

Reprinted by Eisenbrauns, Winona Lake, Indiana
from the 1975 J. J. Augustin (Locust Valley, NY, and
Glückstadt, Germany) edition
by permission of the publisher and the author.

Originally published as volume 5 in the series Texts from Cuneiform Sources.

© Copyright 2000 by A. Kirk Grayson
All rights reserved

Cataloging in Publication Data

Grayson, Albert Kirk.

Assyrian and Babylonian chronicles / by A. K. Grayson

p. cm. — (Texts from cuneiform sources ; v. 5)

Originally published: Locust Valley, N.Y. : J. J. Augustin, 1975.

Includes bibliographical references and indexes.

ISBN 1-57506-049-3 (cloth : alk. paper)

1. Akkadian language—Texts. 2. Assyria—History—Sources.
3. Babylonia—History—Sources. I. Title. II. Series.

PJ3845.G7 2000

492'.1—dc21

00-041722
CIP

The paper used in this publication meets the minimum requirements of the American National Standard for Information Sciences—Permanence of Paper for Printed Library Materials, ANSI Z39.48-1984.®™

PART II

CHRONICLE 1

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

The text of Chronicle 1 is preserved in three copies:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sources

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

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Photograph:

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

Copies:

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

Editions:

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

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

Translations Only:

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

Studies:

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

i

Lacuna

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

1 [MU x ...] šar Bābīl^{ki}

2 Tukul-ti-apil-é-šar-ra ina ^{ku[r]}Aš-šur ina
 kússé ittašab

VARIANTS

12 B: ittašab^{ab}

COMMENTARY

- i 1* One could read the traces [^aBē]l(?) úl
 [ū]šá. Cf. Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37
 (1927), p. 63, n. 2. For parallels see the
 note to Chron. 17 iii 5f.†
 i 1 According to this chronicle the reigns
 of Nabû-nāšir, Nādinu, Mukîn-zēri, and
 Tukulti-apil-ešarra III (in Babylonia) cov-

i

Lacuna

1* [... Be]l did not come out (for the Akitu
 festival).

1 [The third year of Nabu-nasir,] king of
 Babylon:

2 Tiglath-pileser (III) ascended the throne
 in Assyria.

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

3 MU BI [šar kurAš-šur] ana kurAkkad^{ki}
ur-dam-ma
4 uruRab-bi-lu u uruHa-am-ra-nu iḫ-ta-bat
5 u ilāni^{meš} šá uruŠá-pa-az-za i-ta-bak

6 a-na tar-si ^aNabú-nāšir Bārsip^{ki}
7 itti Bābili^{ki} it-te-kir šal-tum šá ^aNabú-
nāšir
8 a-na libbi Bārsip^{ki} i-pu-šú ul šá-tir

9 MU V ^aNabú-nāšir Um-ma-ni-ga-áš

10 ina kurElámti ina kússê ittašab^{ab}

11 MU XIV ^aNabú-nāšir GIG-ma ina êkalli-šú
šimāti^{meš}

3 In that same year [the king of Assyria]
went down to Akkad,
4 plundered Rabbilu and Hamranu,
5 and abducted the gods of Shapazza.

6 At the time of Nabu-nasir Borsippa
7 committed hostile acts against Babylon
(but) the battle which Nabu-nasir
8 waged against Borsippa is not written.

9 The fifth year of Nabu-nasir: Humban-
nikash (I)
10 ascended the throne in Elam.

11 The fourteenth year: Nabu-nasir became
ill and died in his palace.

VARIANTS

- 15 B: [uruŠá-pa-a]z-zu
16-8 B omits
19 B inserts šar [kurElámti(?)] after the RN

1 11f. B departs from A and reads:

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

COMMENTARY

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

Note the parallel passage iv 11 which has UG₆(TIL) = *mātu* instead of NAM^{meš}. The same expression (written NAM^{meš}) occurs in i 24, 29, 38; iii 25; iv 31 (note the parallel in Chron. 14:29 has UG₆(TIL) = *mātu*); Chron. 5:10; King List of the Hellenistic Period 10, r. 9; LBAT no. 209:8 (astronomical diary). That the ideogram is to be read *šimāti* is indicated by: ^aSin-ahhē^{meš}-eri₂-ba ši-ma-a-ti AfO 17 (1954-56), p. 6:6. It is evident that an ellipsis is involved but the full phrase is unknown. Cf. the phrases *ana/ina/arki šimti alāku* (CAD 1/1 [A/1], p. 321) and *šimtu abālu* (CAD 1/1 [A/1], p. 17). But notice that *šimtu* is singular, not plural. The two examples of *ana šimāti alāku* cited in CAD 1/1 (A/1), p. 321 (KBo 1, 10:10, 11) are construed with a plural subject (*abbūka*). The form *ši-ma-ti* cited in CAD 1/1 (A/1), p. 17 (Gössmann, Era IV 101) is poetic and not a plural. *šimāti* and *mātu* regularly refer to natural death whereas *dāku* refers to violent death. Also cf. Fichtner-Jeremias, MVAG 27/2 (1922), pp. 62f.

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

- 40 [Iš-tar-ḫu-u]n-du mār a-ḫa-ti-šú ina kur₂ Elámti ina kússé ittašab^{ab}
- 41 ultu reš šar[ru-ut] ^dMarduk-[ápla]-iddina a-di MU X^{kám}
- 42 [kurAš-šur/Šarru-kîn] it-ti ^dMard[uk]-[ápla]-iddina] na-kîr
- 43 MU X ^dMarduk-apla-iddina Bît-x x [x] x ri
- 44 iḫ-te-pi ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-[ta]-bat
- 40 [Shutruk-Nahhu]nte (II), his sister's son, ascended the throne in Elam.
- 41 From the accession ye[ar of] Merodach-baladan (II) until the tenth year
- 42 [Assyria/Sargon (II)] was belligerent towards Merodach-baladan (II).
- 43 The tenth year: Merodach-baladan (II)
- 44 ravaged
- 43 Bit ... (and)
- 44 plundered it.

ii

- 1 MU XII ^dMarduk-apla-iddina Šarru-kîn [ana kurAkkadî]^{kî} ur-dam-ma
- 2 šal-tum ana libbi ^{md}[Marduk-apla]-iddina iḫpuš^{uš}-ma
- 3 ^dMarduk-apla-iddina ina pāni-[šú ibbal-kit]^{t(?)} ana kurElamti iḫliq
- 4 XII MU^{meš} [d][Marduk-apla-idd]ina šarru-ut Bābīlī^{kî} i[ḫpuš^u]^š
- 5 Šarru-kîn ina Bābīlī^{kî} ina kússé ittašab^[ab]

1' MU XIII Šarru-kîn qāt ^dBēl iṣ-ša-[bat]

2' Dūr-Ia-a-ki-nu ik-ta-š[ad]

3' MU XIV šarru ina [māti]

ii

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

VARIANTS

- 1 40 B: mār aḫāti
- 1 41 B has a horizontal line drawn before this line and line 41 begins: MU VI kurAš-šur[r...]

COMMENTARY

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

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

- ii 3' "In the land" means Babylonia in a Babylonian document. Cf. Tadmor, JCS 12 (1958), p. 93.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

7'-18 text too broken for translation

Lacuna

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

10 an [...]

11 x x [...]

12 [MU] II x [...]

13 x [...]

14 [...]

15 [...]

16 [...]

17 an x [...]

