı̄t-ru-ui-iin ki-ı te-im ili-ma
(TA-ĂM) ı̄-šak-ki-la
30. nab-ni-su-un ı̄šdē-lamessu nam-ni ert ı̄š 2 ina (v. i-na) lib-bi za-ḥa-lu-ı̄ ši-bu-ı̄ ı̄šdē-lamessu
31. (v. i-na) abi-ni-ab-sa bi-ib-lat ti Na-ma-ni me-sir ı̄t ı̄-ra-k-kiš-ı̄-ma
32. ši-gar-kiš-un dim-me ı̄t štruleš a-di sab-ni-su-un ı̄šdē-lamessu um li-bu-ı̄ ša-ı̄�-ša-ı̄š-
33. ša-ı̄š-
34. ša-ı̄š-
35. ša-ı̄š-
36. ša-ı̄š-
37. ša-ı̄š-
28. clothed with exuberant strength and with abundance and splendor heaped upon them,—at the command of the god
29. I built a form of clay and poured bronze into it as in making half-shekel pieces and finished their construction.
30. Bull-colossi, made of bronze, two of which were coated with enamel(?),
31. together with cow-colossi of white limestone, I placed at the thresholds of my palaces.
32. High pillars of bronze, together with tall pillars of cedars, the product of Mt. Amanus, I enclosed in a sheathing of bronze and lead,
33. placed them upon lion-colossi and set them up as posts to support their doors. Upon the alabaster cow-colossi as well as the cow-colossi made of bronze,
34. which were coated with enamel(?) and the cow-colossi, made of gu-an-na, whose forms were brilliant, I placed thereon, pillars of ebony, cypress, cedar, dupranu-wood, pine and sindu-wood, with inlay of pasalli and silver
35. and set them up as columns in the rooms of my royal abode. Slabs of breccia and alabaster
36. and great slabs of limestone, I placed around their walls; I made
them wonderful to behold. That daily there might be an abundant flow of water of the buckets,

38. 39. I had copper cables(?) and pails made

and in place of the (mud-brick) pedestals (pillars) I set up great posts and cross-beams over the wells. Those palaces, all around the (large) palace, I beautified; to the astonishment of all nations, I raised aloft its head. "The Palace without a Rival," I called its name. I set out a great park, like unto Mt. Amanus, wherein were all kinds of herbs and fruit-trees, trees, such as
grow on the mountains and in Chaldea. To increase the productiveness of the cultivable (lit. low-lying) fields, from the border of the city of Kisiri

40. to the plain of Nineveh, I cut through the hills (mountains) with iron pick-axes, ran a canal over [1½] double-hours of ground, from the place where

41. 42. the Khosr lets down its ancient waters too low (for irrigation), (and) I made (the water) flow through those fields in irrigation ditches. To arrest the

43. flow of the water through (lit. of) those orchards, I made a swamp and set out a cane-brake therein. Iqiru-birds, wild-swine, beasts
of the forests, I let loose therein.

By command of the god, within the orchards, the vine, every fruit bearing tree, and herbs throve luxuriously.

The cypress and musukannu-tree, all kinds of trees, grew large and sent out many shoots(?); the cane-brakes developed rapidly (mightily); the birds of heaven,

the igiru-birds, built their nests, and the wild swine and beasts of the forest brought forth their young in abundance. The musukannu-tree and the cypress, the product of the parks, the reeds of

the brakes which were in the swamp, I cut down and used them as desired, in the building of my royal palaces.

When I had made an end of building my palace, Assur, the great lord, the gods and goddesses who dwell in Assyria, I invited therein and offered countless sacrifices and gave (them) presents. Oil of the fruit-tree (the olive) the products of the gardens, I brought to them in abundance.

At the dedication of the palace, I drenched the foreheads of the people of my land with wine, with mead I sprinkled their hearts.

At the command of Assur, father of the gods, and Ishtar, the queen, may the gracious, shēdu and the gracious lamassu ever be seen in that palace, may they not withdraw from its side.

and the gracious lamassu ever be seen in that palace, may they not withdraw from its side.
VI. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS REFERRING TO THE “PALACE WITHOUT A RIVAL”

a) I 10
1. ša ki-i ta-im ili-ma a-na šip-ri ekalli-ia ina ši-ši-[il]
2. ša ki-i ta-im ili-ma a-na šip-ri ekalli-ia ina ši-ši-[il]
3. “Ba-la-ša-ai in-nam-ru nišši da-dd-me
4. na-ki-ri u šašši šur-ša-ani pa-az-
   ru-ti kiššiti(ti) kātā-[i-na]
5. zir-me-e u ag-gul-la-ti parzilli ša-ša-ša-
   ti-ru-[i-na]
6. šašši lamassu ša-ša-ša-ti-ru

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe,
2. king of Assyria: white limestone,
3. which at the command of the god
4. was discovered in the land of Baladai,
5. for the construction of my palace,
6. the people of enemy towns
7. mountain (districts), the conquest
8. of my hands, with
9. iron picks and pickaxes quarried,
10. and
11. I turned it (the limestone) into
12. mighty protecting bull-colossi, for
13. the gates of my palace.

b) I 11
1. ekal ša kiššati šar Aššur
2. rabtite ša nišši (ZAG-DI-NU-
   TUG-A)
3. a-na muša bēlātišišu
4. a-na muša bēlātišišu
5. ki-rib Ninua ša-ša-ša-ša-ša

1. Palace of Sennacherib
2. the great king, the mighty king, king
3. of the universe, king of Assyria,
4. “The Palace which has no Rival”
5. for his royal dwelling
6. in Nineveh he has built anew.

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe,
2. king of Assyria, huge protecting bull-
3. colossi
4. which were fashioned in the land of
5. Baladai,
6. for my royal palace
7. which is in Nineveh, I had joyfully
8. transported. (dragged).

1 Transporting these huge colossi may have been a picnic for Sennacherib, but the pictures we
have of such activities (cf. Paterson, Palace of Sennacherib, Plates 27–28) do not indicate that it
afforded much pleasure to the captives who pulled the sledges.
"THE PALACE WITHOUT A RIVAL" 127

d)  I 9
1. ekal "mdSin-aḫē-pi-eriba šarri rabā
2. šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar 'Aššur  
3. ša (v. šd) kīna še-im ša-aḫ-ḫa-ri ši-kin  
4. nu wa-šu-ku šā ina (v. i-na) tar-ši  
5. abēt-ia ma-la aban kišādi šu-šu-ru  
6. ina šēp-ašNI-pur šadtti (v. šad-di-e)  
7. ut-tan-ni a-na 1uza-za-a-ti  
8. u-šē-pīŠ-ma ū-šal-di-da (v. id)  
9. ki-rīb 'Nī-na-a

1. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king,  
2. the mighty king, king of the universe,  
3. whose splendid surface (made it seem)  
4. which in the time of the kings,  
5. my fathers, was solely valued for necklaces (lit. stone of the neck),  
6. made its appearance(?) at the foot of Nipur-mountain,  
7. (and) I had female-colossi made there-of, and  
8-9. transported into Nineveh.

e)  I 13
1. ekal (v. māt) "mdSin-aḫē-pi-eriba šarri  
2. šar 'Aššur ina me-tīl ši-bir-ri-ia (v. id)  
3. ab ilāni ak-šēr ru-u-ku a-ka-ra  
4. ša māti (šadti) šu ru-šu-šu ū-ra-am-ma
5. ina šapal šīr-ri "daltēpti  
6. bōbdēpti ekallī-ia ū-kin

1. The palace of Sennacherib, the great  
2. king of Assyria. Through the might  
3. Assur, father of the gods, presented  
4. from a distant land (mountain, lit.  
5. and under the door-posts  
6. of the gates of my palace I placed it.

f)  I 14
1. ekal "mdSin-aḫē-pi-eriba  
2. šarru rabā šar kiš-ša-ti  
3. šar 'Aššur dan-dan-nu  
4. e-li kal mal-ki

1. Palace of Sennacherib,  
2. the great king, king of the universe,  
3. king of Assyria, the almighty,  
4. ruler of all princes.
CHAPTER VII
THE "BIT KUTALLI" OR ARMORY

