

CHRONICLES OF CHALDAEAN KINGS

(626-556 B.C.)

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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BY

D. J. WISEMAN

PUBLISHED BY

THE TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM
LONDON

1956

SOLD AT
THE BRITISH MUSEUM

AND BY

H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE, YORK HOUSE, KINGSWAY, LONDON, W.C.2

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 200 EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1

BERNARD QUARITCH, LTD., 11 GRAFTON STREET, LONDON, W.1

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRUBNER & CO., 43 GREAT RUSSELL STREET,
LONDON, W.C.1

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
ABERDEEN

PREFACE

IN the following pages are published the texts of all that now remain in the British Museum of a particular kind of Babylonian historical records, the Chronicles, so called by modern scholars, their native name being uncertain. These are distinguished by their impersonal style, as written by detached observers, from our principal source of historical information, the inscriptions of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian kings, which extend from before the middle of the third millennium until the sixth century B.C., and from a single detail commemorated on a tablet or a figure to the lengthy history of a whole reign, written in densely-packed columns upon a clay prism. The Chronicles too, although all now extant, were written in the latest periods of Babylonian antiquity, make reference in their manner of impersonal narration to events which occurred throughout a past of more than 2000 years, going back to figures among the earliest dynasties of Sumer and even to mythological stories of the gods. They find their first important subject in the reigns of Sargon of Agade and of Naram-Sin (about 2300 B.C.), and relate a number of striking and dramatic incidents connected with those national heroes. By comparison, the subsequent centuries, to judge from the available material, seem to have been ill-represented in the sources from which the chroniclers drew, for only a few facts, of no great interest, are recorded concerning even the more famous kings. From about the reign of Nabonassar in the eighth century B.C., when the Assyrian domination of Babylon began, the Chronicles become much more detailed, giving information of what happened in such years of the reigns as were marked by important events. Extant Chronicles prove that, from at least the first of Esarhaddon (680 B.C.), an entry was made for every year, even if nothing very notable occurred in it; but not all of the succeeding years are preserved.

This arrangement is exemplified in the material here published, which embraces (with one short and one long gap) the period 626 to 556 B.C., i.e. the greatest part of the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldaean Dynasty. In these eventful years the declining Assyrian power was finally expelled from Babylonia,

and extinguished in its centre by the fall of Nineveh (612 B.C.), leaving only a remnant to sustain the Assyrian name in the city of Harran, dependent upon aid from Egypt. In the last year of his father's life (605 B.C.) Nebuchadrezzar won a famous victory over the Egyptians at Carchemish and pursued them to Hamath, where (so the Chronicle claims) he utterly destroyed their last remnant. But he was foiled in a subsequent encounter with them, in 601 B.C., from which he was forced into an ignominious retreat to his own land, where he spent the next year recruiting his strength. In the seventh year of his reign he laid siege to Jerusalem, and captured the city early in the year 597, appointing a new king to rule over it and carrying away great spoils. Late in 595 he was threatened by a dangerous mutiny of the army in Babylonia, but succeeded in quelling it with bloody retribution upon its leaders. The last tablet relates the events of a single and later year (557-556 B.C.), the third of Neriglissar, who is surprisingly found leading a military expedition, hitherto quite unknown, in the distant region of western Cilicia. A tabular summary of the years, reigns, and principal events recorded in these tablets is given in the Introduction.

Almost all of the Babylonian Chronicles are in the collections of the British Museum, from which individual pieces have been published at various times by different hands. But the most valuable and original work was done by the late Professor L. W. King, formerly Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, who not only furnished improved texts of Chronicles published before his time but made the most important addition to these with the documents which he revealed in his volumes entitled *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (London, 1907). The 'other volumes' promised to follow those would certainly have included the tablets published here for the first time. It is known that Professor King had arranged their texts for printing in the same form as his other *Chronicles*, and it may be assumed that he meant to give them the title of *Chronicles concerning Late Babylonian Kings*. His premature death in 1919 left this purpose unfulfilled, and as no manuscript which he may have prepared has been found, the work had to be taken up afresh. In the meanwhile one of the present Chronicles, No. 21901, was published separately as *The Fall of Nineveh* in 1923. Since this text occurs in the midst of the present series, and since its edition of 1923 is now out of print, it has been re-issued here with revisions taking account of subsequent criticism and study.

PREFACE

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The Chronicles in this volume have been copied, translated, and provided with the appropriate introduction and commentary by Mr. D. J. Wiseman, O.B.E., M.A., Assistant Keeper in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities.

C. J. GADD.

BRITISH MUSEUM,
August, 1955.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- ABL* R. F. Harper, Assyrian and Babylonian Letters, Parts I-VIII. London, 1892-1902
- Afo* Archiv für Orientforschung
- AJSL* American Journal of Semitic Languages
- ANET* Ancient Near Eastern Texts relating to the Old Testament (Ed.: J. B. Pritchard), Princeton, 1950
- ARM* Archives Royales de Mari
- BASOR* Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
- BE* Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania
- BHT* Sidney Smith, Babylonian Historical Texts. London, 1924
- B.M.* British Museum
- CT* Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
- FN* C. J. Gadd, The Fall of Nineveh. London (The British Museum), 1923
- Forrer, *Provinz*. E. Forrer, Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches. Leipzig, 1920
- JAOS* Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JEA* Journal of Egyptian Archaeology
- JNES* Journal of Near Eastern Studies
- JRAS* Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
- Langdon, *Neubab*. S. Langdon-R. Zehnfund, Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften (Vorderasiatische Bibliothek IV). Leipzig, 1912
- MAOG* Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
- MVAG* Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Aegyptischen Gesellschaft
- OIP* Oriental Institute Publication. University of Chicago
- OLZ* Orientalistische Literaturzeitung
- PEQ* Palestine Exploration Quarterly
- PSBA* Proceedings of the Society for Biblical Archaeology
- R* H. Rawlinson, Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia, Vols. I-V. London, 1861-1884
- RA* Revue d'Assyriologie
- RCAE* L. Waterman, Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire. University of Michigan, 1930-31

<i>RLA</i>	Reallexikon der Assyriologie (Vols. I and II), 1932-1938
<i>TCL</i>	Textes cunéiformes du Louvre
<i>VAS</i>	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler
<i>YBC</i>	Yale Babylonian Collection
<i>YOS</i>	Yale Oriental Series
<i>ZA</i>	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
<i>ZATW</i>	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

INTRODUCTION

The Neo-Babylonian Chronicle Texts

THE cuneiform texts belonging to the class long known as Babylonian Chronicles are a unique and reliable source of knowledge of the history of Babylonia. Unfortunately, however, only a few of these compilations have survived, but these show that a chronicle of the principal national events was kept at Babylon from at least as early as the Kassite period (c. sixteenth to fourteenth centuries B.C.) until the end of the Seleucid era.

The first text of this kind to be published (B.M. 92502) appeared in 1887 as *The Babylonian Chronicle*, so giving the title which has been adopted for all similar documents.¹ This tablet outlines the history of Babylonia from the rule of Nabū-naṣir to Šamaš-šum-ukin (i.e. c. 747-648 B.C.). It is a copy made in the twenty-second year of Darius² from an older and damaged text and claims to be the first of a number of tablets, or chapter-extracts, of the same kind. A group of texts concerning early Babylonian kings was published in 1907³ and it is known that the editor of these intended to follow them with the corresponding Neo-Babylonian chronicles. This was partly done by other scholars in the years 1923 and 1924 in two publications containing (1) B.M. 25091 (*Esarhaddon Chronicle*), 86379 (*Chronicle of the Years 680-626 B.C.*), 35382 (*Nabonidus Chronicle*, re-edited), and other relevant material,⁴ and (2) B.M. 21901 of which the principal event is the Fall of

¹ The text is given by H. Winckler and J. N. Strassmaier in *ZA*, II (1887), pp. 163-168; T. G. Pinches, *JRAS*, 1887, pp. 655-681; L. Abel and H. Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen* (1890), pp. 47-48; J. N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Darius*, No. 509 (Babylonische Texte XII/III (1897), pp. 398-405); L. W. King, *CT*, XXXIV, Pl. 46-50. Translations by H. Winckler, *ZA*, II, pp. 150-162; F. Delitzsch, *Die Babylonische Chronik* (Abhand. d. Phil-Hist. Klasse der königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. xxv, I (1906)), pp. 19-24; and in part by D. D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib (OIP, II)*, pp. 158-162; A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, pp. 301-303.

² I.e. 500/499 B.C. if Darius I.

³ L. W. King, *Chronicles concerning Early Babylonian Kings*.

⁴ Sidney Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 1924.

Nineveh.¹ Apart from the two last-mentioned Chronicles, little historical intelligence, except for scanty references in what are otherwise building inscriptions or business documents, has been available for the Neo-Babylonian kingdom (626-539 B.C.). The four new texts which are the subject of this study and are here published for the first time happily fill a number of gaps in our knowledge of this period. The early days of the Neo-Babylonian or Chaldaean regime, the battles of Carchemish and Hamath and the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar II in 597 B.C. are among the great historical events now described by authentic Babylonian sources. Since one of the Chronicles already published (B.M. 21901—The Fall of Nineveh) forms part of this series, and is out of print, the opportunity has been taken to reproduce that text here.

The following table shows the new Chronicles in their chronological relation to previously published texts of the same type.

NEO-BABYLONIAN CHRONICLES

<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Regnal Years</i>	<i>B.C.</i>	<i>Tablet No.</i>	<i>No. Lines</i>	<i>Published</i>	<i>Plates</i>
1. Nabopolassar	acc.-3	626-623	B.M. 25127*	41	p. 50	I & VII-VIII
2. „	4-9	622-617	—	—	missing	
3. „	10-17	616-609	B.M. 21901†	75	(a) <i>FN</i> (b) p. 54	II-III & IX-XII
4. „	18-20	608-606	B.M. 22047*	28	p. 64	IV & XIII-XIV
5. Nabopolassar— Nebuchadrezzar II	21-10	605-595	B.M. 21946†	49	p. 66	V & XIV-XVI
6. Nebuchadrezzar II	11-43	594-561	—	—	} missing	
7. Amēl-Marduk	acc.-2	561-559	—	—		
8. Neriglissar	acc.-2	559-557	—	—		
9. „	3	556	B.M. 25124*	26	p. 74	VI & XVII- XVIII
10. Labāši-Marduk	acc.	556-555	—	—	missing	
11. Nabonidus	acc.-17	555-539	B.M. 35382	84	<i>BHT</i> , pp. 98-123	

* † mark tablets apparently written by the same scribe.

The above table also clearly shows that the extant Chaldaean (or Neo-Babylonian) Chronicle tablets vary in the amount of historical detail given.

¹ C. J. Gadd, *The Fall of Nineveh*, printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum, 1923.

Fifteen years of Nabopolassar's reign are covered in 152 lines (B.M. 25127; 21901; 22047¹ and part 21946)¹ whereas the more summary 'Babylonian Chronicle' (B.M. 92502) records more than thirty years of earlier history in its 173 lines. In contrast the tablet B.M. 25124, which gives us the first historical detail of Neriglissar's reign, takes a whole tablet of twenty-six lines for the events of a single year. Part of Nebuchadrezzar's history (B.M. 21946) now comes to us for the first time but in less detail than is accorded to his predecessor Nabopolassar (49 lines for 11 years). The new text is more detailed than the 'Nabonidus Chronicle' (B.M. 35382) which is more closely allied to the 'Babylonian Chronicle', not only in the arrangement of subject matter but also in script and in the form of the two-columned tablet: the latter two tablets seem to have been written by the same scribe. Similarly the chronicles covering Nabopolassar's early and later years and that of Neriglissar are written by the same scribe in small script on tablets which resemble the form usually taken by late Babylonian contracts (cf. above Table Nos. 1, 4, 9 and Plates I, IV, VI). The remaining tablets, B.M. 21901 and B.M. 21946, are larger and written by yet another hand (cf. Table Nos. 3, 5 and Plates II, III, V). It is all the more noteworthy that the shorter text B.M. 22047 comes between these two similar tablets and forms a continuous history, the order of these three being confirmed by their respective 'catchlines'.

The late Babylonians had a deep interest in their own past and a number of texts reveal knowledge of their early history, both secular and religious. It has been suggested that the 'Babylonian Chronicle' tablet was but the first chapter of an official history of which the remaining Chronicles are recognisable extracts.² It is, however, evident that some chronicle tablets bear fuller details than the 'Babylonian Chronicle' which cannot therefore be regarded as a specimen of their original. The diversity in form of the extant chronicle texts suggests rather that in each case we have summaries designed for different purposes. Thus the two-columned 'Babylonian Chronicle' type of texts concentrates on the major internal political events, especially the date of the king's accession and death and the length of his reign. The consecutive outline of the king's activities introduces external or foreign matters only if they mark a distinct change in the control of Babylonia or in its relations with its immediate neighbours such as Assyria and Elam. The

¹ The lines in all the tablets of this 'Babylonian Chronicle' class are of approximately the same length. Cf. dimensions of the tablets given on p. 100.

² B. Landsberger and Theo. Bauer, *ZA*, XXXVII (N.F. III), pp. 61-65.

emphasis is political, and the style which is formal and brief betrays a long established practice.¹ On the other hand, in the Chronicle of the relations of Babylonia with Assyria during the years 680-626 B.C. and in the earlier Religious Chronicle,² data have been selected from a more detailed original for a particular purpose and period. While the purpose cannot be judged the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (B.M. 92502), at least, was copied in the Persian period and may have been compiled to aid some enquiry needing an historical background.³ The similarity of form and language, quite apart from the obvious chronological arrangement, may well show that in each case the Chronicle texts are themselves but extracts or selections from a full history which, like the better known Annals of the Assyrian Kings, may have been compiled annually.⁴ The Neriglissar chronicle B.M. 25124 supports this view. That detailed records were continuous at least from the time of Nebuchadrezzar, and almost certainly from the reign of Nabū-naṣir with whose reign the 'Babylonian Chronicle' commences, is shown by the chronicles themselves and by the later class of texts sometimes called astronomical historical diaries. In these, astronomers at Babylon recorded not merely their observation of the heavens but also relevant facts thought to be connected with them, such as the prevailing weather conditions, the river level, current prices of staple commodities, and finally the contemporary political events which were sometimes written down in great detail.⁵ If these latter observations were not themselves the basis of a progressive historiography they point to the availability of such material.

The Neo-Babylonian Chronicle texts are written in a small script of a type which does not of itself allow any precise dating but which can mean that they were written from any time almost contemporary with the events themselves to the end of the Achaemenid rule. Their provenance is Babylon so far as can be judged from the internal evidence of the texts themselves and from

¹ Some of the phrases occur in lists of kings dated back to the Sumerian period (T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*) and were still used as late as the end of the Seleucid era (A. J. Sachs and D. J. Wiseman, *Iraq*, XVI (1954), pp. 202-212). A similar vocabulary is found in the Assyrian Annals.

² B.M. 35968 published by L. W. King, *op. cit.* ii, pp. 70-86; 157-179.

³ Cf. Ezra v. 19.

⁴ For a recent discussion on the value of the Annals see E. A. Speiser in *The Idea of History in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 64-67.

⁵ B.M. 92689 (*BHT*, pp. 150-159; Pl. XVIII) is the historical part of one of this class of texts. See A. J. Sachs, *JCS*, 2 (1948), pp. 285-286; a text of this class dated in Nebuchadrezzar's thirty-eighth year is given in *AfO*, XVI (1953), Tf. XVII.

other tablets acquired by the Museum at the same time. At least part of the 'Babylonian Chronicle' or its original sources was, however, copied at Sippar.¹ The discussion of their contents which follows shows that they are both accurate and objective in their portrayal of historical facts.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF CONTENTS

The Struggle Against Assyria

B.M. 25127 The Chronicle B.M. 25127² commences with the Assyrians under Sin-šar-iškun seeking to subdue the Babylonians, who were striving to regain their independence. If the previous tablet had survived, it would no doubt have described the initial stages of this war which began in 651 B.C.,³ the death of Ashurbanipal and the reigns of Aššur-eṭil-ilani and Sin-šar-iškun, against whom the Babylonians fought under Kandalanu, an erstwhile Assyrian governor.

The opening lines recording the events of this year are regrettably broken **626 B.C.** but sufficient of the tablet remains for it to be clear that one of the garrisons placed within a certain Babylonian city by Sin-šar-iškun had been forced to flee to Assyria, presumably as a result of the activities of Nabopolassar. The city is more likely to have been Nippur than the capital Babylon, for documents written at the former city in the third year of Sin-šar-iškun, king of Assyria,⁴ record that the Assyrian garrison there was closely besieged during the earlier part of the year. The inhabitants were even reduced to selling their children for a pittance with which to buy food.⁵ Moreover, Nippur was the main objective of the Assyrian counter-attack which was mounted in the late summer of the same year.

The control of Nippur had particular military significance throughout this period. Following the terms agreed in a treaty made by Esarhaddon, Šamaš-šum-ukin had been appointed to rule at Babylon.⁶ After a sixteen-year rule

¹ B.M. 75976-75477 (*CT*, XXXIV, 43-45) duplicate part of the 'Babylonian Chronicle' (B.M. 92502); cf. *ZA*, XXXVII, pp. 63 f.

² For full transliteration and translation see pp. 50-55. The copy is given on Plates VII-VIII with photographs on Plate I.

³ B.M. 86379, 11 (*BHT*, pp. 24-25).

⁴ See pp. 90 ff. for a discussion of the accession date of this king.

⁵ A. L. Oppenheim, *Siege-documents from Nippur* (*Iraq*, XVII (1955), pp. 71 ff.).

⁶ The Nimrud treaty tablet (ND. 4327) found in 1955 (to be published).

cf. Brinkman, *Ann. S* 34, 255, n. 5

there he led a revolt against his brother Ashurbanipal with the result that Babylon was besieged in 651 B.C. and Šamaš-šum-ukin perished in the burning city in 648 B.C. He appears never to have controlled Nippur, for economic texts from this city continued to be dated by the regnal years of the Assyrian kings to whom Nippur, as a principal garrison city, directly owed allegiance.¹ Similarly Kandalanu, who was appointed by Ashurbanipal to succeed at Babylon, does not appear to have been recognised as having authority at Nippur. Although contracts of his reign have been recovered only from Babylon, Borsippa, Erech, and Sippar there is no reason to suppose that his domain was less extensive than that of his predecessor.² Before his death in 627 B.C.³ Kandalanu appears to have rebelled against his overlord during the period of uncertainty over the succession which followed the death of Aššur-eṭil-ilāni, the successor of Ashurbanipal.⁴ 'After Kandalanu, in the accession year of Nabopolassar, there were rebellions in Assyria and Akkad (Babylonia).'⁵ Throughout all this disturbed period the Assyrians maintained their hold on Nippur with a strong garrison which, by reason of its strategic location, was able to watch, if not to control, the southern marshes, the traffic on the rivers Euphrates and Tigris and even the recently vanquished Elamite lands. The garrison also constituted a threat to the central cities of Babylon, Kish, and Sippar. The maintenance of this much harassed outpost was no easy task⁶ and it is to the credit of the Assyrians that they managed to do so until 622 B.C.⁷ at least and possibly until 618 B.C.⁸

When the record of the year 626 B.C. according to the new chronicle text becomes legible, Nabopolassar is already openly opposing Sin-šar-iškun and his troops. Berossus says that Sin-šar-iškun had appointed Nabopolassar as administrator of the sea-land,⁹ perhaps in designed opposition to Kandalanu, already in revolt, but it is certain that Nabopolassar took up the lead already given by Kandalanu in seeking to recover Babylonian independence from Assyria.

¹ See p. 91.

² *JNES*, III. p. 39.

³ See p. 89 f.

⁴ Assuming that the brief reign of Sin-šum-lišir comes between Aššur-eṭil-ilāni and Sin-šar-iškun (as *JNES*, III, pp. 41-42).

⁵ Babylonian Chronicle B.M. 86379 rev. 4-5 (cf. *BHT*, p. 24).

⁶ See K. 517 (R. F. Harper, *ABL*, III, 327; L. Waterman, *RCAE*, i, pp. 226-227; No. 327).

⁷ It was still held in 623 B.C. (see B.M. 25127, 32 and p. 91).

⁸ Offensive operations against Assyria were continued in 616 B.C. (p. 12 and *FN*, p. 5) and it is unlikely that an Assyrian garrison in S. Babylonia could have been supported thereafter.

⁹ P. Schnabel, *Berossus und die babylonisch-hellenistische Literatur*, p. 271.

It was this movement which led to the siege of the city which it is suggested may have been Nippur, but the Babylonians were as yet neither strong enough nor sufficiently united to achieve their aim. As in the past, the Assyrian army struck back, and when it entered the Assyro-Babylonian border town of Šaznaku¹ on the twelfth of Elul and set fire to the temples, this was warning enough to the Babylonians to make defensive preparations. Three weeks later the gods of Kish, which lay on the direct line of march to Nippur, were removed for safety into Babylon. Nabopolassar did not oppose the Assyrian march but withdrew from Nippur, where he could not count on the whole-hearted support of the inhabitants who had long been pro-Assyrian, and moved back to Erech. An Assyrian detachment, reinforced by 'the men of Nippur' among whom would undoubtedly be survivors of the garrison troops, attacked Nabopolassar in Erech but then withdrew. Their withdrawal may have been occasioned by events farther north in the same month of Tisri. An Assyrian army, probably the main and slower moving force, had advanced on Babylon itself on the twelfth of the month (9/10th October 626 B.C.)² only to be decisively beaten by the Babylonians who came out to meet them. This was the last attempt ever made by the Assyrians to gain control of Babylon whose rulers and people had asserted and striven for their independence throughout their long history.

The successful defence of Babylon encouraged its citizens to take a further step to make public their independent position, and six weeks later Nabopolassar 'sat on the throne in Babylon'.³ While his official accession date of the twenty-sixth of Marcheswan (22/23rd November 626 B.C.) is thus specifically noted, there is possible evidence that he had been recognised by the citizens of Sippar as 'king of Akkad' two months earlier.⁴ Whether this be so or not, the Chronicle gives an exact date, hitherto lacking, within Babylonian history. The accession to the throne ended a period of one year when 'there was no king in the land'. This period was reckoned as 'after Kandalanu' both by the Babylonian chronicler⁵ and by scribes dating documents during the interregnum which lasted from the death of Kandalanu in about the sixth

¹ See p. 78.

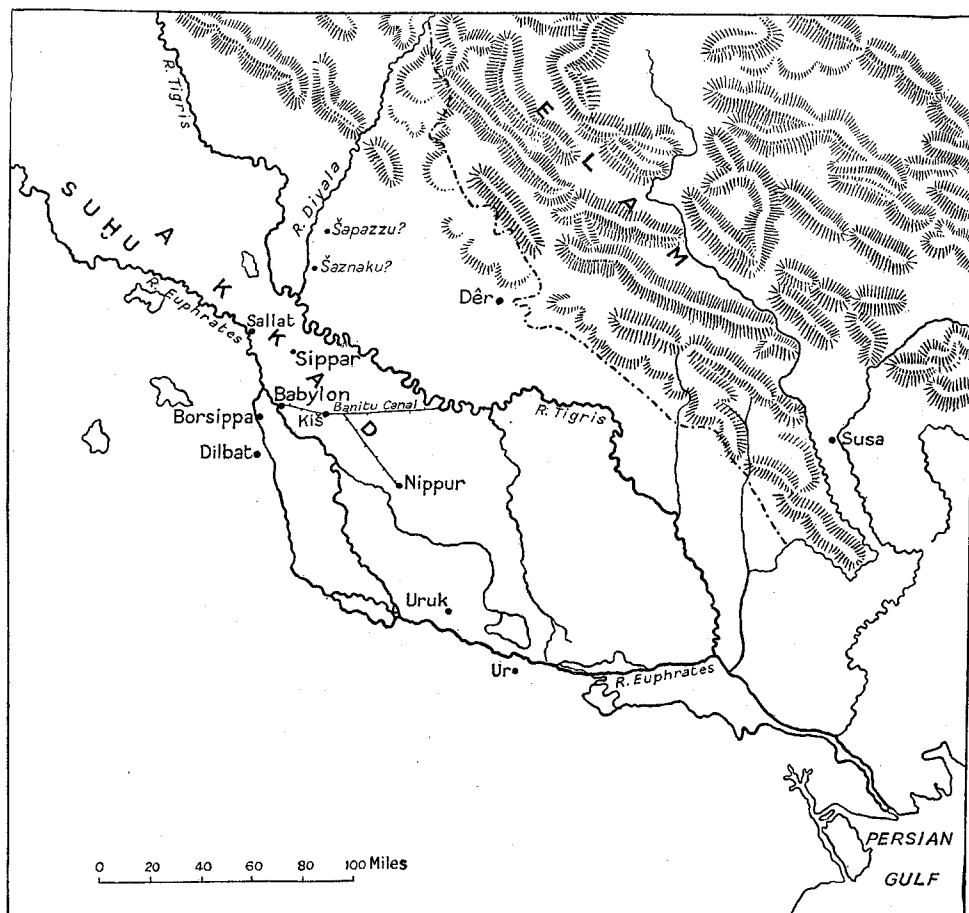
² The Julian dates given in this book follow the tables of R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein in *Babylonian Chronology 626 B.C.-A.D. 45*, Oriental Institute, Chicago: *Studies in Oriental Civilization*, No. 24 (1942). An allowance of one day has been added since the Babylonian 'day' (as 24-hour period) was reckoned from dusk.

³ B.M. 25127, 14-15.

⁴ B.M. 49656 (Plate XXI); discussed on p. 93.

⁵ B.M. 86379 r. 4 (*BHT*, p. 24).

month of his twenty-first year (627 B.C.) until Nabopolassar's accession. The interregnum is sometimes more fully styled the 'twenty-second year after Kandalanu'.¹



MAP 1. Babylonia in the reign of Nabopolassar.

The first recorded act of Nabopolassar was the restoration to Susa of the Elamite gods captured by the Assyrians during the campaigns of 642-639 B.C. To return the statues (deposited in Erech) was but a proper acknowledgement of help received from Elam,² for it appears that when Nabopolassar captured

¹ Evidence for this is given on pp. 89-90.

² Cf. Bab. Chron. (B.M. 92502) iv, 17-18.

Erech sometime before 626 B.C., the Elamites had taken its temple library to their country for safe-keeping.¹

In the first year of his reign Nabopolassar's position was far from secure. **625/4 B.C.** The fear of large-scale Assyrian reprisals following the loss of Babylon and Erech made defensive measures essential. First Shamash and other deities from the temple of the city of Šapazzu were brought into Babylon. This city, like Šaznaku which had been plundered by the Assyrians in the previous year, probably lay on the northern border of Babylonia.²

A month later the Assyrian army had penetrated farther south and on the twenty-first of Iyyar entered and plundered the city of Sallat which lay on the Euphrates upstream from Sippar.³ On the previous day the gods of Sippar had been brought into Babylon, which itself expected to be attacked in due course. The Assyrians were either not strong enough or not determined enough to press home immediately the advantages already gained. Three months later Nabopolassar, having collected an assault force, made an unsuccessful attack on Sallat. The weakness of the Babylonian forces can be judged by their disengagement and withdrawal as soon as an Assyrian army moved south again.

The increasing weakness of Assyrian military power is emphasised by the **624/3 B.C.** brief entry in the Chronicle (B.M. 25127) for the second year of Nabopolassar. This shows that it was not until the beginning of the summer month of Elul that the Assyrian army advanced into Babylonia and encamped by the Banitu canal. This major irrigation channel ran eastwards from the Euphrates along the eastern outskirts of Babylon and past Kish towards the Tigris river, and a branch canal leading from it supplied the southerly city of Nippur. The object of the Assyrian advance may have been to safeguard this vital source of supply and to bring help to their garrison by taking the direct route to Nippur, for the army on this occasion seems to have followed the route taken by Sennacherib in 703 B.C., crossing the Tigris near Cutha and striking due south thus avoiding the defences of the city of Babylon.⁴ The Banitu canal provided a good tactical position, easily defensible, across the centre of the 'land of Akkad' or upper Babylonia. The Assyrian failure to press southward from this favourable position or to follow up their one unsuccessful raid on Nabopolassar's camp shows their inability at this time to avenge the

¹ AO. 6451, 16; F. Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, p. 65, ll. 45 ff.

² See p. 78 and map on opposite page.

³ See p. 78.

⁴ Sidney Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib*, pp. 13-15.

loss of Babylon and to prevent the rise of Neo-Babylonian independence. It was, moreover, their last opportunity to do this for, apart from one further abortive incursion during the following year, the Assyrian army could henceforward fight only in defence of its own homeland.¹

Assuming that the chronicler devotes a single marked paragraph to the 623/2 B.C. events of each year, as is the case in all the extant chronicles of Nabopolassar's reign,² the final section of B.M. 25127 relates to his third year. It commences with the bare statement that Dēr revolted from Assyria. This city, situated on the north-east frontier of Babylonia with Elam, must have been encouraged to this bold step both by the successful resistance of Nabopolassar's rebel forces against Assyria in the previous summer and by the new status of Elam which had also regained its independence of Assyria by this time. Since Dēr lay nearer the Assyrian borders than did the major Babylonian cities, its defection marks a change in what had hitherto been the purely defensive strategy of the Babylonians. Such open defiance could not pass unheeded and in the autumn, the Assyrian army, led by the king in person came down to Akkad. The text is broken but seems to suggest that the objective was again Nippur where the garrison needed strengthening or replacing. It is not clear whether it was the Babylonians or Assyrians who moved upstream on the west bank of the Euphrates to make an attack and later marched towards Nineveh. This mutilated section of the text would more naturally be an account of Babylonian successes under Nabopolassar than a detailed version of an Assyrian retreat. If this is so, we have the first mention of a Babylonian advance northwards up the Euphrates and Tigris valleys of a kind to be repeated after 616 and resulting at length in the fall of the Assyrian capital Nineveh in 612 B.C.³ This movement must have gathered momentum during the years after 622 B.C. for which information in the form of chronicles is still lacking.

The lower edge of B.M. 25127 is badly preserved and allows us to know with certainty only that after some person had been killed a usurper ruled for one hundred days. Insufficient text remains to determine who he was or where he held sway, but it is most likely that this was some attempt to displace Nabopolassar either at Babylon or Nippur, if the latter was then held by him. The Babylonian Chronicle would be more likely to refer to this than to a dynastic event within Assyria proper. If, however, the allusion is in fact to

¹ Unless the siege of Erech in 621 B.C. was by Assyrian forces, see p. 91.

² I.e. B.M. 21901; 21946.

³ See p. 16.

Assyrian internal politics there is a possibility, though perhaps a remote one, that the usurper was the little known Assyrian Sin-šum-lišir. Since the one text relating to his reign as 'king of Assyria' is a contract dated at Nippur in his accession year it is possible that that city had begun to date its documents by a usurper who seized the Assyrian throne during the absence of Sin-šar-iškun in Babylonia. The news of the Assyrian defeat or withdrawal in October 623 B.C. may have occasioned the revolt. The events in the chronicle could then be interpreted as a rising in which the usurper in Nineveh won popular support at Nippur for one hundred days before Sin-šar-iškun's supporters regained control.¹

The last line written on the left edge of B.M. 25127 is not marked by any dividing line but may be a 'catch-phrase' to link this tablet with one that followed. That tablet would have given the sequel to the revolt and carried the summary history through the years 622-617 B.C. after which the fortunes of Babylonia can be followed anew in the tablet (B.M. 21901) recounting the events of 616-609 B.C.

The gap in the sources between 623-616 B.C. can be filled to some extent with events presupposed by the historical narrative when it is available again. By 622 B.C. at the latest, Nabopolassar appears to have gained control of Nippur.² Erech did not fall to him until that year or soon after, and the Assyrian garrison may even have abandoned Nippur in favour of Erech which was often independent and therefore subject to external pressures at varying times during this troubled period.³

B.M. 21901 The Chronicle tablet, B.M. 21901, takes up the history of Nabopolassar **616 B.C.** in his tenth year.⁴ In the late spring he marched up the Euphrates through

¹ The problem of Sin-šum-lišir's reign is discussed in *JNES*, III, p. 41 and n. 30.

² The earliest known dated text of Nabopolassar at Nippur was, however, written in his twelfth year (614 B.C.). See A. T. Clay, *BE*, VIII/I, 9.

³ See p. 91.

⁴ The review of the contents of the Chronicle B.M. 21901 given here reiterates much that has been written by C. J. Gadd and tries to take into account the more important interpretations proposed since his first publication of the tablet in *FN* in 1923. See also *Proceedings of the British Academy*, Vol. XI, pp. 1-6. Reviewed, among other places, in *RA*, XXI, p. 198; *Deutsche Literatur-Zeitung*, N.F. I (45), pp. 136 ff.; *Revue Biblique* (1924), p. 218; *ZATW*, N.F. I (42), pp. 157 ff.; *Theolog. Lit. Zeitung*, 49, p. 53; *OLZ* (1924), pp. 648-653; *ZA*, N.F. II (36), pp. 82 f., 162 f.; *Theolog. Lit. Bl.* (1924), 11/12, Sp. 145-147; *Princeton Theological Review* (1924), pp. 465-477; *Expository Times*, XXXV, pp. 454-456; *JAOS*, XLIV (1924), pp. 122-129; *Syria*, 5, pp. 258-259; *JEA*, IX, pp. 254-256; *Rev. Hist. Phil. et Relig.*, IV, pp. 381-384; *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, IX, pp. 172-173; *Biblica*, VIII, 4, pp. 385 ff; *MVAG*, 1924/2 (J. Lewy, *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte Vorderasiens*).

the well populated districts of Suḥu and Ḥindanu which bordered the river from about Hit almost to the junction with the river Ḥabur.¹ This region, being on a natural route between Syria and Babylonia, had long been subject to Assyria. The inhabitants did not oppose Nabopolassar, however, but brought tribute to signify their submission. The inability of the Assyrians to maintain garrison troops in the area may have encouraged the Aramaean tribes to act in this way, but the Assyrians themselves did not acquiesce in the loss of rich territory and set out to retaliate. Three months after Nabopolassar's advance Assyrian forces reached Qablinu, and twelve days after hearing of their arrival Nabopolassar, who must have remained in Ḥindanu, himself approached the same city. The Assyrians, who were not commanded by the king in person but had been reinforced by a contingent of their former enemies the Mannai, did not await the Babylonian attack. They broke off contact, only to be heavily defeated as they withdrew in the vicinity of Qablinu, which fell to the Babylonians on the same day. As the Assyrians withdrew towards Harran, Nabopolassar moved upstream after them. He contented himself with the plunder of three towns in the Balikh area² south of Harran before returning to Babylon with spoil which included many captives from Ḥindanu. The Assyrians made a belated and unsuccessful attempt to follow up the Babylonian forces on their way home, but though they reached Qablinu they failed to overtake them and once again withdrew.