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

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

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

- 18 it ta [x x x] x x x x [...]
- 19 ¹⁰ Bābilāia^[kl.meš] ul ispuḥ(bir) mi-iš-r[i x x x] x
- 20 ir-tib/dip-ma ^dMarduk-apla-iddina x [x x x x] x†
- 21 ḥu-bu-ut māti-šú iḥ-ta-bat x [x x] x x x
- 22 uruLa-rak u uruSar-ra-ba-[nu (x)] x x x x
- 23 ki-i iḥḥisū^{su} md Bēl-ib-ni ina Bābili^[kl] ina kússē [ul-te]-šib
- 24 MU I^{kám} ^dBēl-ib-ni ^dSin-aḥḥē^{meš}-eriba
- 25 uruHi-ri-im-ma u uruHa-ra-ra-tum iḥ-te-pi
- 26 MU III^{kám} md Bēl-ib-ni ^dSin-aḥḥē^{meš}-eriba ana kurAkkad^[kl]
- 27 ur-dam-ma ḥu-bu-ut kurAkkad^[kl] iḥ-ta-bat
- 28 md Bēl-ib-ni u lūrabūti^{meš}-šú ana kurAš-šur ul-te-eg-lu
- 29 III MU^{meš} ^dBēl-ibni šarru-ut Bābili^[kl] ipušūš
- 30 ^dSin-aḥḥē^{meš}-eriba Aššur-nādīn-šumi mār-šú
- 31 ina Bābili^[kl] ina kússē ul-te-šib
- 32 MU I^{kám} Aššur-nādīn-šumi Iš-tar-ḥu-un-du šar Elāmti
- 33 Ḥal-lu-šú aḥu-šú iḥ-bat-su-ma bāba ina pāni-šú ip-ḥi
- 19 He (*Sennacherib*) did not scatter the Babylonians.
- 20 He ...
- 19 the border [...]
- 20 and Merodach-baladan (II) [...]
- 21 he (*Sennacherib*) plundered his (*Merodach-baladan II's*) land [...]
- 22 Larak and Sarrabanu ...
- 23 when he withdrew he (*Sennacherib*) put Bel-ibni on the throne in Babylon.
- 24 The first year of Bel-ibni: Sennacherib
- 25 ravaged Hirimma and Hararatum.
- 26 The third year of Bel-ibni: Sennacherib
- 27 went down
- 26 to Akkad
- 27 and plundered Akkad.
- 28 He led away to Assyria Bel-ibni and his officers.
- 29 For three years Bel-ibni ruled Babylon.
- 30 Sennacherib
- 31 put
- 30 Ashur-nadin-shumi, his son,
- 31 on the throne in Babylon.
- 32 The first year of Ashur-nadin-shumi: Shutruk-Nahhunte (II), king of Elam,
- 33 was seized by his brother, Hallushu- (Inshushinak I) (lit. Hallushu, his brother, seized him) and he (Hallushu-Inshushinak I) shut the door in his face.

COMMENTARY

ii 19 The subject of *ispuḥ* is almost certainly Sennacherib.

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

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

ii 28 *ul-te-eg-lu*: For many examples of the Š of *galú* "to lead into exile" see von Soden, AHW p. 275b. To his examples add ABL 505:10. For a cognate in Tigre see Leslau, JAOS 84 (1964), p. 116.

ii 33 *bāba ina pānišu ipḥi*: This phrase, which also occurs in iii 7f. in connection with Ḥallušu's deposition from the throne, is otherwise unknown. Perhaps it is an Elamite idiom meaning "he threw him in prison". Cf. Chron. 22 iv 11 where Tukulti-Ninurta I was shut up in a room and killed by rebels.

- 34 XVIII MU^{meš} *Iš-tar-ḫu-un-du šarru-ut*
kurElámti *īpuš^{uš}* 34 For eighteen years Shutruk-Nahhunte
(II) ruled Elam.
- 35 *Ḫal-lu-šú aḫu-šú ina* kurElámti *ina kússé*
ittašabab 35 Hallushu-(Inshushinak I), his brother,
ascended the throne in Elam.
- 36 MU VI^{kám} *Aššur-na-din-šumi* ^d*Sin-aḫḫē*^{meš-}
eri[ba] 36 The sixth year of Ashur-nadin-shumi:
Sennacherib
- 37 *ana* kurElámti *ú-riḏ-ma* uruNa-gi-tum 37 went down to Elam and
uruḪi-il-[m]i
- 38 uruPi-il-la-tum u uruḪu-pa-pa-nu *iḫ-t[a(?)*-
p]i 38 ravaged (and)
- 39 *ḫu-bu-us-su-nu iḫ-ta-bat arki* *Ḫal-lu-šú*
šár Elámti 39 plundered
- 37 Nagitum, Hilmi,
38 Pillatum, and Hupapanu.
- 39 Afterwards, Hallushu-(Inshushinak I),
king of Elam,
- 40 *ana* kurAkkadⁱki *illikam^{kám}-ma* *ina qūt(*til)
Tašrīti ana Sippar^{ki} irub 40 marched to Akkad and entered Sippar at
the end of the month Tishri.
- 41 *nišē*^{meš} *iddūk* ^d*Šamaš ultu É-babbar-ra*
úl ūši 41 He slaughtered (its) inhabitants. Shamash
did not go out of Ebabbarra.
- 42 ^m*Aššur-na-din-šumi šabit-ma* *ana* kurElám-
ti a-bi-ik 42 Ashur-nadin-shumi was taken prisoner
and transported to Elam.
- 43 VI MU^{meš} *Aššur-nādin-šumi šarru-ut Bā-*
bili^{ki} īpuš^{uš} 43 For six years Ashur-nadin-shumi ruled
Babylon.
- 44 *šár Elámti* ^d*Nergal-ú-še-zib* *ina Bābili^{ki}*
ina kússé ul-te-šib K[I].BA[LA^u]^t kurAš-šur 44 The king of Elam
45 put
- 44 Nergal-ushezib
45 on the throne
44 in Babylon.
45 He effected an Assyrian retreat.
- 46 MU I^{kám} ^m*dNergal-ú-še-[zib]* ^{it}*1*Du'ūzu UD
XVI^{kám} 46 The first year of Nergal-ushe[zib]: On
the sixteenth day of the month Tammuz
- 47 ^d*Nergal-ú-še-zib Nipp[ur]^{ki} iṣbat^{bat} ḫubta-*
(sar) iḫtabat(sar) šillata(ir) ištatal(ir)^{lat} 47 Nergal-ushezib captured Nipp[ur], plun-
dered and sacked (it).
- 48 ^{it}*1*Tašrītu UD I^{kám} *umm[āni* kur]Aš-šur *ana*
Uruk^{ki} irubū^{meš} 48 On the first day of the month Tishri the
army of Assyria entered Uruk (and)

