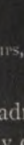
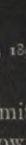

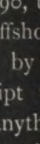
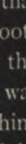
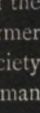



## BABYLONIAN HIEROGLYPHS.

BY THE REV. C. J. BALL, M.A.,

EXAMINER FOR THE OXFORD UNIVERSITY HEBREW SCHOLARSHIPS, 1897.

There are people who still find a difficulty in admitting the pictorial origin of the cuneiform characters. For my own part, I am not only quite convinced of the truth of this opinion, in spite of the fact that many characters still await their pictorial explanation; I also believe, as I stated in these *Proceedings* for June, 1890, that the Egyptian and Chinese hieroglyphic systems are both offshoots of the primitive system of Chaldea, now only represented by the so-called linear writing, from which the cuneiform script was gradually derived. As it is some time since I published anything directly bearing upon a question so important to investigators of the origin of writing, I trust that what I have now to add to former communications may excite some degree of interest in a Society which can boast of the pioneering efforts of that distinguished man the late Reverend William Houghton.

(1) I start with the written symbol denoting Nineveh and its tutelary goddess. In cuneiform this is , which is a compound of  house and  fish. In the linear character (GUDEA B, Col. VIII, l. 51, *et al*) this ideogram or hieroglyph, as we may call it, appears thus ; which is clearly the outline of a two-storied building, with a fish on the lower floor. With the determinative prefix  city, thus , the character was read Ni-nu-a and Ni-na-a, *i.e.*, Nineveh. With the determinative of deity,  god or goddess, it denoted the tutelary divinity of the place, who was probably also called *Ninā* (cf. *Aššur*, Ἀσαῦρος, as the tutelary god of the city

Aššur, and perhaps *Mardug* as a form of Urudug, Eridug, "The good seat" or settlement). In Sargon's Cylinder Inscription, l. 54, a goddess ŠA-UŠ-KA *rašibat Ninā* KI, "Shaushka that overaweth Nineveh," is mentioned. And Dushratta of Mitanni seems to call Ishtar of Nineveh by this name: see WINCKLER's transcript of the Berlin Tell el-Amarna texts, Plate 33, line 98, where I think we should read URU Ninu-ā-pi DINGIR ŠA-U[Š-KA]-ši, "Shaushkash (*i.e.*, Ishtar) of Nineveh": cf. Pl. 30, line 84, DINGIR ŠA-UŠ-KAŠ; and for the identity of Ishtar and Shaushka, cf. the letter of Dushratta to Nimmuriya, No. 10 in the Brit. Mus. Collection, l. 13: *Ištar ša ali Ninā*. Possibly, therefore, the ideogram was also read Shaushka, as the name of the goddess. However that may be, it is surely a fact of capital importance for a right estimate of the character of the Biblical book of Jonah that the name of the city to which the prophet was sent was expressed in writing, from the earliest period, by a combination of the symbols for *house* and *fish*. For this fact at once suggests that the three days' sojourn of Jonah in the *House of the Fish*, *i.e.*, in Nineveh, might be symbolized or Haggadically represented as a three days' abode in the bowels of a "Great Fish": much as Israel's enforced sojourn in Babylon could be compared with being swallowed up by a dragon (Jer. li, 34). And, considering that the name *יונה* *dove* is peculiar for a prophet, and unique as a personal designation (2 Kings xiv, 25; Jonah i-iv only), and that the dove was sacred to the goddess Ishtar-Astarte, we may see another trace of mythical connection even in the prophet's name.

Now what is the precise meaning of the hieroglyph? Primitively, the goddess herself may have been conceived of as a great fish. Fish were sacred to her Syrian counterpart Atergatis (*i.e.* Ishtar-Atys), and were kept in the temple-ponds at Edessa, Hierapolis, and Ascalon (See ROBERTSON-SMITH, *Rel. Sem.*). The beautiful classical myth of Aphrodite rising out of the sea will occur to everyone. But the fish might also denote multitudinous offspring, prolific numbers, especially in connection with the symbol for house (family, and also *settlement*, territory; cf. the use of בית *bitu*, in the names בית תגרמיה, *Bit Ammāna*, *Bit Ujunria*, Beth-Garmai, etc.); in fact, 𐎶 is explained by the Assyrian *kubuttā*, "muchness," "multitude," as well as by *nūnu*, "fish." And *house + fish*, *i.e.*, House of Multitudes, would be a good name for Nineveh, "The Great City" (Gen. x, 12), which was especially great in population (Jonah iii, 3; iv, 11); while the same hieroglyph

would aptly suggest the goddess Ninā, as the source of its teeming numbers, and a birth-goddess, like Gula-Mylitta. The name *Ninā* may thus be really akin to the obscure Hebrew *nin*, "offspring" נין ונבר (Gen. xxi, 23), and to the verb ינון in Ps. lxxii, 17 (*Qeri*). To the same root may be traced *nūnu*, נוניא, "fish," strictly "the teeming" or "multiplying." And, further, according to familiar interchanges of sound, נייב or נויב, "fruit" (Mal. i, 12; Isa. lvii, 19), may be akin to נין; for N-B = N-M = N-N: and yet another form of the same root may be recognized in the Sumerian LUM, "to sprout," "bud," "bear fruit," LAM *id.*, SU. LUM (𒌦-𒌦-𒌦). Assyrian *suluppu* (as if from SU. LUB) "date." Other connections seem to be NUN, "great," NIM, "high," E-NIM ("height"), "heaven," E-LAM, "highland," "Elam"; the ground-notion in all being that of *shooting forth and upward, growing up*, and so becoming and being *tall* or high. And bearing in mind the established interchange of N and Š in Sumerian, we may see reason for connecting the Semitic 𐤎 𐤍 𐤌 𐤋 *šamū*, שמים, "heaven," with a neo-Sumerian ŠAM = NAM = NIM; so that in Hebrew as in other languages *heaven* is the height above (cf. מרום). In Tibetan *nam* is "heaven.")\*

(2) The character 𐎶 NIM, linear 𐎶, has already become so conventionalized in the oldest inscriptions (*circa* B.C. 4000), that its pictorial significance is not easy to recognize. The original linear figure may have suggested a man holding up his arms; cf. the Egyptian 𓆎 *qa*, "height." At all events, the existing linear character closely resembles the linear forms of 𐎶 "male," 𐎶 "man," "servant;" see AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, *Tableau Comparé*, Nos. 7 and 8. Possibly, however, the figure represents a throne with-

\* The debt of the Semitic to the primitive Sumerian language is far greater than is generally recognized. It is impossible to look at a word like DUG and its younger form ZIB, "good," without seeing a relationship between it and *tibu*, the Assyrian term which explains it (Heb. טוב, Aram. טוב). The obscure Heb. מוטפת *ḥōphōth*, φυλακτήρια ("frontlets": Exod. xiii, 16), similarly goes back to the Sumerian 𐎶 𐎶 DIB. DIB (from DAB. DAB), "to bind" (*kamū*, *kasū*). The Arabic حوت *ḥūt*, "fish," may be compared with the Sumerian 𐎶 HA, KU (from GU), "fish." The words تمر, تمر, the palm and its fruit, are akin to GI-SHIMMAR, "shimmar-tree," "palm."

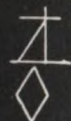
out a back, such as the two gods (Sun and Moon) occupy in the seal here shown; just as the character  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  "lord," "high," "heaven," was once the picture of a high-backed throne, such as gods and kings sometimes occupy in the seal-engravings and wall-sculptures: cf. the linear form



with the throne of the Moon-god in the annexed seal, and with that of Sennacherib in the well-known scene of the king sitting in state and receiving the spoils of Lachish.



(3) The character  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  MUD, explained *alâdu*, which means both "to beget" and "to bear," and *banû ša alâdi*, "to produce, in the sense of begetting (or bearing)," has long been a puzzle to me. The cuneiform preserves the original elements, viz.:  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  bird and  $\triangle$  knee, as is clear from the linear



, and from the name of the character invented by the Semitic Babylonian *literati*, viz.: Mušendugû, i.e., "Bird-knee," or "Bird-on-knee"; a designation quite parallel to those given by Chinese scholars to some of their own ideograms. The solution of the puzzle lies in the fact that  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  MU, or ŪU, originally represented the young or unfledged bird, the *u* of the Egyptian script. The young bird symbolizes a child, and the child on the knee is a modest symbol of generation and parturition, or of parentage generally. This association of the knees with birth illustrates several passages of the Old Testament. "Why," asks Job, "did the knees receive me?" (iii, 12); cf. also Gen. xxx, 3; 1, 23. And it will be remembered that the Roman father signified his adoption of his newborn offspring, by receiving it on his knees. That in course of time  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  should have come to be used to signify *bird* (*iššuru*) in general, is not surprising, considering the vagueness of the linear characters.

(4) Having found the clue to the ideogram  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$ , I was also enabled to explain the curious  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  SA, which is defined in

Assyrian by *nabû*, "to name." This hieroglyph is composed of  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$ , *young bird, nestling*, and  $\leftarrow\rightarrow$ , *bed* (see AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, Nos. 25 and 261). We know from Genesis (xxix, 32-35; xxx, 6-13, 18-24; xxxv, 18) that the mother, or the midwife (xxxviii, 27-30), commonly named a child at its birth. The picture of a *nestling in bed*, therefore, was used by the old Babylonian inventors of writing to suggest the notion of *naming*, by a very natural association of ideas.


(5) The more important of the linear forms of  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  DI, RI, etc., is also a bird-character. We see at once that it is simply the linear form of  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$ , modified by the addition of a second cross line at the top, which also appears in  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  the linear forms of  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  NAM, SIM, a third bird-character (AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 28). What does this modification stand for? It must be remembered that the difficulty of ascertaining the precise objects represented by the linear characters, is mainly due to the conventional form which they have already assumed in the course of centuries of use; for at the date of the Semitic king Sargon I. of Accad, B.C. 3800, the writing was already ancient. Bearing this in mind, the suggestion may be hazarded that the double cross-lines represent *the open beak* of the bird; a suggestion which will at least illustrate the use of the character for the expression of the ideas of taking, seizing, carrying off, etc. (*laqâtu, liqû, šalâlu*). Whatever change in the original picture may thus obscurely survive in the outline character, it is enough for our purpose that that original picture was the figure of some kind of bird, in some particular attitude or posture. This fact, as will be seen, accounts for most of the uses of the character. Thus  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  had the senses of flying, flying away, putting to flight, winged (*parâšu* in various stems; *muttaprišu*, of birds and locusts). These meanings were immediately suggested by the picture. Further, the use of the same hieroglyph to express the ideas of light breaking forth, the rising and shining of the sun and stars ( $\rightarrow\leftarrow$  = *nabâtu, šarûru*), depends on the common mythical conception of the Dawn as a bird shooting up into the sky. Eos and Aurora are winged or white-winged in the classical poets; and the same idea is present in the metaphor of Ps. cxxxix, 9: "the wings of the Morning" (בנפי שחר). The "Sun of Righteousness," too, has "wings," i.e., oblique side-beams (Mal. iv, 2). In  $\rightarrow\leftarrow$ , "to

brighten," "purify" (*ullulu*), we have an extension of the same use; and if *ēru ša šitti*, *ēru ša ēni*, really mean "waking from sleep," "waking, said of the eye," respectively, this sense of 𐎠𐎡𐎢 is plainly connected with that of light (*cf.* Ps. xiii, 3: "Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not," etc., האירה עיני וגו').

Again, the favourite image of the bird sheltering and protecting its young ones, appears in 𐎠𐎡𐎢, "to protect," "support," "help" (*hatānu*, *nararātu*). *Cf.* Exod. xix, 4: "I bare you on eagles' wings"; Deut. xxxii, 11; Ps. xvii, 8: "Hide me under the shadow of thy wings"; Ps. xxxvi, 7: "The sons of man take refuge under the shadow of thy wings"; Isa. xxxi, 5: "As birds flying," etc. See also Exod. xxv, 20 (the protecting wings of the cherubim over the Ark). Here also the hieroglyph immediately suggests its proper meaning in a suitable context.

But 𐎠𐎡𐎢 also denotes "a gust, blast, or gale" of wind (*zīqu*), "a breeze" (as in the expression *bāb zīqi*), and "to blow," "to blow upon, through, or into" (*zāqu*); and it enters into the compound ideogram 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢, which is explained by various Assyrian terms denoting storms, hurricanes, and associated phenomena (BRÜNNOW, 2611—2619). Now winds, especially storm-winds, are conceived in many mythologies as gigantic birds, which swoop down on their prey and carry it off in beak and talons, like the Homeric Harpies (*Ἀρπυγίαι*; *cf.* ἄρπάζω, to snatch, seize, carry off. From the same root APII comes ἄρπιγ, a bird of prey, perhaps the Egyptian kite; and considering that RI, DI, are values of 𐎠𐎡𐎢, and that DIB, of which RIB is a natural variant, means *to seize*, we may not be wrong in supposing an ultimate connexion of the Aryan root *arp* with these Sumerian roots). The Storm-bird, Assyrian *Zū*, a term which DELITSCH compares with זוע, זועא, etc., probably got his name from ZU = TU, "the wind" (*šāru*). In fact, the linear form of

𐎠𐎡𐎢 TU, the ordinary character for "wind," viz., 𐎠𐎡𐎢, may originally have figured a bird of prey in full flight,

rather than a mast and sail, like the Egyptian 𐎠𐎡𐎢,  *nef*, with which some have compared it. At all events, it is a remarkable fact that the Sumerian symbol agrees with the old Chinese form of 隼 *chui*, birds, *tsui*, wind, gale, viz., 𠄎. (As this Chinese character is dialectically pronounced *twi* 𠄎 and *tsü*, it

is perfectly clear that we have here an agreement in symbol, sound, and sense, which cannot be fortuitous, and which those who maintain the Semitic origin of the Babylonian characters and their sounds may be left to account for as they can.) In the Bible also we have traces of this old conception of the wind as a bird, *e.g.*, Hosea, iv, 19: "The wind hath bound her up (?) in its wings"; Ps. xviii, 10: "He rode on the Cherub (כרוב). . . He did fly on the wings of the wind," where the Cherub or Storm-bird is clearly the wind, as the parallelism indicates.


The ideas of taking or lifting up, seizing, carrying off (*našū*, *laqātu*, *laqu* or *liqu*), bringing (*abālu*), removing to a distance (*nīšū*), sweeping away (*šabāru*), taking as booty or spoil (*šalālu*), which all belong to 𐎠𐎡𐎢, and are more or less clearly associated with one another, are symbolized suitably enough by the picture of a bird; *cf.* Isa. xlv, 11, "calling a ravenous bird from the east" (*i.e.*, to spoil Babylon); Eccl. x, 20, "The birds of the air will carry (יוליד) the voice."

There are also uses of the ideogram which apparently have no reference to its pictorial value, but only to the *sounds* associated with it; *i.e.*, they are instances of what is called in Chinese a "Phonetic" application of the character. This may be the case with 𐎠𐎡𐎢 sheep (*šēnu*), which, if read DI, may be a form of DIB, UDU, which have the same sense.

I cannot at present explain the other linear form of 𐎠𐎡𐎢 (AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 266), unless it be, as is possible, a mere variant of the one already discussed. An original difference is hardly necessary to account for the recorded uses of the character; *e.g.*, Ishtar might be called 𐎠𐎡𐎢 𐎠𐎡𐎢, as symbolized by a particular bird, or as a goddess of light, etc. And the meanings, to throw, shoot, cast, put, lay (*nadū*, *ramū*), are perhaps explicable in connection with the bird-symbol. The notions of *shooting* and *flying* are not far apart; we may say, "The bird shot upward," "The arrow flew," or *vice versa*; meaning in both instances rapid motion through the air. The idea of *settling upon or in* a particular place (*ramū*) may be connected with that of a bird alighting or dropping on the ground, or settling in a tree after flight.\* At all events, the character 𐎠𐎡𐎢 (originally a picture of the leg and foot), whose

\* *Šalummatu ramū* may express "shooting forth radiance," rather than "with splendour clad."


sounds, DU, RA, ŠA, seem to bear some relation to those of 𐎠𐎡𐎣 (DI, RI, ŠA), combines the ideas of motion and (subsequent) rest in meanings like *aláku*, *abálu*, *kánu*, *šakánu*, *nazázu*.

(6) The bird-character 𐎠𐎡𐎣 NAM is clearly revealed as such by its linear form  (AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 28), which appears to be flying with outspread wings; although here again, as in the case of the other two bird-symbols, we cannot be quite sure of the pictorial intention, owing to the rudeness and vagueness of the indications. NAM denotes *fate*, *destiny*, strictly, a *decree* or *appointment* of Heaven (*šimtu*, *piristu*), with which may be connected the meaning, *government*, *pashalik* (*pihátu*; from *pihú*, to steer, gubernare), in the sense of an *appointment* by the king, as also that of *punishment* (*annu*, *arnu*, sin and penalty, like 𐎠𐎡𐎣) as decreed and imposed by authority. Read SIM (from ŠIM = NIM = NAM?) the character is explained by *šahálu*, to name, call, appoint, ordain, a synonym of *nabú*. All these meanings of the hieroglyph evidently hang together, for "fate" is only the *word*, appointment, or ordinance of the gods (*cf.* Lat. *fatum*, from *fari*, to speak. There may also be a reference in the Sumerian symbol to augury or divination by the flight of birds). NAM is therefore closely related to I-NIM, which we see in the expression INIM.INIM, "word," "command," "spell" (*amátu*, *šiptu*); a spell, being merely a spoken or muttered formula.



But why was the swallow—*sinuntu*, 𐎠𐎡𐎣—called the NAM (or SIM) bird? I think because of its twittering or "chattering": *cf.*, "As a swallow or a crane, so did I chatter" (Isa xxxviii, 14). In Chinese, *yen yu*, "swallow-talk," means the chatter of women; and *nam* means "gabble," "twittering of swallows," and "muttering incantations."


The Sumerian NAM seems to be further used in the sense of rejoicing (*hadú*, *rišú*?). If the restoration of the Assyrian terms be correct (see BRÜNNOW, Nos. 2096 *sq.*), the idea may have been associated with the cheerful noise of the swallows under the roof-beams. So in Chinese, *yen* (Annamite *nyön*), "swallow," is also "to feast," "be pleased," "pleasant," etc.

Finally, the use of NAM as a negative particle (= *lá*, "not") is exactly parallel to the Chinese negative 不 *pūt*, *pu*, "not," which is said to represent a swallow or other bird flying away heavenward, and 非 *fi*, "not," which is a figure of wings outspread.

(7) The pictorial significance of the character 𐎠𐎡𐎣 *iši* or *isi* to weep (*bakú*) is at first sight as obscure as that of the synonymous 𐎠𐎡𐎣 (or 𐎠𐎡𐎣) *isiš* (*nissatu*, *šiptu*, *bakú*, *dimtu*, *bikitu*, etc.), is obvious. The latter, being composed of 𐎠𐎡𐎣 *water* and 𐎠𐎡𐎣 *eye*, needs no recourse to the linear writing for its explanation. The linear or archaic figure of 𐎠𐎡𐎣 is  and similar forms, in the inscriptions of Ur-Bau of Ur (*circa.* 2700 B.C.) and Gudea of Sirgulla. This curious character 𐎠𐎡𐎣 appears to me to be a compound of 𐎠𐎡𐎣 *eye* and 𐎠𐎡𐎣 intended to represent *flowing tears*. It therefore originally pictured the weeping eye, and may be compared both with 𐎠𐎡𐎣 and with the Egyptian 𐎠𐎡𐎣 to weep.