I. THE BIT-KUTALLI INSRIPTION OF THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PRISM (H2)

Col. VI

36. i-na ú-me-šú-ma ul-tu ekalla kabal ali šd Ninua\(^1\)
37. a-na ri-mit šarru-ti-ia ú-šak-li-šu
38. a-na tab-ra-a-te kiš-šat nišš\(^2\) lu-li-e ú-mal-lu-ši
39. ekal ku-tal-li šd a-na šú-te-šur ka-ra-ši
40. pa-ša-di sisér\(^3\) sa-na-ki mimma šum-šu
41. ú-še-pi-šu šarranis\(^4\) a-li-kul mah-ri abér\(^5\)-iš
42. tam-lu-ša ul ib-še šu-bat-sa šu-ub-ḫu-ral-ma
43. la nu-ku-lat e-piš-šu la-ša-riš ú-me tim-me-en-ša
44. e-niš-ša iš-da-aša ùr-ma-a i-ku-pa ri-ša-a-ša
45. ekalla ša-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša ak-ṣur
46. ki-ru-bu-u mar-\(^6\) du ul-tu ki-rib ú-sal-li
47. ú la-mir-ti ali kīma\(^7\) a-ḫas-tim-ma lu aš-ša-ta
48. i-na\(^8\) muḫ-ḫi lu ú-rad-di maḫ-kan ekalli maḫ-ri-ši

36. At that time, after I had completed the palace
37. in the midst of the city of Nineveh for my royal residence,
38. had filled it with gorgeous furnishings, to the astonishment of all the people,
(I found that)
39. the side-palace, which the former kings,
40. my ancestors, had built
41. for the care of the camp, the stabling of the horses and the storing of things in general (lit. whatever its name),
42. had no terrace, that its site was too small,
43. that its construction had not been skillfully done, that, as the days went by, its foundation-platform
44. had become weak, its foundation had given way (and) its roof had fallen in.
45. That palace I tore down in its totality.
46. A large tract of land in (lit. out of) the meadows
47. and environs of the city I took over (lit. seized),—according to plan,
48. and added thereto. The site of the former palace

\(^1\) H1, om.
\(^2\) H1, ki-ma.
\(^3\) H1, adds (mī).
\(^4\) H1, tīn.
49. I abandoned. With the ground of the meadows
50. which I had seized from the river-flats(?), I filled in a terrace,
51. 200 tipki (thickness of brick) I raised its top on high. In a favorable month
52. on an auspicious day, on the top of that terrace,—
53. following the prompting (lit. cunning) of my heart,—a palace of limestone
54. and cedar, of Hittite workmanship (or in Hittite style of architecture), also a
55. lofty palace of Assyrian workmanship, which
56. far surpassed the former (palace) in size and beauty (cunning workmanship),—
57. according to the plan of wise architects,
58. I had (them) build for my royal residence.
59. Mighty cedar beams, the product of Amanus, the shining mountain,
60. I stretched over them (that is: with cedar I roofed them). Door-leaves of liari-wood I
65. stationed right and left of their entrances. For the equipment of the black-headed (people, that is the Assyrians), the housing (storing) of (battle)-steeds, mules, colts

67. riding camels(?) chariots, wagons, carts, quivers, bows and arrows, all kinds of battle-equipment:—

69. teams of horses and mules which possessed enormous strength, and were broken to the yoke.

71. I greatly enlarged its (i.e. the palace's) court of the gate(?). That palace, from its foundation

72. to its coping, I constructed, I finished. A stela

73. with my name inscribed I set up in it. In the days to come

74. among the kings, my sons, whose name Assur

75. and Ishtar shall name for the rule of land and people,—

76. when that palace shall have become old and ruined,

77. may some future prince restore its ruins, look upon

78. the stela with my name inscribed (thereon), anoint it with oil, pour out a libation upon it and return it to its place. (Then) Assur and Ishtar will hear his prayers. He who destroys my inscription and my name

81. may Assur, the great lord, the father of the gods,
THE "BÍT-KUTALLI" OR ARMORY 131

Col. VI
82. nak-riš li-zi-is-su *ḥattā u *kussā
83. li-ki-muš-a ma liš-ki-pa palē-šu
84. *šaDu-šu li-mu *Ga-hi-šu
85. *šaBel pihāti *Ḫa-ta-rīk-ka

82. treat him as an enemy,
83. take away from him scepter and throne and overthrow his rule.
84. Month Tammuz, eponym of Gahili
85. governor of Hatarikka.

II. ANOTHER VERSION OF THE BUILDING OF THE ARMORY (H4)

55. i-nu-šu ekal ku-tal-li ša ki-riš Ninuaš
da a-na ša-te-šur ka-ra-ši
56. pa-ša-ad sisṭši ʿa sa-na-a-ki mimma
šum-šu ʿe-ši-šu <karrānišši>-ni a-li-
kul maḫ-ri
57. abētti(e)ša ekalli ša-a-tu tam-lu-ū-ša
ul ib-ši-ma šu-ḫḫu-šu-rrat šu-baš-sa
58. a-na ša-uḫ-mur sisṭši ul šum-du-la
ká-nu-ši ki-sal-lu la-ba-riš šušši
59. tim-me-en-ša i-niš-ma il-ru-ša ri-ša-a-
ša ekallu ša-a-tu a-na ni-ḫi-ri-ša
ak-šur
60. ki-ma a-ḫaš-tim-ma ki-ru-bu-ša ma-a-
du ul-tu ki-riš ū-sal-li lu aš-ša-la
61. ʾı-ru-wuš-ša uš-rad-di maḫ-kan ekalli
maḫ-ri-ti e-sib-ma i-na ki-riš ki-ru-
bī-e
62. ša ul-tu ū-sal-ša aš-ša-la tam-la-a
uš-mal-li šušši+20 ti-šip-ki i-na na-al-
ban-ia
63. ṛabši(e)ša a-na e-la-ni ū-ša-k-ši ri-e-su
šī-ir tam-li-e ša-a-tu ša ekallātēš-
tia
64. at-la-di tim-me-en-šin ekal abn-pi-i-li
wer-ni tam-šil ekal ʾḪa-at-ti
65. At that time (I found that) the side-
palace which is in Nineveh, which the
kings, my ancestors had built
66. for the care of the camp, the stabling
of the horses and the storing of things
in general, (that)
67. that palace had no terrace and its
site was too small,
68. for the exercising of the horses the
gate(?)-court was not roomy enough,
(that), as the days went by,
69. its foundation had become weakened
and its roof was tottering. That
palace in its totality I tore down.
70. According to plan, I took over a large
tract out of the meadows
71. joining it thereto. The site of the
former palace I abandoned and in the
middle of the tract
72. which I had taken over from the
meadows I filled in a terrace. 200
tipki (thickness of brick) of my large
bricks (lit. brick-work)
73. I raised its top on high. Upon that
terrace
74. I laid the foundation of my palaces;

1 Date of H1, ina *araAdaru ūmu 20šši li-mu *Béš-imur-a-ni *šaBel pihāti *Gar-ga-mis.
65. and a lofty palace of Assyrian workmanship, which far surpassed (the former palace) in size and splendor, I had
66. (them) build for my royal residence. That the steeds might be trained to the yoke
67. and the heavy booty of the enemy which Assur put into my hands might be stored (in safety), I greatly
68. increased the court of the gate(?). (Relying) on the exalted might of the gods, my lords, I sent the order to
69. the kings of Amurru, all of them, who had submitted to me (lit. at my feet). Great cedar beams
70. they felled in Mt. Amanus, dragged them to Nineveh and roofed (my palaces with them).
71. Door-leaves of cypress and liaru-wood I covered with a sheathing of bronze and set up in their doors.
72. Ashnan-stone, whose beautiful structure had the appearance of cucumber-seeds, and was highly prized for necklaces (lit. stones of the neck)
73. or amulets to bring on rain (lit. stone for commanding favor or bringing on rain) and to keep disease from approaching a man, which
74. was brought from the foot of Mt. Nipur, together with white limestone which is found at Baladai,
75. I had them fashioned into protecting colossi and placed them by their entrances. Upon cow-colossi of (this) ashnan-stone
76. I set cedar columns (pillars) and (on these) I placed the cornice of that limestone palace.
The "Bit-Kutalli" or Armory

77. With the keen understanding which Ea, lord of wisdom, gave me, I

78-79. made clay molds for all the copper work needed (desired) for my palace which I built at Nineveh,—according to the command of the god, and poured bronze therein. The work of my hands

80. was successful and (these) female protecting deities of shining bronze I flanked (lit. caused to bear) with slabs of ashan-stone,

81. and set them between the cow-colossi. I made them serve as a dado(?) and

82. made them most beautiful. In the great court below the limestone palace (built) for my royal residence, I built (laid)

83. a pavement of ashan, breccia, and sabu-stone. Four copper pillars,

84. whose capitals(?) were of cast lead, I set up on it (the pavement) and over beams of cedar

85. which were covered with silver, I spread its roof. The former palace I greatly enlarged. I finished it

86. and splendidly adorned it, to the amazement of all peoples I filled it with costly equipment. Gifts, the tribute of the lands,

87. the wealth of the distant Medes, whose tribute none among the kings my fathers had (ever) received,

88. together with the wagons and riding chariots of the Elamite king,
89. the king of Babylon and Chaldea, which my hands had captured, and innumerable (pieces) of equipment which I had laid up as a store for that palace,—(all this) I had (them) bring and place therein (in the palace).