COMMENTARY

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

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

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

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

- iii
- 1 *ilāni*^{meš} *šáša* Uruk^{ki} u *nišē*^{meš}-šú *iḫ-tab-tu*
- 2 ^a*Nergal-ú-še-zib arki* ^{1a}*Elámāia illikū-ma*
ilāni^{meš} *ša* Uruk^{ki}
- 3 u *nišē*^{meš}-šú *i-te-[e]k-mu* ^{1ti}*Tašritu* UD
VII^{kám} *ina pi-ḫat Nippur*^{ki}
- 4 *šal-tum ana libbi ummāni* ^{kur}*Aš-šur*
īpuš^{uš}-*ma ina tāḫāz šēri ša-bit-ma*
- 5 *ana* ^{kur}*Aš-šur a-bi-ik* MU I VI ITI[^{meš}
^a]*Nergal-ú-še-zib*
- 6 *šarru-ut Bābili*^{ki} *īpuš*^{uš} ^{1ti}*Tašritu* UD
XXVI^{kám}
- 7 *Ḫal-lu-šú šār Elāmti nišū*^{meš}-šú *is-ḫu-šú*
[bā]ba ina pāni-šú «ŠÚ»
- 8 *ip-ḫu-ú iddūkū-šú* VI MU^{meš} *Ḫal-lu-šú*
šarru-ut ^{kur}*Elāmti* *īpuš*^{uš}
- 9 *Kudurru ina* ^{kur}*Elāmti ina kússé ittašab*^{ab}
arki ^a*Sîn-aḫḫē*^{meš}-*eriba*
- 10 *ana* ^{kur}*Elāmti ú-rid-ma ultu* ^{kur}*Ra-a-ši*
a-di
- 11 *Bit-Bur-na-ki iḫ-te-pi ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-ta-*
bat
- 12 *Mu-še-zib-*^a*Marduk ina Bābili*^{ki} *ina kússé*
ittašab^{ab}

- iii
- 1 plundered the gods and inhabitants of Uruk.
- 2 After the Elamites had come and
- 3 carried off
- 2 the gods
- 3 and inhabitants
- 2 of Uruk Nergal-ushezib
- 4 did battle against the army of Assyria
- 3 in the district of Nippur on the seventh day of the month Tishri.
- 4 He was taken prisoner in the battle-field and
- 5 transported to Assyria. For one year—(actually) six months—Nergal-ushezib
- 6 ruled Babylon. On the twenty-sixth day of the month Tishri
- 7 the subjects of Hallushu-(Inshushinak I), king of Elam, rebelled against him.
- 8 They shut
- 7 the door in his face (and)
- 8 killed him. For six years Hallushu-(Inshushinak I) ruled Elam.
- 9 Kudur-(Nahhunte) ascended the throne in Elam. Afterwards Sennacherib
- 10 went down to Elam and
- 11 ravaged (and) plundered it
- 10 from Rashi to
- 11 Bit-Burnaki (var. Bit-Bunakku).
- 12 Mushezib-Marduk ascended the throne in Babylon.

