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## PREFACE TO THE SECOND VOLUME BY THE TRANSLATOR.

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An apology is due to the reader for the late appearance of this second volume. Various causes have contributed to delay its completion. The character of the work which demanded the utmost care in printing, the immense labour required in re-editing the glossary and in adapting the great number of references therein contained to the English edition\*, the appearance of new treatises or articles on Assyriology and lastly the heavy and continuous pressure of my own engagements as a college tutor have all cooperated to defer the fulfilment of my task. It is hoped that the reader will recognize the compensating advantages of completeness and accuracy which have entailed much additional trouble and expense in publication. It will be found that due note has been taken of the important contributions to Assyriology which have appeared during the last three years. Fried. Delitzsch's *Assyrische Lesestücke* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.), Zimmern's *Busspsalmen*, Jeremias' new edition of Ištār's Descent to Hades (in his "Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode") as well as Prof. Sayce's Hibbert Lectures on Babylonian

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\* We take this opportunity of calling the reader's attention to the notice at the beginning of the Glossary. The numerals refer to the *page-numbers of the German edition retained in the margin of the English work*; when another numeral follows, it refers to the *line of inscription cited*. In the Indexes the page-numbers similarly refer to the pagination of the German edition.

Religion have been frequently cited or referred-to in this second volume of the English work. In the glossary as well as in the 'Additions and Corrections' reference has been made to Dr. Craig's recently edited transcription and translation of the Monolith-Inscription of Salmanassar II (Hebraica, July 1887).

I have once more the pleasure of acknowledging the ever ready and helpful kindness of Prof. Schrader in preparing this volume for the press. The English edition is enriched by his own recent brilliant combinations on the field of early Babylonian History whereby he arrives at the identification of the Biblical Amraphel with king Hammurabi. A translation of an important Excursus in his own monograph, read before the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin, will be found in the Notes and Addenda at the close of this volume. Dr. Schrader has moreover added valuable Appendices on Assyriological literature as well as on the Moods and Tenses of the Assyrian verb. This edition also owes much to Mr. Pinches of the British Museum whose great erudition and ready command of cuneiform literature are at the service of every inquirer. My indebtedness to him has been duly notified in each case.

A word of grateful acknowledgment is due for the kindly welcome accorded to the first volume. Among the numerous friendly notices I would especially mention the long and able review signed 'E', which appeared in the 'Expositor' (Sept. 1885), and also the cordial and weighty testimony of Dr. Carl Bezold in the *Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung* (Nov. 1885).

Supplementary notes of my own (enclosed in square brackets with Tr. or Transl. appended) have been added to this as to the previous volume. I have also contributed

some additional remarks, on matters of interest to the Old Testament scholar, in the 'Notes and Addenda' at the end of this volume and in the 'Additions and Corrections' which immediately follow this preface. I cannot claim to be an independent investigator in the department of cuneiform research; but, as a student for some years past of the works produced by specialists such as Schrader, Sayce, Delitzsch, Pinches and Haupt, I have endeavoured to supplement the translation by comments, suggestions or references, likely to be of interest and value to the English reader. Through the kindness of Mr. Pinches I am able to give a brief account, illustrated by short citations, from an important Babylonian document which seems to contain a mythological reflection of a great Biblical truth; see Vol. II p. 313. The Addenda might well have been enlarged to more than double their present dimensions. Every fresh number of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* or of the *Transactions and Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, every new treatise or monograph brings additional material, valuable not only to the Semitic philologist but also to the Old Testament student. But the work has already extended considerably beyond its former limits:

*claudite iam rivos pueri, sat prata biberunt.*

O. C. W.

July, 1888.





## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Vol. I p. 15 Gen. I. 14. In line 3 of the inscription quoted Dr. Schrader now reads *miṣrata umaṣṣir* with Prof. Haupt; see 'Notes and Addenda' to Vol. II p. 304 footn. (read *miṣrata* for *miṣratu*).

p. 56 line 3 read:— *Šamaš-napišti*. — Mr. Pinches, however, in a communication to me (May 30. 1888) states that he has come to the conclusion that we ought to read the first portion of the group of signs (from which the determinative of deity is absent) as *Ūm-* or *Nūr-*. — *Ūm-napišti* or *Nūr-napišti* will therefore mean 'day-, or light of life'. Comp. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. No. 215. Others read *Pir-napišti* (m) 'sprout of life', see Zimmern, *Busspsalmen* p. 26 footn.

p. 68. With respect to the variant *Atnana* (for *Jatnana*), Prof. Schrader is now of opinion that the form *Atnana* in the bull-inscriptions is a mere blunder of the cuneiform scribe. See *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* III (1888) p. 112.

p. 75. Comp. Vol. II p. 296 (Notes and Addenda). Ed. Meyer in *Zeitsch. für Alttestamentl. Wissenschaft* 1888 pp. 47—49 connects the name Nimrod with the Libyan (not Egyptian) *Nmrt*, *Nmrd* and takes the name to be an interpolation in the table of races Gen. X. The Hebrews had become acquainted with the name since the time of the 22<sup>nd</sup> dynasty, or Sheshonk I (Shishak). — Schr.

p. 120 foll. (Gen. XIV. 1). The views here expressed must be modified in accordance with Dr. Schrader's present views, Vol. II p. 296 foll., whereby Amraphel is identified with king *Ḫammurabi*.

p. 139 אֲבִרְרָא. Owing to the discovery of a large number of cuneiform tablets at Tell el Amarna, showing that in the time of Amenophis III and his son Amenophis IV (15<sup>th</sup> cent. B. C.)\* an active cor-

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\*) We find Amenophis III called in these cuneiform tablets *Nim-murija*, and his son, Amenophis IV, *Napchururija*. The wife of Amenophis III is correctly designated *Ti-i-i*. It is interesting to note king *Burnaburiaš* (or *Purnapurias*) of Babylon among the correspondents of Amenophis IV. This name is to be found more than once in the lists of Babylonian kings. The father and predecessor of this

respondence was carried on by Egypt with Babylonia and the upper Euphrates, Dr. Schrader takes a different view respecting אברך and a baraku and considers them to be closely connected. The term either migrated from the Aegyptians to the Babylonians and Assyrians or it was borrowed by the Aegyptians from the Babylonians. Comp. the word targum annu 'interpreter' occurring in these tablets, the Assyrians having it in the form turgum annu (which word is Aramaic in origin). See Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preuss. Akad. der Wissensch. May 1888: Der Thontafelfund von Tell-Amarna. Comp. also my note in Expositor, August 1888, p. 157 foll.

p. 141. Exod. IX. 7. Instead of ik-bu-ud Fried. Delitzsch, followed by S. Alden Smith (Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipal's Heft I pp. 10, 91), would read ik-pu-ud from apadu 'think' or 'plan'. This signification is supported by Asurbanipal, cyl. col. I. 120 lib-ba-u-nu-ti ik-pu-ud limut-tu da-bab-ti sur-ra-a-ti id-bu-bu-ma (see Glossary אבב). "Their heart devised evil, plans of insurrection they planned (uttered)".

p. 175 line 10 from below read:— *vicegerents*.

p. 180 line 5 from below read:— combatant (subjugator). On p. 181 line 2 read:— conqueror.

p. 183 foll. Dr. James A Craig has made a fresh collation of the monolith-inscription of Salmanassar II, published in 'Hebraica' July 1887. I here insert the corrections of the text as published by

monarch, Kurigalzu, must therefore have been the contemporary of Amenophis III. The chief correspondent of Amenophis III was king Duratta of Mitanni. From a notice by the Aegyptian keeper of the royal archives we learn that Naharina = Mitanni as a geographical term (comp. Vol. I p. 100 and footn. \*\*\*). This kingdom evidently was one of the most powerful in the 15<sup>th</sup> century politics.