During the next five months Assyria found a new ally—although once an opponent—in Egypt. Psammetichus I had broken free from the Assyrian yoke by 654 B.C.,³ and it had by now become increasingly difficult for Egypt to ignore the threatened Medo-Lyidian conflict. Her influence, if not her existence was threatened by the impending Medo-Babylonian alliance so that it is not surprising that Egypt should seek to maintain her position by supporting Assyria and her Mannaeen allies who were similarly placed.⁴ Egypt was therefore led into the alliance with Assyria which was to involve her in defeat at Carchemish in 605 B.C. and in the subsequent prolonged struggle with the Babylonians.⁵

The chronicler gives the impression that Nabopolassar was unwilling as yet even to attempt to meet the new allies, for the Chronicle for this year makes

¹ S. Horn, *ZA*, XXXIV, pp. 123 ff.

² Balihu lay within the Assyrian province of Harran (E. Forrer, *Provinz*, p. 24).

³ H. von Zeissl, *Äthiopien und Assyrer in Ägypten*, pp. 49-50.

⁴ On the downfall of the Urartian and Mannaeen kingdoms see G. A. Melikishvili, *Nairi-Urartu*, Tiflis (Georgian Academy), 1954, pp. 317 ff.

⁵ See pp. 21 ff.

no further reference to Egypt, but is confined to a battle between the Babylonians and Assyrians east of the Tigris. The respective kings played no part in this operation which was perhaps little more than a raid by Babylonian troops against the otherwise unknown town of Badanu in the province of Arraphu (modern Kirkuk). The Assyrians seem to have shown no desire for battle, for they withdrew, losing their pack animals and many prisoners to the Babylonians, who pursued them as far as the lesser Zab river. The victors chose the route down the western bank of the Tigris river for their return march to Babylon.

Within two months of the Babylonian army's victorious return from the **615 B.C.** Zab, Nabopolassar called it out for a further campaign in the same general region. The ancient capital city of Aššur was besieged in the month of Iyyar, the final assault being launched a month later, the army having probably followed the direct route from Babylon to Aššur up the west Tigris bank. News of the mobilisation of the Assyrian army caused Nabopolassar to withdraw hastily down the Tigris to Takrit which was a natural rallying point.¹ The Assyrians laid siege to the citadel for ten days, but their efforts were unsuccessful, for the Babylonians were able to fight their way out and even claim to have defeated the Assyrian forces before both armies withdrew. The Assyrian withdrawal may have been hastened by the need to strengthen the defences of Nineveh, for in the month of Marcheswan (October-November) the Medes came down on the province of Arraphu. Since the same area had been overrun by the Babylonians in the previous year it seems likely that these operations by the Medes were independent of any Babylonian plan or knowledge. The final entry for this year is broken, but it is reasonable to suppose that the siege or fall of Arraphu was recorded and that this manoeuvre was preliminary to the advance by the Medes on Nineveh itself in the following year.

The Fall of Nineveh

The record of Nabopolassar's twelfth year is obscured by the broken nature **614 B.C.** of the text. In the summer the Medes appear to have moved against Nineveh via Arraphu and Kalhu² but for some reason, obscured by the lacunae in

¹ It had been occupied previously by the Itu'a as an Assyrian police-post (*ZA*, XXXIV, p. 126; cf. *Iraq*, XVII, p. 46).

² So Lewy, *MVAG*, 1924, p. 14; possibly now confirmed by the results of excavations at Nimrud in 1955 (to be published).

the text, did not press the siege of the capital itself but moved north-west to capture the neighbouring city of Tarbiṣu.¹ They then turned south down the Tigris to besiege Aššur. In a successful assault the walls were breached and the city was captured and looted, the majority of the principal inhabitants being massacred and others taken prisoner. The chronicler, perhaps in reaction against this barbarous behaviour, emphasises that Nabopolassar and the Babylonian army who 'had marched to the help of the Medes' did not reach the battlefield until after the city had fallen. Near the ruined city Nabopolassar met the Median king, Kyaxares,² here named for the first time in the Chronicle. A treaty was made reconciling both parties³ and establishing mutual good relations, both armies then returning to their respective countries. Henceforth this Medo-Babylonian alliance, which may have been confirmed by a marriage linking the families of the contracting parties,⁴ was to influence all Babylonian foreign policy.

The events of the year 614 B.C. are not easily interpreted. Although no siege of Nineveh is expressly mentioned it is possible that the approach to Nineveh, recorded in the first line of the text, marked the beginning of the three years siege recorded by Diodorus⁵ which, according to this Chronicle, ended in 612 B.C.⁶ The attack, if such it was, in this year was not, however, the first to have been made by the Medes on the renowned Assyrian capital. Herodotus writes of an unsuccessful assault led by Phraortes, a predecessor of Kyaxares, who was slain in the attempt.⁷ This must have taken place in the period for which historical records are at present lacking, that is, before 627 B.C. and possibly about 630 B.C.,⁸ in the period of confusion following the death of Ashurbanipal. Moreover, if Diodorus is right in claiming that Nineveh was relieved by a Scythian or 'Bactrian' army at some date after the series of battles in which the Medes were defeated and before the final successful siege of 612 B.C.,⁹ this, too, may have occurred in the same obscure period. Certainly 614 B.C. can hardly have been the year in which Kyaxares was defeated by the Scythians, for there is no place for or mention of such an important event in this chronicle, nor would Kyaxares have continued his campaign by attacking Tarbiṣu if he had just suffered a major reverse. The raising

¹ Modern Sherif Khān; *FN*, p. 10 and n. 1.

² See note on p. 81.

³ See p. 81.

⁴ *FN*, pp. 10-11.

⁵ Book ii, 25-27. *FN*, p. 12.

⁶ See p. 17.

⁷ Book i, 102.

⁸ L. Piotrowicz, *L'Invasion des Scythes* (*Eos*, XXXII, 1929), pp. 499 ff.

⁹ Book ii, 26, 1-4.

of the siege of Nineveh in this year may, however, have been brought about by some form of intervention by the Scythians.

The chronicle makes no further reference to Nineveh in the thirteenth **613 B.C.** year of Nabopolassar. It seems that he had no treaty obligation to fulfil there, and it is, in any case, improbable that the city was under siege in this year since the Assyrian army was operating in the central Euphrates valley. This may support the suggestion, previously made, that Nineveh had been reprieved by some skirmish between the Medes and Assyrians who were, perhaps, supported by the Scythians.¹

The district of Suḫu, which had submitted to Babylon in 616 B.C., revolted in the month of Iyyar, doubtless at the instigation of Assyria, and committed acts hostile to Babylonia. Nabopolassar immediately called out his army and marched to the island-town of Raḫilu situated on the Euphrates below 'Āna in the southern territory of the Suḫu.² Raḫilu was captured on the fourth of Sivan and the Babylonians then moved upstream to besiege another heavily defended town, namely, Anatu (the modern 'Āna) also situated on an island in the same river.³ The broken text which follows gives the details of this siege. The approach to the walls was made by means of a stone causeway and ramp built out from the western bank of the Euphrates and along this was dragged a wooden siege-tower to give the attackers a vantage-point against the defenders on the wall. Despite these extensive preparations the assault failed, one reason for this being the approach of the Assyrian king (presumably Sin-šar-iškun) with his army. Once again the Babylonians seem not to have desired, or to have been unable, to engage in a set battle, for they made a speedy withdrawal and returned home.

It is clear that Nabopolassar again called out his army early in his fourteenth **612 B.C.** year and at a certain place, the name of which is lost by a break in the text, met the king of the Umman-manda. The Chronicle (II. 11, 47) also shows that Kyaxares, the king of the Medes, was a major ally in this year. Unfortunately, the text is much broken and therefore obscure, and this has led to a divergence of interpretation concerning the participants in the final siege of Nineveh. The reading of the broken signs before 'king of the Umman-manda' (l. 38) is practically impossible and the restoration of the name of Kyaxares ([Umakiš]tar) as proposed by some scholars is by no means certain.⁴ In

¹ *FN*, p. 12.

³ See note on p. 81.

² See note on p. 81.

⁴ See p. 81.

accordance with this suggested restoration many historians¹ equate the Umman-manda with the Medes and explain that at this time the term was used of the Median confederacy² and not of the Scythians alone,³ although it may include those Scythians whose presence at the fall of Nineveh is implied by Diodorus.⁴ This view is supported by the absence of any further reference to the Umman-manda in the Chronicle for this year when the Medes were unquestionably the leaders. Moreover, the allies approached Nineveh from the south and after the sack of the city appear to have divided the spoils only between the armies of Medes and Babylonians before returning, each to their own country.⁵ According to this same chronicle the Umman-manda appeared again in 610 B.C. attacking Harran in co-operation with Babylonian forces,⁶ and yet at that time a letter from the crown prince, Nebuchadrezzar, refers to his father Nabopolassar as marching to Harran with a large force of Medes.⁷ Josephus also implies that the Harran expedition was an undertaking by both Medes and Babylonians.⁸ Herodotus, who emphasises the contribution of the Medes to the fall of Nineveh,⁹ favours the proposed identification of the Umman-manda with the Medes.

Nevertheless, other historians,¹⁰ unconvinced that Kyaxares is himself named 'king of the Umman-manda' or that his name really appears as such in the chronicle, see in the Umman-manda an allusion to the Scythian or 'Bactrian' army which was won over from support of the Assyrians to make common cause with the Medes and their allies who had earlier defeated them.¹¹

Although the broken text does not permit a definite statement on this controversial issue, sufficient remains for the main course of the campaign to be followed. The allies marched up the Tigris against Nineveh which was besieged for the months Sivan-Ab (c. June-August 612 B.C.) during which

¹ Including P. Schnabel, *ZA*, XXXVI, pp. 82, 316 ff.; F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA*, XXII, (1925), pp. 27 ff.; B. Landsberger and Th. Bauer, *loc. cit.*, pp. 82-83; A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria*, pp. 637 ff.; L. Piotrowicz, *loc. cit.*, pp. 495 f.

² S. Langdon, *Die Neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, Nabonidus Nr. 1, 32 (p. 220) and F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden*, p. 3, l. 13.

³ Who elsewhere appear only as *I/Ašguzai* (L. Piotrowicz, *loc. cit.* p. 477).

⁴ Book ii, 26.

⁵ ll. 45-49 (p. 61).

⁶ See p. 18.

⁷ *RA*, XXII, pp. 27-29.

⁸ *Antiq. Jud.* X, 5, 1 (74).

⁹ Book i, 106.

¹⁰ C. J. Gadd, *FN*, pp. 14-15; *History and Monuments of Ur*, pp. 228, 233; Sidney Smith, *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii, pp. 129 f.; E. Dhorme, *Revue Biblique*, XXXIII, pp. 230 ff.; C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Geschichte des alten Orients*, p. 171; J. Lewy, *op. cit.*, pp. 6-14.

¹¹ See above.

only slight progress was made.¹ The final assault took place in Ab when the city fell and was heavily punished,² the city and temple being looted and the whole turned into the desolate hillocks of ruins and debris which still characterise most of the site.³ No details of the assault are given, a fact which might support the classical tradition that the final breach in the walls resulted from an abnormally high flood,⁴ such as might occur on the river Tigris.⁵ A broken line in the chronicle seems to relate the fate of Sin-šar-iškun⁶ and thus may have given an account of a famous Assyrian event which led to the later story of Sardanapallus who cast himself into the flames which consumed his stricken city.⁷

Despite the overwhelming destruction of Nineveh which the chronicler describes he acknowledges that some Assyrians, probably led by Aššur-uballit, escaped westwards where the Babylonians followed them as far as Nisibin. Kyaxares and the Medes turned homewards in the following month and, as the strongest of the allies, would have carried off the principal treasures of Nineveh. The Babylonians were left to ravage the surrounding countryside and collect their share of the loot. The Chronicle does not clearly support the theory that the retreat of the Medes followed their defeat by the Scyths who thus robbed them of the fruits of their victory.⁸ Subsequent Babylonian action appears to make it most unlikely that the 'Bactrian' intervention took place at this late date, although such an intervention might well explain the failure of the Medes to appear in Assyria again for some time.

The action of Nabopolassar in sending troops to the north-west of Nineveh and to Nisibin had the effect of inducing the inhabitants of Rušapu in the Sinjar⁹ to bring tribute to him at Nineveh. Meanwhile, in the autumn, Aššur-uballit¹⁰ rallied Assyrian supporters at the provincial capital of Harran and claimed sovereignty over Assyria. The remaining text of this section is too fragmentary to be followed in detail. It appears to have given the duration

¹ See note to l. 42 on p. 82.

² The terms used to describe this are paralleled in l. 27 (the fall of Aššur).

³ I.e. Kuyunjik, last excavated by R. C. Thompson in 1931-32 (*Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XX, pp. 71 ff.). Part of the site, covered by the village of Nabi Yunus, has been recently excavated by the Iraq Department of Antiquities (*Sumer*, X (1954), pp. 110-111).

⁴ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, iii, 4, 7-12; Diodorus ii. 27. 1; Nahum i. 8.

⁵ *FN*, p. 17.

⁶ l. 44.

⁷ *FN*, pp. 18-19.

⁸ J. Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 14.

⁹ Forrer, *Provinz*, pp. 15, 105.

¹⁰ The name is restored in l. 49 (cf. l. 61). A. Poebel thinks that another nobleman may have intervened in the succession to the throne of Assyria (*JNES*, II, p. 90, n. 37).

of the stay of Nabopolassar in the Nineveh area and the time and place at which his return journey to Babylon began.

The Chronicle for the following year refers to the activities of the Babylonian forces alone. A long summer campaign in the Upper Euphrates region was concerned with plundering in 'Assyria', a geographical term correctly used by the Chronicler to denote the district of Harran. This province still retained the name of the kingdom of which it had once formed only a part.¹ Several place-names, discernible in the broken text,² show that the Babylonians at this time raided the borders of Harran between the Euphrates and Izalla, but without attacking any areas actually defended. One object of this manoeuvre would have been to dominate the area west of Nisibin which was the farthest point reached in the operations based on Nineveh in the previous year. Much spoil and many prisoners were taken. Four months later, in the month of Marcheswan (October-November), Nabopolassar took personal command of his army for the assault on Rugguliti. This city, which had been originally won for Assyria by Shalmaneser III in 856 B.C.,³ lay near Til-Barsip, east of the Euphrates.⁴ These operations may have been intended as the first stage only in a campaign against Harran itself whose defenders, as the Babylonians knew, were expecting help from the Egyptians. The events of subsequent years, however, show that the Babylonians were still unable and unwilling to do battle alone with the main enemy, and after the capture of Rugguliti and all its inhabitants they returned home.

Early in the next year Nabopolassar directed a further campaign in 611/610 B.C. 'Assyria' where, for at least five months, he claims to have marched 'victoriously', a term which usually implies an unopposed martial progress through territory already subservient. This certainly reveals an unwillingness to close in on Harran, the capital and largest city of the remnant 'Assyria' occupied by Aššur-uballiṭ. The assault did not in fact develop until the Babylonians had been joined by the Umman-manda. The chronicler is at pains to point out that they were an auxiliary force⁵ more numerous than the reinforcements which might have been supplied from any garrison troops left by the Medes at the cities they had captured. These included Nineveh, Aššur and Arraphu, and at Harran, as at Nineveh, the term Umman-manda could have included both Scythians and Medes.⁶ The approach of the combined armies was

¹ 'Assyria' continued to be used by some writers to denote the whole area formerly covered by the Assyrian empire (e.g. Ezra vi. 22). ² ll. 53-55. ³ Monolith inscription, ii, 35.

⁴ See p. 82.

⁵ ll. 59, 65; cf. l. 28.

⁶ See discussion, pp. 15 ff. above.

sufficiently impressive to cause Aššur-uballiṭ and the Egyptian troops who had come to his aid ¹ to withdraw west of the Euphrates, so allowing Nabopolassar and his supporters to move in and plunder the undefended city. Nabonidus, who restored the Sin temple at Harran fifty-four years later,² puts the major blame for the sack of the temples on the Umman-manda.³ A Babylonian garrison was established in Harran to take the first shock of any counter-attack by the Egyptian-Assyrian forces, and the Babylonians and the Umman-manda then withdrew to their respective countries.

Although the chronological note giving the regnal year is inadvertently 609/8 B.C. omitted ⁴ there is no doubt that the final section of the tablet relates the events of Nabopolassar's seventeenth year.⁵ Aššur-uballiṭ, supported by a large Egyptian force, recrossed the Euphrates in an attempt to recapture Harran. The main effort seems to have been directed against the garrison left there by Nabopolassar, but this part of the text is broken and uncertain. For almost two months, until Elul, Aššur-uballiṭ maintained the siege but without success. Meanwhile Nabopolassar marched to help his beleaguered troops. It seems that no attack was necessary ⁶ for he turned his attention immediately to the hilly districts of Izalla to the north-east of the city. This change in the objective of the Babylonian march may imply that the siege had been raised before the arrival of Nabopolassar and that the new aim was to follow up Aššur-uballiṭ who may have escaped towards Urartu. It is at least certain that the Chronicle makes no further mention of this last king of Assyria. On the other hand, if it is assumed that the Umman-manda constituted the main force in the garrison of Harran which, with Babylonian support, faced the last Assyrian attack, it must be supposed that Nabopolassar moved into the open country since his help was not required ⁷ and continued the general raids which had characterised his expeditions of the previous two years.

The aim of the Babylonian thrust towards the Urartian border ⁸ via Izalla is clear from the following year's events (recorded in B.M. 22047) which show that this was part of a well-planned expedition to keep the hill-folks from

¹ Following restoration proposed by Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 85. Note the omission of any specific reference to the king of Egypt. ² I.e. 556 B.C. *RA*, XXII, p. 29; *FN*, p. 22.

³ S. Langdon, *Neubab.*, p. 218, i. 11-13.

⁴ *FN*, p. 23.

⁵ The restoration of the catchline (l. 76) now possible from B.M. 22047, 1 further assures this.

⁶ This is based on a restoration, cf. *FN*, p. 36.

⁷ So *FN*, pp. 23-24.

⁸ This assumes that (*āl*)*uraštu* is a general designation for a border town (cf. *FN*, p. 24, n. 1). The Babylonians could hardly have penetrated as far as the capital *Ṭurušpa* (mod. Van), since Urartu must have been an active ally of the Medes by this time (see p. 12, n. 4).

coming down into the fertile Assyrian plains, and in this Nabopolassar was but following the former Assyrian military policy. After placing garrisons in a few of the larger hill towns the Babylonians once more returned to their own land.

B.M. 22047 The Chronicle which records the events of the years 616-609 B.C. including the activities of the Median confederation and the fall of Nineveh is now followed directly by another tablet which gives a summary of the main historical events for the years 608-606 B.C. (B.M. 22047).¹ The first line of this tablet corresponds with the catchline of that previously described (B.M. 21901).² The narrative of the Babylonian expeditions to the Urartian border and to the upper Euphrates is continued and in turn leads to the history of the battle of Carchemish (B.M. 21946).

In the autumn of his eighteenth year (608 B.C.) Nabopolassar continued **608/7 B.C.** his campaign of the previous year by marching up the Tigris to the southern Urartian border. The route taken makes it probable that Bit-Ḫanunia, his first objective, lay farther east than the scene of the earlier operations. The aim was clearly to contain the hill-folks who would otherwise raid the Assyrian plains, now devoid of a strong provincial administration, and deprive the Babylonians of the fruits of their recent conquests. It was, moreover, important to protect the main route by which aid to the northerly Babylonian garrisons would have to pass. A claim is made, in general terms, that some unnamed towns were plundered and destroyed. It is not impossible that this brief Babylonian campaign was co-ordinated with an advance by the Medes towards the Halys river.

Nabopolassar undertook a further expedition in the same mountainous **607/6 B.C.** area the following spring—so far as the broken text can be read. On this occasion the chronicler specially mentions the force which was under the command of Nebuchadrezzar the crown-prince. This part of the Babylonian army operated independently of the king's forces and remained in the area although Nabopolassar withdrew after less than one month in the field. The return to Babylon may have been hastened not only by the king's old age or ill-health, as implied by Berossus,³ but also by the necessity, for political reasons, for one of the ruling house to be in the capital. It was Nabopolassar's later custom to remain in Babylon while Nebuchadrezzar was absent with

¹ Text in transliteration and translation on pp. 64 ff. See copy on Plates XIII-XIV and photograph on Plate IV (scale 1:1).

² See p. 82, note, 1. 1. ³ In Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 19(136)—referring to 605 B.C.

the army, and to go far afield himself only when the crown-prince had returned.¹ Nebuchadrezzar's swift return to Babylon on the death of his father in 605 B.C.² and the revolt in 595/4 B.C.³ indicate that neither Nabopolassar nor his son occupied the throne without opposition.

When Nabopolassar left in the month of Tammuz Nebuchadrezzar used his troops to capture and plunder a number of mountain strongholds⁴ and to devastate the whole region. After a four months' campaign he marched back to Babylon with the spoil. His victorious return enabled Nabopolassar to set out, with his own forces, to meet the renewed threat of an Egyptian attack down the Euphrates valley. He marched direct to the town of Kimuḥu on the west bank of the river Euphrates a little way south of Carchemish,⁵ and having crossed the river captured and plundered the town in the month of Kislev (607 B.C.). Nabopolassar placed a garrison there as a check on the Egyptian forces based on Carchemish and two months later returned to Babylon (c. February 606 B.C.).

Kimuḥu was a strategic site commanding a river crossing. Its capture 606/5 B.C. by the Babylonians guarded against any Egyptian thrust down the river and gave a base from which the Egyptian line of communication from Hamath to Carchemish might be threatened. The importance of Kimuḥu is further attested by the swift reaction of the Egyptians to its capture, for after Nabopolassar's departure, they marched to besiege the town. The Babylonian garrison would be limited in numbers, and as the siege lasted four months it is clear that the besiegers did not represent the full strength of the Egyptian army. At last the town fell, the Babylonian garrison being slain by the Egyptians. Nabopolassar at once called out his army and marched up the east bank of the Euphrates to camp at Quramati. He then sent detachments across the river⁶ to seize the towns of Šunadiri, Elammu and Daḥammu. These places are otherwise unknown⁷ and were perhaps only small villages whose capture gave the Babylonians a bridgehead which served both to guard the river ford and also to hinder any possible outflanking movement by the Egyptians were they to try joining up with dissident forces in the Hindanu and Suḥu regions down the river. The location of Quramati depends on that

¹ ll. 12, 23; B.M. 21946, 1.

² See p. 26.

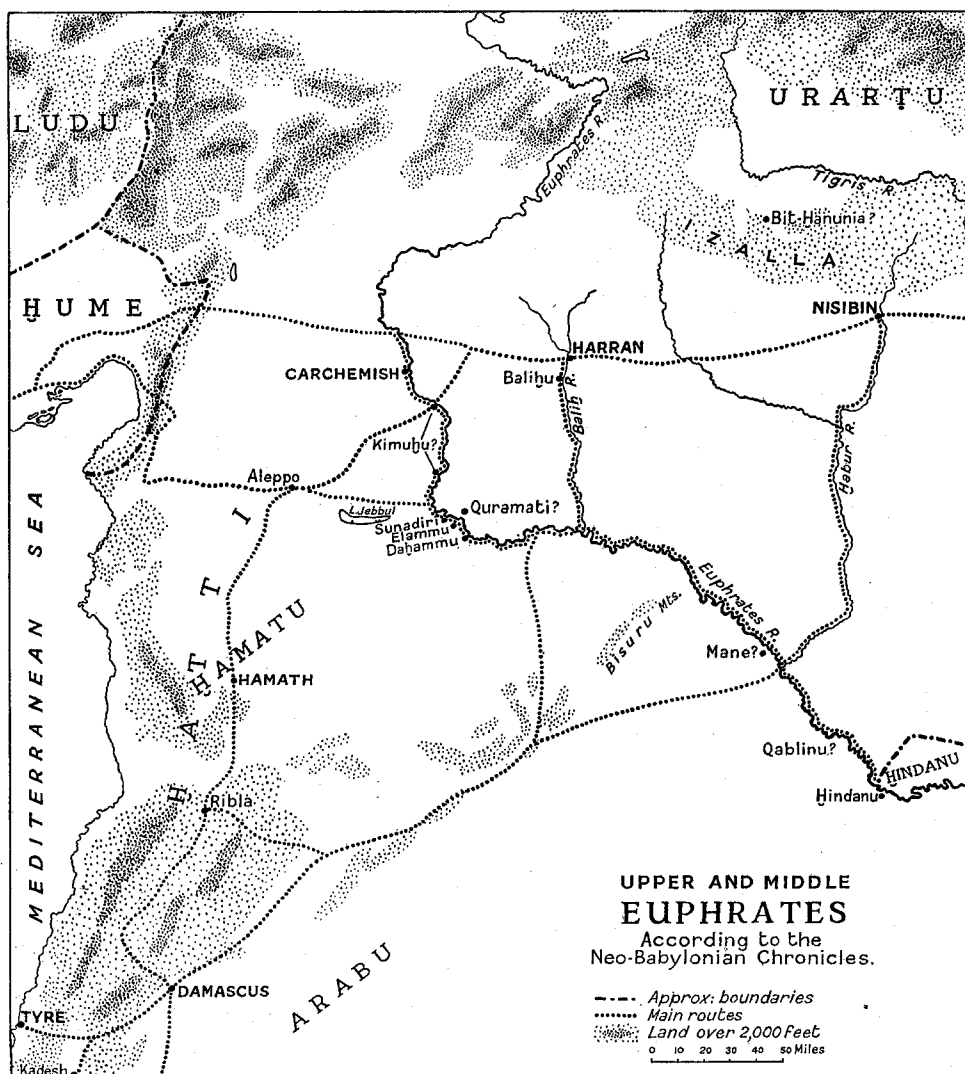
³ See p. 36.

⁴ ll. 9-10. The broken text may name only one town later described, or named, Biranātu.

⁵ See p. 83.

⁶ (*māt*)*ebir nāri* might, however, be interpreted as the proper name of the whole province west of the Euphrates (cf. B.M. 25127, 33 and note p. 79).

⁷ See p. 84.



MAP 2.

of Kimuhu which lay south of Carchemish and above Meskeneh, where the river bears eastward.¹ Quramati being south of Kimuhu may have lain on the bank opposite the narrow strip of land between the river and the Jabbul salt lake.² In this case, Nabopolassar's aim might have been to contain

¹ See p. 83.

² See Sidney Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi*, p. 94 (appendix by V. Seton-Williams).

the Egyptians at this point (see Map No. 2 opposite). Possible alternative locations for Quramati are in the vicinity of the modern Raqqa, by the junction of the Euphrates and Balikh¹ rivers where lay the ford which served the trade route to Damascus via Palmyra, or, if farther south, where the river passes through a defile north-east of the Jabal al Bishri.² Having disposed his troops in a defensive position, Nabopolassar returned to Babylon in Sebat (January/February 605 B.C.). This was the last time he was destined to lead his army in battle. Very soon afterwards, the Egyptian forces took the initiative, for they crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish and marched down the left bank towards the Babylonians at Quramati. The latter had already displayed their weakness by failing to advance upstream in order to recapture Kimuḥu, and they now moved off before the enemy made contact with them. Their retreat may have been due, in part, to lack of leadership, for there is no record that the crown-prince remained with the army after Nabopolassar's return to Babylon.

B.M. 21946 The events of the following year are recounted in the Chronicle tablet B.M. 21946.³ This tablet, according to the catch-lines linking it with B.M. 22047, already described, commences with the twenty-first year of Nabopolassar.

The Battle of Carchemish

In the light of the Babylonian withdrawal before the Egyptian advance 605/4 B.C. on Quramati the events of the following year are particularly significant. Nabopolassar himself stayed in Babylonia for the same reasons, perhaps of age or health, which had prompted his earlier withdrawal from the field.⁴ Nebuchadrezzar, the crown-prince, therefore replaced him as commander-in-chief and led the undivided army in person on the march up the Euphrates to Carchemish itself. The Egyptians must have withdrawn from the towns of Kimuḥu and Quramati which they had but recently captured for there is no record of further engagements at these two places and it is unlikely that so large a Babylonian force would have allowed any enemy garrison to remain on its line of march. The initiative and surprise of the attack is consistent with the high military reputation of Nebuchadrezzar. The Babylonian army crossed to the west bank of the Euphrates, apparently near Carchemish itself, and

¹ E.g. Tell Belani or Tell Melāḥ (5.17 m. W. of Raqqa).

² See p. 84.

³ See Plates V, XIV-XVI. A transliteration and translation is given on pp. 66 ff.

⁴ See p. 20.

engaged the Egyptians¹ in hand-to-hand fighting first of all within the city, and later, perhaps, in the open country.² Excavations at Carchemish show how stubbornly the city was defended until it was finally set on fire. The Egyptian defeat was decisive, their troops being annihilated save for a remnant that early in the fray had escaped so quickly that 'no weapon could reach them'. Nebuchadrezzar's swift pursuit overtook these fugitives in the province of Hamath where they too were so utterly defeated, according to the chronicler who writes of these events with unusual feeling, that 'not a man escaped to his own country'. Since the latter action is rather generally located 'in the province of Hamath' this may well imply attacks on scattered groups rather than on a compact force and include pursuit operations all down the Egyptians' homeward road towards the Mediterranean coast.

Of the historic battle at Carchemish Josephus wrote:

Now in the fourth year of the reign of Jehoiakim, one whose name was Nebuchadnezzar took the government over the Babylonians, who at the same time went up with a great army to the city Carchemish, which was at Euphrates, upon a resolution he had taken to fight with Neco, king of Egypt, under whom all Syria then was. And when Neco understood the intention of the king of Babylon, and that this expedition was made against him, he did not despise his attempt, but made haste with a great band of men to Euphrates to defend himself from Nebuchadnezzar; and when they had joined battle, he was beaten, and lost many ten thousands [of his soldiers] in the battle. So the king of Babylon passed over Euphrates and took all Syria, as far as Pelusium, excepting Judea.³

There is no direct indication in the Chronicle that Necho II was himself with the Egyptian army.⁴ Indeed the apparent ease with which the Babylonians reached Carchemish through territory where they had been defeated by the Egyptians in the previous year makes it more likely that the Egyptian force consisted in the main of garrison troops. However, the chronicler's silence may mean little because Necho is known to have been in the field in person at Harran in 609 B.C. although then, as perhaps on this occasion, no special mention is made of him.⁵ Berossus has a somewhat different description

¹ Objects discovered in the city show that the Egyptian garrison included Greek mercenaries (C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, pp. 125-129).

² The text is broken but may be restored to give this meaning (see p. 84).

³ *Antiq. Jud.* X, 6 (84-86). Whiston's translation of Josephus is followed throughout this book, the numbers of his paragraphs are given in parenthesis. ⁴ Cf. p. 84.

⁵ See p. 63 (B.M. 21901, 61); cf. 2 Kings xxiii. 29 ff.; Jeremiah xli. 2; 2 Chronicles xxxv. 20.

of the enemy: 'When Nabolassar, father of Nabucodrosor, heard that the governor whom he had set over Egypt and over the parts of Coelesyria and Phenicia, had revolted from him, not being able to bear fatigues himself, committed certain parts of his army to his son Nabucodrosor, who was then but young, and sent him against the rebel. Nabucodrosor joined battle with him and conquered him, and reduced the country under his domination again.'¹ While Josephus and the Old Testament both name Necho it is only possible here, in the absence of any particular description of the enemy in the Babylonian Chronicle, to note how all sources agree that the battle of Carchemish was a deliberate clash between the two nations during the prolonged struggle to gain control of Syria after the collapse of the Assyrian regime. The Chronicle certainly places this famous battle in its true perspective. It was hardly the deathblow to Assyria, for Aššur-uballiṭ had already disappeared by 609 B.C. Even had the Egyptians won at Carchemish they could never have resuscitated the Assyrian empire in its old form, for greater forces than those of Egypt and Babylon were now massing not far away.

The year in which the battle of Carchemish took place is certain (605 B.C.) though no date is expressly given in the text. Nebuchadnezzar's victorious troops had marched through Syria and reached Egypt early in the month of Ab in the same year (August 605 B.C.). The battle took place between the commencement of Nabopolassar's twenty-first year in Nisan (April) and his death in Ab. Assuming that the advance to Carchemish was the Babylonian's swift response to the Egyptian retreat from Quramati at the end of the previous year (Sebat-Adar)² it is most likely that the operations at Carchemish took place about May-June of 605 B.C.

The effects of the Babylonian victory were immediate and far-reaching. 'At that time', recorded the chronicler, 'Nebuchadnezzar conquered the whole area of Ḫatti', the geographical term Ḫatti including, at this period, the whole of Syria and Palestine.³ The ease with which Syria was taken over indicates that Egyptian sovereignty there was titular rather than actual. As in earlier attempts at domination in Asia the Egyptians, in common with other invaders, had to rely upon garrisons placed in the larger cities or at strategic centres, while life in the intervening areas proceeded unchanged. No Egyptian historical records of this period have been recovered and it is therefore possible

¹ In Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 19(135).

² B.M. 22047, 26.

³ Note especially ll.r. 11-12 of this Chronicle.

that the defeat at Carchemish and the subsequent humiliating loss of territory were unrecorded. According to both the Old Testament and Josephus, Nebuchadrezzar took all Syria from the Euphrates to the Egyptian border without entering the hilly terrain of Judah itself.¹ The effect on Judah was that king Jehoiakim, a vassal of Necho, submitted voluntarily to Nebuchadrezzar, and some Jews, including the prophet Daniel, were taken as captives or hostages to Babylon.² None of the sources implies that Nebuchadrezzar himself moved far south at this time. During later campaigns in the west he established his headquarters at Riblah, on the Orontes near Hamath,³ and it was from this base that his troops moved against the more southerly cities and even crossed the Egyptian border to reach Pelusium.⁴ It is likely that after the victory near Hamath Nebuchadrezzar occupied Riblah, formerly held by the Egyptians as a command post,⁵ without any immediate intention of following up his success by an invasion of their country, for he undertook no siege of Tyre or Jerusalem⁶ which would have been a necessary preliminary, so far as can be judged from his later strategy, to any large-scale offensive against Egypt. The immediate aim may have been to control the Egyptian frontier and thus, in some degree, perhaps to prevent the Egyptians from fomenting trouble in the newly conquered districts.