VARIANTS

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

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

COMMENTARY

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

- the phrase *tāḫāz šēri* with reference to this event (OIP 2, p. 39:49; p. 90:14).
- iii 5 See J. A. Brinkman, *Or. n.s.* 34 (1965), p. 245, n. 1.
- iii 7f. This is just what Ḫallušu had done to his predecessor. See ii 33 and the note to that passage. The second šú is a dittography.

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

COMMENTARY

- iii 28 The same phrase occurs in Chron. 2: 14 and Chron. 24 r. 8, but with GÁL, not TUK.
- iii 29 The abduction of the deities was narrated in iii 2f.
- iii 30f. For the reading and interpretation of these two lines see Labat, ArOr 17/2 (1949), pp. 1-6.

- iii 31 *Hum-ba-AN-da-šú*: AN is a mistake for HAL. Cf. iv 12.
- iii 33 [mār(?)]-šú: There is no evidence for this restoration but it is the only plausible one.
- iii 35 It is known from the eponym lists that Sennacherib ruled for 24 years.†

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

COMMENTARY

- iii 38 UD [X(?)]XVIII^{kám}: There is room for an extra winkelhaken in the break. Thus the number may be either 28 or 18.†
- iii 39–47 Cf. Chron. 14:1–5.
- iii 40 iṣqá: For šaqú “to go upstream” see Landsberger and Bauer, ZA 37 (1927), p. 84, and Oppenheim, JNES 13 (1954), p. 142. To their examples add Chron. 2:33, Chron. 3:3. “To go downstream” is arādu. ina muḫḫi Uri^{ki} it-ta-di āla u[l iṣbat]: Cf. Chron. 5 r. 12. Other examples of the phrase ina muḫḫi/libbi GN nadú “to encamp against GN” are: Chron. 2:26, Chron. 3:16, 26. Also cf. ina muḫḫi PN nadú Chron. 14:15. In contrast the phrase ina GN karāša nadú “to make camp in

- GN” is not in itself an offensive action (e.g. Chron. 4:20, Chron. 5 r. 19).†
- iii 43 ITI NU ZU: Cf. the note to iii 16. Landsberger, Brief p. 326, n. 43, would restore šakin or paqid and doubts that this would be an execution (as in iv 1f.) in his first regnal year. For reading šandabakku instead of guennakku (as CAD and AHw sub verbum) see Landsberger, Brief pp. 373f.
- iii 47 Cf. Landsberger, Brief p. 317, n. 20.
- iii 48–50 Cf. iv 4 and Chron. 14:6–9.
- iii 49f. In B there are traces of the end of two lines before it duplicates the beginning of col. iv in A. These traces may duplicate the end of iii 49f. in A.

iv

- 1 [MU III^{kám} md_x-ahh]ē^{meš}-šul-lim lúšanda-
bakku
- 2 [md^šŠamaš-ib-ni mār mDa-k]u-[r]i ana
kurAš-šur ab-ku-ma ina kurAš-šur dīkū^{meš}
-
- 3 [MU IV^{kám} ur]uŠi-du-nu ša-bit šal-lat-su
šal-lat
- 4 [MU B]I lúrab-biti ina kurAkkadī^{ki} bi-ḫir-
tum ib-te-ḫir
-
- 5 MU V^{kám} itīTašritu UD II^{kám} ummāni
kurAš-šur Ba-az-za
- 6 iṣ-šab-tu ina itīTašriti qaqqadu šá šarri šá
uruŠi-du-nu
-
- 7 nakis(ku₅)^{is}-ma ana kurAš-šur na-ši ina
itīAddari qaqqadu šá šarri
- 8 šá kurKun-du u kurSi-su-ú nakis(ku₅)^{is}-ma
ana kurAš-šur na-ši
-
- 9 MU VI^{kám} šar Elámti ana Sippar^{ki} irub
dīktu dīkat aŠamaš ul-tu
- 10 É-babbar-ra úl úši kurAš-šur ana kurMi-li-
du <ittalkū>^{me} Ulūlu VII