The same symbol 𐎠𐎡𐎣 was also read SA.ŠAR, dust, dirt (*ipru*, *epiru*, *turbútu*—not *turpu'tu*, as DELITZSCH, *H.W.B.*, p. 714; *cf.* Arab. تراب, تراب, تراب, dust). This may have been because dust in the eye causes tears, or because dust was thrown on the head and face by mourners; and also because *isi* or *iši* was another term for *dust*. The word SA.ŠAR is apparently composed of two synonyms, corresponding to the Chinese *sha*, *sa*, sand, and *ngai*, dust; *cf.* the saying, "Fan feng k'i ér yang sha, kiai yueh ngai," "When the wind raises and spreads sand, it is called *dust*." *iši*, hill, mound (*šadú*), is dust or dirt heaped up.

(8) If the four perpendicular lines of the last hieroglyph represent running water, we can explain  the linear form of 𐎠𐎡𐎣 E or E.KU, ditch, canal, as a picture  of a canal, with a sluice represented by the straight line crossing it (AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 119).

(9) From the ideogram for *canal* is evidently derived one of the linear forms of 𐎠𐎡𐎣, viz.,  which denotes "the land," "the country" (*mátu*), and which the linear figure demonstrates to be composed of 𐎠𐎡𐎣 *canal* + *great* or *many*; *canals* or *having many canals*—a characteristic description of Babylonia. The other

linear figure , that is, in cuneiform,  $\text{𒍪} + \text{𒍪}$  *house + many*, or *the many* , is an equally good hieroglyph for "the people," "mankind" (*nīšu*).

(10) The character  $\text{𒍪}$  *šIM*, used of fragrant woods and plants plants—as when Sargon speaks of "*urkarin*, cedar, and cypress, all *growths* (*riqqé* = *šIM*) yielded by Mt. Amanus, whose scent is sweet"—may also be explained by reference to its linear form . This evidently consists of the *cup*, linear , which by itself is the symbol for strong drink (*šikaru*), and a form of the *dust* and *tears* character. Our hieroglyph, therefore, is *cup* + (aromatic) *dust* or *tears*; and we may think of the tears or fragrant gums and resins which exude from certain plants, and which, when compounded, constitute incense (*cf.* Exod. xxx, 34, *sq.*). Fragrant woods and herbs, as well as incense proper, were used in the Babylonian temples; and the *amēlu rab rikki* (= *riqqé*), or "Master of the Sweet Perfumes," was doubtless an official analogous to the priestly "apothecary" of Exod. xxx, 35, who, according to the Rabbis, lived in the Temple at Jerusalem.

The symbol is also read *SIRIS*, the name of a goddess. As  $\text{𒍪}$  is used in Assyrian with the values *ras* and *raḥ* (presupposing Sumerian values *RAS*, *RAG*), and as  $\text{𒍪}$  is (*I*)*SI*, it seems clear that the compound character, in this application, was originally read *RAS. SI* (or with vowel-harmony *RIS. SI*), and afterwards came to be read *SI. RIS*, just as *GAL. LU* came to be read *LU. GAL*. This (and other evidence) goes against the common assumption that *RIG* (from *RAG*), the second value of  $\text{𒍪}$ , is of Semitic origin. It was probably an old Sumerian synonym of *šIM*, meaning *fragrant* thing; and from it sprang not only the Assyrian *riqqé*, "fragrant plants," but also the Hebrew and Phœnician  $\text{רקח}$  (Exod. xxx, 35, etc.).

The *siraš* or *sēraš* which Nebuchadnezzar lavished in libations to his gods, was probably a *spiced* wine. The Chinese apply the term *hsiang*, "incense," to the aroma of wine, and to fragrant woods such as cedar or cypress; much as the Sumerian hieroglyph is an element in (*GIŠ*). *šIM. LI*, pine, and (*GIŠ*). *šIM. DUBRAN* juniper (Syriac *daphrānā*). So far as *šIM* is simply *plants*, *herbs*, etc., it may be related to  $\text{𒍪}$  *šAM*, and the Egyptian *sam*, vegetables, and the Chinese *sung*, cabbage; so far as it connotes *fragrance*, it seems akin

to *IR. SIM*, fragrance; *cf.* Chinese *hsing*, to be fragrant; *hsin*, to snuff the fragrance of offerings (said of Shang-ti, as *IR. SIM I. GUBBI* is said of the gods in Sumerian); *hsiang*, incense.

(11) The commonest meaning of  $\text{𒍪}$  *SUN*, *SUM*, *SIG*, *SI*, is to *give*, *present*, *make an offering*, etc. (*nadānu* =  $\text{נתן}$ ). The other uses are, for the most part, easily deducible from this one, which might therefore be regarded as the original sense of the symbol. The linear figure, however, is , which is evidently intended to represent a pile of plants of some kind, no doubt laid on an altar or table as an offering to a god. Now  $\text{𒍪}$  (*SUN. MU* or *SUM. MU* or *SUM. MA*) means *šumu*,  $\text{שום}$  (Num. xi, 5), the Chinese *sün*, *swan*, garlick, which was not only much used by the Egyptians as an article of diet, but along with its kindred the onion, offered in piles to the gods (see the illustrations in WILKINSON'S *Ancient Egyptians*). It would seem, then, as the Sumerian hieroglyph does not depict the plants upright, *i.e.*, as growing, but lying horizontally one upon the other, the suggestion is a *heap of garlick or alliaceous plants*; and as the most usual sense of the hieroglyph is to *give or present*, we may conclude that the custom of offering onions and garlick on tables of offerings to the gods existed in Shinar before it was practised in Egypt.

(12) The Sumerian expression  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$  *A. DAM* (or *A. LAM*) is compounded of  $\text{𒍪}$  *hand*, *side*, and  $\text{𒍪}$  *spouse*, *husband*, *wife*. "Side-spouse" naturally denotes all creatures which exist in pairs, or as male and female; and  $\text{𒍪} \text{𒍪}$  is, in fact, used of the entire animal creation, both brute and human. The literal meaning of this very old Sumerian expression seems to explain the story of the origin of woman from "the side" of man (Gen. ii, 21), and also to account for the curious statement, "called *their* name Adam" (Gen. v, 2).

The Assyrian equivalent, *namaššū*, seems to mean *things that move or creep about*, being derived from a root, *namāšu*, which looks like a cognate form of the Hebrew  $\text{רמש}$  *ramas*, to creep (Gen. i, 21, *sqq.*).

The limestone tablet, of which phototypes are here presented, was found on the site of the temple of the Sun-god at *Abū Habbah*, the ancient Sippara. It seems to be part of an old temple-register,


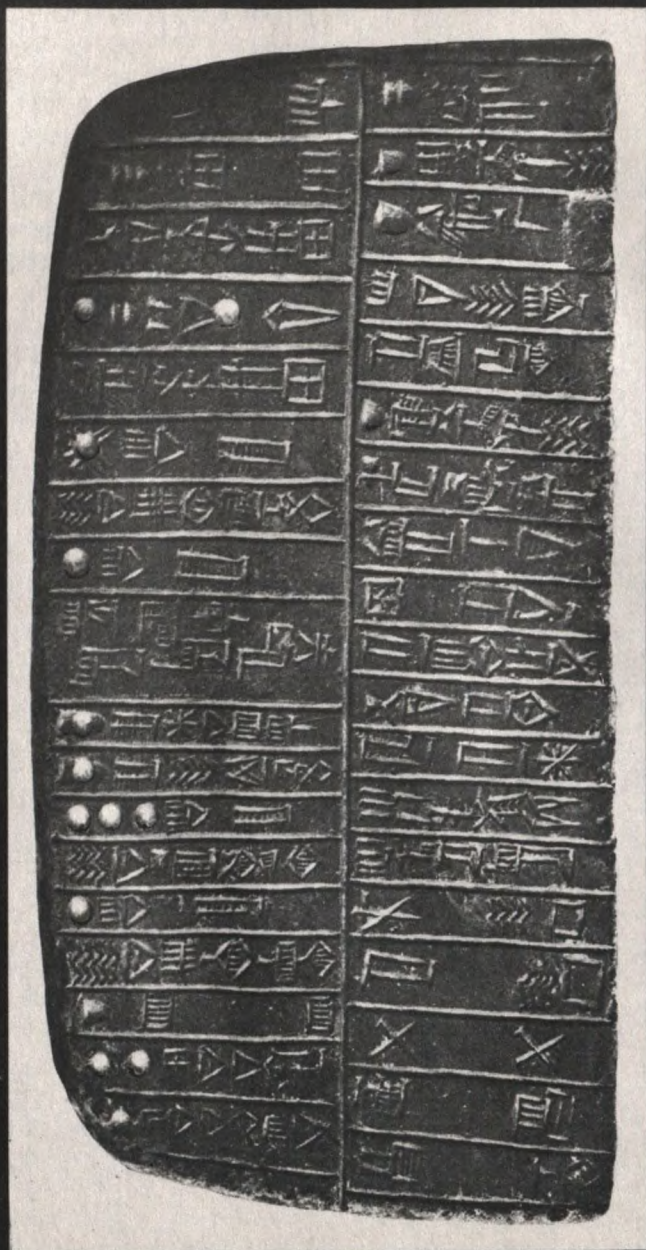
not only giving an account of the flocks and herds and other property of the sanctuary, but also briefly chronicling events of interest affecting the sacred lands. This document is added here as affording an excellent illustration of the linear mode of writing. It presents some forms apparently older than those used by Gudea; e.g., that of  IB in col. 2, line 13. As a Sumerian word, IB means "anger," "to be angry"; and the linear symbol depicts *the back*, with well-marked vertebræ (*cf.* the linear form of EGIR, "back," AMIAUD-MÉCHINEAU, No. 73, with this one = their No. 72). Turning the back on any one is a natural sign of displeasure. In Chinese, the character for *back* is also used for *to turn the back on*, *to oppose*, *dislike*, etc.

PLATE I.



AN INSCRIBED LIMESTONE TABLET FROM SIPPARA. OBERVERSE.  
*In the possession of the Rev. C. J. Ball.*

PLATE II.



INSCRIBED LIMESTONE TABLET FROM SIPPARA. REVERSE.



AN INSCRIBED LIMESTONE TABLET (6 in. × 3¼ in. × 2 in.)  
FROM SIPPARA (*ABÚ HABBÁH*).

By the Rev. C. J. Ball.

*Transcription into neo-Babylonian Characters.*

... 𐎢	𐎡 𐎶 𐎶
𐎢 𐎡 𐎡	𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 (𐎶) 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	(𐎶) 𐎶
𐎶 𐎶 𐎶	𐎶 𐎶 𐎶

## TRANSCRIPTION IN ROMAN LETTERS, AND TRANSLATION.

This venerable relic of the remote past is here transcribed and translated for the first time, and therefore with all reserve. The capital letters mark Sumerian words, the small type Semitic Babylonian words and terminations, the occurrence of which here and there proves the text to be of Semitic origin.

COL. I.	COL. II.
( . . . . ) GAL <i>Grand (Account ?).</i>	II SHE-GISH SAG <i>Two (crops ?) of best sesame.</i>
III DIB DIB <i>Three sheep</i>	20. I ṬU-PI GUSH-GIN <i>One ṭu-pi of gold ;</i>
be-li BAL SIB <i>To the Lord the shepherds sacrificed,</i>	I ZA-BAR <i>One of bronze,</i>
XII GUD X LID <i>Twelve bullocks ten heifers</i>	SHU-ZALLI <i>Burnished.</i>
5. SUB NU-NU SIB <i>The shepherds lived on (their) flesh.</i>	UNU-URU-KI <i>At Erech (?)</i>
XII BUR NIR <i>Twelve bull calves</i>	I ṬU-PI GUSH-GIN <i>One ṭu-pi of gold ;</i>
in u-di-la-tim <i>In the stalls.</i>	25. I MA-NA ZA-(BAR) <i>One manch of bronze,</i>
X BUR NIR <i>Ten bull calves</i>	ka-me-ir <i>Dark-hued</i>
SHU-BALAG DA DA GISHGAL (?) MAR <i>Were sacrificed on the south and west borders.</i>	KUNIN TA <i>As pitch.</i>
10. XI NIR DINGIR NIN-GAL <i>Eleven bull (calves) to Ningal.</i>	GISH-GI ĠAL <i>The swamp overflowed</i>
XI NIR TU-LAL-tim <i>XI bull (calves) for breeding.</i>	be-li ĠU <i>The Lord's domain ;</i>
XXX BUR NIR <i>Thirty bull calves</i>	30. UR GISH AN <i>Together trees and corn</i>
	i-mu-tum <i>Died.</i>

## COL. I—contd.

in A-IDINNA-KI <i>At Nod (?)</i>
X BUR NIR <i>Ten bull calves</i>
15. in ASH-NA-AK-KI <i>At Ashnak.</i>
I DUR-DUR <i>One boar.</i>
XX BI-NI DUN <i>Twenty fat porkers.</i>
X BI-NI DUGGA <i>Ten fine hogs.</i>

## COL. II—contd.

E DA DA <i>With ditches on the borders</i>
NU-SHAR <i>The gardeners</i>
GISH-SHAR <i>The garden</i>
35. DIM DIM <i>Enclosed ;</i>
DÀRRA <i>Vegetation</i>
UM-ME-SHÀR <i>Became pienteous.</i>

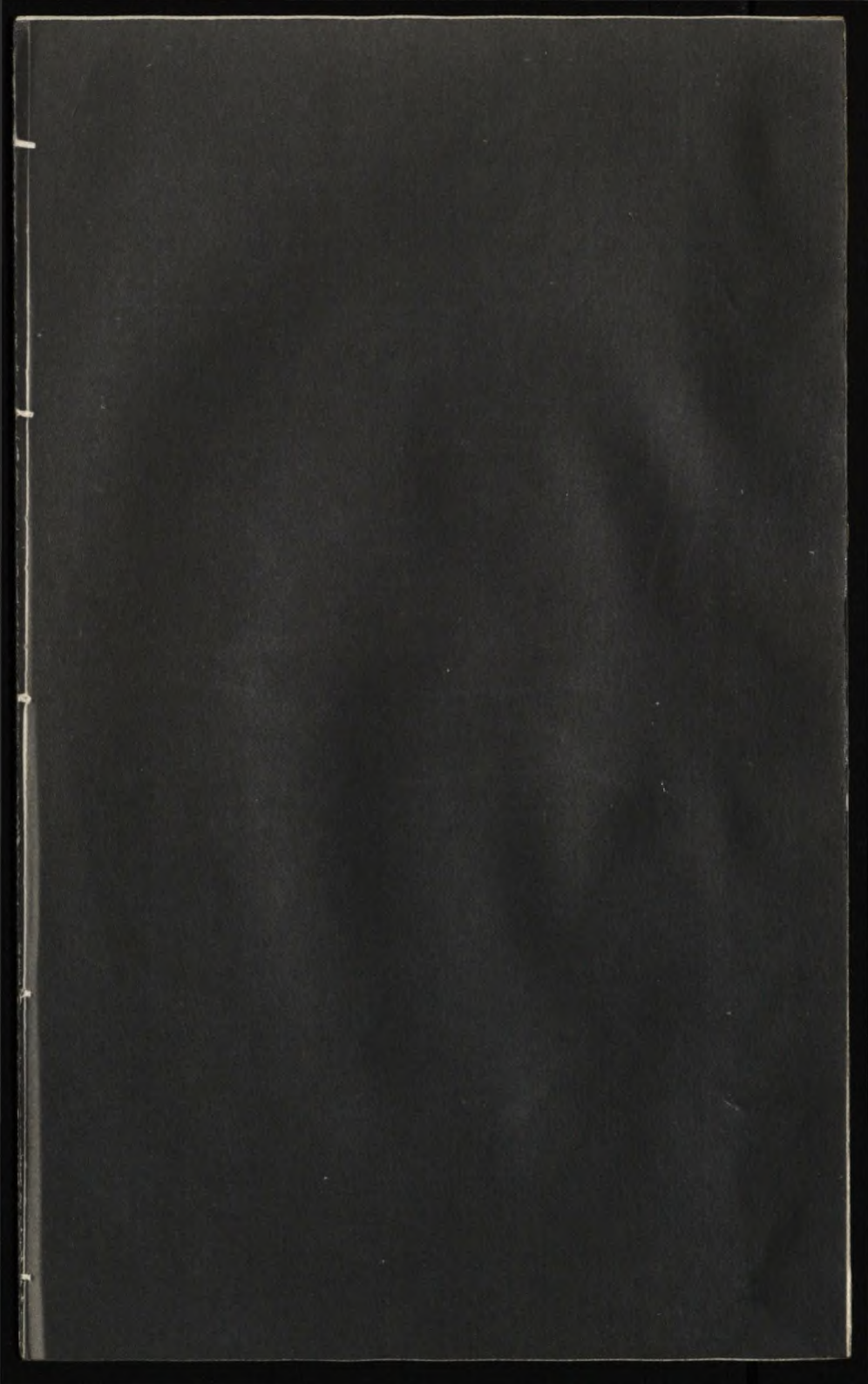
On the reverse of the tablet four lines are ruled, but only two filled up. They are inscribed:—

SHU-NIGIN XXV UNU  
*Total: twenty-five dwellings.*

GUN—A—A  
*Gunaa (i.e., probably the scribe's name).*

The third line exhibits a single arrow, the beginning of a character left unfinished. The tablet has evidently been broken in half, perhaps by those who found it. The publication of the part we possess may lead to the identification of the other portion, a result much to be desired.

NOTES.—Line 7. The transcription  $\text{𒀭}$  rather than  $\text{𒀮}$  was suggested by Mr. Pinches. Line 9. Professor Hommel transcribed DA DA URU KA-ME (?), which would mean *on the borders of the city of Kame*. Line 30. I have supposed that  $\text{𒀭}$  is phonetic writing for  $\text{𒀮}$ . Otherwise the sense would be: *The city's trees (and) corn*, which would be less suitable.



# THE FALL OF NINEVEH.

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

EDITED WITH

TRANSLITERATION, TRANSLATION, NOTES, ETC.,

BY

C. J. GADD, M.A.,

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

WITH A

PHOTOGRAPHIC REPRODUCTION AND SIX PLATES.

*PRINTED BY ORDER OF THE TRUSTEES.*

SOLD AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM;

AND AT

LONGMANS & CO., 39, PATERNOSTER ROW;

BERNARD QUARITCH, 11, GRAFTON STREET, NEW BOND STREET;

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH TRÜBNER & CO., CARTER LANE, E.C.;

AND

HUMPHREY MILFORD, OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, AMEN CORNER, LONDON.

1923.

*[All Rights Reserved.]*

IS73

.9  
.G3

L.M. 28/II/39

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

British Museum  
Nov. 15 1923

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

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

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

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

E. A. WALLIS BUDGE.

DEPARTMENT OF EGYPTIAN AND ASSYRIAN  
ANTIQUITIES, BRITISH MUSEUM.

June 8th, 1923.

## CONTENTS.

BABYLONIAN CHRONICLE.	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
	PAGE.
THE TABLET, BRIT. MUS. NO. 21,901, AND ITS CONTENTS ... ..	1
THE YEAR B.C. 616 ... ..	5
"    "    615 ... ..	8
"    "    614 ... ..	9
"    "    613 ... ..	11
"    "    612 ... ..	13
"    "    611 ... ..	21
"    "    610 ... ..	21
"    "    609 ... ..	23
SUMMARY OF EVENTS ... ..	24
GREEK TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE FALL OF NINEVEH ... ..	26
TRANSLITERATION OF THE BABYLONIAN TEXT ... ..	31
TRANSLATION ... ..	37
TRANSCRIPT OF THE CUNEIFORM TEXT ... ..	PLATES I-VI

## INTRODUCTION.

### (1) THE TABLET B.M. 21,901.

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

### (2) CONTENTS OF THE TABLET.

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

<sup>1</sup> For a similar scribal note, and the probability that it implies an origin from Babylon, see ZIMMERN, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, xxxiv, 191.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

<sup>1</sup> EVETTS, *Babylonische Texte*, Heft VI. B. p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> UNGNAD, *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler*, Heft III., no. 1.