It is uncertain exactly where Nebuchadrezzar himself was at the time of the death of Nabopolassar on the eighth of Ab (15/16th August, 605 B.C.). The transmission of this news from Babylon to Syria and Palestine by signal⁷ through hostile and partly uninhabited territory would have been impossible. Time must therefore be allowed for the intelligence to reach Nebuchadrezzar by fast courier as well as for him to settle local affairs before his return journey with a small mounted party by the shortest desert route to Babylon.⁸ Since the crown-prince reached the capital twenty-three days after his father's death the Chronicle supports the tradition of a swift return to Babylon so vividly preserved by Berossus:

Now it so fell out, that his father Nabolassar fell into a distemper at this time, and died in the city of Babylon, after he had reigned twenty-nine years. But as Nabucodrosor understood in a little time, that his father Nabolassar was dead,

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 7; *Antiq. Jud.* X. 6. (86).

² Daniel i. 1.

³ Jeremiah xxxix. 5.

⁴ Josephus, *op. cit.* x. 6 (p. 24).

⁵ Jeremiah xxxix. 5-6; lii. 26-27.

⁶ The only possible evidence for a siege of Jerusalem in this year is Daniel i. 1, but the exegesis of this verse is difficult and uncertain.

⁷ Cf. *RA*, XXXV, pp. 174-186.

⁸ Possibly by Damascus-Hit which normally took about a fortnight.

he set the affairs of Egypt and the other countries in order, and committed the captives he had taken from the Jews and Phenicians, and Syrians, and of the nations belonging to Egypt, to some of his friends, that they might conduct that part of the forces that had on heavy armour, with the rest of his baggage, to Babylonia; while he went in haste, having but few with him, over the desert to Babylon; whither when he was come, he found the public affairs had been managed by the Chaldaeans, and that the principal person among them had preserved the kingdom for him. Accordingly he now entirely obtained all his father's dominions. He then came and ordered the captives to be placed in colonies in the most proper places of Babylonia.¹

Nebuchadrezzar ascended the throne on the same day as he reached the capital (1st of Elul, i.e. 6/7th September 605 B.C.) and was immediately recognised as king at Sippar² and at other cities in Babylonia.³ Even if his speedy return to Babylon was to forestall any opposition to his succession Nebuchadrezzar's position was sufficiently secure for him to return to Syria in the autumn and to join the army for a lengthy campaign which lasted into the month of Sebat (February, 604 B.C.). This expedition, the first of many similar incursions, was an unopposed display of the military might of Babylon, no doubt intended to facilitate the collection of the heavy tribute which Nebuchadrezzar brought back to the capital.

The Chronicle treats the events following the day that Nebuchadrezzar 'sat on the royal throne at Babylon' until the celebration of the New Year Festival eight months later as a distinct period—'the accession year'—marked off from the events leading up to the accession and from those of the first full calendar year of his reign. This is particularly significant because the celebration of the New Year Festival (*isinnu akitu*) in the month of Nisan is included as the culminating event of Nebuchadrezzar's accession year rather than as the first public occasion of the following year. It would seem that the first official regnal year commenced only after the point in the celebrations where the king 'took the hands of Marduk and Nabu' to lead them in the procession to the *akitu*-temple.⁴

The special reference to the annual religious ceremony does not imply that the festival had not taken place in Nabopolassar's reign, for the Neo-Babylonian chronicles sometimes note those years in which the celebrations

¹ In Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 19(136-138).

² See p. 85.

³ E.g. The contract tablet in the Nies Babylonian Collection No. 4746 dated 12th of Elul, accession year Nebuchadrezzar (provenance uncertain), quoted by A. Goetze, *JNES*, III, p. 44.

⁴ This would be sometime in the middle of the month of Nisan, see p. 85.

were omitted; the intention here is rather to emphasise the peaceful conditions prevailing at the time which enabled the king to take his part in the lengthy rites.

In the spring of his first full year of reign Nebuchadrezzar called out his **604 B.C.** army for an expedition to Syria where for six months they marched about unopposed. During this time the heads of the various small states of Syria and Palestine, which at this time are included in the term (*māt*)*Hatti*, were forced to submit to Babylonian rule and to bring in their tribute. The chronicler claims that 'all the kings of *Hatti*' came before Nebuchadrezzar. This statement probably exaggerates, even if only slightly, the reaction to the Battle of Carchemish, for more active steps soon had to be taken against one city at least. Nevertheless, it is likely that among the kings who submitted at this time were the rulers of Damascus, Tyre, and Sidon and Jehoiakim of Judah, who was to be a faithful vassal for three years.¹ Thereafter, he, like others who had hastened to pay this initial respect to the great conqueror, was to revolt.² In the month of Kislev Nebuchadrezzar marched against Askelon³ which he captured. Spoil and prisoners, including the king, had been taken from the city and noblemen and sailors from it are specifically mentioned in a list of prisoners held in Babylon in 592 B.C.⁴ The length of this campaign and the severe measures taken against Askelon imply a strong resistance to the Babylonians which may have resulted from the expectation of assistance from Egypt against the invaders. An Aramaic letter addressed to a Pharaoh requesting help against the approaching Babylonian king may have come from Askelon at this time.⁵ The city was reduced to rubble before Nebuchadrezzar marched back to Babylon in the month of Sebat (*c.* Feb. 603 B.C.).

The broken account of the events recorded for the second year of Nebuchad- **603 B.C.** rezzar shows that in the spring (*Iyyar*) he collected a large army. This expression is used only when a more determined undertaking was envisaged than that which could be managed by the forces readily at the king's disposal and 'called out' annually.⁶ Siege-towers and other heavy equipment are

¹ 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

² *Ibid*; Tyre revolted later and was besieged *c.* 586-573 B.C.

³ The reading of this name is doubtful because of an erasure in the text (see p. 85).

⁴ E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, ii, pp. 925, 928.

⁵ Saqqara papyrus, No. 86,984 (Cairo Museum). Published by A. Dupont-Sommer, *Semitica* I (1948), pp. 43-68 (suggests date 605 B.C.). Cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *BASOR*, III, pp. 24-27 (for dating 603/2 B.C.); A. Malamat, *JNES*, IX, pp. 222 f. (599/8 B.C.); D. Winton Thomas, *PEQ*, LXXXII, pp. 8-13 (587 B.C.). For the latest discussion see R. Meyer, *Ein aramäischer Papyrus aus den ersten Jahren Nebukadnezars II*, in the *Festschrift für Friedrich Zucker* (1954), pp. 253-262 (*c.* 600 B.C.).

⁶ See further pp. 95 f.

mentioned in the text, a fact which implies that the Babylonian troops were in the field for some months and were presumably engaged in the siege of a city. The name of the objective is lost but since Nebuchadrezzar marched to Syria in the preceding and following years it is likely that Syria was his goal in this year also.

The following section, written on the upper reverse of the tablet (B.M. 602 B.C. 21946), is badly broken but must refer to Nebuchadrezzar's third year since the next entry is marked as his fourth. Few details remain but the name of Nabū-šuma-lišir, the younger brother of Nebuchadrezzar, is mentioned with a specific, though broken, date. The text of the record can only be guessed at; nevertheless it is unlikely to have been concerned with a revolt led by Nabū-šuma-lišir in view of the subsequent call-up of the army for yet another campaign in Syria which brought in much tribute to Babylon. By this time these annual expeditions seem to have had as their primary aim the maintenance of political pressure with the economic gains resulting from the collection of dues.

Following the precedent of the previous five years the Babylonian army 601 B.C. was called out in 601 B.C. and sent to Syria where it once more moved about unopposed in fulfilling its mission of maintaining Babylonian prestige and control. Its presence helped the district-governors to collect and dispatch to Babylon the annual tribute which it was their duty to exact. Later in the year Nebuchadrezzar took over command of the army in person and marched to Egypt. On hearing of his approach the Egyptian king, Necho II, called out his army and both forces met in open battle. With characteristic frankness the chronicler states that both sides suffered heavy losses.¹ Nebuchadrezzar and his army withdrew immediately afterwards and returned to Babylon. No date ² or place for this clash between the major powers is given in this text, and there are no references in Egyptian sources with which the Babylonian record may be compared.³ It can be judged from the entry for the following year that the outcome of the battle was a severe set-back to the Babylonians. The fact that Nebuchadrezzar was forced to re-equip his army with chariots

¹ Cf. B.M. 21946, 4-5.

² The battle took place after the month of Kislev (I. 6).

³ A survey of the scanty Egyptian historical information for this period is given by F. K. Kienitz, *Die politische Geschichte Ägyptens vom 7 bis zum 4. Jahrhundert vor der Zeitwende*, pp. 21-31, 153 ff (1953); E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), pp. 591-599; H. De Meulenaere, *Herodotos over de 26ste Dynastie*, pp. 54-60; cf. S. Sauneron and J. Yoyotte, *Bulletin de L'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale*, L, p. 198; A. Christophe, *Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne*, IV, 3/4, pp. 8 ff.

and horses may indicate that it was deficiency in these which had been a primary cause of the Babylonian defeat. It is significant that the Egyptians were sufficiently strong to deter Nebuchadrezzar from attacking them for some time. The Old Testament implies that Apries, the successor of Necho, invaded Phoenicia and captured Gaza.¹ Also the approach of Egyptian forces caused the Babylonians to raise the siege of Jerusalem for a time in 588-586 B.C.² The only non-Biblical evidence for the eventual Babylonian invasion of Egypt is a fragmentary text, B.M. 33041, which is a religious rather than a 'Chronicle' version of historical events in the thirty-seventh year of Nebuchadrezzar (568/7 B.C.). According to this the Babylonian king did battle with Amasis and penetrated Egypt as far as Putu-Iaman. Because of its importance this text has been republished on Plates XX-XXI (see pages 94 f. below).

The vigour of the Egyptian defence in 601 B.C. agrees with what little is known of that country's history and policies during this period. It would show that the defeat at Carchemish was but a temporary loss of military strength perhaps mainly affecting garrison troops.³ Necho must have realised both from Nebuchadrezzar's swift incursion into Hatti after the battle of Carchemish and from his annual expeditions to the west, that Egypt could not recover her control of Syria by direct action; he therefore remained within his own borders.⁴ He did not, however, cease to exercise a wide influence notably over the Judaeen court where Jehoiakim, contrary to the warnings of the prophet Jeremiah,⁵ turned to him for assistance. Jehoiakim had previously submitted to Nebuchadrezzar in the year 605/4 B.C., although Judah itself does not appear to have been invaded,⁶ so ending a period in which Necho had directly controlled Judah.⁷ After a submission lasting three full years Jehoiakim, no doubt at the renewed instigation of Egypt, appears to have changed his loyalties once again, or perhaps he was also moved by a wish to reassert his independence, and so Babylonian intervention followed.

But when Nebuchadrezzar had already reigned four years, which were the eight of Jehoiakim's government over the Hebrews, the king of Babylon made an expedition with mighty forces against the Jews, and required tribute of Jehoiakim, and threatened on his refusal to make war against him. He was affrighted at his threatening, and bought his peace with money, and brought the tribute he was ordered to bring for three years.⁸

¹ Jeremiah xlvii. 1.

⁴ 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

⁷ 2 Kings xxiii. 33-36.

² Jeremiah xxxvii. 5.

⁵ e.g. Jeremiah xxvii. 9-11.

⁸ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* X, 6 (87).

³ See p. 24.

⁶ See p. 26.

The mention of the presence of strong Babylonian forces in the vicinity of Judah agrees with the Chronicle account of Nebuchadrezzar's fourth year. The submission of Jehoiakim as recorded by Josephus may be implicit in the general reference to successful and unopposed operations in Ḫatti (Syro-Palestine) in this year. Nebuchadrezzar would doubtless have sought to follow the Assyrian practice and to neutralise Judah and the main Phoenician-Philistian coastal cities with a view to safeguarding his line of march before marching down into Egypt itself. It is probable that as the brief Chronicle is mainly concerned with the details of the battle with the Egyptians it would not mention the secondary incident in Judah.

The great battle in this year must also have served to check any desires by Necho to march into Syria again although he may still have hoped to use his fleet, which included Corinthian triremes, against the Palestinian coast as, according to Herodotus,¹ he had done in 609 B.C. Any such plans that Necho may have fostered were, however, thwarted by the capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. and died with him in 594 B.C. An expedition by Psammetichus II to Kharu (Phoenicia) about 590 B.C.² and an attack by Apries (588-568 B.C.) against Sidon by land and Tyre by sea show, however, that Egypt still aimed to expand towards Syria whenever the Babylonian hold there became weak. We also know that when Nebuchadrezzar made his final attack on Judah and Jerusalem in 588-586 B.C. the Egyptians were still considered to be the potential allies of Judah.³

Nebuchadrezzar spent his fifth regnal year in Babylon following his defeat **600/599** at the hands of the Egyptians, and his main energies were devoted to reviving **B.C.** his military forces. Chariots and horses were amassed, an operation which would involve the manufacture of the war vehicles, the importation of suitable horses and the training of both men and steeds.⁴

In the month of Kislev (December 599 B.C.) Nebuchadrezzar called up his **599/8 B.C.** army and marched to Syria. Then from one of the cities under his control, Hamath, Riblah⁵ or possibly Kadesh,⁶ he sent raiding parties into the adjacent desert, so collecting much spoil from the Arab tribes. By removing their

¹ Book ii. 159; E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Égypte* (1952), pp. 583-584, 594.

² Drioton and Vandier, *op. cit.* p. 596; F. K. Kienitz, *op. cit.* p. 27, considers that Psammetichus II did not intrigue with Judah during his reign.

³ Jeremiah xxxvii. 7, 11.

⁴ See pp. 85, 96.

⁵ See p. 26.

⁶ (*āl*) *Kidiš* was later the seat of a district-governor (B.M. 40546 dated 564 B.C.—unpublished). For its strategic position at this time see Herodotus ii, 159. Cf. M. Noth, *Die Welt des Orients*, III (1948), p. 233 (cf. n. 57); M. B. Rowton, *JNES*, X (1951), p. 129.

protective deities he sought to keep a hold of these nomads much as the Assyrian kings had done earlier in the same area. Sargon, Sennacherib and Esarhaddon had all used their capture of the gods of the Arabs to bargain for more effective control over the desert tribesmen who constantly harassed the western Assyrian provinces.¹ Soon after his accession, Ashurbanipal had gained a firm hold over the Qedar and neighbouring tribes, but by 641-638 B.C. three of the larger tribes entered into alliance with his rebel brother Šamaš-šum-ukin. The effect of Ashurbanipal's punitive expedition on this occasion was short-lived for after his death Assyrian control of the desert borders gradually weakened and was not replaced by any major power. The Egyptians in support of the Assyrians would have garrisoned only a few of the cities bordering the desert. The bedouin, east of Syria and Judah, regained their independence, and thereafter any alliance they formed was with Necho of Egypt.² Nebuchadrezzar, therefore, had a two-fold aim in undertaking the campaign of his sixth year; firstly, to regain control of the western Syrian desert as part of the Assyrian empire he now sought to inherit and secondly, to guard those areas, such as Hamath and Riblah, he already held, and from which he could thrust south-westwards towards Egypt. There is an indication in the writings of Jeremiah that the tribe of Qedar and others east of Hazor were the object of Nebuchadrezzar's attack,³ which deprived the Arabs of much of their livestock and other property. Other tribesmen, moreover, may have been induced to co-operate with Babylonian garrison troops in raids on those districts, including Judah, which were not loyal to Nebuchadrezzar.⁴ It may be significant that the chronicler mentions the personal return of the king to Babylon, after this campaign, in the month of Adar (c. March 598 B.C.), but omits any reference to the homeward march of the troops. Some at least may have been kept in Syria to strengthen the garrisons against retaliatory raids from the desert during the following spring and summer.

The Capture of Jerusalem

It was not until the month of Kislev (December 598 B.C.), late in his seventh **598/7 B.C.** year, that Nebuchadrezzar called out his army once again for the march to the west. There can be no doubt that this expedition was occasioned by

¹ C. J. Gadd, *Iraq*, XVI, pp. 179-181; V. Scheil, *Le Prisme S d'Assaraddon*, col. iv, 2-29.

² *Cambridge Ancient History*, iii. 121.

³ Cf. B.M.21946, r. 10; Jeremiah xlix. 28-33.

⁴ 2 Kings xxiv. 2.

Jehoiakim who, encouraged perhaps by the Egyptians, had ceased to pay tribute and seemed to believe in the ability of Egypt to withstand a Babylonian attack. This belief must have been strong for Jehoiakim to break with his Babylonian master especially in the face of a forceful pro-Babylonian group in Judah led by Jeremiah.¹ According to Josephus, Jehoiakim assumed that Egypt would be the object of this year's Babylonian expedition:

on the third year, upon hearing that the king of the Babylonians made an expedition against the Egyptians, he did not pay his tribute, yet was he disappointed of his hope, for the Egyptians durst not fight at this time. And indeed the prophet Jeremiah foretold every day, how vainly they relied on their hopes from Egypt, and how the city would be overthrown by the king of Babylon, and Jehoiakim the king would be subdued by him.²

The Babylonian Chronicle gives but a brief reference to operations in this year against Judah. It simply states that Nebuchadrezzar, after marching to Hatti-territory (Syria-Palestine),

‘besieged Jerusalem (literally: the city of Judah) and seized it on the second day of the month Adar. He then captured its king and appointed a king of his own choice, having received heavy tribute from the city, which he sent back to Babylon.’

It is thus clear that Judah was the primary objective for this year's expedition, which was led by Nebuchadrezzar in person. The date of this conquest of Jerusalem is now known precisely for the first time, namely, the second of Adar (15/16th March 597 B.C.). The siege cannot have lasted more than two months, for it is unlikely that it began earlier than a month after the main Babylonian forces had left their homes in Kislev. Since Jehoiakim's death took place three months and ten days before the city's fall,³ that is, on the twenty-second of Marcheswan (6/7th December 598 B.C.) he must have died and have been succeeded by Jehoiachin before the main forces had left Babylonia.

Although no details of the siege are given, the Chronicle clearly expresses the result. The king of Jerusalem was captured, a substitute chosen by Nebuchadrezzar was placed on the throne and considerable tribute collected and sent back to Babylon. Jehoiachin's place was taken by a Babylonian nominee, the young uncle of Jehoiachin named Mattaniah whose official name was designated or changed to Zedekiah.⁴ This change also served as a

¹ E.g. Jeremiah xxxvii. 7 ff.

² Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* X. 6 (88-89).

³ 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 9; Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* X. 6 (98).

⁴ 2 Kings xxiv. 17; Jeremiah xxxvii. 1.

public testimony to the subservient position held by Zedekiah on oath to Nebuchadrezzar 'that he would certainly keep the kingdom for him and make no innovation, nor have any league of friendship with the Egyptians'.¹ Having personally settled the future administration Nebuchadrezzar collected 'a heavy tribute' from Jerusalem which was otherwise spared. This booty included such parts of the treasures of Solomon's temple and the royal palace as were easily transportable.² Jehoiachin, his mother, wives, family and the leading state and military officials were taken as hostages to the court at Babylon. Josephus gives the total of these as three thousand³ while the Hebrew records add at least one thousand skilled craftsmen and seven thousand trained soldiers and give a general total or estimate of the captives at this time as ten thousand.⁴ The Babylonians do not seem to have collected this large group quickly and the Jewish captives only moved off to their exile home some weeks after the city itself had fallen. Thus their exile began at 'the turn of the year'⁵ in the month following the capture of the city, which month also marked the commencement of Nebuchadrezzar's eighth year.⁶ Tablets listing the rations given to Jehoiachin, king of Judah, and other Jews and fellow-captives have been found in the royal quarters at Babylon. These texts afford a glimpse of the royal exiles during their long captivity there.⁷

The account in Josephus of the events leading to the fall of Jerusalem and to the capture of Jehoiachin differs from the above exposition. It implies that Nebuchadrezzar himself came to Jerusalem, slew Jehoiakim and placed Jehoiachin on the throne which he occupied until Babylonian suspicion of his possible defection led to the capture of the city and his exile. The account by Josephus is as follows:

Now a little time after [the revolt of Jehoiakim], the king of Babylon made an expedition against Jehoiakim, whom he received [into the city], and this out of fear of the foregoing predictions of this prophet, as supposing that he should suffer nothing that was terrible, because he neither shut the gates, nor fought against him; yet when the Babylonian was come into the city, he did not observe the covenant he had made, but he slew such as were in the flower of their age, and such as were of the greatest dignity, together with their king Jehoiakim, whom he commanded to be thrown before the walls, without any burial; and made his son Jehoiachin king

¹ Josephus, *Antiq. Jud.* X. 7 (102).

² 2 Kings xxiv. 13.

³ *Op. cit.* X. 6 (98).

⁴ 2 Kings xxiv. 14-16.

⁵ 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 10.

⁶ 2 Kings xxiv. 12.

⁷ E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, II, pp. 923-935. The tablets are dated in the tenth to thirty-fifth years of Nebuchadrezzar II (595/4-570/69 B.C.).

of the country, and of the city: he also took of the principal persons in dignity for captives, three thousand in number, and led them away to Babylon; among which was the prophet Ezekiel, who was then but young. And this was the end of king Jehoiakim, when he had lived thirty-six years, and of them reigned eleven: but Jehoiachin succeeded him in the kingdom, whose mother's name was Nehushta: she was a citizen of Jerusalem. He reigned three months and ten days.

But a terror seized on the king of Babylon, who had given the kingdom to Jehoiachin, and that immediately: he was afraid that he should bear him a grudge, because of his killing his father, and thereupon should make the country revolt from him; wherefore he sent an army, and besieged Jehoiachin in Jerusalem; but because he was of a gentle and just disposition, he did not desire to see the city endangered on his account, but he took his mother, and kindred, and delivered them to the commanders sent by the king of Babylon, and accepted of their oaths, that neither should they suffer any harm, nor the city; which agreement they did not observe for a single year, for the king of Babylon did not keep it, but gave orders to his generals to take all that were in the city captives both the youth and the craftsmen, and bring them bound to him; their number was ten thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; as also Jehoiachin and his mother and friends. And when these were brought to him, he kept them in custody, and appointed Jehoiachin's uncle Zedekiah to be king; . . .¹

While this record agrees with the chronicle in so far as it refers to the attack on Jerusalem in 597 B.C., it raises difficulties, for the reasons given above, where it postulates a prior march on Jerusalem leading to Jehoiakim's death early in Nebuchadrezzar's seventh year. However, the story of Josephus has some support in the account of this period given by the Old Testament chronicler²; although no details of the death of this king are given in the Chronicle his fate might be linked with some initial Babylonian approach to the city.³ Any apparent difficulty is probably due to the brevity of both the Babylonian and Biblical accounts which give insufficient detail to allow of an exact reconciliation with the history of Josephus at this point.

In his eighth year Nebuchadrezzar did not venture so far afield as in the 596 B.C. previous year's campaign against Judah. The broken and brief entry in the Chronicle makes no mention of any use of the army but simply states that in the month of Tebet (*c.* January 596 B.C.) the king went to Syria, travelling as far as Carchemish, and then returned to Babylonia in the next month. The

¹ *Antiq. Jud.* X. 6 (96)—7 (102).

² 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 6.

³ Jeremiah xxii. 24-30; cf. 2 Kings xxiv. 6-7. It should be noted that the latter implies that the Babylonian hold of Judah and the consequent curtailment of Egyptian activity there follows the accession of Jehoiachin.

purpose of this journey is now lost to us but it was probably to receive homage and to collect tribute from those Syrian vassals who formerly would not have made these payments without the presence of the Babylonian army to enforce them. If this is so it would show that the Babylonian hold over these territories was now firm and the administration settled. The army might, however, have been detained by some trouble on the eastern frontiers or by a clash of internal rivalries, both of which were soon to disturb the neo-Babylonian regime and to demand the king's constant presence in the capital.

In his ninth year Nebuchadrezzar was threatened with a new enemy ^{596/5 B.C.} and is found with his army marching along the river Tigris and then pitching camp at a place the name of which is now lost in the broken text. The name of his opponent is also regrettably lost although the signs which remain may point to the (unnamed) king of Elam. If this interpretation should be correct it would be the only indication of Babylonian relations with this eastern neighbour between 625 B.C. when Nabopolassar returned its exiled gods to Susa and *c.* 540 B.C.² when, taking advantage of the weak rule of Nabonidus, the hill-folk appear to have threatened Erech once again.¹ Three short inscriptions naming Nebuchadrezzar have been found at Susa ² and one at Persepolis,³ but these are votive objects which could have found their way there with any other spoils at a later date. Moreover, the power of the Medes at this time was so great that the Babylonians did not have their attention diverted to their northern or eastern borders and were usually free, therefore, to concentrate on the west. This Chronicle implies that the enemy, whether Elamite or not, took fright and turned back to his own country when a day's march from the Babylonian forces.

Nebuchadrezzar remained at home for the greater part of his tenth year, ^{595/4 B.C.} for during the month of Kislev and Tebet (*c.* December 595-January 594 B.C.) there was a revolt in the country which was only suppressed by the slaughter of many of his troops(?) and by the capture of the rebel leader. Order must soon have been restored, for the king was able to go in person to Syria before the end of the year to receive the tribute brought by the vassal kings and other officials and to bring it back to the capital. This journey was apparently made, as two years earlier, without the presence of the army, for the latter is not specifically mentioned. It seems, therefore, that the west remained undisturbed.

¹ B.M. 35382, iii, 1-4; cf. Sidney Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV*, p. 135.

² Langdon, *Neubab.* p. 47.

³ E. F. Schmidt, *Persepolis*, I, pp. 174, 179.

There is no direct indication of the internal dissension in this year apart from that given in this Chronicle. Its brief duration and suppression probably place it among those frequent intrigues which any Babylonian or oriental monarch had to face. The opponent does not appear to have claimed the royal title in Babylonia as did a number of later rebels who, ironically enough, proclaimed themselves king with the very name of Nebuchadrezzar.¹ The strain put on the standing army by the frequent and lengthy campaigns in the west may have been a factor contributing to the disturbances.² What may be an indirect indication of the revolt is given by a contract tablet from Babylon dated in the eleventh year of Nebuchadrezzar. This tells of the confiscation and disposal of the property of Baba-aḥu-iddina, son of Nabū-aḥḥe-bullit, who had been tried by court-martial and, on being found guilty of breaking the royal oath and of insurrection, had been condemned to death and executed.³ Since Nabū-aḥḥe-bullit had received these lands as a special favour from Nabopolassar it may well be that his son was of sufficient status to be the leader of the revolt mentioned in the Chronicle for this year.

The catchline which ends the text of B.M. 21946 gives us but a brief 594/3 B.C. glimpse of Nebuchadrezzar's activity at the beginning of his eleventh year (594/3 B.C.), by recording that he called out his army in the month of Kislev (c. December 594 B.C.) for a further expedition into Syria. We can but hope that some fortunate discovery will one day reveal the tablets listing the events of the whole of this year as well as of the remaining thirty-three years of Nebuchadrezzar.⁴ Other Chronicle tablets must certainly have filled the gap which now extends to the third year of Neriglissar (557/6 B.C.).⁵

A Babylonian Campaign in Western Cilicia

B.M. 25124 The long gap in the Babylonian Chronicle between the eleventh year of Nebuchadrezzar II (594 B.C.) and the record of the reign of Nabonidus (556-539 B.C.)⁶ is filled for a single year only by the tablet B.M. 25124. This text,

¹ Nebuchadrezzar III (Nidintu-Bēl) in Oct.-Dec. 522 B.C. and Nebuchadrezzar IV (Araka) in Sept.-Nov. 521 B.C. Compare also the revolts by Bēl-šimanni and Šamaš-eriba in the fourth year of Xerxes.

² See pp. 95-96. If Elam was in open opposition to Babylon in 596/5 B.C. (see p. 36 above) it is possible that that country instigated the revolt of this year.

³ *AfO*, XVII, pp. 1-5.

⁴ For one fragmentary inscription dated to Nebuchadrezzar's thirty-seventh year (568/7 B.C. see pp. 30, 94 ff.

⁵ See list on p. 2.

⁶ The Nabonidus Chronicle (B.M. 35382) was last published by Sidney Smith, *BHT*, pp. 98-123. For a recent translation see A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, pp. 305-307.

giving details of the third year of Neriglissar (Nergal-šar-ušur, 559-555 B.C.), is the only strictly historical text extant for his reign. Hitherto the record of his rule has had to be reconstructed from the scanty references to him in contemporary contracts and building inscriptions.¹ These give no hint that Neriglissar ever moved outside Babylonia during his reign except, perhaps, to bring the goddess Anunit back to Sippar from exile in Gutium whither she had been taken in some earlier reign. Thus the general impression conveyed by these sources is of little except domestic activity by a ruler who seemed perhaps even less vigorous in character than Amēl-Marduk (Evil-Merodach), the son and successor of Nebuchadnezzar II. According to Josephus, Amēl-Marduk was a harsh ruler,² though the Old Testament pictures him as generous towards the royal Judæan captives.³ In August 559 B.C. Neriglissar seized the throne.⁴ It is not yet clear whether this followed a revolution, probably led by the army though with some priestly support,⁵ or whether he succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother-in-law as the next male in the royal line of succession. Neriglissar, the son of a private citizen, Bēl-šum-iškun,⁶ had been an army commander under Nebuchadnezzar⁷ and was married to a daughter of the same king. He is probably to be identified with Nergal-sharezer who held the office of *rab mag* at the siege of Jerusalem in 586 B.C.⁸ If, as seems likely, the Neriglissar who is named in contracts of the ninth year of Nebuchadnezzar (596/5 B.C.) is also the same man, he was already middle-aged on his accession. He appears from the contracts to have been a rich landowner with properties at Babylon and Opis,⁹ and had also been appointed by the king to control the business affairs of the Sun-god temple (É.BABBAR.RA) at Sippar.¹⁰ Hitherto, the only known activities of the early years of his reign have been the restoration of the Esagila and Ezida temples in Babylon and Borsippa, a pious duty which fell to each of the Neo-Babylonian kings. In addition, we have known that

¹ Langdon, *Neubab.* pp. 208-219.

² Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, I, 20 (147).

³ Jeremiah lii. 31-34; 2 Kings xxv. 27-30.

⁴ Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* p. 10.

⁵ L. W. King, *History of Babylon*, p. 280; cf. R. Campbell Thompson, *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 218.

⁶ Entitled *rubū emgā*, 'noble and wise' in the Neriglissar Cylinder (Langdon, *op. cit.* p. 214.)

⁷ *RA*, XI, p. 174.

⁸ Jeremiah xxxix. 3, 13. Cf. the expression *rab mu(n)gu*, p. 94, n. 3.

⁹ B.M. 33117; 30414; 33142, published by J. Strassmaier, *Nabuchodonosor*, as Nos. 369, 411, 419.

¹⁰ B.M. 55920 (unpublished). Neriglissar is styled *amēl šā É. BABBAR.RA*. By comparing this text with B. T. Evetts, *Inscriptions of the Reigns of Evil-Merodach, etc.*, Lab. 1, 3 where the personal name Nabū-nipšari also occurs it can be dated to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar.

Neriglissar restored the 'chapel of destiny' used in the annual New Year festival, the eastern bank of the Euphrates river and numerous canals round Babylon. Within the city he repaired an old palace on the river bank for his personal occupation.¹

The new Chronicle tablet now gives us a very different picture of Neriglissar. 557/6 B.C. The text is entirely devoted to the details of one campaign late in his third year when he led his army into Cilicia against Appuašu, king of Pirindu (W. Cilicia-Cilicia Tracheia) who had crossed into the coastal plain of Hume (E. Cilicia) to plunder and to take captives.² This fertile country had long attracted the Assyrian rulers who, since Shalmaneser III, had sought to control the trade routes leading into Syria through the Amanus mountains.³ When the Assyrian hold over such distant parts of the empire was weakened with the death of Ashurbanipal (c. 633 B.C.) Cilicia appears to have regained her independence only to become tributary to Nebuchadnezzar II sometime between 595 and 570 B.C. by which time prisoners from Pirindu and Hume were held in Babylon.⁴ While Nebuchadnezzar had been consolidating his hold over the former Assyrian dependencies in Syria, Kyaxares the Mede had fought his way across the more northerly mountain terrain towards the Halys river. It is possible that the operations by Nebuchadnezzar were arranged, by agreement, to guard the southern flank of the Median advance. The bitter struggle between the Medes and the powerful Lydian state under Alyattes ended in the famous 'eclipse-battle', and an armistice was concluded in 585 B.C. The mediators who helped to fix the Halys river as the main boundary between the rival states were, according to Herodotus, the Babylonian Labynetus and Syennesis of Cilicia acting for the Medes and Lydians respectively.⁵ It is possible that Labynetus was Nabonidus acting on behalf of Nebuchadnezzar,⁶ or was Nebuchadnezzar himself,⁷ and that Syennesis was the ruler of western Cilicia (Pirindu), but it is, in any case, clear that at that time at least part of Cilicia was independent of, though friendly disposed towards, Lydia. While the treaty held good Cilicia's importance as a friendly state on that Babylonian frontier

¹ Langdon, *Neubab.* pp. 212-213. B.M. 40073 (unpublished) duplicates part of Langdon, *Neubab.* No. 2 (B.M. 113233) last published in *CT*, XXXVI, 17-20. H. G. Güterbock in *ZA*, 40 (N.F. 6), pp. 289 ff. published a duplicate of Langdon's No. 1.

² See notes on p. 87.

³ A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft*, pp. 54-63.

⁴ E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, ii, p. 935; see p. 87.

⁵ Herodotus, Book I, 74.

⁶ R. P. Dougherty, *IOS*, XV, pp. 34 ff.; *BHT*, p. 43. J. V. Prášek, *Geschichte der Meder und Perser*, I, p. 163.