iv

- 1 [The third year: ...-ahh]e-shullim, the
mayor, (and)
- 2 [Shamash-ibni, the Dakkur]ean, were
transported to Assyria and executed in
Assyria.
-
- 3 [The fourth year]: Sidon was captured
(and) sacked.
- 4 In that sa[me year] the major-domo
conscripted troops in Akkad.
-
- 5 The fifth year: On the second day of the
month Tishri the army of Assyria
- 6 captured
- 5 Bazza.
- 6 In the month Tishri the head of the king
of Sidon
- 7 was cut off and conveyed to Assyria. In
the month Adar the head of the king
- 8 of Kundu and Sisu was cut off and con-
veyed to Assyria.
-
- 9 The sixth year: The king of Elam entered
Sippar (and) a massacre took place. Sha-
mash
- 10 did not come out of Ebabbarra. The
Assyrians <marched> to Milidu. On the
seventh (day) of the (month) Elul

VARIANTS

iv 2 B: [di]-i-ku

COMMENTARY

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

- Sippar. Similarly there is no reference to this event in Esarhaddon's inscriptions which is not surprising since Assyrian historians usually ignore disgraces suffered by their native country.
- iv 9 *dīktu dīkat*: For the reading see iv 25 and cf. CAD 3 (D), p. 139.
- iv 10 GIN = *alāku* has been mistakenly omitted before ME but it appears in the parallel, Chron. 14:15. Instead of VII Chron. 14 has UD V^{kám}. Chron. 14 has an extra phrase (*ina muḫḫi mMu-gal-lu ittadū*). The omission of ITI, UD, and KÁM is not unparalleled in chronicles. Examples: ITI is omitted in Chron. 15:6, 7 and Chron. 16:13; UD is omitted in Chron. 7 iii 23, Chron. 15:6, and Chron. 16:13; KÁM is omitted (after the day) in Chron. 2:29, Chron. 7 iii 23, Chron. 15:1, 6, 7, and Chron. 16:13.†

- 11 *Hum-ba-ḫal-da-šú šár kurElámti* NU GIG
ina *ēkalli-šú mīt*
- 12 v *MU^{meš} Hum-ba-ḫal-da-šú šarru-ut*
kurElámti ipušuš
- 13 *Ur-ta-gu aḫu-šú ina kurElámti ina kússé*
ittasabab†
- 14 ITI NU ZU *ᵐMU.MU lúšandabakku*
- 15 u *ᵐKudurru mār ᵐDa-ku-ri ana kurAš-*
šur ab-ku†
-
- 16 MU VII^{kám} *ittAddaru UD v^{kám} ummāni*
kurAš-šur ina kurMi-šir dīkū^{meš}
- 17 ina *ittAddari ᵀIštar(mùš) [A]-ga-dè^{kl} u*
ilāni^{meš} šá A-ga-dè^{kl}
- 18 *ultu kurElámti illikū^{meš}-nim-ma ina ittAd-*
dari UD x^{kám} ana A-ga-dè^{kl} iterbū^{meš}
-
- 19 MU VIII^{kám} *Aššur-aḫa-iddina ittTebētu UD*
ᵔe-ᵔt
- 20 *kurŠub-ri-«ZA»-a-a ṣa-bit šal-lat-su šal-lat*
- 11 Humban-haltash (II), king of Elam,
without becoming ill, died in his palace.
- 12 For five years Humban-haltash (II) ruled
Elam.
- 13 Urtaki, his brother, ascended the throne
in Elam.
- 14 In an unknown month MU.MU, the mayor,
and Kudurru, the Dakkurean, were
transported to Assyria.
-
- 16 The seventh year: On the fifth day of the
month Adar the army of Assyria was
defeated in Egypt.
- 17 In the month Adar Ishtar of Agade and
the gods of Agade
- 18 left Elam and entered Agade on the tenth
day of the month Adar.
-
- 19 The eighth year of Esarhaddon: On the
(text) broken day of the month Tebet
- 20 Shubria was captured (and) sacked.