<sup>3</sup> According to the date on a "contract" published by KING, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, iv, 398.

a system which appears to have been devised in earlier times when the sovereignty was divided between the brothers Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin.<sup>1</sup>

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

<sup>1</sup> See STRECK, *Assurbanipal und seine Nachfolger*, vol. i, cclvii and cdxii.

<sup>2</sup> By S. HORN, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxxiv, 123 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 143, n. 2.

<sup>4</sup> FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches*, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> STRECK, *Assurbanipal*, vol. i, ccclv ff., has collected all that is known of this people.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> For the possible site of this town, see FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung*, 24 f.

<sup>2</sup> Book I, 105.

also the expeditions of Necho II in 608,<sup>1</sup> and again in 605, which ended in the disastrous battle of Carchemish.<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Jeremiah, xlvi, 2, II Kings, xxiv, 7.

<sup>3</sup> By FORRER, *Provinz*, 44 f.

*Ibid.*, 41.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Nineveh, Calah, Ashur, Arbela.

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

<sup>3</sup> See FORRER, *op. cit.*, 47, 104.

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

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 22 f.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Book I, 102, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Book II, 27, 1 (see p. 29).

<sup>3</sup> II, 25, 6 (see p. 28).

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Or "Salaimenes," Diodor., II, 26, 6, 7.

<sup>3</sup> So Diodorus throughout, instead of Tigris.

<sup>4</sup> Cyrus Cylinder, l. 30.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. Xenophon, *Anab.* ii, 4, 28 (under name of Kainai); Polybius v, 51 (Libba); Ptolemy VIII, § 25 (Labšana); Stephen of Byzantium (Libanai).

<sup>6</sup> See ANDRAE, *Festungswerke von Assur*, Textband, 8 f, 91 f, 129.

<sup>7</sup> *Eusebi chronic.* (ed. SCHOENE), lib. i, 29, 16-19 (see p. 30).

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 35, 28-37, 7 (see p. 30).

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

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

<sup>1</sup> A corruption of Nabopolassar's name.

<sup>2</sup> Or Amuitis, Amuite, Aroite. Nothing else is known about her.

<sup>3</sup> A corruption of Astyages, and, whether referring to Astyages I (Phraortes) or II, an anachronism.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> See note on p. 33.

<sup>6</sup> Tukulti-Enurta II, *Annals*, Obv. 69 (ed. SCHEIL).

<sup>7</sup> LE STRANGE, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 106.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Explained and illustrated by MEISSNER, *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, 1919, 112, on the word *arammu*.

<sup>2</sup> Book II, 26, 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> Book I, 106.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus' story that the Scythian chiefs were treacherously slain at a banquet by the Medes may be a distorted tradition of the agreement (actually peaceful) under which the two nations co-operated in the siege of Nineveh. Murder at a feast is a common Greek tale; apart from mythology, instances are found, e.g. in Herodotus I, 191 and 211, II, 100 and Diodorus II, 20, 4.

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> References are given by STRECK, *Assurbanipal*, cdxxxv, n. 3.

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> See LANGDON, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, p. 60, 29-31, and p. 66, Col. II., 1-4.

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

<sup>4</sup> LANGDON, *op. cit.*, p. 68, 17 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Herodotus, I, 103 (see p. 26).

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

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

<sup>1</sup> II, 26, 1-4.

<sup>2</sup> Summarised in STRECK, *Assurbanipal*, vol. i, cdxv, n. 4.

<sup>3</sup> For this date, see MARTI in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i, 795-799.

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

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

<sup>1</sup> *Antiq.*, x, 5, 1. Νεχᾶδ' ὁ πῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ἐγένετο στρατιῶν ἐπὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην ἠλάσε ποταμῶν Μήδους πολεμήσων καὶ τοὺς Βαβυλωνίους οἱ τὴν Ἀσσυρίων κατέλυσαν ἀρχῆν.

<sup>2</sup> Such a confusion between Medes and Manda is, however, found even in Babylonian texts. See above, p. 14, note 1.

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 12, 15, and below, p. 28 f.

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

<sup>3</sup> II, 27, 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Anabasis*, iii, 4, 7-12.

<sup>5</sup> Nahum i, 8. "But with an overrunning flood he will make an utter end of the place thereof."

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

<sup>1</sup> See the table in Sir W. WILLCOCKS, *The Irrigation of Mesopotamia*, p. 74.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> Diodorus II, 25, 6. γενομένης οὖν τρίτης παρατάξεως πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνίκησε.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, 4-5.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 26, 6. οἱ δ' ἀποστᾶται . . . . . δὲ καὶ μάχαις ἐνίκησαν τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους.

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

<sup>7</sup> Unless this is a confused echo of the transference of the kingdom to Harran.

<sup>8</sup> In Eusebius, *Chron.* i, 35, 28, and 37, 10 (ed. SCHÖENE).

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

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

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

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

<sup>1</sup> Ashurbanipal, *Annals*, col. iv, 46-52.

<sup>2</sup> *e.g.* ROBERTSON SMITH, *Religion of the Semites*, 373.

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



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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> LANGDON, *Neubabylonische Königsinschriften*, 60, 29, and 66, Col. II, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 68, 17 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See FORRER, *Provinzeinteilung*, esp. 15, 105.

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

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

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

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

<sup>2</sup> Shalmaneser III, *Monolith*, Col. II, 35

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

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

<sup>1</sup> LANGDON, *Neubab. Königsinschriften*, 218, 11-13.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 274, 32-41.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 272, Col. II, 1-41.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> LANGDON, *op. cit.*, 218, 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *i.e.* in the first year of his reign.

<sup>7</sup> LANGDON, *op. cit.*, 284, Col. X, 12 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Or rather 608, on the principle described below; but the evaluation of this mistaken date is of no importance.

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

#### B.C. 609.

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

<sup>1</sup> See p. 16.

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

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

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS, B.C. 616-609.

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

<sup>1</sup> *al-Uraṣṭu*, Babylonian form of *Uraṣṭu*, cf. the Behistūn Inscr. of Darius, Bab. version, ll. 49 and 94. The "city of Uraṣṭu" is presumably Tūruṣpa, the modern Vān, which was the capital of the Uraṣṭian kings. See STRECK, *Zeitsch. f. Assyriol.*, xiv, 113 ff. THUREAU-DANGIN, *La cinquième campagne de Sargon*, I. 150.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 15.

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

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

#### SOME GREEK TRADITIONS CONCERNING THE FALL OF NINEVEH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DIODORUS II, 24-27.

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

ALEXANDER POLYHISTOR  
(in EUSEBIUS, *Chronicles I.*, 29, 14-19).

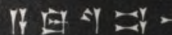


After him, Sarakos reigned over the Assyrians. And, being informed that an army like locusts was coming up from the sea to attack him, he sent the general Busalossoros in haste to Babylon. But the latter, planning revolt, first betrothed Amuhea, the daughter of Ashdahak, prince of the Medes, to his son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


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


## TRANSLITERATION.

## OBVERSE.

1. šattu X-KAM *m.d.nabû-apal-ušur ina arab aiari umman mat akkadi-ki id-ki-e-ma kišad nôr puratti<sup>1</sup> illik-ma*
2. mat<sup>2</sup> su-ka-a-a mat hi-in-da-na-a-a šal-tam ana libbi-šu ul epuš<sup>3</sup> man-da-at-ta-šu-nu a-na pani-šu iš-ku-nu
3. arab abi umman mat aššur ina alu qab<sup>3</sup>-li-ni iq-bi-u<sup>4</sup> ma *m.d.nabû-apal-ušur ana muh-ki-šu-nu iš-qi-ma<sup>5</sup>*
4. arab abi ummu XII-KAM šal-tam a-na libbi umman mat aššur epuš-ma umman mat aššur ina pani-šu ittabalkitu pl.<sup>6</sup>-ma tahtu<sup>7</sup> mat aššur ma-a-diš ittaškan<sup>8</sup>
5. hu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš iq-bi-tu mat man-na-a-a ša ana ri-šu-ti-šu-nu illiku pl.-ni u amel rabute pl. ša mat aššur
6. uš-šab-bi-tu ina ū-mu ša-a-šu alu qab-li-ni iš-ša-bat ina arab abi-ma šar akkadi-ki ummani pl.-šu
7. ana alu ma-ni-e alu sa-ḫi-ri u alu ba-li-ḫu iš-pur (?)<sup>8</sup>-ma hu-bu-ut-su-nu iq-tab-tu-nu
8. šil-lat-su-nu ma-at-tam iš-tal-lu-nu ilani pl.-šu-nu i-tab-ku-nu ina arab ululi šar akkadi-ki u umman-šu
9. ana arki-šu itur-am-ma ina ḥarrani-šu alu hi-in-da-nu u ilani pl.-šu ana babil-ki il-te-qa-a
10. ina arab tašriti ummanini mat mi-šir u ummanini mat aššur arki šar akkadi-ki adi alu qab-li-ni illiku pl.-nim-ma


<sup>1</sup>  contrast ll. 33, 34, (*nâr pu-rat-tu*; similarly the name of the Tigris is written *nâr*  in l. 16 and (*nâr*) *l-di-q-lat*, ( elsewhere.



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

<sup>3</sup> , *qab*, or *taḫ*? The place does not seem to be otherwise known.

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

<sup>5</sup> cf. Bab. Chron. Col. iii, 40, *ki-i iš-qa-a*.

<sup>6</sup> , common in the Bab. Chron. though used there as a noun, see DELITZSCH. *Die Bab. Chronik*, 27, l. 34, cf. Chron. 'P.' Col. iii, 15, *ina pani-šu ib-bal-ki-ti-ma*.

<sup>7</sup>  , not *abiktu*, cf. THUREAU-DANGIN, *Sargon*, 22, n. 7. This is finally proved by *Cuneif. Texts*, xxxvi, 7, 28, 29, *a-bi-ik-ti ŠI-ŠI (= tahtē)*.

<sup>8</sup> The restoration *iš-pur* (!) is partly conjectural, though the traces support it.

11. *šar akkadi-ki la ik-šu-du a-na arki-šu-nu ih-ḫi-iš ina arāḫ addari umman mat aššur u umman mat akkadi-ki*
12. *i-na alu ma-da-nu ša alu a-rap-ḫu šal-tam ana libbi a-ḫa-meš epuš-<sup>pl</sup>-ma umman mat aššur*
13. *ina pān ummani mat akkadi-ki ittabalkitup<sup>pl</sup>-ma tahta-šu-nu ma-a-diš iškunup<sup>pl</sup>. a-na nār za-ban it-ta-du-šu-nu-tu*
14. *ī[merē<sup>pl</sup>-šu]-nu u sisē<sup>pl</sup>-šu-nu uš-šab-bi-tu-nu ḫu-bu-ut-su-nu ma-a-diš ih-bi-tu-nu*
15. . . . . *šu ma-du-tu itti-šu-nu nār i-diḡ-lat<sup>1</sup> u-še-bi-ru-nim-ma ana bābili-ki ušeribu<sup>pl</sup>-ni*
16. [*šattu XI-KAM šar*] *akkadi-ki umman-šu id-ki-e-ma kišad nār idiqlat illik-ma ina arāḫ aṭari ina libbi aššur-ki ittadi<sup>2</sup>*
17. [*ina ūmi . . . . K*] *AM ša arāḫ simani šal-tam ana libbi ali epuš-ma ala ul iṣ-bat šar mat aššur umman-šu id-kam-ma*
18. *šar akkadi-ki ultu aššur-ki si-kip-ma adi alu tak-ri-i-ta-in<sup>3</sup> mat aššur kišad i-diḡ-lat arki-šu illik-ih*
19. *šar akkadi-ki umman-šu ana bir-tu ša alu tak-ri-i-ta-in ul-te-li [šar] mat aššur u ummani<sup>pl</sup>-šu*
20. *ina eli ummani šarri akkadi-ki ša ina alu tak-ri-i-ta-in ku-lu-u id-di-ma*
21. *X ūmē<sup>pl</sup> šal-tam ana lib-bi-šu-nu epuš<sup>us</sup>-ma ala ul iṣ-bat ummani<sup>ni</sup> šarri akkadi-ki ša ana bir-tu ku-lu-u*
22. *tahtē mat aššur ma-a-diš iltakan<sup>an</sup> šar mat aššur u umman-[šu ip(?)-par(?)]<sup>4</sup>-ku-ma a-na mati-šu i-tur*

<sup>1</sup> nār 𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠𐎠, the interpretation of this group as an artificial means of writing *i-aḡ-la* was divined by DHORME, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, viii, 60, 97; see also MEISSNER in the *Orientalistische, Literaturzeitung*, 1917, 266. The correctness of this interpretation is placed beyond doubt by the present text; l. 15, from Arrapha to Babylon across the *N.N.L.A.T.*; l. 18, pursuit from Ashur to Takrit down the *N.N.L.*; l. 41, march to Nineveh up the *N.N.L.* The determinative is sometimes omitted, e.g. l. 18, 26?, and cf. 33 f.

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

<sup>3</sup> For other references to Takrit under the names of Itu'a and Birtu see FÖRRER *Provinzeinteilung*. With the ending of the name cf. *alu qu-ḫa-a-in* (SMITH, *First Camp. of Sennacherib*, l. 36).

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

23. *ina arāḫ arāḫsamni mat ma-da-a-a ana mat a-rap-ḫu(!)<sup>1</sup> ur-dam-ma šal-tam ana libbi ali . . . . .*
24. *šattu XII-KAM ina arāḫ abi mat ma-da-a-a ana eli ninua-ki ki-i<sup>2</sup> . . . . .*
25. . . . . *ma i-ḫi-šam-ma alu tar-bi-šu alu ša pi-ḫat ninua-ki iṣ-šab-tu(?) . . . . .*
26. [*kišad i*]-*diḡ-lat irdi<sup>3</sup>-ma ina eli aššur-ki it-ta-di šal-tam ana libbi ali epuš-ma . . . . .*
27. *alu(?) it-ta-qar tahtē nišē<sup>pl</sup> rabute<sup>pl</sup> lim-niš<sup>4</sup> iltakan<sup>an</sup> ḫu-bu-ut-su iḫ-ta-bat šil[-lat-su iṣ-ta-lal].*
28. [*šar*] *akkadi-ki u umman-šu ša ana ri-šu-ut mat ma-da-a-a illiku<sup>ku</sup> šal-tam ul ikšudu<sup>du</sup> alu(?) . . . . .*
29. [*šar akkadi*]-*ki u m-u-[ma-ki]š-tar<sup>6</sup> ina eli ali a-ḫa-meš itamru<sup>7</sup> ṭub-tu u su-lum-mu-u itti a-ḫa-meš iškunup<sup>pl</sup>.<sup>8</sup>*
30. [ . . . . *m-u-ma-kiš*]-*tar u umman-šu ana mati-šu it-tur šar akkadi-ki u umman-šu ana mati-šu itur*
31. [*šattu XIII-KAM ina arāḫ aia*] *ri mat su-ḫa-a-a [itti]<sup>9</sup> šarri akkadi-ki ibbalkitup<sup>pl</sup>-ma nukurtam i-te-ḫp-šu*
32. [*šar akkadi-ki um*] *man-šu id-ki-e-ma ana mat su-u-ḫu il-lik ina arāḫ simani ūmu IV-KAM*
33. [*šal-tam ana libbi*] *alu ra-ḫi-i-lu<sup>10</sup> ali ša qabal-tu pu-rat-tu epuš-ma ina ūmi-šu-ma alu iṣ-ša-bat*

<sup>1</sup> Scribal error, 𐎠𐎠𐎠 for 𐎠𐎠𐎠.

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

<sup>3</sup> 𐎠𐎠𐎠-*ma* i.e. *ir-di-ma*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Chron. 'P' Col. iv, 19, *tahtu = nišē . . . . . lim-niš im-ḫaš*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Bab. Chron. Col. i, 36 f.

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

<sup>7</sup> 𐎠𐎠𐎠 𐎠𐎠𐎠, parallel with l. 39, *i-ta-am-ru*, and so to be read.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Synchron. Hist. Col. ii, 27, 28.

<sup>9</sup> 𐎠𐎠𐎠 omitted by the scribe.

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

- 34 . . . . . šu ib-ni abna ša kišad nārpu-rat-tu a-na pani-šu it-tar-du-ni  
 35 . . . . . [ana eli] alna-na-ti it-ta-di ša-pi-tam ultu (?) bal-ri erib šamši  
 36 . . . . . kir ša-pi-tam ana duri uq-tar-rib šal-tam ana libbi [ali]  
 epuš-ma ala (?) ul (?) ištāt (?)<sup>1</sup>  
 37 . . . . . šar<sup>mat</sup>] aššur u umman-šu ur<sup>2</sup>-dam-ma šar akkadi-ki  
 u umman-šu is-ḥur-ma-[ana mati-šu itur]<sup>3</sup>

REVERSE.

38. [šattu XIV-KAM] šar akkadi-ki umman-šu id-ki-[e-ma . . . . .] mat(?)  
 šarri umman-man-da ana tar-ši šarri akkadi-ki  
 39 . . . . . u a-ha-meš i-ta-am-ru  
 40. šar akkadi-ki . . . . . ma [m.u-ma-ki]š-tar . . . . .  
 -a-ni u-še-bir-ma  
 41. kišad nār-ī-dīq-lat illiku<sup>pl</sup>-ma . . . . . [ina e]li n[innua-ki]  
 . . . . . MEŠ  
 42. ultu arāḥsimani adi arāḥabi III ta-ḥa(?) zu(?)<sup>4</sup> . . . . . u  
 43. šal-tam dan-na-tam ana libbi ali epuš<sup>su</sup> arāḥabi [ūmu . . . . . KAM alu  
 ištābat . . . . . taḥtu niše<sup>pl</sup>.] rabute<sup>pl</sup>. ma-a-diš ittaškan<sup>an</sup>  
 44. ina ū-mi-šu-ma m.d. sin-šar-iškun<sup>un</sup> šar mat ašš[ur] . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 45. šil-lat ali ma'dutu ē-lat mi-na<sup>5</sup> išt-tal-lu ala ana tili u ka[r-mi utirru]  
 . . . . .  
 46. ša mat aššur la-pan šarri išt-ḥi-tam-<sup>6</sup> ma emuq(?) šarri akkadi-ki? . . .  
 DI . . . . .  
 47. arāḥululi ūmu XX-KAM m.u-ma-kiš-tar u umman-šu ana mati-šu it-tur  
 arki-šu šar ak[ka]di-ki] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Reading appears to be 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪.  
<sup>2</sup> The sign might also be *ip*, in which case the meaning would be "he desisted," cf. l. 22.  
<sup>3</sup> With the end of this line cf. Synchr. Hist. Col. ii, 7, is-ḥur-ma a-na mati-šu i-tur.  
<sup>4</sup> On the "three battles," (if this be the true reading), see Introduction, pp. 18, 29.  
<sup>5</sup> 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪 𒍪, ma'dutu (BR. 8710) ē-lat mi-na occurs also in l. 64 below. The phrase is a variant of *la mi-na* etc. The same phrase should perhaps be restored in l. 55.  
<sup>6</sup> For *šahatu* = 'to leap, escape' see esp. MEISSNER. *Orient. Lit.-Zeitung*, 1908, 407, and THUREAU-DANGIN. *Sargon*, p. 4, n. 5 and p. 14, n. 6.