⁷ W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 120, p. 24.

must certainly have been recognised by the successors of Nebuchadrezzar. It is not surprising, therefore, to find Neriglissar acting swiftly to counter a hostile move by Appuašu, king of Pirindu, whose mountainous homeland bordered to the west on the state, later called Pamphylia, which was under Lydian control.¹

Appuašu mustered his forces for a raid across the river into eastern Cilicia, whereupon Neriglissar called out his army and marched straight for the principal city of Ȝume which lay in that coastal plain of Cilicia.² Appuašu then deployed his own troops, reinforced by local detachments of mounted security police, defensively to watch the narrow defiles which led into the hills of Western Cilicia. The Babylonians, however, engaged the defenders and inflicted so heavy a defeat and captured so many men and horses that they were able to pursue Appuašu at once as he fled across the mountains which separated the plain and his capital city of Ura', west of the Lamos river (see Map 3 opposite³). So difficult was the mountain track that the Babylonians claim that they had to march in single file for about one hundred miles (fifteen *bēru*)⁴! Ura' fell and was plundered, but the chase continued to Kiršu a former royal capital which probably lay in the heart of the mountains about forty miles north-west of Ura'. The Babylonian troops caught up with the fugitive Appuašu but he succeeded in evading capture. After traversing the narrow defiles and scaling mountain ridges the Babylonians, obviously far from effete, captured and set fire to the city, many of its inhabitants dying in the flames. Neriglissar appears to have made no attempt to move on up the Calycadnus river or towards Laranda (Karaman) and the Lydian border, but contented himself with laying waste the immediate neighbourhood of Kiršu. Moving off southwards along the river valley the Babylonian army then attacked Pitusu, a rocky island with a garrison of six thousand men, two miles off the coast.⁵ A sea-borne assault was a rare form of operation for the Babylonians, but they carried it out successfully and over-ran the island. The capture of Pitusu ensured control of the coast road along the cliffs leading to Sallune, the westernmost city in Pirindu.⁶ The Babylonians claim to have laid waste the whole of the territory as far as the boundary of Pirindu with Lydia, but Appuašu himself escaped and Neriglissar returned to Babylonia in the month of Adar (February-March 556 B.C.).

¹ Herodotus, Book I, 28.

³ For a discussion of these locations see pp. 87 ff.

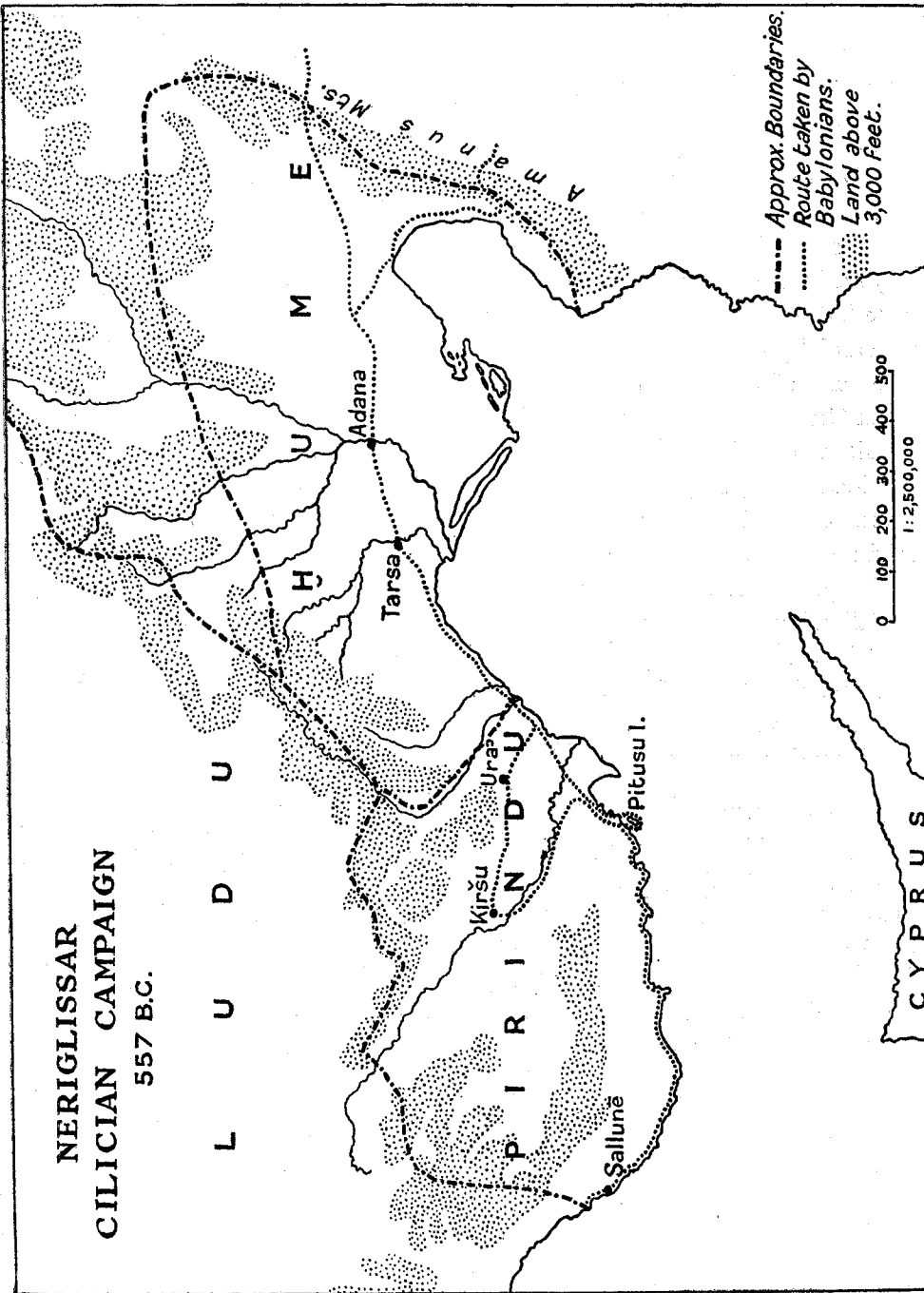
possible that the Chronicler uses the term *bēru* strictly as a time measurement (double hour).

⁵ Mod. Kargincık Adası.

² I.e. Adana or Tarsus; see p. 87.

⁴ See note on p. 87; it is, of course,

⁶ See p. 88.



MAP 3

The campaign in Cilicia had, however, a limited success for two years later Nabonidus had to send the Babylonian army to Hume once again, either to deal with a revolt, perhaps inspired by Appuašu, or else to defend it against another attack from Pirindu.¹ Within a few years, however, it became impossible for the Babylonians to control E. Cilicia because Cyrus had annexed 'Assyria' by 548/7 B.C. and with it, probably, all those territories in North Syria and Cilicia previously under Babylonian domination. Thus he had already secured the support of the major part of Cilicia when he met Croesus of Lydia in the fateful battle of 547 B.C.² Meanwhile, Nabonidus, in a desperate bid to re-establish his dwindling power, had allied himself to Croesus of Lydia and Amasis of Egypt and by so doing decided Babylonia's impending fate at the hand of the Persians.³ For the part the Cilicians played in helping him against Croesus, Cyrus granted special privileges to the now re-united country⁴ and, although a Persian garrison was maintained there,⁵ also allowed them to have local autonomy under their own rulers who continued to bear the dynastic title of Syennesis. It was only to be expected, therefore, that Cilicia would be hostile to Babylon in 539 B.C.⁶

The glimpse of Neriglissar's military activity given by this Chronicle shows him following a policy consistent with that of his predecessors, namely, to maintain a hold on East Cilicia which at that time was a buffer state between Lydia and the massing forces of the Medes. All too soon the same forces were to be the instrument whereby Babylonia herself was to pass from history as an independent power.

¹ B.M. 35382 (*BHT*, p. 111, i. 7, Pl. XI); A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 305, n. 2; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 120, pp. 22-23.

² *BHT*, pp. 101-102, 112 (col. ii, 15-18).

³ Herodotus, Book I, 77; Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, II, 1. 5; VI, 2. 10.

⁴ Xenophon, *op. cit.* I, 1. 4; VIII, 6, 8 (see also A. T. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, p. 39; W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 120, p. 25, n. 16). The explanation given here obviates some of the difficulties raised by these passages which are fully discussed by Erzen, *op. cit.* pp. 92-96.

⁵ B.M. 35382 (Nabonidus Chronicle), ii. 18. Since the Nabonidus Chronicle tablet has been republished by Sidney Smith in *BHT*, pp. 92-123 it is not reproduced here.

⁶ Xenophon, *op. cit.* VIII, 6, 8.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS

<i>Julian Year¹ B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date²</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 25127</i>
626	<p>‘ 22nd year after Kandalanu’</p> <p>12th Elul</p> <p>Tisri</p> <p>12th Tisri</p> <p>Nabopolassar ‘ accession year ’ 26th Marcheswan</p>	<p>Assyrian garrison at . . . withdraws. Sin-šar-iškun. Assyrian attack on Šaznaku.</p> <p>Gods of Kish taken to Babylon. Assyrian army comes to Nippur and is opposed by Nabopolassar at Erech. Assyrians attack Babylon. Defeated by sortie from city. No king in the land for one year.</p> <p>Nabopolassar ascends throne in Babylon. Official commencement of his reign.</p>
625	<p>Adar</p> <p>Nabopolassar 1 17th Nisan 20th Iyyar 21st Iyyar 9th Ab</p>	<p>Babylonians return exiled gods to Susa.</p> <p>Gods of Šapazzu moved to Babylon for protection. Gods of Sippar go to Babylon. Assyrians plunder Sallat. Nabopolassar unsuccessfully assaults Sallat and then retreats.</p>
624(?)	Nabopolassar 2 Elul	Assyrian army camps at the Banitu-canal then retreats when opposed by Babylonians.

¹ See R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* 626 B.C.-A.D. 45 for tables giving the correspondence with Babylonian dates. The Julian year as marked in this column commences with 1st Nisan.

² Babylonian months in this column are written: Nisan (*c.* March-April); Iyyar (*c.* April-May); Sivan (*c.* May-June); Tammuz (*c.* June-July); Ab (*c.* July-August); Elul (*c.* August-September); Tisri (*c.* September-October); Marcheswan (*c.* October-November); Kislev (*c.* November-December); Tebet (*c.* December-January); Sebat (*c.* January-February); Adar (*c.* February-March). These English forms are used throughout this work.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 25127</i>
623(?)	Nabopolassar 3 15th Tisri (?)	Dēr revolts against Assyria. Nabopolassar opposes Assyrians who took Nippur(?) Assyrians retreat to Nineveh. Usurper rules for 100 days.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 21901</i>
616	Nabopolassar 10 Iyyar Ab Elul Tisri	Suḥu and Ḫindanu submit to Nabopolassar. Assyrian army reported in Qablinu. Assyrians withdraw and are beaten by Babylonians. Mannaeans auxiliaries and Assyrian nobles captured. Babylonian expedition against Mane, Saḫiru and Baliḫu. Return to Babylon. Ḫindanu plundered on way. Assyrian and Egyptian armies pursue as far as Qablinu and then withdraw.
615	Addar Nabopolassar 11 Iyyar (?)th Sivan Marcheswan	Battle of Badanu. Defeated Assyrians pursued to Lower Zab. Babylonian army recrosses Tigris and returns to Babylon. Babylonians begin siege of Aššur. Unsuccessful attack on the city which is relieved by Assyrian mobilisation. Babylonians retreat down Tigris to Takrit. Assyrian unsuccessful siege of Takrit for 10 days. Assyrians withdraw after retreat. Nabopolassar returns home. Medes raid Arraphu.
614	Nabopolassar 12 Ab (?)	Medes march against Nineveh. Capture(?) of Tarbiṣu. March down Tigris to besiege Aššur. Aššur captured and plundered by Medes. Nabopolassar meets Kyaxares and makes alliance. Both forces return home.

SUMMARY OF EVENTS

45

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 21901</i>
613	Nabopolassar 13 Iyyar 4th Sivan	Revolt of Suḫu. Nabopolassar captures Raḫilu, unsuccessful Babylonian siege of 'Ana. Approach of Assyrian army forces Babylonians to withdraw.
612	Nabopolassar 14 (?) Sivan-Ab (?)th Ab 20th Elul (?) (?)	Babylonians march north. Join with Umman-manda against Nineveh. Siege of Nineveh. Fall of Nineveh. Death of Sin-šar-iškun. City and temples plundered and destroyed. Some defenders escape. Departure of Kyaxares and Medes. Nabopolassar marches as far as Nisibin. Receives booty from Ruṣapu at Nineveh. Aššur-uballiṭ assumes rule of Assyria in Harran. Nabopolassar in Nineveh then returns home (?).
611	Nabopolassar 15 Tammuz 28th Marcheswan	Babylonian expedition to Upper Euphrates (Assyria). Two areas subdued. Capture of Rugguliti.
610	Nabopolassar 16 Iyyar Iyyar-Marcheswan Marcheswan	Babylonians march to Upper Euphrates. Army unopposed. Junction with Umman-manda and march on Harran. Aššur-uballiṭ and Egyptian(?) army abandon city and retreat to Syria. Babylonians and Medes capture Harran. Nabopolassar leaves garrison and returns home.
609	Nabopolassar 17 Tammuz Tammuz-Elul (?) (?)	Aššur-uballiṭ and Egyptian army advance on Harran. Assyro-Egyptian siege of Harran ended on approach of Nabopolassar. Babylonian operations in Izalla and up to Armenian border. Nabopolassar returns home.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 22047</i>
608	Nabopolassar 18 Elul Tebet	Army called out. Expedition against Bīt-Ḫanunia (Urartu). Nabopolassar returns to Babylon.
607	Nabopolassar 19 Sivan Tammuz Elul Tisri Kislev	Nabopolassar with Crown-Prince (Nebuchadrezzar) leads armies to mountains. Nabopolassar returns. Nebuchadrezzar continues operations in Za. . . . Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon. Nabopolassar goes to Kimuḫu (on Euphrates). Nabopolassar captures Kimuḫu.
	Sebat	Nabopolassar returns to Babylon.
606	Nabopolassar 20 (?) Tisri	Egyptians (re)capture Kimuḫu after four-month siege. Nabopolassar with army to Quramati. Captures Šunadiri, Elammu and Daḫammu.
605	Sebat	Nabopolassar returns to Babylon. Egyptians from Carchemish defeat Babylonians at Quramati.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 21946</i>
605	Nabopolassar 21 (?) 8th Ab Elul 1st Elul	Nabopolassar stays in Babylonia. Nebuchadrezzar and Babylonians defeat Egyptians at Battle of Carchemish. Pursuit to Hamath. Conquest of Ḫatti. Nabopolassar dies after 21-year reign. Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon. Nebuchadrezzar ascends throne at Babylon.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 21946</i>
	(?)	Nebuchadrezzar returns to Syria.
604	Nebuchadrezzar 'Accession year' Sebat	Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon with tribute.
	Nisan	Nebuchadrezzar takes the hands of Bēl and Nabū and celebrates New Year Festival.
603	Nebuchadrezzar 1 Sivan	Nebuchadrezzar and Babylonian army in Syria. Reception of tribute. Sack of Askelon.
	Kislev	
	Sebat	Return to Babylon.
602	Nebuchadrezzar 2 Iyyar	Army called out. In Syria (Ḫatti)?
601	Nebuchadrezzar 3 13th (?)	Babylonian army unopposed in Syria.
600	Nebuchadrezzar 4	Babylonian army in Syria-Palestine (Ḫatti).
	Kislev	Egyptian army called up. Babylonians meet Egyptians in inconclusive open battle, then return to Babylon.
600	Nebuchadrezzar 3	Nebuchadrezzar in Babylon mustering a large force of chariots and horses.

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 21946</i>
599	Nebuchadrezzar 6 Kislev	Army operations in Syria. Detachments sent to plunder Arabs.
	Adar	Babylonian army returns to Babylon.
598	Nebuchadrezzar 7 Kislev	Babylonian operations in Hatti. Siege of Jerusalem.
597	2nd Adar	Capture of Jerusalem. New king (Zedekiah) appointed. Much tribute taken back to Babylon.
596	Nebuchadrezzar 8 Tebet Sebat	Nebuchadrezzar and army march as far as Carchemish in Syria (Hatti). Returns to Babylon.
	Nebuchadrezzar 9 (?) (?)	Nebuchadrezzar and army march up the Tigris bank. Encamp on river bank. Opposing Elamites (?) retreat and Nebuchadrezzar returns to Babylon.
595	Nebuchadrezzar 10 Kislev	Nebuchadrezzar remains in Babylonia, where rebellion breaks out. Leader captured and rebels slaughtered.
	Tebet	Campaign in Syria.
594	Nebuchadrezzar 11 (?)	Army operations in Syria. (Catchline only; year incomplete.)

SUMMARY OF EVENTS

49

<i>Julian Year B.C.</i>	<i>Babylonian Date</i>	<i>Events recorded by B.M. 25124</i>
557	Neriglissar 3 (?) (?)	Babylonian army in W. Cilicia. Neriglissar defeats Appuašu of Pirindu. Pursuit to Ura' and to Kiršu. After capture of Kiršu assault with boats on Pitusu island. Baby- lonians devastate area from Sallune to Lydian border.
556	Adar	Appuašu escapes. Neriglissar returns to Babylonia.

TRANSLITERATION

B.M. 25127

Obv.

1. [.] *ana bābīli(KI) ki-i iš-pu-ru ina mūši (G16)*
2. [.] *(KI) kal u₄-mu šal-tú ina libbi āli ēpušū(MEŠ)*
3. [.-šu-lu]#tu šá (m.d)sin-šār-iškun(un) *ana (māt)aš-šur iḫliqū(ME)*
4. [. ina li]bbi āli ip-te-qid ina (araḥ)ululi ūmu XII-KĀM ummān (māt)
aš-šur
5. [. . . .] (āl)šá-az-na-ku ērubū(MEŠ) *išātu ana ēkurri iddū(ME)*
6. [. .]-lu? ina (araḥ)tišriti ilāni(ME) šá kiš(KI) *ana bābīli(KI) illikū(ME)*
7. [ERIM.M]EŠ (māt)aš-šur *ana niḫpur(KI) illikū(ME)-nim-ma (m.d)nabū-
apal-ušur ina pāni-šú-nu ittabalkit-ma*
8. [ummān (māt)aš-]šur u niḫpurāia(KI.ME) *adi libbi uruk(KI) arki-šú it-tal-ku*
9. *ina uruk(KI) šal-tú ana libbi (m.d)nabū-apal-ušur ēpušū(MEŠ)-ma ina maḥar
(m.d)nabū-apal-ušur ittabalkitu(MEŠ)*
10. *ina (araḥ)aiari ummān (māt)aš-šur ana (māt)akkadi(KI) it-tar-du-nu ina
(araḥ)tišriti ūmu XII-KĀM umman (māt)aš-šur*
11. *ana muḫḫi bābīli(KI) ki-i il-lik-ú-nu ina ūmu^{AL}šu (amēl)bābilāia(KI.ME)*
12. *ultu bābīli(KI) ki-i ú-šu-ú šal-tú ana libbi ummān (māt)aš-šur ēpušū(MEŠ)-ma*
labāla
13. *tapdi^{AL} ummān (māt)aš-šur ma-a-diš iškunū(MEŠ) ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu iḫ-tab-tu*
14. *išet^{AL} MU.AN.NA šarru ina māti ul-ibši (araḥ)araḥsamna ūmu XXVI-KĀM*
(m.d)nabū-apal-ušur la baši(GAL)
15. *ina bābīli(KI) ina kussī^{AL} ittašab(ab) reš šarru-tú šá (m.d)nabū-apal-ušur ina
(araḥ)addari*
16. *ilāni(ME) šá (māt)šu-šá-an šá (māt)aš-šur i-bu-ku-nim-ma ina uruk(KI)
ú-še-ši-bu*
17. *ilāni(ME)-šu-nu (m.d)nabū-apal-ušur ana (āl)šu-šá-an ul-taḫ-ḫi-is*

TRANSLATION

B.M. 25127

Obv.

1. when had sent to Babylon, by night
2. ^{all day} in the late afternoon they did battle in the city
3. the garrison placed by Sin-šar-iškun fled to Assyria
4. he appointed in the city. In the month of Elul, on the
twelfth day, the Assyrian army
5. entered the city of Šaznaku and set fire to the temple
6. in the month of Tisri the gods of Kish came to Babylon.
7. The Assyrian army came to Nippur and Nabopolassar retreated before
them;
8. [the Assyrian troops] and men of Nippur came after him as far as Erech.
9. In Erech they did battle against Nabopolassar and then retreated before
Nabopolassar.
10. In the month of Iyyar the Assyrian army had come down into Babylonia.
On the 12th of the month of Tisri the Assyrian troops
11. when they came against Babylon, on that same day the Babylonians,
12. when they had gone out from Babylon, did battle against the Assyrian
army
13. and heavily defeated the Assyrian army, captured their spoil.
14. For one year there was no king in the land. On the twenty-sixth day of
the month of Marcheswan, Nabopolassar
15. sat upon the throne in Babylon. (This was) the 'beginning of reign' of
Nabopolassar. In the month of Adar
16. the gods of the land of Susa which the Assyrians had carried off and
settled in Erech
17. those gods Nabopolassar let return to the city of Susa.

Rev.

18. *šattu I-KĀM* (m.d) *nabū-apal-ušur* (araḥ) *nisanni ūmu XVII-KĀM* *ḥat-ti ana āli imqut(ut)*
19. (d) *šamaš u ilāni* (ME) *šá (āl)šá-pa-az-zu a-na bābīli* (KI) *it-tal-ku-ni*
20. (araḥ) *aiaru ūmu XXI-KĀM* *ummān* (ME) (māt) *aš-šur a-na (āl) sal-[lat i-te]-ru-bu makkūra ušēšū* (ME)
21. *ūmu XX-KĀM* *ilāni* (ME) *šá sippar* (KI) *ana bābīli* (KI) *it-tal-[ku-nim-ma]*
22. (araḥ) *abi ūmu IX-KĀM* (m.d) *nabū-apal-ušur u ummān* (ME) -šú *ana (āl) sal-lat [ittalkū-nim]-ma*
23. *šal-tú ana (āl) sal-lat ēpuš-ma āla ūl iṣ-bat ummān* (ME) (māt) *aš-šur ik-šu-du-nim-ma*
24. *ina maḥār-šú-nu ittabalkit-ma ana arki-šú iḥḥis(is)*

-
25. [*šattu II-KĀ*] *M* (m.d) *nabū-apal-ušur rēš* (araḥ) *ululi ummān* (MEŠ) (māt) *aš-šur*
26. [*ana (māt) akkadi* (KI)] *ú-ri-du-nim-ma ina muḥḥi (nār.d) ba-ni-tu iddū* (ME)
27. [*šal-tú ana libbi* (m.d) *nabū-apal-ušur ēpušū* (MEŠ) -ma *mimma ul il-qu-u*
28. [*ummān (māt) aš-šur karas-su iṣ-šū-ma* ana arki-šú-nu iḥ-ḥi-su

-
29. [*šattu III-KĀM* (araḥ) . . . ūm] *u VIII dēr* (KI) *itti (māt) aš-šur it-te-kir* (araḥ) *tašriti ūmu XV*
30. [. ~~MI~~] . *BI šār* (māt) *aš-šur u ummān* (ME) -šú *ana (māt) akkadi* (KI) *ur-dam-ma*
31. [.] -ma *ana nip̄pur* (KI) *ul-te-rib arki-šú i-ti-il?*
32. [*šal-tú . . . iṣ?*] -me-e-ma (amēl) *šu-lu-tu ana nip̄puri* (KI) *ul-te-li*
33. [.] *e-bir nāri iṣ-qa-am-ma ina muḥḥi*
34. [.] -nu *iḥ-te-pi u ana muḥḥi ninua* (KI) *pāni-šú iṣ-ta-kan*

Lower

edge

35. [.] *šá ana šal-tú ana pa-ni-šú ittalku(ku)*
36. [. *ki*] -i *i-mur-uš ana pa-ni-šú in-da-q-tu*
37. [.] *ŠEŠ*

Left

edge

38. *šarru ḥammū(u)* [. . . .]

Rev.

18. The first year of Nabopolassar, on the seventeenth day of Nisan panic fell on the city
19. Shamash and the gods of Šapazzu came to Babylon.
20. In the month of Iyyar, the twenty-first day, the Assyrian army entered the city of Sallat and removed property.
21. On the twentieth the gods of Sippar came to Babylon.
22. On the ninth of the month of Ab, Nabopolassar and his army came to the city of Sallat and
23. made an attack on the city of Sallat but did not capture the city. When the Assyrian army arrived
24. he withdrew before them and went back.

-
25. The second year of Nabopolassar, in the beginning of the month of Elul, the Assyrian army
26. came down to Akkad and camped on (the bank of) the Banitu-canal.
27. They made an attack on Nabopolassar but gained (lit. took) nothing.
28. [The Assyrian army struck camp?] and went back.
-

29. [The third year, month], eighth day, Dēr revolted from Assyria. In the month of Tisri, the fifteenth day,
30. [. in that y]ear the king of Assyria and his army came down to Akkad
31. and made to enter Nippur after . . . he went up (?)
32. heard? and set up a garrison in Nippur
33. went up against (the land) across the river and against
34. he destroyed and set his face towards Nineveh

*Lower**edge*

35. who came to battle against him
36. when they saw him they fell down before him
37. ?

*Left**edge*

38. a king, a usurper . . .

39. 1 ME ūmē(MEŠ) [. . .]
 40. [. . . .] ki-i [. . . .]
 41. [šarru] hammū II[? . . .]

B.M. 21901 (96-4-9,6)

Obv.

1. šattu X-KĀM (m.d.) nabū-apal-ušur ina (ara[h]a)iari umman (māt)akkadi(KI)
 id-ki-e-ma kišad^o(nār)puratti illik-ma
2. (māt)su-ḥa-a-a (māt)ḥi-in-da-na-a-a šal-tú ana libbi-šú ūl epušu(šu) man-da-
 at-ta-šú-nu a-na pāni-šú iš-ku-nu
3. (araḥ)abi umman (māt)aš-šur ina (āl)qab-li-ni^{il-qab-li-ni} iq-bi-ú-ma (m.d.)nabū-apal-ušur
 ana muḥ-ḥi-šú-nu iš-qi-ma
4. (araḥ)abi ūmu XII-KĀM šal-tú ana libbi umman (māt)aš-šur epuš-ma umman
 (māt)aš-šur ina pāni-šú ittabalkitu(ME)-ma tapdi (māt)aš-šur ma-a-diš
 iššakan(an).
5. ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš iḥ-tab-tú (māt)man-na-a-a šá ana ri-šu-ti-šú-nu
 illikuni(ME-ni) u (amēl)rabūti(ME) šá (māt)aš-šur
6. uš-ṣab-bi-tu ina u₁-mu šá-a-šú (āl)qab-li-ni iṣ-ṣa-bat ina (araḥ)abi-ma šār
 akkadi(KI) ummani(ni.MEŠ)-šú
7. ana (āl)ma-ni-e (āl)sa-ḥi-ri u (āl)ba-li-ḥu iš-[q]i-[m]a ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu iḥ-
 tab-tu-nu
8. šil-lat-su-nu ma-at-tú iš-tal-lu-nu ilāni(ME)-šú-nu i-tab-ku-nu ina (araḥ)ululi
 šār akkadi(KI) u umman(ME)-šú
9. ana arki-šú itur-am-ma ina ḥarran-šú (āl)ḥi-in-da-nu u ilāni(ME)-šú ana
 babili(KI) il-te-qa-a
10. ina (araḥ)tašriti ummani(ni) (māt)mi-šir u ummani(ni) (māt)aš-šur arki šār
 akkadi(KI) adi (āl)[q]ab-li-ni illiku(ME)-nim-ma
11. šār akkadi(KI) la ik-šu-du a-na arki-šú-nu iḥ-ḥi-su ina (araḥ)addari umman
 (māt)aš-šur u umman (māt)akkadi(KI)
12. i-na (āl)ba-da-nu šá (āl)a-ṣap-ḥu šal-tú ana libbi a-ḥa-meš epušu(ME)-ma
 umman (māt)aš-šur
13. ina pān umman (māt)akkadi(KI) ittabalkutu(ME)-ma tapda-šú-nu ma-a-diš
 iškunu(MEŠ) a-na (nār)za-ban it-ta-du-šú-nu-tú
14. na[rkabāti(ME)-š]ú-nu u sisē(ME)-šú-nu uš-ṣab-bi-tu-[n]u ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu
 ma-a-diš iḥ-tab-tu-nu

4. BM 21901 (CCK no.2)16: ina libbi BAL.TIL.KI. Expect ~~ana~~ libbi.
=96-4-9,6.
5. BM 21901 (CCK no.2)22: Are there any traces supporting [is-bur] ma a-na māti-sū
i-tur at the end of the line? ~~exm me~~ ~~SAG/KA?~~ ~~clearly an upright~~
6. BM 21901 (CCK no.2)25: [iṣ-ṣab]-tu One expects a singular. But it is not!
7. BM 21901 (CCK no.2)42: adi ^{iti}Abi 3(x) [. . . Can the sign here designated "x"
be the beginning of ITI? Inclusive reckoning would mean three months from Simanu
to Abu. Not uš! → ~~ta.šm~~!
8. BM 21901 (CCK no.2)43: ana libbi āli DÜ-šū. Verb should be singular. Can the
~~sign~~ read "šū" be "ma". No. Clearly ~~šū~~
9. BM 21901 (CCK no.2)46: la-pan [šarri] iṣ-hi-ṭam-ma Instead can one read
ina qāti-šū-n[u u]l iṣ-hi-ṭam-ma? No. la-lē!

39. for one hundred days . . .
 40. when . . .
 41. a king, a usurper . . .
-

B.M. 21901

Obv.

1. (In) the tenth year, in the month of Iyyar, Nabopolassar called out the Babylonian army and marched up the bank of the river Euphrates.
2. The men of Suḫu and Ḫindanu made no attack against him, their tribute they placed before him.
3. In the month of Ab they reported that the Assyrian army was in the city of Qablinu; so Nabopolassar went upstream against them and
4. on the 12th day of the month of Ab made an attack on the Assyrian army, the Assyrian army then broke off contact from him and he inflicted a great defeat on Assyria.
5. They took much spoil; the Mannaeans who had come to their aid and the chief men of Assyria
6. were captured. On that day the town of Qablinu was captured. In the same month of Ab the king of Akkad and his troops
7. went upstream against the towns of Mane, Saḫiru and Baliḫu, and took spoil from them,
8. and carried off many of them as prisoners, and led away their gods. In the month of Elul the king of Akkad and his army
9. turned back and in his march the (men of the) town of Ḫindanu and its gods he took to Babylon.
10. In the month of Tisri the Egyptian army and the Assyrian army marched after the king of Akkad as far as the town of Qablinu but
11. did not overtake the king of Akkad and then went back. In the month of Adar the Assyrian army and the Babylonian army
12. attacked each other in the town of Badanu which is in the territory of the city of Arraphu and the Assyrian army
13. broke off contact from the Babylonian army which defeated them heavily and threw them (back) to the river Zab.
14. Their chariots and horses were captured and they took much spoil from them.

15. [.]-šú ma-du-tu itti-šú-nu (nār)ì-dīq-lat ú-še-bi-ru-nim-ma ana babili(KI) ulteribu(ME)-ni

16. [šattu XI-KĀM šār] akkadi(KI) umman(MEŠ)-šú id-ki-e-ma kišād (nār)idiqlat illik-ma ina (arah)aiari ina libbi aššur(KI) iddi(di)

17. [ina ūmi . . K]ĀM šá (arah)simani šal-tú ana libbi āli epuš-ma āla ūl iṣ-bat šār (māt)aš-šur umman(ME)-šú id-kām-ma

18. šār akkadi(KI) ultu aš-šur(KI) si-kip-ma adi (āl)tak-ri-i-ta-in [(māt)]-[aš]-šur
 kišād ì-dīq-lat arki-šú illik(ik)[. .]

19. šār akkadi(KI) umman(me)-šú [ana] bir-tú šá (āl)tak-ri-i-ta-in ul-te-li [šār?] (māt)aš-šur u ummani[(ni)]-[šú][. .]

20. ina muḥḥi ummani(ni) šār akkadi(KI) šá [ana] [(āl)tak]-ri-i-ta-i[n š]u-lu-ú id-di-ma

21. X ūme(me) šal-tú ana lib-bi-šú-nu epuš(uš)-ma āla [ul] iṣ-bat ummani(ni) šār akkadi(KI) šá ana bir-tú šu-lu-ú

22. tapdi (māt)aš-šur ma-a-diš iltakan(an) šār (māt)aš-šur u umman(ME)-[šú . .
] . -ma a-na māti-šú i-tur

23. ina (arah)arahsamni (māt)ma-da-a-a ana (māt)a-raḥ-ḥu¹ ur-dam-[ma] [.]

24. [šattu] XII-KĀM ina (arah)abi (māt)ma-da-a-a ana muḥḥi ninua(KI) ki-i
 [.]

25. [. -m]a i-ḥi-šam-ma (āl)tar-bi-šu ālu šá pi-ḥat ninua(KI)
 i[s-s]ab-tu [.]

26. [kišād (nār)ì-d]iq-lat irdi-ma ina muḥḥi aššur(KI) it-ta-di šal-tú ana libbi
 āli [epuš-ma] [.]

27. [.] it-ta-qar tapdi nišē(ME) rabūti(ME) lim-niš iltakan(an)
 ḥu-bu-ut-su iḥ-ta-bat šil-[lat-su iṣ-ta-lal]

28. [. . šār ak]kadi(KI) u umman(ME)-šú šá ana ri-šu-ut (māt)ma-da-a-a
 illiku(ku) šal-tú ūl ikšudu(du) āl[u ki-i iṣṣabtu?]

¹ Written ri.

15. Many of his (prisoners) they made to cross the river Tigris with them and (so) they brought them into Babylon.

16. [In the eleventh year the king of] Akkad called out his troops and marched up the bank of the river Tigris, and in the month of Iyyar encamped against Aššur.
17. On the [. . . th] day of the month of Sivan he made an attack upon the city but did not capture it. The Assyrian king called out his troops and
18. the king of Akkad moved away from Aššur and withdrew as far as the town of Takrit (in) Assyria, on the bank of the Tigris.
19. The king of Akkad sent his troops up into the citadel of the town of Takrit. The Assyrian king and his army
20. encamped against the army of the king of Akkad which was stationed in the town of Takrit and
21. for ten days he made an attack upon them but did not capture the city. The army of the king of Akkad which was stationed in the citadel
22. inflicted a heavily defeat on Assyria. The Assyrian king and his army [withdrew] and returned to his land.
23. In the month of Marcheswan the Mede came down upon the territory of Arraphu and

24. In the twelfth year in the month of Ab when the Mede against Nineveh.
25. and he hastened but they captured the town of Tarbišu, a city in the province of Nineveh
26. he pursued [down the bank of the river] Tigris and encamped against Aššur. He made an attack upon the town and
27. [the city-wall?] he destroyed. He inflicted a terrible massacre upon the greater part of the people, plundering it (the city) and carrying off [prisoners from it].
28. [The king of Ak]kad and his troops, who had come to the help of the Medes, did not reach the (scene of) the attack (until) the city [was (already) taken].