91. At the command of Assur, father of the gods, and Belit, the queen, may I dwell in that palace in health of body, joy of heart and brightness of countenance. ....

93. may my descendants forever and for all time to come, abide therein.

94. May the bull-colossus, guardian of life, the god who keeps (thinp) safe by day and night, not leave its side.
CHAPTER VIII

"THE TEMPLE OF THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST"

a) INSCRIPTION ON A FOUNDATION STELA FOUND AT ASSUR (I.2)

1. m  ...  ina fi-car-6a-a4i 14. who furnishes water for irrigation to
     tAiiur Assyria's meadows,—

1 Written AN-S̄ĀR.

1. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of the universe,
   king of Assyria.
2. king of the four quarters (of the world), ruler of wide-spread peoples;
3. maker of the image (statue) of Assur and the great gods; who restores all
   (fulfills)
4. the forgotten cults of Esharra, who, through the oracle, (and) at the
   behest
5. of Shamash and Adad, multiplies their ceremonies (cults, ritual);
6. who restores the powerful (?) protecting deity of Esharra to its place;
7. who fears the great gods of heaven and greatly
8. befriends the gods of Assyria, who exalts the great gods in their shrines,
9. multiplies their adornments; maker of Assyria,
10. who completes its metropolis; subduer (who makes obedient) of the
    enemies' land,
11. destroyer of their towns; who digs canals,
12. open wells, runs irrigation-ditches,
13. who brings plenty and abundance to the wide acres of Assyria,
14. who furnishes water for irrigation to Assyria's meadows,—
15. engineering (lit. digging) and construction such as none had seen in Assyria in days

16. of old, none had known

17. of (those kings) who went before, (none) had made; who replaces (adobe)-brick work, (lit. the work of the brick-god),

18. both in buildings for the living and the tombs provided for the dead,

19. with mountain limestone, which none of the kings of Assyria, who went before me, had done;

20. provident prince, whose rule is praised above that of (all) kings who dwell in palaces;

21. the support of his land, terrible (lit. exalted) in battle and warfare,

22. the (protecting) shadow of his armies,

23. and the images of the great gods, had caused them to take up their abode in their shrines of peace,

24. (in) the month BAR-SAG-SAG, the first month of father Enlil, the month Nannurti,

25. (the month) of the star APIN, of the feast of the banquet of the king of the gods, Assur,

26. which from days of old, on account of disturbances and uprisings, had ceased to be held (lit. neglected) in the Temple of the New Year’s Feast of the Desert,

27. (but) was then being celebrated within the city,—the cult of the king of the gods, Assur, in (lit. with) that (kind of a) structure!
28. to build a Temple of the New Years’ Feast, my heart moved me,

29. the command of Shamash and Adad

I sought by oracle (lit. learned), a favorable reply they gave me,

30. and commanded (me) to build. In a favorable month, a propitious (lit. peaceful) day, with the aid (lit. work) of masterbuilders (and)

31. the wisdom of the priests, I built its foundation of mountain limestone,

32. I raised aloft its turrets (head), its foundation as well as its walls (lit. from its foundation to its walls)

33. I constructed entirely of mountain limestone, and I raised it up mountain high. Two irrigation ditches

34. I dug around its sides, and encircled it with a garden of abundance and

35. orchard(s) of—, with luxurious plantations I surrounded its sides.

36. After I had destroyed Babylon,

37. had smashed the gods thereof, and had struck down its people with the sword,

38. —that the ground of that city might be carried off, I removed its ground and

39. had it carried to the Euphrates (and on) to the sea. Its dirt (lit. dust) reached (was carried) unto Dilmun,

40. the Dilmunites saw it, and the terror of the fear of Assur

41. fell upon them and they brought their treasures;¹

¹ Reports of the power of Sennacherib’s father had reached the ears of “Uptiri, king of Dilmun, situated at a distance of 30 double-hours in the eastern sea,” and he sent tribute. Sargon’s Annals, II. 399 f.
42. it-ti na-mur-ti-šu-nu ummānāt1 di-kū-ut máti-šu-nu za-biš dup-šik-ki
43. *narkabat siparrī epērēti siparrī ú-nu-tū ši-pir máti-šu-nu
44. a-na na-šar Bābīlīti2 is-pu-ru-u-ni a-na nu-uh-bi lū-bi
45. aššūr bēl-ia ta-nit-ti dan-nu-ti-šu ništ1 a-na da-la-li
46. a-na ta-mar-ti ništ1 ab-ra-a-ti epērēti Bābīlītī1
47. as-su-ša-am-ma ina bē a-ki-ti šu-a-ti ka-ri-e katmi ú-gar-ri-in
48. ina na-di-e ušš a ša Bī-a-kī-ti na-mur-tū ša *Ka-ri-bi-ili
49. šar 'ṣa-ba' aban(?) ni-siš-ti abnēti rikšēti šibāšēti
50. [li]-ka ik-ba-am-ma is-tu lū-bi na-mur-ti šu-a-tū
51. abnē rikšēti a-na lūbi ušši-šu ad-di a-na lūbi ušš ši-a-kī-ti
52. ša-a-tū kaspu šurāšu eš-sandu eš-šu-fa-hūlū ever-muš-garru
53. eš-šu UD-ĀŠ eš-šu UD-ĀŠ-ĀŠ IM-DUB (akpuk ?) nā-paš šar rikšēti ša-bu-tū
54. ki-ma1 . . . . . . hi ušši šu-a-ti ni-pu-la-a šaman ru-us-ti
55. ki-ma mērt1 nāri lu as-la-uh te-mi-en-na al-ta
56. ša nā Sin-abērēti-eriba šar 'aššūr1 ra-im ki-na-a-ti

1 Three Sabaean kings, and one mukarrib, of this name are known (see Corpus Inscri. Sem., Pars Quarta, Tomus II, Nos. 373 f., and Glaser, Skizze, I, 62). Tigiath-pileser III and Sargon had dealings with Saba', the latter with a king called Ithamar (Annals, l. 97).
57. maker of the image of Assur, builder of the house of his grace, to Assur speak:
58. With Assyria and Esharra may his offspring prosper;
59. may his sons and his grandsons abide among the black-headed race
60. (of men) for ever and ever. May any future prince
61. whose name Assur shall call for the rulership (shepherding) of land and people,
62. in whose reign that temple shall fall to ruins, restore
63. its ruins; may he look upon my memorial stela, anoint it with oil,
64. offer sacrifices, and restore it to its place.
65. And Assur will hear his prayers.
66. But the destroyer of my stela, who ignores my word,
67. who does that which is not good for—
68. may Assur, king of the gods, and the great gods of heaven and earth,
69. curse him with an evil curse which cannot be removed, may
70. they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of life, and
71-72. destroy his name, his seed, his kith and his kin, in every land.

b) INSCRIPTION INTENDED FOR A FOUNDATION STELA (16)

2. Bit-ša-ki-iti šeri ša 'parešša ul-ša ūmēš rūkūšši im-ma-ša-ša-ša-šu-šu
3. which (?) I restored at the command of the oracle (lit. oracle and command) of Shamash and Adad,—its outer temple, Bt-ugga, was destroyed by fire.