48. a-di alu na-ši-bi-ni il-li-ku ḥu-ub-ti u ga-lu-tu<sup>1</sup> ka-[šil-ti?] . . . . .  
 49. u matru-ša-pu ana pa-ni šarri akkadi-ki ana ninua-ki u-bil-lu-ni ina  
 arāḥ(?) . . . . . [m.d. aššur-uballiṭ]<sup>2</sup> . . . . .  
 50. ina alu ḥar-ra-nu ana šarri-ut mat aššur ina kussi ittašab<sup>ab</sup> adi  
 arāḥ . . . . .  
 51. ina ninua-[ki] . . . . . ultu(?) ūmu XX-KAM ša arāḥ . . . . .  
 šarri . . . . .  
 52. arāḥ tašriti-ma ina ali . . . . .  
 53. šattu XV-KAM arāḥ du[uzi] . . . . . šar akkadi-ki . . . . .  
 54. ana mat aššur illik . . . . . šal-ta-niš . . . . . [unm]an ša  
 mat ḥa(?) az(?) zu(?)<sup>3</sup> ḥa-an . . . . .  
 55. u mat šu(?)<sup>4</sup> . . . . . a ik-šu-ud lu-[bu-ut-su-nu] iḥ-tab-tu  
 šil-lat-su-nu U . . . . .  
 56. ina arāḥ arāḥsamni šar akkadi-ki pa-ni ummani-šu u-[tir-ma ina]  
 eli aluru-ug-gu-lit[ti] . . . . .  
 57. šal-tam ana libbi ali epuš-ma arāḥ arāḥsamna ūmu XXVIII<sup>5</sup> ala  
 ištāt(?) . . . . . e-du amela ul . . . . . [ana mati-šu itur.  
 58. šattu XVI-KAM ina arāḥ aiari šar akkadi-ki umman-šu id-ki-e-ma ana  
 mat aššur illik<sup>ik</sup> ultu [arāḥ aiari(?)] adi arāḥ arāḥsamna  
 59. ina mat aššur šal-ḥa-niš illiku<sup>pl</sup>. ina arāḥ arāḥsamna mat umman-man-da  
 . . . . . [ana ri]š-ut šarri akkadi-ki illiku<sup>pl</sup>-nim-ma  
 60. ummane-šu-nu ana libbi a-ha-meš is-mu-ḥu<sup>6</sup>-ma ana alu ḥar-ra-nu  
 [ana arki] m.d. aššur-[uballiṭ]<sup>it</sup> ša ina mat aššur ina kussi u-ši-bi  
 61. illiku-ma m.d. aššur-u-bal-lit u ummani<sup>ni</sup> mat gul . . . . .  
 . . . . . illiku<sup>pl</sup>-ni<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ga-lu-tu for *gallutu* (?).  
<sup>2</sup> The name of Ashur-uballiṭ must have occurred somewhere in the broken part of this line, cf. l. 60, below.  
<sup>3</sup> *mat ḥa (?) az (?) zu (?)*, if this be the correct reading, is perhaps to be identified with *alu ḥa-zu-zu* mentioned among the conquests of Tiglath-pileser III. The probable situation of this place, not far from the modern Killiz, would also be favourable to this conjecture.  
<sup>4</sup> Or *ga[l]* . . . . .  
<sup>5</sup> 𒍪 omitted by the scribe.  
<sup>6</sup> For *samahū* cf. *Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi*. I., No. 2, 660, 29, [e-nu-m]a mār-šu itti arāḥni<sup>pl</sup>-šu us-si-im-me-iḥ.  
<sup>7</sup> Probably to be restored [*ša ana ri-šu-ti-šu*] illiku<sup>pl</sup>-ni.



62. *pa-laḫ amel nakri im-qut-su-nu-ti-ma ala u-más[-še-ru-ma . . . . . ] i-bi-ru*
63. *šar akkadi-ki a-na aluḫar-ra-ni ik-šu-dam-ma . . . . . [al]u iṣ-ša-bat*
64. *šil-lat ali ma'dutu ē-lat mi-na iṣ-ta-lal ina arāḫ addari šar akkadi-ki . . . . . šu-nu u-maš-šer-ma*
65. *šu-u ana mati-šu itur u umman-man-da ša ana ri-šu-ut šarri akkadi-ki ill[iku-ni] . . . . . te-iḫ-su*
66. *ina arāḫ du'uzi<sup>1</sup> m.d. aššur-uballit<sup>1</sup> šar mat aššur umman mat mi-šir ma-at-tam . . . . .*
67. *nāra ibbalkit-ma ana eli aluḫar-ra-nu ana ka-ša-[di] illik . . . . . tu*
68. *šu-lu-tu ša šarri akkadi-ki ana lib-bi u-še-lu-u id-du-um(?) -ma(?) i-du-ku ina eli aluḫar-ra-nu it-ta-[di]*
69. *adi arāḫ ululi šal-tam ana libbi ali epu<sup>2</sup>š<sup>2</sup> mimma ul il . . . . . ul iṣbat(?) -su*
70. *šar akkadi-ki ana ri-šu-ut ummani-šu illik-ma šal-tam(?) . . . . . [mati-]ša-al-la<sup>2</sup> i-li-ma*
71. *alani<sup>pl.</sup> ša matati<sup>pl.</sup> ma-a-du-tu . . . . . -šu-nu ina iṣati iṣ-ru-up*
72. *ina ū-mi-šu-ma umman . . . . . adi pi-ḫat alu u-ra-aš-ṭu<sup>3</sup>*
73. *. . . . . ina mati iḫ . . . . . <sup>pl.</sup> -šu-nu iḫ-tab-tu*
74. *šu(?) -lu-tu ša š[arri] . . . . . -ḫu-nim ma*
75. *ana alu . . . . . i-lu . . . . . šar akkadi-ki ana mati-šu itur ina ša[fti XVIII(?) -kam ina arāḫ . . . . . ] šar akkadi-ki umman-šu id-ki-e-ma [ša d.nab] ū u d.marduk i-ra-am-[mu] li-iṣ-šu-ur ana qate ul ušeši.<sup>4</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Number of the year omitted by the scribe; see *Introd.* p. 23.

<sup>2</sup> Probably to be restored [*mat i-ša-al-la*, the district about the upper waters of the Khâbûr, N.E. of Harran. Whether this might be connected with the expedition to Urartu related in l. 72 ff. is uncertain. At least the road from Harran to Urartu would traverse Izalla.

<sup>3</sup> *alu u-ra-aš-ṭu* = Urartu, cf. Behistûn Inscr. *Babyl. Version*, ll. 48, 56, 94.

<sup>4</sup> With this scribal note compare that of D.T. 114 (THUREAU-DANGIN, *Rituels accadiens*, 152), and the comment of ZIMMERN, *Zeitschr. f. Assyr.*, xxxiv, 191.

## TRANSLATION.

## OBVERSE.

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

15. his many . . . . they brought with them across the Tigris and made them to enter Babylon.
- 
16. [In the eleventh year, the king] of Akkad mustered his army, and marched up the bank of the Tigris, and in the month of Iyyar encamped against Ashur.
17. On the — day of the month of Sivan he made an assault upon the city, but did not capture the city. The king of Assyria mustered his army, and
18. the king of Akkad was driven from Ashur, and as far as the city of Takritain the Assyrian marched after him along the bank of the Tigris.
19. The king of Akkad made his army to go up into the citadel of Takritain. The king of Assyria and his army
20. against the army of the king of Akkad, which was shut up in Takritain, encamped.
21. For ten days he made assault on them, but did not capture the city. The army of the king of Akkad which was shut up in the citadel
22. made great havoc of the Assyrians; (wherefore) the king of Assyria and his army ceased (?), and returned to his land.
23. In the month of Marcheswan the Mede came down upon the land of Arrapha, and [made] an assault upon the city of ———
- 
24. In the twelfth year in the month of Ab the Mede against Nineveh . . . . .
25. . . . . and hastened, and the city of Tarbis, a city in the district of Nineveh they captured (?) . . . . .
26. [down the bank of the Ti]gris he pursued, and encamped against Ashur. An assault he made upon the city . . . . .
27. [the city] he destroyed, and cruel havoc he made of the chief men; he took prisoners from it [and plundered its spoils].
28. [The king] of Akkad and his army, who had come to the help of the Mede, were not in time for the assault; the city (?) . . . . .
29. [The king of Akk]ad and Ky[axar]es at the city met one with the other. Friendship and alliance they established together.

30. [Kyaxar]es and his army returned to his land, the king of Akkad and his army returned to his land.
- 
31. [In the thirteenth year, in the month of Iyy]ar the men of Suḥu [against]<sup>1</sup> the king of Akkad revolted and committed hostilities.
32. The king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Suḥu. In the month of Sivan, the fourth day,
33. he made an assault upon Raḥilu, a city which is in the middle of the Euphrates. On that day the city was captured
34. . . . . its . . . . he built; stone from the bank of the Euphrates they laid (?) down against it
35. . . . . [against] the city of Anatu he encamped, and siege-engines from the westerly direction
36. . . . . the siege engines he brought near to the city-wall and made an assault upon the city, but did not capture (?) it.
37. . . . . [the king of As]syria and his army came down,<sup>2</sup> and the king of Akkad and his army turned [and went back to his land].
- 

## REVERSE.

38. [In the fourteenth year] the king of Akkad mustered his army . . . . . the men(?) of the king of the Umman-Manda to meet the king of Akkad
39. . . . . they met one with the other
40. The king of Akkad . . . . . and [Kyaxa]res . . . . . he made to cross
41. by the bank of the Tigris they marched . . . . . against Ni[neveh] . . . . . they . . . . .
42. From the month of Sivan to the month of Ab three battles (?) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Omitted in the original.<sup>2</sup> Or "desisted" if the reading be *ip-dam-ma*.

43. A mighty assault they made upon the city, and in the month of Ab, [the . . . day the city was captured] . . . . . a great [havoc] of the chief [men] was made.
44. At that time Sin-shar-ishkun, king of Assyria . . . . .
45. The spoil of the city, a quantity beyond counting, they plundered, and [turned] the city into a mound and a ru[in] . . . . .
46. of Assyria before the king escaped and the forces of the king of Akkad . . . ? ? . . . . .
47. In the month of Elul, the 20th day, Kyaxares and his army returned to his land, and the king of Akkad (turned ?) back . . . . .
48. they went as far as the city of Nisibis, and the prisoners and the slaves (?) . . . . .
49. and of the land of Ruṣapu they brought to Nineveh before the face of the king of Akkad. In the month of . . . . . [Ashur-uballit]
50. in the city of Ḫarran sat upon the throne as king of Assyria<sup>1</sup>. Until the month of . . . . .
51. in Nineveh . . . . . from the 20th of the month . . . . . the king . . . . .
52. also in the month of Tisri in the city of . . . . .
- 
53. In the fifteenth year, the month of Tammuz . . . . . the king of Akkad . . . . .
54. marched to Assyria . . . . . victoriously . . . . . the army of the land of Ḫazzu (?) ? . . . . .
55. and of the land of Shu(?)<sup>2</sup> . . . . . a he conquered; prisoners they took from them, their spoil and<sup>3</sup> . . . . .
56. In the month of Marcheswan the king of Akkad [turned] the front of his army and against the city of Rugguli[ti] . . . . .

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "for the sovereignty of Assyria."<sup>2</sup> Or, Gal . . .<sup>3</sup> Or possibly to be completed "a quantity beyond counting," cf. ll. 45, 64.

57. he made an assault upon the city, and on the 28th of the month of Marcheswan he captured the city . . . . . no man he . . . . . [to] his [land] he returned.
- 
58. In the sixteenth year, in the month of Iyyar, the king of Akkad mustered his army and marched to Assyria. From the month of Iyyar (?) to the month of Marcheswan
59. they marched victoriously in Assyria. In the month of Marcheswan the Umman-Manda . . . . . came to the help of the king of Akkad,
60. their armies they united<sup>1</sup> and to the city of Ḫarran [after] Ashur-[uballit] who had sat upon the throne in Assyria
61. they marched. Ashur-uballit and the army of the land of . . . . . [which to his help] had come
62. fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city . . . . . they crossed.
63. The king of Akkad reached Ḫarran . . . . . the city was captured
64. the spoil of the city, a quantity beyond counting, he plundered. In the month of Adar the king of Akkad . . . . . their . . . . . he left behind.
65. He himself returned to his land, and the Umman-Manda, who had come to the help of the king of Akkad . . . . . ?
- 
66. In the month of Tammuz Ashur-uballit, king of Assyria, a great army of Egyptians . . . . .
67. he crossed the river and marched upon Ḫarran to conquer it . . . . .
68. the garrison of the king of Akkad they sent up to it, and cast them down (?) and slew them. Against Ḫarran he encamped,
69. until the month of Elul he made assaults upon the city, but nothing [succeeded ?] . . . . . he did not capture (?) it.
70. The king of Akkad came to the help of his troops, and a battle . . . . . [I]zalla (?) he went up

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "they added to each other."

42 TRANSLATION OF THE TABLET B.M. 21,901.

- 71. the cities of many lands . . . . . their . . . . . he burnt with fire.
- 72 At that time the army . . . . . as far as the district  
of the city Uraštu
- 73 . . . . . in the land . . . . . their . . . . . they took prisoner,
- 74. the [gar]rison of the ki[ng] . . . . . they . . . . . and
- 75. to the city . . . . . The king of Akkad returned to his land.

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

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

B.M. 21901. OBVERSE.

OBVERSE (contd.)

15

𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺

20

𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺

25

𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺  
𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺𠩺



⊙ Sic I

OBVERSE (contd.)

卅六 卅七 卅八 卅九 卅十 卅十一 卅十二 卅十三 卅十四 卅十五  
 卅十六 卅十七 卅十八 卅十九 卅二十 卅二十一 卅二十二 卅二十三 卅二十四 卅二十五  
 卅二十六 卅二十七 卅二十八 卅二十九 卅三十 卅三十一 卅三十二 卅三十三 卅三十四 卅三十五  
 卅三十六 卅三十七 卅三十八 卅三十九 卅四十 卅四十一 卅四十二 卅四十三 卅四十四 卅四十五  
 卅四十六 卅四十七 卅四十八 卅四十九 卅五十 卅五十一 卅五十二 卅五十三 卅五十四 卅五十五  
 卅五十六 卅五十七 卅五十八 卅五十九 卅六十 卅六十一 卅六十二 卅六十三 卅六十四 卅六十五  
 卅六十六 卅六十七 卅六十八 卅六十九 卅七十 卅七十一 卅七十二 卅七十三 卅七十四 卅七十五  
 卅七十六 卅七十七 卅七十八 卅七十九 卅八十 卅八十一 卅八十二 卅八十三 卅八十四 卅八十五  
 卅八十六 卅八十七 卅八十八 卅八十九 卅九十 卅九十一 卅九十二 卅九十三 卅九十四 卅九十五  
 卅九十六 卅九十七 卅九十八 卅九十九 卅一百

30

35



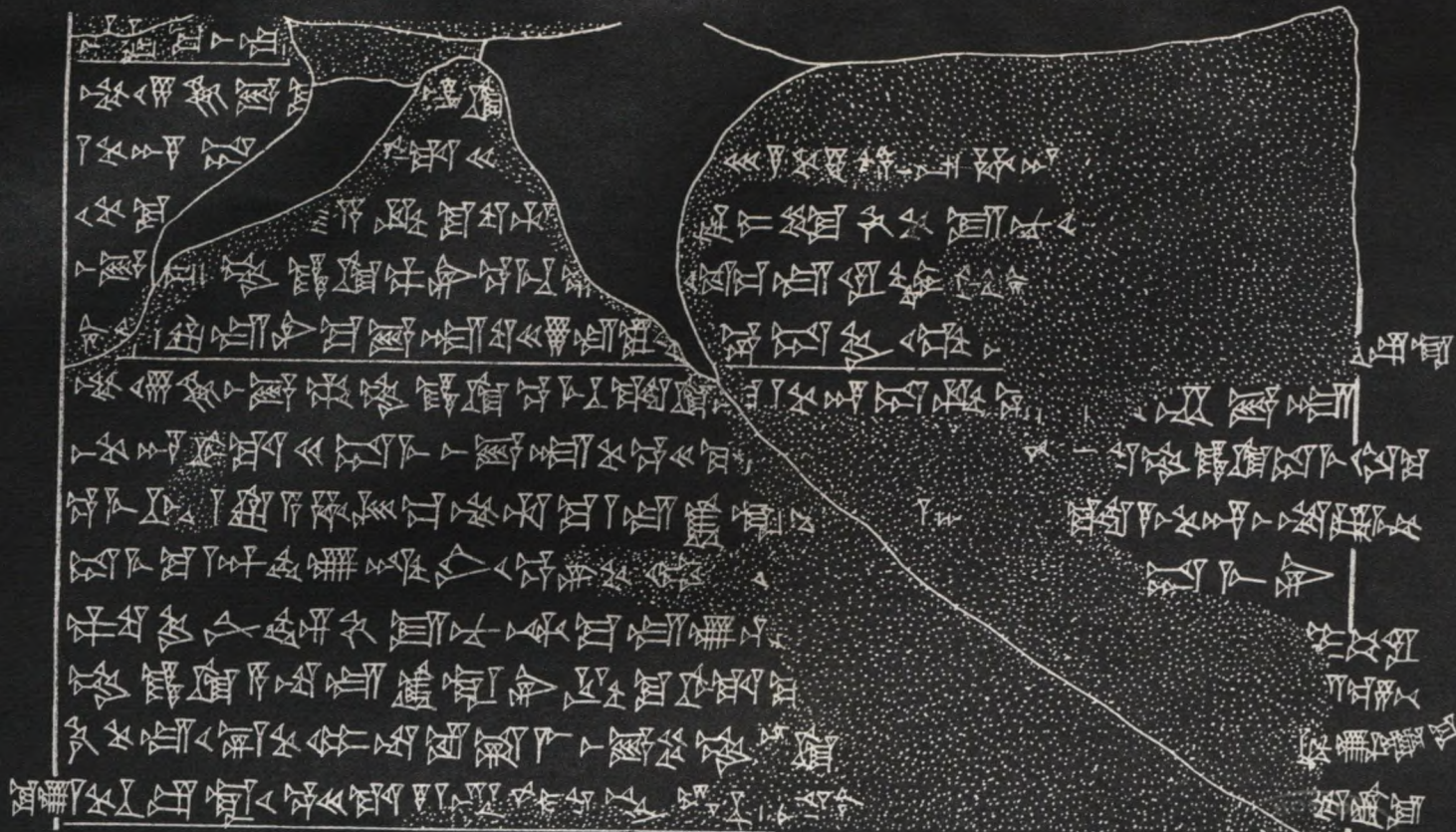


REVERSE (contd.)