COMMENTARY

- iv 11 See the commentary to i 11.
For the reading *mīt* see iv 22.
- iv 12 v *MU^{meš}*: Chron. 14:17 has VI *MU^{meš}*.
Since *Ḫumba-ḫaldašu* ascended the Elam-
ite throne in Esarhaddon's accession
year (iii 33) and this passage deals with
events of Esarhaddon's sixth regnal year,
Ḫumba-ḫaldašu reigned six years. Thus
Chron. 14 is correct and Chron. 1 wrong.
The mistake was probably made by a
copyist.
Hum-ba-ḫal-da-šú: Instead of *ḪAL* the
scribe mistakenly wrote AN. Cf. iii 31
and the commentary.
- iv 14 ITI NU ZU: See the commentary to iii 16.
- iv 14f. See the note to iv 1f.
- iv 14 *ᵐMU.MU*: Since this individual is
otherwise unknown (as is Kudurru) the
reading of his name is unknown
- iv 15 *ab-ku*: King mistakenly copied *DU*
instead of AB.
- iv 16–18 Cf. Chron. 14:20–22 which has a
different account. Further see Appendix B
sub Esarhaddon.
- iv 19–22 Cf. Chron. 14:23–25. There is con-
siderable discrepancy between the two

- accounts as far as chronology is concerned.
There is also a chronological discrepancy
within the account of Chron. 1. This
account says that *Šubriā* was captured
and plundered in the month *Tebētu*, the
tenth month. It then says that the booty
entered Uruk in the month *Kislimu*, the
ninth month! The fact that the scribe says
that the tablet from which he was copying
was broken at the point where the number
of the day was (iv 19) might suggest that
this whole section of the tablet was so
mutilated that the scribe misread the
month names. But this still leaves the
discrepancy between Chron. 1 and Chron.
14 unexplained. The accounts in Esar-
haddon's inscriptions of the capture of
Šubriā (see the note to iv 20) do not
mention the exact date and are therefore
of no help here.
- iv 20 *kurŠub-ri-«ZA»-a-a*: A land called *Šu-*
brizā is otherwise unknown. But it is
known that Esarhaddon conquered *Šubriā*
(Borger, *Asarh.* p. 86, § 57:6; pp. 102–
107). This is certainly the place referred
to in Chron. 1.

21	<i>ina</i> ^{iti} <i>Kislīmi</i> <i>šal-lat-su ana Uruk</i> ^{k1} <i>i-ter-bi</i>	21	In the month Kislev its booty entered Uruk.
22	^{iti} <i>Addaru</i> UD ^v <i>kām</i> <i>aššat šarri mītat</i> ^{at}	22	On the fifth day of the month Adar the king's wife died.
23	MU ^x <i>kām</i> ^{iti} <i>Nisannu ummāni</i> ^{kur} <i>Aš-šur ana Mi-šir ittalkū</i> <i>be-pi</i>	23	The tenth year: In the month Nisan the army of Assyria marched to Egypt. (text) broken
24	^{iti} <i>Du'ūzu</i> UD ^{III} <i>kām</i> UD ^{XVI} <i>kām</i> UD ^{XVIII} <i>kām</i>	24	On the third, sixteenth, (and) eighteenth days of the month Tammuz—
25	^{III} -šú <i>di-ik-tum ina</i> ^{kur} <i>Mi-šir di-kát</i>	25	three times—there was a massacre in Egypt. (Var. adds: It was sacked (and) its gods were abducted.)
26	UD ^{XXII} <i>kām</i> <i>Me-em-pi āl šarru-tú</i> [<i>s</i>]a-bit	26	On the twenty-second day Memphis, the royal city, was captured (and)
27	<i>šarru-šú ul-te-zib mār-šú u a</i> [<i>hu-šú ina qātē</i> ^{II} <i>ša-a</i>]b-tu	27	abandoned by its king (lit. its king abandoned). His (the king's) son and bro[ther were taken pr]isoner.

VARIANTS

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

COMMENTARY

iv 21 This statement is curious. It is omitted by Chron. 14 and has no parallel in Esarhaddon's accounts of the sacking of Šubriā. Why should the booty be taken to Uruk, particularly when one considers that it would have to be carried from Šubriā through Assyria to reach the Babylonian city?

iv 22 The death of a king's wife is mentioned in Chron. 7 iii 23f. and the death of a queen mother is noted in Chron. 7 ii 13–15.†

iv 23–28 Cf. Chron. 14:25f. Note that both Chron. 1 and Chron. 14 have omitted Esarhaddon's ninth year. Esarhaddon may well have spent this year preparing for the major offensive against Egypt and thus there would be no major political events for the chronicles to record. Many of the details of the Egyptian campaign contained in Chron. 1 have been omitted by Chron. 14.