4. The name of its sanctuary, E-balagga, I changed and . . . . . . I called its exalted name.

5. A gate of burnished copper, with all kinds of,—in the workmanship of the Smith-god,

6. by my own artistic ability, I made, and the image of Assur, who is advancing to battle into the midst of Tiamat,

7. as he raises his bow, riding in a chariot, bringing on the storm,

8. (and the image of) Amurru, who rides with him as charioteer (holder of the reins), (these) I engraved upon that gate

9. at the command of Shamash and Adad, as they gave it through the oracle. The gods who went before him

10. and after him, those who rode on chariots, and those who went on foot, as they were drawn up in line before Assur,

11. and as they were drawn up in line behind Assur. (The image of) Tiamat, (and) the creatures inside her, into whose midst

12. Assur, king of gods is advancing to battle,—I engraved upon that gate in obedience to the command of Shamash and Adad.

13. The rest of the gods, who were advancing on foot,—at the command of Shamash and Adad (I engraved these)—
14. a-di la-a 4Assur Ti-amat i-kam-mu-u 
    ú-ma-ma-a-nu ša Ti-amat i-na-âš-â-a 

15. [pa-na(?)] i-nam-di-nu ki-i an-ni-i 
    ina šêpâ-bu-šu-nu i-du-ul-ulu 

16. ... it-te-šu-nu ku(?) ul-[lu] [ana eli] 
    pi-i ša 4Samaš u 4Adad [ša arsi] 

Rev. 
1. [a-bul]-li šu-a-ti aš-šu-ru ū-e-sir 
    . . . . kaspi šurâsî siparri še-ir-tu 

2. ul-sis ú-nu-tâ kaspi šurâsî siparri 
    . . . . ul-ul eli 1 IGI-MAŠ(?)

3. a-di 1 šiklu šup-šâ-lim-ma a-ḫa-mes 
    a-na laṭ . . mu-nak-il nik-la-te-šu-

4. ša-bit ba-ki-šu-nu a-li-ê-e a-na-ku(?) 
    šum-ma ša dun ša siparri ša-a-šu 

5. "a(?)-na babâlî ta-šak-kan at-mi šar 
    ilâni? 4Assur ili ba-ni-ia 

6. . . . . 4šâd-ru u maš-kan ša-lam 
    4Assur u ša-lam ilâni rabâti? 

7. ma-la it-ti-šu a-na libbi Ti-amat 
    šal-ti il-la-ku is-(giš?)-ru šâ bat-ka 
    šu-ù 

8. a a-na-ku ū-šap-ši-šu a-na id-. . . 
    su-nu-ti aš-šu li-ti-ḫa-ki(m 

9. an-na ina lib-bi uš-ša-am-id ina libbi 
    an-nim-ma ḫi-ki(m ki-i bat-ka šu-u 
    ana-ku ū-šap-ši-šu 

10. ša-lam 4Assur ša a-na libbi Ti-amat 
    šal-ti ilak(ku) ša-lam "Sin-aḫē(r) 
    eriba šar 4Assur 

14. when Assur was not yet overpowering 
    Tiamat, and facing the beasts whom 
    Tiamat was bringing on, 

15. how these were advancing on foot 

16. holding back(?) their. . . . In 
    obedience to the command of Sham- 
    ash and Adad [that which] 

1. I wrote (i.e., described in words) 
    upon that gate, I (also) engraved 
    (thereon) . . . . . silver, gold, 
    copper, —, 

2. I set up. Vessels of silver, gold, 
    copper (whose weight ranged ?) from 
    half 

3. to 1 shekel, were welded together 
    . . . . . the skilled designer of 
    their beauty, 

4. the repairer of their injuries (cracks), 
    I am able (?) or, wish). . . . If this 
    —of copper 

5. at the gate of life(?) thou dost place, 
    say(?) : "King of the gods, Assur, the 
    gods, my begetter, 

6. . . . . . . . . the place of the 
    image of Assur and the image of the 
    great gods, 

7. as many as advanced to battle with 
    him into the midst of that Tiamat, 
    its—, its injury 

8. I had not repaired (welded). For 
    their—, that I might learn (?) 

9. this therein I—. On learning this 
    therein, that that injury (existed), 
    I repaired it." 

10. (This is) the image of Assur as he 
    advances to battle into the midst, 
    of Tiamat, the image of Sennacherib, 
    king of Assyria,
11. Sār-ūr Sār-gaz Ga-ga Nusku
12. Daianu Tishpak MAŠ šā dāri
12. Kubu, Hani, Sibitti—these gods who were advancing in front of Assur,
13. Ninlil, Sheru'a, Sin, Ningal, Shamash, Aia, Gamlat,
14. Anu, Antum, Adad, Shala, Ea, Damkina,
15. the mistress of the gods, Mash,—these gods who are behind Assur.

1. I am the one who conquers, stationed in Assur's chariot.
2. Tiamat and the creatures inside her.

1. Sennacherib, the king of the universe, king of Assyria, maker of the image of Assur
2. Anu, Sin
3. Shamash, Adad, Nergal, Ishtar
4. of the Kidmuru-temple, Mah, and the great gods, am I.
5-6. I built (laid) the foundation-platform of the temple of the New Year's Feast, the dwelling of Assur, my lord, of white limestone.
THE TEMPLE OF THE NEW YEAR'S FEAST

1. "Sin-ahd-e-eriba šar kiššati šar 1'Assur
2. šeš(es) sa-lam 4'Aššur 4Šer-u-a
3. 4A-nim 4Sin 4Šamaš 4Adad
4. šītar ša bāt 1'Kid-mu-ri 4MAH
5. 4Gà-gà 4Ha-ni 4Kù-bù(KUG-SUD)
6. 4DUB(Balag?) 4[Nergal] 4[NIN]-GAL-KI-1'MAH
7. u šànlù našàlu [anà]-ku
8. te-me-en Bit-a-kì-tì i-sin-ni
9. ki-ri-tì 4Aššur ina pi-li
10. aban šadd(i) ušš-šu ad-di

1. Sennacherib, king of Assyria, the king of the universe,
2. maker of the image of Assur, Sherua
3. Anu, Sin, Shamash, Adad,
4. Ishtar of the Kidmuru-temple, Mah
5. Gaga, Hani, Kubu,
6. Dub, Nergal, Ningal-kimah,
7. and the great gods, am I.
8. The foundation-platform of the Temple of the New-Year's Feast, the festival
9. of Assur's banquets, of mountain
10. limestone I built (laid) its foundation.
CHAPTER IX
MISCELLANEOUS BUILDING INSCRIPTIONS AND EPIGRAPHS

I. REPAIRS MADE ON THE TEMPLE EHARSAGKUR-KURRA AT ASSUR (17)

1. "Sin-al-ēpī-eriba šarru rabā šarru
dan-nu šar kiššatī šar ʾAššur šar
kīb-riḫ irbīttim(tim) mu₄-šar-ra-u"

2. nīšbī tēpis ṣa-lam ʾAššur
   A-nim ʾSin Ṣamaš . . .

3. ʾNergal ʾIštar ša biʾ Kid-mu-ri ʾMAH
   ū ilāni rabāti

4. mušak-līl pa-ra-as Ē-šār-ra ū Ē-mēš-
   miš ša pa-liḫ ilāni ša šamē(e) ū ilāni

5. ʾAššur ra-bīš mu-du-u e-piš ʾAššur
   mušak-līl ma-ḫa-zi-šu na-si-ūḫ [māš]

6. na-ki-ri mu-ab-bit da-ād-me-šu-un mal-
   ku piš-ḫu-du ša eli ša-rānīr i-a-šib
   parakkī

7. nu-ṣu-da-at be-lat-su tukulti(ti) māti-
   šu na-ṣi-īd ḫabī lū ṭaḥa-ṣi šu-lu-

8. ummānātē sī-šu a-na-ku i-nu-šu ʾE-har-
   sag-gal-kur-kur-ra ša ki-riḫ ʾĒ-šār-ra
   pa-ruš ʾAššur

9. bēlī rabāti bēlī-ia ša ʾu-ṭu ēmēbī
   rāḫūtē si-ma-tu-šu ʾim-kū-ta-ʾa ma
   bēbī-šu

