



## The Harran Inscriptions of Nabonidus

C. J. Gadd

*Anatolian Studies*, Vol. 8. (1958), pp. 35-92.

Stable URL:

<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0066-1546%281958%298%3C35%3ATHION%3E2.0.CO%3B2-M>

*Anatolian Studies* is currently published by British Institute at Ankara.

---

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use, available at <http://www.jstor.org/about/terms.html>. JSTOR's Terms and Conditions of Use provides, in part, that unless you have obtained prior permission, you may not download an entire issue of a journal or multiple copies of articles, and you may use content in the JSTOR archive only for your personal, non-commercial use.

Please contact the publisher regarding any further use of this work. Publisher contact information may be obtained at <http://www.jstor.org/journals/biaa.html>.

Each copy of any part of a JSTOR transmission must contain the same copyright notice that appears on the screen or printed page of such transmission.

---

JSTOR is an independent not-for-profit organization dedicated to and preserving a digital archive of scholarly journals. For more information regarding JSTOR, please contact [support@jstor.org](mailto:support@jstor.org).

# THE HARRAN INSCRIPTIONS OF NABONIDUS

By C. J. GADD

## *Discovery and Present Location*

THE THREE STELAE bearing the inscriptions here published were discovered by Dr. D. S. Rice at Harran in August–September 1956, while he was engaged in examining the architecture of the ruined Great Mosque at that place. A preliminary account of his work, which is sufficient to convey the essential information about the positions and arrangement of these stones in the paving or steps of the Mosque, has been given by the discoverer in the *Illustrated London News* of 21st September, 1957, pp. 466 ff. All readers of this must admire the acumen which enabled Dr. Rice to “turn but a stone”, where so many “estranged faces” had missed its promise. The original monuments are stated to be kept for the present at a school-house in Urfa until arrangements have been made for their permanent conservation.

## *Nomenclature*

Four monuments of the reign of Nabonidus having now been found at (or near) Harran, it will be convenient to give them the short title NABON. H (i.e. Harran). These four monuments carry two different inscriptions, there being two copies of each. It appears possible that one monument stood originally somewhere on each of the four sides of the Moon-god's temple, and thus we may be now in possession of all the memorials set up there by Nabonidus; in that event it would be enough to number them 1, 2, 3, 4. But on the contrary, yet other copies or even other inscriptions may have existed<sup>1</sup> and may be found in the future. Therefore, at the cost of a little more complication, numbers will be reserved for each of the two inscriptions: 1 for that of the royal Mother and 2 for that of the king himself. The two copies of each will then be distinguished as A and B:—

NABON. H 1, A, the stele discovered by H. Pognon in 1906 at Eski Harran, and now in the Archaeological Museum at Ankara. Inscription of the royal Mother.

„ H 1, B, the stele discovered by D. S. Rice, 1956, in the pavement of the North entrance to the Great Mosque at Harran. Same inscription as preceding.

---

<sup>1</sup> One such is already extant in the long-known fragment of a stele in the British Museum, no. 90837: see L. W. King, *Babylonian Boundary Stones*, etc., Pl. XCIII f., pp. 128 f. (reproduced here, Plate III(a)), and for later references R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Assarhaddons* (*AfO.*, Beiheft 9), p. 121. Owing to absence of all direct information of provenance for this important object, which will several times be mentioned in the succeeding pages, I do not venture to give it the designation Nabon. H 3, although its inscription was clearly different from the two here in question, and its origin from Harran must be considered probable. It had already been acutely assigned to Nabonidus by Professor B. Landsberger, in his study to be named immediately.

NABON. H 2, A, the stele, discovered as above, in the pavement of the East entrance to the Mosque. Inscription of the King.

„ H 2, B, the stele, discovered as above, at the West entrance. Same inscription as preceding.

These designations allow for possible expansion in the future, and they may sometimes be further shortened for convenience in the following pages.

### *Description of the Monuments*

H 1, A.—For this all descriptive information has been given by Professor B. Landsberger in his contribution (1947) to *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı*, Cilt I, pp. 115 ff. + 3 illustrations.<sup>1</sup> All that need be added for the present purpose is (1) that the existence originally of a sculptured scene at the top of the stele, rightly assumed by that author, can now be regarded as certain, and (2) that especial notice should be taken of his observation (p. 117) that the stone found at Eski Harran bears clear evidence of a secondary architectural use, as a threshold.<sup>2</sup> Dr. Rice's discoveries allow us to believe with some confidence that it also had been incorporated in the steps of an entrance to the Great Mosque—and, it may be conjectured, somewhere on the South side, a point which further examination should verify—from which it had been taken by some unknown hands and abandoned where it was found by Pognon. The argument derived from this, doubtless accidental, position for the site of the ancient Harran has now lost any force it might have had, especially as we are also told that nothing whatever is to be seen at that locality to indicate the presence of any great city in the past.

H 1, B.—Basalt stele, height 1.90 m., width 1.00 m., front to back 20 cm. The front surface of this is complete except at top and bottom. At the bottom is an irregular but generally horizontal break, which has carried away the end lines of the two front columns of the inscription; in the right column, where the break can more easily be estimated, about nine lines are missing, but these include an uncertain number missing from the top of col. III. With the base of the stone has also disappeared

<sup>1</sup> This article, when quoted in the following pages, will sometimes be indicated simply by the letter L, with page or plate numbers.

<sup>2</sup> In a work of the Muslim author called Ibn al-Kalbi, *Kitāb al-Aṣnām* (which I was recommended to consult by Professor R. B. Serjeant), occurs the following very pertinent account (tr. Nabih Amin Faris, *The Book of Idols*, Princeton Oriental Series, vol. 14, pp. 29 ff.): "Among these idols too was dhu-al-Khalaṣah. It was a carved piece of white quartz with something in the form of a crown upon its head. It stood in Tabālah, between Mecca and Ṣan'ā, at a distance of seven nights' journey from Mecca." After a slight anecdote about its disappointing performance as an oracle, and some verses, the author relates that the Prophet sent Jarir to destroy this false god. By dint of a bloody combat with its guardians "he demolished the building which stood over dhu-al-Khalaṣah and set it on fire". The account continues with these words: "at the present time dhu-al-Khalaṣah constitutes the threshold of the gate of the mosque at Tabālah". One wonders whether he is still there, hiding his face in some neglected pavement.

the massive tenon which doubtless existed for fixing the stele into its pedestal (as it is preserved in H 2, A). Although the back was the side which was turned upwards and walked over when used for access to the Mosque, there is no reason to think it was once inscribed, for the text, however unclear at this point owing to damage, evidently ends on the edge of the stone, and has, indeed, been begun very high up on the top curve so as to ensure room to finish it. This suggests that, in its original position, the monument was not free-standing but reared against a wall, and the same is true of the others which are studied here.

At the top nearly all of the original curved arch has been lost, but the sculpture which occupied the tympanum still remains in its lowest margin. It was a *bas-relief à fond évidé*; the depth of sinking appears to be slight. The object at the left, approached by the other figures, is much disfigured; it appears as a low base,<sup>1</sup> upon which stood either an upper pedestal of columnar function (supporting a divine emblem?) or a human form, doubtless a god, facing the other figures and possibly holding a staff upright against his body, for its lower end can doubtfully be discerned. To the right of this subject appear the lower extremities and feet of four persons who face and approach in procession the subject aforesaid; they are evidently worshippers, the ensemble and grouping of this kind being very familiar.<sup>2</sup> The last two, on the right, are smaller, plain, figures, showing nothing but their "cylindrical" dress<sup>3</sup> and their feet, the right in advance of the left. Whatever may have been their gesture, they seem clearly attendants—priests or servants—one, presumably, for each of the leading figures.<sup>4</sup> These two, in their turn, have almost a total resemblance with each other, but the leader looks, in the photograph at least, somewhat larger (that is, wider) than the second. Both of these, besides the "cylindrical" dress and the similarly-posed feet, carry before them curiously-adorned staves which either rest upon the ground or are held just above the feet. The peculiarity of these staves is that they are ringed, as it seems, at regular intervals by convex bands, perhaps of metal. Since these appear more clearly in the better-preserved H 2, A and B (as well

---

<sup>1</sup> It is very hazardous to make any suggestion about the form of this base, but close scrutiny of the photograph (which may be very deceptive) seems to reveal one end of a boat, with upturned in-raking contour, such as are often depicted in art as well as found in ancient models, and such as are used in the marsh-country of Southern Iraq to this day; their likeness to the boat-shaped crescent moon, in its passage over the waters, led early to similes in the literature. Most like the outline which can (possibly) be discerned in this relief is the boat sculptured on a fragment of a boundary-stone from Susa, see G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, II, pp. 768, 904 f., fig. 624; also E. Dhorme, *Les Religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie*, p. 85; K. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta*, p. 445. On the top of the staff borne by the figure of B.M. 90837 is a crescent upon an unclear base.

<sup>2</sup> See some recent observations by R. D. Barnett, *Catalogue of the Nimrud Ivories in the British Museum*, p. 78.

<sup>3</sup> In the first figure this can be seen to have the curved rising edge of the outside fold richly embroidered and fringed, as in the better-preserved examples on H 2, A and B, and many similar figures.

<sup>4</sup> It is not impossible that this arrangement in line really depicts two pairs (a) King and Mother, and (b) their respective attendants, each side by side.



as in the B.M. fragment 90837), they will be more fully considered later. Seeing that the inscription is mostly a declaration by the Mother of Nabonidus, who is therein exalted as King of Babylon and restorer of the Moon-god's temple at Harran, there need be no hesitation in naming the leading figures as (1) Nabonidus himself, and (2) his Mother, votaress of the Moon-god throughout her long life.<sup>1</sup>

The inscription in two columns upon the face of this monument needs little remark. The surface, apart from the natural roughness of the stone, is not marred by particular faults or by damage, the text is handsomely chiselled, arranged and displayed, with but few "intrusions" from col. I into the inter-columnar margin, but rather more from col. II over the right edge into col. III. After the end of the two front columns, much less competence is manifested; the mason, having exceeded his principal space, seems to have become alarmed on finding how far he still was from the end of his matter. He began his last (edge) column high up on the top curve of the relief, and with the disappearance of this the first few lines of col. III have also vanished. His alarm was justified for, although he does seem to have in fact completed his text (its present condition leaves this in some uncertainty) he had by that time reached almost to the bottom of the stone. A similar situation has been observed in H 1, A, where the mason seems not so much to have designed a col. IV as to have been driven to overflow on to the edge (see the description in L., p. 118, although it does not now <sup>2</sup> seem likely that he was still *necdum finitus plena iam margine*). In neither of these stelae was there any attempt to use the reverse of the stone, which suggests, as said before, that in their original positions they were erected against walls. In outward form they were not alike, in respect that H 1, A had three columns on the front compared with two on H 1, B. It must be supposed that they stood in different settings.

H 2, A.—Basalt stele, extreme height 1.98 m., width 97 cm., the relief tympanum 92.5 cm. wide at base and 68 cm. in height. This monolith is virtually complete although both sculpture and text have suffered something from natural decay and from human damage. Its top, rising from a tablet which tapers upwards very little, if at all, preserves its full round contour and the semicircular sunk panel of the tympanum. The elegant plain border around the arc is fully preserved, and so is, at the lower extremity, the base-line of the monument itself, including a massive medial stone tenon 12 cm. deep, which fixed the stele into its pedestal; the latter was found, adapted and re-used, in the Muslim pavement at its side. The

---

<sup>1</sup> Appearance of a female in a religious rite beside the figure of a king is now paralleled by a bronze fragment in the Louvre, recently published by A. Parrot et J. Nougayrol in *Syria*, XXXIII, pp. 147 ff., which depicts Esarhaddon with his formidable Mother Naqi'a. This remarkable likeness between two Aramaean matriarchs extends beyond artistic innovation to a striking similarity of achievement, and doubtless of character.

<sup>2</sup> Because it is clear from the fuller text of H 1, B that it did not deal with all those concluding topics which L. p. 145 presumed.

stone tenon occupies about the same width (about 31 cm.) as the middle column of the inscription with the margins at either side of it.

Within the semicircle of the tympanum are found sculptured in bas-relief the subjects shown in Plate II. The figure of the King, facing left, holds in his left hand a long staff upright and raises his right in adoration of three divine emblems floating freely in space side by side just above the level of his face. The King's face has been deliberately hammered by destroyers, but this appears to be the only inflicted damage to the stele. Identical with this group in everything but details of preservation is that which appears on H 2, B, and a third example, unmistakably similar, is the relief upon the fragment B.M. 90837 already mentioned, although in this are various differences—the figure faces right and the middle emblem is not the same.

In all of these scenes are found certain features which distinguish them from many other such representations of royal worship; these differences lie in (1) the headdress, (2) the staff and (3) the emblems.

(1) The headgear in form of a military helmet is peculiar to the ceremonial dress of the later Babylonian kings. It is in shape much like the Assyrian helmet worn by both cavalry and infantry from the 9th century onwards, sometimes with crests added, but such helmets are never worn by the Assyrian king, who appears always<sup>1</sup> in his peculiar "fez" surmounted by a blunt upright appendix. On the other hand, several of the later kings of Babylon wear "mitres" of the pointed form.<sup>2</sup> Two features are worthy of note—they seem to culminate in a veritable spike, and they have attached at the back a long tail or riband. This is much more familiar, being worn both by Babylonian and Assyrian kings, and has its descendents in the ribboned wreaths of emperors and elsewhere in Hellenistic<sup>3</sup> and Sasanian<sup>4</sup> art, and is employed up to the present day in ecclesiastical,<sup>5</sup> honorary and funerary symbolism. In carefully-executed sculptures of Assyrian kings these ribands can be seen as the hanging ends of a headband, rising at the front, which encircles the "fez" and is tied at the back—this was doubtless the article of dress called *parsigu*.<sup>6</sup> As worn by Babylonian kings, this ornament looks to be no more than a

<sup>1</sup> This characteristic article of dress is alone retained by the curious bronze figure of an Assyrian king in penance published in the *British Museum Quarterly*, XIX (1954), pl. xviii, p. 51. A possible explanation of its conical upright may be furnished by the headdress called *khlaw*, worn by the better sort of the population in Southern Kurdistan, and recently described as "not the ordinary skull-cap, but a rather stiff cone made of green, purple, or orange velvet" (C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks, and Arabs* (1957), p. 90 and Plate I (a)). Around this other wrappings are worn, and at least one such detachable piece can be observed (see below) in the Assyrian "crown".

<sup>2</sup> See the description by B. Meissner in *OLZ*. 21 (1918), 119 f., of the figure on B.M. 90837, to which many comparisons are adduced.

<sup>3</sup> H. Seyrig and J. Starcky in *Syria*, XXVI, p. 232.

<sup>4</sup> R. Ghirshman in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, p. 58.

<sup>5</sup> A. Parrot in *Syria*, XXXIII, p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> W. F. Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba and her Dress*, pp. 12 ff.

pipe-like appendage, a kind of "pigtail", although it must have had some original function.<sup>1</sup>

(2) The peculiarity of the staves borne by the kings upon these monuments is the presence of convex rings at intervals up the shaft. These are not particularly clear in either H 2, A or B, but more so in 90837,<sup>2</sup> where they seem closer together at the lower end. In all three is a more prominent ring under the finial at the top. In between these it is possible there were ornaments of different shapes, but they are not clear enough to be sure. These rings were no doubt of metal, and so was the ferule which tipped the staff at the bottom, pointed in H 2, A and B, flat or slightly curved in 90837. For these ringed staves no parallel seems to exist among the royal sceptres depicted elsewhere. The nearest approach is perhaps the metal bands which encircle the artificial trunk of the "sacred tree" in the Assyrian sculptures of Nimrud.<sup>3</sup> More definitely significant than the rings are the finials which surmount the staves on each of these three monuments. In H 2, A and B, this seems to be clearly the well-known "wedge" symbol associated with the god Nabu. In 90837 the finial is formed by the moon-crescent on an upright shaft—what stood immediately below is unfortunately not clear.

Thus, in these sculptures, the King carries, while he worships the symbols of three divinities, a sceptre which itself bears a divine symbol and has a unique kind of decoration. In H 2, A and B, this is the symbol of the god Nabu, but we may anticipate the inscription so far as to observe the prominence at Harran of another god, Nusku, who with his spouse Sadarnunna was brought back to dwell in E-ḫul-ḫul with his parents, the Moon-god and goddess. There was a specially close connexion between Nusku and Nabu, insomuch that it has been considered whether they were not essentially the same.<sup>4</sup> Nusku was a god of fire, and had for his usual emblem (especially on the "boundary-stones") the lamp,<sup>5</sup> being himself called *nūru* "light" and (*d*)*LÁH* "god light". Most significant in the present connexion is the epithet applied to him *naš ḫaṭṭi elli* "bearer of the shining sceptre".<sup>6</sup> If the rings upon the sceptres shown in these sculptures were of gold, silver or even bright bronze no description could be more appropriate to them.

In the sculptures of H 2, A and B, we have, therefore, figures of a king who yet holds a staff decorated with a divine emblem and other

<sup>1</sup> On the Merodach-baladan Stone it has the form of a long appendix continuing the point of the hat.

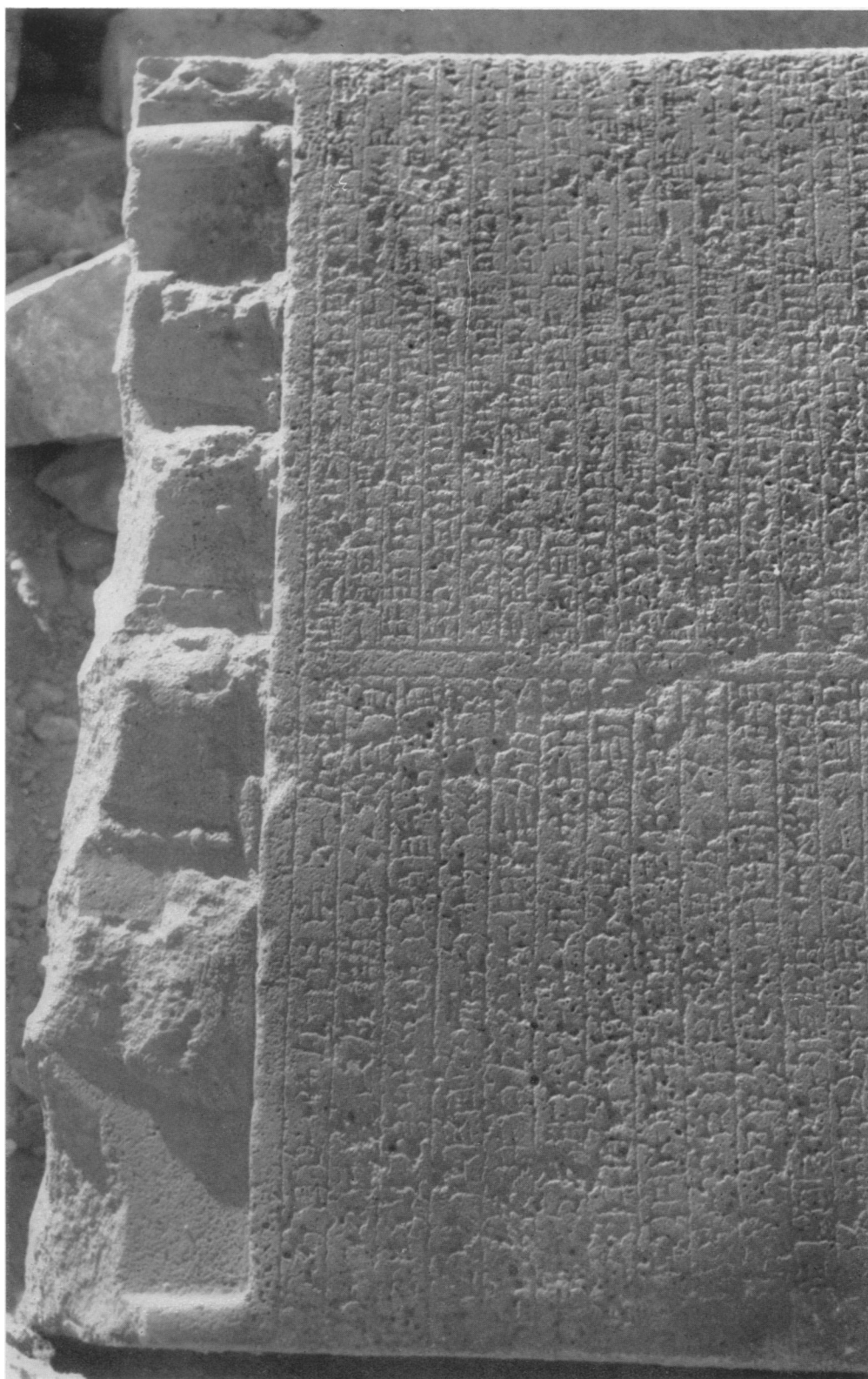
<sup>2</sup> See the description by L. W. King, *op. cit.* p. 128, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> S. Smith in *BSOAS*. IV (1926), p. 72; H. Danthine, *Le Palmier-dattier et les Arbres sacrés*, I, pp. 79 f., 138 f.

<sup>4</sup> It is enough here to direct attention to the important article by H. and J. Lewy in *Orientalia*, 1948, pp. 146 ff. See also *JCS*. 4, 138; *Bibl. Orient.* XI, 172, note 8; Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta*, p. 143. Nabonidus himself refers to the sceptre bestowed upon him by the god Nabu in a shrine named after that ceremony (*VAB*. IV, p. 280, col. vii, 24-9; new translation in *ANET*. p. 310).

<sup>5</sup> Especially *Mém. Délégat. en Perse*, I, fig. 379, a lamp inscribed (*d*)*Nusku*.

<sup>6</sup> Tallqvist, *loc. cit.*, where the sceptre is also called *eširti*, *širti*.



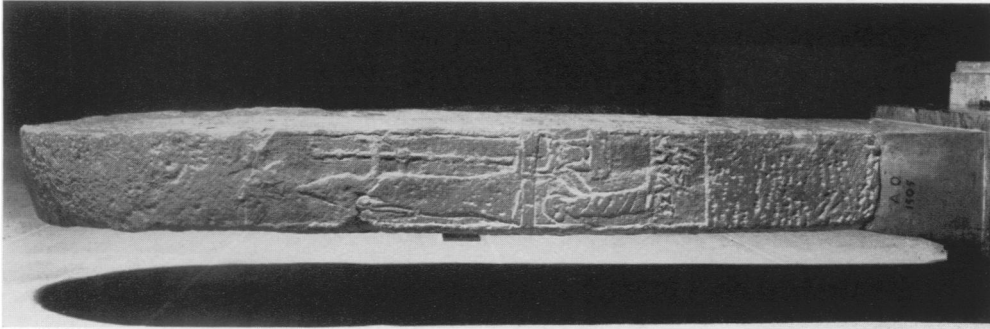
Stele Hr.B : the broken relief, and parts of columns I and II.



(a) Stele H2.A : the sculptured top.



(b) Stele H2.B : the sculptured top.



(b) The Taima stele. Musée du Louvre, AO.1505.



(a) Sculptured stele of uncertain origin. British Museum, 90837.





Stele H1.B : col. I, lines 1-25.