The above paper draws attention to the palaeographical peculiarities of the cuneiform:— a word, written ideographically, is repeated in phonetic form, for the sake of clearness; a dual sign is prefixed instead of affixed; the phonogram pi is used also to express ma (perhaps owing to confusion). Still more interesting are the linguistic peculiarities: i-mir-ra is here written u-mu-ra (Heb. אֲמִירָא Vol. I p. 89); As-a-lu-na for Is-a-lu-na (ibid. p. 153); (mat) Misir, as in Babyl., for Assyr. (mat) Musur or 'Aegypt' Vol. I p. 71 foll. Ak-ka for Assyr. Ak-k-u-u (p. 161); Ma-k-i-da probably for Megiddo, Assyr. Ma-gi(or ga)-du (p. 156). It is also interesting to note the form a-n-u-ki employed as the first personal pronoun instead of a-na-ku due, Prof. Schrader thinks, to Canaanite influence (Hebr. אֲנִי).

Dr. Schrader Vol. I p. 183 foll. I may add that Dr. Craig's alterations have in nearly every case been confirmed by Mr. Pinches.

col. II. 78 a horizontal wedge has been overlooked. After Dajan-Ašur read:— ina araḥ. Also read:— ištu ír Ninua after XIV.

line 81 read:— na-kan-ti-šu lu apti etc., also read: lu a-mur ša-ga-šu buša-šu (ša-šu-šu) i. e. 'his store-house I opened, his treasures I saw'. On the readings ša-ga and ša-šu, now uniformly adopted by Dr. Schrader in place of GAR. GA and GAR. ŠU, see glossary under 𒊕.

line 82 for nir Dr. Craig reads šipa [the two transcriptions are really identical (Schr.)]. — in line 84 for KAM. Miš is read diḫari 'vessels' (diḫari siparri 'vessels of copper').

line 89 for i-du read ad-di (see Glossary).

The concluding passage is difficult. One portion of Dr. Craig's text we transcribe entire with rendering appended 98 . . . kima (ilu) Rammân ili-šu-nu ri-ḫi-il-ta u-ša-az-nin u-ma-ši šal-mat-šu-nu(?) 99. pa-an na-mi-í u-šam-li rapšâti ummanâti-šu-nu ina kakkî u-šar-di dami-šu-nu ḫar-pa-lu(?) ša-na-gu(?) 100. i-mi-iš širi which Dr. Craig renders 98. "Like the god Rammân upon them an inundation I poured out, scattered their corpses. 99. The face of the plain I filled with their numerous troops. With the weapons I made their blood to flow over the extent of the field." The passage that follows in Dr. Craig's text is very obscure and I have not quoted it. In 101 for lam-ti-i-ri he reads kima ti-i-ri 'like a bridge'(?)

p. 228 line 5 from below read: lubušti.

p. 263. The hypothesis of Fried. Delitzsch that the town Šam(b)-ara'in (of the recently published Babylonian chronicle) destroyed by Tiglath-Pileser II (III), is the Biblical Samaria, which has been strongly maintained by P. Haupt (Proceedings of the American Oriental Soc. at Baltimore Oct. 1887), seems to have been successfully refuted by H. Winckler in Zeitsch. für Assyriol. II (1887) pp. 350—352, III (1888) p. 108—111. (Schr.).

p. 279 line 12 read:— ši-du-un-ni.

p. 281 foll. In the Taylor-cylinder of Sennacherib the following proposed readings or corrections of those given should be noted:— col. II. 42 for ra-ru-bat read ra-šub-bat (Del.) 'the might of the arms of Ašur my Lord had cast them down etc.' With rašubtu 'might', comp. the adjective rašbu or rašibu fem. rašibtu 'mighty'. — 46. for la naparka-at lu etc. Del. reads la ba-aṭ-lu "without cessation", baṭlu being derived from the root baṭâlu 'to cease'. — 56. for mat-lu-ti we should probably read šad-lu-ti, šidi' šadlûti meaning 'widely extended regions', the adj. šadlu fem. šadil-tu being from the root 𒍪𒍪𒍪. See