10. pi-ṭu-u a-na ʾēšūtu ina ʿezānu (text
   has ṣēnah) ra-pa-aṣši ša ʾE-a iš-ru-ʾku

1. Sennacherib, the great king, the
mighty king, king of Assyria, king of
the four quarters (of the world), ruler of

2. widespread peoples, maker of the
image of Assur, Anu, Sin, Shamash,

3. ʾNergal, Ishtar of the Kidmuru-temple,
Mah, and the great gods,

4. who restores all (fulfills) the cults of
Esharra and Emishmish, who fears
the gods of heaven, and greatly
befriends the gods

5. of Assyria. Maker of Assyria, who
completes its metropolis, who de­
strs the land of

6. the enemy, who destroys their settle­
ments. Provident prince, whose rule

7. is exalted above that of (all) kings
who dwell in palaces; the support of
his land, terrible in battle and war­

8. (protecting) shadow of his armies, am
I. When Eharsaggalkurkurra, which
is in Esharra, the shrine of Assur,

9. the great lord, my lord, whose splen­
did structure had fallen to ruins since
days of old;—its door

10. opened to the south. In the wisdom
(lit. wide ears), which Ea gave me,
11. with the cleverness with which Assur endowed me, I took
12. counsel with myself alone, and to open the gate of Eharsaggalkurkurru to the east (rising sun) instead of the south,
13. my heart moved me. The will of Shamash and Adad I sought to learn
14. (by oracle), and they vouchsafed me (their) enduring grace,—that that door should open toward the east instead of the south,
15. Shamash and Adad commanded. On hearing this, I cut through its wall and
16. toward the breast of Assur, my lord, instead of the south, I opened a new door, and I called
17. its name Gate of Royalty. The Shahuru-temple I built anew, and widened its door. In that door of the Shahuru temple,
18. four (statues) of GUD, son of Shamash, of burned copper, raising their hands on high to Shamash,
19. supported the roof. Below their feet rested upon two bronze shrines,
20. of copper fish-men (and) of copper Suhur-fish. (To) the rooms
21. right and left of the gate, fierce dogs and scorpion men supported the entrances.
22. The Door of the Road of Enlil, I called its name. Its court I restored and called it the Court of the Rows of the Stations of the Igigi.
23. Its door, opening toward the rising sun, and upon the river, I named the Burumu (Firmament,)-door.
24. Its entrance door to the court, I called the Entrance of the Igigi.
25. The door toward the south, I named the Door of Prostration(?) of the Igigi. To its entrance door to the court.
26. I gave the name Door of the Products of the Land(s). Its door toward the north, I called the Door of the Wagon-star.
27. Its entrance-door to the court I named the Door of the Shrine of Fate. The Bab Papahi (Door to the Sanctuary) of the Shahrurutemple,—
28. its walls as well as its court, (its) rooms and doors, from its foundation to its surrounding wall,
29. I completed it in brick (lit. workmanship of the brick-god). I raised its top (head) mountain-high. In the cunning of my heart (artistic sense) I gave names to its doors and their courts. Thou, foundation stela, for Sennacherib,
30. king of Assyria, lover of justice, maker of the images of his god, builder of the temple of his grace, to Assur speaks:
31. With Assyria and Esharra may his offspring prosper; may his sons and his grandsons abide among the black-headed race (of men) for ever and ever. May any future prince whose name Assur shall call for the rulership (shepherding) of land and people,
32. in whose reign that temple shall fall to ruins, restore its ruins; may he look upon my memorial stela, anoint it with oil,
35. offer sacrifices, and restore it to its place. And Assur will hear his pray­
ers. But the destroyer of my stela,

36. who ignores my word, may Assur, king of the gods, and the great gods

37. of heaven and earth, curse him with an evil curse which cannot be removed,

38. may they overthrow his kingship, deprive him of life,

39. and destroy his name, his seed, his kith and his kin, in the people’s mouth.

II. FOUNDATION STELA OF A HANI TEMPLE (I 8)

1. ["Sin-’ahŠ’-eriba šarru rabā šarru dan-nu šar kīš-ša-ti šar ’Assur”

2. [šar kib-rit ērbītim(tim)] mul-lar-ru- u nīkŠ1 rapēša

3. [e-piš qa-lam šarru ...] 4Adad

4. Adad, Nergal, Nusku

4-7. (Lost)

8. ... to whom ... has made subject

9. ... his armies, am I.

10. ... the shaddabak whose appear­

11. ... of Hani, their god, I made great.

12. ... for the great gods,

13. ... gods, for

14. ... before me

15. ...

16. ... to build (for?) Hani,

17. ... from its foundation to its walls I finished.


20. Thou foundation(-stela), for Sen­
nacherib, king of Assyria, the prince,
21. maker of the images of Assur and the great gods, builder of the temple of his grace, to Assur speak:

(\textit{The blessing and curse which follow are the same as in the preceding inscription, }\textit{ib. 32b. f.})

III. SLAB FROM THE COURT OF ESHARRA (I15)

1. \textit{\textsuperscript{1}Sin-\textsuperscript{1}ahe\textsuperscript{1}}-eriba \textit{\textsuperscript{1}Assur \textsuperscript{1}ki\textsuperscript{1}i\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1}}
2. \textit{\textsuperscript{1}e-pi\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{1}sa\textsuperscript{1}-lam \textit{\textsuperscript{1}Assur \textsuperscript{1}il\textsuperscript{1}ani\textsuperscript{1}}
3. \textit{\textsuperscript{1}rab\textsuperscript{1}ati\textsuperscript{1}} \textit{\textsuperscript{1}ana-\textsuperscript{1}ku} \textit{\textsuperscript{1}sa kisul E\textsuperscript{1}-\textsuperscript{1}s\textsuperscript{1}ar-ra}
4. \textit{ekal il\textsuperscript{1}ani\textsuperscript{1}} \textit{\textsuperscript{1}ina} \textit{\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1}nu-p\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{1}-\textsuperscript{1}i-[i]}
5. \textit{\textsuperscript{1}te-min\textsuperscript{1}} \textit{\textsuperscript{1}su ad-di\textsuperscript{1}}

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
2. maker of the images of Assur (and) the great gods,
3. gods, am I. Of the court of Esharra,
4. the palace of the gods, the foundation-platform
5. I laid with limestone (slabs).

IV. BRICK FROM THE SAME TEMPLE AT ASSUR (I16)

1. a-na \textit{\textsuperscript{2}Assur abu il\textsuperscript{2}ani\textsuperscript{2}} \textit{\textsuperscript{2}b\textsuperscript{2}e\textsuperscript{2}-\textsuperscript{2}su}
2. \textit{\textsuperscript{2}Sin-ahe\textsuperscript{1}}-eriba \textit{\textsuperscript{2}Assur \textsuperscript{1}ki\textsuperscript{1}i\textsuperscript{1}a\textsuperscript{1}}
3. \textit{\textsuperscript{2}e-pi\textsuperscript{1}\textsuperscript{1}sa\textsuperscript{1}-lam \textit{\textsuperscript{2}Assur \textsuperscript{2}il\textsuperscript{1}ani\textsuperscript{1}} \textit{\textsuperscript{2}rab\textsuperscript{2}ati\textsuperscript{1}}
4. \textit{\textsuperscript{2}ni-bi\textsuperscript{1}-\textsuperscript{2}hi sa-met E\textsuperscript{1}-\textsuperscript{2}s\textsuperscript{1}ar-ra}
5. \textit{\textsuperscript{2}ina a\textsuperscript{2}gu\textsuperscript{2}-\textsuperscript{2}ri abn\textsuperscript{2}e\textsuperscript{2}i} \textit{\textsuperscript{2}ma\textsuperscript{2}\textsuperscript{2}-\textsuperscript{2}di\textsuperscript{2} \textit{\textsuperscript{2}u\textsuperscript{2}si\textsuperscript{2}-\textsuperscript{2}im}

1. For Assur, father of the gods, his lord,
2. Sennacherib, king of Assyria,
3. maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods,
4. the cornice of the wall of Esharra,
5. with burnt-brick blocks (stone) has beautified exceedingly.
V. BROKEN INSCRIPTION CONCERNING THE SAME TEMPLE (117)

1. a-na
2. ša
3. bēl
4. pa-ti-ik
5. a-kīb 
6. a-kīb
7. šar
8. arāk
9. lilis
10. ša ina
11. nak-liš
12. ū nu-uḫ
13. ūmu ṃu 7
14. ū i

VI. INSCRIBED SLAB FROM THE COURT OF ESHARRA (118)

1. "Sin-ah-bē-eriba šar kiššati
2. šar
3. u ilāniš ra-bātiš ana-ku ša kisal
4. E-šār-ra ekal ilāniš
5. ina ša-pi-li piš(e) te-min-šu addi (RU) 1

1 Going back to Assur in l. 1.
VII. INSCRIPTION ON A SLAB FROM ASSUR (I19)

1. "Sin-ahêl-eriba šar kiššati
2. šar 'Assur epē(ē) ša-lam
3. 'Assur(SAR) u ildni rabâti[ri] anaku

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe,
2. king of Assyria, maker of the images
3. of Assur and the great gods, (am I).