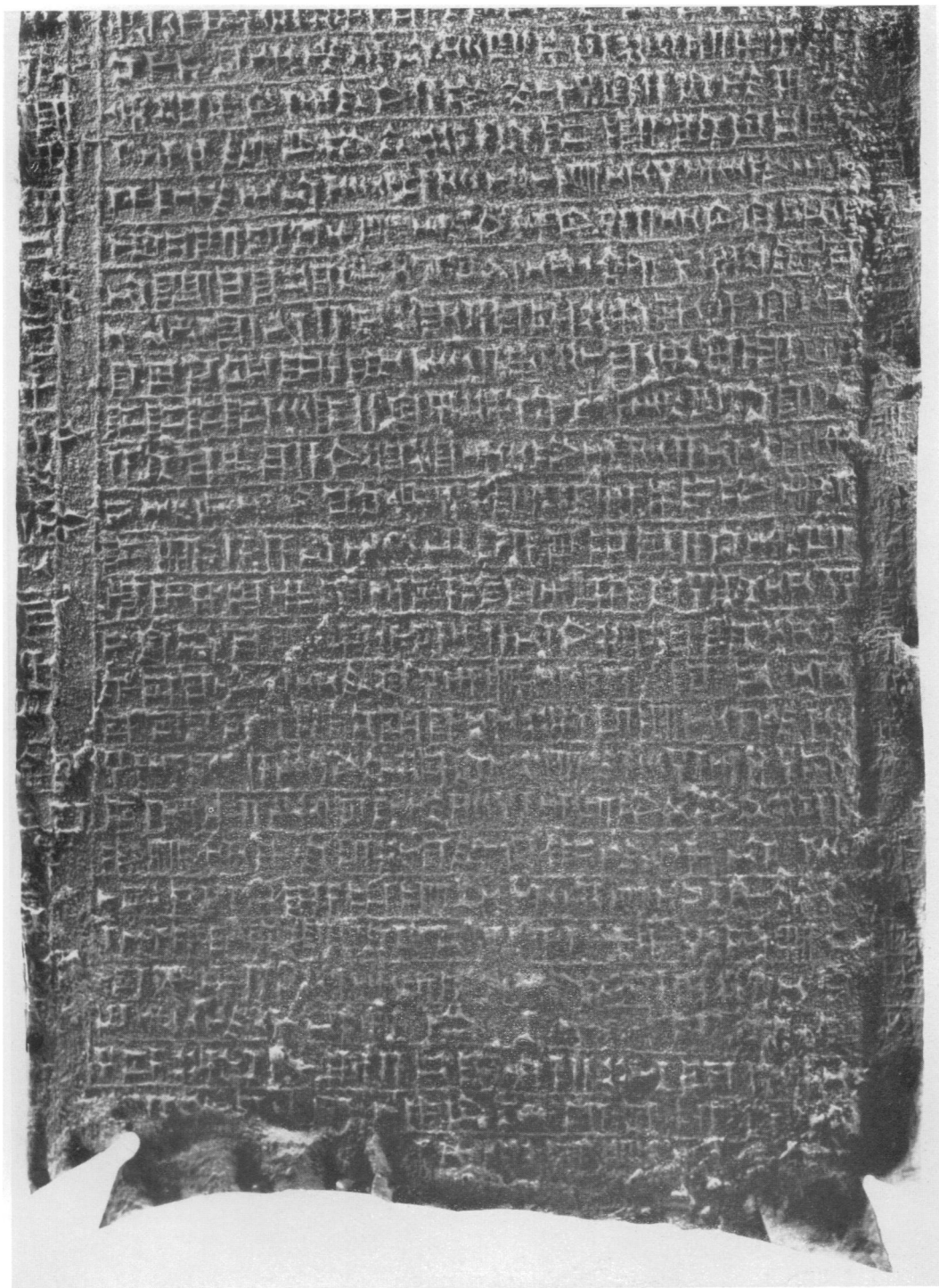


Stele H1.B : col. I, lines 21-46.





Stele H1.B : col. II, lines 1-29.



Stele H1.B : col. II, lines 24-50.



Lines 1-30.

Stele H1.B, col. III.



Lines 26-56.





Stele H2.A : col. I, lines 1-27.

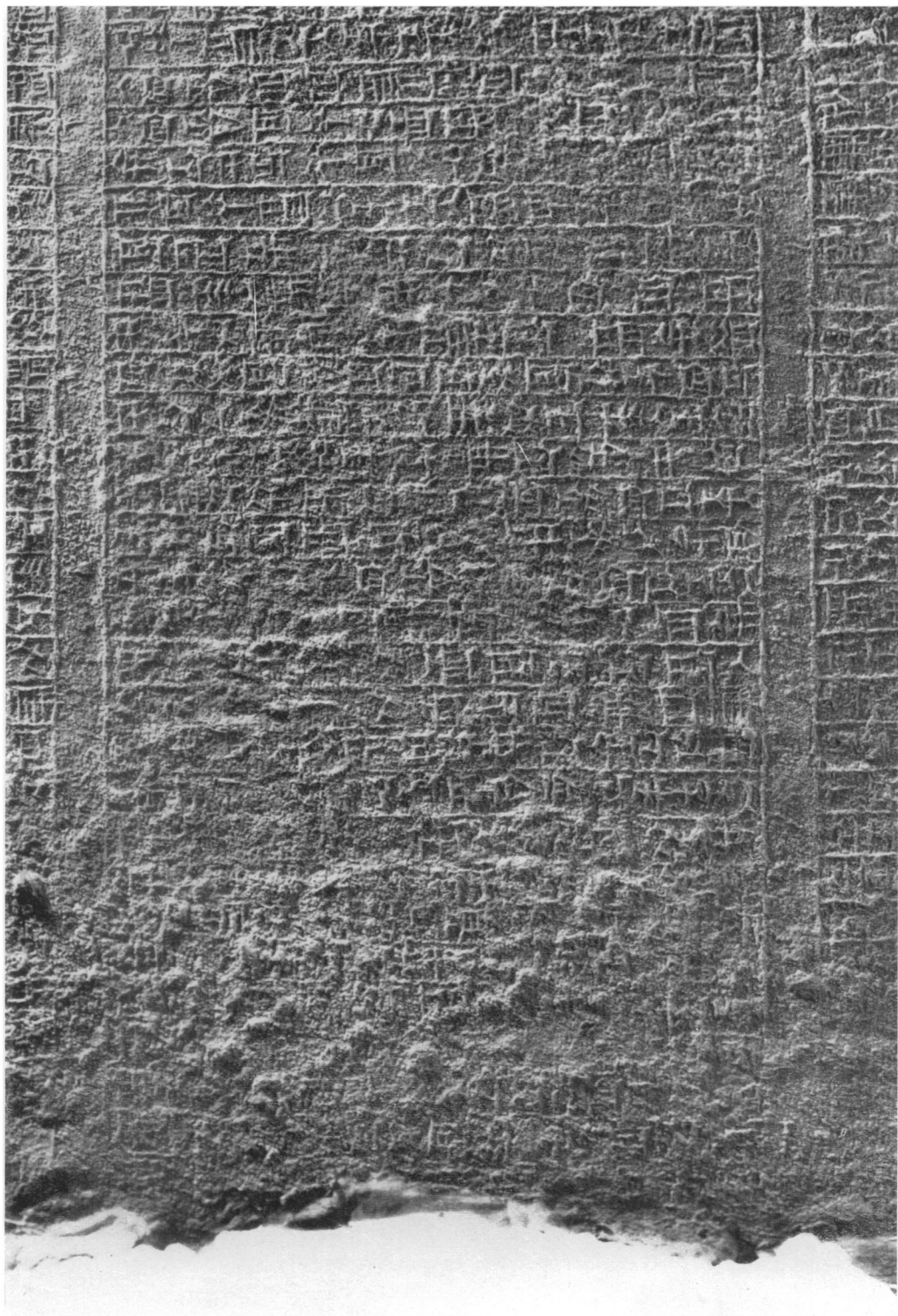


Stele H2.A : col. I, lines 21-48.

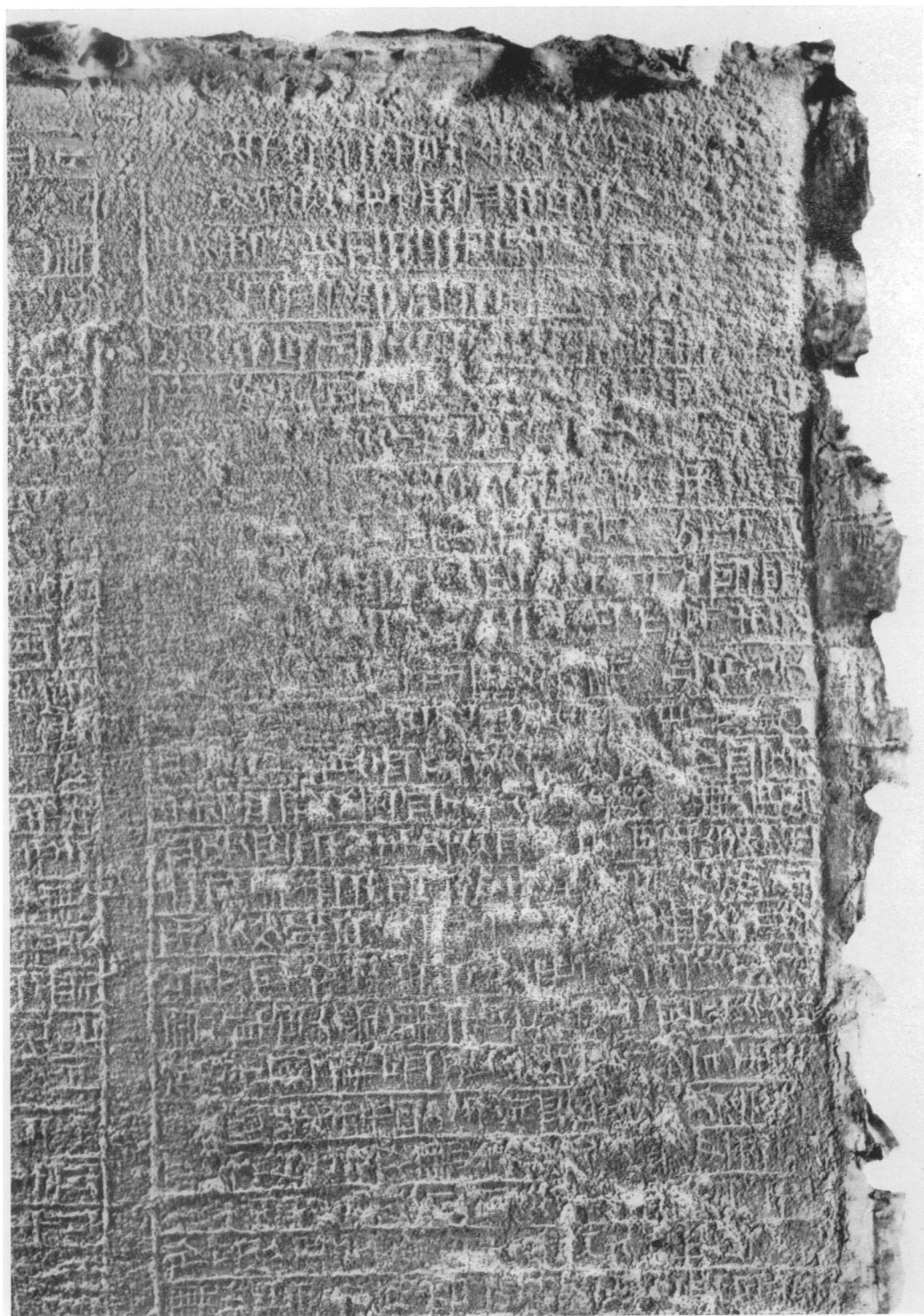


Stele H2.A : col. II, lines 1-26.





Stele H2.A : col. II, lines 23-50(?).



Stele H2.A : col. III, lines 1-27.

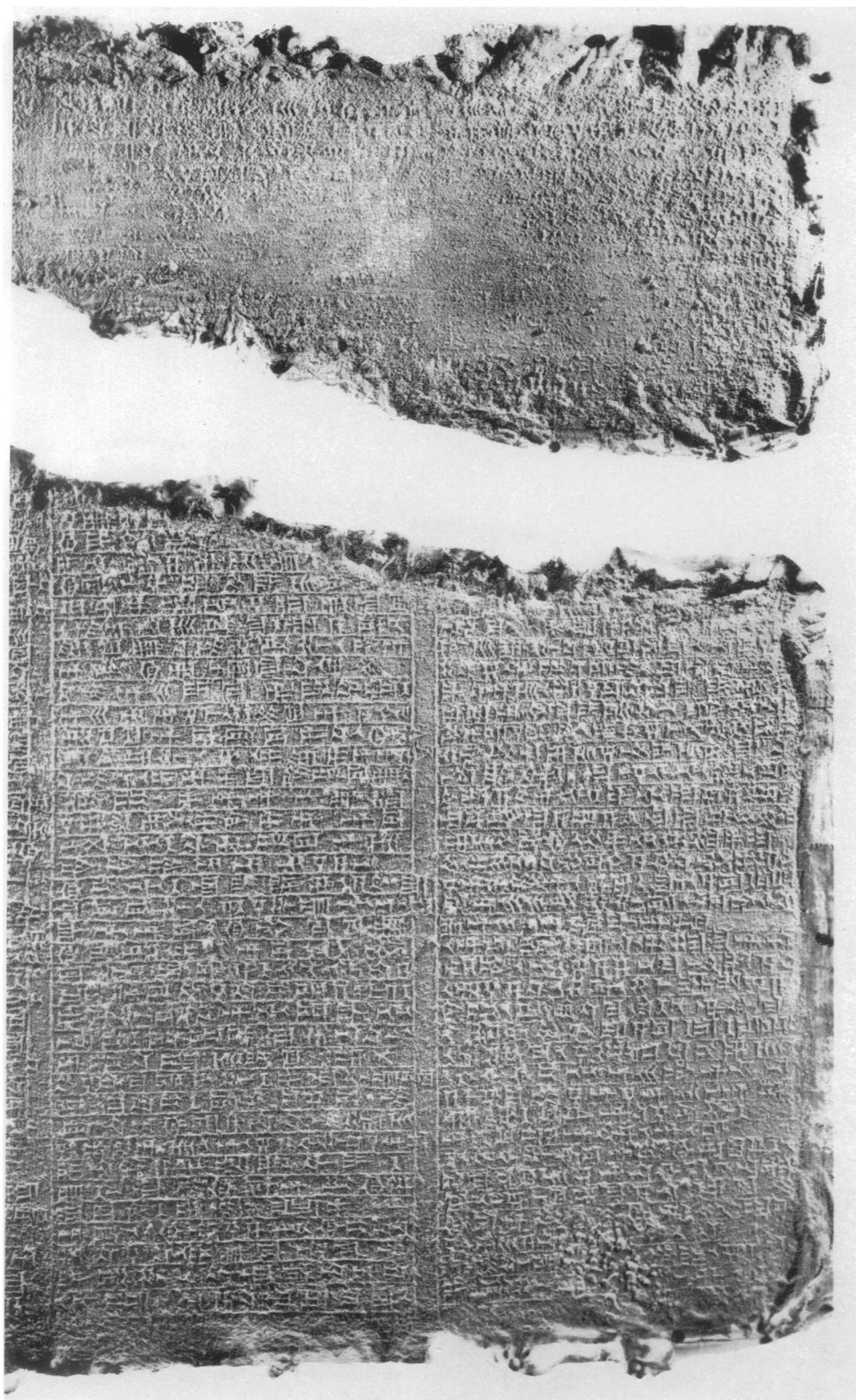




Stele H2.A : col. III, lines 24-44.



Stele H2.B : cols. I and II.



Stele H2.B : cols. II and III.

ornaments which make it to be well described as a "shining sceptre". In 90837 a staff with similar ornamentation is topped by a moon-crescent, the mark of the god Sin himself. It is appropriate also to notice here that in 90837 the figure has in his right hand the curious "bâtonnet" seen in the hand of other kings engaged in worship of emblems.<sup>1</sup>

(3) The divine emblems worshipped by the figure upon H 2, A and B, are well known, being those of (from right to left) the Moon (whole circle with crescent below),<sup>2</sup> the Sun (disc with internal pattern of four points and spreading "rays" between these) and Ishtar—Venus (seven-pointed star in circle). In 90837 the winged disc takes the (middle) place of the Sun; this is in accord with, and corroborates, the general opinion that the winged disc was a sun-symbol<sup>3</sup> in Western Asia as it was in Egypt.

It is now time to bring into comparison with these monuments a closely similar figure which is sculptured upon a celebrated stone, the Taima Stele,<sup>4</sup> now in the Musée du Louvre (A.O. 1505), particularly as its place of origin gives it a near relationship with the author of the Harran stelae, and above all with the events so explicitly described in the text of H 2, A and B. There in the upper register and apparently receiving the sacrifice of the lower personage is a figure almost exactly reproducing the form of those three already considered. He faces right, like 90837, he is capped with the same kind of tall pointed helmet with a "peak" at the back, like H 2, B; he carries in his left hand a staff surmounted by a prominent feature, and probably with encircling rings; he raises his right hand in worship of a winged disc which hovers above him. Yet in the Taima Stele this is the representation of a god named Šalm, i.e. "Image", and the inferior figure has taken his name from this god, for he is called Šalm-šezib, i.e. "O (divine) Image, save (me)". In this example the image bears upon the head of his staff a kind of spearpoint, which might pass for the well-known "lance"<sup>5</sup> of the god Marduk, thus making symbols of three different gods to be carried on the heads of these staves, Wedge (Nabu) on H 2, A and B; Crescent (Sin) on 90837; Lance (Marduk) on the Taima Stele. The curious situation thus exists that certain figures decidedly represent a King in three of the monuments, for he is there seen worshipping gods, while he yet carries divine insignia, whereas in the fourth case a figure almost completely identical receives

<sup>1</sup> A. Parrot and J. Nougayrol, *Syria*, XXXIII, pp. 148, 159. On the Louvre bronze of Esarhaddon and Naqi'a this has a peculiar character in that the figures are applying these closely to their noses; for a possible parallel Dr. H. W. F. Saggs has pointed out to me the unexplained allusion in Ezekiel VIII, 17 (the house of Judah commit abominations), "and, lo, they put the branch to their nose."

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the *atalu*, "eclipsed moon" of the Verse Account, I, 25.

<sup>3</sup> E. D. Van Buren, *Symbols of the Gods*, pp. 94 ff.; A. Roes in *JEOL*. Deel I, Introd. xvii ff., and A. H. Gardiner in *JEOL*. 30, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *CIS*. Pars II, tome I, tabl. IX, pp. 108–115. A new photograph of the Taima figure sent to me by the courtesy of Monsieur A. Parrot, is given here on Pl. III(b).

<sup>5</sup> *marru*, but this is now thought to describe a triangular-shaped spade—many references, see last G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Babylonian Laws*, II, p. 172. In the Verse Account, col. V, 21, is related an argument of Nabonidus concerning this emblem in a sense which his enemies denounced as blasphemous.

worship itself in the name of "Image", despite which this figure also stands under a winged disc, i.e. under the protection of another divinity. The god Šalmu was by no means unknown to the Assyrian pantheon,<sup>1</sup> where he appears as a projection of gods themselves, and is doubtless their statue or picture. But he was a projection not of gods only, for kings had also their "divine images"—especially named is that of the king Tiglath-pileser I. A cult could therefore be paid to the images of great kings, probably after death, but here something more seems to be indicated. The "image" of a king, bearing symbols of divinity even while he worships greater gods, has become a god itself, receives offerings, and is taken as a name by its local priest. If the first column of the "Verse Account" were better preserved there might be some light cast upon this, for it appears that Nabonidus was therein accused especially of introducing a novel and travestied figure of the Moon-god and other acts of impiety.

With respect to the Taima Stele itself only two observations need here be made. First the date of this was formerly assigned to the 6th century B.C., but there has been afterwards a disposition to bring it down to the Persian period (Darius I), because a "22nd year" occurs in the text,<sup>2</sup> and this opinion is still maintained by some. The Harran monuments with their remarkably similar figures are evidently much in favour of the earlier dating, which it might not now be overbold to restrict to the earlier years of Nabonidus' reign. Secondly, the names of the divinities therein appearing have been the object of various attempted explanations, none very convincing, and none has gained acceptance. The deity sculptured on the stele (much in the guise, as shown above, of Nabonidus himself) is called "Image (šlm) of h g m", and he is said, in the course of the text, to have been introduced into Taima under the patronage of three (superior) deities šlm zî mḥrm wšngl' w'sīr'. While it cannot be claimed that these enigmatic names are in any way explained by the comparisons made here, it is still worthy of note that the Harran stelae display this peculiarly-attired figure as worshipping three great gods, Moon, Sun, and Ishtar-Venus, the second of which has (in 90837) the form of the winged disc, and this is the emblem which appears over the similarly-attired figure of šlm zî hgm on the Taima stele. Comparisons of šngl' with Sin(+?) and of 'sīr' with Asherah-Ishtar-Venus have not failed to be instituted, and although difficult and unconvincing in themselves, such identifications would certainly fit the iconographic situation in the Harran and the Taima stelae, for in the latter the characteristically-attired form is šlm zî hgm, and his principal patron (figured as the solar winged disc) is šlm zî mḥrm, who might thus be the "image" of a sun-god. Farther than this it would be very imprudent to go.

To complete the description of H 2, A—the inscription is in three columns all on the front of the stele. They are fully preserved from top

<sup>1</sup> Many Assyrian references to figures of this kind may be found in the monograph of R. Frankena, *Tākultu*, p. 112.

<sup>2</sup> Upon this see S. Smith, *Isaiah Ch. XL-LV*, pp. 86, 90. The 5th century date is still supported by C. Brockelmann in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, Bd. III, p. 138.



to bottom and from side to side. Moreover, the inscription is completed, for it can be seen to finish, with room for several more lines remaining, at the bottom of col. III. Spared or unnoticed by man (except for some mutilation of the king's features), the monument and text have suffered somewhat from time and climate, for the surface is much pitted, decayed and encrusted in various places, which the photographs and the state of the text will reveal better than any written description. Decay is worst down the right side of the face (col. III), widening and worsening as it goes down, and spreading across the bottom of all three columns of text. This has its most serious effect in col. II, where the prudent scribe, forecasting the extent of his matter, carried his work far down the column, and has thus had several lines made illegible, and the end of that column obscured. By contrast, both in cols. I and III, as said above, the end of the inscription can be seen.

H 2, B.—Basalt stele, extreme height 1.87 m., width 1.01 m. This monument being in style and outward respects no less than in its written text a replica of H 2, A, can be more briefly despatched. Like its counterpart it has survived virtually complete in its outline, but it has suffered more damage. The top, with its rounded arch and its sunk semicircular panel containing figures in bas-relief is entirely similar, but the border round the arch is damaged. The sculptured forms, both human and symbolic, do not differ noticeably from H 2, A, either in positioning or pose in the space and relatively to each other or as concerns internal detail. The human figure is here, however, less severely battered, so that his face, beard and back-hair appear better, and his tall "helmet" has a more definite "spike" at the top. More visible, too, is the bottom line of the headdress, which shows it to have a distinct "peak" at the back, just like the personage of no. 90837, but especially like him of the Taima stele, and to this "peak" is attached the riband or tail-like appendage already described.

This monument also is complete at the bottom and retains, like H 2, A, its massive stone tenon, about 18 cm. deep. Likewise the left and right edges of the stone are practically whole. Its great damage is in a complete break across, with irregular edges, which has divided the stone into two: dropping slightly from left to right, it has carried away from three to six lines in each of the three columns of text and has mutilated several more. To this must be added a vertical break with a short branch to the left edge, detaching the left side of col. I into two separate fragments which, however, join closely.

As in H 2, A, the inscription is in three columns of about fifty lines each. The damage noticed above has greatly affected the beginnings of all three columns but below the break the text is well preserved in all places and is generally clearer than in H 2, A. The ends of all three columns can be plainly seen, and this makes it the more peculiar that with the end of col. III the inscription is not finished, for it stops in the middle of a phrase, and H 2, A, has seven more lines beyond it. Examination of the original is reported, nevertheless, to have found no trace of continua-

tion either on the right edge or on the back of the stone. It must be supposed that the mason preferred to leave a handsomely-finished work rather than to mar it by a pedantic insistence upon completeness; it would be hazardous to impute this to any disrespect for the king's message.

*Materials and Methods for Edition of the Texts*

Since no epigraphist of cuneiform was present when the Harran monuments were discovered, the texts had to be recorded by impression and photography. This edition is doubtless the worse for lack of direct examination of the originals,<sup>1</sup> but all possible aid short of this has been given by the results of the two above-mentioned processes. For H 1, B, the editor has been able to use squeezes of two kinds, on paper taken by Dr. D. S. Rice, at Harran, and on rubber latex, taken partly by the same at Harran and partly by another hand at Urfa. Large-sized photographs taken by Dr. Rice cover the upper, middle and lower parts of the front face, and there are three more for the edge (col. III). The editor is also much indebted to Mr. P. Hulin for prints of photographs taken by him at Urfa—one of the lower part of the face (cols. I, II) and three smaller of the upper, middle and lower edge (col. III).

For H 2, A, there are rubber latex squeezes made by Dr. Rice at Harran—two sheets both embracing the whole height of the inscribed surface. The first is of col. I with a narrow overlap on to col. II; the second has the whole of cols. II and III, with a narrow overlap on to col. I. Photographs of large size by Dr. Rice cover each of the columns successively, overlapping each other. Mr. P. Hulin has furnished four large photographs showing two the upper, and two the lower, face of the inscription as well as a small *vue d'ensemble* and two small partial pictures of the text. For H 2, B, there are rubber latex squeezes made by Dr. Rice at Harran, the principal sheet covering the whole of the inscribed surface below the transverse break. A second narrow strip covers all three columns above the break, the surface here being decayed and much of the inscription obliterated. There is also a small independent squeeze covering only col. I, line 26 to the end, with beginnings of corresponding lines in col. II. Mr. P. Hulin has supplied large photographs accounting for most of the inscribed surface, including the break, and a small general view of the upper left quarter of the stone.