29. [šārakkad]i(KI)u(m)ú-[ma-ki]-š-tar inamuhḫi āli a-ḫa-meš itamru(MEŠ) ṭub-túu
su-lum-mu-u itti a-ḫa-meš iškunu(MEŠ)
30. [. . . (m)u-ma-ki?-i]š-tar u umman(ME)-šú ana māti-šú it-tur šār akkadi(KI) u
umman(ME)-šú ana māti-šú ituru(ru)
-
31. [šattu XIII-KÁM ina (araḫ)aia]ri(māt)su-ḫa-a-a šārakkadi(KI)ibbalkitu(ME)-
^(SAL.KUR)
ma nukurtu i-te-ép-šú
32. [šār akkadi(KI) um]man(MEŠ)-šú id-ki-e-ma ana (māl)su-ú-ḫu il-lik ina
(araḫ)simani ūmu IV-KÁM
33. [šal-tú ana libbi (ā)l]ra-ḫi-i-lu āli šá qabli-tú pu-rat-tú epuš-ma ina ūmi-šú-ma
āla iṣ-ša-bat
34. [.]-šú ib-ni abna šá ~~kišād~~ (nār)pu-rat-tú a-na pāni-šú ~~it-tar~~-du-ni
35. [. ana muhḫi] (āl)a-na-ti it-ta-di ṣa-pi-tú [TA? bal]-ri erib
šamši
36. [.]-kir ṣa-pi-tú ana dūri uq-tar-rib šal-tú ana
libbi [āli] epuš-ma āl[a ūl iṣbat?]
37. [. šār (māt)]aš-šur u umman(ME)-šú ur-dam-ma šār akkadi(KI) u
umman(me)-šú is-[ki-p? . . .]-ma ana māti-šú itur
-

Rev.

38. [šattu XIV-KÁM] šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-[e-ma ana(māt) . . .
illik(i)k?] šār umman-man-da ana tar-ši šār akk[adi(KI)]
39. [.]-ú a-ḫa-meš i-ta-am-ru
40. [š]ār akkadi(KI) (m)ú-m]a-kiš-tar u[.]-a-ni
ú-še-bir-ma
41. ^{ab}[~~ki~~šād (nār) i-dīq-lat illiku(ME)-ma [. i]na muhḫi ninu[a(KI)
. ittadu(?)](MEŠ)
42. ultu (araḫ)simani adi (araḫ)abi III US[.]-ú
43. šal-tú dan-na-tú ana libbi āli epušu(šú)(araḫ)abi [ūmu . . . -KÁM āla iṣšabat
. tapdi nišē(ME)] rabūte(ME) ma-a-diš iltakan(an)

29. [The king of Ak]kad and Ky[axar]es met one another by the city. They established (an alliance) of mutual friendship and peace (i.e. were reconciled).
30. [Kyaxar]es and his army returned to his land; the king of Akkad and his army returned to his land.
-
31. [In the thirteenth year in the month of Iyy]ar the men of Suḫu revolted [against] the king of Akkad and committed hostilities.
32. [The king of Akkad] called out his army and marched to Suḫu. In the month of Sivan, the fourth day,
33. he made [an attack against] Raḫilu, a town which is (situated on an island) in the middle of the Euphrates, and the city was captured on that same day.
34. its he built; stone from the Euphrates river-bank they piled up in front of it-
35. he encamped [against] the town of 'Āna; siege-towers from the west
36. siege-towers he brought close to the wall and made an attack on the city but did not capture it
37. [. . . the Assyrian] king and his army came down (whereupon) the king of Akkad and his army moved away and returned to his land.
-

Rev.

38. [In the fourteenth year] the king of Akkad called out his army [and marched to] the king of the Umman-manda with the king of Akkad
39. they met each other
40. The king of Akkad [Kyaxa]res he made to cross and
41. they marched along the bank of the river Tigris and against Nineveh they encamped?
42. From the month of Sivan to the month of Ab three UŠ-[measures they advanced ?]
43. A strong attack they made against the city, and in the month of Ab, [the . . . th day the city was captured] a great defeat of the chief [people] was made.

44. *ina u₄-mi-šu-ma (m.d) Sin-šār-iškun(un) šār (māt) aš-š[ur]*
 45. *šil-lat āli u ekurri kabittu(tú) iš-tal-lu ā₁la ana₁ tili u ka[r-me utirru]*
 46. *šá (māt) aš-šur(la-pan šarri)/iš-ši-tam-ma e[muq?] šār akkadi(KI) [.]*
.] J. Abutu Chronicle 12
 47. *(arāḥ)ululi ūmu XX-KĀM (m) ú-ma-kiš-tar u umman(ME)-šú ana māti-šú it-tur arki-šú šār akka[di(KI)]*
umman-šú i-šur-ma
 48. *a-di (āl)na-ši-bi-ni il-li-ku ḥu-ub-ti u ga-lu-tu ka-[.]*
 49. *u (māt)ru-ša-pu ana pa-ni šār akkadi(KI) ana ninua(KI) ú-bil-lu-ni ina (ar[ah] (m.d) aš-šur-uballit]*
 50. *ina (āl)ḥar-ra-nu ana šarru-ut (māt)aš-šur ina kussi ittašab(ab) adi (arāḥ) [.]*
 51. *ina ninua(KI) u]ltu ūmu XX-KĀM šá (arāḥ) [. . .] šār [akkadi(KI)]*
ar-ki-šú
 52. *is-suḥ-ma ina (āl) [.]*

53. *šattu XV-KĀM ina (arāḥ)du'[u₂zi šá]r akkadi(KI) [umman(Me)-šú id-ki-e-ma]*
 54. *ana (māt)aš-šur illik[-ma ultu (arāḥ) . . .] šal-ṭa-niš [ittallak (M)EŠ] šá (māt)ḥa-[za?-z]u? ḥa-an-[tiš]*
 55. *u(māt)š[u]-a ik-šu-ud ḥu-b[u-ut-su-nu] iḥ-tab-tu šil-lat-su-nu u[l?]*
 56. *ina (ara[ḥ]arāḥsa)mna šār akkadi(KI) pa-ni umman(ME)-šú i[s-bat-ma ina] muḥḥi (āl)ru-ug-gu-l[i-ti illik-ma]*
 57. *šal-tú ana libbi āli epuš-ma (arāḥ)arāḥsamna ūmu XXVIII āla iṣbat [. . . .] e-du amēlu ul [e-zib] [šār akkadi(KI) ana māti-š]ú itura(ra)*

58. *šattu XVI-KĀM ina (arāḥ)aiari šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-e-ma ana (māt)aš-šur illik(ik) ult[u (arāḥ)simani?] adi (arāḥ) arāḥsamna*
 59. *ina (māt)aš-šur šal-ṭa-niš ittallaku(ME) ina (arāḥ)arāḥsamna (māt)umman-man-da [šá? ana ri-š]u-ut šār akkadi(KI) illiku(ME)-nim-ma*

44. On that day Sin-šar-iškun, the Assyrian king
 45. The great spoil of the city and temple they carried off and [turned] the
city into a ruin-mound and heaps of debri[s]
 46. of Assyria moved off before [the defeat ?] and the forces(?) of the king
of Akkad
 47. In the month of Elul, the twentieth day, Kyaxares and his army returned
to his land; the king of Akkad [and his army]
 48. marched as far as Nisibin. Booty and slaves(?)
 49. and of the land of Rušapu they brought to the presence of the king of
Akkad to Nineveh. In the month [of Aššur-uballiṭ]
 50. in the city of Harran sat on the throne as king of Assyria. Until the
month of [. the king of Akkad stayed]
 51. In Nineveh; from the twentieth day of the month [of Elul?] the
king of Akkad
 52. he removed and from the city [of returned to his own land ?]
-
53. In the fifteenth year, the month of Tammuz, the king of Akkad
called out his army and . . .
 54. marched to Assyria where [from the month of . . he marched about]
victoriously of the land of Ḫazazu? quickly
 55. and the land of Šu[ppa] he conquered, plundering from them and
[taking] spoil [and prisoners] from them.
 56. In the month of Marcheswan the king of Akkad took personal command of
his army and [marched] against the town of Ruggul[iti] and . . .
 57. made an attack on the town, capturing it on the twenty-eighth day of the
month of Marcheswan, not a man escaped. [The king of Akkad]
returned [to his land].
-
58. In the sixteenth year, in the month of Iyyar, the king of Akkad called out
his army and marched to Assyria. From [the month of Sivan?] to
the month of Marcheswan
 59. they marched about victoriously in Assyria. In the month of Marcheswan
the Umman-manda [who had come to the help of the king of
Akkad and

60. umman(ME)-šú-nu ana libbi a-ḥa-meš is-mu-ḥu-ma ana (āl) ḥar-ra-nu [ana arki]
(m.d) aššur-[uballit] (it) šá ina⁴ (māt) aš-šur ina kussi ú-ši-bi
61. illiku(ME)-ma (m.d) aššur-ú-bal-liṭ u ummani(ni) (māt) mi-[sir] šá [ana
ri-šu-ti-šú] illikū(ME)-ni
62. ḥat-tú (amēl) nakri im-gut-su-nu-ti-ma āla ú-maš-[še-ru-ma]
(nār) purati? i-bi-ru
63. šār akkadi(KI) a-na (āl) ḥar-ra-ni ik-šu-dam-ma [. ā] la
iṣ-ša-bat
64. šil-lat āli u ekurri kabittu(tú) iṣ-ta-lal ina (araḥ) addari šār akkadi(KI) [. .
.]-šú-nu ú-maš-šer-ma
65. šu-ú ana māti-šú itura(ra) u umman-man-da šá ana ri-šu-ut šār akkadi(KI)
il[lik^u ana māti-šú-nu it] te-eḥ-su
-
66. ^{AM 17} ina (araḥ) du'uzi (m.d) aš-šur-uballit(it) šār (māt) aš-šur umman (māt) mi-šir
ma-at-tú [.]
67. nāra ebir-ma ana muḥḥi (āl) ḥar-ra-nu ana ka-šá-[di] illik [. i] s-
šab?-tu
68. šu-lu-tu šá šār akkadi(KI) ana lib-bi ú-še-lu-ú id-du-[-š] u [-i]-du?-ku? ina
muḥḥi (āl) ḥar-ra-nu it-ta-[dē]
69. adi (araḥ) ululi šal-tú ana libbi āli epuš(uš) mimma ul il[-qi-ma ana arki-šú]
ul iḥḥisu(su)
70. šār akkadi(KI) ana ri-šu-ut umman(ME)-šú illik-ma [šal-tú] [ul epuš] ana (māt)]
i-za-al-la i-li-ma
71. ālāni(ME) šá šadāni(ME) ma-a-du-[tú] [.]-šú-nu
ina išāti iṣ-ru-up
72. ina u₄-mi-šú-ma umman(ME) [.] adi pi-ḥat
(āl) ú-ra-aš-tu
73. [illik-ma] ina māti ad[i(?) (araḥ) ālāni](ME)-šú-nu iḥ-tab-tu
74. [šu]-lu-tu šá šār [akkadi(KI) ina libbi-šú ú-še-lu]-ḥu-nim-ma
(erasure)
75. ana (āl) [.] i-lu-ú[.] šār akkadi(KI) ana māti-šú itura(ra)
-
76. ina šat[ti XVIII-KÁM ina (araḥ) ul] uli šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-e-ma

60. united their armies and to the city of Harran [after] Aššur-[uballit] who had sat upon the throne in Assyria
 61. they marched. As for Aššur-uballit and the army of Eg[ypt(?)] which had come [to his help,]
 62. fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city and
. crossed [the river Euphrates]
 63. The king of Akkad reached Harran the city was captured
 64. they carried off much spoil from the city and temple. In the month of Adar, the king of Akkad . . . their he left behind and
 65. he himself returned to his land and the Umman-manda who had come to the help of the king of Akkad withdr[ew to their country.]
-

66. In the month of Tammuz Aššur-uballit, king of Assyria, a great Egyptian army
 67. crossed the river marched against the city of Harran to conquer it
 68. The garrison which the king of Akkad had stationed in it they . . slew and he encamped against the city of Harran,
 69. until the month of Elul he made an attack upon the city and took nothing but did not withdraw.
 70. The king of Akkad came to the help of his troops [but made no] attack and went up [to the land of] Izalla and
 71. many of the cities in the mountains [he captured] their he burnt with fire.
 72. At that time the army as far as the district of Urartu
 73. [marched and stayed] in the land until [the month of . .] plundered their [cities(?)]
 74. The garrison which the ki[ng of Akkad had set up within it] they and
 75. to the city of . . . they went up the king of Akkad returned to his land.
-

76. (Catch-line). In the [eighteenth] year [in the month of Elul] the king of Akkad called out his army.

77. ? (erased or uninscribed ?)

Left edge

78. [šá (d)na]bū u (d)marduk i-ra-a[m-mu] li-iš-šu-ur ana qatā(II) ūl ušēšši

B.M. 22047

Obv.

1. šattu XVIII-KĀM (d)nabū-apal-ušur ina (araḥ)ululišār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-e-ma
2. kišād (nār)idiqlat irtedi-ma ana šadi(i) šá bīt-(m)ḥa-nu-ni-ia
3. pi-ḥat (māt)ú-ra-áš-tu i-li-ma ālāni(ME) ina išāti iš-ru-up
4. ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-diš iḥ-tab-ta ina (araḥ)ṭebiti šār akkadi(KI) ana māti-šú itura(ra)

5. šattu XIX-KĀM ina (araḥ)simani šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-e-ma
6. (m.d)nabū-kudur-ú-šu-ur mār-šú rabū(ú) mār šarri šá bīt ri-e-du-tú
7. umman(ME)-šú id-ki-e-ma a-na šadē(MEŠ) šá (māt)za-[.] illiku(ku)-ma
8. šār akkadi(KI) mār šarri u umman(ME)-šú ina māti ú-maš-ši[r u šu-ú] ina (araḥ)du'uzi? ana babili(KI) itura(ra)
9. arki-šú (m.d)nabū-kudur-ušur a-na (āl)[.-t]ú? šá šadē(ME) šal-tú epuš-ma
10. (āl)bi-ra-na-a-tú iṣ-bat ina [išāti iš-ru-u]p ḥu-bu-ut šadi(i)
11. ma-a-diš iḥ-[tab]-ta adi pi-ḥat (māt[t] gi-m]ir šadē(ME) ik-šu-ud
12. [ina(ara)ḥ]ululi mār šarri ana babili(KI) itur-am-ma ina (araḥ)tašriti šār akkadi(KI) umman-šú id-ki-ma
13. [ana (āl)]ki-mu-ḥu šá kišād (nār)puratti il-lik
14. [nā]ra i-bir-ma [šal]-tú ana libbi āli epuš-ma ina (araḥ)kislimi āla iṣ-ša-bat

Rev.

15. [šal-lat-s]u iṣ-ta-lal (amēl)šu-lu-ti-šú ana libbi ul-te-li ina (araḥ)šabaṭi ana māti-šú itura

77. (possibly uninscribed).
78. (left edge). ' Let him that loveth [Nab]ū and Marduk preserve this and not let it leave his hands '.
-

B.M. 22047

Obv.

1. In the eighteenth year of Nabopolassar, in the month of Elul, the king of Akkad mustered his army
 2. and following the bank of the river Tigris went up to the mountainous terrain of Bit-Ḫanunia
 3. which is a district of Urartu; he burned the cities with fire
 4. and took booty in great quantity. In the month of Tebet the king of Akkad returned to his own land.
-

5. In the nineteenth year, in the month of Sivan, the king of Akkad mustered his army
6. and Nebuchadrezzar, his eldest son, the crown-prince
7. mustered his army and went to the mountains of Za
8. The king of Akkad left the prince and his army in the land while in the month of Tammuz? he himself returned to Babylon.
9. After him (i.e. his departure) Nebuchadrezzar made an assault on the (fortified?) cities of the mountains and
10. seized the fortified cities, set them on fire, took much
11. spoil from the mountain-terrain; as far as he conquered all the mountain-areas.
12. In the month of Elul the prince returned to Babylon and in the month of Tisri the king of Akkad mustered his army
13. and went to Kimuḫu which is on the bank of the River Euphrates.
14. He crossed the river and did battle against the city, and seized the city in the month of Kislev.

Rev.

15. He carried off (prisoners) from it and set within (it) his garrison troops; in the month of Sebat he returned to his own land.
-

16. šattu XX-KĀM ummani(ni) (māt)mi-šir ana (āl)ki-mu-ḥu ana muḥḥi šu-lu-tú
17. šá šār akkadi(KI) a-na lib-bi ú-še-lu-ú illiku(ME)-nim-ma IV arḥē(ME)
18. šal-tú ana libbi āli epušu(ME)-ma āla iṣ-ṣab-tú šu-lu-tú šá šār akkadi(KI)
id-du-ku
19. ina (araḥ)tašriti šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-e-ma ~~kišād~~ pu-rat-tú
illik-ma
20. ina (āl)qu-ra-ma-ti šá ~~kišād~~ pu-rat-tú karas-su id-di
21. umman(ME)-šú pu-rat-tú ú-še-bir-ma (āl)šu-na-di-ri (āl)e-lam-mu
22. u (āl)da-ḥa-am-mu ālāni(ME) šá (māt)e-bir nāri iṣ-ṣab-tu
23. ḥu-bu-ut-su-nu iḥtabtu(ME)-ni ina (araḥ)šabaṭi šār akkadi(KI) ana māti-šú
itura(ra)
24. umman (māt)mi-šir šá ina (āl)gal-ga-meš pu-rat-tú i-bi-ru-nim-ma
25. ana muḥḥi umman (māt)akkadi(KI) šá ina (āl)qu-ra-ma-ti na-du-u
26. illiku(ME)-nim-ma umman (māt)akkadi(KI) is-ki-ḫu u ana arki-šú-nu i-tu-ru

-
27. šattu XXI-KĀM šār akkadi(KI) ina māti-šú (m.d)nabū-kudurri-ušur mār-šú
rabū(ú)
28. mār šarri šá bit ridu-ú-tu umman (māt)akkadi(KI) id-ki-e-ma
-

B.M. 21946 (96-4-9,51)

Obv.

1. [šattu XXI-KĀ]M šār akkadi(KI) ina māti-šú (m.d)nabū-kudurri-ušur mār-šú
rabū(ú) [mār] šarri šá bit ri-e-du-tú
2. [umman (māt)akkadi(KI) i]d-ki-e-ma pa-ni umman(ME)-šú iṣ-bat-ma ana
(āl)gal-[ga]-meš šá ~~kišād~~ pu-rat-tú illik-ma
3. [ana muḥḥi umman] (māt)mi-ši]r šá ina (āl)gal-ga-meš na-du-ú nāra i-bir-ma
4. [a]-ḥa-meš im-ḥa-ṣu-ma umman (māt)mi-šir ina pa-ni-
šú ittabalkit-ma
5. [ŠI.ŠI]-šú-nu iṣ-kun adi la ba-še-e[. . .]-šú-nu-tú šit-ta-a-tú umman (māt)
[mi-šir]

16. In the twentieth year the army of Egypt came to the city of Kimuḫu against the garrison
 17. which the king of Akkad had set up within (it) and for four months
 18. they did battle against the city and then captured the city. They slew the garrison of (set there by) the king of Akkad.
 19. In the month of Tisri the king of Akkad mustered his army, marched along the bank of the Euphrates
 20. and pitched his camp at Quramati which is on the bank of the Euphrates.
 21. He sent his troops across the Euphrates and they seized the towns of Šunadiri, Elammu
 22. and Daḫammu which are in the country across the river.
 23. Spoil from them they took. In the month of Sebat, the king of Akkad returned to his own country.
 24. The Egyptian army which had crossed the Euphrates at Carchemish
 25. came against the Babylonian army which was stationed in Quramati
 26. but ~~the Babylonian army withdrew quickly and retreated.~~
they overthrew the Babylonian army & returned,
-
27. In the twenty-first year the king of Akkad (stayed) in his own land. Nebuchadrezzar his eldest son,
 28. the crown prince, mustered the Babylonian army and . . .
-

B.M. 21946

Obv.

1. In the twenty-first year the king of Akkad stayed in his own land, Nebuchadrezzar his eldest son, the crown-prince,
2. mustered (the Babylonian army) and took command of his troops; he marched to Carchemish which is on the bank of the Euphrates,
3. and crossed the river (to go) against the Egyptian army which lay in Carchemish,
4. fought with each other and the Egyptian army withdrew before him.
5. He accomplished their defeat and to non-existence [beat?] them. As for the rest of the Egyptian army

6. [. . . šá ina] tapdi iš-ḫi-ṭu-ma (iš)kakku la ik-šu-du-šú-nu-tú ina pi-ḫat
(māt) ḫa-ma-a-t[ú]
7. umman(ME) (māt)akkadi(KI) ik-šu-du-šu-nu-ti-m[a ŠI.]ŠI-šú-nu iš-ku-nu e-du
amēlu ana māti-šú [ul itur]
8. ina u₄-mi-šu-ma (m.d)nabū-kudurri-ušur (māt)ḫa^[m. d. a][-at]-tú a-na paṭ gim-ri-šú
ik-šu-u[d]
9. XXI MU.AN.NA.MEŠ (m.d)nabū-apal-[uṣ]ur šarru-ut babili(KI) epuš(uš)
10. ina (araḥ)abi ūmu VIII-KĀM šimāti(MEŠ) ina (araḥ)ululi (m.d)nabū-
kudurri-ušur ana babili(KI) itur-am-ma
11. ina (araḥ)ululi ūmu I-KĀM ina babili(KI) ina kussi šarru-ú-tu u-ši-ib

12. ina MU.SAG (m.d)nabū-kudurri-ú-šu-ur ana (māt)ḫat-tú ana arki-šú itur-ma
adi (araḥ)šabaṭi ina (māt)ḫat-ti
13. šal-ṭa-niš ittallak(ME) ina (araḥ)šabaṭi bilat (māt)ḫat-tú kabittu(tú) ana
babili(KI) il-qa-a
14. ina (araḥ)nisanni qatā(II) (d)bēl u mār (d)bēl iš-bat isinnu a-ki-tú i-pu-uš

15. šattu I-KĀM (m.d)nabū-kudurri-ú-šu-ur ina (araḥ)simani ummani(ni.MEŠ)-šú
id-ki-e-ma
16. a-na (māt)ḫat-tú illik-ma adi (araḥ)kislimi ina (māt)ḫat-ti šal-ṭa-niš ittallak(ME)
17. šarrāni(MEŠ) šá (māt)ḫat-tú ka-li-šú-nu a-na pani-šú illiku(ME)-nim-ma
bi-lat-su-nu kabittu(tù) im-ḥur
18. a-na (āl)iš?-qi¹-il-lu-nu illik-ma ina (araḥ)kislimi [erasure?] iš-ša-bat-su
19. šarra-šú ik-ta-šad ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-tab-ta šil-lat-sa [iš-ta-lal]
20. āla ana tili u kar-me ut-tir ina (araḥ)šabaṭi illik-ma ana bab[li(KI) itur(ra)]

¹ Over erasure see note, p. 85.

6. which had escaped from the defeat (so quickly that) no weapon had reached them, in the district of Hamath
 7. the Babylonian troops overtook and defeated them so that not a single man [escaped] to his own country.
 8. At that time Nebuchadrezzar conquered the whole area of the Ḫatti-country.
 9. For twenty-one years Nabopolassar had been king of Babylon.
 10. On the 8th of the month of Ab he died (lit. 'the fates'); in the month of Elul Nebuchadrezzar returned to Babylon
 11. and on the first day of the month of Elul he sat on the royal throne in Babylon.
-

12. In the 'accession year' Nebuchadrezzar went back again to the Ḫatti-land and until the month of Sebat
 13. marched unopposed through the Ḫatti-land; in the month of Sebat he took the heavy tribute of the Ḫatti-territory to Babylon.
 14. In the month of Nisan he took the hands of Bel and the son of Bel and celebrated the *akitu* (New Year) festival.
-

15. In the first year of Nebuchadrezzar in the month of Sivan he mustered his army
 16. and went to the Ḫatti-territory, he marched about unopposed in the Ḫatti-territory until the month of Kislev.
 17. All the kings of the Ḫatti-land came before him and he received their heavy tribute.
 18. He marched to the city of Askelon and captured it in the month of Kislev.
 19. He captured its king and plundered it and carried off [spoil from it]
 20. He turned the city into a mound and heaps of ruins and then in the month of Sebat he marched back to Babylon.
-

21. [šattu] *II-KĀM* (arāḥ)aiari šār akkadi(*KI*) umman-šú kabittu(tú) ik-šur-ma
[ana (māt)ḥat-tú illik]
22. [.] id-di ša-pa-a-ti rabāti(*MEŠ*) uš-bal-[kit?]
.]
23. [. ultu (arāḥ)]aiari adi (ar[aḥ] . . ina (māt)ḥat-tú šal-ṭa-niš
ittallak(*ME*)]

about 4 lines missing

Upper lines missing

Rev.

1. [. ú-maš]-šir-ma e[?]
2. [ina (arāḥ) . . ūmu] *XIII-KĀM* (m.d)nabū-šuma-liši[r]
.]
3. [ina (arāḥ) . . šār akka]di(*KI*) umman(*ME*)-šú id-ki-e-ma a-na (māt)ḥat-tú
[illik(ik)]
4. [.]ma-a-du-tú šá (māt)ḥat-tú ana (māt)akkadi(*KI*) ul-te-
ri-[ib]

5. [š]attu *IV-KĀM* šār akkadi(*KI*) umman(*ME*)-šú id-ki-e-ma ana (māt)ḥat-tú
illik(ik) ina (māt)ḥat-tú šal-ṭ[a-niš ittallak(*ME*)]
6. ina (arāḥ)kislimi pa-ni umman(*ME*)-šú iṣ-bat-ma ana (māt)mi-šir illik(ik)
šār (māt)mi-šir iṣ-me-e-ma umman(*ME*)-šú id-ki-e¹-[ma]
7. ina taḥaz šēri irti a-ḥa-meš im-ḥa-šu-ma tapdi a-ḥa-meš ma-a-diš iškunu(*MEŠ*)
šār akkadi(*KI*) u umman(*ME*)-šú itur-am-ma a-na babili(*KI*) [itura]

8. šattu *V-KĀM* šār akkadi(*KI*) ina māti-šú (iṣ)narkabāti(*MEŠ*) u sisē-šú
ma-a-du-tú ik-ta-šar

9. šattu *VI-KĀM* (arāḥ)kislimi šār akkadi(*KI*) umman(*ME*)-šú id-ki-ma ana
(māt)ḥat-tú illik(ik) ultu (māt)ḥat-tú ummani(ni.*ME*)-šú iṣ-pur-ma

10. mad-ba-ri irtedu-ma (amēl)¹ a-ra-bi ma-du-tu buši-šú-nu bu-li-šú-nu u ilāni(*ME*)-
šú-nu ma-diš iḥ-tab-tu-nu ina (arāḥ)addari šarru ana māti-šú itur

¹ Or *KUR* over erasure.

21. In the second [year] in the month of Iyyar the king of Akkad gathered together a powerful army and [marched to the land of Ḫatti].
22. [.] he threw down, great siege-towers he [.]
23. [.] from the month of Iyyar until the mon[th of . . . he marched about unopposed in the land of Hatti.

About 4 lines missing

Upper lines missing

Rev.

1. In the third year [. . . he l]eft and [.]
2. [in the month of on the] thirteenth day, Nabū-šuma-lišir

3. the king of Akkad mustered his troops and [marched] to the Ḫatti-land
4. and brought (back) much [spoil] from the Ḫatti-land into Akkad.

-
5. In the fourth year the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Ḫatti-land. In the Ḫatti-land they marched unopposed.
6. In the month of Kislev he took the lead of his army and marched to Egypt. The king of Egypt heard (it) and mustered his army.
7. In open battle they smote the breast (of) each other and inflicted great havoc on each other. The king of Akkad and his troops turned back and returned to Babylon.

-
8. In the fifth year the king of Akkad (stayed) in his own land and gathered together his chariots and horses in great numbers.

-
9. In the sixth year in the month of Kislev the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to the Ḫatti-land. From the Ḫatti-land he sent out his companies,
10. and scouring the desert they took much plunder from the Arabs, their possessions, animals and gods. In the month of Adar the king returned to his own land.
-

11. *šattu VII-KĀM (arah)kislimi šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-šú id-ki-ma a-na (māt)ḥat-tú illik-ma*
 12. *ina muḥḥi āl ia-a-ḥu-du iddi-ma ina (arah)addari ūmu II-KĀM āla iṣ-ša-bat šarra ik-ta-šad*
 13. *šarra šá libbi-šú ina lib-bi ip-te-qid bi-lat-sa kabittu(tú) il-[qa-am-m]a ana babilī(KI) ulterib(ib)*

14. *šattu VIII-[KĀM (ar)ah]tebeti šār akkadi(KI) a-na (māt)ḥat-tú adi (āl)gal-ga-meš [.]*
 15. *ul-tu?[.]-ma ina (arah)šabaṭi šarru ana māti-šú it[ur]*

16. *šattu IX-K[ĀM (arah) . . šār akka]di(KI) u umman(ME)-[šú kišād i-di-q-l[at illiku-ma]]*
 17. *šār (māt)e[lamti(KI)?? i]l-mu-ú [.]*
 18. *šār akkadi(KI) [.] -iṣ- [.]*
 19. *šá kišād i-di-q-lat karas-su id-di ma-lak ūmu I-KĀM ina bi-ri-šú-nu [.]*
 20. *[š]ār (māt)el[am]ti(KI) ip-làḥ-ma ḥat-tú imtaqut-su-ma ana māti-šú i-tu[r(ra)]*

21. *[šattu]X-KĀM [šār akk]adi(KI) ina māti-šú ultu (arah)kislimi adi (arah)tebeti bar-tú ina (māt)akkadi(KI)[.]*
 22. *[. um]man(ME)-šú ma-du-tú ina (iṣ)kakki id-duk a-a-bi-šú qāt(II)-su ikšud(ud)?*
 23. *[(arah) ana] (māt)ḥat-tú illik-ma šarrāni(ME) u amēl [.] -ut*
 24. *[ana pani-šú illiku](ME)-nim-ma bi-lat-su-nu kabittu(tú) [im-ḥur-ma ana babilī(KI)]itura(ra)*

11. In the seventh year, the month of Kislev, the king of Akkad mustered his troops, marched to the Hatti-land,
 12. and encamped against (i.e. besieged) the city of Judah and on the second day of the month of Adar he seized the city and captured the king.
 13. He appointed there a king of his own choice (lit. heart), received its heavy tribute and sent (them) to Babylon.

14. In the eighth year, the month of Tebet, the king of Akkad [marched] to the Hatti-land as far as Carchemish
 15. in the month of Sebat the king re[turned] to his own land.

16. In the nin[th year, the month of , the king of] Akkad and his troops [marched along] the bank of the Tigris [.]
 17. the king of El[am?]
 18. the king of Akkad[.]
 19. which is on the bank of the Tigris he pitched his camp. (While there was still) a distance of one day('s march) between them,
 20. the king of El[am] was afraid and, panic falling on him, he returned to his own land.

21. In the tenth year the king of Akkad (was) in his own land; from the month of Kislev to the month of Tebet there was rebellion in Akkad
 22. with arms he slew many of his own army. His own hand captured his enemy.
 23. [In the month of] he marched to the Hatti-land, where kings and [.]-officials
 24. [came before him] and he [received] their heavy tribute and then returned [to Babylon.]

25. [šattu] XI-KÁM ina (araḥ)kislimi šār akkadi(KI) umman(ME)-[šú id-ki-e-ma]
[a-na (māt)ḥ]at-tú illik(ik)

B.M. 25124

Obv.

1. šattu III-K[ÁM ina (araḥ) . . .] (m)ap-pu-ú-a-šú šarru šá (māt)pi-rin-d[u]
2. um-ma-ni-š[u ma-du-tú id]-kám-ma a-na ḥa-ba-tu₁ u šá-[la-lu]
3. [a-n]a e-bir nāri [pāni-sú iš]-ta-kan (m.d)nergal-šar-ušur
4. ummani(ni.MEŠ)-šú id-k[i-e-ma] ana (āl)ḥu-me-e ana muḥ-ḥi-šú il-li[k¹]
5. aš-šu-mi-šú (m)ap-p[u-]ú-a-šú (erasure)
6. ummani(ME) u kal-li-i šá sisē(ME) šá ik-šu-ru
7. ina na-aḥ-la šá šadē(MEŠ) a-na šu-šu-ba-a-tú ú-še-šib-ma
8. (m.d)nergal-šar-ušur ik-šu-ud-su-nu-ti-ma iš-kun tap-da-šú-[nu]
9. ummani(ni) ma-a-du-tú i²-duk ummani(ni)-šú u sisi-šú³
10. ma-a-du-tú uš-šab-bi-ta ar-ki (m)ap-pu-ú-a-šú
11. XV bēṛ qaq-qar šadu(ú) mar-šu šá amēlu ár-ki amēli il-la-ku
12. a-di (āl)ú-ra-'a āl šarru-ú-ti-šú ir-diḫ-ma
13. [. . .] ik-šu-ud-su (āl)ú-ra-'a iṣ-ša-bat šil-lat-su iš-ta-lal

14. (line erased)

Rev.

15. ul-tu (āl)ú-ra-'a a-di (āl)ki-ir-ši
16. āl šarru-ú-tú šá abbē(ME)-šú VI bēṛ qaq-qar šadu(ú) dan-nu
17. ni-ri-bi mar-šu ki-i il-li-ku
18. (āl)ki-ir-ši ālu dan-nu āl šarru-ú-ti-šú iṣ-ša-bat
19. dūr-šú ekalli-šú u nišē(ME)-šú ina i-šá-tú iq-ta-li
20. (āl)pi-tu-su šadu(ú) šá ina qabli-tú (nār)mar-rat
21. ù VI lim ummani(ni) e-piš šal-tú šá ana libbi i-lu-ú
22. ina (iṣ)sa-pi-na-a-tú iṣ-ša-bat āla-šú it-tap-lu
23. u nišē(ME)-šú uš-ša-bi-ta šattu šī'ati ul-tu ni-ri-[bi]

¹ or i[k?] cf. l. 6. *cf. l. 6. coll.* ² Written over another sign (id?).