55

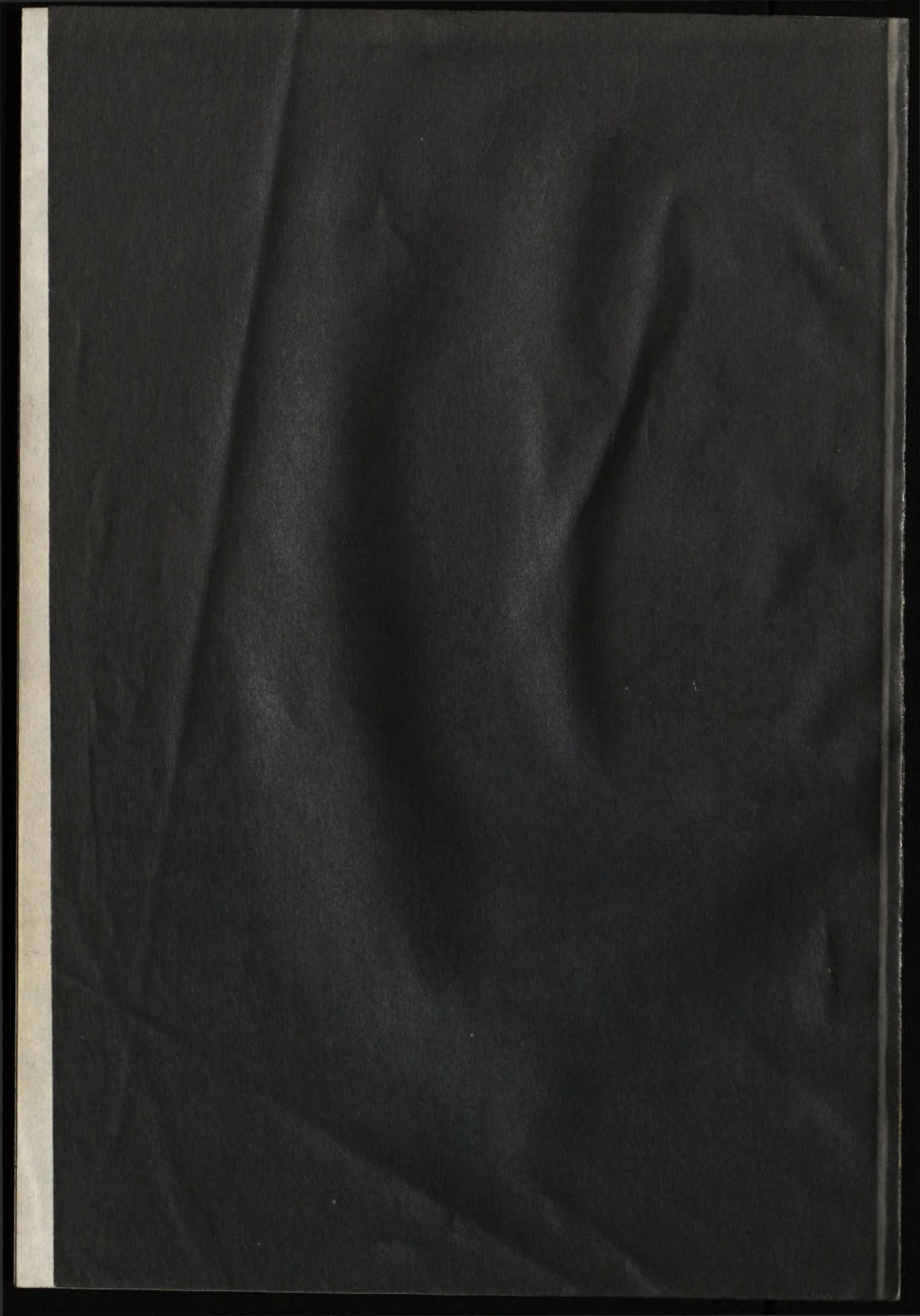
60

65









On Locusts

JOURNAL

OF

A THREE YEARS' RESIDENCE

IN

ABYSSINIA,

IN FURTHERANCE OF THE OBJECTS OF THE

Church Missionary Society.

BY

THE REV. SAMUEL G<sup>O</sup>BAT,

ONE OF THE SOCIETY'S MISSIONARIES.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ABYSSINIA,

BY THE REV. PROFESSOR LEE, D.D.



ACCOMPANIED BY A MAP,

DRAWN FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, AND FROM MR. G<sup>O</sup>BAT'S JOURNAL.

LONDON:

HATCHARD & SON; AND SEELEY & SONS.

1834.





Abulpharaj. (Lat. Abulpharagius), Gregorius  
called Bar-Helrocaudus  
تاريخ مختصر الدول

HISTORIA COMPENDIOSA  
DYNASTIARVM,

AUTHORE

Gregorio Abul-Pharajio,  
Malatiensi Medico,

Historiam complectens universalem, à mun-  
do condito, usque ad Tempora Authoris, res  
Orientalium accuratissimè describens.

*Arabice edita, & Latine versa,*

ab EDUARDO POCOCKIO

Linguae Hebraicae in Academia Oxoniensi Professore  
Regio, nec non in eadem L. Arabicae Praelectore.,  
& Aedis Christi Praebendario.



OXONIAE,

Excudebat H. Hall Celeberrimae Academiae Typographus,  
Impensis RIC: DAVIS. M. DC. LXIII.

Dyn. VII. † Quod autem me rogâsti ut ad te perveniam, perficiendum mihi  
 p. 113. incumbit illud cujus gratiâ missus sum, deinde ad Patrem meum  
 ascendam: tum verò missurus sum ad te discipulum, qui morbos  
 tuos sanaturus est, tibi que & tuis vitam æternam collaturus. *Hana-*  
*Effigies*  
*Christi su-*  
*dario im-*  
*pressa.*  
*nus* autem cum à Christo reipsonsum acciperet, in eum aspiciens figu-  
 ram ipsius in sudario pinxit, ( pictor enim erat ) eamque *Robam* alla-  
 tam *Abgaro* nigro tradidit. Ferunt alii Christum sudario isto usum,  
 cum faciem suam eo tergeret impressam ei fuisse ipsius figuram. Cum  
 autem in cœlum ascendisset Christus, *Addæum* Apostolum, unum è  
 septuaginta duobus, *Robam* misit, qui ipsum à morbis suis sanum red-  
 didit. Hoc anno completi sunt anni septuaginta quatuor, quos in-  
 dicavit Deus *Danieli* Prophetæ [dicens,] *Septuaginta septimanis*  
*Danielis*  
*hebdomadæ.*  
*permanebit, Deinde perveniet Messias qui occidetur:* atque hoc, si eos  
 numerate incipiamus à fine anni vicefimi Regis *Artachshasti Longi-*  
*mani;* qui annus est, quo missus *Nebemia* pocillator *Hierosolyma* fœdus  
 renovavit oblati sacrificiis, & quo descripsit *Ezra* libros revelatos.  
*Christus*  
*crucifixus.*  
*quando Pa-*  
*scha com-*  
*ederit.*  
 Hoc anno, viz. decimo nono *Tiberii* Imperatoris, crucifixus est  
 Christus die *Veneris*, decimo tertio *Adari*, fuitque Pascha *Judeorum*  
 die Sabbati: illud autem comedit Salvator cum Discipulis suis nocte  
 feriæ sextæ, cum illud perficere tempore suo non posset, ideo quòd  
 die *Veneris* crucifixus sit. Fuitque Ascensio feria quinta tertio  
*ejus Ascen-*  
*sio.*  
 p. 114. *Iyari*, † Pentecoste autem die Dominico decimo tertio *Iyari*. Eo-  
 dem die audierunt Sacerdotes *Judeorum* ex intimo Templi vocem  
 inclamantis, qui ipsos inclamans diceret, Parati sumus hinc migrari;  
 quod valdè ipsos terruit.

## Sectio.

Ab initio mundi usque ad *Messiam*, secundùm computum Legis  
 quæ in manibus *Judeorum* est, anni sunt ferè quater mille, ducenti  
 viginti, at secundùm computum legis [ex versione] septuaginta, quæ  
 in manibus *Græcorum*, & reliquarum Christianorum sectarum  
 exceptis *Syris*, anni ferè quinquies mille, quingenti, octoginta sex;  
 Differentia  
 inter com-  
 putû Hebr.  
 & Græc.  
 unde.  
 deficiente computo priori à secundo annis mille trecentis septuaginta  
 quinque, qui defectus acribitur Doctoribus *Judeorum*: nam  
 cum prænunciatum esset in Lege & Prophetis de *Messia*, missum  
 iri ipsum ultimis temporibus, nec aliud esset *Rabbinis* antiquioribus  
 commentum, quo Christum rejicerent, quàm si hominum ætates,  
 quibus

quibus dignosceretur mundi Epoche, mutarent, subtraxerunt de vita *Adami*, donec nasceretur *Seth*, centum annos, eosque reliquæ ipsius vitæ addiderunt; idemque fecerunt in vitis reliquorum *Adami* filiorum usque *Abrahamum*; atque ita factum est ut indicet ipsorum computus manifestatum esse Christum millenario quinto, prope accedente ad medium annorum mundi, qui omnes secundum ipsos futuri sunt septies mille; dixeruntque, Nos adhuc in medio temporis sumus, & nondum adest tempus adventui Messiaë designatus. At computus † Septuaginta [ seniorum ] indicat manifestatum esse Christum millenario sexto, atque adfuisse tempus ipsius.

*Caius Caesar*. Imperavit quatuor annos. Anno primo imperii ipsius præfectus est *Herodes Agrippa Judæis*, [ qui regnavit ] septem annos. Eodem anno mortem sibi conscivit *Pontius Pilatus*, missusque est *Felix* Judex *Hierosolyma*: qui cum sacraria Judæorum statuis implevisset, miserunt illi Legatos duos sapientes, viz. *Philonem* & *Josephum Hebræos*, ad *Cæsarem*, ut de facto Præsidis conquererentur; qui profecti ipsi suaferunt ut amoveri juberet illud quod ægrè tulerunt *Judæi*. Anno quarto *Petronius* Præses *Romæ Hierosolyma* perveniens Statuam *Fovis* in Templo Domini posuit, & completum est vaticinium *Danielis* Prophetæ dicentis, Signum abominationis stans ubi non oporteret:

*Claudius Caesar*. Annos quindecim imperavit. Anno secundo imperii ipsius, apparuit *Aegyptius* quidam in regione *Judææ*, qui Prophetiam sibi vendicans multos seduxit, & *Hierosolyma* vi capere molitus est: profectus autem adversus ipsum *Felix Patricius*, ipsum & plerosque asseclarum ipsius interfecit. Apparuit etiam quidam nomine *Cerintus*, qui asseruit in regno Dei edi, bibi, & connubia fieri. Eodem tempore numerari jussit *Claudius Caesar* *Judæos* qui in regno ipsius essent, fuitque numerus ipsorum sexcenti nonaginta quatuor myriades, & quatuor hominum millia. Porro die festi *Patchatis* incidentes in confusionem *Judæi* se invicem truserunt, adeo ut præ compressione morerentur triginta hominum millia. Distincti autem sunt *Judæi* in septem sectas: primam *Rabbinicorum*, qui legis Scribæ sunt, & Doctores; secundam *Levitarum*, qui è ministerio templi non discedebant; tertiam *Phariseorum*, qui resurrectionem mortuorum credebant, asserentes reperiri Angelos, & singulis septimanis bis jejunabant;

Dyn. VII.

p. 115

Herodes Agrippa. Felix Jud. Præses. Philo & Josephus legati ad Cæsarem. Petronius.

Signum abominationis.

Pseudopropheta Aegyptius.

Cerintus.

p. 116.

Claudius Judæos numerat.

eorum secta.

Dyn. IX. pit eum servus quidam, cui nomen *Shadi*, qui cum ad ipsum unâ cum Legato accessisset notum habuit; visoque, descendens [ equo, ] reverentiam exhibuit, & ad Regem eum adduxit, qui manu sua tres illi infligens plagas, Annon, inquit, ad te de induciis paciscendis, nisi, tu autem abnuisti? Cui ille, Omitte me increpare, & fac quid velis. Inquit Rex, Quid mihi facere voluisti, si me cepisses? Respondente illo, Probrosus aliquid; Et quid, inquit, putas me tibi facturum? Respondit, Vel morte mulctaturum, vel me per ditiones tuas omnibus videndum ducturum, vel (quod longe abest ut sperem) parsurum, accepto redemptionis pretio, & me tibi deputatum constituturum. † Atqui, inquit, non aliud statui: ipsumque millies mille aureorū pretio liberavit, ea lege ut omnes qui penes ipsum esset è *Moslemiis* captivos dimitteret. Cumque de hoc inter eos convenisset, eum secum in solio suo sedere fecit: deinde tentorium ei posuit, & ad ipsum mille aureos misit, quibus sibi viaticum compararet. Multos etiam è Patriciis dimisit, ipsumque & eos vestibus in honore signum induit; missoque cum eo exercitu, qui eum in loca ubi tutus esset, perducerent, ipse eum *Parasangæ* spatio deduxit. At cum ad *Gracos* de casu isto fama pervenisset, *Michael* Imperium invadens regiones occupavit: *Romanus* verò, cum hoc, ubi ad castellum *Dakia* pervenisset, ipsi nuntiatum esset, veste laneâ induta vitam religiosam professus est; & ad *Michaelem* mittens, ipsi quid cum *Soltano* pactus esset significavit, collectisque quæ penes se erant pecuniis, viz. ducentis mille aureis, eas ad *Soltanum* mittens, juravit se nihil amplius præstare potuisse. Initio anni quadringentesimi sexagesimi quinti, *Olub Arslan Mohammed Ebn David Fagrî Beg* in regionem *Mawara'lNahram* [i. transfluvialem] tendens, fluvium *Fihunem* ponte conjunxit, per quem trajecit, pluribus quam viginti diebus; cum constaret exercitus ipsius amplius quam ducentis equitum millibus. Adduxerunt autem ad ipsam milites ipsius arcis cujusdam custodem, cui nomen *Foseph Chowarezmensis*, quem cum prope solium ipsius stitissent, jussit terræ infigi quatuor palos, quibus alligarentur partes ejus extremæ [ sc: manus & pedes. ] Ille vero, Heus exolete, inquit, num mei similis hujusmodi morte afficietur? Iratus *Soltan*, arreptis arcu & sagittis, servos † ipsum dimittere jussit, dimissumque sagitta petiit; quæ cum ab eo aberrasset, profiliens

*Foseph*



*Foseph* ipsum petiit. *Soltan* verò è folio surgens inter descendendum Dyn. IX.  
 ticubavit, adeo ut in faciem procideret; cui genu incumbens *Foseph*  
 cultro, qui sibi fuerat, ilia ipsi percussit: surgens autem *Soltan* in ali-  
 ud se tentorium recepit; & *Fosephum* quidam è cubiculariis malleo  
 capite percussum interfecit. *Soltan Olub Arslan* igitur, cum vulneratus  
 esset, imperium filio suo *Malecshaho* legavit; Vizieri munere fun-  
 gente *Nodhamol' Molco*. Anno quadringentesimo sexagesimo, die *70-*  
*wis*, decimo tertio *Shaabani*, obiit *AlKayem-be-Amrilla*. Hic cum  
 se certo moriturum videret accersitis populi principibus, Judice pri-  
 mario, & Viziero *Ebn Fahir*, testes ipsos adhibuit se nepotem  
 suum *Abu'lKasem Abdallam Ebn Mohammed Ebnol'Kayem* succes-  
 sorem designare. Fuit ætas *AlKayemi* annorum septuaginta sex &  
 trium mensium, Chalifatus quadraginta quatuor & novem men-  
 sium.

Sectio.

His annis scientiarum veterum gloria claruit *Abu'lRihan Moham-*  
*med Ebn Ahmed AlBiruni* in variis Philosophiæ *Græcorum & Indorum*  
 generibus profundè eruditus, præcipuè in Mathematicis, de quibus  
 libros insignes composuit. *India* regiones ingressus, ibique multis  
 annis commoratus, à sapientibus eorum disciplinas ipsorum edoctus  
 est, ipsosque *Græcorum* Philosophandi rationem edocuit. Libri ab  
 ipso compositi multi sunt, certæ solidæque admodum doctrinæ:  
 † summatim non fuit inter ipsius similes, vel eo tempore, vel ad hunc  
 usque diem quispiam ipso in scientia Astronomica perspicacior, nec  
 qui ejus quâ minima quâ maxima magis perspecta habuit. Claruit  
 etiam scientiis Philosophicis *Abu Ali AlHosain Abdalla Ebn Sina*  
 Doctorum princeps, qui hæc de se retulit. Pater, inquit, meus *Bel-*  
*chensis* fuit, unde se in *Bocharam* transtulit diebus *Nuhi* [ *Noa* ] *Ebn*  
*Mansur*, & villa *Harmatain* [ dictâ ] procuranda occupatus est: ma-  
 trémque meam è villa, cui nomen *Aphshana*, duxit, atque ibi ex ea  
 nati sum us ego & frater meus. Inde cum *Bocharam* migrassemus,  
 missus sum ad præceptorem qui *AlKoranum* & literas humaniores do-  
 ceret; nec ante decimum ætatis annum complevi, quam *AlKoranum*  
 magnamque humanioris literaturæ partem perdidiceram, adeo ut  
 [ omnibus ] admirationi esset. Deinde misit me pater ad Olitorè quen-  
 dam,

*AlBiruni*  
 Philoso-  
 phus & Ma-  
 thematicus  
 insignis.

p. 349.

*Ebn Sina*  
 [Avicenna.]

inveniet. Litera etiam  $\zeta$  in his nominibus, *Abgarus, Bawargiensis, Borgiani, Giaber, Giadar, Gialut, Georgii, Giorgiana, Gindamons, AlHallagius, Hegiaz, Sergius*, & in uno forsan vel altero alio, per *G* exprimitur, cum aliàs fere, ut in hac tabella, ei respondeat  $\zeta$ ; Scripturá, in hisce paucis, communi, in reliquis, nostrorum pronuntiationi accommodatá. Verum quidem est  $\zeta$  Arabicum *G* Latino magis proprie exprimi: cum autem litera *G* sonum duplicem apud nos obtineat, alium fere ante *e* & *i* vocales, ante reliquas alium; ad hanc ambiguitatem tollendam,  $\zeta$  consonam, quam dicimus, eundem sonum constanter retinentem, ejus loco adhibere placuit. Non aliam ob causam literæ  $\zeta$  Arabico  $\gamma$  nostrum adaptavimus: hæc enim litera apud nostros, quorum auribus servire voluimus, eandem planè cum illa vim obtinet. Exteris ne hoc fraudi sit, monitos eos cupimus,  $\zeta$  ante vocalem in nominibus *Arabicis, Persicis & Barbaris*, qualia sunt, *Jaasar, Jabal, Jaziva, Jamalabad, Jingizchan* &c. per *g* molle effe-  
 rendum esse, ac si hæc scripta essent *Giaasar, Giabal* &c. Literæ verò  $\gamma$  apud nos, atque adeo in hujusmodi in hoc libro nominibus, eundem esse sonum, quo  $\zeta$  consona apud exteros, præsertim Germanos effertur. Litteris  $\lambda$  &  $\epsilon$ , spiritu leni plerumque pro-  
 latis, litera nulla Latina hic assignatur: hanc tamen aliquando designat littera *a*, ut in *Ebno'l Aalam*, quod nomen in ipso initio Indicis habetur, *Jaasar, Baalbec, Sbaaban*, mensis nomine, & aliis quibusdam; nonnunquam sedem ejus indicat ['] Apostrophes nota, ut in *Masud*, quod perperam scribitur *Ma'sud*. Literam  $\zeta$  exprimit hic *sh*, ejusdem nobis soni ac *sch* Germanis, vel *ch* Gallis. Reliquis nihil difficultatis subesse videtur.

Quò ratio temporis (quod per maximam Historiz hujus partem ab *Hejra*, seu fuga *Mohamedis*, deducitur) Lectoribus dilucidius constet, Indiculum hunc apposuimus; in quo singulorum annorum *Hejra*, quorum in ipso libro, & in appendice mentio habetur, cum annis *Æræ Christiane* collatio instituitur.

Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.	
102	1	Jul. 16.	622	134 } 135 } 136 } 137 }	125	Nov. 4.	742	
	2	Jul. 5.	623		126	Oct. 25.	743	
	3	Jun. 24.	624		127	Oct. 13.	744	
	4	Jun. 13.	625		129	Sept. 22.	746	
	5	Jun. 2.	626		131	Aug. 31.	748	
	6	Mai. 23.	627		137 } 138 }	132	Aug. 20	749
	7	Mai. 11.	628			138	Jul. 7.	753
103	8	Mai. 1.	629	139	137	Jun. 27.	754	
	9	Apr. 20.	630	140	140	Mai. 25.	757	
108	10	Apr. 9.	631	141	144	Apr. 11.	761	
110 } 111 }	11	Mar. 29.	632	141	145	Apr. 1.	762	
					142	150	Febr. 6.	767
113 } 115 }	23	Nov. 19	643	144	152	Jan. 14.	769	
					142	158	Nov. 11.	774
117	35	Jul. 11.	655	147	165	Aug. 26	781	
123	40	Mai. 17.	660	147 } 149 }	169	Jul. 14.	785	
	41	Mai. 7.	661			149	Jul. 3.	786
	46	Mar. 13.	666	152	171	Jun. 22.	787	
	47	Mar. 3.	667	150	172	Jun. 11.	788	
124	60	Oct. 13.	679	153	175	Mai. 10.	791	
125	61	Oct. 1.	680	151	183	Feb. 12.	799	
126	64	Aug. 30.	683	186 } 187 }	186	Jan. 10.	802	
127	65	Aug. 18.	684		187	Dec. 30.	802	
128	70	Jun. 25.	689	152	190	Nov. 17	805	
	83	Febr. 4.	702		192	Nov. 6.	807	
	86	Jan. 2.	705	193	Oct. 25.	808		
129	96	Sept. 16	714	155	194	Oct. 15.	809	
130	98	Aug. 25	716	157	198	Sept. 1.	813	
	99	Aug. 14	717	165	201	Jul. 30.	816	
131	101	Jul. 24.	719	158 } 159 }	203	Jul. 9.	818	
132	105	Jun. 10.	723		204	Jun. 28.	819	
134	109	Apr. 28.	727					
	118	Jan. 20.	736					

# Index annorum Hejræ.

Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.
159	210	Apr. 24.	825	188	305	Jun. 24.	917
	217	Febr. 7.	832		309	Mai. 12.	921
	218	Jan. 27.	833	189	315	Mar. 8.	927
164	219	Jan. 16.	834	190	317	Feb. 14.	929
165	220	Jan. 5.	835	191			
175				190			
165	223	Dec. 3.	837	191	320	Jan. 13.	932
166	225	Nov. 12	839	193			
	227	Oct. 21.	841	200			
167	228	Oct. 10.	842	193	321	Jan. 1.	933
	231	Sept. 17	845	196	322	Dec. 22	933
168	232	Aug. 28	846	198			
169	233	Aug. 17	847	198	323	Dec. 11.	934
	235	Jul. 26.	849	199	324	Nov. 30	935
	236	Jul. 15.	850		326	Nov. 8.	937
	237	Jul. 5.	851	200	329	Oct. 5.	940
170	238	Jun. 23.	852	200	330	Sep. 26.	941
	242	Mai. 10.	856	201			
171	244	Apr. 19.	858	197	331	Sep. 15.	942
170	247	Mar. 17.	861	201			
174	248	Mar. 7.	862	202	332	Sep. 4.	943
175	249	Feb. 24.	863		333	Aug. 24	944
	251	Feb. 2.	865	203	334	Aug. 13.	945
	252	Jan. 22.	866	205	337	Jul. 11.	948
	254	Jan. 1.	868	205			
	255	Dec. 20.	868	197	338	Jul. 1.	949
171	256	Dec. 9.	869	205			
176				205			
177	261	Oct. 16.	874	208	339	Jun. 20.	950
	264	Sept. 13.	877	206	343	Mai. 7.	954
	265	Sept. 3.	878	222	348	Mar. 14.	959
	270	Jul. 11.	883	206	349	Mar. 3.	960
	278	Apr. 15.	891		350	Feb. 20.	961
178	279	Apr. 3.	892		351	Feb. 9.	962
180	281	Mar. 13	894	207	354	Jan. 7.	965
181	282	Mar. 2.	895		356	Dec. 17.	966
	283	Feb. 19.	896		357	Dec. 7.	967
	284	Feb. 8.	897		361	Oct. 24.	971
	285	Jan. 28.	898		362	Oct. 12.	972
182	288	Dec. 26	900	208	363	Oct. 2.	973
182	289	Dec. 16	901	209			
185				290	Dec. 5.	902	209
208	291	Nov. 24	903		366	Aug. 30.	976
185	292	Nov. 13	904		367	Aug. 19.	977
	293	Nov. 2.	905	210	369	Jul. 29.	979
186	295	Oct. 12.	907	213			
	296	Sept. 30	908	214	370	Jul. 17.	980
187	302	Jul. 17.	915	210	371	Jul. 7.	981
				211	372	Jan. 26.	982

# Index annorum Hejræ.

Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.
211 }	373	Jun. 15.	983	217	458	Dec. 3.	1065
217 }				236	460	Nov. 11.	1067
211 }	374	Jun. 4.	984	227	461	Oct. 31.	1068
214 }					463	Oct. 9.	1070
214 }	376	Mai. 13.	986	228	465	Sept. 17.	1072
211 }	377	Mai. 3.	987	229 }			
216 }				237 }	467	Aug. 27	1074
212 }	379	Apr. 11.	989	237	468	Aug. 16	1075
217 }				240	473	Jun. 22.	1080
212 }	380	Mar. 31.	990	237	474	Jun. 11.	1081
213 }	381	Mar. 20.	991		479	Apr. 18.	1086
218 }					485	Feb. 12.	1092
218 }	382	Mar. 9.	992	240 }			
217 }	384	Feb. 15.	994	241 }	487	Jan. 21.	1094
219 }	386	Jan. 25.	996	24	488	Jan. 11.	1095
	387	Jan. 14.	997		489	Dec. 31	1095
	398	Sept. 17	1007		490	Dec. 19.	1096
222 }	401	Aug. 15	1010	242	491	Dec. 9.	1097
219 }	403	Jul. 23.	1012	243	492	Nov. 28	1098
	407	Jun. 10.	1016		493	Nov. 17	1099
220 }	408	Mai. 30.	1017		494	Nov. 6.	1100
	411	Apr. 27.	1020		495	Oct. 26.	1101
221 }	414	Mar. 26.	1023		497	Oct. 5.	1103
	415	Mar. 15.	1024		498	Sept. 23	1104
	416	Mar. 4.	1025	244	499	Sept. 13	1105
216 }	420	Jan. 20.	1029		500	Sep. 2.	1106
222 }				245	502	Aug. 11.	1108
222 }	421	Jan. 9.	1030		503	Jul. 31.	1109
225 }	422	Dec. 29.	1030		506	Jun. 28.	1112
225 }	425	Nov. 26	1033	246	507	Jun. 18.	1113
	427	Nov. 5.	1035		510	Mai. 16.	1116
232 }	428	Oct. 25.	1036		511	Mai. 5.	1117
225 }	429	Oct. 14.	1037	246 }			
	430	Oct. 3.	1038	248 }	512	Apr. 24.	1118
	432	Sept. 11	1040	248	513	Apr. 14.	1119
226 }	433	Aug. 31	1041		514	Apr. 2.	1120
226 }	435	Aug. 10.	1043	249	515	Mar. 22.	1121
233 }					516	Mar. 12.	1122
226 }	439	Jun. 28.	1047		517	Mar. 1.	1123
	440	Jun. 16.	1048	250	518	Feb. 19.	1124
	441	Jun. 5.	1049		520	Jan. 27.	1126
	442	Mai. 26.	1050		521	Jan. 17.	1127
234 }	444	Mai. 3.	1052		522	Jan. 6.	1128
226 }	446	Apr. 12.	1054		524	Dec. 15.	1129
	447	Apr. 2.	1055		525	Dec. 4.	1130
	450	Febr. 28	1058	251	526	Nov. 23	1131
227 }	451	Febr. 17	1059		527	Nov. 12	1132
	455	Jan. 4.	1062		528	Nov. 1.	1133

# Index annorum Hejra.

Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.			
251 }	529	Oct. 22.	1134	275	587	Jan. 29.	1191			
252 }				276	588	Jan. 18.	1192			
253 }	530	Oct. 11.	1135	276 }	589	Jan. 7.	1193			
254 }				277 }				591	Dec. 16.	1194
254				531	Sept. 29	1136	278	592	Dec. 6.	1195
				532	Sept. 19	1137	278 }	593	Nov. 24	1196
255	533	Sept. 8.	1138	278 }	594	Nov. 13	1197			
	534	Aug. 28	1139	279 }	595	Nov. 3.	1198			
	537	Jul. 27.	1142	279 }	596	Oct. 23.	1199			
	539	Jul. 4.	1144	280	597	Oct. 12.	1200			
	540	Jun. 14.	1145	280 }	599	Sept. 20.	1202			
256	544	Mai. 11	1149	280 }	600	Sept. 10.	1203			
	546	Apr. 20.	1151	281 }	601	Aug. 29	1204			
257	547	Apr. 8.	1152	282 }						
	548	Mar. 29.	1153	282 }	602	Aug. 8.	1206			
	549	Mar. 18.	1154	283 }	603	Jul. 28.	1207			
	552	Feb. 13.	1157	283 }	604	Jul. 16.	1208			
258	554	Jan. 23.	1159	297	605					
258 }	555	Jan. 12.	1160	283 }	606	Jul. 6.	1209			
262 }				283 }	607	Jun. 25.	1210			
262	556	Dec. 31	1160	284	608	Jun. 15.	1211			
	559	Nov. 30	1163	284 }	609	Jun. 3.	1212			
259	560	Nov. 18	1164	286 }	610	Mai. 23.	1213			
263	563	Oct. 17.	1167	300 }	612	Mai. 2.	1215			
	564	Oct. 5.	1168	287						
264	565	Sept. 25.	1169	287 }	613	Apr. 20.	1216			
265	566.	Sept. 14.	1170	288 }	615	Mar. 30.	1218			
266	567	Sept. 4.	1171	288 }						
340	568	Aug. 23.	1172	289	616	Mar. 19	1219			
267	569	Aug. 12.	1173	290 }	617	Mar. 8.	1220			
267 }	570	Aug. 2.	1174	290 }						
268 }				571	Jul. 22.	1175	291 }	618	Feb. 25	1221
268	573	Jun. 30.	1177	292 }						
	575	Jun. 8.	1179	294 }	619	Feb. 15.	1222			
268 }	576	Mai. 28.	1180	294 }						
269 }				577	Mai. 17.	1181	300 }	620	Feb. 4.	1223
	578	Mai. 7.	1182	294 }	621	Jan. 24.	1224			
	579	Apr. 26.	1183	295 }	622	Jan. 13.	1225			
271	580	Apr. 14.	1184	302 }						
271 }				581	Apr. 4.	1185	302 }	623	Jan. 2.	1226
299 }	582	Mar. 24.	1186	304 }						
	583	Mar. 13.	1187	305 }	624	Dec. 22.	1226			
272	584	Mar. 2.	1188	305 }						
273				584	Mar. 2.	1188	305 }	625	Dec. 12	1227
				316 }	626	Nov. 30	1228			

Index annorum Hejræ.

Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.
306	627	Nov. 20.	1229	309	652	Feb. 21.	1254
310	630	Oct. 18.	1232	329		Feb. 10.	1255
311	631	Oct. 7.	1233	330	653	Jan. 30.	1256
311 }	632	Sep. 26.	1234	331	654	Jan. 19.	1257
317 }				96			
311 }	633	Sept. 26	1235	332	655	Jan. 8.	1258
340 }				14			
312	634	Sept. 4.	1236	338	656	Dec. 29.	1258
313	635	Aug. 24.	1237	345	657	Dec. 18.	1259
	637	Aug. 3.	1239	312			
	633	Jul. 23.	1240	347	658	Dec. 6.	1260
314	639	Jul. 12.	1241	349			
314 }	640	Jul. 1.	1242	351	659	Nov. 15	1262
318 }				355	661	Oct. 13	1265
318	641	Jun. 21.	1243	357	664	Aug. 31	1269
319	642	Jun. 9.	1244		668	Aug. 20	1270
	643	Mai. 29.	1245	669	Aug. 9.	1271	
320	644	Mai. 19.	1246	670	Jun. 15	1276	
	645	Mai. 8.	1247	357 }			
321 }	646	Apr. 26.	1248	358 }	675	Mai. 3.	1280
340 }				259 }			
322	647	Apr. 16.	1249	360 }	679	Apr. 22.	1281
323	648	Apr. 5.	1250	360	680	Apr. 15.	1282
326	649	Mar. 26.	1251	361 }	681	Mar. 20.	1284
327	650	Mar. 14.	1252	365 }			
328	651	Mar. 3.	1253	367			



# In SUPPLEMENTO.

Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.
6	20	Dec. 21.	640	33	704	Aug. 4.	1304
7	358	Nov. 25	968	12	708	Jun. 21.	1308
	567	Sept. 4.	1171	13	709	Jun. 11.	1309
41	611	Mai. 13.	1214	44	711	Mai. 20.	1311
8				3	712	Mai. 9.	1312
19	648	Apr. 5.	1250	4	716	Mar. 26.	1316
30				42			
31	653	Feb. 10.	1255	44	726	Dec. 8.	1325
8	655	Jan. 19.	1257	43			
	657	Dec. 29.	1258	45	727	Nov. 27	1326
9	658	Dec. 18.	1259	0			
32	659	Dec. 6.	1260	2	732	Oct. 4.	1331
	660	Nov. 26	1261	4			
0	672	Jul. 18.	1273	5	736	Aug. 21	1335
9	676	Jun. 4.	1277	33	740	Jul. 9.	1339
10				13			
33	578	Mai. 14.	1279	33	741	Jun. 27.	1340
43				34			
40				13			
44	680	Apr. 22.	1281	33	742	Jun. 17.	1341
1	683	Mar. 20.	1284	14	743	Jun. 6.	1342
42	687	Feb. 6.	1288		745	Mai. 15.	1344
11	688	Jan. 25.	1289		746	Mai. 4.	1345
	689	Jan. 14.	1290	15	747	Apr. 24	1346
1				15			
11	690	Jan. 4.	1291	34	748	Apr. 13.	1347
11				16	749	Apr. 1.	1348
1	693	Dec. 2.	1293	44	751	Mar. 11.	1350
2				16	752	Feb. 28.	1352
12	694	Nov. 21	1294	34	753	Feb. 18.	1352
12					754	Feb. 6.	1353
2	696	Oct. 30.	1296	16	755	Jan. 26.	1354
12	697	Oct. 19.	1297	43	758	Dec. 25.	1356
2	698	Oct. 9.	1298	0	760	Dec. 3.	1358
42				43			
2	699	Sept. 28	1299	45	761	Nov. 23	1359
	700	Sept. 16	1300		762	Nov. 11	1360
33	701	Sept. 6.	1301	34			
3	702	Aug. 26	1302	35			
	703	Aug. 15	1303	44	763	Oct. 31.	1361



# Index annorum Hejræ.

Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Heg.	Init.	A. C.
17	764	Oct. 21.	1362	55	854	Feb. 14.	1450
0	769	Aug 28.	1367	37	855	Feb. 3.	1451
46	770	Aug. 16	1368	46			
17	776	Jun. 12.	1374	47			
17 } 18 }	777	Jun. 2.	1375	55	856	Jan. 23.	1452
	778	Mai. 21.	1376	48			
35	779	Mai. 10.	1377	24	857	Jan. 12.	1453
18	783	Mar. 28.	1381	25			
18	784	Mar. 17.	1382	47	858	Jan. 1.	1454
19				36			
50				37	859	Dec. 22.	1454
35	38						
35 } 45 }	785	Mar. 6.	1383	56	861	Nov. 29	1455
	788	Febr. 2.	1386	38	863	Nov. 8.	1458
10	791	Dec. 31	1388	25	865	Oct. 17.	1460
44	792	Dec. 20.	1389	26			
36	793	Dec. 9.	1390	58	871	Aug. 13	1466
17 } 20 }	797	Oct. 27.	1394	27			
41	801	Sept. 13	1398	49	872	Aug. 2.	1467
5	805	Aug. 1.	1402	59			
20 } 36 }	807	Jul. 10.	1404	56	873	Jul. 22.	1468
59	808	Jun. 29.	1405	29	874	Jul. 11.	1469
54	809	Jun. 18.	1406	60	883	Apr. 4.	1478
21 } 22 }	814	Apr. 25.	1411	38	884	Mar. 25.	1479
36 }	815	Apr. 13.	1412	60			
46 }	816	Apr. 3.	1413	47	886	Mar. 2.	1481
58	823	Jan. 17.	1420	64	887	Feb. 10.	1482
22 } 46 }	824	Jan. 6.	1421	60	893	Dec. 17	1487
23 } 46 }	825	Dec. 26.	1421	50	896	Nov. 14	1490
22 } 36 }	833	Sept. 30	1429	27	900	Oct. 2.	1494
58	839	Jul. 27.	1435	39	901	Sept. 21	1495
0	840	Jul. 16.	1436	28	902	Aug. 30.	1497
23	841	Jul. 5.	1437	28	904	Aug. 19.	1498
37	842	Jun. 24.	1438	64	905	Aug. 8.	1499
59	845	Mai. 22.	1441	0			
55	848	Apr. 20.	1444	28	906	Jul. 28.	1500
6 } 55 }	850	Mar. 29.	1446	29	908	Jul. 7.	1501
	852	Mar. 7.	1448	0			
	853	Feb. 24.	1449	62	911	Jun. 4.	1505
				56	914	Mai. 2.	1508
				62	915	Apr. 21.	1509
				37	916	Apr. 10.	1510
				64	918	Mar. 19.	1512
				48			
				49			

Index annorum Hejræ.

Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.	Pag.	A. Hej.	Init.	A. C.
64	920	Feb. 26.	1514	50 }	982	Apr. 23.	1574
57	921	Feb. 15.	1515	51 }	984	Mar. 31.	1576
29 }	922	Feb. 5.	1516	65	985	Mar. 21.	1577
35 }				997	Nov. 10	1588	
30	923	Jan. 24.	1517	52	999	Oct. 20.	1590
40 }	926	Dec. 23.	1519	51	1002	Sept. 6.	1594
49 }				66 }	1008	Jul. 14.	1599
50 }				52	1012	Jun. 1.	1603
39	927	Dec. 12.	1520		1026	Dec. 30.	1616
50	929	Nov. 20.	1522	53	1027	Dec. 19.	1617
50 }	930	Nov. 10	1523		1031	Nov. 6.	1621
64 }					1032	Oct. 26.	1622
40	945	Mai. 30.	1538	0	1036	Sept. 12	1626
51	953	Mar. 4.	1546	53	1049	Apr. 24.	1639
50	974	Jul. 19.	1566		1058	Jan. 17.	1648
	975	Jul. 8.	1567				

**A** Nnus *Arabicus* Communis diebus constat 354<sup>o</sup> Embolimæus 355. Hinc fit ut initium ejus in anno *Juliano* diebus decem, vel undecim, vel etiam (concurrente anno communi cum intercalari nostro) duodecim, *Januarium* versus quotannis recedat, ac 34. circiter annorum spatio singulos menses circuitu suo pererret: Difficile igitur non erit ex hisce reliquorum etiam annorum, quorum hinc mentio nulla, rationem inire, eorumque initia assignando, præcedentibus & subsequenter collatis, haud multum à vero aberrare.

Mensium nomina & ordinem, unà cum numero dierum ex quibus singuli constant, hinc subjungimus: *Moharram*, 30. *Saphar*, 29. *Rabi prior*, 30. *Rabi post*, 29. *Jomádi prior*, 30. *Jomádi post*, 29. *Rajeb*, 30. *Shaabàn*, 29. *Ramadàn*, 30. *Shawàl*, 29. *Dhu'lKaada*, 30. *Dhu'l-Hajja*, 29.

Notetur Menses *Dhu'lHajjam* annis Embolimæis 30 dies habere: Diviso autem numero alicujus anni *Hejra* per 30. si restet horum aliquis, 2. 5. 7. 10. 13. 16. 18. 21. 24. 26. 29. annum illum Embolimæum esse tutò pronuntiare licebit.

F I N I S.

O Pere toto diligentissimè recensito, pauca hæc vel addenda, vel detrahenda, aliterve notanda, sive ad exemplarium fidem, sive ex conjectura, huc remisimus: quamvis autem eorum pars magna Libri margini, pars textui debebatur; quo minus tamen locis suis haberentur, in causa erant tum chartæ tum temporis angustia.