From these materials the following texts have been made up as well as possible without recourse to the ultimate authority of the stones themselves. By far the best are the rubber latex impressions, of which the principal disadvantage is that their inscription necessarily appears in reverse and the signs have to be read backwards. The transliterations were in fact made in this manner, direct from the squeezes with some not very effective aid from mirrors, but the resources of modern photography have

---

<sup>1</sup> It is much to be desired that the reading here presented may now be carefully collated with these by a scholar fortunate enough to have access.

made it possible to present the texts here as they appear upon the monuments. After many experiments we now publish the product of negatives *photographed from the squeezes* by Dr. D. S. Rice and (reversed) prints made from these by R. B. Fleming & Co. Despite their defects in those passages where the originals are damaged or unclear, they enable the texts to be checked without more than occasional difficulty. The question of adding hand-copies was carefully considered, but it seemed to the writer in the present case these could be of no real service, for they would unavoidably have a far stronger subjective element than such copies must always, in the last resort, contain. The originals themselves were inaccessible, and on the squeezes the signs appeared in reverse. To make hand-copies of these would therefore be no more than to draw out in cuneiform, the other way about, signs which had already been identified in their reversed position, and would consequently add nothing material to the transliteration, which represents in itself all that the writer believes himself able to make out.

From this account of circumstances attending the publication I would by no means omit to acknowledge the obligations which I have most willingly incurred to colleagues who have given me help and advice in the course of its preparation. First to the discoverer himself, Dr. D. S. Rice, who not only entrusted all of his materials to my hands, including the remarkable products of his photographic skill, but has also given me various information, especially notable in the section concerning places in north-western Arabia. Dr. H. W. F. Saggs has taken the trouble to collate carefully my transliterations with the latex squeezes, and has thereby contributed both some better readings and some improved translations, which are noted in their places. To my Arabist colleagues, Professor R. B. Serjeant and Dr. J. M. B. Jones, I am much indebted for some very fruitful suggestions and references, and to Mr. D. J. Wiseman for discussion of particular subjects. Professor B. Landsberger, of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, generously put at my disposal the photographs of H 1, A, which he had made in Ankara, and Professor A. L. Oppenheim, of the same Institute, suggested translations of several difficult passages. I have also had the benefit of suggestions and references from Professor W. F. Albright, of Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, and from the Rév. Père A. van den Branden, of Beirut. Monsieur A. Parrot very kindly sent me a new photograph of the figures upon the Taima Stele in the Musée du Louvre, and Mr. P. Hulin, of Oxford, sent me photographs taken by himself from the original monuments in temporary storage at Urfa. To all of these gentlemen I gladly take the opportunity of offering my sincere thanks.



## NABONIDUS H 1, B

## TRANSLITERATION

## Col. I.

1. *a-na-ku* (SAL. d.) *adda-GU-up-pi-'i* AMA
2. (m.d.) *na-bi-um-na-'a-id* šàr TIN. TIR. KI
3. *pa-li-iḫ-tu* (d.) XXX (d.) *nin-gal* (d.) *nusku*
4. *ù* (d.) *sa-dàr-nun-na ilani* (MEŠ) -iá
5. *šá ul-tu mi-iṣ-ḫi-ru-ti-ia áš-te-'e-u*
6. *ilu-ú-ut-su-un šá ina* MU XVI (KÁM) (d.) *PA-A-ŠEŠ*
7. *šàr TIN. TIR. KI* (d.) XXX *šàr ilani* (MEŠ) *it-ti ali-šu*
8. *u biti-šú iz-nu-ú i-lu-ú šá-ma-miš alu ù*
9. *niše* (MEŠ) *šá ina lib-bi-šú il-li-ku(?) kar(?) -mu-ti*
10. *ina lib-bi šá aš-ra-a-tú* (d.) XXX (d.) *nin-gal* (d.) *nusku*
11. *u* (d.) *sa-dàr-nun-na áš-te-'e-u pal-ḫa-ku ilu-ut-su-un*
12. *šá* (d.) XXX *šàr ili TÚG. SÍG-šú aš-bat-ma mu-ši u ur-ra*
  
13. *áš-te-ni-'i-a ilu-ut-su rabiti(ti) u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šam la na-par-ka-a*
14. *šá* (d.) XXX (d.) *šamaš* (d.) XV *u* (d.) *adda ma-la bal-ṭa-ku*
15. *ina šamē(e) u iršiti(ti) pa-li-ḫa-at-su-nu ana-ku šal-mu-u-a*
16. *dam-qa šá id-di-nu-nu umu mu-ši arḫu u šattu ad-din-šú-nu-tu*
  
17. *TÚG. SÍG* (d.) XXX *šàr ilani* (MEŠ) *aš-bat-ma mu-ši u ur-ra*
  
18. *éná(II) -ia it-ti-šú ba-šá-a ina su-pi(?) -e u la-ban ap-pi*
19. *ku-um-mu-sak ina maḫ-ri-šú-un um-ma ta-a-a-ru-tu-ku*
20. *a-na ali-ka lib-šá-ma ni-ši šal-mat qaq-qa-du*
21. *lip-la-ḫu ilu-ú-ut-ka rabiti(ti) a-na nu-uḫ-ḫu*
22. *libbi ili-ia u* (d.) XV -ia *lu-bu-šú SÍG. SAG šu-kut-ti*
23. *kaspu ḫuraṣu šu-ba-a-ti eš-šú ŠIM. HI. A u NI. GIŠ. DÙG*
24. *la u-taḫ-ḫa a-na zu-um-ri-iá šu-bat nak-su*
25. *la-ab-šá-ku-ma mu-ši-e-a šaq-qu-um-mu a-dal-lal*
26. *da-li-li-šú-un ta-nit-tú ali-iá u* (d.) *iš-tar-iá*
27. *ina lib-bi-ia iš-šá-kin-ma maššarti(ti) -šú-nu aš-šur*
28. *mim-mu-ú-a dam-qa la e-zib-ma na-šá-ku ma-ḫar-šú-un*
29. *ul-tu* MU 20 (KÁM) (d.) *HI. DÛ. A šàr (mat) aš-šur šá al-da-ku*
30. *a-di* MU 42 (KÁM) (d.) *HI. DÛ. A* MU 3 (KÁM) (d.) *aš-šur-e-til-lu-ili*
31. *mari-šú* MU 21 (KÁM) (d.) *PA. A. PAP* MU 43 (KÁM) (d.) *PA. NÌG. DU. PAP*
32. *MU 2* (KÁM) (m.) *LÛ - (d.) marduk* MU 4 (KÁM) (m.d.) *nergal-šàr-ŠEŠ*
33. *ina* 95 MU. MEŠ (d.) XXX *šàr ilani* (MEŠ) *šá šamē(e) u iršiti(ti)*
34. *šá aš-ra-a-ti ilu-ú-ti-šú rabiti(ti) áš-te-'e-u*
35. *ip-še-ti-iá SIG<sub>5</sub>. MEŠ ḫa-diš ip-pal-sa-an-ni-ma*
36. *su-pi-e-a iš-mu-u im-gu-ru qi-bi-tú ug-ga-ti*
37. *lib-bi-šú i-nu-uḫ-ma a-na é-ḫúl-ḫúl bît* (d.) XXX
38. *šá qí-rib (alu) ḫarrani šu-bat ṭu-ub lib-bi-šú is-li-mu ir-šu-u*

## NABONIDUS H I, B

## TRANSLATION

*Col. I.*

1. I (am) the lady Adda-guppi', mother
2. of Nabium-na'id, king of Babylon,
3. votaress of the gods Sin, Nin-gal, Nusku,
4. and Sadarnunna, my deities ;
5. who, from my childhood, have sought after
6. their godheads. Whereas in the 16th year of Nabopolassar,
7. king of Babylon, Sin, king of the gods, with his city
8. and his temple was angry and went up to heaven—the city and
9. the people that (were) in it went to ruin.
10. (Now) forasmuch as the shrines of Sin, Nin-gal, Nusku,
11. and Sadarnunna I sought after and was worshipper of their godhead,
12. (and) that I laid hold on the hem of the robe of Sin, king of the gods,  
night and daytime
13. I had ever in mind his great godhead—daily, without ceasing,
14. of Sin, Šamaš, Ištar, and Adda, so long as I am alive,
15. I (am) their votaress (both) in heaven and earth. My blessings,
16. the goodly things which they gave me, I (too) by day, night, month,  
and year, gave (back) to them.
17. I laid hold on the hem of the robe of Sin, king of the gods, night and  
daytime
18. my two eyes were with him, in prayer and humility of face
19. was I bowed before them (and) thus (I prayed), “ May thy return
20. to thy city be (vouchsafed) to me, that the people, the black-headed,
21. may worship thy great godhead.” For calming
22. the heart of my god and my goddess, a dress of fine wool, jewels,
23. silver, gold, a new shift, perfumes, sweet oil,
24. I applied not to my body, (but in) a torn shift
25. I went clothed, my goings-out were noiseless, I proclaimed
26. their praises : the glory of my city and of my goddess
27. was (ever) set in my heart, I kept watch upon them,
28. anything good of mine I did not omit, but carried it (ever) before them.
29. From the 20th year of Aššurbanipal, king of Assyria, that I was born (in)
30. until the 42nd year of Aššurbanipal, the 3rd year of Aššur-etillu-ili,
31. his son, the 21st year of Nabopolassar, the 43rd year of Nebuchadrezzar,
  
32. the 2nd year of Awēl-Marduk, the 4th year of Neriglissar,
33. in 95 years of the god Sin, king of the gods of heaven and earth,
34. (in) which I sought after the shrines of his great godhead,
35. (for) my good doings he looked upon me with a smile
36. he heard my prayers, he granted my saying, the wrath
37. of his heart calmed. Towards E-ḫul-ḫul the temple of Sin
38. which (is) in Harran, the abode of his heart's delight, he was reconciled,  
he had

39. *ta-a-a-ri* (d.)XXX šàr ilani(MEŠ) *ip-pal-sa-an-ni-ma*  
 40. (m.d.)PA.I maru e-du ši-it libbi-iá a-na šarru-u-tú  
 41. *im-bi-e-ma* šarru-ú-ti (mat)šu-me-ri u (mat)akkadi(KI)  
 42. *ul-tu pa-tu* (mat)mi-šir tam-ti e-lit a-di tam-ti  
 43. *šap-li-ti nap-ḥar* KUR.KUR ú-tak-la-a  
 44. ŠU(II)-uš-šú qa-ta-a-a áš-ši-ma a-na (d.)XXX šàr ili  
 45. *pal-ḥi-iš* ina te-me-qa [um-ma (m.d.)PA.IM.TUK  
 46. *mar ši-it lib-bi-iá na-ra-am um-mi-šu*]

(Perhaps no line missing)

Col. II.

1. *at-ta a-na šarru-ú-ti tam-bi-šu-ma taz-ku-ru zi-kir-šú*  
 2. *ina qí-bit ilu-ú-ti-ka rabiti(tì) ilani(MEŠ) rabuti(MEŠ)*  
 3. *i-da-a-šú lil-li-ku li-šam-qí-tú ga-ri-šú*  
 4. *e tam-šú é-ḥúl-ḥúl ù šuk-lu-lu-tú ušši(?) -šú šul-lim*  
  
 5. *qa-ta-a-šú ina MÁŠ.GE<sub>6</sub>-ia ki-i iš-šak-nu* (d.)XXX šàr ili(?)  
 6. *i-qab-ba-a um-ma it-ti-ka ta-a-a-ra-tú ilani(MEŠ)*  
 7. *šu-bat (alu)ḥarrani ina ŠU(II)* (m.d.)PA.I mari-ka a-šak-kan  
  
 8. *é-ḥúl-ḥúl ip-pu-uš-ma ú-šak-lal ši-pir-šú (alu)ḥarranu*  
 9. *eli šá ma-ḥar ú-šak-lal-ma a-na áš-ri-šú ú-ta-ri(!)*  
 10. *qāt* (d.)XXX (d.)nin-gal (d.)nusku u (d.)sa-dār-nun-na  
 11. *i-šab-bat-ma a-na é-ḥúl-ḥúl ú-še-rib a-mat* (d.)XXX  
 12. *šàr ilani(MEŠ) iq-ba-a at-ta' a-id-ma a-mur a-na-ku*  
  
 13. (m.d.)PA.IM.TUK maru e-du ši-it lib-bi-iá par-ši  
 14. *ma-šu-ti šá* (d.)XXX (d.)nin-gal (d.)nusku ù  
 15. (d.)sa-dar-nun-na ú-šak-lil é-ḥúl-ḥúl  
 16. *eš-šiš i-pu-uš-ma ú-šak-lil ši-pir-šú (alu)ḥarranu e-li*  
 17. *šá ma-ḥar ú-šak-lil-ma a-na áš-ri-šú ú-tir qa-ti*  
 18. (d.)XXX (d.)nin-gal (d.)nusku u (d.)sa-dār-nun-na ul-tu  
 19. *šu-an-na āl šarru-ú-ti-šú iṣ-bat-ma ina qí-rib (alu)ḥarrani*  
 20. *ina é-ḥúl-ḥúl šu-bat tu-ub lib-bi-šú-nu ina ḥi-da-a-tú*  
 21. *u ri-šá-a-tú ú-še-šib šá ul-tu pa-na-ma* (d.)XXX šàr ili  
  
 22. *la i-pu-šú-ma a-na man-ma la id-di-nu ina na-ra-mi-ia*  
  
 23. *šá ilu-ut-su pal-ḥa-ku TÚG.SÍG-šú aṣ-ba-ti* (d.)XXX šàr ili  
  
 24. *ri-ši-ia ul-li-ma MU.DÛG.GA ina mati iš-ku-na-an-ni*  
 25. *u<sub>4</sub>-me ár-ku-ti MU.AN.NA.MEŠ tu-ub libbi uṣ-ši-pa-am-ma*  
 26. *ul-tu pa-ni* (m.d.)HI.DÛ.A šàr (mat)áš-šur(KI) a-di MU<sub>9</sub>(KÁM)  
 27. (m.d.)PA.IM.TUK šàr TIN.TIR.KI mar ši-it lib-bi-ia  
 28. *1 me 4 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ SIG<sub>5</sub>.MEŠ i-na pu-luḥ-ti šá* (d.)XXX šàr  
*ilani(MEŠ)*

39. regard. Sin, king of the gods, looked upon me and
40. Nabu-na'id (my) only son, the issue of my womb, to the kingship
41. he called, and the kingship of Sumer and Akkad
42. from the border of Egypt (on) the upper sea even to the lower sea
43. all the lands he entrusted hither
44. to his hands. My two hands I lifted up and to Sin, king of the gods,
45. reverently with imploration [(I prayed) thus, " Nabu-na'id
46. (my) son, offspring of my womb, beloved of his mother,]

*Col. II.*

1. thou hast called him to the kingship, thou hast pronounced his name,
2. at the command of thy great godhead may the great gods
3. go at his two sides, may they make his enemies to fall,
4. forget not, (but) make good E-ḫul-ḫul and the finishing of its foundation(?) ”.
5. When in my dream, his two hands had been laid on, Sin, king of the gods,
- 6, 7. spoke to me thus, “ With thee I will put into the hands of Nabu-na'id, thy son, the return of the gods and the habitation of Harran ;
8. He shall build E-ḫul-ḫul, shall perfect its structure, (and) Harran
9. more than (it was) before he shall perfect and restore it to its place.
10. The hand of Sin, Nin-gal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna
11. he shall clasp and cause them to enter E-ḫul-ḫul ”. The word of Sin,
12. king of the gods, which he spoke to me I honoured, and I myself saw (it fulfilled) ;
13. Nabu-na'id, (my) only son, offspring of my womb, the rites
14. forgotten of Sin, Nin-gal, Nusku, and
15. Sadarnunna he perfected, E-ḫul-ḫul
16. anew he built and perfected its structure, Harran more
17. than before he perfected and restored it to its place ; the hand
18. of Sin, Nin-gal, Nusku, and Sadarnunna from
19. Šuanna his royal city he clasped, and in the midst of Harran
20. in E-ḫul-ḫul the abode of their hearts' ease with gladness
21. and rejoicing he let them dwell. What from former times Sin, king of the gods,
22. had not done and had not granted to anybody (he did) for the love of me
23. who had ever worshipped his godhead, laid hold on the hem of his robe—Sin, king of the gods,
24. uplifted my head and set upon me a good name in the land,
25. long days, years of heart's ease he multiplied upon me.
26. From the time of Aššurbanipal, king of Assyria, until the 9th year
27. of Nabu-na'id king of Babylon, the son, offspring of my womb
28. 104 years of happiness, with the reverence which Sin, king of the gods,

29. *ina lib-bi-ia iš-ku-nu ú-bal-liṭ-an-ni iá-a-ti ni-ti-il IGI(II)*
30. *na-mir-ma šu-tu-rak ḫa-si-si qa-ti u GĪR(II) šá-li-im-ma*
31. *nu-us-su-qa a-ma-tu-u-a ma-ka-li-e u maš-qí-ti*
32. *šu-lu-ku eli-ia širú(MEŠ)-u-a ṭa-bu-ma ul-lu-ši lib-bi*
33. *TUR. TUR. TUR. TUR. MEŠ-i a-di 4 li-pi-ia bal-ṭu-ut-su-nu*
34. *a-mur-ma áš-ba-a lit-tu-tu (d.)XXX šàr ilani(MEŠ) a-na SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti*
35. *tap-pal-sa-an-ni-ma u<sub>4</sub>-mi-iá tu-ri-ki (d.)PA. I šàr NUN. KI*
36. *maru-ú-a a-na (d.)XXX bél-ia lu-aṭ-qid a-di bal-ṭu*
37. *la i-ḫa-aṭ-ak-ka AN. KAL-dum-qi AN. KAL-dum-qi šá it-ti-ia*
38. *tap-qi-du-ma ú-šak-ši-dan-nu a-na lit-tu-tu it-ti-šú*
39. *pi-qid-ma šit-ti ḫi-ti šá ilu-ú-ti-ka ra-bi-ti*
40. *e ták-ku-lu ilu-ú-ut-ka rabiti(tì) li-ip-làḫ ina 21 MU. MEŠ*
41. *šá (m.d.)PA. A. ŠEŠ šàr TIN. TIR. KI ina 43 MU. MEŠ šá*  
(m.d.)PA. NÍG. DU. PAP
42. *mar (m.d.)PA. A. ŠEŠ u 4 MU. MEŠ šá (m.d.)nergal-šàr-PAP šàr*  
TIN. TIR. KI
43. *šarru-ú-ti i-te-ip-pu-šu-<sup>2</sup>u 6o(-šu) 8 MU. AN. NA. MEŠ*
44. *ina gab-bi lib-bi-ia aṭ-làḫ-šú-nu-ti EN. NUN-ti-šú-nu aṣ-ṣ[ur-ma]*
45. *(m.d.)PA. I maru ṣi-it lib-bi-ia ina IGI (m.d.)PA. NÍG. DU-ú-šur*
46. *mar (m.d.)PA. A. ŠEŠ u (m.d.)nergal-šàr-ŠEŠ šàr TIN. TIR. KI uš-ziz-ma*
47. *ur-ri u mu-ši EN. NUN-ti-šú-nu iṣ-šur(?) -ma*
48. *šá e-li-šú-nu ṭa-a-bi i-te-ip-pu-šú ka-a-a-na*
49. *[MU]-a bab(?) -ba(?) -nu-ú(?) ina pa-ni-šú-nu(?) iš-ku-un ki-[ma]*
50. *[TUR. SAL ṣi-it lib-bi-šú-nu] ul-lu(?) -ú ri(?) -ši-i[a]*

(About 9 lines missing between this and the first preserved line of  
Col. III)

*Col. III* (numbering of the lines is from the first legible in the column, the beginning of which is not preserved).

1. *[a]-kàs-sap-šú-nu-ti-ma s[ur-qin-nu]*
2. *[taḫ]-du-ti i-ri-ši ṭ[a-a-bi]*
3. *a-na gi-na-a [ú-kin]-šú-[nu-ti-ma]*
4. *áš-tak-kan ina maḫ-ri-[šú-un]*
5. *ina MU 9(KÁM) (m.d.)PA. [IM. TUK]*
6. *šàr TIN. TIR. KI ši-[im-tu]*
7. *ra-man-ni-šú ú-[bil-šú]-ma(?)*
8. *(m.d.)PA. IM. TUK šàr TIN. TIR. KI*
9. *mar ṣi-it lib-bi-šú x x x x*
10. *AD<sub>6</sub>-su ú-kám-mis-ma x x x*

29. placed in me, he made me flourish, my own self : the sight of my two  
eyes
30. is clear, I am excellent in understanding, my hand and both feet are  
sound,
31. well-chosen are my words, meat and drink
32. agree with me, my flesh is goodly, glad is my heart.
33. My descendents to four generations from me flourishing in themselves
34. I have seen, I am fulfilled (with) offspring. O Sin, king of the gods,  
for favour
35. thou hast looked upon me, thou hast lengthened my days : Nabu-  
na'id, king of Babylon,
36. my son, to Sin my lord I have devoted him. So long as he is alive
37. let him not offend against thee ; the genius of favour, genius of favour  
which (to be) with me
38. thou hast appointed and they have caused me to attain offspring,  
with him (too)
39. appoint (them), and wickedness and offence against thy great godhead
40. endure not, (but) let him worship thy great godhead. In the 21 years
41. of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, in the 43 years of Nebuchadrezzar,
42. son of Nabopolassar, and 4 years of Neriglissar, king of Babylon,
43. (when) they exercised the kingship, for 68 years
44. with all my heart I revered them, I kept watch over them,
45. Nabu-na'id (my) son, offspring of my womb, before Nebuchadrezzar
46. son of Nabopolassar and (before) Neriglissar, king of Babylon, I caused  
him to stand,
47. daytime and night he kept watch over them
48. what was pleasing to them he performed continually,
49. my name he made (to be) favourite in their sight, (and) like
50. [a daughter of] their [own] they uplifted my head

*Col. III.* (Translation of lines 1-19 is supplemented from the duplicate inscription, as rendered by B. Landsberger, loc. cit.)