³ šú followed by nu erased.

25. [In the] eleventh [year] in the month of Kislev the king of Akkad [mustered his] troops [.] and marched [to the] Hatti-land.

B.M. 25124

Obv.

1. In the third year [in the month of] Appuašu the king of Pirindu
2. mustered his [numerous] army and in order to rob and pl[under]
3. set (forth?) across the river. Neriglissar
4. mustered his army and marched to the city of Hume to oppose him.
5. Because of this Appuašu (*erasure*)
6. stationed the troops and mounted police which he had collected
7. in a mountain valley for an ambush.
8. Neriglissar caught up with them and accomplished their defeat.
9. He slew many troops and many of his troops and
10. horses he seized.
11. For a distance of 15 leagues over mountainous terrain (so) difficult that one man must go behind another
12. he pursued Appuašu as far as his royal (capital-)city of Ura'
13. and caught (up with) him. He seized the city of Ura' and carried off spoil from it.
14. (*line erased*)

Rev.

15. From the city of Ura' to the city of Kiršu,
16. the royal city of his ancestors, for a distance of 6 leagues (over) mighty mountains,
17. when he had marched (by) a steep pass,
18. he captured his fortified royal city of Kiršu;
19. its walls, palace and peoples he burned with fire.
20. The city of Pitusu, a mount which is in the midst of the ocean, (*i.e.* an island),
21. and 6,000 fighting men who had set (themselves) up within it
22. from boats he captured. He demolished that city
23. and captured its people. In that year from the pass leading to

24. *šá (āl)sa-al-lu-ni-e a-di muḥḥi mi-ṣir*
 25. *šá (āl)lu-ú-du ina i-šá-tú iṣ-ta-raḥ (m)ap-pu-ú-a-šú*
 26. *iḥ-liq-ma qatā(II) la [ik-š]u-ud-su ina (araḥ)addari šàr akkadi(KI)*
 27. *a-n[a māti]-šú i-tu-ra*

24. the city of Sallune as far as the boundary of the city
25. of Ludu he burned with fire. Appuašu
26. fled and his hand did not capture him. In the month of Adar the king
of Akkad
27. returned to his own land.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

B.M. 25127

- l. 2. *kal ūmu*: 'in late afternoon or early evening'. *Afo*, III, p. 165; *ZA* (N.F.)X., p. 291; Von Soden, *Grammatik*, § 72b.
- l. 4. [.] *ina lib[bi] āli ipteqid*. The expression is used (with object) for the appointment of a king (B.M. 21946, r. 13) or of any subordinate official.
- l. 5. (*āl*)*šaznaku*. A tablet dated at Šaznaku in the third year of Cyrus (B.M. 75534; Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, No. 126) bears the names of witnesses who are priests. This may confirm that a temple cult was maintained there. A location in the Diyala region is suggested on the grounds that this city was captured three weeks before Kish was threatened, implying a site at a considerable distance to the north-east of that city. Cf. Sallat, l. 20 below.
- l. 9. *uruk(KI)*. The city was frequently changing its loyalty between Assyria (Sin-šar-iškun) and Babylonia (Nabopolassar), see p. 91. Early in Nabopolassar's first year his rule was recognised there (*TCL*, XII, 17; E. W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Business and Administrative Documents*, pp. 20, 22).
- l. 10. (*arah*)*aiari* appears to refer back to the beginning of the year in which the Assyrian victory is recorded (l. 4).
- l. 11. (*amēlē*)*babilaia*, i.e. the city had no recognised king at this time.
- l. 13. *tapdi(ŠI.ŠI)*; F. Thureau-Dangin, *La huitième campagne de Sargon*, p. 22, n. 7; B. Meissner, *MAOG*, III, 3, p. 15. This reading (rather than *tahtu*) is followed throughout this work. Cf. B.M. 21901, 4 *et al.*
- l. 14. Cf. *šattu VIII-KĀM šarru ina TIN.TIR.KI [āl išu]*, Bab. Chron. (B.M. 92502), i. 28.
- l. 19. (*āl*)*šapazzu*. Possibly located on the northern border of Babylonia since defensive measures were taken there a month earlier than at Sippar (cf. Šaznaku, l. 5). This would agree with Bab. Chron. (B.M. 92502), i. 5, which describes how Tiglath-pileser III carried off the gods of Šapazzu during his campaign of 745 B.C. when he plundered the Hamrîn district. The city is also mentioned in *Ur Excavation Texts*, IV, 56, 14. See also M. San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. und des 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, p. 107, n. 14 ((*āl*)*gar/šá-pa-š/za*).
- l. 20. (*āl*)*sal-[lat]*, cf. l. 22. Possibly the city Salate by the Euphrates, c. 25 km. upstream from Sippar (V. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti-Ninip II*, obv. 54; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 202). The reading (*āl*)*GÉME* is unlikely (cf. E. Forrer, *Provinz.*, 36).
- l. 21. That is, Sippar after acknowledging Sin-šar-iškun at least until the 25th of Sivan of his second year must have revolted from Assyria by this time (B.M. 92718; B. T. Evetts, *Inscriptions of Evil-Merodach*, p. 90; Strassmaier, *Babylonische Texte*, VI, B, 174).
- l. 24. *ittabalkit(BAL)-ma. nabalkutu* must therefore be an act prior to withdrawal (*ana arkišu iḫḫis*). Its military use with *ina IGI* (ll. 7, 9; B.M. 21901, 4, 13; 21946, 4) supports an interpretation of 'to break off contact'. *nabalkutu* marks an action that is more deliberate than 'to fall back (before)', as Oppenheim (*ANET*, p. 304), or 'verrutschen' as Landsberger-Bauer (*ZA*, XXXVII, p. 85). The word used for the actual

retreat is *niḥesu* (LAL) while *sakāpu* covers the manoeuvre of pulling or becoming out of contact. Cf. B.M. 21901, 18, 37; B.M. 22047, 26; (B.M. 25091, obv. 5 (BHT, p. 16) is doubtful). So for *sakāpu*, Oppenheim 'disengage oneself from' (ANET, p. 304) is better than Landsberger-Bauer (*op. cit.*) 'yerrutschen'.

- l. 26. *ina muḥḫi . . . iddu*. 'to encamp by' as opposed to *ina libbi . . . nadū* 'to encamp against', i.e. besiege (Landsberger-Bauer, *op. cit.* p. 85). Cf. B.M. 92502, iii. 40; 35382, i. 17; 25127, 27.

(*nār d*) *Banitu*. At this period a major canal of this name flowed by the Ilbaba gate of Babylon and alongside the royal road to Kish (Unger, *Babylon*, pp. 97 f.). Both of these cities were concerned in the earlier Assyrian invasion (ll. 6, 11). The canal started from the river Euphrates (B.M. 32849, 3; 30338, 3; 31496, 5; 41594, 3, published by J. Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, Nos. 116, 165, 760 and *Nabuchodonosor*, No. 251). In two later contracts a town Nār-Banitu, which presumably lay on this same canal, is mentioned (B.M. 77353, 13; 77355, 15, published by Strassmaier, *Cambyses*, Nos. 55, 56). This is probably the same as the city of 'the men of Banitu' captured by Tiglath-pileser III in 736 B.C. (III R, 3, 47; Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglath-pileasers III*, I, 24, l. 147) and by Sennacherib during his advance southwards through Bit-Dakkuri in 702 B.C. (B.M. 113203, 37; S. Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib*, pp. 38, 64, 80). Although Sidney Smith thinks it improbable that the cities are listed by Sennacherib in any geographical order there is other evidence to show that the border of Bit-Dakkuri extended to the vicinity of Kish (S. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 19-20). This would make it probable that the Banitu of Sennacherib's account lay on the canal mentioned here. A letter, probably addressed to Ashurbanipal during the defection of Babylon after 646 B.C. (K. 517), implies that Babylon controlled the main Banitu canal from which a subsidiary canal (*šiliḫtu*) carried water to Nippur. It is likely that a number of rivers and canals in Babylonia were named Banitu and one, the later *nahr batt* canal which connected the Jabal Ḥamrin dams with the Nahrwan canal opposite Opis (Felix Jones, *Map of the Ancient Nahrwan Canal*, 1849), would have been a good defence line along the Assyro-Babylonian frontier. It is, however, most likely that the Babylon—Kish canal, discussed above, is the Banitu referred to here.

- l. 27. *mimma ūl ilqū . . .* Cf. B.M. 21901, 69 which is a parallel though broken passage.
 l. 28. [*umman (māt) aš-šur i] s-suḫ-ma*. Cf. B.M. 21901, 52. This restoration is uncertain since a plural verb would be expected, cf. ll. 26-27. The sign *suḫ* seems clear.
 l. 29. *ū]mu VIII*. The omission of *KAM* after the numeral is unusual. *BAD.AN.KI*—Dēr is usually identified with Tall Badra (Sidney Smith, *JEA*, XVIII, pp. 28-32; cf. *Afo*, IX, p. 97; XVI, p. 15; *RLA*, I, p. 238).
 l. 30. *MU.]BI*. Cf. B.M. 92502, iv. 37; 25091, 7. 12. 21. r. 15. The name of the Assyrian king, as often in the Chronicles, is not given.
 l. 32. The subject is lost. It could either be Sin-šar-iškun in Nippur or Nabopolassar taking action against the approaching Assyrians.
 l. 33. possibly (*māt*) *ebir nāri*, i.e. the territory on the west bank of the Euphrates. Cf. 22047, 22. Cf. S. Smith, *Isaiah Chapters XL-LV*, pp. 145, 147.
 l. 34. *iḫtepi* is used of city ruins in Bab. Chron. (B.M. 92502), i. 8.

B.M. 21901

For other detailed notes on this text see *FN*, pp. 31-36.

- l. 2. (*māt*) *suḫu (māt) ḥindanu*. For location see Maps 1 and 2 based on S. Horn, *ZA*, XXXIV, pp. 129 f., 142 ff.; Forrer, *Provinz.*, pp. 13 ff.

1. 3. *iqbiūma*. The word, with the sign *-bi*, is written clearly. J. Lewy, *MVAG*, 1924, p. 82 reads *ik-kaš-šam-ma* (after *FN*, p. 31, n. 4). Landsberger-Bauer (*ZA*, XXXVII (N.F.3), p. 85) object to both readings and propose *ik-šur(!)-ū-ma*, 'they took up battle positions' (so Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 304). There are difficulties in all these readings. For the use of *kašāru* in the Babylonian chronicles see B.M. 21946, r. 8 and p. 96.
- (*āl*)*qablini*. The place is otherwise unknown but the context demands a location north of Hīdanu (possibly later Giddan, S. Horn in *ZA*, XXXIV, p. 143; cf. *FN*, p. 5). Cf. also ll. 13, 22. The form, whether read Gablinu (Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 68) or Kaplinu, is possibly Hurrian like many other place names on the middle-Euphrates.
1. 4. *tapdi* *GAR-an*. This is usually taken as active (cf. l. 23, and contrast Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 304). The interpretative reading *iššakan* (or *iltakan* ? but cf. B.M. 25127, 34) is made by comparison with l. 6.
1. 5. (*māt*)*mannaia*. The Scyths had attacked these people during the reign of Esarhaddon and it may be that a common danger now made them allies of Assyria, their former enemy.
1. 6. *šār akkadī(KI)*. See J. Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 93 for this change of style after citing the personal name of Nabopolassar (cf. l. 1); B.M. 22047, 1.
1. 7. (*āl*)*balīhu* is probably to be located on the river of the same name south of Harran. It lay within the Assyrian province of Harran (Forrer, *Provinz.*, pp. 8, 24, suggests 'Tell Djigle' the Roman Dabana, c. 12 miles south of Harran).
iš[q]īma. A broken *qī* seems the more probable reading than *iš-pur?-ma* (*FN*, p. 31).
1. 10. *ummani (māt)mišir*. The omission of any royal name may imply that these were small forces (perhaps based on Carchemish).
1. 11. *ana arkišunu iḫḫisu*. *-su* (not *iḫ-ḫi-iš*, *FN*, p. 32) is clear. Cf. l. 69; B.M. 25127, 24. For discussion of this military term see B.M. 25127, 24 (p. 79).
1. 12. (*āl*)*badanu*. For the initial *Ba-* cf. *Baliḫu* (l. 7). *FN*, p. 7 reads Madanu. In either case the location is unknown except that it was within the district of *Arraphu* (modern Kirkuk). For the name (*āl*)*Badanu* see P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-pileasers III*, I, p. 82.
1. 13. *ana (nār)zaban ittadūšumutu*. Cf. Landsberger-Bauer, *loc. cit.* p. 85.
1. 14. *na[rkabāti(ME)-š]ū-nu*. This restoration is suggested by Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 304, n. 5.
1. 16. *ina libbi* . . . *iddi*. See p. 79.
1. 18. *sikiḫma*. For discussion of this military term see p. 79.
(*āl*)*takritain*. Modern Takrīt, c. 250 km. north of Babylon. Cf. *FN*, p. 8, n. 2, and, for other N.Bab. references, J. Strassmaier, *Nabuchodonosor*, 266, 15 (*tak-ri-e-ta-i[n]*); *Orientalia*, XVII, p. 292.
1. 20. [*š*]*ulū*. So Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 83.
1. 22. [. . .]-*ma*. Gadd suggested [*ip?-par?-ku*]-*ma*—'ceased?' or *ip-dam-ma* (*FN*, p. 32). Cf. [*i-du*]-*ku-ma*, Lewy (*op. cit.* p. 83). The line is too broken for any certain restoration to be possible but some expression to state that the Assyrian king and army withdrew or turned back is normal in the Chronicle between the subject (*šār . . . u umman(ME)-šū*) and the stereotyped phrase *ana mātišu itur* (cf. l. 37 *is[kipma]* or *is[ḫurma]* and l. 18).
1. 23. The end of the line was read by Gadd (*FN*, p. 33) *ur-dam-ma šal-tam ana libbi ali* and Lewy (*op. cit.* p. 70) *ur-d[u-n]im-m[a] šal-tū ana libbi āl* [. *īpušu*] but the present traces support the reading *ur-dam-ma* only.
1. 24. The traces at the end are uncertain. Gadd (*FN*, p. 33, n. 2) suggested *ki-i* [*iš-qi*] which would imply an approach to Nineveh up the Tigris valley.

- l. 26. *irdi(UŠ)-ma*. Cf. ll. 23, 34; B.M. 25127, 26 (*uridunimma*); this does not necessarily imply pursuit of fugitives (cf. *FN*, p. 10).
- l. 27. *limniš* . . . Chron. 'P', Col. iv, 19, implies that this is another way of expressing a heavy defeat.
- l. 28. *al[u ki iššabtu]* might also be rendered as commencing a new sentence, 'When (the city had been taken . . .)' thus giving the timing of the treaty.
- l. 29. *(m)ú-ma-kiš-tar*. Cf. ll. 40, 47 and Behistun, ll. 43, 61, 93 (*ú-ma-ku-iš-tar*). With this form of the name of Kyaxares (*Κυαξάρης*) compare O. Pers. *Uvaxštra-*; Elam. *ma-ak-iš-tar-ra* and see discussion by W. Eilers, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. 90 (1936), p. 174 n.; R. G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar* (1950), p. 177.
ina muḫḫi āli 'before, close by, the city' (Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 304, n. 7), cf. B.M. 25127, 26. Cf. Lewy (*op. cit.* p. 73, 'auf der Stadt') and Landsberger-Bauer, *loc. cit.* pp. 85-86.
- sulummu* . . . *iškunu*. Cf. Chron. 'P' (B.M. 92701), ll. ii. 27; iii. 18. 24. To make friends by means of an alliance (W. von Soden, *Symbolae* . . . *Koschaker*, p. 205). Cf. p. 59; Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 83, Landsberger, *loc. cit.* p. 87 ('sich versöhnen').
- l. 30. *[(m)ú-ma-ki?-i]š-tar*. This restoration is required since the end of *-iš* rather than *-kiš* is visible. See note l. 29 above.
- l. 31. For *nabalkutu* governing a direct accusative (*itti* not required) see Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 84; see also B.M. 25127, 24 and p. 74.
- l. 33. *(ā)raḫilu*. Probably the same as *(ā)ra-ilu* (*FN*, p. 33, n. 10) in the southern part of *Suḫi* (A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, p. 212). A number of towns along the Middle Euphrates stood upon islands (*ZA*, XXXIV, pp. 135 f.).
- l. 34. *iṭṭarduni*. So Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 84.
- l. 35. *(ā)anati*. The modern 'Āna on the right bank of the Euphrates, but from Assyrian to medieval days built, at least in part, on an island. (V. Scheil, *Annales de Tukulti-Ninip II*, obv. 69, p. 18; A. Musil, *op. cit.* pp. 345-349). The ancient city was the capital of *Suḫi* (*ZA*, XXXIV, pp. 130, 136) and the centre of the worship of Dhū 'Anat (*Syria*, XXVI, p. 82). The name is written also as *ana-tū* (*Iraq*, XVI, p. 39, n. 12.)
- l. 36. *šapitu*. A (wooden) tower used in the siege of a walled place (A. L. Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 304, n. 8). For its use see *RA*, XLII, p. 139 and for illustrations, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum—Ashur-naṣir-pal*, Plate XXIV.
- l. 37. *urdamma*. Cf. l. 23, B.M. 25127, 30. The possible alternative *ipdamma* is rejected by Landsberger-Bauer, *loc. cit.* p. 87.
- l. 38. *šār umman-manda*. Those who would equate the term *umman-manda* with the Medes (and their allies) follow the reading proposed by Landsberger-Bauer (*loc. cit.* p. 87) and restore [*ú-ma-kiš-]**tar(!)*. They draw attention to l. 44, *Sin-šar-iškun šār (māt) aššur* but the inclusion of the personal name is usual in the Chronicle only when the initial or final reference is made to a ruler as in l. 44; cf. B.M. 21946, r. 6 (p. 70). The restoration of this line is very uncertain. The phrase *šār akkadī(KI) umman(ME)-šū idkamma* is elsewhere followed only by the direction or objective of the expedition (cf. ll. 1, 16, 32; B.M. 21946, 2, r. 5). The name of the place where the Babylonians joined the Medes would be expected here. See discussion on pp. 15 ff. For a possible early reference to the *umman-manda* see quotation in Sidney Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi*, p. 58.
- l. 41. [. . . *ittadu?*](*MEŠ*). Restoration suggested by Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 84, but only the final *MEŠ* is legible (so *FN*, p. 34, Pl. IV).

1. 42. 3 UŠ [. . . .]. This could be taken as an estimate of the distance advanced by the besiegers. The sign UŠ (now cleaned) is clear; cf. *FN*, p. 34 (also pp. 18, 29), 3 *ta-ḥa?-zu?*
1. 44. This line must have recorded the death of Sin-šar-iškun either in battle or by self-immolation (*FN*, p. 18-19 for classical references).
1. 45. *šillat āli u ekurri kabittu(tū)*. Cf. l. 64. *kabittu(tū)* is preferable to *mina* (Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 84) or *elat mina* 'beyond counting' (*FN*, p. 34, n. 5; *ANET*, p. 304).
1. 46. *e[muq?]*. The sign is broken and partly illegible. It does not look like *G[IR(II)]* *ú?-na?-š[iq?]*, so Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 84.
1. 48. *u galutu*. The reading is clear but the interpretation very doubtful. Possibly for *qallutu?* (*FN*, p. 35, n. 1).
1. 49. (*m.d*)*aš-šur-uballit*. The name, as restored by Gadd (*FN*, p. 35, n. 2), must have occurred in this line.
1. 52. *issuḥma*. See B.M. 25127, 28 (p. 79). The passage must describe Nabopolassar's withdrawal. Cf. Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 85.
1. 54. (*māt*)*ḥa-[za?-z]u?* Cf. *Ḥa-az?-zu*, *FN*, p. 35, n. 3; Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 75. Ḥazazu was captured by Shalmaneser III (Bronze Gates of Balawat, Band III. low. reg. and by Tiglath-pileser III (III. R. 10, No. 3, 20). It is identified with 'Azāz near Killiz (Forrer, *Provinz.*, p. 56).
1. 55. (*māt*)*š[u-]-a*. Cf. Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 85 who reads *š[u-up-a]-a*. Šuppa, near Harran (Broken obelisk of Adad-nirari II, B.M. 11898, iii, 20). The traces before the final -a do not, however, support this reading.
1. 56. (*āl*)*rugguliti*. Located near Til-Barsip (Tall Aḥmar) by R. C. Thompson (*PSBA*, 1912, pp. 66 ff.).
1. 61. (*māt*)*mī-[šir šd ana rišūtišunu]*. Restoration suggested by Lewy, *op. cit.* pp. 85, 76.
1. 62. [. . . . (*nār*)*purati*]. See Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 85.
1. 66. The number of the year has been omitted by the scribe (*FN*, p. 36, n. 1).
1. 68. *id-du-[. . š]u i-du?-ku?* The text is too broken for any certain restoration (see Pl. XII). Suggested readings include (i) *id-du-um?-ma?* (*FN*, p. 36); (ii) *id-du-[ú]-ma* (Lewy, *op. cit.* p. 85); (iii) *id-du-[uk]-šu-nu!-ti!* (Landsberger-Bauer, *loc. cit.* p. 88). For *iduku*, cf. B.M. 22047, 18.
1. 70. [. . . (*māt*)*izalla*. The hill district of Izalla lay east-north-east of Harran. This accords with the subsequent mention of the Urartian border (l. 72, cf. B.M. 22047, 3, below); for full discussion of location see J. Lewy, *Orientalia*, 21 (1952), pp. 2-12; cf. Forrer, *Provinz.*, pp. 22-27.
ilima. So B.M. 22047, 3.
1. 75. The space is probably insufficient to restore *ana(āl)[bit-(m)ḥanunia]* (cf. B.M. 22047, 2) as a city which is located across the Urartian border.
1. 76. The restoration of the catch-line by comparison with B.M. 22047, 1 is rendered certain by the correspondence of the month name (Elul) part of which remains in this line.
1. 77. It is doubtful whether this line was inscribed (see Pl. XII).

B.M. 22047

1. 1. This corresponds with B.M. 21901, 76 except that the initial *ina* is omitted to conform with the general Babylonian Chronicle style whereby each paragraph is introduced directly by the year number. Also the name of the king is inserted since this line introduces a new tablet.
1. 2. *irtedi(UŠ)-ma*. Cf. B.M. 21901, 23, 26, 34.
Bit-(m)Ḥanunia. The exact location across the south Urartian border, probably north-east of Izalla, is unknown. The personal name element also occurs in a place

name near Nippur—*Bit-(m)Ḫanana'* (BE, X, 127, 4). It is most improbable that the place-name would reflect any dealing with Ḫanunu of Egypt by Tiglath-pileser III (cf. *Iraq*, XIII, p. 23) although prisoners taken from Syria and Palestine were sometimes settled on the Urartian frontier by the Assyrians (cf. 2 Kings, xvii. 6; 1 Chron. v. 26).

1. 6. *māršu rabū* with the sense of first-born or eldest surviving son.
ša bit rēdūtu. That is, as next in the line of succession to the throne (Schmidtke, *Asarhaddon*, p. 92, n. 3; Landsberger, *Der Kultische Kalender*, p. 145; Thompson, *Prisms of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal*, p. 9, ll. 8, 12, 21.
1. 7. *(māt)za-[. . .]*. The name is partly illegible but the place would seem to be in the hills north-north-west of Nineveh.
1. 8. *ina māti umaššir*. Cf. B.M. 21901, 62.
1. 9. *ana (āl)[. t]ū?* Perhaps to be restored *p[ī]-b[a-t]ū*. There is insufficient space for *[biranat]ū*. Cf. ll. 10-11.
1. 10. *(āl)biranātu*. Possibly an Aramaism. Cf. Heb. *bīranyyōth* (2 Chronicles, xvii. 12; xxvii. 4). For the plural form see W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, § 61 m.
1. 13. *(āl)kimuḫu* must be located on the west bank of the Euphrates south of Carchemish (cf. ll. 16, 24). It may be the same as the city Kumūḫu of the time of Ashurbanipal (e.g. K. 298, 41; K. 3199, Rom. 171, 41; K. 321, 37). Although Kumūḫu is equated by some scholars with the more northerly city of Kummūḫ (Commagene), there is positive evidence for its separate identity. Aššurnāširpal II differentiates *(māt)kumuḫaia* from *(māt)kummuḫi* (*Annals*, iii. 96; cf. i. 74; ii. 87; Forrer, *Provinz.*, p. 17; Lewy, *loc. cit.* p. 11). K. 4384 (II R. 53, 1), which lists Assyrian provincial cities in general areas rather than in any strict geographical order, places *(āl)ku-mu-[ḫu]* between *(āl)gargamiš* and *(āl)ku-um-mu-[ḫu]*, and thus recognises them as distinct towns. The military implications of this Chronicle show that Kimuḫu, whether equated with the earlier Kumūḫu or not, must be south of Carchemish, for the weak Babylonian forces would scarcely have marched past the Egyptian garrison there into a hill-area at least sympathetic to the Umman-manda. The location of a garrison in the city to counter that of Carchemish, and harass its supply routes through Syria, implies a site north of the Baliḫ but south of Carchemish. There are a number of possible sites guarding river crossings, e.g. (i) Qala'at Najm (west bank), (ii) Qara Membij, (iii) Khirbet es-Soudeh (Arimara). Srēsat (Caeciliana) probably lies too near to Carchemish itself (see R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie*, II, pp. 451 ff. and map XIII; Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, p. 37, Fig. 5). Any of these locations would agree with *(āl)ku-um-me*, mentioned by Adad-nirari II and in the Boghazköi texts and which lay not far from Tuttul (J. Friedrich, *Orientalia*, IX, p. 206, n. 2).
1. 20. *(āl)quramati*. This town is otherwise unknown. It lay on the left bank of the Euphrates (cf. ll. 21, 23, 24) and south of Kimuḫu, on the location of which depends any identification of this site, since Quramati was occupied as a substitute when the former town had been lost to the Egyptians. It may have been a place not easily defensible (l. 26) and for this reason villages on the opposite bank were captured to serve as a bridgehead from which the route between Hamath and Carchemish could be attacked. On the map (p. 22) Quramati has been tentatively located at Qala'at Ja'bar (later Dausara). Another favourable defence line would lie between the Jabal al Bishri (*Bisuru*) and the Halabi-Chalabi defile (the *ḫinqi* of the Euphrates). For the many possible old sites in both these areas see A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates*, pp. 197-213 and for sites farther north see C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, p. 37, Fig. 5.

1. 21. (āl)šunadiri (āl)elammu (āl)daḥammu. These sites are unknown and their location depends on the position of Quramati. They must have been on the west of the Euphrates between Raqqa and Qara Membij. The map (p. 22) suggests that they may have been captured to form a defensive locality between the Euphrates and the Jabbūl salt lake. The forms of these three names (and Quramati) may be Hurrian and fit the geographical nomenclature of the upper Euphrates. (For geographical names of this district in O. Bab. period see *ARM*, XV, pp. 120-138; III, p. 112. An (āl)e-lu-mu is mentioned in a tablet found at Carchemish (R. C. Thompson in *Carchemish* II, p. 136, l. 19).
1. 24. (āl)galgameš. For the more common *gargamiš*. Cf. B.M. 21946, 2; W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, § 96, i; the form of the name thus resembles the writing of Gilgamesh as *Gal-ga-mi-šu* (Ungnad, *ZA*, I (N.F.), p. 135).
1. 26. *iskipu*. See p. 79 (B.M. 25127, 24).
11. 27-28 are a catchline repeated as the first line of B.M. 21946 which is thus restored.

B.M. 21946

11. 1 and 2 duplicate, and in part are restored by B.M. 22047, 27-28 (see note *in loc.*). For similar catch-lines see B.M. 21901, 76; 22047, 1.
1. 2. *pani ERIM.ME-šu iṣbatma* means 'to take the van of his troops' i.e. to take the lead or to command in person (so r. 6; B.M. 21901, 56). It implies the personal presence of Nebuchadrezzar with his army. Cf. *meḥrit ummanātia iṣbatma* (Ashurbanipal, *Annals*, ix, 89); *pān quradia ašbat* (Tiglath-pileser III, *Annals*, ii, 75).
- (āl)galgameš. For this form of the place-name Carchemish, see above, l. 24. The ruins of Carchemish are at Jerablus, on the right bank of the Euphrates, sixty-three miles north-east of Aleppo and fourteen miles due south of Birejik. For arguments for this, and for the details of excavations undertaken there by the British Museum in 1911-20, see especially D. G. Hogarth, *Carchemish*, I. Details of the occupation of the city in Neo-Babylonian times are given by C. L. Woolley, *Carchemish*, II, pp. 125-129.
1. 3. [*ana muḥḥi umman (māt)miš*]ir. This is only one of several possible restorations and assumes that Necho II was not with his army at the battle (cf. p. 24). If Necho was present restore *šār* for *umman*. There would seem to be insufficient space for *šulutu šā šār* (cf. B.M. 22047, 16-17, 18).
1. 4. [. a]ḥameš imḥašuma. The traces are difficult to interpret but are perhaps closest to [*ina taḥaz šēri irti a*]ḥameš (cf. r. 7). The only complete sign remaining does not appear to be *KI* (*itti*) and is, in any case, separated from the following *aḥameš* by a single sign.
1. 5. *adi la bašē*[. . . H]AR. The phrase *adi lā bašē* (implying a gradual reduction to non-existence) is usually governed by an active verb denoting a method of destruction (e.g. *ušalikšu*, Sennacherib, *Annals*, ii, 18; *ušalpit*, *VR* 6, 63; *ušaḥrib*, Ashurbanipal Sm. 133, 35), which must be covered here by . . . [H]AR? For the total annihilation of an enemy, cf. *ARM*, IV, 33.
- šittatu ERIM (māt)[mišir]*. Cf. *si-ta-at ERIM.HĀ.MEŠ-šu* *ušamqit* (Aššurnāširpal II, *Annals*, iii, 42).
1. 6. *išḫiṭu*. Cf. B.M. 21901, 46, i.e. 'to move quickly over (the ground, etc.)'; *šaḥāṭu* implies a more hasty movement than *sakāpu* (see p. 79).
- (māt)ḥa-ma-a-t[ū]. For this spelling of Hamath see Nabonidus, i. 9 (*BHT*, p. 111).
1. 7. *edu amēlu* . . . *ul ezib*. The same expression as B.M. 21901, 57.

1. 9. The length of reign is worded according to the usual manner in the Babylonian Chronicle (B.M. 92502), i. 12, 15, 22, 39; ii. 4, 29, 34, 43; iii. 8, 24, 31-32; iv. 12, 32.
 1. 10. The date given for the death of Nabopolassar (8. v. 21st year) may be compared with the latest known dated contracts from his reign, e.g. 1. v. 21st year (at Babylon) published by E. W. Moore, *Neo-Babylonian Documents in the University of Michigan Collection*, No. 35. An unpublished tablet (Oriental Institute, Chicago, A. 5302) bears the same date (Parker and Dubberstein, *op. cit.* p. 9). Compare also the first attested dates for the reign of Nebuchadrezzar given in the following note.
 1. 11. Nebuchadrezzar's accession date—the first of Elul—compares with the dated contracts: (i) Sippar, 18. vi. access. (B.M. 49524); 5. vii. access. (B.M. 92472; AH. 83-1-18, 32 in Strassmaier, *Nabuchodonosor*, No. 2). The dates given by Strassmaier in ZA, IV, pp. 145 ff. (AH, 82-9-18, 519 = B.M. 92742) and in his *Nabuchodonosor*, No. 1 (B.M. 75321), where he reads *ITU.ŠU*, are wrong for in each case *ITU.DU*₆ is written clearly. This error has resulted in the latter text being wrongly assigned to Nebuchadrezzar III (*AJSL*, LVIII, pp. 317 ff.).
 1. 14. *ina (araḥ)nisanni*. It appears that Nisan could not be included in the first year of the reign because Nebuchadrezzar was not formally king until the festival made him so. The *akitu*-festival at Babylon was celebrated at this time during the first twelve days of Nisan (Nabonidus Chronicle (B.M. 35382), ii. 5-6, 10-11, 19-20, 23; *BHT*, pp. 111 ff.).
gata(II) šabātu. This idiom is used in the general sense of 'to conduct or lead'. For the meanings (i) to 'seize the hand of a person, to help or assist'; (ii) 'to seize the hand of a person while asking for his help'; (iii) 'to seize the hand of someone or something unable to move; to conduct, convey'; see A. L. Oppenheim, *JAOS*, LXI (1941), p. 270. In relation to deities the idiom is used in the general sense of to conduct or lead (in procession) even where no special ceremony is involved as at the New Year Festival (AO 7439, r. 9; V R 64, ii. 18-21). There is therefore no support for the view that this phrase of itself implies that the king was invested with royal authority by this act (A. Pallis, *The Babylonian Akitu-festival*, p. 179; A. L. Oppenheim *ANET*, p. 315, n. 3).
 - (d) *Bēl u mār (d)Bēl*. So B.M. 27859, r. 9 (L. W. King, *Chronicles of Early Babylonian Kings*, II, p. 153); Sargon, *Annals*, ll. 309-311; cf. 'Prunkinschrift', 41. At different times during the Neo-Babylonian festival the king took the hand of Marduk and Nabū who figure prominently in the ceremonies of the fifth to the twelfth days of Nisan.
isinnu akitu epuš. So Ashurbanipal (K. 2674 r. 18; CT. XXV. 12) and Nabonidus, Chronicle iii, 8 (*BHT*, p. 113).
 1. 18. (*āl*)*iš?-qi?-il-lu-nu*. The first two signs are doubtful, being written over an erasure. A similar writing ((*amēl*) *iš-qil-lu-na-a*) of the name of Askalon occurs in a Nebuchadrezzar text from Babylon published by E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges Syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, ii. 928. Cf. Assy. *is-qa-ak-lu-na* (D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 30, l. 61); Heb. 'ashqelôn mod. 'Asqalân.
 1. 21. *ikšurma. kašāru* is explained by l. r. 8 to be the collection and training of military forces (see p. 96).
 1. 22. *šapāti*. See note on B.M. 21901, 36 (p. 81).
- Rev.
- r. l. 2. *Nabū-šuma-lišir*. The brother of Nebuchadrezzar is mentioned in B.M. 7810, iii. 6 (S. Langdon, *Neubab.*, p. 62; ZA, IV, 106) and the duplicates B.M. 91090, iii. 6; BE, I, 84, iii, 16.