Del. Assyr. Lesest. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. and S. A. Smith, Keilschrifttexte Asurbanipals Heft II p. 15. — 68 read akšū-ud. — col. III. 3. for a-lib read a-lul 'I hung (or fastened) their corpses', Kal aorist-Imperf. of alālu to bind. — 22. Prof. Schrader now follows Delitzsch in taking a-šī-ī as plur. of the *partic.* âšû (root אָשׂוּ) "whosoever came forth from his city-gate I compelled to return" (see below the correction to Vol. II p. 156). — 34. Del. reads ni-siḫ-ti and renders 'precious stones'. Comp. II Rawl. 67. 26. 28 where it is called bi-nu-ut tam-tim 'product of the sea'. Haupt suggests the rendering 'pearls' (comp. Schrader's rendering in Vol. I, 227, 228 Notes and Illustrations). With this passage comp. the Annals of Asurbanipal (cyl. R<sup>m</sup> 1) col. II. 39 kaspu ḥurašu ni-siḫ-ti abnī ša-šu ikalli-šu ma-la ba-šu-u 'silver, gold, precious stones, the things of his palace as many as there were' (S. A. Smith, Keilsch. Asurb. I p. 92).

p. 293 line 10 from below. A line has here dropped out. After the word 'plural' a new sentence should begin. Read:— sikrīti 'palace women'; in the text stands the ideogr. RAK. UN with plur. sign meaning "female people" etc.

Vol. II p. 16 ad init. The 'Babylonian Chronicle', recently published by Mr. Pinches in the 'Journal of the Royal Asiatic Soc. of Great Britain and Ireland' Vol. XIX Part. IV, gives explicit information respecting the murder of Sennacherib. col. III. 34 foll. araḥ Ṭibiti ūmu iṣrâ Sin-aḥî-iriba šar mât Aššur 35. mârū-šu ina si-ḥi iduk-šu 'In the month Ṭebet, the 20<sup>th</sup> day, Sennacherib, king of Aššur, 35. his son in a rebellion, killed him.' The original text goes on to state that the insurrection lasted from the 20<sup>th</sup> of Ṭebet to the 2<sup>nd</sup> of Adar and that Asarhaddon succeeded to the throne on the 18<sup>th</sup>.

p. 30 footn. last line, read:— pp. 308 foll.

p. 35 line 11 from below read:— In Sennacherib's account of his second campaign.

p. 53 line 4 read:— XVII. 8. שְׁמִירְמוֹת kṛī for Kṯhīb שְׁמִירְמוֹת.

p. 92 line 18 for 'British Museum' read:— Berlin Museum.

p. 107 Jer. XXII. 14. With the word חֲלוּנֵי Barth compares the technical Assyrian term bīt ḥilāni 'portico'. That this was a Canaanite term appears from the following passage: Sarg.-cyl. 64 bīt ḥilāni tamšil ikal Ḥatti miḥrit babīšin aptik ma "a portico after the style of a Hittite palace I erected before their gate-ways." We are expressly informed that this phrase was a loan-word ša ina lišān mât aḥarri bīt ḥilāni išasušu "which in the language of the Western country they call (root שָׁרַח with suff.) bīt ḥilāni" (Zeitschr. für Assy. 1888 p. 93). Comp. Asurbanipal's cyl. (R<sup>m</sup> 1) col. VI. 123, X. 102. Thus in 1 Kings VI. 4 בית חלוני = אֹלָם in verse 3.

p. 122 line 3 from below read:— šarri; — and in footn. line 7 from below read:— Biredshik.

p. 133 line 2 read:— does not stand in the way of the assumption etc.