1. I nourished (their spirits), and incense offering
2. rich, of sweet savour,
3. I appointed for them continually and
4. laid ever before them.
5. (Now) in the 9th year of Nabu-na'id,
6. king of Babylon, the fate
7. of herself carried her off, and
8. Nabu-na'id, king of Babylon,
9. (her) son, issue of her womb, . . . . .
10. her corpse entombed, and [robes]

11. *SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti qí-tu-u n[a-am-ri]* x x
12. *[KÛ.G]I ? ? ? nam-[ru-tu]*
13. *NA<sub>4</sub>.SIG<sub>5</sub>-ti NA<sub>4</sub>* x x x
14. *NA<sub>4</sub> šu-qu-ru-ti* x x x
15. *NI.GIŠ.DÛG AD<sub>6</sub>-su ú* x x x
16. *iš-ku-nu ina ni-šir-ti* x x
17. *UDU.NITÁ.MEŠ ma-ru-tu ú-[ta-ab-bi-iḫ]*
18. *ma-ḥar-šú ú-pa-ḥir-ma* x x x
19. *TIN.TIR.KI u bar-sib(KI) it(?)-[ti UKÛ.MEŠ]*
20. *a-šib na-gi-i ni-su-tú [LUGAL.MEŠ NUN.MEŠ]*
21. *u GÏR.NITÁ.MEŠ ul-tu [pa-aṭ]*
22. *(mat)mi-šir tam-ti e-[li-ti]*
23. *a-na tam-ti šap-li-ti ú-[šat-ba-am-ma]*
24. *si-pi-it-ti u ?* x x x
25. *bi-ki-ti lu-pùš-ma* x x x x
26. *id-du-u ri-šu(?) -šú-un 7 u[r-ri]*
27. *ù 7 mu-šá-a-ti ina(?)* x x x
28. *uḫ-tal-li-lu lu-bu-š[i(?) -šú-un]*
29. *sa-aḫ-pu ina 7-i u<sub>4</sub>-mu* x x
30. *ERIM(?) . MEŠ(?) māti ka-la-ma pi-i[r(?) -tu-šu-nu]*
31. *ú-gal-li-bu-ma ?* x x x
32. *lu-bu-ši-šú-nu ta-pàr(?)* x x x
33. *GIŠ su-us(?) -lu(?) lu-bu-ši-šú-nu* x x
34. *ina(?) ma-ka-ni-šú-nu qu* x x
35. *i-ṭib(?) -bu-ni a-na* x x x
36. *ina ma-ka-li-e ?* x x x
37. *ŠIM ḫal-ša ú-kám(?) -m[ir(?)]* x x
38. *NI.GIŠ.DÛG.GA a-na SAG* x x x
39. *ú-šap-pi-ik lîb-bi-šú(?) -[nu]* x x
40. *ú-šá-li-iš-ma ú-[nam-mir]*
41. *ṭe<sub>4</sub>(?) -mi-šú-un ú-ru-uḫ(?)* x x x
42. *ul(?) ? ? ú-ša-az/s/š-? -šú-nu-ti* x
43. *a-na a-šar-šú-nu i-li-[ku]*
44. *at-ta lu-ú šarru lu-ú rubū* x x x
45. *ši-?-ti ? BE (d.)XXX šàr [ilani(MEŠ)]*
46. *bél ilani(MEŠ) šá šamē(e) u iršiti[tì]*
47. *ilu-ut-su rabiti(tì) mu-ši u u[r-ri]*
48. *(d.)šamaš (d.)adda u (d.)XV EN* x x x
49. *[u] iršiti(tì) šá* x x x x x x x
50. *[a]-šib é-sag(?) -il(?) u é(?)* x x
51. *pu-luḫ-ma ina šamē(e) u iršiti(tì)*
52. *su(?) -up(?) -pi-šú-nu-ti-ma la* x x
53. *pi-i šá (d.)XXX u (d.)INANNA šá*
54. *iṭ-ṭi-ru ? ?* x x x x
55. *? ? -ma zēri-ka šul-lim* x
56. *[da(?) ]-ri-[iṣ(?) ] a-na da(?) -r[i-a-ti?]*

11. splendid, a bright mantle . . . . .
12. gold, bright . . . . .
13. beautiful stones, [precious] stones,
14. costly stones . . . . .
15. sweet oil her corpse he [anointed]
16. they laid it in a secret place. [Oxen and]
17. sheep (especially) fattened he [slaughtered]
18. before it. He assembled [the people]
19. of Babylon and Borsippa, [with the people]
20. dwelling in far regions, [kings, princes, and]
21. governors, from [the border]
22. of Egypt on the Upper Sea
23. (even) to the Lower Sea he [made to come up],
24. mourning and . . . . .
25. weeping he performed, [dust?]
26. they cast upon their heads, for 7 days
27. and 7 nights with . . . . .
28. they cut themselves(?), their clothes
29. were cast down(?). On the seventh day . . . . .
30. the people(?) of all the land their hair(?)
31. shaved, and . . . . .
32. their clothes . . . . .
33. the . . . . . of their clothes . . . . .
34. in(?) their places(?) . . . . .
35. they ? to . . . . .
36. at meat(?) . . . . .
37. perfumes refined he amassed(?) . . . . .
38. sweet oil upon the heads [of the people]
39. he poured out, their hearts . . . . .
40. he made glad, he [cheered(?)]
41. their minds, the road [to their homes]
42. he did not(?) withhold(?) . . . . .
43. to their own places they went.
44. Do thou, whether a king or a prince . . . . .

(Remainder too fragmentary for translation until :—)

51. Fear (the gods), in heaven and earth
52. pray to them, [neglect] not [the utterance]
53. of the mouth of Sin and the goddess . . . . .
54. . . . .
55. . . . . make safe the . . . . . of thy seed
56. [ever(?)] and for [ever(?)].



## NOTES ON THE TEXT OF NABON. H I, B

## Col. I.

1. In the first line of this completed inscription are finally established the two central facts about the author, which were long in dispute—that it was a woman, and that it was the Mother of Nabonidus. These truths were acutely perceived by Professor E. Dhorme as long ago as 1908 (*Revue biblique* of that year, pp. 130–5), and he reinforced his arguments in 1947 (*Revue d'Assyriologie*, XLI, pp. 1 ff.; cf. *Recueil Édouard Dhorme*, pp. 325 ff. and p. 766).

The second element in the Mother's name is written with exactitude, leaving only in possible doubt whether the first consonant is to be read *g* or *q*; but if the latter were intended there is no reason why it should not have been written with the most appropriate sign, *qu*. The final 'aleph-containing sign is no more than the usual New Babylonian practice to mark the pronunciation of the last vowel, in this case the long *i* of the suffixed pronoun; see P. Hyatt, *The Treatment of Final Vowels in Early Neo-Babylonian*; the nearest parallel quoted in that work, p. 7, is from F. Thureau-Dangin, *Tablettes d'Uruk*, no. 58, line 3, *li-iš-ša-ni-'i*. There can be no doubt that the Mother's name is of a form signifying "The Weather-god (is) my . . .". For *g(q)uppi* I have neither found nor had suggested to me a satisfying explanation, either from Akkadian or from Aramaic—this being premised, one might think the best possibility is the Aram. [*gaph*] (Akk. *kappu*) "wing, arm", and so "strength", which is perhaps connected with the Heb. [*gaph*], *gûph*, "body, self". The name is, in any case, as unlike as possible to the "Nitokris" who is the mother of "Labynetos" in Herodotus I, 188, and also to the "Amyitis" who is the wife of Nebuchadrezzar in Berossus (P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, pp. 270–3), or the other Amyitis, wife of Cyrus, who had a state funeral, according to the Chronicle, col. II, 23 f. (see also J. Gilmore, *Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias*, p. 127). There is nothing in this inscription, now fully revealed, to support the suggestion (*JNES*. XI, p. 278) that the Mother of Nabonidus was a descendant of the celebrated Assyrian queen Naqī'a, like as these two evidently were in origin, history, and doubtless character.

8. *i-lu-ú ša-ma-miš*, for the same situation of gods abandoning an earthly seat among their people, in anger, and taking refuge in the heavens compare a passage in Esarhaddon, most recently edited by R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons* (*A.f.O.* Beiheft 9), p. 14, Episode 8. But still they were not quite inaccessible (C. J. G., *Ideas of Divine Rule*, p. 64).
9. *il-li-ku(?) kar(?) -mu-ti*. This is not according to the squeeze, which seems to have clearly *il-li LU TE mu-ti*, making no sense. But the reading here given was acutely suggested by Dr. O. R. Gurney, who observed that it is strongly supported by *VAB*. IV, p. 218, col. I, 13, *ú-šá-lik-šú kar-mu-tu* (said of the same disaster). Moreover, a rough copy made by Mr. P. Hulin from the stone at Urfa also shows *-ku(!)* and some traces after *TE* which may indicate that *kar* was intended. This, and its inherent probability, justify adoption of this reading until the original can be collated.
13. Written across the margin into col. II, and followed there by a dividing-line: similarly line 19 below.
14. Here begins the inscription H I, A, probably at the point *u (d.)adda*.

27. "I kept watch upon them" in the sense of "I waited upon them": the same phrase is used below (col. II, 44 and 47) of the attendance of herself and of her son upon the kings who patronised them.
29. The double "corner-wedge" (for 20) is not very clearly written, and might be taken for one (10), but it does exist, and is of course demanded by the arithmetic.
38. Last two signs *-šu-u* written in the margin.
40. H 1, A, col. I, ends here at *libbi-[iá]*.

### Col. II.

- 6, 7. The use of the suffix *-ka*, in the masc. form, is to be compared with that of *-šu* elsewhere in this inscription, although no farther proof is now needed that the person thus indicated was in fact female.
9. Last sign seems to be certainly *-ri*, which may be a scribal error (defective writing of *-ar*).
11. H 1, A, col. II, begins with *a-na é-ḫúl-ḫúl*, etc.
13. H 1, A, inserts *šar bābili* after the name, and omits *e-du* after *maru*.
- 28, 29. *ina pu-luḫ-ti* . . . is probably correct (as proposed by L. p. 142 and recommended by Dhorme, *R.A.* XLI, p. 6, n. 1), and this avoids the difficulty of *pu-ú-ti* as read before; *ú* and *luḫ* are very similar in this text, but *ú* seems always to have the projecting "tails" of the two horizontal strokes, which cannot be seen here (for an example of *ú* and *luḫ* close together cf. col. II, 40). If *pu-ú-ti* is right after all (and H 1, A, col. II, 28 should be re-collated) it would have to be explained by giving *pūtu* a full substantival sense as "personality", for which reasons might be found.
33. The "four generations" here are another link with the inscription of the priest Agbur (G. A. Cooke, *North Semitic Inscriptions*, pp. 189 ff., line 5) which has already been compared for other similarities by L., pp. 140 f. So also Job (XLII, 16).
37. The *lamassu* on each side of the king mentioned separately; for his human bodyguard see note on H 2, col. I, 30, 31.
40. The Spartan mother begs for no mercy upon her son if he is unfaithful to her god. A close verbal parallel is found in Isaiah I, 13, *lô 'úkhal 'āwen*, "I endure not iniquity".
47. Here begins H 1, A, col. III, and happily supplies the gap of some 9 lines missing in B, partly at the end of col. II and partly from the missing curved top of col. III.

### Col. III.

5. The addition in the 3rd person to the Mother's inscription begins here with a new line, in contrast with H 1, A, which makes no division at all.
- 6-7. For other examples of *šimtu* . . . *abālu* see R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons*, p. 54, Kommentar 19, also in *A.f.O.* XVIII, 116.
12. It is still not possible to read the three signs in the middle of this line—the second is possibly *si* or *mar*.
- 20-3. Restorations attempted here from the Sippar cylinder (Langdon, *VAB.* IV, pp. 220 f., col. I, 38-43).
- 25 ff. The mourning customs described in these lines, obscured though they are by damage to the text, are unattested in Babylonian religion but are all familiar from the Biblical world of the Old and the New Testaments. In line 25 we have possibly to restore [*SAḪAR.ḪI.A*] and thus to find

the often attested practice of throwing dust (ashes) upon the head. In line 28 *uḫtallilu* probably describes the practice of "cutting themselves after their manner" like the prophets of the Baal (1 Kings, XVIII, 28), to express any kind of excitement as well as for mourning; this heathen abuse was forbidden to the Israelites (Deuteronomy XIV, 1, and Jeremiah XVI, 6, 7), and so was that of shaving and plucking the hair (Leviticus XIX, 27, 28) which again seems to be indicated in this passage (line 31, *ugallibu*, although the restoration *pi[rtu]* in line 30 is extremely doubtful); while the frequent allusions to clothes, unclear as they are through damage, must almost certainly involve the "rending of garments". For a combination, as here, of several such gestures, cf. Acts of the Apostles XXII, 23 (there expressing fanatical rage). In the Nabonidus Chronicle, col. III, 24, the people "bared(?) their heads" as a sign of

## NABONIDUS H 2, A AND B

(Lines numbered according to the arrangement of H 2, A)

### TRANSLITERATION

#### Col. I.

1. *i-piṣ-ti* (d.)XXX *GAL-ti* ṣá *ilani* (MEŠ) ù (d.)*iṣ-tar* <sup>1</sup>
2. *ma-am-ma-an* <sup>2</sup> *NU.ṢU-ṣú* ṣá *ul-tu u<sub>4</sub>-mu ru-qu-tu*
3. *a-na KUR* <sup>3</sup> *la tu-ri-du* <sup>4</sup> *niṣé*(MEŠ) *māti ip-pal-su-ma*
4. *i-na ṭup-pi* <sup>5</sup> *la iṣ-ṭu-ru-ma la iṣ-tak-ka-nu*
5. *a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mu ṣa-a-ti* (d.)XXX *bēl ilani*(MEŠ) *u* (d.)*INANNA* <sup>6</sup> *a-ṣi-bu-ut* <sup>7</sup>
6. *ṣamē(e)* ṣá *ina pa-ni* (m.d.)*PA.IM.TUK* <sup>8</sup> ṣār *bābili(KI)*
7. *ul-tu ṣamē(e)* *tal-li-ku a-na-ku* (m.d.)*PA.I*
8. *ni(?)*-*e(?)*-*du* ṣá *man-ma-an la i-ṣu-ú* <sup>9</sup> ṣá *ṣarru-u-tú*
9. *ina lib-bi-ia la tab-ṣu-ú ilani*(MEŠ) *u* (d.)*INANNA a-na muḫḫi-*
10. *ia(?)* *ú-ṣal-lu-ú* ù (d.)XXX *a-na ṣarru-ú-ti* <sup>10</sup>
11. *ib(?)*-*ba-an-ni i-na ṣá-at mu-ṣi MĀŠ.GE<sub>6</sub>* *ú-ṣab-ra-an-n[i]*
12. *um-ma é-ḫúl-ḫúl bīt* (d.)XXX ṣá (*ālu*)*ḫarrani ḫa-an-tiṣ*
13. *e-pu-uṣ mātāti*(MEŠ) *ka-la-ṣi-na a-na qatā(II)-ka*
14. *lu-ták-la niṣé*(MEŠ) *mārē*(MEŠ) *bābili(KI) bár-sip(KI)*
15. *nippuri(KI) urí(KI) uruk(KI) larsa(KI) (awēl)ṣangē*(MEŠ)
16. *niṣé*(MEŠ) *ma-ḫa-zi* <sup>11</sup> (*māt*)*akkadi(KI) a-na ilu-ú* <sup>12</sup>-*ti-ṣu*
17. *rabiti(ti)* <sup>13</sup> *iḫ-ṭu-u i ma i-še-ti-u ú-gal-li-lu*
18. *la i-du-u e-zi-iz(s)-z(s)u* (*qablitu*) <sup>14</sup> ṣá ṣār *ilani*(MEŠ) (d.)*nanna-ri*
19. *par-ṣi-ṣú-nu im-ṣu-u i ma i-dab-bu-bu sur-ra-a-tú*

<sup>1</sup> B has (d.)XV.

<sup>2</sup> B -*man*.

<sup>3</sup> B *ma-a-tu*.

<sup>4</sup> B inserts -*u(?)*-*ni(?)*.

<sup>5</sup> B *DUB*.

<sup>6</sup> B (d.)XV.

<sup>7</sup> B reads -*tú* ṣá.

<sup>8</sup> B (d.)*PA.I*.

<sup>9</sup> Two lines missing from B.

<sup>10</sup> B -*tú*.

<sup>11</sup> B -*zu*.

<sup>12</sup> om. B.

<sup>13</sup> B -*tú*.

<sup>14</sup> A *e-zi-is-su*, B *e-zi-iz-zu MURUB*.

mourning—but in the Verse Account, col. V, 26, this is a solemn gesture before taking an oath.

36 ff. Other royal feasts are observed by H. Lewy in *Orientalia*, 1958, pp. 57 f.

40. The conjectural restoration is based upon a passage in Sennacherib (D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, p. 52, line 33).

42. It is not necessarily an objection to the reading *ú-ša-aš-bit(!)-šú-nu-ti* that *-š* would thereby follow a dental, for Dr. O. R. Gurney has kindly pointed out two examples of this in texts recently published by himself and Dr. J. J. Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets I*, no. 1, line 103 (*ḥa-am-mat-ši-na*) and no. 43, line 9 (*šu-bat-šú-nu*). The *ul* at the beginning is against this reading, but is itself very uncertain. As an alternative I suggest *-siḫ*, but cannot justify such a phrase as *urḫu . . . nasāḫu*.

56. Suggested restorations and resultant translation are mere possibilities.

## NABONIDUS H 2, A AND B

(Lines numbered according to the arrangement of H 2, A)

### TRANSLATION

#### Col. I.

1. The operation of Sin, greatest of the gods and goddesses,
2. nobody knows it, since from distant days
3. it came not down to the land, (wherefore) the people of the land saw it (indeed), but
4. wrote it not on a tablet and set it not (down)
5. for days to come. Sin, lord of the gods and goddesses, dwellers
6. of the heavens, (thou art he) who, in front of Nabonidus king of Babylon,
7. camest from the heavens. I (am) Nabonidus,
8. who have not the honour(?) of (being a) somebody, and kingship
9. is not within me, (but) the gods and goddesses prayed for
10. me, and Sin to the kingship
11. called me. In the night season he caused me to behold a dream
12. (saying) thus “E-ḫul-ḫul the temple of Sin which (is) in Harran quickly
13. build, (seeing that) the lands, all of them, to thy hands
14. are verily committed”. (But) the sons of Babylon, Borsippa,
15. Nippur, Ur, Erech, Larsa, priests (and)
16. people of the capitals of Akkad, against his great
17. divinity offended, whenever(?) they sought after (anything) they did wickedly,
18. they knew not the wrath, (the resentment), of the king of the gods, (even) Nannar,
19. they forgot their duty, whenever(?) they talked (it was) treason

20. *u la ki-na-a-tú ki-ma kalbi it-ta-nak-ka-lu* <sup>15</sup>  
 21. *a-ḥa-meš ṭi-'i u su-gù-ú ina lib-bi-šú-nu*  
 22. *ú-šab-šu-ú ú-ša-aḥ-ḥi-ir* <sup>16</sup> *nišē(MEŠ) māti u ana* <sup>17</sup>-ku  
 23. *ul-tu āli-ia bābili(KI) ú-še-ri-qa-an-ni-ma*  
 24. *ú-ru-uḥ (ālu)te-ma-a* <sup>18</sup> *(ālu)da-da-(nu)* <sup>19</sup> *(ālu)pa-dak-ku* <sup>20</sup>  
 25. *(ālu)ḥi-ib-ra-a* <sup>21</sup> *(ālu)iá-dī-ḥu u a-dī (ālu)iá* <sup>22</sup>-at-ri-bu  
 26. *10 MU.AN.NA.MES a[t-tal-l]a-ku* <sup>23</sup> *qí-rib-šú-un a-na*  
 27. *āli-ia bābili(KI) la e-ru-ub ina a-mat (d.)XXX*  
 28. *šār ilani(MEŠ) EN.EN.EN šá ilani(MEŠ) u (d.)INANNA* <sup>24</sup> *a-ši-bu-ti* <sup>25</sup>  
 29. *šá šamē(e) ú-šal-lim* <sup>26</sup> *qí-bit (d.)XXX (d.)nanna-ri*  
 30. *(d.)šamaš (d.)INANNA (d.)adda u (d.)nergal EN.NUN-ti šu-lum u*  
*balati (TIN)*  
 31. *ip-qí-du it-ti-ia ina MU šá-a-šú* <sup>27</sup> *ina* <sup>28</sup> *(araḥ)nisanni*  
 32. *u (araḥ)tašriti nišē(MEŠ) (māt)akkadi(KI) u (māt)ḥat-ti ḥi-šib šadī(i)* <sup>29</sup>  
 33. *u tam-ti i-liq-qu-nim-ma ina dan-na-tú* <sup>30</sup> *um-ma-a-tú*  
 34. *(araḥ)simani (araḥ)du'uzi (araḥ)abi (araḥ)ululi (araḥ)tašriti ina arḥē(MEŠ)*  
*an-nu-tú*  
 35. *[ina ka]l* <sup>31</sup> *MU.AN.NA.MEŠ an-na-a-ti* <sup>32</sup> *la ba-ṭa-a* <sup>33</sup>-lu  
 36. *ina qí-bit (d.)XXX (d.)adda gú-gal šamē(e) u irṣiti(tì) mé(MEŠ)*  
 37. *zunni i-šá-aq* <sup>34</sup>-qí-šu-nu-ti *NÍG.ŠU(?)* <sup>35</sup>-šú-nu *u bu-šá-šú-nu*  
 38. *ina(?) šu(?)* <sup>36</sup>-lum *ir-ru-bu-nu a-na maḥ-ri* <sup>37</sup>-iá *ina a-mat*  
 39. *(d.)XXX u (d.)INANNA* <sup>38</sup> *be-lit MĒ* <sup>39</sup> *šá nu-kúr-ti* <sup>40</sup> *u su-lum-mu-ú*  
 40. *ina ba-li-šu ina māti la ib-ba-áš-šu* <sup>41</sup>-u *ù kak-ku*  
 41. *la in-ni-ip-ḥu-šu qát-su ina* <sup>42</sup> *muḥ-ḥi-šú-nu*  
 42. *ta-ap-ri* <sup>43</sup>-ik-ma *šār (māt?)* <sup>44</sup> *mī-šir (ālu)ma-da-a-a* <sup>45</sup>  
 43. *(māt)a* <sup>46</sup>-ra-bi *u nap-ḥar šarrāni(MEŠ) na-ki-ru-tú a-na*  
 44. *su-lum-mu-ú u ṭu-ub-ba-a-ti i-šap-pa-ru-nu*  
 45. *a-na maḥ-ri-ia nišē(MEŠ) (māt)a-ra-bi šá (iṣ)kakku*  
 46. *iš(?) -šu(?) x x x x šá (māt)ak-ka-dī-i(?)KI)*  
 47. *u e x x x x x x ḥu(?) šu(?) a-na*  
 48. *ḥa-ba-ti u la-qí(?) -e(?) šá bu-še-e iz-zi-zu(?)* <sup>47</sup>

<sup>15</sup> B *i-ta-na-kal*.<sup>16</sup> B *ú-ša-ḥi-ri*.<sup>17</sup> B *a-na-*.<sup>18</sup> B *(ālu)te-ma-'a*.<sup>19</sup> -nu only in B.<sup>20</sup> poss. -ki in A ; B has -ka.<sup>21</sup> B reverses order of Pa-dakka and Ḥibrā.<sup>22</sup> B *ia-*.<sup>23</sup> B *at-tal-lak*.<sup>24</sup> B *(d.)iṣ-tar*.<sup>25</sup> B -tú.<sup>26</sup> B *ú-šal-li-mu-'u*.<sup>27</sup> B has *MU.AN.NA-a-šú*,prob. scribal omission  
for *(šá)-a-šú*.<sup>28</sup> B. om. *ina*.<sup>29</sup> B *KUR.MEŠ*.<sup>30</sup> B -ti.<sup>31</sup> rest. from B.<sup>32</sup> B -tú.<sup>33</sup> B om. -a-.<sup>34</sup> B -šaq-.<sup>35</sup> uncert. in A ; B reads  
*NÍG-šú-nu*.<sup>36</sup> A illegible, B prob. as  
text.<sup>37</sup> B *IGI*.<sup>38</sup> B *(d.)iṣ-tar*.<sup>39</sup> B *ta-ḥa-zu*.<sup>40</sup> B -tú.<sup>41</sup> B *GÁL-ú*.<sup>42</sup> B *a-na*.<sup>43</sup> Rest. from B.<sup>44</sup> So app. A ; B has *(ālu)*.<sup>45</sup> This name, illegible in A,  
is preserved only in B,  
col. I of which ends  
here.<sup>46</sup> From this point A mostly  
illegible ; the foll. text  
partly rest. from B,  
col. II, 1-6.<sup>47</sup> End of A, col. I.

20. and not loyalty, like a dog they devoured  
 21. one another ; fever and famine in the midst of them  
 22. they caused to be, it minished the people of the land. But I  
 23. hied myself afar from my city of Babylon  
 24. (on) the road to Tema', Dadanu, Padakku[a],  
 25. Ḫibrâ, Iadiḫu, and as far as Iatribu ;  
 26. ten years I went about amongst them, (and) to  
 27. my city Babylon I went not in. At the word of Sin,  
 28. king of the gods, lord of lords of the gods and goddesses, dwellers  
 29. of the heavens, they accomplished the word of Sin-Nannar,  
 30. of Šamaš, Ištar, Adda, and Nergal ; a guard of (my) safety and life  
  
 31. they appointed (to be) with me. In that year, in the month of Nisannu  
 32. and the month of Tašritu, the people of Akkad and of the Ḫatti-land  
     the produce of the plains  
 33. and of the sea received. In the rigour of summer,  
 34. the month(s) of Siwanu, Du'uzu, Abu, Ululu, Tašritu, in these months  
  
 35. in all these years without ceasing.  
 36. at the command of Sin the god Adda, lockkeeper of heavens and earth,  
     waters  
 37. of rain gave them to drink, their property and possessions  
 38. in peace they brought before me. At the word  
 39. of Sin also Ištar, lady of battle, without whom hostility and peace  
 40. exist not in the land, and a weapon  
 41. is not forged, her hand(s) over them  
 42. she crossed(?) and the king(s ?) of the land(?) of Egypt, the city of the  
     Medes,  
 43. the land of the Arabs, and all the kings (who were) hostile, for  
 44. peace and good relations sent (messengers)  
 45. before me. People of the land of the Arabs, who weapons  
 46. . . . . . of the land of Akkad  
 47. and . . . . . for  
 48. plunder and capture of property they . . . . .