- r. l. 6. *šār (māt)mišir*. Royal personal names of established dynasties are omitted in these chronicles unless they are required for clarity when relative chronology is involved, e.g. B.M. 21901, 38 (note, p. 81).
- r. l. 9. *ultu (māt)hattu*, i.e. from an established base there (see p. 31).
- r. l. 10. *madbaru* describes the territory where seasonal grazing is possible on the borders of the desert proper. It is a loan-word, cf. Heb. *midhbār* (Sidney Smith, *Isaiah, Chapters XL-LV*, p. 138). Cf. Sennacherib (using Babylonian form) . . . *šarrat (amēl)arabi ina kirib madbari* (VA 3310 r. 22 = VS, I, 77).
- bulišunu*. *bulu* includes camels, donkeys, sheep and goats (Ashurbanipal, *Annals*, ix. 5). Cf. Jeremiah, xlix, 28-33.
- ilānišunu*. For the significance of the removal of these protecting deities, see pp. 31-32 and Streck, *Assurbanipal*, CCCXL, 3. Esarhaddon restored to Hazael six gods captured by Sennacherib from the Arab city of Adumutu (R. C. Thompson, *The Prisons of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal*, iv. 3, p. 20).
- r. l. 12. *(āl)iaḥudu*. The city of Judah, i.e. Jerusalem. The name of the land of Judah is written in a similar way (*ia-a-ḥu-du*) in the Neo-Babylonian texts VAT 16283, ii. 39; 28232, 20-21 (E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, II, pp. 925-6). Texts from the same group, also dated in the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II, give the alternative writings *ia-ū-du* (common in the Assyrian Royal Annals) and *ia-ku-du*.
- r. l. 13. *šarra ša libbišu*. Cf. 2 Kings, xxiv. 17.
- ina libbi ipteqid* implies that the city was not destroyed. Cf. B.M. 25127, 3 (p. 78).
- r. l. 17. *(māt)e[lamti(ki)]*. The restoration here, and in l. 20, is very uncertain.

B.M. 25124

- l. 1. *MU.III-K[AM]*. i.e. 557/6 B.C. The events of the preceding two years may well have been the subject of a whole tablet since this text shows that the historical chronicle of Neriglissar goes into detail.
- (m)appuašu*. This name is found in a number of texts referring to the S. Anatolia—N. Syria area from at least the fifteenth to third centuries B.C., e.g. *Ha-ap-pu-ya-aš-šu* (*Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, XXXIV, 45, 8, 10) discussed by B. Landsberger in *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (JCS), 8, p. 123, n. 277; J. Lewy, *Orientalia*, 21, p. 403, n. 3; cf. also a possible Old Babylonian feminine form of the same name in *A-ba-šu-ša* (JCS, 9, p. 3). The name *Αφύδους* occurs in Caria in the fourth century B.C. (H. Röhl, *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas* (Berlin, 1882)), No. 500; *Ἐπυάξ* (Cilicia, c. 400 B.C. in Xenophon, *Anabasis*, I, ii, 12); *Αποαίς* (Pisidia, c. 210 B.C.; J. Sundwall, *Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier*, p. 52).
- (māl)pirindu*. The context shows that this is to be located between Hume (E. Cilicia, —see note, l. 4, below) and the Lydian border. That is, its eastern border lay about the Lamus which was formerly the western boundary of Kizzuwatna (A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, *ROS*, XXII, 58) and its western border was contiguous with the eastern border of Pamphylia between Coracesium and Sellinus. The latter was also the western boundary of Cilicia proper according to the Periplus of Ps. Scylax (quoted in A. Erzen, *Kilikien bis zum Ende der Perserherrschaft*, pp. 76 f.; cf. G. A. Wainwright, *Anatolian Studies*, IV, p. 42). Pirindu will therefore approximately correspond with the later Cilicia Tracheia/Aspera. The form of name fits in with this location (Perinthos? cf. Laranda, Buranda); it cannot possibly be the Samian colony of Perinthos west of Byzantium on the coast of the Propontis

founded c. 600 B.C. (W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 120, p. 25), but no local Perinthos seems to exist.

(*māt*)*pi-ri-in-du* is given as the place of origin of some prisoners held at Babylon in the thirteenth year of Nebuchadnezzar II (592/1 B.C.) according to an unpublished tablet Babylon 28178 = VAT 16283, rev. ii. 2-3. I am indebted to Professor E. F. Weidner for this reference; see also his statement in *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. René Dussaud*, II (1939), p. 935. Prisoners from (*māt*)*hume* are listed in the same group of texts. (*āl*)*pi-rin-du* occurs between [(*āl*)*h*]*u-me-e* and (*al*)*lu-ū-du* in another Neo-Babylonian text (B.M. 45690; to be published later). See also notes on ll. 4, 25 below.

1. 2. *um-ma-ni-š[u?]* must be interpreted as 'men' rather than 'army' which is always written ideographically (i.e. *ERIM*.(*ME*)) in these chronicles. Cf. Bab. Chron. i. 36 where it seems to refer to the 'gang' which joined Marduk-apal-iddina against Elam. *idkamma*. For this form cf. B.M. 21901, 17; I. R. 69, ii, 42.

ḥabatū u ša[. . .] could be restored *šalalu* or *šagašu* ('murder').

maḏutu is restored by comparison with B.M. 21946, r. 10. There is insufficient room for the fuller form as given in l. 10.

1. 3. *ebir nāri* The absence of the determinative *māt* and the context (e.g. l. 4) make it unlikely that Appuašu planned to penetrate as far as Syria west of the Euphrates (cf. B.M. 22047, 22). The frontier between Cilicia and northern Hattu (*māt ebir nāri*?) was Posidëion (Herodotus, iii. 91) which lay as far off as the Orontes (Sidney Smith, *Antiquaries Journal*, XXII, 97, cf. Erzen, *op. cit.* p. 73). There is space for only two or three signs after *nāri* which would seem to cover the object of *šakanu* rather than the name of the river (Lamos or Cydnus?) which Appuašu would have to cross to enter Babylonian territory.

1. 4. (*āl*)*hume*. The territory of *Hume* was the E. Cilician plain—the Assyrian *Que* (W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 120, p. 23). Is (*āl*)*hume* Tarsus on the river Cydnus a crossing likely to have been guarded as it had been during the campaigns of Shalmaneser III (832 B.C.) and Sennacherib (696 B.C.)? See also Erzen, *op. cit.* p. 73. Excavations have shown that Tarsus was occupied in late Assyrian times (*JAOI*, 59 (1939), p. 9). It is more likely that (*āl*)*hume* may be Adana written earlier as (*āl*)*a-da-ni-ia* (A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*, p. 57) or *A-da-na-at*(*KI*), *A-ta-an-ni*(*KI*) (D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, p. 154). *hu-me-e* is mentioned (without any determinative) in the Nabonidus Chronicle (B.M. 35382), i. 7. cf. also ANET 305²

1. 5. *aššumišu*. 'Because of him' or perhaps *lamišu*. *lam* is only used of time, i.e. 'before him (his arrival)'.

1. 6. *kallē* were officials responsible either to the king (V R, 55-51) or to local officials (K. 79) for security on rivers or frontiers (*kallē nāri kallē tabali*) and were used for special duties such as escort to prisoners or aliens (G. Dossin, *Symbolae* . . . *P. Koschaker dedicatae*, p. 117). They frequently appear as fast messengers (B. Meissner, *MAOG*, XIII, pp. 22 f; *Iraq*, XVI, p. 47 (ND 2347)) *ina libbi* (*amēl*) *kal-li-i arḥiṣ ana muḥḥia lūbila* (*RCAE*, p. 300, No. 434, r. 16) would be better translated ' . . . with(in) a (security) escort . . . ' (cf. Meissner, *loc. cit.*). In this chronicle the *kallē* are mounted and used to supplement the army defence forces. It would seem that the *kallū* is an armed policeman or security official who would naturally be used for any of the above escort, messenger or army reserve functions.

1. 11. *XV bēr*. That is c. 160 kms. (100 miles) if the reckoning of F. Thureau-Dangin (1 *bēru* = 10·692 kms. in early period—*AfO*, XVI, p. 20, n. 138) is followed. This would be about the distance from *Hume* (Adana, see note above) to Ura' (see below) by winding mountain track.

- I. 12. (*āl*)*ura* is probably to be identified with the ruins of Olba; the native name of which was Ourba or Ourwa (W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, pp. 23, 364; J. G. C. Anderson, *Classical Map of Asia Minor*—marked as Ura). This situation 25 km. north of Seleucia accords with the description by Strabo (XIV, 650). As early as the fourteenth century B.C. Ura' was an important caravan centre and, as such, is mentioned in the tablets from Ras Shamra and Boghazköi (J. Nougayrol, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1954, p. 242, n. 2) and is referred to in the 'Atshana texts (D. J. Wiseman, *The Alalakh Tablets*, Nos. 142, 13; 154, 10). The city (if Ḫarrua is the same) was later captured and restored by Sargon II.
- irdipma*. Seems to be an unquestionable occurrence of *radāpu* 'to pursue, chase'; cf. Heb. *rādaph*, Arabic *radafa*. Cf. Bab. Chron. (B.M. 92502), ii. 20.
- I. 15. (*āl*)*kirši*. This former capital of Pirindu lay 6 *bēē* (c. 65 kms.; see note I. 11 above) from Ura'. Appuašu would naturally flee farther into the mountains and away from the general direction of the enemy approach. The distance marched from Ura' to Kiršu, being greater than that from Ura' to the coast, would support this. The most likely location is to be sought at the site of the later Claudiopropolis (Mut) or Coropissus, once linked with Olba by a Roman road which itself probably followed the line of an ancient track (see most recently *Anatolian Studies*, IV, p. 45). Hesychius as quoted by C. A. Lobeck, *Pathologiae sermonis graeci prologomena*, p. 314, knew of a place-name *κορσαι* in Cilicia (also quoted by Pape-Benseler, *Das Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, III, 700). The form of the place name—'cherry'—in this district of fruit trees can be compared with Elaioussa and Pityûssa (see following note). Xenophon (*Anabasis*, i. 4) mentions a river named *κέρσος* or *καράσος* by the 'Cilician Gates'.
- I. 20. (*āl*)*pitusu*. Probably to be identified with the island Pityussa (*Πιτυουσσα*); mod. Kargincık Adası (Erzen, *op. cit.* p. 11). J. Anderson gives the modern name of the same island as Manavat (*Classical Map of Asia Minor*).
- nār marrati*—'ocean'. See W. F. Leemans, *Jaarbericht ex Oriente Lux*, X. p. 433 and C. J. Gadd, *Iraq*, XVI, p. 185.
- I. 22. (*iš*)*sapînātu*. For this mainly N. Bab. word for 'ship', cf. Syr. plur. *sēphînâtā*; A. Salonen, *Die Wasserfahrzeuge in Babylonien*, pp. 8, 19 ('ship with deck'); B. Meissner, *Beiträge z. Assy. Wörterbuch* II, p. 55; and *bit sapanatu* in the N. Bab. list published by E. F. Weidner, *Mélanges syriens offerts à M. R. Dussaud*, II, p. 930.
- ittaplu*. For *napālu* used of 'demolishing' houses before rebuilding, see A. L. Oppenheim, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, IV, p. 190. Cf. also O. R. Gurney, *Iraq*, XI, p. 132, n. 1.
- (*āl*)*sallunē*. *Scylacis Caryandensis Periplus* (in C. Müller, *Geog. Graec. minores*, 1855, I, 76) discusses the Cilician coastline and infers that Coracesium was the easternmost city of Pamphylia and Selinus (mod. Selindi) the most westerly coastal city of Cilicia (see also Erzen, *op. cit.* p. 76; J. C. G. Anderson, *Classical Map of Asia Minor*). The capture of Pitusu island would be a logical step if Neriglissar wished to control the coastal route between Tarsus and the Lydian border (see note below).
- I. 25. *adī muḫḫi mišir (āl)ludu*. At this time the eastern boundary of Lydia probably ran from the Halys River west from the Cilician gates along the Bulgar dağ, which also formed the natural northern boundary of Ḫume, and thence across the mountains along roughly the same line as the modern vilayet boundary to the coast west of Sallunē, thus incorporating the state later known as Pamphylia. An advance by Neriglissar to Sallune and just beyond to the border or north-west from Kiršu could both be interpreted by the chronicler as 'as far as the Lydian border', but it seems more likely that, without claiming the city of Sallune itself, Neriglissar devastated the country from the narrow coastal track leading west towards the city right up to the Lydian border.

APPENDIX

SOME CHRONOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

IN the brief survey of the contents of those Neo-Babylonian Chronicles published for the first time on pages 5-42 it has not been possible always to give the detailed evidence for some of the chronological statements made. A few of these more important instances are therefore discussed below.

The Death of Kandalanu

The statements in the Chronicle (B.M. 25127, 14) that 'for one year there was no king in the land. On the twenty-eighth day of Marcheswan Nabopolassar sat on the throne in Babylon' and that Sin-šar-iškun, the king of Assyria, openly opposed the Babylonians before Nabopolassar's accession (l. 3) raise the question of the date of the death of Kandalanu. It is generally assumed that Kandalanu was appointed to rule Babylon immediately after its capture by Ashurbanipal and the death of Šamaš-šum-ukin in 648 B.C.¹ The latest dated contract testifying to Kandalanu's rule at Babylon has been one dated on the sixth day of the second month of his twenty-first year.² Two further contracts dated at Babylon, however, add the note 'after (the death of) Kandalanu' to the usual year formula. Thus B.M. 36514 is dated to 'the [x]th day of Marcheswan (eighth month) of the twenty-first year *after Kandalanu*' and B.M. 40039 on 'the second day of Marcheswan of the twenty-second year *after Kandalanu*'.³ Copies of these two tablets, of which the immediate importance is the date, are given on Plates XVIII-XXI. This evidence now limits the possible date of Kandalanu's death to between the sixth day of the

¹ *JNES*, III, p. 39 (i.e. 19/20th July 648 B.C.).

² A. Goetze, *JNES*, III, p. 44 (*YBC 11428*).

³ The date on this tablet has been referred to frequently, if sometimes sceptically, on the basis of Oppert's remarks in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres*, *Comptes rendus*, XXVI (1898), p. 418. Cf. *ZA*, VII (1892), pp. 341 ff.; *PSBA*, XXXVIII (1916), p. 216; *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, LXII (1908), p. 630; *JNES*, III (1944), p. 40.

second month (YBC 11428) and the eighth month of his twenty-first year of reign (B.M. 36514 above), i.e. between May and November 627 B.C. The Chronicle shows that the Babylonians thereafter acknowledged no king for one year ending with Nabopolassar's accession on 22/23rd November 626 B.C.¹ According to the Chronicle of the Years this interregnum was styled 'after Kandalanu in the accession year of Nabopolassar'.² B.M. 40039 now shows that in order to mark the Babylonian year between Nisan 626 B.C. and the accession of Nabopolassar the artificial 'twenty-second year after Kandalanu' was used. The Greek Astronomical Canon³ in giving twenty-two years for the reign of Kandalanu omits the distinction between his actual reign of twenty-one years and the posthumous period.

The Accession Year of Sin-šar-iškun

The accession date of Sin-šar-iškun of Assyria is not known and has been the subject of much discussion.⁴ There can be no doubt that he was a successor and son of Ashurbanipal and must have followed Aššur-eṭil-ilāni since he died at Nineveh when that city fell in 612 B.C.⁵ The new Chronicle which gives details of the accession year and early reign of Nabopolassar (see pp. 7 f.) gives some additional evidence which may eventually help to solve this difficult and important problem. It shows that by early October 626 B.C. Sin-šar-iškun had lost control of Babylon where, according to the same Chronicle, no king had been recognised for one year, i.e. 627-626 B.C.⁶ A contract dated at Babylon in the accession year of Sin-šar-iškun shows that he was recognised as king there on the twenty-first of the twelfth month of that year,⁷ i.e. Feb.-March in a year which must have been 627 B.C. or earlier.

The contracts dated at Sippar give another line of evidence which may be followed. The Chronicle B.M. 25127 shows that Nabopolassar ruled at Sippar in the second month of his first year (Iyyar began 23rd April 625 B.C.), while B.M. 49656 makes it most likely that Sippar acknowledged his rule, even before Babylon did so, in Elul of his accession year (month beginning 31st August 626 B.C.).⁸ He was certainly acknowledged king there in the days after his accession. There is no indication in the Chronicles or contract

¹ See p. 13.

² B.M. 86379, 4 (BHT, p. 24).

³ H. Usener and T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* (1898), III, pp. 447, 450.

⁴ For the latest discussions see *JNES*, III (1944), pp. 41-42; *AfO*, XVI (1953), pp. 305-310.

⁵ See p. 17.

⁶ See p. 7.

⁷ YBC 11378 (A. Goetze, *JNES*, III, p. 44).

⁸ B.M. 49656 dated 22. vi. access. Nabopolassar (pp. 93 f. Pl. XXI).

datings¹ that Sippar ever afterwards lapsed from the control of the Babylonian kings. In the light of this it is significant that the latest dated contract tablet of Sin-šar-iškun is the twenty-fifth day of the third month of his second year.² The latest possible date for this would therefore be 28-29th June 626 B.C. which would require an accession date for Sin-šar-iškun in 629 B.C.

The evidence from Erech is less helpful since there are fewer dated texts available from that city for the years in question. The Chronicle (B.M. 25127, 9) shows that Erech was successfully held by Nabopolassar against the Assyrians in the month of Tisri 626 B.C. and remained under his control from then on at least until his third year (623/2 B.C.). Contract dates agree with this³ though one shows that the city had been under Sin-šar-iškun in the eleventh month of his accession year.⁴ At least for a time in the seventh year of Sin-šar-iškun besieged Erech dated contracts by the Assyrian king⁵ although in that year, if the same as the fifth year of Nabopolassar (621 B.C.), the city, again while under siege, dated a contract by the Babylonian ruler.⁶ This can but indicate that c. 622-620 B.C., when there is unfortunately no Chronicle information available, the struggle for this city still continued, and there is at present insufficient evidence to show when Erech finally owed a steady allegiance to the increasingly powerful dynasty ruling at Babylon. By 616 B.C. when the Babylonians began more aggressive expeditions into Assyria it can be assumed that Erech was part of a united Akkad.

All the above evidence would favour an accession date for Sin-šar-iškun of 629/8 B.C.⁷ A study of the contract dates from Nippur, however, raises other problems, quite apart from the possibility of error that is present with any study based on such datings drawn from sources which must always be regarded as incomplete. Nippur long continued to owe allegiance direct to the Assyrian king by reason of its status as a garrison city and the first

¹ E.g. a survey of more than five thousand tablets from Abu Ḥabbah shows that there are numerous contracts dated in the first eight years of the reign of Nabopolassar.

² B.M. 92718 (B. T. A. Evetts, *Inscriptions of Reigns of Evil-Merodach etc.* Appendix No. 1, pp. 90-91). Other texts of his early reign from Sippar are dated: 1.II. 2nd yr. (*VAS*, VI. 6); B.M. 57149. 11.II. 1st yr. (*Afo*, XVI, p. 308); 8.VII. access. (*Afo*, XVI, p. 307); B.M. 49188. 22.VII. access. (*ibid.*).

³ E.g. 8. II. 1st yr. Nabopolassar. *TCL*, XII, 17; A. Pohl, *Neubabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus den Berliner Staatlichen Museen*, II, 4.

⁴ Contenau, *TCL*, XII, No. 14.

⁵ L. W. King, *ZA*, IX, pp. 398-399; *JRAS* (1921), p. 383; M. San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden des ausgehenden 8. u. des 7. Jahrhunderts*, No. 71.

⁶ V. Scheil, *Recueil de Travaux*, XXXVI, 191.

⁷ See W. H. Dubberstein, *JNES*, III, p. 42.

contract dated there by any Neo-Babylonian ruler is in the eleventh(?) year of Nabopolassar.¹

The following table shows the contract evidence from Nippur at present available:

<i>Year B.C.</i>	<i>Ruler</i>	<i>Day Month Year</i>	<i>Source</i>
3 Sept. 633	Ashurbanipal	17 vi. 36	<i>JNES</i> , III, 41
631	"	10 x. 37	<i>Afo</i> , XVI, 309
5 June 631	"	20 iii. 38	N. 4016 ²
630(?)	Aššur-eṭil-ilāni	17 vi. 1	
629(?)	"	ii. 2	<i>BE</i> , VIII, 1, No. 6
	"	20 iv. 2	" No. 4
628(?)	"	4 vi. 3	Krück. <i>NRV</i> , ³ No. 104
	"	9 ix. 3	" No. 38
627(?)	"	1 viii. 4	<i>BE</i> , VIII, 1, No. 5
626(?)	Sin-šar-iškun	1 vii. acc.	Krück. <i>NRV</i> , No. 35
625(?)	"	24 vi. 2	" No. 35
	"	14 xii. 2	" No. 39
618(?)	Nabopolassar	11(+?)	Clay, <i>BE</i> , VIII/I, 9

Again, assuming that all the years are covered by these texts this would require an accession year of 626 B.C. for Sin-šar-iškun which would contravene the evidence from Sippar and Babylon given above. There is the possibility either of posthumous dating,⁴ or even of a double dating, so that we must await further evidence for a final solution to be reached. In the light of this divergence an accession date of 629 B.C. has been assumed for Sin-šar-iškun in the foregoing pages.⁵

One text interpreted by Contenau as dated to the twenty-first year of the reign of Sin-šar-iškun⁶ has been rightly omitted in most discussions of his rule but on the wrong grounds. Poebel,⁷ followed by Dubberstein,⁸ Cross and Freeman,⁹ has assumed that the year 21 has been misread for 'year 3 of

¹ A. T. Clay, *BE*, VIII/I, 9.

² This Nippur tablet is unpublished. I am indebted to Professor A. J. Sachs for the information.

³ I.e. O. Krückmann, *Neubabylonische Rechts- und Verwaltungstexte* (1933).

⁴ As with Kandalanu see p. 89 above. Cf. *Iraq*, XVI, pp. 205 f.

⁵ See pp. 5 ff. The short reign of Sin-šum-lišir (see p. 11) wherever placed will not affect the above discussion materially.

⁷ *JNES*, II, p. 90, n. 35.

⁸ *JNES*, III, p. 42, n. 31.

⁶ *TCL*, XII, No. 16.

⁹ *JNES*, XII, p. 56, n. 3.

Sin-šar-iškun'. Professor Nougayrol kindly informs me that the 'year 21 is absolutely certain' but that the signs now remaining at the beginning of l. 25 are somewhat more spaced out.¹ A study of the text shows that ll. 25-26 must be an additional entry of the same form as earlier in the text, *XXX (m)A ina pan (m)B* (cf. ll. 2, 6). The figure (38?) or object is now unfortunately lost. It is very unlikely that the name of Sin-šar-iškun is to be read. Moreover, the name bears no determinative or post-fixed royal title.

A comparison of the texts in which the two officials Ninurta-šarru-ušur *qipu (šá) é-an-na* and Nabu-nadin-šumi(?), the *šatammu é-an-na* occur shows them both to have been active between the 15th year of Nabopolassar and the 17th (26th?) year of Nebuchadrezzar.² The above explanation of this text would therefore make it probable that 'year 21' refers to Nabopolassar. Since that king had died on 8.V.21 and Nebuchadrezzar did not ascend the throne at Babylon until 1.VI of the same year,³ probably on the very day that this text was written, this may be a reason for the omission of the king's name, since the news of Nebuchadrezzar's accession would not yet have reached Uruk.

The Date of Nabopolassar's Accession

The Chronicle (B.M. 25127, ll. 14-15) expressly states that Nabopolassar sat on the throne of Babylon on the 26th of Marcheswan and thus ended a year in which 'there was no king in the land' (see p. 7). Yet an economic memorandum, B.M. 49656, which is part of the temple records of Sippar (Abu Ḥabbah) as clearly calls Nabopolassar King of Babylonia on the twenty-second of the month of Elul of his accession year, that is, more than two months earlier. Unless a scribal error is assumed it would seem, therefore, that Nabopolassar was acknowledged king at least at Sippar which had become independent of Assyria before the final battle at Babylon. This break from the Assyrian yoke may be implied in the Chronicle (ll. 1-2) and the recognition of Nabopolassar may have been precipitated by the necessity for Sippar to take sides in the final phase of the struggle for Babylon which commenced with the fall of Šaznaku (l. 5).

The text of B.M. 49656 (A.H. 82-3-23, 647) is copied on Plate XXI and transliterated below for its obvious importance because of the question it thus raises.

¹ In a letter dated 10.iii.54. See also *AfO*, XVI, p. 308.

² M. San Nicolò, *Beiträge zu einer Prosopographie neubab. Beamten . . .*, pp. 15 f., 25, and especially n. 28a, 44.

³ Bab. Chron., B.M. 21946, 10-11.

Obv. (1) 50 *ma-ši-lu ina libbi(ŠA) u-il-tim* (2) *ša ina muḫ-ḫi (m)Šarra-a-ni*¹ (3) (*amēl*) *si-pi-ri*² *ša amēl rab mu-un-gu*³ (4) (*m*)*At-kal-(d)Nabū*⁴ *it-ta-din* (5) (*araḫ*)*ululu ūmu* 22-KAM (6) *MU.SAG.NAM.LUGAL.LA* (7) (*m.d*)*Nabū-apal-ušur LUGAL TIN.TIR.[KI]*.

¹ 50 measures, part of a debt(-document) owed by Šarrani, the accountant of the *rab mungu*, Atkal-Nabu has paid. 22nd of month Elul, accession year of Nabopolassar king of Babylon.⁵

Nebuchadrezzar's Campaigns in 568/7 B.C.

In the absence of Chronicle texts to follow B.M. 21946 the only indication of Nebuchadrezzar's later campaigns against Egypt is the text B.M. 33041 (and possibly fragment B.M. 33053),⁵ which refers to a Babylonian march in the thirty-seventh year of his reign to do battle against [Ama]sis, king of Egypt, who had raised his army. The city of Putu-Iaman is clearly mentioned in what is otherwise a broken passage.

The text was first made known in 1878 and published in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, Vol. VII (1882), pp. 210-225, by T. G. Pinches who showed that it referred to an expedition in 568/7 B.C. to suppress Aḫmes or Amasis, the general set on the Egyptian throne by Nebuchadrezzar after his defeat of Apries in 572 B.C., who later revolted. The text is not a part of the Babylonian Chronicle series but seems to be rather historical allusions in a religious text. In 1889 J. N. Strassmaier copied the same texts with the addition of the small fragment B.M. 33053, the exact relation of which to the main text is unknown (*Babylonische Texte—Inschriften von Nabuchodonosor*, No. 329). His copy, less reliable than that by Pinches who only gave a rendering in cuneiform type, was followed by H. Winckler in his transliteration and translation in *Altorientalische Forschungen*, I, 511-515. For further Bibliography see Schrader *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III, 2, 5, 141 (early works) and, for more

¹ *LUGAL-a-ni*. Neither this name nor *Atkal-Nabū* are otherwise known from this period and therefore afford no check on the date. For the form (abbreviated for (*d*)*x.Šarrani*), cf. Strassmaier, *Nabonidus*, 151, 8; 152, 8; *YBC*, 3867, 18; Dougherty, *IOS*, VI, 73.

² (*amēl*) *sipiri*. See San Nicolò and Ungnad I, 503, n. 8; Glossar, 139. There is no evidence (contra Dougherty, *JAOS*, 48, 110-130 and Eilers, *OLZ*, XXXIV, 931-933) that *sipiru* denotes a writer on leather or parchment (Driver, *Semitic Writing*, 16, n. 7).

³ *rab mungu*. Cf. *rab mu-ū-gu*, VAT, 2703, 3 (VS, V, 117).

⁴ *Atkal-(d)Nabū*. Probably an abbreviated form for *Atkal-ana-(d)Nabū*, cf. *Atkal-ana-(d)Bēl*; *Atkal-ana-(d)Marduk* (Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, 64, 2; 315, 2); *Atkal-ana-(d)Bau* (Strassmaier, *Darius*, 309, 25); *Atkal-ana-mar-Esaggil* (*CT*, XXII, 74, 23). See also Stamm, *Die akkadische Namengebung*, p. 311.

⁵ B.M. 78-10-15, 22 and (frag.) 38.

recent transliterations and translations, Langdon in *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, No. 48; Sidney Smith in *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 304; and A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, p. 308. In view of this a new copy only of the tablets B.M. 33041 and 33053 is given on Plates XX-XXI.

The Mobilisation of the Babylonian Army

The new chronicles well illustrate the intense military activity undertaken by the Neo-Babylonian kings. In the record of twenty-three years (616-594 B.C.) the Babylonian army (*ERIM. ME*(Š)) was called out (*dekū*) twenty-one times in seventeen years. Twice within this period there were two distinct campaigns in a single year each based on Babylon, and for at least one year (607/6 B.C.) the army operated for a time in two formations under the king and the crown-prince respectively. Throughout these busy years when Babylonia first struggled for her freedom and then fought to gain and hold all the former Assyrian provinces between the eastern mountains and Egypt only three years were free of any major expedition. Even in these three years the king himself went to Carchemish and presumably required a substantial bodyguard, and a defensive show of military strength was made on the eastern (Elamite?) border. It is significant that one period of eighteen months was occupied in extensive re-armament following the defeat by Egypt in 601 B.C. The only other interruption in the annual military expeditions, some of which involved lengthy siege operations, was caused by internal strife which may have been occasioned by an army revolt.¹

The chronicler, whose main purpose is to record the major military successes of the regime, is careful to state the actual month in which the army is summoned for foreign service. These times vary between the months of Iyyar and Tisri (spring to autumn) and reveal no obvious campaigning season, the timing of operations being usually dictated by military necessity. Thus we find the army absent on each year's march for a minimum of four and usually for more than five months. The troops were away in the distant hill-countries of Armenia or Judah during the months of heavy rain or winter cold. The army was absent from the homeland for at least eighteen months during the year in which the battles of Carchemish and Hamath were fought (605 B.C.), and there are indications that it may not have returned before the campaigns of the following year commenced, being, perhaps, retained in Syria for garrison

¹ See p. 37.

duties. It therefore appears that the Neo-Babylonian army was no haphazard collection of unwilling conscripts or a levée whose absence at seed-time or harvest impaired the national or local economy. During these victorious years the incentive of booty and loot must have aided recruitment and there is no evidence of any large scale impressment. Many of the campaigns were not arduous and consisted of little more than an unopposed military display to ensure the payment of dues by peoples previously subjugated.

The term *dekū* as used in the Chronicle would therefore seem to imply the calling out of a standing and already trained and equipped force for service outside Babylonia. The summons could apply to the whole army or to those parts designated as 'the army of the king of Akkad' or 'the army of Nebuchadrezzar the Crown-Prince'.¹ The Chronicle does not usually specify the strength or composition² of the forces involved as is the case in the Assyrian Annals.³

Special steps were taken if it was necessary to supplement the regular and seasoned troops. For example, Nebuchadrezzar spent a year and a half, following his defeat by Egypt, in collecting and reinforcing his army for a further series of campaigns. The term for this reorganisation (*kašaru*) implies that various elements were brought together into a compact and ordered array, and the word is used in this sense both in relation to building materials used in construction work⁴ and of army formations in close contact with the enemy.⁵ Thus when Nebuchadrezzar 'collected' (*iktašar*) horses and chariots in great number to re-equip his defeated army he no doubt had to acquire the horses and train them and to build the chariots and provide them with trained crews. All these diverse functions together with the correspondence needed to ensure that the provincial administrators had made adequate local arrangements to receive and provision a large force would take a long time and probably required some form of conscription.

¹ B.M. 22047, 6-7 (p. 20).

² E.g. *ummanišu madutu idkamma* (Nabonidus Chronicle, ii, 42). Cf. Sargon, II (Cyl. I. 56) *umannišu ma'adi ana la manī idkā*; Shalmaneser III (Obelisk, l. 91), *mātā adki*; cf. *narkabāti adki*.

³ E.g. Tiglath-pileser III, *Annals*, v, 84.

⁴ I R, 52, 4, r. 10; I R 53, v, 4; K, 620, 17, 22.

⁵ *tahāzu ikšuru* (Ashurbanipal: Sm. 122, 42).