Pag. 4. lin. 13. alt. ex: الرها p. 7. l. 4. alt: عن مقدونيا p. 18. l. 4. legend: سنغار vel سنغار l. 13. legend. الرها اي وخليها اي sed alt. ex. habet الرها هي الرها اي واخذ وخليها هي الرها اي p. 20. l. 16. vox فانوس non legitur in optimo exemplari, unde nec in versione agnoscitur. l. 19. alt. p. 24. l. 8. واكبيرة l. 10. al. اسمحت له بجاريةها l. 4. p. 21. l. 4. al. حقق forsam legend: حاضر الاجر p. 26. l. 4. al. ex. خمس وسبعون p. 27. l. 6. يا موسي موسي p. 36. l. 7. al. طهر انبيكم p. 38. l. 18. vox رجل non legitur in opt: ex. ac delendum videtur. p. 41. l. 19. pro وملك اربعاً وتشرين p. 57. l. 15. كبرون al. كبرون opt. ex. habet ابديون p. 62. l. 11. al. تصع سنين p. 65. l. 3. vid: legend: ليكرتوها p. 69. l. 7. vid. leg. وكان له اربعة اب الغنمة الثلاثة totum locum al. ex. sic legitur بنين بهوا حاز وعن قيسا ويوخنيا ابو ناديال النبي ويوباقيم ابو اختلد. p. 84. l. 2. alt: اهملني p. 82. l. 19. al. يستسب for: leg: يستسب p. 86. l. 8. variant exemplaria, in uno abest in alio precedit vocem المدق for: legend: اي كتاب p. 87. l. 14. vid: legend: ارض بانس p. 100. l. 11. legend: حيرم وحيرم hac autem cum sequentibus alia lectione sic se habent حيرم صاحب صور at in العلوم الانوية. l. 16. legend. مقدمة l. 14. p. 104. l. 14. al. والسبعيني والاربعين من تاريخ الاسكندر. p. 112. l. 10. العلوم والانوية al. ex. legitur ارهل

1878  
1878

A  
HISTORY OF EGYPT

UNDER THE PTOLEMAIC DYNASTY

BY

J. P. MAHAFFY

AUTHOR OF

"SOCIAL LIFE IN GREECE" "GREEK LIFE AND THOUGHT"  
"THE EMPIRE OF THE PTOLEMIES" ETC. ETC.

WITH NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

METHUEN & CO.  
36 ESSEX STREET, W.C.  
LONDON

1899

WJW

divine honours already accorded to the king and queen as Benefactor Gods, and to assign divine honours to their infant daughter, who died suddenly during the sitting of the conclave of priests.

We shall begin by giving a complete translation of the document.<sup>1</sup>

“In the reign of Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, Brother Gods, year 9, Apollonides son of Moschion being priest of Alexander and the Gods Adelphi and the Gods Euergetæ, Menekrateia daughter of Philammon being Kanephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphos, on the 7th of (the month) Apellaios, but of the Egyptians the 17th of Tybi. DECREE. The chief priests and prophets and those who enter the inner shrine for the robing of the gods and the feather-bearers and the sacred scribes and the rest of the priests who came together from the temples throughout the land for the 5th of Dios, on which the birth-feasts of the king are celebrated, and for the 25th of the same month, on which he received the sovereignty from his father,<sup>2</sup> in formal assembly on this day in the temple of the Benefactor Gods in Canopus declared:—Since king Ptolemy son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, Brother Gods, and Berenike, his sister and wife, Benefactor Gods, are continually performing many great benefits to the national temples, and increasing

<sup>1</sup> It was first published (1866) in hieroglyphic and Greek, the former very inaccurately (says Wilbour), by the discoverer Lepsius, who had not observed the demotic version round the edge of the stone; since that partially by Wescher in the *Rev. Arch.*, and completely in a cheap and handy 8vo form by Reinach and Rösler. The most recent reprints are in my *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 226 *seq.*, with a brief commentary (not here repeated), and by Strack in his *Dynastie der Ptolemäer*, No. 38, who has also given the variants of the duplicate copy in the Gizeh Museum. These I had carefully noted independently in 1895. My commentary takes account of the transcript and translation of the demotic version by E. Revillout in his *Chrestomathie démotique*, with the Greek in parallel columns.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to me certain, that from all absence of any mention of an enthronement at Memphis in the temple of Ptah (a fact stated over and over again on the Rosetta stone in the case of Ptolemy V.) that this king and his two predecessors did not condescend to any specially Egyptian coronation.

the honours of the gods, and in every respect take good care of Apis and Mnevis and the other renowned sacred animals with great expense and good appointments; and the sacred images carried off from the land by the Persians, the king having made a foreign campaign, recovered into Egypt, and restored to the temples from which each of them had been carried away; and has kept the land in peace, defending it with arms against many nations and their sovereigns; and afford<sup>1</sup> (*sic*) good government to all that dwell in the land and to all others who are subject to their sovereignty; and when the river once failed to rise sufficiently and all in the land were in despair at what had occurred, and called to mind the disasters which had occurred under some of the former kings, when it happened that the inhabitants of the land suffered from want of inundation; (they) protecting with care both those that dwelt in the temples and the other inhabitants, with much forethought, and foregoing not a little of their revenue for the sake of saving life, sending for corn for the country from Syria, Phœnicia, Cyprus, and many other lands at high prices, saved the dwellers in Egypt, thus bequeathing an immortal benefaction, and the greatest record of their own merit both to this and future generations, in requital for which the gods have given them their royalty well established,<sup>2</sup> and will give them all other good things for all time. WITH THE FAVOUR OF FORTUNE: It is decreed by the priests throughout the country:<sup>3</sup> to increase the pre-existing honours in the temples to king Ptolemy and queen Berenike, Benefactor Gods, and to their parents the Brother Gods, and to their parents the Saviour Gods, and that the priests in each of the temples throughout the country shall be entitled in addition priests of the

<sup>1</sup> The plural nom. (king and queen) is here silently resumed.

<sup>2</sup> The order of the words makes *ευσταθουσαν* a second predicate, so that it may mean "have granted that their royalty be well established," perhaps an indication that the reverse case was a threatening possibility.

<sup>3</sup> *κατα την χωραν* might also mean *on the spot*, but then it would have been supplemented by some word such as *assembled*.

Benefactor Gods, and that there be inserted on all their documents, and added to the engraving of the rings which they wear, the priesthood of the Benefactor Gods, and that there be constituted in addition to the now existing 4 tribes of the community of the priests in each temple another, to be entitled the fifth tribe of the Benefactor Gods, since it also happened with good fortune that the birth of king Ptolemy, son of the Brother Gods, took place on the 5th of Dios, which was the beginning of many good things for all mankind; and that into this tribe be enrolled the priests born<sup>1</sup> since the first year and those to be entered among them up to the month Mesore in the 9th year, and their offspring for ever, but that the pre-existing priests up to the first year shall remain in the tribes in which they were, and likewise that their children shall henceforth be enrolled in the tribes of their fathers; and that instead of the 20 Councillor priests chosen each year from the pre-existing 4 tribes, of whom 5 are taken from each tribe, the Councillor priests shall be 25, an additional 5 being chosen from the 5th tribe of the Benefactor Gods; and that the members of the 5th tribe of the Benefactor Gods shall share in the holy offices and everything else in the temples, and that there shall be a phylarch thereof, as is the case with the other tribes. AND since there are celebrated every month in the temples feasts of the Benefactor Gods according to the previous decree, viz. the 1st and 9th and 25th, and to the other supreme gods are performed yearly national feasts and solemn assemblies, there shall be kept yearly a national solemn assembly both in the temples and throughout all the land to king Ptolemy and queen Berenike, Benefactor Gods, on the day when the star of Isis rises, which is held in the sacred books to be the new year, and is now in this 9th year kept on the 1st of the month Payni, on which

<sup>1</sup> Krall (*Studien*, etc., ii. 49) points out that the hieroglyphic text of this word *γεγενημενος* reads: [the priests] "whom the king has inducted into the temples," thus confessing the supremacy of the crown. Lepsius' bracketing of *και* and *δε* is here misleading.



the little Bubastia and the great Bubastia are celebrated, and the gathering of the crops and the rise of the river takes place; but if it happen that the rising of the star changes to another day in 4 years, the feast shall not be changed, but shall still be kept on the 1st of Payni, on which it was originally held in the 9th year, and it shall last for 5 days with wearing of crowns and sacrifices and libations and the other suitable observances; AND in order that the seasons may correspond regularly according to the establishment of the world,<sup>1</sup> and in order that it may not occur that some of the national feasts kept in winter may come to be kept in summer, the sun changing one day in every four years, and that other feasts now kept in summer may come to be kept in winter in future times, as has formerly happened, and now would happen if the arrangement of the year remained of 360 days, and the five additional days added; from now onward one day, a feast of the Benefactor Gods, shall be added every four years to the five additional days before the new year, in order that all may know that the former defect in the arrangement of the seasons and the year and the received opinions concerning the whole arrangement of the heavens has been corrected and made good by the Benefactor Gods.

“And since it happened that the daughter born of king Ptolemy and queen Berenike, Benefactor Gods, and called Berenike, who was also forthwith declared queen, being yet a virgin, passed away suddenly into the everlasting world,<sup>2</sup> while the priests who came together to the king every year from the country were yet with him, who forthwith made great lamentation at the

<sup>1</sup> There is evidence that this excellent reform was not adopted by the priests generally, so that it is an anticipation of our reformed calendar, made in Egypt, but not adopted in Europe for many centuries.

<sup>2</sup> The form of the sentence would lead us to think that she died in her earliest infancy, but this seems not to be the case, for there is a green vase extant with the inscription *θεων ευεργετων Βερενικης βασιλισσης αγαθης τυχης* (Strack, No. 48), which is referred to this princess.

occurrence, and having petitioned the king and queen, persuaded them to settle the goddess with Osiris in the temple in Canopus, which is not only among the temples of first rank, but is among those most honoured by the king and all in the country<sup>1</sup>—and the procession of the sacred boat of Osiris to this temple takes place yearly from the temple in the Heracleion on the 29th of Choiach, when all those of the first-class temples contribute sacrifices upon the altars established by them on both sides of the way—and after this they performed the ceremonies of her deification and the conclusion of the mourning with pomp and circumstance, as is the custom in the case of Apis Mnevis. IT IS DECREED: to perform everlasting honours to queen Berenike, daughter of the Benefactor Gods, in all the temples of the land; and since she passed away to the gods in the month Tybi, in which also the daughter of the Sun in the beginning changed her life, whom her loving father sometimes called his diadem, sometimes his sight, and they celebrate to her a feast and a boat-procession in most of the first-rank temples in this month, in which her apotheosis originally took place—[it is decreed] to perform to queen Berenike also, daughter of the Benefactor gods, in all the temples of the land in the month Tybi a feast, a boat procession for four days from the 17th, in which the procession and concluding of the mourning originally took place; also to accomplish a sacred image of her, gold and jewelled, in each of the first and second rank temples, and set it up in the (inner) shrine, which the prophet or those of the priests who enter the adytum for the robing of the gods shall bear in his arms, when the going abroad and feasts of the other gods take place, in order that being seen by all it may be honoured

<sup>1</sup> This statement evidently refers to the dedication of which the gold plate was once in the British Museum, but has now disappeared, namely: βασιλευς Πτολεμαιος, Πτολεμαιου και Αρσινουης | Θεων Αδελφων, και βασιλισσα Βερενικη, η αδελφη | και γυνη αυτου, το τεμενος Οσιρει. Apparently then he had added to the enclosure round the temple.

and worshipped as that of Berenike, queen of the maidens; AND that the diadem placed upon her image shall differ from that set upon the head of her mother queen Berenike by two ears of corn, in the midst of which shall be the asp-shaped diadem, and behind this a suitable papyrus-shaped sceptre, such as queens are wont to hold in their hands, about which also the tail of the diadem shall be wound, so that from the disposition of the diadem the name of Berenike shall be signified according to the symbols of the sacred grammar; and when the Kikellia<sup>1</sup> are celebrated in the month Choiach before the second cruise of Osiris,



FIG. 33.—The head-dress of the young Berenike (two sides, asps and ears of corn). (From the M'Gregor collection.)

the maidens and the priests shall prepare another image of Berenike, queen of maidens, to which they shall perform likewise a sacrifice and the other observances performed at this feast, and it shall be lawful in the same way for any other maidens that choose to perform the customary observances to the goddess; and that she shall be hymned both by the chosen

<sup>1</sup> We know nothing of the Kikellia, but it seems to me probable that there were some duties established for maidens coming of age to this deified princess—at least, if my restoration of the Grenfell Papyri I. xvii. line 11 be correct, *ἐνηλικοὶ δὲ* | [*ἡμεῖς γενο*]μεναι τα καθήκοντα τελεῖ θεὰ Βερενικῆ κυρὶ | [*αἱ παρθενῶν*] εἰδωκαμεν ἐν τῷ λλ, etc. It is an objection, but not a strong one, that if so, *κυρία* is substituted for *ανασσα*, the term in the decree.

legacy.<sup>1</sup> When Philopator died, all his Hellenistic empire was intact and apparently at peace. The upper provinces of Egypt and Nubia were in revolt, and completely beyond his control. His heir, though associated in the throne already, was an infant of five years old, his affairs in the hands of selfish and criminal favourites, who only sought to secure their own wealth and importance.

These villains, of whom Agathokles and his sister, the king's mistress, were now chief, had taken care to murder Queen Arsinoe, who was young and vigorous, and who, if the king's life was clearly on the wane, was looked to throughout Egypt as the natural regent and protectress of the infant heir. She was in some way removed from sight, so that her murder might not quickly become public.<sup>2</sup> Probably the king was known to be dying and his demise expected, but the death of Arsinoe came as a shock upon the people of Alexandria.

Polybius gives us at great length (evidently quoting from some very anecdotic local historian) the details of the great riot which ensued when Agathokles produced, with many sham tears, the urns containing the ashes of the king and queen. It very soon transpired that she had been murdered, and it was her sad fate, her bravery, her ill-treatment by the king and his minions, her early death, when she would have at last attained her just authority, that roused the grief of the populace

<sup>1</sup> It would be inestimable if we had some private documents of this reign. But the papyri contain nothing which throws light upon it. Singularly few are dated at this epoch—possibly one among the Petrie Papyri (II. xlvi.), but it is a mere contract, and has no allusion to the state of the country.

<sup>2</sup> It seems to me very odd that Philammon, the actual murderer, who is not appointed to the government of Cyrene till after the oath of allegiance is administered to the new king, should be described as having arrived from Cyrene two days before the riot and murder of Agathokles, when he also is torn in pieces by the mob. I cannot but suspect that he had been appointed Libyarch some time, and possibly even committed the murder at Cyrene, whither the queen may have been sent. This would account for the letter directed to him on the subject, which Deinon saw and did not intercept (Polybius, xv. 26a).

and their fury at her murderers. But every mob wants leading, and so the revolution (if so we can call it) hung fire, till the "Macedonians," as the household troops were called, took the matter up. At first they had received Agathokles only with jeers and contempt, but when he proceeded to rid himself of those among them who were inciting Tlepolemos, the governor of Pelusium, to assume control of Alexandria, and one of them, Moeragenes, escaped naked from the chamber of torture and took refuge in their camp, they also rebelled, insisted upon having the child king surrendered to them by Agathokles, and, disregarding all his entreaties to have the bare spark of life in him spared, handed him and his family over to the mob, who tore them in pieces. A similar fate befell Philammon, the actual murderer of Arsinoe, who had just returned from Cyrene.



FIG. 43.—Græco-Egyptian Head (bronze).  
(From the Petrie collection.)

## CHAPTER VI



FIG. 44.—Cartouches of Ptolemy V.

**AUTHORITIES.**—Polybius, Livy, and the general histories (as before). The Rosetta stone (decree of Memphis) is the principal home document.

WHEN the riot was over, the young king was put under the protection of the younger Sosibius, apparently a respectable and loyal person, and there was associated with him Aristomenes, who had indeed risen to notoriety by his gross flattery of the elder Sosibius, but who turned out in the sequel an able and trusty minister. So far the child was in good hands; but the control of the army, and even of the treasury, was in the province of Tlepolemos, a successful mercenary, not desirous, indeed, of ousting the king, but absolutely thoughtless and frivolous when he was not commanding forces in the field, and lavish of the public purse to Greek embassies, to the Dionysiac guilds of actors, and

to the household troops. This reckless extravagance led to his downfall at the hands of the other ministers, though the details are not known to us. Probably the affair was managed in like manner as the deposition and death of Skopas, to be mentioned presently. These mercenary leaders (now chiefly Ætolians) were from henceforth a standing menace to Egypt. Indeed they had been so in older times, as in the case of Sheshonk.

But other dangers soon gathered about the unfortunate country, both from without and from within. We know from the arguments in the great Turin Papyrus<sup>1</sup> that a revolt in the upper provinces prevailed in the very first year of this reign, and it does not appear that the forces sent to quell it returned for years to Thebes, their original station. Indeed, from this time onward, Ombos, higher up the river, appears to have become the principal garrison town to guard the Thebaid.<sup>2</sup> This revolt must have been an extension of that which had begun in the last year of Philopator, but which apparently did not affect the particular forces to which the plaintiff's father had belonged.

The king of Macedon and the king of Syria entered at once upon an unholy alliance to divide the possessions of Egypt among themselves. Philip made a naval raid against the islands and coast cities which acknowledged Egypt as their suzerain. Antiochus began a campaign against Cœle-Syria and Palestine, to recover the conquests from which he had been ousted by the defeat at Raphia. There was no decent excuse or pretext for this policy of plunder. But the royal villains seem to have delayed in some inexplicable way to make their attack, while there was an open rebellion in the upper country, and a new one had broken out, or was threatening to do so, in Lower Egypt. The campaigns of

<sup>1</sup> Ed. A. Peyron (*Trans. Turin Acad.*, 1827), I. p. v. 27: τον εαυτου πατερα μετηλθαι εκ της Διοσπολεως μεθ ετερων στρατιωτων εις τους ανω τοπους εν τη γινομενη ταραχη επι του πατρος του βασιλεως θεου Επιφανους: και εφη, αναλογιζομενων των χρονων, απο μεν του Επιφανους ετη κδ, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Turin Papyrus II. 39.

Philip against the Egyptian cities in the Ægean, and of Antiochus into Palestine, do not appear to have actually taken place for three years after the young king's accession. Philip was encountered by the Rhodians and Attalus of Pergamon, who gave his fleet so rough a handling that his further action against Egypt was paralysed. Antiochus was at first held in check by Skopas, the Ætolian general sent out by the Egyptian Government, and was unable to dislodge him from Cœle-Syria till the great battle of Panion in 198 (the king's sixth or seventh year).

But by that time a new power had arisen in the affairs of the East. The Romans, who had sent a friendly embassy in 201 B.C. to announce their victory over Carthage and their thanks for the neutrality of Egypt, were now apprised of the whole situation and of the great straits in which their old ally was situated. Though it is not true that the Egyptian ministers begged the Romans to take charge of the kingdom, or that M. Lepidus was appointed the king's tutor and lord at Alexandria,<sup>1</sup> it is true that the Romans not only crushed Philip's power at Cynoscephalæ (197 B.C.) and cured him of all hankering after the flesh-pots of Egypt, but they at last interfered actively to prevent Antiochus from continuing his successes against Egypt. He was obliged to meet their intervention by stating that his quarrel with Egypt was over, for that he was about to join an alliance with that kingdom which would satisfy the claims of both parties. He accordingly betrothed his daughter Cleopatra to the young Ptolemy in 198 B.C., with a promised dowry of half the revenues of Cœle-Syria (S. Jerome, *ad D.*), or of this and Palestine (Josephus).