## Col. II.

1. *i-na a-mat (d.)XXX (d.)nergal kak-ki-šu-nu*
2. *ú-šab-bir* <sup>48</sup> *-ma nap-ḥar-šú-nu ik-nu-šu a-na x x*
3. *(d.)šamaš bēl ur-ti šá ina ba-li-šu pu-ú*
4. *la ip-pat-tu-ú u pu-ú la uk-ta-at-ta-mu*
5. *mu-šal-lim qí-bīt (d.)nanna-ri abi(AD) ba-ni-šú*
  
6. *nišē(MEŠ) (māt)akkadi(KI) u (māt)ḥat-ti šá ú-ták-lu-u*
  
7. *qatá(II)-ú-a pu-ú u līb-bi ki-nù it-ti(?) -ia(?)*
8. *iš-kun-šú-nu-ti-ma i-na-aš-ša-ru EN.NUN-tì*
9. *ú-šal-la-mu qí-bi-ti* <sup>49</sup> *ina pi-rik šadi(i.MEŠ)*
10. *ni-su-ti ur-ḥu pa-rik-tú šá at-tal-la-ku*
11. *10 MU.AN.NA.MEŠ ik-šu-dam-ma* <sup>50</sup> *a-dan-nu*
12. *im-lu-ú u<sub>4</sub>-mu šá iq-bu-u šàr ili (d.)nanna-ri*
13. *ina (araḥ)tašriti umu 17(KÁM) u<sub>4</sub>-mu (d.)XXX im-ma-ag-gàr* <sup>51</sup>
14. *pi-šir-šú (d.)XXX bēlu šá ilani(MEŠ)* <sup>52</sup> *šá ina umi I(KÁM)*
15. *miṭṭi (d.)a-nù zi-kir-šu šamē(e) ta-lap-pa-tú*
16. *u iršiti(tì) ta-ḥi-ip-pu-ú ḥa-mi-im PA.AN*
17. *(d.)a-nù-ú-tú mu-gam-mi-ir PA.AN* <sup>53</sup> *(d.)en-líl-ú-tú*
18. *li-qu-ú pa-ra-aš* <sup>54</sup> *(d.)é-a-ú-ti* <sup>55</sup>
19. *šá nap-ḥar gi-mi-ir pa-ra-aš* <sup>56</sup> *šamē(e) ina qatá(II)-šú* <sup>57</sup>
20. *tam-ḥu (d.)en-líl ilani(MEŠ) LUGAL.LUGAL.LUGAL EN.EN.EN*
21. *šá a-na qí-bi-ti-šu la i-tur-ru*
22. *ù a-mat-su la ta-qab-bu-ú šini(II)-šú* <sup>58</sup>
23. *šá pu-luḥ-ti ilu-ti-šú rabiti(tì) šamē(e)*
24. *u iršiti(tì) ma-lu-ú ki-ma zi-mi-šú* <sup>59</sup> *šamē(e)*
25. *u iršiti(tì) saḥ-pu šá la ka-a-šú man-nu* <sup>60</sup>
26. *mi-na-a ip-pu-uš mātu šá līb-bi-ka a-šab-šú* <sup>61</sup>
27. *ub-lu pu-luḥ-tú ilu-ti-ka rabiti(tì) ina līb-bi-šú* <sup>62</sup>
  
28. *ta-šak-kan-ma a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mu ru-qu-ti*
29. *išdē(MEŠ)-šú i-ku-un-nu* <sup>63</sup> *mātu šá līb-ba-ka*
30. *ḥa-pu-šú ub-lú* <sup>64</sup> *pu-luḥ-ta-ka ul-tu*
31. *līb-bi-šú ta-ni-is-si-e-mu* <sup>65</sup> *ta-na-an-di-iš(?)*
32. *a-na u<sub>4</sub>-mu ruquti(MEŠ) šá nap-ḥar ilani(MEŠ) u (d.)XV*
33. *a-ši-bu-ti* <sup>66</sup> *šá šamē(e) i-na-aš-ša-ru*
34. *ši-it pi-i-šú ú-šal-la-mu qí-bi-ti* <sup>67</sup>
35. *(d.)nanna-ri abi(AD) ba-ni-šú-un mu-gam-mi-ir* <sup>68</sup>

<sup>48</sup> After this B, col. II, has lost one line and seven more are defective.

<sup>49</sup> B *qí-bīt*.

<sup>50</sup> B om. *-ma*.

<sup>51</sup> B *i-ma-ag-gàr*.

<sup>52</sup> B has *EN.AN*.

<sup>53</sup> B *mu-gam-mi-ru pa-ra-aš*.

<sup>54</sup> B has *PA.AN*.

<sup>55</sup> B has *(d.)BE-ú-tu*.

<sup>56</sup> B has *PA.AN*.

<sup>57</sup> B *qa-ti-šú*.

<sup>58</sup> Thus both A and B, but not clear.

<sup>59</sup> B supplies this word.

<sup>60</sup> Partly indistinct both in A and B.

<sup>61</sup> End of line from B.

<sup>62</sup> End of line from B.

<sup>63</sup> B *-na*.

<sup>64</sup> B *-la*.

<sup>65</sup> *-mu* ends a line in B.

<sup>66</sup> B has *-tú*.

<sup>67</sup> B *qí-bīt*.

<sup>68</sup> B *-mir*.



*Col. II.*

1. at the word of Sin, Nergal their weapons
2. shattered and all of them he bowed down at [my feet].
3. Šamaš, lord of the oracle, without whom a mouth
4. is not opened and a mouth is not shut,
5. (he), accomplishing the command of Nannar, the father who created him,
6. made the people of the land of Akkad and the Hatti-land, whom he had committed
7. to my hands, (to be) of true mouth and heart with me ;
8. they kept guard for me
9. they accomplished my command in the seclusion of tracts
10. far distant and roads secluded which I travelled.
11. (In) ten years arrived the appointed time
12. the days were fulfilled which Nannar, king of the gods, had spoken ;
13. on the 17th day of the month Tašritu, the day when Sin vouchsafes
14. his revelation, Sin, lord of the gods, who on the 1st (of the month)
15. (as) the scimitar of Anu his name invoked attacks the heavens
16. and shatters the earth—uniting the functions
17. of Anu's office, completing the functions of Enlil's office,
18. occupying the functions of Ea's office,
19. in whose hands all of every function of heaven
20. is held, Enlil of the gods, king of kings, lord of lords,
21. upon whose command they go not back
22. and his word is not spoken twice,
23. with the fear of whose great godhead heavens
24. and earth are filled, like his countenance heavens
25. and earth are outspread ; without thee who
26. does anything ? A land whereof thy heart has devised its habitation
- 27, 28. thou puttest into it the fear of thy great godhead and for days to come
29. its foundations are secure. (But) a land whereof thy heart
30. has devised its ruin, the fear of thee from
31. the heart of it thou sunderest, thou overthrowest it
32. for days to come : of whom all the gods and goddesses,
33. inhabitants of heaven, observe
34. what proceeds from his mouth, they accomplish the command
35. of Nannar, the father who created them ; completing

36. *PA. AN šamé(e) u iršiti(tì) šá a-b/pal* <sup>69</sup> *qí-bi-ti-šú*  
 37. *šir-tú šá u* <sup>70</sup> *-mi-šam-ma ina šá-ma-mi* <sup>71</sup>  
 38. *i-qab-bu-u* <sup>72</sup> *mātu la ta-an-na-du-u* <sup>73</sup>  
 39. *u nu-úr ina* <sup>74</sup> *māti la ib-ba-áš-šu-ú* <sup>75</sup>  
 40. *ilāni(MEŠ) kima* <sup>76</sup> *x x i-ru-bu i-na-ar-ru-tu*  
 41. *(d.)a-nun-na-ki* <sup>77</sup> *šá la-pa-ni qí-bit ilu-ti-šú*  
 42. *rabiti(tì) šá la x x x x x nu(?) -u-du* <sup>78</sup> *šadī(i)* <sup>79</sup>  
 43. *ma(?) x x x x x x x x x ma-am-ma-an(?)* <sup>80</sup>  
 44. *x x x x x x x x x šá(?) -ap(?) -la(?)*  
 45. *x x x x x x x x x ri iš mu*  
 46. *x x x x x x x x x a-nu ilani(MEŠ)*  
 47. *x x x x x x x x x li(?) a(?)*  
 48. *x x x x x x x x x ka(?) - ti*  
 49, 50. (These lines probably existed in A, but are quite illegible and uncertain. The corresponding passage in B, col. III, 10, 11, is also illegible.)

## Col. III.

1. *x x x x x x x x x x x it-ti LÚ.ĦAL* <sup>81</sup>  
 2. *LÚ.EN.ME.LI a-lak-tú ul-tam-mad um(?) -mid(?) -ma*  
 3. *ina šát mu-ši MÁŠ.GE<sub>6</sub> par-da-at a-di a-mat x x*  
 4. *im-li MU ik-šu-du a-dan-nu šá x x x x x*  
 5. *ul-tu (ālu)te-ma-a ú- x x x x x x x x*  
 6. *TIN.TIR.KI āl be-lu-t[i-ia] x x x x x*  
 7. *i-mu-ru-ma x x x x x x x x x x*  
 8. Destroyed, but B has a line :—  
*šul(?) -ma qat(?) -ra-a il(?) -qu-ú a-na x x x x x )*  
 9. *x x x x x x x x x x šarrāni(MEŠ) qir-bu-tu* <sup>82</sup>  
 10. *il-lu-nim-ma* <sup>83</sup> *u-na-áš-šá-qu šepā(II) -iá* <sup>84</sup>  
 11. *u ru-qu-tú iš-mu-u* <sup>85</sup> *ip-la-ḥu ilu-ut-su rabitu(tú)*  
 12. *ilani(MEŠ) u (d.)INANNA.MEŠ* <sup>86</sup> *šá ip-par-du-ma i-ri-qa*  
 13. *is-saḥ-ru-nim-ma* <sup>87</sup> *i-qab-bu-u ba-ni-ti*  
 14. *u ina par-su LÚ.ĦAL* <sup>88</sup> *iš-šá-kin šér dum-qi-iá ina nu-uḥ-šú*  
 15. *u tuḥ-du u* <sup>89</sup> *ḥé-gál-la mišē(MEŠ) -iá ina šadī(i.MEŠ)* <sup>90</sup> *ni-su-ti*

<sup>69</sup> So in B, end of sign only in A.

<sup>70</sup> Begin. of line from B.

<sup>71</sup> B -mu.

<sup>72</sup> From B.

<sup>73</sup> B *tan-na-an-du-u*.

<sup>74</sup> From B, where followed by *ma-a-tú*.

<sup>75</sup> B *ib-ba-šu-u*, and here ends B, col. II.

<sup>76</sup> From B, col. III, 1.

<sup>77</sup> From B.

<sup>78</sup> From B.

<sup>79</sup> B *šá-di-i*.

<sup>80</sup> Ends of lines 43–8, invisible in A, are taken from ends of broken lines in B.

<sup>81</sup> From B.

<sup>82</sup> From B.

<sup>83</sup> From B.

<sup>84</sup> B has *še-pi-id*.

<sup>85</sup> From B.

<sup>86</sup> B has *INANNA* and A has *MEŠ*.

<sup>87</sup> From B.

<sup>88</sup> From B.

<sup>89</sup> From B.

<sup>90</sup> From B.

36. the functions of heaven and earth, without(?) whose exalted command
37. which day by day in heaven
38. they pronounce the land is not founded(?)
39. and there is no light in the land.
40. The gods like ? ? quake and tremble,
41. the Anunnaki who before the command of his great
42. godhead, which (is) not . . . . . the mountains

(Rest of column fragmentary and unintelligible)

*Col. III.*

1. . . . .  
with diviners
2. and interpreters I instructed myself (in) the way, I laid (my hands  
to it ?)
3. In the night season a dream was disturbing, until the word . . . . .
4. Fulfilled was the year, came the appointed time which . . . . .
5. from the city of Tema' I (returned ?) . . . . .
6. Babylon, my seat of lordship, (I entered) . . . . .
7. they beheld me, and . . . . .
8. reconciliation, presents they took to . . . . .
9. . . . . the kings (that were) near
10. came up and kissed my feet
11. and those far away heard it, and feared his great godhead.
12. The gods and goddesses who had appeared and were afar off
13. returned back and spoke good for me,
14. and in the oracle of the diviner the organs were disposed favourably  
for me. In plenty
15. and wealth and abundance my people in the distant tracts

16. *ar*<sup>90a</sup>-*te-it-tam-ma ina šá-lim-ti aš-bat*<sup>91</sup> *u-ru-uḥ*  
 17. *ma-ti*<sup>92</sup>-*ia a-mat ilu-ti-šú rabiti(ti) at-ta-ša-ar-ma*  
 18. *la e-gi la a-šit a-ḥi la ad-du ú-šad-kam-ma*  
 19. *nišé(MEŠ)* (*māt*)*akkadi(KI) u (māt)ḥat-ti ul-tu pa-aṭ (mat)mi-šir*  
 20. *tam-ti e-lit a-di tam-ti šap-lit šá (d.)XXX šàr ili*  
 21. *ú-ták-lu-u qatá(II)-ú-a é-ḥúl-ḥúl bīt (d.)XXX eš-šiš*  
 22. *e-pu-uš ú-šak-lil ši-pir-šú qatá(II) (d.)XXX*  
 23. *(d.)nin-gal (d.)nusku u (d.)sa-dār-nun-na ul-tu*  
 24. *šu-an-na āl šarru*<sup>93</sup>-*ti-ia a-ša-bat-ma ina ḥi-da-a-tú*  
 25. *u ri-šá-a-tú u-še-rib u-še-šib parakku(BÁR) da-ri-a-tú*  
 26. *ni-qu-u ṭu-uḥ-tu ma-ḥar-šú-nu aq-qí-ma*  
 27. *ú-šar-ri-ḥi qat-ra-a é-ḥúl-ḥúl réša-šu(?)*<sup>94</sup>  
 28. *ú-kal-li-ma ú-šá-li-iš lib-bi nišé(MEŠ)-šú*  
 29. *ú-šal-lim qí-bi-ti (d.)XXX šàr ili EN.EN.MEŠ*<sup>95</sup>  
 30. *a-šib šá-ma-mu šá an šá ilani(MEŠ) ina šamé(e) zi-kir-šú šu-tuq*  
 31. *(d.)šamaš šá ni-bu-šú (d.)nusku (d.)INANNA (d.)adda (d.)nergal*  
 32. *šá ú-šal-lim-ʾu qí-bit (d.)nanna-ri*  
 33. *šu-tuq-šú-nu e-ma (iṣ)kakké(MEŠ)-iá an-na-di(?) -iq(?) -ma*<sup>96</sup>  
 34. *a-na e-ma?-ḥa(?)*<sup>97</sup> *la-pān(IGI)-iá aš-kun-ma*  
 35. *a-na šul-lu-mu qí-bit (d.)nanna-ri man-nu at-ta*  
 36. *šá (d.)XXX a-na šarru-u-ti*<sup>98</sup> *i-nam-bu-ka-ma*  
 37. *māru-ú mār-ia-ma*<sup>99</sup> *i-qab-bu-ka aš-rat (d.)XXX*  
 38. *a-šib šá-ma-me x x x x x x x -ú*  
 39. *u a-mat-su la ta- x x x x x x x -šú*  
 40. *šá x x ú-ma(?) x x x x x x x -nu*  
 41. *ina GIŠ(?) . TUKUL(?) -šú ina x x x x x*  
 42. *x x x x x x x x mu-ŠI(?)*  
 43 and 44. Illegible traces only.

## NOTES ON THE TEXT OF NABON. H 2, A AND B

## Col. I.

- For *GAL-ti* (*rabiti*) as a superlative see W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, § 68b.
- ip-pal-su-ma* is the certain reading of both A and B, and this provides a contact for the text of B.M. 90837, line 13 (L. W. King, *Boundary Stones*, Pl. XCIV and p. 129), which, after collation of the original, might now be read and restored as :

<sup>90a</sup> B has *aš-*.<sup>91</sup> From B.<sup>92</sup> B has *KUR*.<sup>93</sup> B inserts *-u-*. A is very defective from here onwards : text mostly from B but alignment of A observed.<sup>94</sup> Last sign illegible in A, uncertain in B.<sup>95</sup> B has *EN.EN.EN*.<sup>96</sup> A has line-ending *-d(k?)i-iq-ma*, B reads *an-na-d(k?)i-ma*.<sup>97</sup> Uncert. remains in A : B has only *a-na e-ma* | *la-pān-iá aš-ku-un-ma*.<sup>98</sup> B *-tú*.<sup>99</sup> B apparently *māru-u-iá??*. After *aš-rat??* B ends abruptly (col. III, 51).

16. I spread abroad, and in prosperity I took the road  
 17. to my own land. The word of his great godhead I observed,  
 18. I stayed not, I shrank not, I rested not ; I let summon  
 19. the peoples of Akkad and of the Hatti-land from the border of Egypt  
 20. on the Upper Sea as far as the Lower Sea, whom Sin, king of the gods,  
 21. had committed to my hands. E-ḫul-ḫul the temple of Sin anew  
 22. I built, I finished its work. The hands of Sin,  
 23. of Nin-gal, Nusku, and of Sadarnunna from  
 24. Šuanna my royal city I clasped, and with joy  
 25. and gladness I made them enter and dwell in their lasting sanctuary,  
 26. generous libations before them I poured out and  
 27. I multiplied gifts. The " head " of E-ḫul-ḫul  
 28. I supported, I brought pleasure to the hearts of its people,  
 29. I accomplished the command of Sin, king of the gods, lord of lords,  
 30. dwelling in the heavens, who, in comparison of the gods in heaven,  
     his name is surpassing :  
 31. (also) of Šamaš, who is his brightest (peer), of Nusku, Ištar, Adda,  
     Nergal,  
 32. (those) who accomplish the command of Nannar  
 33. their surpasser. Wheresoever I put on my arms  
 34. (even) to wheresoever (I put them off?), I have set before me  
 35. to accomplish the command of Nannar. Whoso thou (art)  
 36. whom Sin shall call to the kingship and  
 37. shall say to thee " O son, my son ", the shrine of Sin  
 38. dwelling in the heavens (thou shalt seek ?)  
 39. and his word thou shalt not (disregard . . . . . )  
 40. (he) who . . . . .  
     . . . . .  
 41. with his weapon, with . . . . . (shall smite ?)  
     (Rest illegible)

13. [*nišé*(*MEŠ*)] (*māt*)*akkadi*(*KI*) *i-piš-tú* (*d*)*XXX ip-pal-su-ma*(??)

14. [*ip-la-ḫu ilu*]-*ut-su rabitu*(*tú*) *u* (*d*)*XXX šar ilani*(*MEŠ*)

the second line being restored after col. III, 11, of the present inscription. The above passage and its preceding tariff of prices may now be connected with the rains and the abundance reported here in col. I, 31-8.

*ana māti la turidu* : this expression is elsewhere used of coming down to earth from heaven like the *nam-lugal* which, in the king-list, *an-ta è-dè-a-ba*, or the *alalu*-song when it *ur-da ana ma-ti*, *JNES*. XVII (1958), p. 56, line 51. In the present passage it seems applied to news coming down from Harran to Babylon.

8. *ni*(?)*-e*(?)*-du*, the first two signs are at least very probable in A, the whole missing in B. Such a form is otherwise unknown, but the sense (*s.v.l.*) is quite acceptable : the king plays slightly on the meaning of his own name (" Nabu is honoured ") and contrasts this with the ordinary phrase *mār la manman* which denoted an usurper or any successor to the throne not of royal birth, and this applied particularly to Nabonidus, according to the emphatic description of Abydenus (in P. Schnabel, *Berosos*, p. 274),

Ναβοννήδοχον ἀποδεικνῦσι βασιλέα προσήκοντά οἱ οὐδέν. It is a study in legitimization that Nabonidus here excuses himself for the defect of not belonging to the line of Nabopolassar, who had himself, only 70 years before, claimed with a certain pride to be a self-made man, *mār la manmanim* (S. Langdon, *Die neubabylonischen Königsinschriften*, p. 66, no. 4, line 4).

- 9, 10. The very unusual division of a word over the end of the line reappears in B, col. II, 25, 26 (*d*)*a-nù-|-tù*.
- 17–19. These lines have two difficulties, first the word or element *i ma* in 17 and 19. With some doubt I have tried to adopt a suggestion made very kindly by Dr. A. L. Oppenheim that it should be regarded as an alternative writing of the not uncommon *e-ma*, proposed to be understood as an indefinite pronoun in the sense of “whatever”. If taken in its normal usage as expressing indefinite place or time the translation becomes even more difficult. A further objection to this is that in col. III, 33, 34, *e-ma* occurs twice in its usual form and meaning. Another suggestion is that of Dr. H. F. Saggs, to take *-i-ma* as “ventive” endings of the third-weak verbs which they follow—this, too, however, entails difficulties which cannot suitably be discussed here. I have preferred to leave *i ma* unconnected in transliteration, and to adapt Oppenheim’s solution provisionally. In line 18 there is a difference in the two versions: A reads *e-zi-is-su* and B *e-zi-iz-zu* followed by another sign absent from A. For the former cf. L. W. King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, pl. 23, 1, . . . (*d.*)*marduk šá e-zis*(var. *zi*)-*su a-bu-bu*. The following sign in B is oddly written, but probably intended for *MURUB*. This, with the sense of *qablitu*, “anger” which it bears in religious texts, is in apposition with *ez(z)itu*.
- 21, 22. The only evidence of famine in the reign of Nabonidus belongs to his 11th year—see the references and partial translation given by A. L. Oppenheim in *Iraq*, XVII, p. 72.
- 30, 31. There is a little uncertainty whether the last sign in line 30 is *HI* or *TIN*; both are possible, but the latter is certainly to be preferred, in spite of col. I, 44, *su-lum-mu-ú u tu-ub-ba-a-ti*, for what is evidently described is the appointment of a bodyguard for the king, to secure that *šulum u balātu* which is commonly expressed as the wish of letter-writers (cf. E. Ebeling, *Glossar zu den neubabylonischen Briefen*, p. 75—I owe this reference to Dr. Saggs). As used here *paqādu* hardly fits the meanings which it has received in recent discussions, C. F. Leemans, *Ishtar of Lagaba*, p. 18, and the authors in *Anatolian Studies*, VI, p. 159: in the present passage it has the ordinary sense of “appointing” to a function, and some words of Herodotus (I, 59) are especially appropriate here—the people of Athens, being deceived by a feigned assault upon Peisistratus, “gave to him, having picked them from among the citizens, those men who became not spearmen of Peisistratus, but clubmen; for they followed after him bearing wooden clubs.” The 7th and 6th centuries B.C. were the age of the “tyrants” in Greece, and the word “tyrant” probably points to Asia Minor as its origin: “Gyges was the great Tyrannos, the pattern of the Greek Tyrants” (*Cambridge Ancient History*, III, p. 549). The tyrant’s bodyguard was, as it were, the hall-mark of his usurpation, in so much that Solon declared himself ready to fight, even single-handed if need were, against the grant of these henchmen to Peisistratus (Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, ch. XIV), and they are dramatically introduced as the tools of



the traitorous accomplice Aegisthus, now erected into a tyrant, in the stirring scene which closes the *Agamemnon* of Aeschylus. It is strange indeed to find Nabonidus among that company: and these bodyguards were only his human protection, for if his Mother's prayers could avail (H I, B, col. II, 37-9) his god had also appointed (*paqādu*) a favouring spirit (*lamassi dumqi*) to go on either side of him (*ittišu*).

31-7. A passage of interest for the calendar. The separate peculiarities noted here are:

(a) Harvest about a month earlier than usual (Nisan instead of Iyyar-Siwan).

(b) Second harvest in Tisri (7th month).

(c) This engendered by rains in five months of the year (Siwan to Tisri) which were normally rainless, expressed by the phrase *ina dannatu ummatu*. These details should be compared with the general discussion by B. Landsberger in *JNES*. VIII, 248 ff.; and note the parallel phraseology in B.M. 90837, lines 2, 3. The year or years when these abnormal blessings prevailed is by no means clear from this rather confused account: the king was absent from Babylon for 10 years (lines 26, 27), but his subjects repented and returned to their allegiance (line 31), and in that year (presumably the tenth—of his reign, or at least of his absence) they enjoyed harvest in both the first and in the seventh month (31, 32), and yet "in all these years without ceasing" (35) there were rains (37) in all the dry months of the year, and the inhabitants brought in their produce before the king (38). If so, he must have been in Arabia; but then the recipients of this divine favour cannot have been the still-contumacious people of Akkad, who are yet named in line 32. For rain as a reward of piety cf. *VAB*. IV, 176, lines 20 f. (now *ANET*. p. 307).