p. 137. Prof. Sayce, 'Babyl. and Oriental Record' Dec. 1887 p. 18 foll. suggests that Jareb was the original name of Sargon II, just as Pul was of Tiglath-Pileser. He is supported in this view by Dr. Neubauer, *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* 1888 p. 103. But against this hypothesis it is to be observed that no such name as Jarib, Aribu or I'ribu for Sargon is to be found in the Babylonian list (where for 709 B. C. we find Šar-ukîn Vol. II p. 333) or in any other record. Moreover the occurrence of the name Jareb in the prae-exilic writings of Hosea (whatever views may be held respecting the text) and the use of the name Pul in 2 Ki. XV. 19 may be due to entirely different causes. In the latter case it is not difficult to see a later, direct Babylonian influence. I still hold the opinion, as against Nowack and other critics, that the superscription to Hosea's oracles is to be accepted in its entirety. I believe that at least the latest oracles (chapters XII—XIV) may be contemporary with the first year of Hezekiah's reign (B. C. 726; the reference in XII. 1, 3 harmonizes with the supposition that Abaz was still on the throne of Judah, comp. Vol. II p. 322). But beyond this date it would not be safe to go. Comp. my introduction to Hosea in Bishop Ellicott's 'Old Testament for English readers.' It is impossible to reconcile the language in Chap. VII. 11, XII. 2, where the prophet refers to the rival policies of an Egyptian and of an Assyrian alliance, with the circumstances of the year 722 when Ephraim was absolutely at the mercy of the Assyrian. If we accept Prof. Sayce's view, the term  $\text{𐤍𐤁𐤏}$ , applied to Jareb in V. 13, X. 6, can only be understood on the supposition that the prophecies were composed in or subsequent to this fatal year. Comp. Canon I Vol. II p. 183. But throughout the oracles there is no hint that the final overthrow was actually taking place or had already taken place. Chap. XIII shows clearly (verses 7—15) that the Prophet saw it impending, but Chap. XIV, so full of hope, is inconsistent with a retrospect of utter ruin. Comp. also chap. XI. 9 foll. Moreover the king vanishing "like a chip on the water's surface" (X. 7) may well be understood to be Peḳaḥ (Vol. I p. 247 foll. 251). Certainly the 'wound' of Judah (V. 13) does not specially apply to any period after 735 B. C. and has absolutely no fitness when referred to a date 12 or 13 years later.

p. 152 line 9 read:— aššati-š u.

p. 153 (Zech. I. 7) read:— *Shebāt*.

p. 156 Insc. line 7 read:— zu-um-mu-u. — That itû in line 4


(= *ifātu*) means 'darkness' is proved by the variant *ik-li-ti*. See Del., *Assyr. Lesest.* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. p. 110. — Line 5 Dr. Schrader now renders with Jeremias 'to the house of which the enterer cometh not forth' (lit. 'not a passer out'); *âṣû* is a partic. and also *ʾribu*. The latter stands according to rule for 'âribu עֲרִיב, the *â* changing to *î* (1) on account of the *y* and (2) through the following *i*.

line 11 render:— over the door and bolt (*sikûru*, root סכר, comp. Heb. סָנַר) dust spread (*šapûh*).


p. 193 year 751 read:— *šallimani*.

p. 217 line 15 for 'goddess' read:— god.


p. 218 line 4 read:— *Bîl-šar-uṣur*.


p. 224 line 20 for 'god' read:— goddess. — And in line 7 from below read:— .




p. 227 line 2 for 'occasionally with direct accusative' read:—or else with *ultu* (V *Rawl.* 8, 100; 9, 12).

p. 237 line 3 read: .

p. 244 line 6 for *Impf.* read:— Imper.

p. 258 line 17 from below read: .

p. 299 line 3 from below read: .

p. 313 foll. Mr. Pinches has cited to me another passage IV *Rawl.* pl. 15 obv. line 20 *ilu* [*Gibil*] *sibitti šunu*, *íkâma âldu*, *íkâma irbû* 'the fire-gods, seven are they; how were they born, how did they grow up'? where *íkâma* has some such meaning as that proposed. We may compare it with the form *íkiam* (*kiam* = thus) the preformative *î* being probably connected with Arabic , Aram. , Hebr.  having interrog. force. — The form *kimahha* is to be retained since the Assyrians and Babylonians seem always to have used the Akkadian word. Mr. Pinches cites the word *para-mahhu* (*maḥu*) 'sanctuary' from Akkadian *bara* and *maḥ*.

p. 319 *Song of Songs* V. 10. The proper interpretation of the passage is 'gazed at (i. e. an object of admiration) more than ten thousand'.

p. 320. The reader may also be referred, on the subject of Hebrew chronology, to the exhaustive article, in the 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (1886) of Herzog and Plitt's *Realencyclopädie*, entitled "Zeitrechnung", and also to the chapter 'Judah and Israel' in Vol. II (Eng. transl.) p. 227 foll. of Max Duncker's *History of Antiquity* and lastly to the thoughtful essay in the 'Church Quarterly Review' Jan. 1886 on the 'Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah.'