VIII. INSCRIPTION ON BRICKS FROM A SHRINE AT ASSUR (I20)

1. "Sin-ahêl-eriba šar kiššati šar 'Assur 
2. epē(ē)(v. e-piē) ša-lam 'Assur u (v. ū) 
3. ildni rabâti[ri]
2. ana-ku bit-ti-ka-a-ti ša(ī) kisal wa-ad-
3. rum (v. ri ṫ) man-za-az 4Igigl
1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, 
2. king of Assyria, maker of the image(s)
3. of Assur and the great gods
2. am I. The bit-tikāṭe (house of ropes?) of the court where the Igigi 
3. stand in line(?)

3. ina a-gur-ri utāni elliṭi(ti, v. te) eš-šiš
4. u-še- piš-na u-zak-ğir (v. ă- ga-ğir) 
5. ūr-ša-niš
3. I built of bright oven-bricks and 
4. raised mountain high.

IX. BRICK FROM A PALACE AT ASSUR (I21)

1. ekal "Sin-ahêl-eriba
2. šarru rabû(u) šarru dan-nu šar kiššati 
3. šar 'Assur
1. Palace of Sennacherib
2. the great king, the mighty king, king 
3. of Assyria.

X. INSCRIPTION ON A LIMESTONE BLOCK FROM ASSUR (I22)

1. ana (v. a-na)-ku "Sin (vs."Sin)- 
2. aha-eriba
3. šar 'Assur (v. 'Assūr) epē(ē) ša-lam 
4. 'Assur
3. u ildni(AN-ME) rabâti(GAL-ME) 
4. bitu an-nu-u (v. ū)
5. a-na (v. ana) 'Assur (v. 'Assūr) ili-
6. ia(AN-MU) ana balati-šu (TI(L)- 
7. LA-BI)
5. of my younger son, who was begotten 
6. at the feet of Assur, 
7. 5. and the great gods, this temple 
6. for my god Assur, for the life 
7. for my god Assur, for the life 
8. ad-di
8. 5. of my younger son, who was begotten 
6. at the feet of Assur, 
7. mountain-stone, its foundation 
8. I have built (laid).
XI. THE SAME (I.23)

1. "Sin-ahe^-eriba
2. 1'AsSur bta-na
3. ana 'AšSur ilì-ia ana balati-šu
4. epus-(uš)

1. Sennacherib.
2. king of Assur, (this) palace
3. for Assur, my god, for his life
4. has built.

XII. INSCRIPTION FROM THE MUSHLAL AT ASSUR (I.24)

1. "Sin-ahe^-eriba  šar kiššati šar 1'Asšur
2. ṭepēš(es) ša-lam 'AšSur u šilânišši
3. rabûtišši ana-ku
4. mus-la-lum ekalli ša ki-rub
5. Aššurâ (BAL-TIL-KT) ina šamši-pâ-šu
6. aban šadtu(i) uššu ad-di

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assur,
2. maker of image(s) of Assur and the great gods, am I.
3. The mushkal of the palace which is in Assur (the city),—of limestone blocks,
4. mountain-stone, I built its foundation.

XIII. BRICK FROM ROYAL SEPULCHRE AT ASSUR (I.25)

1. ekal tap-Su-ufy-ti
2. Šu-bat da-rat
3. btu šenâš-iršîtim1 šur-Su-du
4. ša "Sin-ahe^-eriba šarru rabû
5. šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar 1'As-šur

1. The palace of repose,
2. the eternal abode,
3. the house established firm as heaven and earth,
4. belonging to Sennacherib, the great king,
5. the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assur.

XIV. THE SAME (I.26)

1. ekal ša-la-ti
2. ki-maḫ tap-Su-ufy-ti
3. šu-bat da-ra-a-ti
4. ša "Sin-ahe^-eriba šar kiššati šar 1'As-šur

1. The palace of rest (sleep),
2. the sepulchre of repose,
3. the eternal abode,
4. of Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assur.

XV. BRICK FROM PALACE BUILT AT ASSUR FOR ASSUR-NÁDIN-SHUM (I.27)

1. "Sin-ahe^-eriba šar kiššati šar 1'As-šur
2. episša ša-lam 'AšSur u šilânišši rabûtišši
3. ana-ku

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assur,
2. maker of the image(s) of Assur and the great gods, am I.

1 Some sort of stairway or incline leading up to the palace.
3. bētu a-nu-u ana Aššur-nādin-šumu
   GAL-TUR-ia
4. epuš-ma ina oba-pi-i-li aban šadīt(i)
5. ušda-šu ad-di ina ši-pir 4Libiitu
6. ú-še-piš-ma
7. u-zak-ki-ir ḫur-ša-niš

3. This house for Assur-nādin-shum, my oldest son,¹
4. I have made and of limestone (blocks), mountain-stone,
5. its foundation I have built. Of brick (lit. the work of the brick god)
6. I have built it, and
7. mountain high I have raised it.

XVI. VASE INSCRIPTION (128)
1. ša / "Taš-metum-šar-ral SAL-E-GAL
   ša =Sin-aḫēš-eriba šar 'Aššur
1. Belonging to Tashmetum-sharrat, the concubine (palace-woman) of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

XVII. INSCRIPTION ON TWO STELAS FROM NINEVEH (130)
1. =Sin-aḫēš-eriba šar 'Aššur
2. šarru rabū šarru dan-nu šar kiššati
3. šar 'Aššur šar kib-rat irbīltim(tim)
4. mi-gir šālimu rabūtu²
5. 4Aššur ù 4Ištar (v. Ištar)
6. ka-ak (v. =kak) la ma-ḫar
7. ú-šat-li-mu-in-ni-ma
8. a-na ra-sa-ab nak-ru-ti 4Aššurṭi ip-tu-u
9. (v. ia)-da-ai i-na tu-kul-li-šu-un rabištim(tim)
10. ú-šu ści-tān a-di šil-la-an um-ma-na-ti-ia
11. šal-meš lu at-ta-bal-ma gim-ri (v. gimiš) mal-ki a-šib pa-rak-ki
12. ša kib-rat ar-ba-ši še-pu-u-a ú-šak-niš-ma
13. i-šū-tu ap-ša-šu ina ša-me (v. miš)-šu-ma
14. ša ‘Ni-na-a al be-lu-ti-ia šu-bat-su
8. and have opened my hand for the destruction of the enemies of Assyria.
9. Trusting in their great might,
10. I led my armies from one end of the earth to the other
11-12. and brought in submission at my feet all princes, dwelling in palaces, of the four quarters (of the world),—
13. and they assumed (lit. drew) my yoke. At that time
14. I enlarged the site of Nineveh, my royal city.