41, 42. *parāku* as the action of the goddess to restrain the enemies is taken as the interposition of her hands across their path, the sense given by recent discussions being "to lay across" (often of furrows in a field), and thus "to bar off" by obstacles. This sense can be extended to *pirik* and *pariktu* applied to inaccessible tracts in col. II, 9, 10.

#### Col. II.

4. *pū la ippattu u . . . la uktattamu*, cf. the passage of *ludlul bél nēmeqi* discussed in *Anatolian Studies*, IV, 95, but the reference to speaking is plain here, and since the other line is explained by the ancient commentator as meaning "day and night" the god Šamaš is probably involved there as well as here, in his dual capacities as god of the day and of righteousness.
12. On *imlū ūmu* see references in R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 15, and for the phraseology compare both col. III, 4, and Ezechiel VII, 7 and 12.
- 13-15. One part of the astrological allusion is explained by the hemerology of this date (Tašritu 17th) in V R, 48-9, col. vii, 19, (*d*) *EN.ĶU NA i-man-gar*, "the Moon-god will favour a man," cf. R. Labat, *Hémérologies d'Assur*, p. 119, n., and the same author's edition of the Kassite version in *Sumer*, VIII, 23, 31 (rev. col. VII, 17), where the reading is *IDIM. ŠE*, translated "un personnage important sera favorable", but the reference there also is perhaps to the Moon-god. What is intended by *pišir-šu* is not altogether clear—according to a recent critical examination (A. L. Oppenheim, *The Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, 220) a generally acceptable equivalent would be "solution", but here must be meant

some interpretable sign corresponding rather with the narrower usage of the Assyrian reports and letters, discussed *ibid.* I have tried to convey this by "revelation". In the following phrase the Moon-god is described as the KU of Anu on the first of the month, and in this capacity his name is a potent weapon; thus it seems necessary to take KU.AN-*a-nù* as though it were in full GIŠ.KU.AN.AN-*a-nù*, GIŠ being dispensable (Deimel, *Šumer. Lex.* 536, 85) and the single AN serving a double duty. For references to *miṭtu* see now *Orientalia* 1958, p. 148.

- 16-18. Note the three different terms (*ḥamāmu*, *gamāru*, *liqū*) for "exercising" the functions of the three supreme gods.
25. If the suggested translation is correct, here begins a sudden plunge into the second person from the third, which continues through the next clause and then is dropped again, cf. already col. I, 7. It is characteristic of the rather incoherent style of this inscription to break off a narrative just begun and to launch into a paean of irrelevant praises; cf. also below, p. 91. *ša la ka-a-šu*, see O. E. Ravn, *The so-called Relative Clauses in Accadian*, pp. 101 f., also *MSL.* IV, 53, *me-en-zé-en-na-an-na*: *ša la [ku-nu-ti]*, and a number of recent references in *Orientalia* 1958, p. 149, 14. The whole passage translated there (p. 144 f.) from the Irra-myth has a strong similarity with the praises of the Moon-god here.
- 26-32. This rendering was suggested by Professor A. L. Oppenheim, who perceived that the key-word is *ūblu* (to be taken as pret. of (*w*)*abālu*); the best parallel is perhaps Gilgamesh XI (ed. Thompson), line 14, *ša-kan a-bu-bi ub-la lib-ba-šu-nu*.
36. *a-b/pal* so clearly in B, and app. the end of -[*ba*]l in A. Taken as shortened from *ana balī*, so as to fit the sense, but that combination is not otherwise known to me: contrast *ina ba-li*, col. I.40, II.3.

### Col. III.

- 1 ff. Here the narrative is found again, having been resumed in the lacuna, after the long digression in praise of the Moon-god, from col. II, 13, onwards. The return from Taima must be understood as beginning on the 17th of Tašritu, but here the king is still engaged in divination to choose the right day for it, with results at first ambiguous.
2. *um-mid-ma* very uncertain in A, better in B, but not to be much relied upon. If correct it must be used in the sense of *qatā ummudu*, "to put (one's) hands (to a task)."
3. *pardat*, of dreams, recently translated "confused" (Oppenheim, *op. cit.* p. 229); see also A. Goetze in *JAOS.* 1939, p. 15, where applied to omens from the entrails but in a context which includes dreams; also C. J. Mullo-Weir, *Lexicon of Accadian Hymns and Prayers*, p. 259. In any case, dreams giving no encouragement.
- 7-10. Compare with this the words of Idrimi at a similar juncture: S. Smith, *The Statue of Idrimi*, p. 14, line 24.
12. *ippardu* describes the gods coming out of their temples and appearing to men when they took their flight. For a similar appearance (*ittapardu*) of goddesses at Erech in a time of disaster see Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, II, p. 73, A, line 2, also line 4.
17. *māti-ia*, which land is meant here? He had already returned to Babylon (line 6 above), so that Harran is perhaps indicated, whither he now went to realise his desire of restoring the god's habitation.

18. In the parallel passage (Langdon, op. cit. Nabon. I, col. I, 38) we have *u-šat-ba-am-ma*.
- 33, 34. The text of this difficult passage is either illegible (A) or defective originally (B). Its purport is to say "from the time that I put on (*edēqu* IV) my armour until I put it off", but this latter half of the phrase is omitted by B. If . . . *ḥa* . . . is correctly read in line 34 (A) it suggests the presence of *šahātu*, "to put off (attire)," for which there is Gilgamesh I, iii, 43, and a recent possible example in Gurney and Finkelstein, *The Sultantepe Tablets*; no. 38, obv. col. I, 12, 14 (*Anatolian Studies* VI, pp. 150 f., but also VII, p. 135), and other recent occurrences in *Orientalia*, 1956, p. 146, and 1958, p. 143, line 8. Read perhaps [*a-ša*-(or *aš*)]-*ḥa*-[*aṭ*].
- 34, 35. For the Aramaic form of *la-pān-ia* and construction with *ana* see W. von Soden, *Grundzüge d. akkad. Grammatik*, § 114e. The whole turn of expression here is familiar from several O.T. passages, e.g. Daniel X, 12, *nāthattā eth-libb\*khā l'ḥābhīn*, also Jeremiah XXX, 21, ". . . pledged (עֲרַב) his heart to approach," and other phrases with *šīm*.
37. Cf. Psalm II, 7, "Yahweh said to me [the king] 'thou art my son'", and perhaps Creation I, 101.

## CHRONOLOGY AND HISTORY

(1) *The Last Kings of Assyria*

The inscription H 1 (of the royal Mother) gives, in its present more complete form (B),<sup>1</sup> no less than three arithmetical summaries covering the end of Assyrian rule and almost the whole of the Chaldaean dynasty in Babylonia:

Col. I, 29-35.

The narrator was born in the 20th year of Assurbanipal.

She survived the 42nd year of Aššurbanipal,

3rd	„	„	Aššur-etillu-ili, his son,
21st	„	„	Nabopolassar,
43rd	„	„	Nebuchadrezzar
2nd	„	„	Evil-Merodach,
4th	„	„	Neriglissar.

A total of 95 years.

Col. II, 26-8.

She lived from the time <sup>2</sup> of Aššurbanipal to the 9th year of Nabonidus her son, 104 years.

Col. II, 40-3.

She served the kings of Babylon during

21	years of Nabopolassar,
43	„ „ Nebuchadrezzar,
4	„ „ Neriglissar.

A total of 68 years, before her son's accession.

<sup>1</sup> The first two of these summaries were already present in A, but the former was defective, and most of the figures missing.

<sup>2</sup> Lit. "from before", i.e. she came into the world during the lifetime of Aššurbanipal.

The last of these merely repeats figures given in the first, pointedly omitting Evil-Merodach, from whose court she was banished, or absented herself, no doubt for the reasons, whatever they were, which earned that king an evil repute in the official tradition ; this is represented by a stigma in Nabonidus,<sup>1</sup> and also by a statement in Josephus (from Berossus) that he ruled "lawlessly and wantonly". The brief interlude of Labaši-Marduk is nowhere noticed.<sup>2</sup>

From the second summary one factor is omitted, the year of her birth, one added, her death in the 9th year of her son's reign, and a total for the whole term of her life is supplied, by adding the nine years of her son<sup>3</sup> to the 95 of the first summary.

Restoration of the complete figures in the first summary is one of the principal services of the new inscription, for the lengths of all but two reigns were missing from the earlier-found copy. Most valuable in it is the first statement which has ever been available for the full extent of Aššurbanipal's reign, 42 years ; this compares with the latest date hitherto obtained, from a contract of his 38th year.<sup>4</sup> Since we may not venture to doubt this explicit statement of a contemporary, making a carefully-calculated reckoning,<sup>5</sup> we now have to recognise that the reign of Aššurbanipal lasted until the year 627-626.<sup>6</sup> After this there were, according to the inscription, three years<sup>7</sup> of Aššur-etillu-ili, his son, before the first year of Nabopolassar. But it is now fixed by a chronicle<sup>8</sup> that Nabopolassar ascended the throne of Babylon in November 626, so that his "first year" began in March 625. Taking the earliest possible limit, Aššurbanipal's death cannot have occurred before April 627. From this to the accession of Nabopolassar (November 626) is 18 months, to the beginning of his first year (March 625) something less than 24 months, and of course the actual interval, depending upon the time of year when Aššurbanipal died, may have been still less. How the "three years" of Aššur-etillu-ili are to be fitted into this space is a problem indeed.

A similar difficulty is encountered if the figures of this new inscription

<sup>1</sup> S. Langdon, *VAB.* IV, Nabon. no. 8, col. IV, 37 ff. ; cf. *ANET.* p. 309.

<sup>2</sup> Reason enough ; for according to the same authority Nabonidus himself was among the "friends" by whom that hapless youth "was clubbed to death".

<sup>3</sup> This statement, occurring in the "1st. person" part of the inscription, is not conceivable as made by the deceased herself, but has been intruded by the author of the concluding ("3rd person") part.

<sup>4</sup> Quoted in D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, p. 92, see n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Somewhat in the manner which Herodotus (II, 143) attributes to Hecataeus.

<sup>6</sup> This is, in fact, where it used to be given, on the supposition that Aššurbanipal was identical with Kandalanu. The "42jährige Regierung" attributed in A. Scharff und A. Moortgat, *Ägypten und Vorderasien im Altertum*, p. 425, evidently depends upon the same assumption.

<sup>7</sup> Clearly, this does not indicate the whole reign of Aššur-etillu-ili, for there is a contract dated in the latter part of his 4th year (Wiseman, loc. cit. gives the reference). The royal Mother, however, rigidly confines herself to those whom she regarded as legitimate kings of Babylon. After the accession of the family to which she adhered all other pretenders are ignored.

<sup>8</sup> Wiseman, op. cit. p. 50, lines 14, 15, cf. pp. 7, 93.

are compared with the Ptolemaic Canon.<sup>1</sup> There, as is well known, the reign of Aššurbanipal is not mentioned, for it is represented, in the Babylonian succession, by the subordinate kings Saosduchinos (20 years) and Kineladanos (22 years). The first of these was the successor of Asaradinos (Esarhaddon), who died in 669; <sup>2</sup> the "first year" of Šamaš-šum-ukin was 667, and he himself died at the capture of Babylon by his brother in 648. Kandalanu in turn died in 626, after a reign of 22 years, that is, in all probability, one year after Aššurbanipal, for although the aggregate of Saosduchinos (20) and of Kineladanos (22) now equals the attested reign of Aššurbanipal (42) it is to be noticed that the Assyrian king's years began to be counted one year before those of his "Babylonian" brother.<sup>3</sup> Thus, the same situation is reached: Aššurbanipal died (at the very earliest) in April 627, Kandalanu in 626 and very soon afterwards (November 626) Nabopolassar succeeded. Between the death of the first and the accession of the last probably not more than one year, in no case more than 18 months, can be reckoned, and not so much as two years even if the interval be extended to the beginning of Nabopolassar's "first year". The required "three years" of Aššur-etillu-ili seem, therefore, to posit about two years more than our evidence makes available.

Yet again the discrepancy appears in the account given by the Mother herself: she was born in the 20th year of Aššurbanipal, and she died, aged 104, in the 9th year of her son's reign, i.e. in 547. Reckoning back from this, she should have been born in  $547 + 104 = 651$ . But the 20th year of Aššurbanipal began in 649.

This difficulty is much increased when the reign of Sin-šar-iškun is also taken into consideration, for there has appeared to be sufficient indication that he too was king of Assyria before the accession of Nabopolassar. The evidence is as follows:

- (1) In a chronicle <sup>4</sup> of the year 626, two months before the accession of Nabopolassar, Sin-šar-iškun was in command of an Assyrian army.
- (2) A contract from Babylon itself <sup>5</sup> is dated in his accession-year.
- (3) According to Berossus,<sup>6</sup> it was "Sarakos" (Sin-šar-iškun) himself who sent "Bupalossoros" (Nabopolassar) to command his army in Babylonia, after which the latter revolted and marched against Nineveh.

Nothing is known about the relations of Aššur-etillu-ili and of Sin-šar-iškun, both of whom were successors of Aššurbanipal, one, probably both, being his son. The former is shown by contracts to have ruled for

<sup>1</sup> F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, I, p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Dubberstein in *JNES*. III (1944), p. 38.

<sup>3</sup> W. H. Dubberstein, loc. cit.

<sup>4</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles*, pp. 50 ff., cf. pp. 43, 90.

<sup>5</sup> Quoted by A. Goetze, in *JNES*. III, 44, with n. 15.

<sup>6</sup> P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, p. 271.

at least four, the latter for at least seven, years,<sup>1</sup> and he is known to have disappeared at the fall of Nineveh in 612: it is thought that some part of the reigns may have overlapped.<sup>2</sup> However this may be, the new evidence from Harran makes it extremely difficult to insert any part of the reign of Sin-šar-iškun in the very brief interval between Aššurbanipal and Nabopolassar, where not even enough space is left for the posited "three years" of Aššur-etillu-ili. The suggestion made recently,<sup>3</sup> for which there seemed good reasons, that Sin-šar-iškun came to the throne of Assyria in 629 must now, it appears, be discarded; and yet to suppose (as would otherwise be most natural) that his reign fell wholly within the first 14 years of Nabopolassar is put in very serious difficulty by the three pieces of evidence quoted above.

In the present state of our knowledge<sup>4</sup> it is hardly worth while elaborating conjectures to account for these seeming discrepancies:

- (a) that the Harran inscription appears to require about two years more between the death of Aššurbanipal and the accession of Nabopolassar than our evidence, including the Ptolemaic Canon, puts at our disposal;
- (b) that the reign of Sin-šar-iškun, which otherwise should have begun before that of Nabopolassar, is now seemingly excluded from the brief interval then occurring.

## (2) *Events at Harran*

At the beginning of his reign Aššurbanipal had restored the temple of the Moon-god in Harran<sup>5</sup> after a long period of decay and had appointed one of his brothers *urigallu* priest there, as a mark of his signal favour; this action was remembered and celebrated with due gratitude by the devout Nabonidus.<sup>6</sup> But the new dispensation was short-lived, and came to a tragic end in October 610 with a disaster of which we now have the following accounts:

(a) Nabonidus, Harran 1, B, col. I, 6-9, "in the 16th year of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, Sin, king of the gods, was angry with his city

<sup>1</sup> See M. San Nicolò, *Babylonische Rechtsurkunden . . . 8. und . . . 7. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.*, p. 129 (at Erech).

<sup>2</sup> It is possible, of course, that Aššurbanipal, having two sons, purported before his death to appoint them kings of Assyria and of Babylon respectively, following the precedent of his own accession. But there is absolutely no evidence of this, and nothing to show that they ever acted in these separate characters. In their scanty inscriptions both use the title "king of Assyria"; cf. also the "Nabopolassar Chronicle", line 44.

<sup>3</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *op. cit.* pp. 5 f., 91 f., also W. von Soden in a review of that work, *WZKM.* 53 (1957), p. 319.

<sup>4</sup> There is no little irony in this situation—what more should a chronologist desire than a plain statement from an exceptionally long-lived contemporary, making a careful count of years?

<sup>5</sup> D. D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 914, 983; T. Bauer, *Das Inschriftenwerk Assurbanipals*, II, pp. 33 ff. It is mentioned also in the great slab from the Ninlil temple at Nineveh, R. C. Thompson in *LAAA.* XX, p. 83, lines 60 ff., one of the last inscriptions of the reign.

<sup>6</sup> *VAB.* IV, p. 220, lines 47 ff.; p. 224, lines 43 ff. (Nabonid no. 1).



and his house and went up to heaven, the city and people who were in it went to ruin.”

(b) Nabonidus, cylinder from Sippar,<sup>1</sup> col. I, 8 ff. “E-ḫul-ḫul the house of Sin which is in Harran . . . against that city and house his heart was angry, and he caused the Umman-manda to come up, and he destroyed that house and let it go into ruin.”

(c) Nabonidus, stele from Babylon,<sup>2</sup> col. X, 12 ff. “(at) Harran which was in ruins for 54 years, through devastation of the Umman-mandu the sanctuaries were laid waste.”

(d) Nabopolassar Chronicle,<sup>3</sup> lines 59–64 (Nabopolassar, year 16). “in the month of Marcheswan the Umman-manda came to the help of the king of Akkad, and they united their armies and to the city of Harran after Aššur-uballiṭ, who had sat upon the throne of Assyria, they marched. Aššur-uballiṭ and the army of Egypt which had come to his help, fear of the enemy fell upon them; they abandoned the city and . . . crossed the Euphrates. The king of Akkad reached Harran . . . the city was captured, they carried off much spoil from the city and temple.”

(e) A more general account is also given by an earlier passage of the Nabonidus stele from Babylon, (c) above, col. II, 14 ff., “the king of the Umman-manda without remorse demolished the sanctuaries of all the gods of Subartu (i.e. Assyria).” The following lines allude to the despair of the Babylonian king at his powerlessness to prevent these sacrileges.

The new version of the Mother’s inscription (Nabon. Harran, 1, B) contributes to the history of this disaster a chronological note and a brief reference. The former (16th year of Nabopolassar) agrees with the other items set out above, especially with the chronological note in (c), which we now see to be counted from the beginning of her son’s reign: Nabopolassar, 21 minus 16 = 5 years, Nebuchadrezzar 43, Evil-Merodach 2, Neriglissar 4, the sum of these being 54.

As to the disaster itself, we are rather fully informed of its occasion and result by the chronicle. Without this we should have been limited to the knowledge that it was inflicted by the Umman-manda, who, in this case at least, were certainly the Medes, whatever forces may have been covered by that name at the fall of Nineveh<sup>4</sup> in 612. The Mother’s inscription is, on the contrary, as concerns this disaster, brief and vague to a degree, and by itself would intimate nothing but the occurrence of some religious crisis. Her interests are, indeed, represented throughout as

<sup>1</sup> *ibid.* pp. 218 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ibid.* pp. 284 ff., recently translated in *ANET*. p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles concerning Chaldaean Kings*, pp. 60 ff., cf. p. 45.

<sup>4</sup> This still-dubious question has been discussed recently by D. J. Wiseman, *op. cit.* pp. 16, 81. A coincidence which has perhaps not been remarked is that another decisive contest, involving at least some of the same antagonists, occurred at exactly the same place at very nearly the same time *after* the Christian era began, when Heraclius defeated the general of Chosroes II on 12th December, 627, in a great battle fought over the ruins of Nineveh itself (Gibbon, chapter XLVI). In view of the controversies in the middle of the 19th century it is also of interest to observe that Gibbon, writing about 1785, was in no doubt as to the site of Nineveh, and even twits Niebuhr for having “passed over Nineveh without perceiving it”.

almost exclusively religious <sup>1</sup> (with the pardonable exception of her son's brilliant fortune), but the suppression of all secular details here was doubtless due to considerations which applied locally to Harran, above all the need to avoid giving offence to the Medes, who were still in control of the place.<sup>2</sup>

A question which the new inscription of Nabonidus himself (H. 2) leaves in doubt is, when was E-ḫul-ḫul actually restored? The admonitory dream appeared in the king's accession-year (VAB. IV, 218, line 16, and the same is implied by H 2, col. I, 11, though without specific note of time). In the Harran inscription the king is enjoined to undertake the work "quickly", but this is immediately followed by the mutiny of the Babylonians, which seemed to frustrate his plan. Again, in reckoning the desolation of Harran to have lasted for 54 years (see above) both mother and son date its restoration at the beginning of Nabonidus' reign. Thereafter he withdrew to Taima for 10 years, and according to H. 2, col. III, the work of rebuilding the temple and restoring the gods was not undertaken (or at least completed) until after his return to Babylon. Even according to the Sippar cylinder already quoted (VAB. IV, 220) work at Harran was possible only after the king's third year, when the Median hold upon Harran was broken by the victory of Cyrus. Yet another indication is found in the Mother's inscription; she died in the king's ninth year, but in col. II, 12 ff., she describes as fulfilled within her own knowledge ("I saw it myself") the rebuilding of E-ḫul-ḫul and Harran, and the re-introduction of its gods and its cult. Finally, the Nabonidus-Cyrus chronicle makes the defeat of Astyages by Cyrus to happen in the 6th year of Nabonidus, and shows that he was engaged in expeditions to

---

<sup>1</sup> Although the reference to her own, and her son's, long service at the court of the Chaldaean kings insinuates clearly enough the powerful influence which she certainly exercised there.

<sup>2</sup> There seems no need to suppose, as some have done, that Harran was effectively occupied by the Babylonians in 610, and that the situation in 556, when it was certainly controlled by the Medes, had been caused by some subsequent rupture, presumed to have occurred under Neriglissar. There is no evidence for this, and it is implied by the language of Nabonidus himself (extract (e) above) that the Babylonian king had not at the beginning (nor is he likely to have acquired afterwards) more than a subordinate control of affairs at Harran.

With this discretion, of adapting the account to the readers, may be compared the respective descriptions of the famous dream in which the command was given to restore the cult of Harran. In the version known hitherto (VAB. IV, 218 f., of which there is a recent new translation by A. L. Oppenheim, *Interpretation of Dreams in the Ancient Near East*, p. 250, cf. p. 203) there is not only the prophecy of the defeat of Astyages and the Medes (which of course had to be omitted at Harran) but there is an opposite addition for the benefit of another audience, the Babylonians. This comprises (1) the introduction of Marduk as the principal figure (called "Enlil of the gods") and as the sole speaker, reducing the Moon-god to a mere spectator, and (2) the injunction to bring the bricks in the royal chariot, evidently from Babylon, with the notion of authenticity thence derived. All of this is in stark contrast with the brief, direct and independent command of the Moon-god related in H. 2, col. I, 12-14. The artful elaboration of this incident to the taste of Babylonian readers is as deliberate as it is disingenuous (they had not been rightly informed, it seems, as H. 2 is at pains to explain at its outset). I am not sure whether political reporting of this kind remains within "the stylistic requirements evolved in this specific type of literature".

Syria early in his reign, apparently in his second and third years. Sometime between these and his sixth year the retreat to Taima had already taken place, in his seventh he was installed there, and so continued through his 9th, 10th and 11th years, when the record is interrupted. Owing to the chronological vagueness of the Harran inscriptions and the loss of relevant passages in the chronicle it is not possible to define when the exile of Nabonidus began and consequently its end also (after 10 years) is uncertain. For the restoration of E-ḫul-ḫul evidently all the statements of the original sources are not fully reconcilable, but this does not mean there was deliberate misleading; it is only that exact times are not stated. There must have been some work done at Harran immediately after the king's accession, to justify the appearance of the dream then, and to make possible dating from that moment the end (after 54 years) of the desolation of the city. Perhaps no serious operations were possible until after the Median defeat, whether this was in the third or in the sixth year, as is divergently reported. At some time within this period must have occurred the Babylonian revolt, certainly before the sixth year, when the king was already in exile at Taima. Despite this, the work at Harran proceeded sufficiently for it to be said that before the Mother died (9th year) she could witness the restoration of the gods to Harran;<sup>1</sup> and the process was completed after the king's return from his ten-year exile, some time after his 11th year, when the Babylonians also were prepared to co-operate. The resulting picture is not other than we should expect; the restoration of the temple and the city was a work *de longue haleine*, which, begun as quickly as possible after Nabonidus thought himself in a position to realise his own and his Mother's dearest wishes, was variously hindered, first by Median opposition, then by the Babylonian revolt, was pursued without Babylonian aid during the years spent at Taima, and was pressed to its conclusion in the brief interval between the king's return and the war with Cyrus. How the gods of Harran were affected by the last hasty concentration in Babylon and by the subsequent dispersal at the orders of Cyrus we do not hear.