Thus Aristomenes, after six years of sore trouble and anxiety, brought his sovereign out of foreign difficulties by the help of Roman intervention. But still the risks from foreign condottieri and from internal revolt remained. Skopas came home from Syria, and, despite his defeat, played the great man at Alexandria. But the

<sup>1</sup> On this point cf. *Empire of the Ptolemies*, p. 296.



minister was too strong for the freebooter, and having summoned him in vain, and then arrested him, to bring him before the Privy Council,<sup>1</sup> ordered his execution. There remains to be considered the most important part of all these disturbances, I mean the rising of the natives against the young sovereign and his ministers. Of this we have two widely different accounts, both of them sadly brief—one, that of Polybius; the other, that in the Rosetta inscription.

This latter was certainly decreed in the king's 9th year, but whether it corresponds to his formal coronation, or was a subsequent affair, is yet under discussion. We know that the young king was produced with a crown on his head by Agathocles, as soon as his father's death was made known. We know that he was betrothed to the Syrian princess about 198 B.C., shortly after the battle of Panion, when he was twelve or thirteen years old. Allowing a little time for the affairs of Skopas and his execution, we hear that Aristomenes proceeded to the *ἀνακλητήρια* or proclamation of the king's majority (and so his release from regents or guardians). This has usually been identified with the solemn progress to Memphis, when he entered into the temple of Ptah. I hesitate to do so. The *ἀνακλητήρια*, mentioned again in the case of Philometor, was the Hellenistic ceremony celebrated at Alexandria. The Egyptian proclamation at Memphis was a very different matter, and probably followed upon the other, but was no doubt considered the only legitimation by the priests, just as in our days a religious marriage follows upon the civil in many European states, which require the latter, while society or the Church ignore it in comparison with the other. The wording of the decree of Memphis, to which we shall now come, seems to me to imply not only a previous decree that the king should receive the title of the god Epiphanes Eucharistos (*manifest and*

<sup>1</sup> Polybius tells us he invited the distinguished Greeks on embassy to Alexandria, and especially the Ætolians, to be present at the inquiry, thus courting the consent of these people to the justice of his proceedings.

*full of favour*), but that he had been formally crowned in the Egyptian fashion. Here is the text. To reproduce the Egyptian style was difficult enough to the Greeks. In English it may well be deemed impossible.

“In the reign of the young<sup>1</sup>—who has also received his royalty from his father—lord of crowns, glorious, who has established Egypt, and is pious towards the gods, superior to his foes, that has set up the life of men, lord of the 30 years’ feasts, even as Hephæstos the Great;—of the king, like the sun, a great king of the upper and lower country; of the offspring of the Gods Philopatores, whom Hephæstos (Ptah) has approved,<sup>2</sup> to whom the sun (Ra) has given the victory, the living image of Zeus (Amon), son of the sun, of ‘Ptolemy living for ever beloved of Ptah,’<sup>3</sup> in the 9th year, when Aetos, son of Aetos, was priest of Alexander, and the Gods Soteres, and the Gods Adelphi, and the Gods Euergetes, and the Gods Philopatores, and the God Epiphanes Eucharistos; <sup>4</sup> Pyrrha daughter of Philinos being Athlophoros of Berenike Euergetis, Areia daughter of Diogenes Canephoros of Arsinoe Philadelphos, Eirene daughter of Ptolemy being priestess of Arsinoe Philopator, the 4th of the month Xandikos, according to the Egyptians the 18th of Mecheir. DECREE. The chief priests and prophets and those that enter the holy place for the dressing of the gods, and the feather-bearers and sacred scribes, and all the other priests who have come together to the king from the temples throughout the country to Memphis,

<sup>1</sup> The reader who compares this with the opening of the Canopus decree will at once see what progress Egyptian ideas and style have made in the interval (238–196 B.C.); the Greek copy is now a slavish translation of the Egyptian. The Greek text is printed with a commentary in *Empire of the Ptolemies*, pp. 316–327.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to the solemn and private visit paid by the king to the inner shrine of Ptah for his coronation.

<sup>3</sup> This is the rendering of his name-cartouche.

<sup>4</sup> He had therefore already obtained this title, and association in the worship of his predecessors.

for the feast<sup>1</sup> of his reception of the sovereignty, that of Ptolemy, 'the everliving beloved of Ptah, the God Epiphanes Eucharistos,'<sup>2</sup> which he received from his father, being assembled in the temple of Memphis on this day, declared: Since king Ptolemy, etc., the son of king Ptolemy and queen Arsinoe, Gods Philopatores, has much benefited both the temples and those that dwell in them, as well as all those that are his subjects, being a god sprung from a god and goddess (like Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, who avenged his father Osiris), being benevolently disposed towards the gods, has offered to the temples revenues in money and corn, and has undertaken much outlay to bring Egypt into prosperity, and to establish the temples, and has been generous with all his own means, and of the revenues and taxes which he receives from Egypt some he has wholly<sup>3</sup> remitted and others he has lightened,<sup>4</sup> in order that the natives and all the rest might be in prosperity during his reign; but the debts to the crown, which they in Egypt and in the rest of his royalty owed, being many in number,<sup>5</sup> he has remitted; and those who were in prison, and under accusation for a long time back, he has freed of their charges; and has directed that the revenues of the temples and the yearly allowance given to them, both of corn and money, likewise also the proper share to the gods from vine land, and from parks,<sup>6</sup> and the other property of the gods, as it was

<sup>1</sup> Hence this *πανηγυρις* was not the actual Egyptian coronation, which took place after his victory in the 8th year, but its *commemoration* in the 9th.

<sup>2</sup> I shall indicate this recurring cartouche-name by "etc."

<sup>3</sup> I suppose *εις τελος* means no more than this. "Has merged into the *τελος*, or state revenue from other sources" is possible so far as the Greek goes.

<sup>4</sup> This lightening is said to be expressed in the demotic version by "gave them the control of," viz. gave back the collection of them to the priests.

<sup>5</sup> Not 'remitted to the *πληθος* of priests,' as it is usually rendered; cf. below, line 29, *ουτα εις σιτου τε και αργυριου πληθος ουκ ολιγον*.

<sup>6</sup> We now know that this *ἀπόμοιρα* amounted to one-sixth, and had been seized by the crown, as a yearly gift to Arsinoe Phila-

in his father's time, so to remain; and directed also, with regard to the priests, that they should pay no more for their right of consecration (τελεστικόν) than what they were assessed up to the first year in his father's time,<sup>1</sup> and has relieved the members of the sacred caste from the yearly descent (of the river) to Alexandria, and has directed that the pressgang for the navy shall no longer exist;<sup>2</sup> and of the tax of byssus cloth paid by the temples to the crown<sup>3</sup> he has remitted two-thirds; and whatever things were neglected in former times he has restored to their normal condition, having a care how the traditional duties shall be duly paid to the gods; and likewise has he apportioned justice to all, like Hermes the great and great.<sup>4</sup> AND he has ordained that those who come back<sup>5</sup> of the warrior caste, and of the rest who went astray in their allegiance in the days of the confusion, should, on their return,<sup>6</sup> be allowed to occupy their old possessions; and he provided that cavalry and infantry forces should

delphus. The priests, whether truly or falsely, imply that it had been restored to the temples. A Petrie papyrus (II. xlvi.), dated the 2nd and 4th year of Epiphanes, speaks of this tax as paid to Arsinoe and the Gods Philopatores, so that the statement of the priests is probably false; but see Revenue Papyrus, p. 121, and Mr. Grenfell's note.

<sup>1</sup> This very puzzling phrase *εως του πρωτου ετους επι του πατρος αυτου* may possibly mean during that part of the king's first year, in which his father was still alive—the odd months of the last reign always counting into the first year of the new sovereign. Probably Philopator had made some concessions just before his death.

<sup>2</sup> *συλληψιν των εις την ναυτειαν* may also mean the right of seizing whatever is wanted for the navy. But the word *ναυτεια* is not known in this sense, and the demotic version, which is said to indicate some compulsory service, has no equivalent for it.

<sup>3</sup> We now know from the Revenue Papyrus (cols. 98, 99) that there was a tax on the sale of this cloth.

<sup>4</sup> I have not altered this truly Egyptian phrase, which often occurs in the form *great great*.

<sup>5</sup> Lit., who come down the river, probably from the insurgents in Upper Egypt, perhaps at Edfu, who were at this time by no means subdued.

<sup>6</sup> It might be inferred from the D.V., which makes the word future (according to Revillout) that we should read *καταπορευσομενους*.

be sent out, and ships, against those who were attacking Egypt by sea and by land, submitting to great outlay in money and corn, in order that the temples, and all that are in the land, might be in safety;<sup>1</sup> and having gone to Lycopolis, that which is in the Busirite nome,<sup>2</sup> which had been taken and fortified against a siege with a lavish magazine of weapons and all other supplies, seeing that the disloyalty was now of long standing among the impious men gathered into it, who had done great harm to the temples and all the dwellers in Egypt, and encamping against them, he surrounded it with mounds and trenches and remarkable fortifications; but when the Nile made a great rise in the 8th year (of his reign), and was wont to inundate the plains, he prevented it, having dammed from many points the outlets of the streams, spending upon this no small amount of money; and having set cavalry and infantry to guard them,<sup>3</sup> he presently took the town by storm, and destroyed all the impious men in it, even as Hermes and Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, formerly subdued the rebels in the same district; and the misleaders of the rebels in his father's day, who had disturbed the land, and ill-treated the temples, these when he came to Memphis, avenging his father and his own royalty, he punished as they deserved at the time that he came there to perform the proper ceremonies for his reception of the crown;<sup>4</sup> and he

<sup>1</sup> Whether this refers to the campaigns of Skopas in Palestine seems to me doubtful; it seems to mean guarding the frontiers with a large force.

<sup>2</sup> There was another town in Upper Egypt (the Thebaid), on the site now known at Siout.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* The dams; or it may be, owing to the inundation being kept off, that he set his army to invest the rebels, who had hoped the rising Nile would raise the siege.

<sup>4</sup> The repeated mention of this solemn enthronement at Memphis in Egyptian fashion marks a new and great concession to the priests and the national feeling. It is quite certain that neither the second nor third Ptolemy had any such ceremony, almost certain that neither the first nor fourth had. They posed as Hellenistic kings, ruling over an inferior race. Now we have a very different story.

remitted what was due to the crown in the temples up to his 8th year, being no small amount of corn and money; so also the fines for the byssus cloth not delivered to the crown, and of those delivered the cost of having them verified,<sup>1</sup> for the same period; he also freed the temples of (the tax of) the artaba for every aroura of sacred land, and the jar of wine for each aroura of vine land; and to Apis and Mnevis he gave many gifts, and to the other sacred animals in Egypt, much more than the kings before him, considering what belonged to them [the gods] in every respect; and for their burials he gave what was suitable lavishly and splendidly, and what was required for private shrines, with sacrifices and festivals and the other customary observances; and the honours of the temples and of Egypt he has maintained according to the laws; and the temple of Apis he has adorned with rich work, spending upon it gold and silver and precious stones,<sup>2</sup> no small amount; and has founded<sup>3</sup> temples and shrines and altars, and has repaired those requiring it, having the spirit of a beneficent god in matters pertaining to religion, and finding out the most honourable of the temples [or sites], renewed them during his sovereignty, as was becoming—in requital for all of which the gods have given him health, victory, power, and all other good things, his sovereignty remaining to him and his children for all time. WITH PROPITIOUS FORTUNE: It seemed good to the priests of all the temples in the land to increase greatly the existing honours of king Ptolemy, etc., likewise those of his parents, the Gods Philopatores, and of his ancestors, the Gods Euergetes and Gods Adelphi and Gods Soteres, and to set up of the everliving king Ptolemy, etc., an image in the most holy place of every temple, which

<sup>1</sup> This clause is quite obscure to us, as we do not know what *δειγματισμος* means. The demotic version is said to be, "the complement for pieces of cloth kept back," which implies a different reading.

<sup>2</sup> Both H.V. and D.V. give for this *corn*, a curious variant, if Revillout be credible in his rendering.

<sup>3</sup> D.V. "amplified."

shall be called that of Ptolemy, the avenger of Egypt, beside which shall stand the leading god of the temple, handing him the emblem of victory, which shall be fashioned [in the Egyptian] fashion;<sup>1</sup> and the priests shall pay homage to the images three times a day, and put upon them the sacred adornment (dress), and perform the other usual honours such as are given to the other gods in the Egyptian festivals; and to establish for king Ptolemy, etc., a statue and golden shrine in each of the temples, and to set it up in the inner chamber with the other shrines; and in the great festivals, in which the shrines go abroad, the shrine of the God Epiphanes Eucharistos shall go abroad with them. AND in order that it may be easily distinguishable now and for all time, there shall be set upon the shrine the ten golden crowns of the king, to which shall be applied an asp, as in the case of asp-formed crowns, which are upon other shrines, but in the centre of them shall be the crown called Pschent, which he assumed when he went into the temple at Memphis to perform in it the ceremonies for assuming the royalty; and to place on the square surface round the crowns, beside the afore-mentioned crown, golden phylacteries, [on which shall be inscribed] that it is (the shrine) of the king, who makes manifest (*επιφανη*) the upper and lower country. And since the 30th of Mechir, on which the birthday of the king is celebrated, and likewise [the 16th of Paophi<sup>2</sup>] in which he received the royalty from his father, they have considered name-days in the temples, since they were the occasions of great blessings, a feast shall be kept in the temples on

<sup>1</sup> From the 40th line onward the fracture at the right side becomes more serious, and invades the text, so that words, not always certain, have to be supplied to fill up the construction. But there can be no doubt regarding the general sense. I have therefore not thought it worth while to indicate each of the gaps at the close of the lines. All the English reader requires is to be assured of the substance and of the sense, and that no modern idea has been imported into the text.

<sup>2</sup> This date is recovered from the duplicate of the hieroglyphic text from Damanhour.

these days in every month, on which there shall be sacrifices and libations, and all the ceremonies customary at the other festivals [some words lost], and to keep a feast to Ptolemy, etc., yearly (also) in all the temples of the land from the first of Thoth for 5 days; in which they shall wear garlands, and perform sacrifices, and the other usual honours; and that the priests (. . .) shall be called priests of the God Epiphanes Eucharistos in addition to the names of the other gods whom they serve, and that his priesthood shall be



FIG. 45.—Bronze statuette.  
(Petrie collection.)

entered upon all formal documents (and engraved on the rings which they wear<sup>1</sup>), and that private individuals shall also be allowed to keep the feast and set up the afore-named shrine, and have it in their houses, and perform the customary honours at the feasts, both monthly and yearly, in order that it may be published that the men of Egypt magnify and honour the God Epiphanes Eucharistos the king, according to the law. This decree to be set up on a stele of hard stone, in sacred and native and Greek letters, and set up in each of the first, second, and third (rank) temples at the image of

the everliving king.”

The first word of caution to the reader is not to regard this document as absolutely trustworthy because it is very formal, and solemnly inscribed on stone. Fortunately, however, there must be some limits to falsehood, and had the priests, for example, copied from earlier documents (as they were wont to do) that this king had brought back the Egyptian gods from Asia, the Greek version at all events would have excited

<sup>1</sup> This gap is filled up from the parallel passage in the Canopus decree of Ptolemy III.



ridicule. So also they could hardly claim remission of taxes in Greek, which the king had not really remitted. The whole text, however, points to a compromise whereby the crown thought to conciliate the priesthood, and so limit or overcome the disloyalty now rampant throughout the country. The Edfu building text seems explicit that the revolution which broke out in Upper Egypt in the 16th year of Ptolemy IV. did not terminate till the 19th year of the present king, when he crushed it and entered his name upon the temple.

With this agrees the conclusion of an excerpt of Polybius, that the king was kept from having any personal part in the local wars by the jealousy of his general Polykrates, though the king was now in his 25th year (which corresponds to his 19th year of sovereignty). But the details which precede this statement are so like the statements of the Rosetta text, that I cannot accept two wars so correspondent, the one concluding in the 8th the other in the 19th year. Here is the excerpt: "When Ptolemy, king of Egypt, besieged Lycopolis, the dynasts of the Egyptians, terrified at what happened (*i.e.* the damming operations above described), submitted to the king's parole. But he used them badly, and fell into great dangers. What happened was very like the conjuncture when Polykrates subdued the revolters [in his father's time]. For Athinis and Pausiris and Chesuphos and Irobastos, the only survivors of the dynasts, bowing to circumstances, came to Sais, to submit themselves to the king's honour. But Ptolemy, having broken his faith, dragged the men naked after his chariot, and then put them to death with torture. Having then come to Naukratis with his army, and having received the mercenary force which Aristonikos had hired in Greece, he sailed with them to Alexandria." Then follows the sentence about Polykrates' dishonest policy to the king. There seems to me no way out of the difficulty but to sever this passage into two separate notices, one referring to Epiphanes' early civil war in the eastern Delta, the

other, with the names of the insurgents, to the long war of the upper country, settled in his 25th year. For surely there were not two captures of Lycopolis, or the capture of the two Lycopolises. I think then that the former part of the passage gives Polybius' account of the affair mentioned in the inscription.

At all events, with the solemn progress to Memphis, and the decree, Epiphanes' difficulties for the time were over. The Syrian princess Cleopatra, betrothed to the young king some years previously, was conducted with great pomp as far as Raphia in 193 B.C., and married to him when he was about 17. Her dowry of the revenues of Cœle-Syria (including Palestine, according to Josephus) was very great, but gave rise to political complications in the sequel. The provinces were



FIG. 46.—Coin of Ptolemy V.

certainly held by Syrian troops, and permanently lost to Egypt. Upper Egypt and Nubia were not recovered from their long revolt till the king's 19th year (as the Edfu text tells us). We now know from the recently excavated temples of Arhesnefr and Imhotep at Philæ,<sup>1</sup> which had been begun by his father and Ergamen conjointly, that he not only considerably enlarged and completed them, but that he mutilated the cartouches of Ergamen upon their walls, thus showing that he reconquered Philæ from the Nubian power, and also held it long enough and peaceably enough to carry out considerable work there.

Meanwhile Ptolemy and his wise minister took care to court the favour of the Romans in their wars

<sup>1</sup> By Captain Lyons in 1896.

with Philip of Macedon, with the Ætolians, and with Antiochus the Great. But though the Romans made polite speeches, they declined all Egyptian offers of help, nor did they restore to Egypt the cities of the Ægean which had been under the control of the fourth Ptolemy. Neither did they, in punishing Antiochus after the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), think of giving back Palestine and Cœle-Syria actually to the king. We hear that the Syrian Cleopatra was an able and devoted wife, and did what she could to keep up Egyptian influences in the lost provinces.

It was an attempt to undertake the reconquest of them which cost Epiphanes his life. When asked whence he would draw the necessary means for a foreign war, which in Egypt the king always waged at his own expense, he replied, giving a new sense to the famous saying of Alexander the Great, that his wealth consisted in the number of his *friends* (φίλων). What Alexander had said in a loyal sense meant a policy of plunder in Epiphanes. For we know with tolerable certainty from the strong negative evidence of earlier documents, together with the appearance during this reign of a whole system of titles, comparable to our modern peerages, that ranks of nobility were instituted by either Philopator or Epiphanes,<sup>1</sup> and it is a very certain inference that these honours were paid for. With a despot like Epiphanes, not to solicit them may have been a danger, and so the official classes may have been mercilessly taxed by being compelled to accept these titles. Such is the explanation I have already offered for the facts as I discovered them. It is an interesting problem to discover how far these titles were derived from Alexander's court, how far from old

<sup>1</sup> So far I can find no clear evidence of either of the titles τῶν φίλων or τῶν διαδοχῶν in the inscriptions of Philopator, and I hesitate about the supplying of these words to fill gaps in his inscriptions (*i.e.* Strack, No. 60) where τῶν δ] occurs, whereas both certainly occur in one of Epiphanes (Strack, 74). It is nevertheless possible that both Strack's 60 and another from Thera, which H. von Gärtringen has sent me, attest the origin of the titles in the earlier reign.