¹ Elsewhere máru ṟihu
15. uš-rab-bi su-ki-šu me-ti-iš gir-ri šarri
16. ú-ša-an-dil-ma ú-nam-mir kima (v. ki-ma) ú-me (v. mi) dāra
17. ú ša-li-šu-ú nak-liš ú-še-piš-ma ú-sak-(v. za)-kir
18. ūš-ša-niš 100 ina ammati rabṣītim (tim) ša-ri-su-šu
19. uš-rap-piš aš-ra-šaš ú-me (v. úmēš) gir-ri šarri a-na
20. la šu-šu-šu-ri šmanarēšiš ú-še-piš-ma
21. 6š a-hi ul-li-e ina me (v. mi)-hir-ti-šu i-za-su
22. 6š i-na ammati rabṣītim (tim) ša gir-ri šarri
23. (a-di abāl "kīrēš") am-šu-šu ru-pu-su (v. us-su)
24. ma-li-ma nišēšiš a-ši-bi-ul ali ša-ašu ša bē-su
25. la-bi-ru i-nak(v. na-ak)-ša-ru-ša eb-šu i-ba-na-šu
26. ša uš-še bīti-šu a-na gir-ri šarri ir-ru-ba
27. ĝi-ir bīti-šu a-na ga-li-si il-la-šu (v. šu)

XVIII. FRAGMENT OF BUILDING INSCRIPTION (I.31)

1. . . . . .
2. . . . . ekallu . . .
3. aš-šu šip-ra a . . .
4. li-me-iš dāri Ninu[aḫti] . . . .
5. ki-su-u u-še-piš . . . .
6. ša kal-ul diš [ši]-rat(?) . . .
7. ri-ba-ti-šu-un ša-an-dil [ma bi-ri-e-ti ū]
8. su-ša-ti uš-par-di [u-nam-mir kima ūme]
9. ina mi-ih-rit abulli kabali 81-ia-n(i)
   [a-gur-ri 90-pi-li 90-pi-ici]
10. a-na me-ti-k narkabti belu-ti-ia u-še-
   [piš ti-tur-ri]
11. mu-sa-ra-ab-ni-ma li-i-tu u da-na-nu
   [ša ina tukul-ti (9)Aššur bēli-ia]
12. eli ku-lat na-ki-ri aš-tak-[ka-nu]
    . . . . .
13. mimma e-piš kādā-ia u-ša-aš-tir [ki-
    rib-šu]
14. it-ti mu-sar-e mal-ki a-li-kut . . . .
15. ina dāri kabal dī ša Ninua(a) āl
    be-[lu-ti-ia] . . . .
16. a-na šarrāni mārē-ia e-zib aḫ-[ra-taš]
    . . . . .
17. ma-ti-ma ina mārē-ia . . . . .
18. ša (9)Aššur a-na be-lut māti u [nišš
    i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šu]
19. e-nu-ma dāru šu-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-[ma
    i-na-šu an-šu-sa lu-ud-diš]
20. mu-sa-ra-ši-ši-ni-ia li-mur-[ma
    šamni lip-šu-šu]
21. ūnīkē lik-ki a-na aš-ri-[šu lu-kir]
22. (9)Aššur u(9)Iš-tar ik-ri-[bi-šu i-šim-
    me]
   ša eli mu-sar-e ša . . . . .
   ša (9)Sin-[aḫēš-eriba?] . . . .

XIX. SLABS FROM WALL OF NINEVEH (129)

1. Sin-aḫēš-eriba šar kiššati
2. šar 9Aššur dāra u šal-šu-u
3. ša Ninuaškiššu-ša-piš-ma
4. ū-saḫ-kir ḫur-ša-niš

9. Opposite the gate inside the city of burnt-brick and white limestone
10. I built a [bridge] for the driving of my royal chariot . . . .
11. I fashioned memorial stelae and wrote thereon the might and power which, with the aid of Assur, my lord,
12. I imposed upon all my enemies (as well as) . . . .
13. all the works of my hands.
14. With the stelae of princes who went before . . . .
15. in the wall within the city of Nineveh, my royal city . . . .
16. I left them for the days to come to the kings, my sons . . .
17. When [in the reign of any] of my sons
18. whom Assur [shall call by name] to rule over land and [people],
19. that wall shall become old [and fall to ruins], let him restore its ruins,
20. let him look upon the memorial with my name inscribed, [and anoint it with oil],
21. let him offer sacrifices [and return it] to its place.
22. Then Assur and Ishtar [will hear] his prayers. That which is on the memorial . . . which Sennacherib, (?) . . .

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe,
2. king of Assyria. The wall and outer wall
3. of Nineveh I built anew and
4. raised mountain-high.
XX. BRICK FROM NERGAL TEMPLE AT TARBISI (132)

1. For Nergal, his lord,
2. Sennacherib,
3. king of Assyria, the Meslam-palace,
4. which is in Tarbisi,
5. foundation as well as walls (from its foundation to its walls)
6. has (re)built, has finished.

XXI. SLABS FROM SAME TEMPLE (133)

1. Sennacherib, the great king,
2. the mighty king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
3. the Meslam-palace, the temple of Nergal,
4. which is in Tarbisi,
5. has caused to be (re)built and
6. has caused it to shine like the day.

XXII. CONE INSCRIPTION FROM THE SAME TEMPLE (134)

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
2. the wall and outer wall of Kakzi
3. has built of brick.

1 From a letter, Harper, 389, 8f., we learn that Sennacherib restored a palace at Kakzi for the use of Naki'a, his queen.

XXIII. BRICK FROM THE TEMPLE AT KAKZI (135)

1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
2. the wall and outer wall of Kakzi
3. has built of brick.
1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria, in the mighty mountains, wherein there is no abundant (plant)-life—(neither) hamu (nor) husabu,¹
2. (but) wherein mighty wild grape-vines thrive;
3. no strong, steady wind delays progress (going) among them:
4. into the (place) where I pitched my camp,
5. no other (second) living being made his halt (lit. brought his camping-place).
6. Over them (these mountains) I and my armies, laboriously straggling, passed.
7. Merodach-baladan, king of Babylonia, feared the onset of my battle,
8. Shuzubu, the terrified king, who turned the kingship of Babylon to himself,—terror of my onset fell upon him and he became despondent(?), from the back of (his) horse he fell to the ground.
9. rent his royal robe and hastily left Babylon.
10. Sumer, Meluhha(?)

XXV. EPIGRAPH: SENNACHERIB AT LACHISH (I 37)
1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
2. sat upon a throne (lit. standing-chair)
3. (while) the booty of Lachish passed before him.
1 Cf. AJSL, XXXVII, 166.
XXVI. EPIGRAPH OVER CITY OF DILBAT (I 38)
1. Dil-bat\textsuperscript{ki} al-me ak\textsuperscript{ku}d(\textit{ud})
2. aš-lu-la šal-la-su

1. Dilbat I besieged, I conquered,
2. I carried off its spoil.

XXVII. EPIGRAPH OVER CITY OF BIT KUBATTI (I 39)
1. Bt-Ku-bat-ti al-me ak\textsuperscript{ku}d(\textit{ud})
2. aš-lu-la šal-la-su ina girri ak-mu

1. Bt-Kubatti I besieged, I conquered,
2. I carried off its spoil, with fire I burned it.

XXVIII. EPIGRAPH OVER AN UNKNOWN CITY (I 40)
1. . . . šá ? (da?al?)-am-mu al-me [ak\textsuperscript{ku}d(\textit{ud})]
2. [aš-]lu-la šal-la[šu]

2. I carried off its spoil.

XXIX. EPIGRAPH OVER THE KING IN HIS CHARIOT (I 41)
1. Sennacherib, king of the universe,
2. king of Assyria. [The booty]
3. of Kasusi(?)
4. passed before him.

XXX. EPIGRAPH: SENNACHERIB RECEIVING THE TRIBUTE OF THE MARSHES (I 42)
1. Sennacherib, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
2. booty from the marshes
3. of Sahriti
4. passed before him.

XXXI. EPIGRAPH OVER THE CAMP OF THE KING (I 43)
Camp of Sennacherib, king of Assyria.

1. Tent
2. of Sennacherib,
3. king of Assyria.

\textsuperscript{1}The tent is just back of the king's throne at Lachish.
18. The Babylonians had not overstepped (broken across?) the border of [his land].

19. But he (Sennacherib) became enraged(?), Merodach-baladan [fled(?)]

20. he (Sennacherib) plundered his land . . . . .

21. When he had fortified Larak and Sarrabanu [as his outposts],

22. he put Bél-ibni on the throne in Babylon.

23. In the first year of Bél-ibni, Sennacherib

24. overthrew Hirimme and Hararatu.

25. In the third year of Bél-ibni, Sennacherib descended upon Akkad

26. and carried off the plunder of Akkad.

27. Bél-ibni and his nobles were taken, bound, to Assyria.

28. Three years Bél-ibni ruled in Babylon.

29. Sennacherib placed Assur-nadin-shum, his son,

30. on the throne in Babylon.