p. 321. The date 734 for the accession of Hoshea is not by any means certain. Even if we assume that *Peḫaḥ* was slain in 734 and



that Hoshea was placed on the throne by Assyrian influence, as may be inferred from Vol. I p. 247 foll. 251, it does not follow that his rule was recognized by Israel. If we assume an anarchic interregnum and that the formal recognition of Hoshea's sovereignty did not take place till 730, we might connect with this the social disorders described by the prophet Hosea in chapters IV and V. These, however, might with better reason be referred to Menaḥem's reign. But such an interregnum is implied in Hos. X. 3. 4. — If we accept the view of Barth which identifies the rod in Is. XIV. 29 with Tiglath Pileser II, we seem to have in the brief section (verses 28—32) an indication that the death of Tiglath-Pileser and that of Aḥaz took place at nearly the same time. There are valid grounds, however, for doubting this. Verse 28 and the following superscriptions or prefaces came probably from a later editorial hand. On verse 28 see Prof. Cheyne's introductory note Vol. I p. 95, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (1884). — The association of Hezekiah with Aḥaz may have been due to the effort of the latter to strengthen his dynastic position in face of the Egyptian party who opposed the Assyrian alliance. We know that in the Northern kingdom this party gained the upper hand and brought about a complete change in the policy of Hoshea about this time. This could not fail to react on the politics of Jerusalem. Isaiah's prophecies of a divine ruler of Jesse's seed acquire additional significance if we regard them as the ideal counterpart suggested to the mind of the prophet by the youthful co-regent Hezekiah. The idea is not yet expressed in Is. VII. 14 foll. but is manifest in IX. 5. — Moreover the two-fold system of reckoning, which arose in consequence of the initial dates of Hezekiah's conjoint reign and of his sole reign (2 Kings XVIII. 9 and 13), finds a parallel in the case of Jotham in which the apparent discrepancy of 2 Kings XV. 30 and 33 may be explained from a similar cause. Lastly the dates assigned on p. 321 for the accession of Aḥaz and the accession (i. e. beginning of the sole reign) of Hezekiah harmonize much better with the respective ages of Aḥaz and Hezekiah on their accession to the throne of Judah (2 Ki. XVI. 2, XVIII. 2).

Bredenkamp in his recent commentary on Isaiah (pp. 2 and 98) places the death of Aḥaz and of Salmanassar in the year 723, the latter being identified with the 'rod' (XIV. 29). But we have no evidence that Salmanassar ever undertook a campaign against the Philistines. Also the proposed date solves no chronological difficulty. There is more historic probability in the view adopted by Cheyne and also Driver (Isaiah, His Life and Times p. 87 foll.) which refers the 'snake' to Sargon who died in 705, Sennacherib being the more terrible 'flying serpent'.

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## II KINGS XVIII. 14.

14. *against Lakish* (לְכִישָׁ). Comp. Inscr. No. III. The place in question is the modern Umm-Lâkis in the South-West corner of Juda, close to the Philistine frontier, on the road from Eleutheropolis to Gaza and West of 'Adshlân (Eglon); see Bâdecker-Socin, Palest. p. 325. Since the road from Aegypt to Palestine and Judaea led past Gaza, Lakish was for Sanherib a very suitable spot in which to await the advance of the Aegyptians. Then, as the great Aegyptian army actually approached, Sanherib felt compelled to take up a position further North, and so retired to Altaḡû near Ekron. On this subject see above p. 298 foll. (Vol. I).

*I have done amiss* (חטאתי); comp. the expression ḥiṭṭu "missing" or "failure", used of the revolt of the Ekronites in the inscription col. III, 2. 6.

*that which you impose on me* (אֲשֶׁר הִסַּן עָלַי) precisely as in the Assyrian text: ukîn širuššun "I imposed on them" col. III, 29.