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NOTE

The photographs of the Chronicle tablets (Plates I-VI) are all to the scale 1:1. The measurements of the tablets being:—

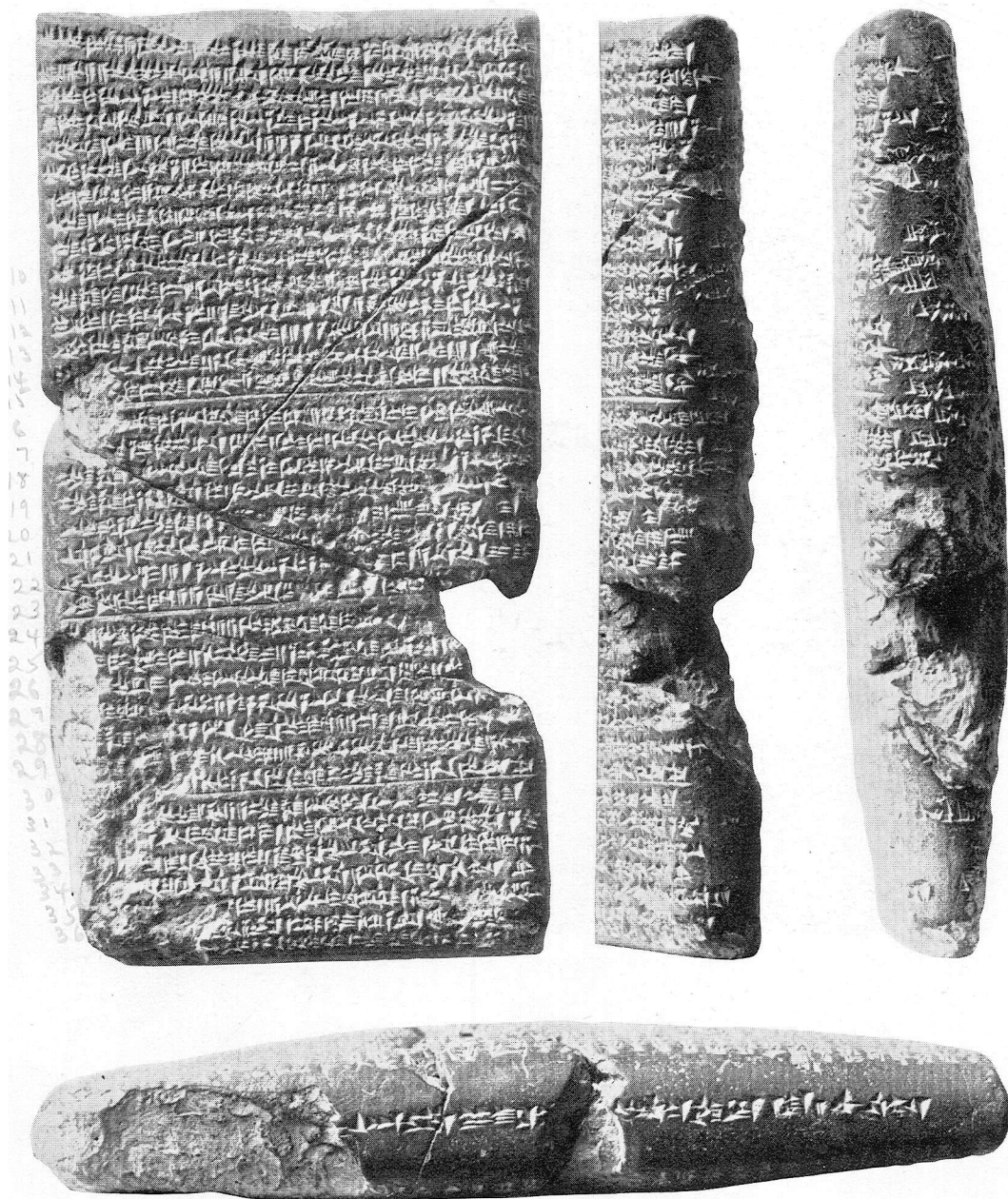
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B.M. 22047— $2\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ ins. ; B.M. 21946— $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{16}$ ins. ;

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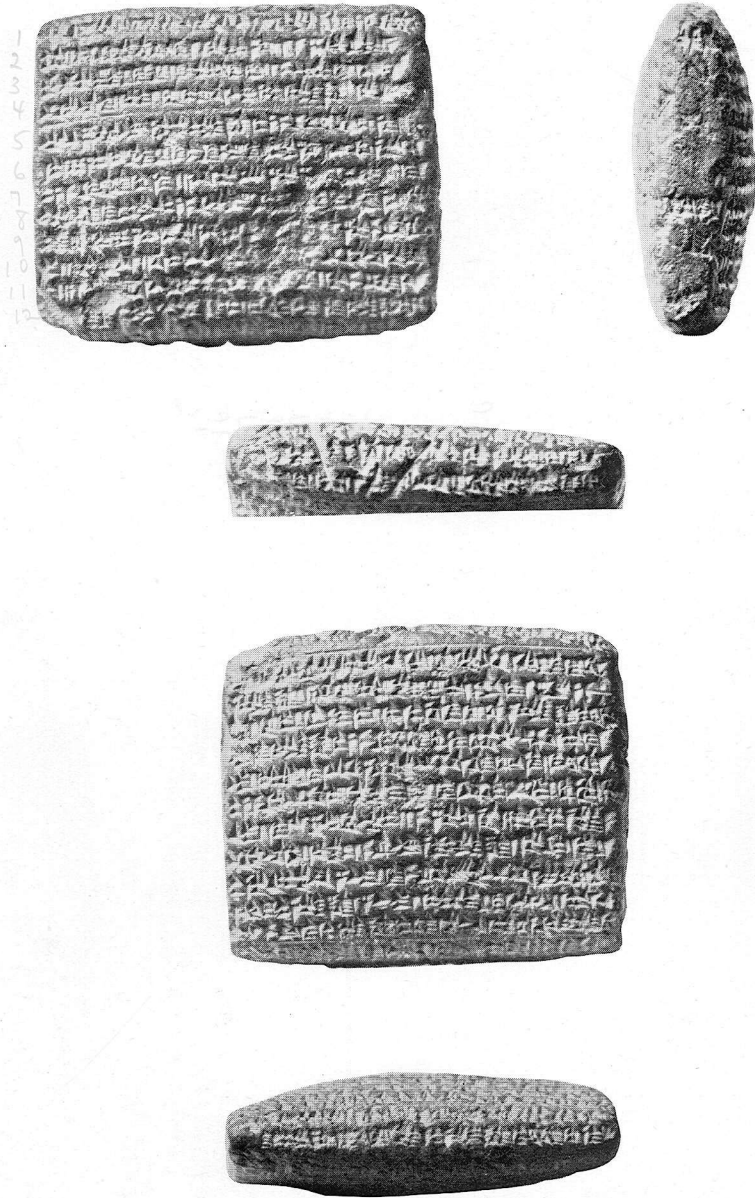
Chronicle of the early reign of Nabopolassar (B.M. 25127)



Chronicle of the years 616-609 B.C. (B.M. 21901—obverse and edges)



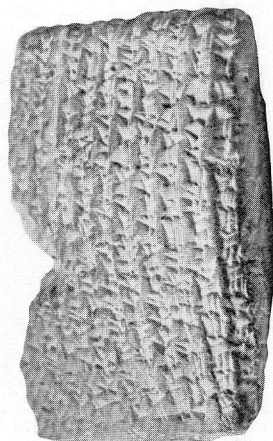
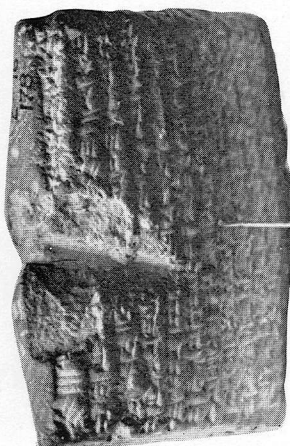
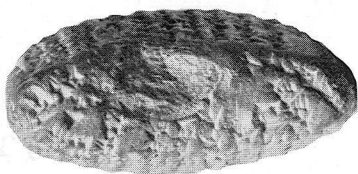
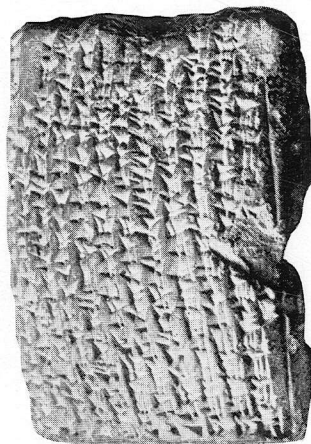
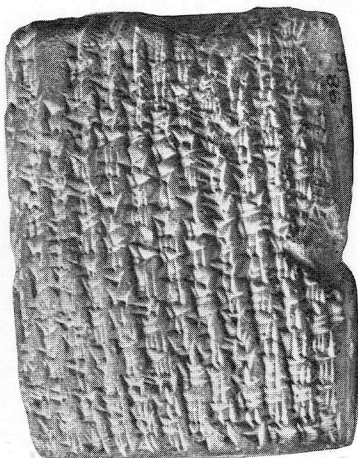
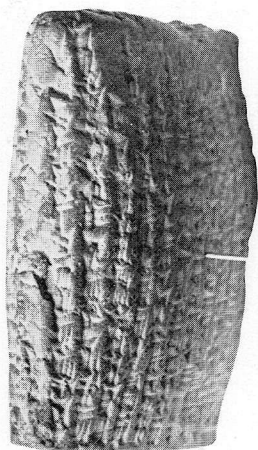
Chronicle recording the Fall of Nineveh (B.M. 21901—reverse and edges)



Chronicle of the years 608-605 B.C. (B.M. 22047)



Chronicle recording the Battle of Carchemish in 605 B.C. and the Capture of Jerusalem in 597 B.C. (B.M. 21946)

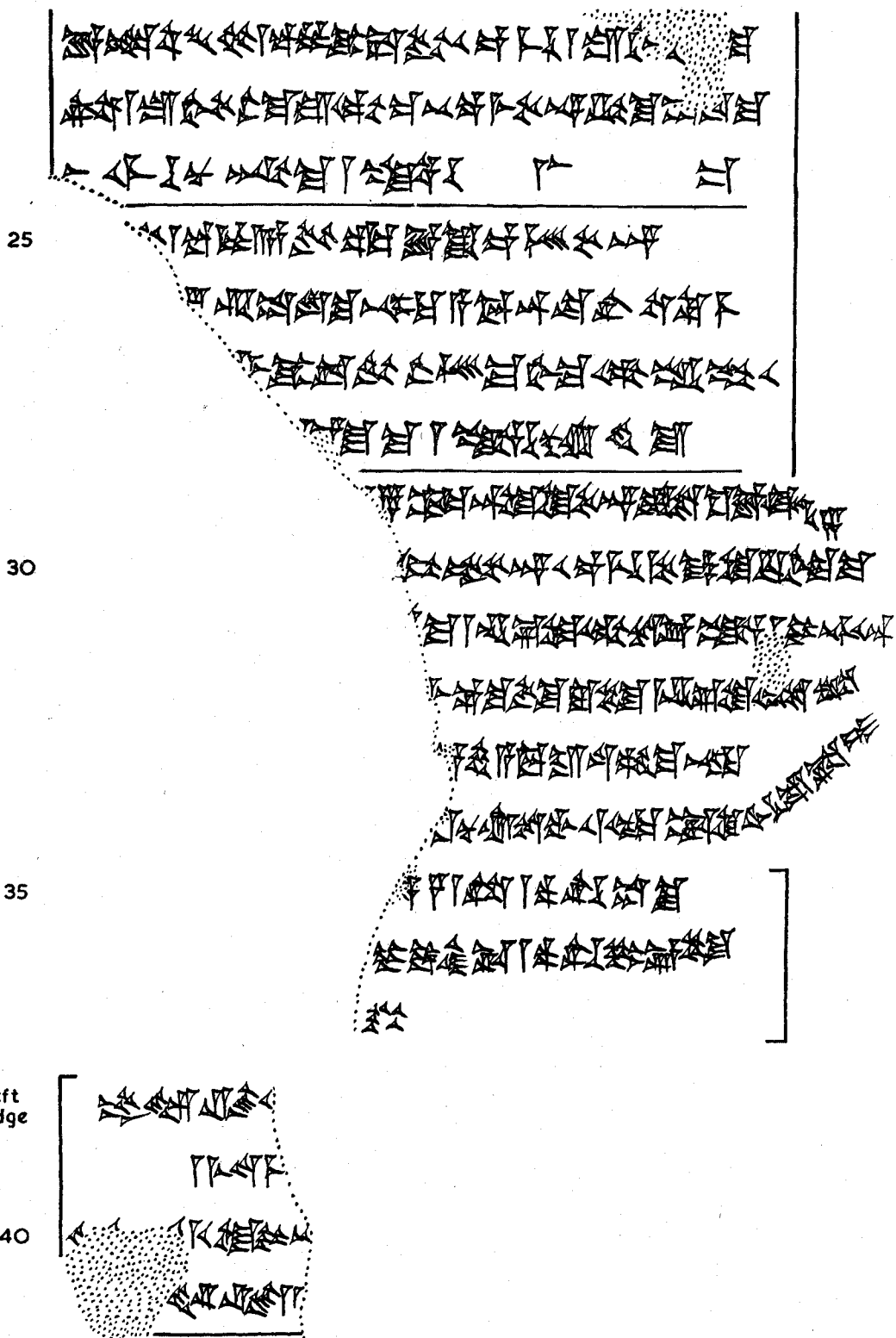


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𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜𐞝𐞞𐞟𐞠𐞡𐞢𐞣𐞤𐞥𐞦𐞧𐞨𐞩𐞪𐞫𐞬𐞭𐞮𐞯𐞰𐞱𐞲𐞳𐞴𐞵𐞶𐞷𐞸𐞹𐞺𐞻𐞼𐞽𐞾𐞿𐟀𐟁𐟂𐟃𐟄𐟅𐟆𐟇𐟈𐟉𐟊𐟋𐟌𐟍𐟎𐟏𐟐𐟑𐟒𐟓𐟔𐟕𐟖𐟗𐟘𐟙𐟚𐟛𐟜𐟝𐟞𐟟𐟠𐟡𐟢𐟣𐟤𐟥𐟦𐟧𐟨𐟩𐟪𐟫𐟬𐟭𐟮𐟯𐟰𐟱𐟲𐟳𐟴𐟵𐟶𐟷𐟸𐟹𐟺𐟻𐟼𐟽𐟾𐟿𐠀𐠁𐠂𐠃𐠄𐠅𐠆𐠇𐠈𐠉𐠊𐠋𐠌𐠍𐠎𐠏𐠐𐠑𐠒𐠓𐠔𐠕𐠖𐠗𐠘𐠙𐠚𐠛𐠜𐠝𐠞𐠟𐠠𐠡𐠢𐠣𐠤𐠥𐠦𐠧𐠨𐠩𐠪𐠫𐠬𐠭𐠮𐠯𐠰𐠱𐠲𐠳𐠴𐠵𐠶𐠷𐠸𐠹𐠺𐠻𐠼𐠽𐠾𐠿𐡀𐡁𐡂𐡃𐡄𐡅𐡆𐡇𐡈𐡉𐡊𐡋𐡌𐡍𐡎𐡏𐡐𐡑𐡒𐡓𐡔𐡕𐡖𐡗𐡘𐡙𐡚𐡛𐡜𐡝𐡞𐡟𐡠𐡡𐡢𐡣𐡤𐡥𐡦𐡧𐡨𐡩𐡪𐡫𐡬𐡭𐡮𐡯𐡰𐡱𐡲𐡳𐡴𐡵𐡶𐡷𐡸𐡹𐡺𐡻𐡼𐡽𐡾𐡿𐢀𐢁𐢂𐢃𐢄𐢅𐢆𐢇𐢈𐢉𐢊𐢋𐢌𐢍𐢎𐢏𐢐𐢑𐢒𐢓𐢔𐢕𐢖𐢗𐢘𐢙𐢚𐢛𐢜𐢝𐢞𐢟𐢠𐢡𐢢𐢣𐢤𐢥𐢦𐢧𐢨𐢩𐢪𐢫𐢬𐢭𐢮𐢯𐢰𐢱𐢲𐢳𐢴𐢵𐢶𐢷𐢸𐢹𐢺𐢻𐢼𐢽𐢾𐢿𐣀𐣁𐣂𐣃𐣄𐣅𐣆𐣇𐣈𐣉𐣊𐣋𐣌𐣍𐣎𐣏𐣐𐣑𐣒𐣓𐣔𐣕𐣖𐣗𐣘𐣙𐣚𐣛𐣜𐣝𐣞𐣟𐣠𐣡𐣢𐣣𐣤𐣥𐣦𐣧𐣨𐣩𐣪𐣫𐣬𐣭𐣮𐣯𐣰𐣱𐣲𐣳𐣴𐣵𐣶𐣷𐣸𐣹𐣺𐣻𐣼𐣽𐣾𐣿𐤀𐤁𐤂𐤃𐤄𐤅𐤆𐤇𐤈𐤉𐤊𐤋𐤌𐤍𐤎𐤏𐤐𐤑𐤒𐤓𐤔𐤕𐤖𐤗𐤘𐤙𐤚𐤛𐤜𐤝𐤞𐤟𐤠𐤡𐤢𐤣𐤤𐤥𐤦𐤧𐤨𐤩𐤪𐤫𐤬𐤭𐤮𐤯𐤰𐤱𐤲𐤳𐤴𐤵𐤶𐤷𐤸𐤹𐤺𐤻𐤼𐤽𐤾𐤿𐥀𐥁𐥂𐥃𐥄𐥅𐥆𐥇𐥈𐥉𐥊𐥋𐥌𐥍𐥎𐥏𐥐𐥑𐥒𐥓𐥔𐥕𐥖𐥗𐥘𐥙𐥚𐥛𐥜𐥝𐥞𐥟𐥠𐥡𐥢𐥣𐥤𐥥𐥦𐥧𐥨𐥩𐥪𐥫𐥬𐥭𐥮𐥯𐥰𐥱𐥲𐥳𐥴𐥵𐥶𐥷𐥸𐥹𐥺𐥻𐥼𐥽𐥾𐥿𐦀𐦁𐦂𐦃𐦄𐦅𐦆𐦇𐦈𐦉𐦊𐦋𐦌𐦍𐦎𐦏𐦐𐦑𐦒𐦓𐦔𐦕𐦖𐦗𐦘𐦙𐦚𐦛𐦜𐦝𐦞𐦟𐦠𐦡𐦢𐦣𐦤𐦥𐦦𐦧𐦨𐦩𐦪𐦫𐦬𐦭𐦮𐦯𐦰𐦱𐦲𐦳𐦴𐦵𐦶𐦷𐦸𐦹𐦺𐦻𐦼𐦽𐦾𐦿𐧀𐧁𐧂𐧃𐧄𐧅𐧆𐧇𐧈𐧉𐧊𐧋𐧌𐧍𐧎𐧏𐧐𐧑𐧒𐧓𐧔𐧕𐧖𐧗𐧘𐧙𐧚𐧛𐧜𐧝𐧞𐧟𐧠𐧡𐧢𐧣𐧤𐧥𐧦𐧧𐧨𐧩𐧪𐧫𐧬𐧭𐧮𐧯𐧰𐧱𐧲𐧳𐧴𐧵𐧶𐧷𐧸𐧹𐧺𐧻𐧼𐧽𐧾𐧿𐨀𐨁𐨂𐨃𐨄𐨅𐨆𐨇𐨈𐨉𐨊𐨋𐨌𐨍𐨎𐨏𐨐𐨑𐨒𐨓𐨔𐨕𐨖𐨗𐨘𐨙𐨚𐨛𐨜𐨝𐨞𐨟𐨠𐨡𐨢𐨣𐨤𐨥𐨦𐨧𐨨𐨩𐨪𐨫𐨬𐨭𐨮𐨯𐨰𐨱𐨲𐨳𐨴𐨵𐨶𐨷𐨹𐨺𐨸𐨻𐨼𐨽𐨾𐨿𐩀𐩁𐩂𐩃𐩄𐩅𐩆𐩇𐩈𐩉𐩊𐩋𐩌𐩍𐩎𐩏𐩐𐩑𐩒𐩓𐩔𐩕𐩖𐩗𐩘𐩙𐩚𐩛𐩜𐩝𐩞𐩟𐩠𐩡𐩢𐩣𐩤𐩥𐩦𐩧𐩨𐩩𐩪𐩫𐩬𐩭𐩮𐩯𐩰𐩱𐩲𐩳𐩴𐩵𐩶𐩷𐩸𐩹𐩺𐩻𐩼𐩽𐩾𐩿𐪀𐪁𐪂𐪃𐪄𐪅𐪆𐪇𐪈𐪉𐪊𐪋𐪌𐪍𐪎𐪏𐪐𐪑𐪒𐪓𐪔𐪕𐪖𐪗𐪘𐪙𐪚𐪛𐪜𐪝𐪞𐪟𐪠𐪡𐪢𐪣𐪤𐪥𐪦𐪧𐪨𐪩𐪪𐪫𐪬𐪭𐪮𐪯𐪰𐪱𐪲𐪳𐪴𐪵𐪶𐪷𐪸𐪹𐪺𐪻𐪼𐪽𐪾𐪿𐫀𐫁𐫂𐫃𐫄𐫅𐫆𐫇𐫈𐫉𐫊𐫋𐫌𐫍𐫎𐫏𐫐𐫑𐫒𐫓𐫔𐫕𐫖𐫗𐫘𐫙𐫚𐫛𐫜𐫝𐫞𐫟𐫠𐫡𐫢𐫣𐫤𐫦𐫥𐫧𐫨𐫩𐫪𐫫𐫬𐫭𐫮𐫯𐫰𐫱𐫲𐫳𐫴𐫵𐫶𐫷𐫸𐫹𐫺𐫻𐫼𐫽𐫾𐫿𐬀𐬁𐬂𐬃𐬄𐬅𐬆𐬇𐬈𐬉𐬊𐬋𐬌𐬍𐬎𐬏𐬐𐬑𐬒𐬓𐬔𐬕𐬖𐬗𐬘𐬙𐬚𐬛𐬜𐬝𐬞𐬟𐬠𐬡𐬢𐬣𐬤𐬥𐬦𐬧𐬨𐬩𐬪𐬫𐬬𐬭𐬮𐬯𐬰𐬱𐬲𐬳𐬴𐬵𐬶𐬷𐬸𐬹𐬺𐬻𐬼𐬽𐬾𐬿𐭀𐭁𐭂𐭃𐭄𐭅𐭆𐭇𐭈𐭉𐭊𐭋𐭌𐭍𐭎𐭏𐭐𐭑𐭒𐭓𐭔𐭕𐭖𐭗𐭘𐭙𐭚𐭛𐭜𐭝𐭞𐭟𐭠𐭡𐭢𐭣𐭤𐭥𐭦𐭧𐭨𐭩𐭪𐭫𐭬𐭭𐭮𐭯𐭰𐭱𐭲𐭳𐭴𐭵𐭶𐭷𐭸𐭹𐭺𐭻𐭼𐭽𐭾𐭿𐮀𐮁𐮂𐮃𐮄𐮅𐮆𐮇𐮈𐮉𐮊𐮋𐮌𐮍𐮎𐮏𐮐𐮑𐮒𐮓𐮔𐮕𐮖𐮗𐮘𐮙𐮚𐮛𐮜𐮝𐮞𐮟𐮠𐮡𐮢𐮣𐮤𐮥𐮦𐮧𐮨𐮩𐮪𐮫𐮬𐮭𐮮𐮯𐮰𐮱𐮲𐮳𐮴𐮵𐮶𐮷𐮸𐮹𐮺𐮻𐮼𐮽𐮾𐮿𐯀𐯁𐯂𐯃𐯄𐯅𐯆𐯇𐯈𐯉𐯊𐯋𐯌𐯍𐯎𐯏𐯐𐯑𐯒𐯓𐯔𐯕𐯖𐯗𐯘𐯙𐯚𐯛𐯜𐯝𐯞𐯟𐯠𐯡𐯢𐯣𐯤𐯥𐯦𐯧𐯨𐯩𐯪𐯫𐯬𐯭𐯮𐯯𐯰𐯱𐯲𐯳𐯴𐯵𐯶𐯷𐯸𐯹𐯺𐯻𐯼𐯽𐯾𐯿𐰀𐰁𐰂𐰃𐰄𐰅𐰆𐰇𐰈𐰉𐰊𐰋𐰌𐰍𐰎𐰏𐰐𐰑𐰒𐰓𐰔𐰕𐰖𐰗𐰘𐰙𐰚𐰛𐰜𐰝𐰞𐰟𐰠𐰡𐰢𐰣𐰤𐰥𐰦𐰧𐰨𐰩𐰪𐰫𐰬𐰭𐰮𐰯𐰰𐰱𐰲𐰳𐰴𐰵𐰶𐰷𐰸𐰹𐰺𐰻𐰼𐰽𐰾𐰿𐱀𐱁𐱂𐱃𐱄𐱅𐱆𐱇𐱈𐱉𐱊𐱋𐱌𐱍𐱎𐱏𐱐𐱑𐱒𐱓𐱔𐱕𐱖𐱗𐱘𐱙𐱚𐱛𐱜𐱝𐱞𐱟𐱠𐱡𐱢𐱣𐱤𐱥𐱦𐱧𐱨𐱩𐱪𐱫𐱬𐱭𐱮𐱯𐱰𐱱𐱲𐱳𐱴𐱵𐱶𐱷𐱸𐱹𐱺𐱻𐱼𐱽𐱾𐱿𐲀𐲁𐲂𐲃𐲄𐲅𐲆𐲇𐲈𐲉𐲊𐲋𐲌𐲍𐲎𐲏𐲐𐲑𐲒𐲓𐲔𐲕𐲖𐲗𐲘𐲙𐲚𐲛𐲜𐲝𐲞𐲟𐲠𐲡𐲢𐲣𐲤𐲥𐲦𐲧𐲨𐲩𐲪𐲫𐲬𐲭𐲮𐲯𐲰𐲱𐲲𐲳𐲴𐲵𐲶𐲷𐲸𐲹𐲺𐲻𐲼𐲽𐲾𐲿𐳀𐳁𐳂𐳃𐳄𐳅𐳆𐳇𐳈𐳉𐳊𐳋𐳌𐳍𐳎𐳏𐳐𐳑𐳒𐳓𐳔𐳕𐳖𐳗𐳘𐳙𐳚𐳛𐳜𐳝𐳞𐳟𐳠𐳡𐳢𐳣𐳤𐳥𐳦𐳧𐳨𐳩𐳪𐳫𐳬𐳭𐳮𐳯𐳰𐳱𐳲𐳳𐳴𐳵𐳶𐳷𐳸𐳹𐳺𐳻𐳼𐳽𐳾𐳿𐴀𐴁𐴂𐴃𐴄𐴅𐴆𐴇𐴈𐴉𐴊𐴋𐴌𐴍𐴎𐴏𐴐𐴑𐴒𐴓𐴔𐴕𐴖𐴗𐴘𐴙𐴚𐴛𐴜𐴝𐴞𐴟𐴠𐴡𐴢𐴣𐴤𐴥𐴦𐴧𐴨𐴩𐴪𐴫𐴬𐴭𐴮𐴯𐴰𐴱𐴲𐴳𐴴𐴵𐴶𐴷𐴸𐴹𐴺𐴻𐴼𐴽𐴾𐴿𐵀𐵁𐵂𐵃𐵄𐵅𐵆𐵇𐵈𐵉𐵊𐵋𐵌𐵍𐵎𐵏𐵐𐵑𐵒𐵓𐵔𐵕𐵖𐵗𐵘𐵙𐵚𐵛𐵜𐵝𐵞𐵟𐵠𐵡𐵢𐵣𐵤𐵥𐵦𐵧𐵨𐵩𐵪𐵫𐵬𐵭𐵮𐵯𐵰𐵱𐵲𐵳𐵴𐵵𐵶𐵷𐵸𐵹𐵺𐵻𐵼𐵽𐵾𐵿𐶀𐶁𐶂𐶃𐶄𐶅𐶆𐶇𐶈𐶉𐶊𐶋𐶌𐶍𐶎𐶏𐶐𐶑𐶒𐶓𐶔𐶕𐶖𐶗𐶘𐶙𐶚𐶛𐶜𐶝𐶞𐶟𐶠𐶡𐶢𐶣𐶤𐶥𐶦𐶧𐶨𐶩𐶪𐶫𐶬𐶭𐶮𐶯𐶰𐶱𐶲𐶳𐶴𐶵𐶶𐶷𐶸𐶹𐶺𐶻𐶼𐶽𐶾𐶿𐷀𐷁𐷂𐷃𐷄𐷅𐷆𐷇𐷈𐷉𐷊𐷋𐷌𐷍𐷎𐷏𐷐𐷑𐷒𐷓𐷔𐷕𐷖𐷗𐷘𐷙𐷚𐷛𐷜𐷝𐷞𐷟𐷠𐷡𐷢𐷣𐷤𐷥𐷦𐷧𐷨𐷩𐷪𐷫𐷬𐷭𐷮𐷯𐷰𐷱𐷲𐷳𐷴𐷵𐷶𐷷𐷸𐷹𐷺𐷻𐷼𐷽𐷾𐷿𐸀𐸁𐸂𐸃𐸄𐸅𐸆𐸇𐸈𐸉𐸊𐸋𐸌𐸍𐸎𐸏𐸐𐸑𐸒𐸓𐸔𐸕𐸖𐸗𐸘𐸙𐸚𐸛𐸜𐸝𐸞𐸟𐸠𐸡𐸢𐸣𐸤𐸥𐸦𐸧𐸨𐸩𐸪𐸫𐸬𐸭𐸮𐸯𐸰𐸱𐸲𐸳𐸴𐸵𐸶𐸷𐸸𐸹𐸺𐸻𐸼𐸽𐸾𐸿𐹀𐹁𐹂𐹃𐹄𐹅𐹆𐹇𐹈𐹉𐹊𐹋𐹌𐹍𐹎𐹏𐹐𐹑𐹒𐹓𐹔𐹕𐹖𐹗𐹘𐹙𐹚𐹛𐹜𐹝𐹞𐹟𐹠𐹡𐹢𐹣𐹤𐹥𐹦𐹧𐹨𐹩𐹪𐹫𐹬𐹭𐹮𐹯𐹰𐹱𐹲𐹳𐹴𐹵𐹶𐹷𐹸𐹹𐹺𐹻𐹼𐹽𐹾𐹿𐺀𐺁𐺂𐺃𐺄𐺅𐺆𐺇𐺈𐺉𐺊𐺋𐺌𐺍𐺎𐺏𐺐𐺑𐺒𐺓𐺔𐺕𐺖𐺗𐺘𐺙𐺚𐺛𐺜𐺝𐺞𐺟𐺠𐺡𐺢𐺣𐺤𐺥𐺦𐺧𐺨𐺩𐺪𐺫𐺬𐺭𐺮𐺯𐺰𐺱𐺲𐺳𐺴𐺵𐺶𐺷𐺸𐺹𐺺𐺻𐺼𐺽𐺾𐺿𐻀𐻁𐻂𐻃𐻄𐻅𐻆𐻇𐻈𐻉𐻊𐻋𐻌𐻍𐻎𐻏𐻐𐻑𐻒𐻓𐻔𐻕𐻖𐻗𐻘𐻙𐻚𐻛𐻜𐻝𐻞𐻟𐻠𐻡𐻢𐻣𐻤𐻥𐻦𐻧𐻨𐻩𐻪𐻫𐻬𐻭𐻮𐻯𐻰𐻱𐻲𐻳𐻴𐻵𐻶𐻷𐻸𐻹𐻺𐻻𐻼𐻽𐻾𐻿𐼀𐼁𐼂𐼃𐼄𐼅𐼆𐼇𐼈𐼉𐼊𐼋𐼌𐼍𐼎𐼏𐼐𐼑𐼒𐼓𐼔𐼕𐼖𐼗𐼘𐼙𐼚𐼛𐼜𐼝𐼞𐼟𐼠𐼡𐼢𐼣𐼤𐼥𐼦𐼧𐼨𐼩𐼪𐼫𐼬𐼭𐼮𐼯𐼰𐼱𐼲𐼳𐼴𐼵𐼶𐼷𐼸𐼹𐼺𐼻𐼼𐼽𐼾𐼿𐽀𐽁𐽂𐽃𐽄𐽅𐽆𐽇𐽋𐽍𐽎𐽏𐽐𐽈𐽉𐽊𐽌𐽑𐽒𐽓𐽔𐽕𐽖𐽗𐽘𐽙𐽚𐽛𐽜𐽝𐽞𐽟𐽠𐽡𐽢𐽣𐽤𐽥𐽦𐽧𐽨𐽩𐽪𐽫𐽬𐽭𐽮𐽯𐽰𐽱𐽲𐽳𐽴𐽵𐽶𐽷𐽸𐽹𐽺𐽻𐽼𐽽𐽾𐽿𐾀𐾁𐾃𐾅𐾂𐾄𐾆𐾇𐾈𐾉𐾊𐾋𐾌𐾍𐾎𐾏𐾐𐾑

B.M. 25127 cont.



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III

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人言無益

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此後世宗皇帝之孫也

庚子年九月廿五日

食鹽分參兩以得之五下以水煎之得五升

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金剛經咒王字法要法門通釋集要

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丁巳年 丁巳年

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人々、陸軍、海軍、空軍、

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B.M. 21901 cont.

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B.M. 22047

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宣統元年四月廿五日
 宣統元年四月廿五日

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B.M. 22047 cont.

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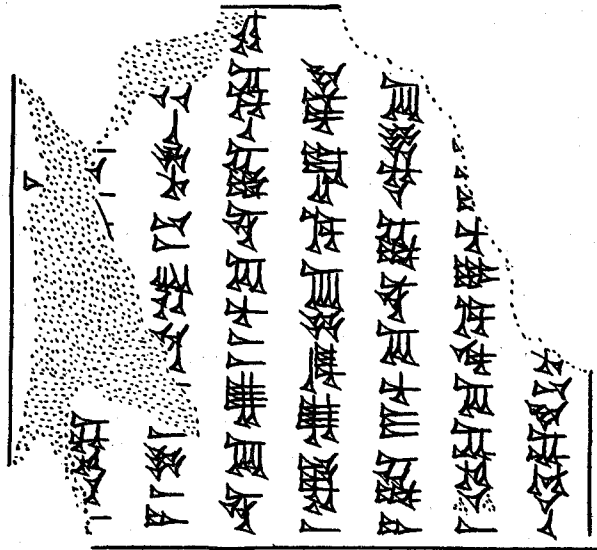
PLATE XX

B.M. 36514

p. 89

B.M. 33041

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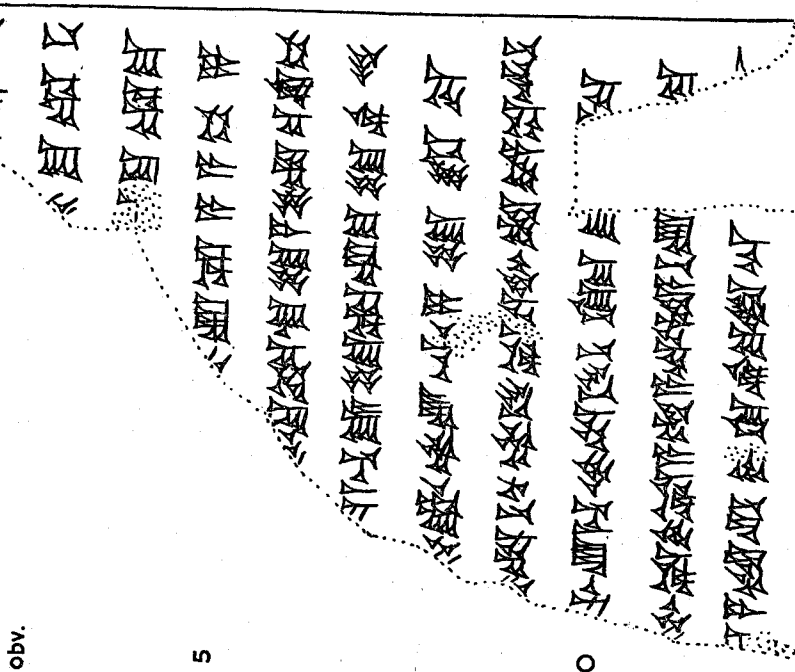
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