31. In the first year of Assur-nadin-shum, Ishtarhundu, king of Elam,—

32. Hallushu, his brother, seized him and imprisoned1 him.

1 Lit. "closed the door in his face." Perhaps it merely means "locked him out (of the palace)."

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33. Eighteen years Ishtarhundu ruled in Elam.
34. Hallushu, his brother ascended the throne in Elam.
35. In the sixth year of Assur-nadin-shum, Sennacherib descended upon Elam, destroyed Nagitu, Hilmu, Pillatu, Hupapanu, and plundered them.
36. Thereupon, Hallushu, king of Elam, came against Akkad, entered Sippar toward the end of the month of Tashritu, and slew the inhabitants. Shamaash did not leave Ebarra.
37. Assur-nadin-shum was captured and carried off to Elam.
38. Six years, Assur-nadin-shum ruled as king in Babylon.
39. The king of Elam placed Nergal-usilzib on the throne in Babylon and invaded (or, defeated) Assyria.
40. In the first year of Nergal-ushēzib, the 16th of the month Tammuz, Nergal-ushēzib took Nippur and ended the lamentation (?).
41. The first of Tashritu the Assyrian army entered Erech. The gods of Erech and its inhabitants they plundered.
42. Nergal-ushēzib joined (lit. went after) the Elamite(s) and so the gods of Erech and its inhabitants were carried off. On the seventh day of the month Tashritu

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1. Ideogram probably KI-BAL4u.
4. he made an attack upon the Assyrians in the province of Nippur. He was captured in open battle and carried off

5. to Assyria. One year and six months Nergal-ushezib

6. ruled as king in Babylon. On the 26th of the month Tashritu

7. his people rebelled against Hallushu, king of Elam,

8. imprisoned and slew him. Six years Hallushu ruled as king in Elam.

9. Kudur ascended the throne of Elam. Thereupon Sennacherib

10. descended against Elam, devastated the land from Rashi to

11. Bit-burnaki and carried off its spoil.

12. Mushhezib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

13. In the first year of Mushhezib-Marduk, on the seventeenth (v. eighth) of Ab,

14. Kudur, king of Elam, was seized during an uprising and killed. Ten months

15. he reigned in Elam. Menanu ascended the throne in Elam.

16. In an unknown year [it was 691 B.C.], Menanu mustered the armies of Elam and Akkad,

17. made an attack upon Assyria at Halule

18. and defeated Assyria.

19. In the fourth year of Mushhezib-Marduk, on the fifteenth of the month Nisan,
20. Me-nu  śar 'Elamti mi-ši-tum i-mi-
ši-du-ma
21. pâ-šu  qa-bit-ma at-ma-a la li-∗
22. ina  oroKislimu  âm  Išm  maḥâzu
 qa-bit  Mu-še-zib-Marduk
23. qa-bit-ma ana  'Aššur a-bi-īk
24. IV šanātii Mu-še-zib-Marduk šarru-
ut  Bâbiliii epuš(uš)
25. ina  oroAdaru  âmu  VIIšm  Me-na-nu
 śar  'Elamti šinātii
26. IV šanātii Me-na-nu šarru-ut  'Elamti
 epuš(uš)
27. Ḥum-ma-ḥal-da-šu ina  'Elamti ina
 kuseš  itašob(ab)
28. šātu  VIIšm  šarru ina  Bâbiliii  'ul
 iti  oroDāzu  âmu  IIIšm
29. itānii  šu-ut  Urkii  ištu  Eriduii  ana
 Urkii  eriša
30. ina  oroTašrütu  âmu  XXIIIšm  Ḥum-
ma-ḥal-da-šu śar  'Elamti ina  išdišii
31. ma-ḥi-ṣa-ša ina  mikit(?)  išallii
 imāt(uš)  VIII  šanātii  Ḥum-ma-ḥal-
(text an)-da-šu
32. šarru-ut  'Elamti epuš(uš)
33. Ḥum-ma-ḥal-da-šu šanā(u) ina  'Elam-
ti ina  kuseš  itašob(ab)
34. oroTebitii  âmu  XXšm  'Sin-aḫēšii-
eriša śar  'Aššur
35. māru-šu ina  si-ḫi  idāk-[šu  XXIIIš]
 šanāši  'Sin-aḫēši-eriša
36. šarru-ut  'Aššur epuš(uš) âmu  XXšm
 ša  oroTebit  a-di
37. âmu  IIšm  ša  oroAdar  si-ḫi  ina
 'Aššur  SA-DIRIG

20. Menanu, king of Elam, suffered a
stroke,
21. his jaw was locked (mouth seized)
so that he could not speak.
22. On the first of the month Kislimu,
the city [Babylon] was taken,
Mushēzib-Marduk
23. was captured and carried to Assyria.
24. Four years Mushēzib-Marduk reigned
as king in Babylon.
25. On the seventh of the month Adar,
Menanu, king of Elam, died.
26. Four years Menanu reigned as king
in Elam.
27. Humma-haldashu ascended the throne
in Elam.
28. Eight years there was no king in
Babylon. On the third of the month
Tammuz
29. the gods of Erech returned to Erech
from Eridu.
30. On the 23rd of the month Tashrit,
Humma-haldashu, king of Elam, was
seized with fever,
31. and died from the attack. Eight
years Humma-haldashu
32. reigned as king in Elam.
33. Humma-haldashu the second, ascend-
ed the throne of Elam.
34. On the 20th of the month Tebit,
his son killed Sennacherib, king of
Assyria,
35. during an uprising. [23] years Sen-
nacherib
36. reigned as king in Assyria. From
the 20th of the month Tebit to
37. the 2nd of the month Adar the up-
rising continued in Assyria.
38. On the 18th of the month Adar

\[\text{iddina māru-šu ina 'Aššur ina kusāt itlašab(ab)}\]

Esarhaddon, his son, ascended the throne in Assyria.

II. EXCERPTS FROM THE HELLENISTIC WRITERS

a) Eusebius quoting Polyhistor, who no doubt abbreviated the account of Berossos:

After the reign of the brother of Sennacherib, and after the reign of Akises over the Babylonians, before he had ruled thirty days, he was slain by Merodach-baladan. Merodach-baladan maintained himself as ruler six months, and he was slain by one, whose name was Elibos, and he became king. And in the third year of his reign, Sennacherib, king of the Assyrians, levied an army against the Babylonians, engaged them in battle and conquered; taking prisoner him and his adherents, he carried them off unto the land of the Assyrians. He assumed the rulership over the Babylonians and appointed his son Asordanias as king over them; but he himself withdrew unto the land of the Assyrians.

When he received a report that the Greeks had made a hostile descent upon the land of the Cilicians he marched against them, and fought with them a pitched battle, and, after many of his troops had been cut down by the enemy, he conquered and upon the spot he left a statue of himself as a monument of his victory, and ordered his prowess and heroism to be inscribed upon it in the Chaldean character, to hand down the remembrance thereof to posterity. And the city of Tarsos, so he says, he built, after the likeness of Babylon, and he called the city Tharsis. And after enumerating the various exploits of Sennacherib (Sinecherim) he adds he reigned 18 years, and met his end in a conspiracy which was formed against him by his son, Ardumuzan.

So far Polyhistor.

After Phul his brother Sennacherib reigned. He marched against Babylon with an army. He was victorious, captured Sarnelibos alive, and sent him to Assyria. After he had become master of Babylon, he set his son Asordanisos as king over Babylon, and himself returned to Assyria. When he learned that the Ionians had invaded Cilicia, he hastened against them and destroyed many of them. He left behind a victory-stela, setting up his image in that place, and writing upon it, in Chaldean characters, the events. He built the city of Tarsus, and named it Tarshish. Then he returned, so he says, unto his own land. He ruled 18 years, and was slain by his son. This one reigned 8 years, and after him Hamugios 21 years, and his brother 21.

b) From Abydenos:

At the same time, the twenty-fifth, who was Senecherib, can finally be recognized among the kings. It was he who subjected the city of Babylon to his power, and defeated and sunk a Grecian fleet upon the coast of Cilicia. He built also an Athenian temple and erected brazen statues, upon which he engraved his own exploits. And he built the city of Tarsus, after the plan and likeness of Babylon, that the river Cydnus should flow through Tarsus, in the same manner as the Euphrates intersected Babylon.
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