*300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold.* On the cylinder of Sanherib the tribute is likewise stated to be 30 talents of gold; but of silver 800 talents (col. III. 34). The difference in the statement of the amount of tribute in silver-talents arises, as Brandis conjectures (Münz-, Mafs- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien. Berlin 1866, p. 98), from <sup>318</sup> a different computation based on the Babylonian *light*, and on the Palestinian *heavy* silver talent, respectively. Brandis

holds that we may assume the latter to have been  $\frac{8}{3}$  of the former. If this be the case, the Assyrian and the Biblical statement respecting the amount of the tribute would exactly coincide. Reduced to English money the tribute would, according to the remarks on Gen. XXIII, 16, amount to about £ 200,000 in gold and £ 110,000 in silver\*. We see that it was paid in the proportion of about one part in silver to two in gold, and, moreover, that it did not essentially differ in amount from the tribute paid by Menahem to Pul-Tiglath-Pileser (2 Kings XV, 19). The former was altogether valued at £ 310,000. Pul's 1000 silver talents amounted to £ 375,000 or about one fifth more, which appears quite natural, when we bear in mind the greater territorial extent of Northern Israel. The name of "Talent" or Hundred-weight (60 Kilogr. or about 132 lbs avoirdupois), called in Hebrew תַּרְטָן from the spherical shape of the weight, or rather from the metal mass constituting the weight, in Assyrian designated originally "tribute" (biltu from וּבַלְּ אִבְל "present" *offerre*), then the weight, which was chiefly employed in payments of tribute.

- 319 17. תַּרְטָן *Tartan*, the Assyrian official name of the commander-in-chief, occurring also in Is. XX, 1. The form of the word in Assyrian is tur-ta-nu in accordance with the official list (List of Governors) II Rawl. 52. Obv.

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\* When we consider that the amount of the sum in silver exactly coincides, at least according to our conjecture, while that of the sum in gold is at any rate precisely the same, in both cases, we can scarcely regard it as admissible to suppose that the tribute mentioned in the Bible as paid to Sanherib refers to some other than that recorded in the cuneiform account,—a view which has occasionally been advanced.

32; Salmanassar obelisk 160 etc. etc. It may be conjectured that the name was adopted from the old-Chaldaean, non-Semitic tongue. Similar foreign titles and official names have also in other cases a tendency to maintain their existence in languages; see immediately below\*.

רַב־קָרִים *chief of the eunuchs* is probably the translation of a corresponding Assyrian title. But it has not been possible to say anything more definite hitherto. The word קָרִים "eunuch" has not yet been found in the inscriptions.

רַב־שָׁקֵה *chief cup-bearer*. This title beside the two others is necessarily surprising. We certainly find "Tartan" and "chief of the harem" mentioned side by side in the inscriptions (compare only the official list); but we never find any mention of the chief cup-bearer as a high dignitary and state-official. We suspect that we here have a Hebraized or rather Aramaized form of a pure Assyrian or else old-Chaldaean and Babylonian title, i. e. the Hebraic form of the name Rab-saḳ, which occurs in the inscriptions as a title of high military officers (e. g. II Rawl. 31, 34a). Now we have the simple form saḳ (in the plural), Smith's Assurb. 233, 119, with the meaning "captains" "officers", in conjunction with the avíl ša bithalli the "horsemen" and avíl šabîkašti "archers"; and with this agrees the fact that the sign saḳ in the Assyrian script is the standing ideogram for the conception "head" rîš. Accordingly<sup>320</sup> when saḳ refers to persons, it means "captain", and rab-saḳ "chief captain" "commander". The generalissimo (Tartan) was accompanied therefore by a commander

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\* According to Delitzsch, Assyr. Studien I, p. 129, the name has been transmuted by pronunciation from TUR. dan "holder of power", "lord".

(rabsak) and by a captain of eunuchs—the latter possessing literary qualifications; comp. the basreliefs. It is not the generalissimo (or commander-in-chief) who delivers the speech, for that would have been beneath his dignity; nor is it the eunuch, for a speech so energetic as that of the Assyrian would have sounded very strange from his lips; but it is the Rab-sak i. e. according to my view the General staff-officer. It may also be remarked that we have likewise a notice in an Assyrian inscription that the Great King of Assyria availed himself of the services of the Rabsak as an envoy. We read in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II (II Rawl. 67, 66) : Šu-u-t-sak-ja rabsak a-na ír Šur-ri aš-pur i. e. “my officer\*, the Rabsak, I despatched to Tyre”.