### (3) *External Relations*

The restoration of Harran is not in general viewed by either of the H. inscriptions as anything more than a matter between the Moon-god, the king, his Mother, and his subjects. But elsewhere is the well-known "dream" revealing that its accomplishment was at any rate greatly hindered by the Median occupation,<sup>2</sup> and that the work could not be

---

<sup>1</sup> Yet how could this be, when the king was still refusing to enter Babylon, where the gods of Harran were in temporary residence (in Šuanna)?

<sup>2</sup> Their opposition was probably motivated by dislike of seeing re-created what they had themselves destroyed, and especially by the fear of a new Assyrian power gathering in the place where it had made its last stand. For the importance of Harran during the last years of the Assyrian monarchy see the observations of R. C. Thompson in *Liverpool Annals*, XX, 112. The elaborate works there of Aššurbanipal at the outset of his reign might seem to attest his appreciation of the dangers then already menacing the older Assyrian homeland.

effectually taken in hand until the Median hold was loosed. There are, nevertheless, two passages in the king's inscription (H.2) which glance at foreign powers and relate them indirectly to his project at Harran. The first is col. I, 38—col. II, 2 (end of col. I broken) “at the word of Sin, Ištar also, lady of battle, without whom hostility and peace exist not in the land, and a weapon is not forged, her hands over them she crossed(?), and the king of the land(?) of Egypt, the city of the Medes, the land of the Arabs, and all the kings (who were) hostile sent (messengers) before me for peace and good relations”. This is followed by some lines marred with damage, but describing how certain Arabs, in spite of this peace, attempted a plundering raid but were defeated, whereupon all of them made submission. The second passage is in very general terms, col. III, 9—11 (after the king's return to Babylon), “the kings (that were) near came up and kissed my feet, and those far away heard of it and feared his great god-head.”

Whatever information is conveyed by the first and more important of these allusions is made partly ineffectual by its tantalising vagueness, for no names are given to kings or representatives of the powers concerned, nothing is said of previous relations (except that they were “hostile”) and, especially, there is no note of the time when these reconciliations were made.

The only unequivocal figure among these rulers is the king of Egypt; he must be Amasis II (569–525 B.C.) who, whether or not he owed his elevation to Nebuchadrezzar, certainly lost no time in falling out with him (if the name of *Amasu* is rightly restored in the unique historical fragment<sup>1</sup> relating to the 37th year (568–7) of Nebuchadrezzar). Since nothing else is known of this obscure period we can only assume that the long-standing enmity between Egypt and the Babylonian kings was brought to an end by this accord in the reign of Nabonidus. If that seems surprising in view of the latter's incursion and settlement upon the trade route through the northern Hijāz, which Egypt must have viewed with jealousy,<sup>2</sup> the explanation probably lies in a necessity being felt to unite against a common danger which already threatened.

That danger is represented by the next name among the peace-makers, “the city of the Medes,” which must be Ecbatana. But this oddly impersonal<sup>3</sup> description might seem designed to cover an unsettled political situation, and this, in its turn, may be indicative of the time when peace was made. We are not informed what had been the course of relations between Medes and Babylonians since 610, but there was evidently a mutual incompatibility,<sup>4</sup> if no more, and the Median occupa-

<sup>1</sup> Re-published recently by D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, pls. XX, XXI, see p. 94.

<sup>2</sup> S. Smith, *Isaiah, Ch. XL–LV*, pp. 38 ff., 140; R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 152 ff.; B. Segall, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 59 (1955), pp. 315 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Almost ominal: e.g. *CT*. XX, pl. vii, 9, “thy enemy will send (overtures of) peace to thee.” To extend the idea of “king” over the two following descriptions would be contrary to Babylonian usage.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 74, n. 2.

tion of Harran was, we know, a positive bar to its restoration by the Babylonians. The end of this condition and the conclusion of an accord with Babylon was a natural consequence of the overthrow of Astyages and the Median kingdom, and the date of this accord may be immediately after the victory of Cyrus, who had perhaps not secured or assumed his official titles,<sup>1</sup> and was for the nonce viewed only as the new master of Ecbatana. If then the peace between "the city of the Medes" and Nabonidus was made by Cyrus soon after his victory, this would have been either in the third year (553-2) of Nabonidus or in his sixth (550-49)—for, as is well known, these alternative dates are given by the Sippar cylinder and by the Chronicle.<sup>2</sup> If in the latter (6th) year, Nabonidus was already installed in his Arabian realm, and this is consonant with H.2, which begins to describe his return to Babylon (col. II, 11-13) after the conclusion of peace (col. I, 42-5) with external enemies. We may consider it probable, then, that peace was made with the Iranian power in or about the year 548, and in the residence of Taima. Proximity and common interests are enough to suggest that the peace with Egypt was also made in the Arabian oasis, the foreign ambassadors being suitably received there in the "palace" which perhaps remains for the spade of a future investigator to discover.

That the peace with the Arabs was also made at Taima is almost self-evident. The questions are, with whom was it made, and who were the people who subsequently attempted to break it? The last is, no doubt, insoluble; whatever authority it was who purported to make peace with the invader, he could not answer for all the disunited and unruly tribes.<sup>3</sup> As to the ruler himself, he was certainly a figure of the kind which begins to be named in the Assyrian annals from the 9th century onward as kings (or not infrequently queens) of the Aribi. The story of these begins to take on a more personal colour with Sennacherib's campaign against Ḫaza-il, his captivity and his subsequent release by Esarhaddon, together with the priestess Te'elḫunu<sup>4</sup> and her associate Tabua, who were urgently required by Ḫaza-il to perform the rites of his goddess. What Aššurbanipal himself did in this affair no longer remains in the record, but his annals have much to tell of subsequent relations with the two next members of the "dynasty", the son Uâte' and his supplanter Abiate', who, despite his temporary espousal of the cause of Šamaš-šum-ukin, was taken back into favour by Aššurbanipal, and given the kingdom "of the Aribi" which had been held by Ḫaza-il and Uâte'. But another Uâte', uncle of the former, is said to have ruled over the people of Qedar (*qa(i)-id-ri*), and after the ignominious submission of Uâte', son of Ḫaza-il, there arose

<sup>1</sup> On the titles of Cyrus see G. B. Gray in *Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See, however, a different interpretation by S. Smith, *op. cit.* pp. 33, 128.

<sup>3</sup> Their rivalries are clearly displayed in Aššurbanipal's account of his dealings with them, and are reflected in the "haters of peace" whom the Psalmist (120, 5 f.) deprecates as typical inhabitants of the "tents of Qedar".

<sup>4</sup> She is called *kumirtu*, "priestess" and also *apkallatu*, "wise-woman" (for the latter see R. Borger in *Orientalia*, 1957, pp. 8 ff.).

in his place a certain Ammuladi, who is called "king of Qidri" as a foe of the Assyrians. In Biblical references belonging to the 6th century Qedar is associated with Tema and Dedan (Isaiah XXI, 13 ff.), or with Dedan and other Arabian lands (Ezekiel XXVII, 20 ff.), while Jeremiah XLIX, 28 ff., preserves the only testimony that exists to a victory of Nebuchadrezzar over Qedar. Somewhat after this time, according to the opinion which now seems to be confirmed, begins the series of inscriptions found near al-'Ulā, site of the ancient Dedan, and from these has been compiled a list of rulers over that place.<sup>1</sup> Best known among them is Jšm, son of Šhr, who has been very probably identified with "Geshem the Arabian", a persistent and powerful opponent of Nehemiah when he undertook to rebuild the wall of Jerusalem. The dominion of this prince seems to have been wide, for his name, or more exactly that of his son, "Qainū son of Gešem," has recently been found inscribed upon a silver bowl<sup>2</sup> which had been dedicated to an Arabian goddess, and this bowl, there is reason to believe, comes from the ruins of an ancient shrine at Tell el-Maskhūṭa in Lower Egypt. It appears, therefore, that in the lifetime of Nehemiah (about 440) there was a local ruler (holding his authority, of course, in trust from the Persian overlord) whose dominion extended at least from Dedan as far as the eastern delta of Egypt. Whoever he was, then, who made peace with Nabonidus on behalf of the "land of the Aribi", he may be viewed as, in some sense, a predecessor of Gešem, whether more or less powerful, whether or not calling himself "king of Qedar", but living about a hundred years earlier. A recent writer<sup>3</sup> has placed before Gašmu, for epigraphical reasons, one other king of Dedan whose name he vocalises as Matī-'il, son of Kabar'il, "between c. 600 and 450 B.C." There is, of course, no special reason to suggest this ruler as the opponent of Nabonidus—he is merely one who may be viewed as belonging to about the time in question. We are brought still closer to the event by a very recently published<sup>4</sup> Thamudic inscription which, without naming its author, relates that he had taken for himself the "spear of the king of Babel", while another says that he had participated in the "war of Dedan". This is a sign that the invasion of Nabonidus (for to this it surely refers) made a vivid impression upon the native inhabitants, already literate enough to record their recollections of so stirring an episode.

---

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Albright, *Dedan*, p. 6 (in *Geschichte und Altes Testament*, Festschrift für Albrecht Alt, 1953); see also A. van den Branden in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XIV (1957), 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> For this see a recent article by I. Rabinowitz in *JNES*, XV (1956), pp. 1 ff. (inscription C). In that place will also be found a large number of references which it would be superfluous to repeat here; in view of this the present account has been made quite summary.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Albright, loc. cit. p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> By A. van den Branden in *Textes Thamoudéens de Philby*, vol. II, pp. 54 ff., and p. xiv, also his article entitled *L'Unité de l'Alphabet Thamoudéen* in R. Brunschvig and J. Schacht, *Studia Islamica*, fasc. vii, pp. 12 f. I owe knowledge of these to the kindness of Père van den Branden himself, who also sent me a copy of the latter publication.



## THE KINGDOM OF NABONIDUS IN ARABIA

A sojourn of Nabonidus in a town called Tema<sup>1</sup> was first revealed by the "Nabonidus-Cyrus Chronicle" which was published by T. G. Pinches in 1882.<sup>2</sup> This begins its record of the king's 7th, 9th, 10th and 11th years with the words "the king (was) in the town of Tema". Historians and critics, although alive to the great similarity of the names, were nevertheless not bold enough for many years to believe that a king of Babylon might have travelled to a place so obscure and remote<sup>3</sup> as the oasis of Taima in N.W. Arabia, and actually passed a great part of his reign there. At about the same time as this publication a discovery made at Taima itself, of an inscribed stele with the sculptured figure of a god in Babylonian dress, suggested that the connexion might not be so improbable, but the first definite proposal<sup>4</sup> to identify the two names as indicating the same place was made only a little before the appearance of another cuneiform text which put the matter beyond doubt. This was a remarkable composition called since its first editor<sup>5</sup> a "Verse Account of Nabonidus", a hostile and perhaps travestied description of that king's personality and actions, full of a party spirit conceived in circumstances which the inscription here published describes with formidable candour. The "Verse Account" makes much of the expedition to Tema, which it calls a place "in the midst of the West" and emphasises this by repeating that it was "a distant journey . . . a journey distant (upon) a road not to be accomplished from (days) of old".<sup>6</sup> Since the appearance of this unequivocal statement no writer has doubted that Nabonidus did in fact spend many years of his reign in residence at this unlikely-seeming spot, and most subsequent discussion has attempted to fathom the reasons for such odd behaviour.

The inscription of Nabonidus discovered at Harran in 1956 (H 2), published herewith, makes very important allusions to this episode, which will best be set out together :

- (1) Col. I, 14-27. (The king, prompted by a dream, ordered his people to proceed with the rebuilding of the Moon-god's temple at Harran. But they refused ; internal strife, accompanied by pestilence and famine, prevailed in the cities of

<sup>1</sup> The name is written in the present inscription H 2, col. I, 24, as (*āl*)*te-ma-a* (in A), (*al*)*te-ma-'a* (in B) ; col. III, 5, (*āl*)*te-ma-a* (in both). Elsewhere in the texts connected with Nabonidus it appears indifferently as *te-ma-a* and *te-ma* (e.g. in the Chronicle, col. II, 5, 10, 19, 23), *te-ma-'a* in the "Verse Account" (see below). For other mentions, in contracts (all *te-ma-a*), see R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, pp. 114, 116, 139.

<sup>2</sup> Republished most recently by S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 98 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Some 500 miles even in a straight line. For the actual route taken see S. Smith, *Isaiah : Chapters XL-LV, Literary Criticism and History* (The Schweich Lectures of the British Academy, 1940), 37 f., 136 f., 139.

<sup>4</sup> R. P. Dougherty, op. cit. p. 105, n. 344 for references.

<sup>5</sup> S. Smith, *Babylonian Historical Texts*, 27 ff.

<sup>6</sup> This rendering, although it has been altered by subsequent translators, certainly gives the best sense ; it has been defended by its author in his *Isaiah : Chapters XL-LV*, p. 136. The other version has nevertheless been accepted by the contributor of this piece to J. B. Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*, p. 313.

Babylonia) “ (but) I hied myself afar (*ušerīqanni*) from my city of Babylon (on) the road to Tema’, Dadanu, Padakku, Īibrâ, Iadiĥu, and as far as Iatribu ; ten years I went about amongst them (and) to my city of Babylon I went not in ”.

- (2) Col. I, 45-II, 2 (much broken) “ people of the land of the Arabs who weapons . . . (broken description of their attack) . . . at the word of the Moon-god, Nergal shattered their weapons and all of them he bowed down at (my feet) ”.
- (3) Col. II, 9-14. “ (The people) accomplished my command in the seclusion of tracts far distant and roads secluded which I travelled. (In) ten years arrived the appointed time, the days were fulfilled which Nannar, king of the gods, had spoken. On the 17th day of the month Tašritu, the day when Sin vouchsafes his revelation . . . ”

There follows a long passage of fanatical praise of the Moon-god, and the return from exile is not taken up until

- (4) Col. III, 4-6. “ Fulfilled was the year, came the appointed time . . . from the town of Tema’ (I returned) . . . Babylon my seat of lordship (I entered).”
- (5) Col. III, 14-17. “ In plenty and wealth and abundance my people in the distant tracts I spread abroad, and in prosperity I took the road to my own land.”

These five references may be shortly examined *seriatim* :

(1) The king’s departure was voluntary, or rather he was constrained by the horror and disgust which he felt at the impiety and lawlessness of his subjects. But of the first interest in this passage are the names of those places over which he extended his authority in Arabia :

TEMA’, the identity of which with the oasis of Taima is not now in doubt, has long been known as the king’s residence in Arabia, and the place where he founded a considerable settlement. The “ Verse Account ” goes so far as to write “ that town he made glorious, he made . . . ; like the palace of Babylon they made it . . . ”. However much of this may be put down to exaggeration <sup>1</sup> (for the writer was doubtless appealing to the jealousy of the Babylonians) it may be safely assumed that Nabonidus did not make this place his principal seat for as long as ten years without leaving there a material installation adequate to his kingly state and to the requirements of his worship, that is, some sort of palace and some sort of temple. Of all this the only presumptive relic at present extant is the Taima Stele, now in the Musée du Louvre. With the publication of these pages an added interest and curiosity must attach to the scene of this long royal exile, and the present writer can only express the earnest

<sup>1</sup> As no more than a general testimony to the prestige of Babylon, for a similar compliment, with as little reason, is lavished upon Sennacherib’s settlement at Tarsus by the excerptors of Berossus : P. Schnabel, *Berossos*, pp. 269 f.

hope that the government now in control of this famous place may be moved to permit a thorough scientific exploration of what may still appear and what may be concealed underground at Taima.

DADANU. In one of the two stelae (A) bearing this inscription only (*āl*)*da-da* is written (through scribal omission?), but the full (*āl*)*da-da-nu* appears in B. There need be no doubt of this representing Dedan (D<sup>c</sup>dhān) of the Old Testament, in which the place is associated with Taima (Temâ) several times, and Dedan has long been securely identified, by inscriptions found in that vicinity, with the place named al-‘Ulā,<sup>1</sup> some 70 miles <sup>2</sup> south-west from Taima.

PADAKKU.—With this name we enter less familiar country, but seem to be passing in a general southerly direction from Taima. It is hardly possible to believe that the name Padakku can be applied to anywhere but the place called Fadak, a settlement of some importance at the rise of Islam, but little known since, and apparently unvisited by travellers in recent times. It was the objective of two raids in the early years when the Prophet was fighting to establish his local ascendancy, and after his death it was one of the possessions claimed unsuccessfully by his daughter Fāṭima. Its position has been given <sup>3</sup> as two or three days by dromedary northwards from Khaybar. Orthographically it is no doubt a difficulty that Padakku has a doubled consonant at the end, but this is perhaps to be explained as a common formation of substantives from foreign dialects in Akkadian.<sup>4</sup>

ḪIBRĀ.—Mentioned in one of the inscriptions (B) before Padakku, in the other after it, from which it may be concluded that they were closely connected. This as well as the general appearance of the name undoubtedly suggests the well-known oasis of Khaybar, for this place and Fadak were not only at a comparatively short distance, but also their ties were particularly close in the days of the Prophet. Both were attacked by his forces, and it is said that Fadak was involved because its Jewish inhabitants were giving aid to their co-religionists in Khaybar; both places were subdued in the years 6 and 7 of Islam,<sup>5</sup> and both were claimed by Fāṭima as her inheritance. Khaybar belongs to the ambit of Taima and Medina—according to Doughty (vol. II, 69) at a point on his journey it was four days by dromedary to Taima, four and a half to al-‘Ulā and “three nights out to Kheybar”, while (ibid. p. 121) “Kheybar is but

<sup>1</sup> Further discussion of Dedan and al-‘Ulā is not necessary in this place, for they have been the subject of an important book and two valuable articles recently, viz. W. Caskel, *Liḥyan und Liḥyanisch* (Köln, 1954); W. F. Albright, “Dedan,” in *Geschichte und Altes Testament (Festschrift A. Alt, 1953)*, pp. 1 ff.; A. van den Branden, “La Chronologie de Dedan et de Liḥyân,” in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XIV (1957), 13 ff.

<sup>2</sup> According to A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 519 (from Taima to al-Ḥijr, 105 km.).

<sup>3</sup> F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, pp. 70–2 (Abhandl. Konig. Gesells. Wissens. Göttingen, XVIII, 1873).

<sup>4</sup> W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, § 58 (mainly from Sumerian which, of course, is not in question here).

<sup>5</sup> W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 218; J. M. B. Jones in *BSOAS*. XIX (1957), 253 ff.

one long thelûl journey from Medina ”; <sup>1</sup> a more recent traveller reckons Taima to al-Ḥijr 105 km. and to Khaybar 240 km.<sup>2</sup>

An objection to this proposed identity might be seen in the apparently diverse vocalisation of Ḥibrâ (or Ḥebrâ) and Khaybar. It has, however, been pointed out to me <sup>3</sup> that in North Arabian inscriptions dating from the 7th to the 2nd centuries B.C. contraction of diphthongs is regularly found, so that *ai* appears as *i*,<sup>4</sup> and thus Ḥaibar > Ḥibar might be in accordance with the local usage, if such writings are a true guide to the pronunciation and not merely a graphic convenience.<sup>5</sup> This much granted, Ḥibar is enough like the cuneiform writing *Hi-ib-ra-a* to remove most of the difficulty.

If less direct evidence is of any effect, it might be noticed that the name of Khaybar has always been something of a puzzle to Arabic writers. Yāqūt writes <sup>6</sup> that it belonged to the speech of the local Jews,<sup>7</sup> in which it signified “ castle ”; but if this were so it could not be derived from Hebrew or Aramaic, which have no similar word with such a meaning. A tradition <sup>8</sup> which now seems to have some share of truth ascribes the name of Khaybar to a certain Jewish settler Ḥeber, said to have been the grandson of the brother of a man Amariah, who is mentioned (with the same genealogy) in the Book of Nehemiah, ch. XI, 4. This immigrant is described as having taken up his dwelling with his family in Khaybar at the time of Nebuchadrezzar’s conquest of Jerusalem.<sup>9</sup> Although the personage may be imaginary and although the name of the place is evidently much older than the generation of Nebuchadrezzar, connexion with the Chaldaean kings of Babylon and the allusion to Jewish settlement

<sup>1</sup> But F. Wüstenfeld, in another monograph, *Die von Medina auslaufenden Hauptstrassen* (published in the same *Abhandlungen* XI, 1862), p. 15, makes it 3 days.

<sup>2</sup> A. Musil, *Arabia Deserta*, p. 519.

<sup>3</sup> By Professor W. F. Albright, who also kindly referred to W. Caskel, op. cit. p. 60, and to A. van den Branden, *Les Inscriptions Thamoudéennes*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> Analogous contractions are found in *bi* for *bayt*, and *hl* for *ḥayl*, and *trqh* for *tarqaiha*, cited by the above-named authorities.

<sup>5</sup> Caskel, however, writes that they have “ selbstverständlich nichts mit der Aussprache zu tun ”. Yet how lightly such difference could be taken by Arabic tradition is shown by the explanation of the name Khaybar as derived from the Hebrew name Ḥeber; see above.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. D. S. Rice gives this reference as vol. II (ed. F. Wüstenfeld), p. 503, which he translates as follows: “ the term means ‘ fort ’ in the language of the Jews. As this region numbers [several of] these forts it has been named Khayābir ”.

<sup>7</sup> Their dialect is generally described by H. Lammens, *L’Arabie occidentale avant l’hégire*, p. 81.

<sup>8</sup> See R. P. A. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka von Davids Zeit*, etc., pp. 136 ff., also id. *Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes*, I, p. 415a.

<sup>9</sup> Another form of this tradition has been found by Dr. Rice in al-Samhūdī; he gives the following reference and translation: *Kitāb wafā’ al-wafī bi-akḥbār dār al-muṣṭafā*, Cairo, 1326 A.H., vol. II, p. 305, “ Khaybar is a *wilāya* which includes many forts, fields, palm-trees. In the language of the Jews Khaybar means fort, hence also Khayābir because its forts are so numerous. Abu l-Qāsim al-Zajājī said: It was named after Khaybar, brother of Yathrib, sons of Qānī’a, son of Mahalil, son of Aram, son of ‘Abil. ‘Abil was the brother of ‘Ad and the uncle of Rabda, Zarūd, and Safra. He (Khaybar) was the first to settle there, etc.”

at Khaybar are elements of authenticity in this explanation which cannot be disregarded.

In view of what has preceded it may be superfluous to look in the topography of North Arabia about the region of Taima for some other place with a spelling nearer to the Babylonian form 𐎶i(e)brâ than is Khaybar. But it will not be amiss to quote a short passage which Dr. D. S. Rice has translated thus from Hamdānī, *Ṣifat jazīrat al-ʿarab* (ed. D. H. Müller, Leiden, 1884, p. 144, line 23), "proceeding to the Hījāz and Haḍb al-Qanān . . . and Ṣarah and Dhu ʿAj, a watering-point, then *al-Khabrāʾ* to the right of this Yānsūʿa, both watering-points on the Baṣra road." To this may be added that A. Musil, *Northern Heḡāz*, p. 224, notes a number of place-names incorporating the word for "a large rain-water pond or *habraʾ*". Yet indeed the context of the other well-located places in H 2, as well as the antiquity, importance and celebrity of Khaybar itself, make it most unlikely that any other locality, merely some spot upon a map, can be indicated here in the company of Taima, Dedan and Medina.

If the identification of Khaybar may be accepted for this earliest mention, there is one more curious coincidence, namely, that the earliest mention hitherto has occurred in one of the first Arabic inscriptions,<sup>1</sup> which was found, very singularly, at Harran also. In this bilingual text, of the year A.D. 568, the Arabic version is dated (in true Sumerian style !) as written in the "year after the destruction of Khaybar".

IADIḤU is the most obscure of all the places named in this list, and must be identified with some reserve. But the following is to be found in F. Wüstenfeld, *Das Gebiet von Medina*, p. 161, "Von Cheibar liegen auf dem Wege dahin [i.e. to Fadak] der Wadi Achthāl, dann die Gegend von Jādīʿ mit Wasser und Quellen, an denen die Murra wohnen." This (as again Dr. Rice informs me) is from Yāqūt, vol. IV, p. 1013, "Yādīʿ—a district between Fadak and Khaybar. There are waters and springs of the Banū Fazāra and Banū Murra. (It is situated) between Wādī Akhthāl and before the Water of Hamaj." Orthographically the names Iadiḥu and Yādīʿ correspond perfectly, for according to New-Babylonian practice Iadiḥu writes Iadiḥ, and the use of cuneiform *h* to render 'ayin in names from other Semitic dialects is well established.<sup>2</sup> Two possible objections may be urged against this identification, one particular, the other general: geographically, if that is the order observed, Iadiḥu should come south of Padakku and Hībrâ, whereas Yādīʿ is between Fadak and Khaybar (assuming these to be correctly identified). The general objection is to the obscurity of the spot called Yādīʿ, which seems to have little existence outside of an Arab geographer's <sup>3</sup> page—can it ever

<sup>1</sup> E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet, *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, I, p. 3, no. 3 (with bibliography).