iv 23 The scribal note *hepi* at the end of this line merits comment. At the most only the signs MEŠ and perhaps MA (i.e. GIN^{mes}-ma) could be missing at the end. There of course might be a whole line or more missing here, despite the fact that this much could not be restored in Chron. 14:

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

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

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

- 28 *šal-lat-su šal-lat nišū^{meš}-šú ḥab-ta būša-šú* 28 (The city) was sacked, its inhabitants
[iš]-tal-lu-ni plundered, (and) its booty carried off.
- 29 MU XI^{kám} *šarru ina kurAš-šur lúrabūti^{meš}-* 29 The eleventh year: In Assyria the king
šú [ma]-[d]u-tú ina giškakkī id-du-uk put his numerous officers to the sword.
- 30 MU XII^{kám} *šar kurAš-šur ana kurMi-šir* 30 The twelfth year: The king of Assyria
ittalak^[ak] marched to Egypt (but)
- 31 *ina ḥarrāni GIG-ma ina ¹¹Arašsamni UD* 31 became ill on the way and died on the
X^{kám} šimāti^{meš} tenth day of the month Marchesvan.
- 32 XII MU^{meš} *Aššur-aḥa-iddina šarru-ut* 32 For twelve years Esarhaddon ruled
kurAš-šur ipušūš Assyria.
- 33 ^d*Šamaš-šuma-ukin ina Bābili^{ki} m^mAššur-* 33 Shamash-shuma-ukin (and) Ashurbanipal,
bāni-apli ina kurAš-šur II mārū^{me}-šú ina his two sons, ascended the throne in
kússē ittašbū^{me}† Babylon and Assyria respectively.
- 34 MU.SAG ^{md}*Šamaš-šuma-ukin ina ¹¹Aiiari* 34 The accession year of Shamash-shuma-
ukin: In the month Iyyar
- 35 ^d*Bēl u ilāni^{meš} šá kurAkkadi^{ki} ul-tu* 35 Bel and the gods of Akkad
uruLibbi-āli 36 went out
35 from Libbi-ali (Ashur)
- 36 *ú-šu-nim-ma ina ¹¹Aiiari UD [XIV/* 36 and on the *fourteenth/twenty-fourth* day of
XXIV(?)^{kám}] ana Bābili^{ki} iterbū^{meš}-ni† the month Iyyar they entered Babylon.
- 37 MU BI ^{uru}*Kir-bi-tum š[a-bit] šarra-šú ka-šid* 37 In that same year Kirbitu was t[aken]
(and) its king captured.
- 38 ¹¹*Tebētu UD XX^{kám} ^{md}Bēl-ēfir(kar)^{†r}* 38 On the twentieth day of the month
daiiān(di.ku₅) Bābili^{ki} ša-bit-ma dīk Tebet Bel-etir, judge of Babylon, was
taken prisoner and executed.

VARIANTS

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

COMMENTARY

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

- 39 *pir-su reš-tu-ú ki-ma labīri(sumun)-šú šaṭir(sar)-ma ba-ru ù up-pu-uš* 39 The first section, written according to the pattern-tablet, checked and collated.
- 40 *ṭup-pi ^mA-na-^dBēl-ēriš(kám) mār(a)-šú šá ^mLi-ib-lu-ṭu* 40 Tablet of Ana-Bel-erish, son of Liblutu,
- 41 *mār ^mKalbi-^dSīn(šeš.ki) qa-at ^mÉ-a-nādīn mār(a)-šú šá* 41 descendant of Kalbi-Sin. Written by Ea-nadin, son of
- 42 *^mA-na-^dBēl-ēriš(kám) mār ^mKalbi-^dSīn(šeš.ki) Bābili^{ki}* 42 Ana-Bel-erish, descendant of Kalbi-Sin. Babylon,
- 43 *[¹¹¹][... UD (XX)]VI^{kám} MU XXII^{kám} ^mDari-^{[ia(?)]-muš] šār Bābili^{ki} u mātāti(kur.kur)†}* 43 the *sixth/sixteenth/twenty-sixth* [day of the month ...], the twenty-second year of Darius, king of Babylon and (all) lands.

COMMENTARY

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

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