<sup>2</sup> W. von Soden, *Grundriss der Akkadischen Grammatik*, § 25 a.

<sup>3</sup> One more allusion to Yādīʿ in Arabic literature has been found by Dr. D. S. Rice, who contributes the following note: "that the place is not altogether obscure is evident from Hamdānī, op. cit. p. 218, line 26, where the name is mentioned in a mnemotechnic poem on Arabian place-names composed by al-ʿAjlānī, 'well-watered Khaybar and also Yādīʿ, whose star is Gemini, well-soaked.'"

have been worthy of remark in the same sentence as Taima and Yathrib? To this we have no means of answering, the vicissitudes of history being here beyond our ken. Yadi', like Fadak, now awaits its modern rediscoverer.

IATRIBU.—The identity of this with Yathrib, Medina, cannot be in doubt and needs no comment; but nobody could fail to observe at this point the truly remarkable coincidence of two illustrious fugitives, separated by thirteen centuries, both exiles from their own homes, both expelled in the cause of their religions, both taking refuge in the same city and both returning thence after respectively ten and eight years in partial or in complete triumph. Medina has twice been the City of a Prophet.

The character of the ascendancy exercised by Nabonidus over a desert tract studded with oases extending some 250 miles (from Taima to Medina) and of irregular width up to about 100 miles is well described in the king's own words (col. II, 26) "ten years I went about amongst them". He adopted something of the local manner of life; this was, in a local expression, his *dīra*, and when he quitted his more permanent "dwelling" at Taima, which he had made "like the palace of Šuanna", he probably removed and tarried from place to place not unlike any nomad prince of the last centuries.

(2) The second passage quoted at the beginning of this chapter (col. I, 45-II, 2) is an account, unfortunately damaged, of a fight with "people of the land of the Arabs", which resulted in a victory for Nabonidus. Its circumstances cannot be made out from the broken text, but it seems to be represented as a plundering attack by these people upon the (invading) "Akkadians", which was repulsed. This is the more likely since it follows immediately upon a statement that all hostile powers, including [the king of?] the Arabs, had made peace with Nabonidus. The only observation that need be made here (for the historical position has been considered in the preceding chapter) is that the fight in question, whatever the alternations of war and peace, occurred in the hostilities which are now faintly reported by two Thamudic inscriptions<sup>1</sup> referring to the "spear of the king of Babel" and the "war of Dedan", and more fully described from the Babylonian side by the Verse Account, col. II, 25, "he killed with weapons the prince (*malku*) of Tema," and carried out a massacre (so his opponents said) in the town and its environs. The inclusion of Dedan tacitly confirms from the Babylonian side that a combat occurred there also. According to the Verse Account this affray was followed by a settlement of the king and of the "forces of Akkad" in Tema, and the same may be presumed of Dedan—in both towns colonies were forcibly established, the invaders taking possession of the homes and property of the Arab inhabitants.

(3 and 4). These refer to the return of Nabonidus from Tema' to Babylon after 10 years' absence, and have been included in the estimate of the historical situation in the preceding chapter.

---

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 78, n. 4.

(5) A noticeable feature of the inscription H 2 is its emphasis upon the military activity <sup>1</sup> of Nabonidus, an emphasis which would formerly (at least) have been thought out of keeping with his character. But a recently-published record <sup>2</sup> has revealed something more of the extensive and arduous operations which were undertaken by the last New Babylonian kings, and it gives point to another sentence which may be quoted from H 2, col. II, 6-10, "the people of Akkad and of the Ḫatti-land . . . kept guard for me, they accomplished my command in the seclusion of tracts far distant and roads secluded which I travelled." If these words might be applied equally to Neriglissar's campaign in Cilicia, they were no doubt intended by Nabonidus to describe here his marches in Arabia. But it was more than marches and forays—these troops "kept guard for me", that is, they were established as garrisons, occupying in Arabia the localities mentioned, while the king passed periodically from one to the other. All of this would demand a considerable force, and it becomes a question how that force was constituted. In view of the conditions so frankly described at the outset of this inscription it must seem unlikely that the army of Nabonidus, when he withdrew to Arabia, could be composed mainly of native Babylonians (using this term to describe inhabitants of the ancient cities and country of Lower Iraq). According to col. I, 29, 30, these did indeed, at some later time, become reconciled with him, and (col. II, 6-10) served on distant campaigns. They are called, in the latter passage, "people of Akkad and of the Ḫatti-land," whereas the "Verse Account" (col. II, 22) writes of the Arabian expedition "the forces of Akkad marched with him", but this is preceded by the statement (II, 18, 19) that he entrusted the camp (perhaps Dûr-karašu) to his eldest son and gave him command of the troops *mātitān*.<sup>3</sup> In any case it is clear that some division of forces must have been made between the king and his son, and it may be supposed that those who accompanied Nabonidus into Arabia were contingents from the "Ḫatti-land" rather than native Babylonian soldiers.

If now the list of places in north-west Arabia occupied by Nabonidus be set side by side with a recent list drawn up for another purpose a remarkable coincidence will result :

<i>Inscr. H 2.</i>	<i>Proposed identifications.</i>	<i>Recent list.</i>
(āl)Te-ma-a	Taima	Taboûk
(āl)Da-da-(nu)	Dedan—al-'Ulā	Taima
(āl)Pa-dak-ku	Fadak	Al-'Olā
(āl)Ḫi-ib-ra-a	Khaybar	Fadak
(āl)Iá-di-ḫu	Yadī'	Méline
(āl)Iá-at-ri-bu	Yathrib—Medina	Khaibar

<sup>1</sup> Col. II, 1, 2, 6-10 ; col. III, 14-16, 18-20, 33 f. Note also the corps of life-guards (col. I, 30) and the place called Dûr-karašu ("Fort Camp") (Chron. col. II, 13) on the Euphrates above Sippar, where the king's Mother was interred while he was still refusing to enter Babylon. This suggests a military cantonment where troops from the "Ḫatti-land" were embodied.

<sup>2</sup> D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicle of Chaldaean Kings*, pp. 74 ff., and *ibid.* pp. 95 f., for the general activity of the New Babylonian armies.

<sup>3</sup> This has always been translated "all lands" (cf. Delitzsch, *HWB.* 435a) and



The third column is taken, merely because of its aptness, from H. Lammens, *L'Islam : croyances et institutions*, p. 9, where it is accompanied by the following observation of the author : <sup>1</sup>

“A l'époque de l'hégire toutes ces oasis, à l'exception de Taboûk, étaient occupées et mises en valeur par les Juifs.”

It is at once apparent that the identity of these lists is virtually complete. Tabûk, specifically excepted from the third column, is duly absent from the first, and only the (later unimportant?) Yadi' is absent from the third. Coincidence goes even one step farther when the phrase “mises en valeur” from the above citation is placed alongside the words of the inscription (col. III, 14, 15) “in plenty and wealth and abundance”. The inhabitants of these favoured spots profited, as in the days of nascent Islam, both from the natural fertility of their soil and especially from their position upon a wealthy trade-route.<sup>2</sup>

Nabonidus could hardly have been more explicit in his description of what he did in Arabia than in his words which are the subject of this section—“my people in the distant tracts I spread abroad”. That is, he planted colonies of his subjects in these six oases, round which he himself travelled for sojourn and for protection of the settlements. One of his strongholds, Dedan, was to have a continuing history of the same process, for that place came to be under Minaean rule for some centuries,<sup>3</sup> and was afterwards occupied by the Nabataeans. Conquest is implied in all cases, and for this Nabonidus set the pattern. He came as an invader to Taima and Dedan, made peace and war alternately, as it seems, with the inhabitants who are called “Arabs” without further specification, and thereafter made himself master of all the oases in the district up to Medina. This was done with a corps of military followers who were, as above suggested, probably drawn from the western parts of the Babylonian empire rather than from the metropolitan area. The evidence given by H 2 combined with the known situation in later centuries may lead us to infer, with some confidence, that Jews, whether from among the captives in Babylonia or from those remaining in their homeland,<sup>4</sup> were strongly represented among these soldiers and settlers in Arabia.

recently, in this passage, “everywhere in the country” (A. L. Oppenheim in *ANET*, p. 313), but here at least it might have rather an exclusive sense, defining that Belshazzar was given command only of the territorial or homeland troops (disaffected towards the king himself).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also his other work, *L'Arabie occidentale avant l'hégire*, p. 54 ; D. S. Margoliouth, *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the Rise of Islam*, pp. 50-62 ; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, p. 192, n. 2. The book of R. Leszynski, *Die Juden in Arabien zur Zeit Mohammeds* is not available to me.

<sup>2</sup> See some references below, on p. 89, n. 2.

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Albright, *Dedan*, pp. 2, 7 ; W. Caskel, *Lihyan und Lihyanisch*, pp. 36 ff. ; A. van den Branden in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, XIV, pp. 13 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See E. Janssen, *Juda in der Exilszeit*, p. 56. The analogy is self-evident with the Jewish military colony, under officers having Babylonian and Persian names, found established at Elephantine in the next century ; the origin of which is still a matter of conjecture, recently discussed by E. G. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, pp. 41-8. Still more recently another proposal by C. H. Gordon in *JNES*, XIV (1955), pp. 56 ff. (“a Judean enclave in Aram”). It might be too hazardous to conclude from

A long succession of authors, first Muslim and then western, has considered and discussed the origin of those Jewish communities in northern and southern Arabia which were so important before and after the 7th century A.D. Their coming has been variously connected with one or another of the more striking events and characters in the history of the Jewish nation<sup>1</sup>—it may be the Exodus and Moses, the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon, Nebuchadrezzar's conquest and the destruction of the Temple,<sup>2</sup> the return from the Exile and the leadership of Ezra—all these and more are the subject of traditions purporting to account for the immigration of Jews into parts of Arabia, but it is in general clear that such stories are little more than constructions against a familiar background, and it seems to be the opinion of recent writers that no objective evidence is available to shew how the powerful Jewish communities in the north and (later?) in the south of the peninsula came to be established there. With the appearance of the inscription H 2 at least a presumptive occasion is found for a widespread Jewish occupation of the northern Hījāz, an occupation identified with those places which are both inclusively and exhaustively named in its text. Short of actually naming the Jews, its implication could scarcely be stronger.

If it were possible to feel more confidence in a heavily-restored line of a document recently published, these indications of a Jewish penetration into Arabia under the leadership of Nabonidus would find another support. At about the time when the new Harran inscriptions were discovered there appeared in print<sup>3</sup> certain fragments of an Aramaic story concerning Nabonidus and his sojourn at Taima, which had been found among the celebrated manuscripts of Qumrān. While it is needless to recapitulate here its general purport, a part of the fourth line may be cited in the exact form given to it by the translator,

..... (Dieu) m'accorda un devin ; c'était un [homme] Juif  
d'[entre les exilés de Babylonie .....]

He goes on to point out that the diviner is represented as sending his advice to the king by writing, and may therefore be supposed non-resident at Taima himself. But this is quite secondary to the question whether any reference at all was in fact made to the 'children of captivity in Babel', who here depend entirely upon restoration of a missing text. At least this character was 'a Jew' (the word is preserved), and was represented in the late tradition (1st century B.C., according to the translator) as

some fragmentary lines (*A.f.O.* XIV, 42) that Sargon II in 716 left some such garrison at Naḥal Muṣur, upon the border of Egypt.

<sup>1</sup> A long bibliography of the subject can be found appended to the work of H. Z. Hirschberg, *Yisrā'el ba-'Arāb*, pp. 332-9. I have also obtained information from E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden*.

<sup>2</sup> And this, with the common substitution of Nebuchadrezzar for Nabonidus, has its place in Jewish and Arabic tradition: see R. P. A. Dozy, *Die Israeliten zu Mekka von Davids Zeit*, etc., p. 143.

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Milik, "Prière de Nabonide," in *Revue biblique*, 63 (1956), 407 ff.

influential with Nabonidus during the ' 7 years ' <sup>1</sup> which he passed at Taima, suffering from a plague <sup>2</sup> inflicted upon him by the true God because of his idolatry. The bearing of this ' Prière de Nabonide ', so interesting in itself and so timely in its discovery, upon the stories preserved or distorted in the Book of Daniel has been examined by the translator himself and by a subsequent writer.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the idea of Nabonidus' conversion is edifying rather than factual, that it comes in a late and inexact tradition, and that its scene, Taima, had since at least the 7th century ample direct connexion with the Jews in Palestine. But it is one more testimony to the particular interest felt by the Jews in this dramatic episode of the years-long exile of a mighty king amid the distant wastes, and one more reason for believing that the Jews had a special part of their own in that episode.

It remains to consider, in the light of this new evidence, the often-discussed but still open question why did Nabonidus elect to pass what is now seen to be considerably the greater part of his reign absent from his capital, in a roving life among remote deserts and improvised dwellings? To this the new inscription H 2 gives, upon the face of it, a clear answer—the king withdrew before a mutiny of his subjects dwelling in the great cities of Babylonia, led by their priests. This broke out in their refusal to obey his command to assist in the rebuilding of the temple at Harran, but did not amount to a total rejection of his rule. Rather it was he, as the words plainly declare, who separated himself with indignation from a people so disobedient, so sinful, and so sorely afflicted by the god with manifest plagues as a punishment; it was ten years before he could bring himself to mingle with them again. How long before the lieges came to a better frame of mind is not clear, but by the end of those years they were willing to bear their part in the king's cherished plan.

Against the natural protest that mere resentment can hardly account by itself for an absence so prolonged, involving a semi-abdication of royal power, must be summoned the failure of modern historians to divine any convincing reason <sup>4</sup> at all. The quarrel between the king and his subjects was embittered—there is ample evidence of this from both sides. It is unfortunate, though perhaps intentional, that the chronology of the events recorded in H 2 is vague, for neither the year in which the revolt occurred nor that in which the Babylonians were ready to take back their king and

<sup>1</sup> In this document " years " (*šēnîn*), but in Daniel, ch. iv, the banishment of " Nebuchadnezzar " lasted for seven " times " (*'iddānîn*). It is worthy of note, although of uncertain significance, that when H 2 mentions (col. II, 11; III, 4) the return of Nabonidus from exile after ten years it couples with these the word *adannu*, the equivalent, perhaps loan-word (see G. R. Driver in *Die Welt des Orients*, pt. 5, p. 412, n. 51), of *'iddān*. Compare Ezechiel VII, 7 and 12.

<sup>2</sup> For the possible connexion of this with the plague in Babylonia recorded by H 2, col. I, 21, 22, and with the motive for the king's removal to Taima, see below, p. 89.

<sup>3</sup> D. N. Freeman in *BASOR.* no. 145, pp. 31 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Various proffered explanations have been summarised and examined by R. P. Dougherty, *Nabonidus and Belshazzar*, ch. XI, pp. 138 ff., who was not satisfied by any of them.

to co-operate in his projects are specified—both, indeed, are covered by half-a-dozen lines (col. I, 26–31). Yet in fact the Babylonians on their side were prepared to forgo their New-Year festival for ten years, no light sacrifice, and on the other side the state of feeling is dramatically evinced, as late as the king's ninth year, by the funeral of the royal Mother having to be conducted far from the capital at a military cantonment ; it is hardly imaginary to conceive the grief of her devoted son that she could rest neither at Harran which was not in a condition to receive her, nor at Babylon which was not willing.

If, despite all this, there is still felt a necessity to look for more solid-seeming motives, the new inscription is not entirely without some other hints. First, concerning the king's health <sup>1</sup> (which, as a supposed reason, cannot be taken very seriously) there is the new revelation (col. I, 21) of plague being prevalent at Babylon when the withdrawal took place—yet obviously this would be at most a very temporary constraint. For the other attempted explanation, of the quest for trading advantages,<sup>2</sup> there could be adduced in support the reference, already used in another connexion, to the 'plenty and wealth and abundance' (col. III, 14, 15) enjoyed by the colonists whom the king planted in his Arabian possessions. But neither of these is more than incidental, and certainly in the purpose of Nabonidus, so far as he was willing to reveal it, they played no part at all.

#### PURPOSE AND STYLE OF THE HARRAN INSCRIPTIONS

While nothing can be averred with certainty about the places for which the Harran stelae were designed, everything suggests that they occupied a very prominent situation in the Moon-god's temple as rebuilt and refurnished by Nabonidus. The two monuments inscribed with H 2, with their similar (single-figure) reliefs, were laid by the Muslim builders at the east and west entrances of their own structure. H 1, B with its multiple-figure relief was laid at the north entrance, and it is a very permissible conjecture that the damaged monument found at Eski-Harran in 1906 (H 1, A), which also had been visibly adapted to a later architectural use, had originally borne a similar relief and had been laid somewhere at a south entrance to the Mosque.<sup>3</sup> This symmetry may, of course, have been due to the Muslim builders arranging the reliefs in opposite pairs, just as the laying of them face downwards in the passages where they would be most trodden underfoot by the Faithful was dictated by religious

<sup>1</sup> R. P. Dougherty, *op. cit.* p. 159. If it was a more salubrious climate which the king was seeking, he should not have visited Khaybar, for that locality in recent times had a very evil reputation for a pestilent air : Dougherty, *Arabia Deserta*, II, p. 126.

<sup>2</sup> Dougherty, *op. cit.* pp. 14 ff. ; S. Smith, *Isaiah XL–LV*, pp. 37–40 ; D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings*, pp. 32, 48, 70 (Nebuchadrezzar's campaign in Arabia, 599 B.C.) ; B. Segall, "The Arts and Nabonidus" in *American Journal of Archaeology*, 59 (1955), pp. 316, 318.

<sup>3</sup> See D. S. Rice in *Illustrated London News*, 21st September, 1957, pp. 468 ff., also B. Landsberger in *Halil Edhem Hatıra Kitabı*, Cilt I, p. 117.

sentiment.<sup>1</sup> Yet the fact that, at the east entrance, the pedestal of the stele H 2, A had been laid in the pavement just beside it certainly hints that the original position of this monument cannot have been far from the spot where it was re-used. Only excavation can decide whether in fact the Mosque occupies the same site as the ancient Temple, but if it does then it might also be found that the four stelae themselves stood at four entrances to the Temple, just as Assyrian kings occasionally erected their similarly shaped, similarly figured, and similarly inscribed memorials close by the entrances of temples.

Internal evidence is no less suggestive of a prominent position, for the clear purpose of these inscriptions was publicity.<sup>2</sup> The sculptures upon the one pair shewed the devout re-founder of the temple, those upon the other pair depicted with him (it is almost certain from the remaining fragment) the figure of his Mother. To those who could read, the appeal was more direct. The Mother's inscription has certain features characteristic of funerary records<sup>3</sup>; it includes the description of funeral honours paid by the dutiful subject to her royal patrons (col. III, 1-4), and by her son to herself (col. III, 5-43), yet it is nevertheless anything but an epitaph. Two-thirds of its length is occupied by her 'biography' as servant of the Moon-god and of the Chaldaean kings of Babylon, and by the story of her double triumph in obtaining the kingship (as she not obscurely hints) for her son, and in realising through him her long-cherished desire to restore the dwelling and the worship of her divine master at Harran. In contents therefore the Mother's inscription is a mixture of ingredients all more or less novel to Babylonian custom. It is not really a building-inscription, for the actual restoration at Harran is rather cursorily mentioned: it is not in purpose funerary, for it neither stood upon a tomb nor is the death and burial of its founder any part of her own ostensible purport, but an incongruous addition. Perhaps it could best be called a manifesto, the drift of which is plain—to support the claim of Nabonidus as a monarch legitimated by the election of the supreme god imparted expressly to his life-long<sup>4</sup> votaress, and by the favour, if not the paternity,<sup>5</sup> of his royal predecessors. It is not possible, of course, to extricate how much of this document is due at first hand to the matriarch herself and how much to the surviving son who evidently composed the text as we read it—the distinction would be unimportant, for their purpose was the same.

The king's own inscription (H 2), discursive as its contents are, is

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 36, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Yet a strange disregard for the reader is evinced by the heedlessness which permitted H 2, B, to end before the inscription was finished, see above, pp. 43 f.

<sup>3</sup> B Landsberger, loc. cit. pp. 140 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The exceptionally long life of the "speaker" is artfully employed to insinuate the deliberation of the god's choice and the certainty of its interpretation.

<sup>5</sup> Yet the total omission of any reference to a father of her son, in all this lengthy disquisition and amid all these biographical, even personal, details, is very noticeable and can hardly be inadvertent. However, the son himself, in his own words (H 2, col. I, 8, 9 as elsewhere), is at pains to disclaim a royal lineage.

more regular in theme, for it is a building-inscription of Harran and especially of E-ḫul-ḫul, thus resembling in its main purport other building-inscriptions of the New Babylonian period. Unlike these, however, it gives prominence throughout to the figure of the author, conveying some of the secular history of his time coloured by *ex parte* statements and self-justification, elements which are not, indeed, absent from other inscriptions of this uneasy usurper, but here reveal much more of the stresses which forced his reign into its peculiar form. If the Mother's inscription aims at establishing her son's 'legitimacy', the son attempts to prove this by asserting the rightness and above all the success of his policy, which at length became, according to him, so evident that his domestic opponents were reconciled, his foreign enemies appeased, and his people prosperous both at home and abroad.

In addition to these novelties of aim, the Harran inscriptions exhibit a number of peculiarities which seem to distinguish them not only from the generality of Babylonian royal pronouncements but from the customs and even the language usually found in these :

#### *Funerary customs*

The last column of H 1 contained an elaborate description of the mourning for the deceased Mother which was decreed and directed by the king, and observed by contingents of mourners said to represent all the peoples of his 'empire' from west to east. Unfortunately the text is in poor condition, but clearly enough it described rites which are not known to have been used in Babylonia, but are familiar from later literature of the western Semitic world—casting dust upon the head, flinging off or rending of garments, shaving or plucking the hair and cutting the flesh so as to be disfigured by bloodstains ; see pp. 55 f.

#### *Peculiarities of style*

(a) H 1 is a formal inscription (*anāku . . . . .*), of a woman, which is without parallel in Assyro-Babylonian. In this the writer assumes undisguisedly her influence upon the accession, rule and policy of her son. Still more unconventional is the beginning of H 2, where the introduction of the author is actually preceded by an apologetic (and rather disingenuous) 'preface', and accompanied by a candid avowal of his irregular accession, which is excused by alleging the divine summons.

(b) The authorship of H 1 is equivocal, for the last part (from col. III, 5 to the end) is contributed by her son, with no formal transition, but mere change of grammatical person.

(c) Other abrupt changes of person—H 1, col. I, 19 : between cols. I and II : col. II, 6 : col. II, 34 (prayers to, and dialogue with, the Moon-god) : H 2, col. I, 7, 12 (similar) : col. II, 25 (from 3rd pers. to 2nd, in praises of the god) : II, 34 (back to 3rd pers.) : col. III (1st pers. resumed) : col. III, 25 (2nd pers.—address to reader).

It is interesting to observe these sudden and sometimes illogical changes of person as a feature of the confused 'proclamation' of

Nebuchadnezzar which constitutes the IVth chapter of the Book of Daniel ; the awkwardness of these has been noted and explained with some embarrassment by critics. J. A. Montgomery, *International Critical Commentary* on Daniel, p. 223, has compared the Book of Tobit, III, 7.

(d) Inconsequence of subjects : H 2, col. I, 1-14 (confused narration, apology, praise and message) : col. I, 27 ff. (awkward and unclear transition of events) ; col. II, 13, 14 ff. sudden interruption of narrative, not resumed until broken end of col. II).

(e) Repetition of phrases and words such as *qibit* (d.) *Sin, ilutsu rabitu*, and the overall prevalence of common clichés give a very lifeless effect to these prolix inscriptions (cf. also L. pp. 132, 141).

(f) Unusual constructions and words : H 2, col. III, 34, 35. *lapānia aškunma ana šullumu* (see p. 69 above) ; H 1, col. I, 1, *-guppī* in the Mother's name ; H 2, col. I, 17, 19, *i ma* ; col. II, 36, *a-b/pal*.