19. *The great king, the king of Assyria.* This form of title is in agreement with that found in the inscriptions. As a rule the Assyrian despots describe themselves as šarru rabû, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar mât Aššur i. e. “great king, mighty king, king of the multitude, king of the land Assur”. Compare the opening 321 words of the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser, Sargon and Sanherib, also those inscribed on bricks etc.

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\* The word šutsak has unquestionably some such meaning, as is at once obvious from a series of passages e. g. Smith's Assurbanipal 28, 43 (Rassam cyl. II, 15). Whether, however, the name is a phonetic or an ideographic one, whether it is to be pronounced only in this way and not otherwise, as, for example, šu-par-sak, cannot be definitely settled. If it is to be read phonetically (and such a course in this particular instance is certainly recommended by names of analogous formation, such as rab-sak רַב־שַׁקַּה), we have here once more a title borrowed from the ancient Babylonian, exactly like Tartan and the above-quoted Rabsak. The word, which occurs so frequently in the inscriptions, has neither Semitic derivation nor Semitic form.

26. *Speak, I pray thee, to thy servants in Aramaic, for we understand it and do not address us in the Jewish language before the ears of the people.* From this passage (from which it assuredly follows that the Jews did not understand the Assyrian language as they may be supposed to have understood the Aramaean) the strange inference has been drawn that Assyrian cannot have been a speech closely allied to the Hebrew, otherwise the Hebrews would surely have understood it—clearly a mistaken conclusion! The fact that two nations cannot understand one another, and the fact that their languages are radically different, are propositions that have absolutely no logical relation to each other. The one may very easily occur, while the other by no means necessarily follows. Compare on this subject Keilinsch. und Gesch. pp. 63 foll.

32. *till I come and fetch you* etc. It need scarcely be expressly stated that we do not have here before us the actual words of the Assyrian envoy, but a speech freely reproduced and represented from the atmosphere of thought in which the writer lived. A recommendation like this, that the city should be surrendered to the Assyrians, would certainly have been somewhat injudicious even for an Assyrian. The process of deportation to which allusion is here made is ofcourse in itself one that was quite common among the Assyrians; see Vol. I, p. 266 foll. 268 foll. Nevertheless we must here draw attention to one special circumstance. Both in this passage and in chap. XIX, 13, among the kings subjugated by Sanherib we find expressly mentioned those of Hamath and Arpad. But, when we examine the inscriptions in which the conquest of these regions is referred-to, we find that the accounts of this conquest do not occur in the inscriptions of San-



322 herib but in those of Sargon (see the inscription of Khor-sabad lines 33 foll. 49. 56). In the records of Sanherib there is no longer any mention of either of these cities. Hence it seems as though the historian transferred to Sanherib what properly-speaking belonged to Sargon. Accordingly we must assume that there was here a blending of the military campaigns of Sargon and those of Sanherib\*. If this hypothesis be correct, we can at once understand : 1) that in the historical records of the Bible not a word is said throughout of Sargon or of his expeditions in the years 720, 715 and 711, which we know to have affected Juda also (comp. Is. XX. 1 and my observations on that passage). 2) That Sanherib's campaign, which, as we have seen above, cannot under any circumstances have occurred before 701, has been placed so early in Hezekiah's reign as the year 714\*\*. This campaign has evidently been confused with the previous expeditions of Sargon, and simply substituted for the latter, so that these latter have been entirely passed over in the narrative. It is only in such anachronisms as the mention of the destruction of the kingdom of Hamath as Sanherib's military exploit, whereas it was really Sargon's, as well as in the confused chronology, that we still perceive some indication of a dim recollection of the actual course of events.

34. *Where are the gods of Hamâth and Arpad? where*

\* On this subject see *Studien und Kritiken* 1872, pp. 733 (Sayce). 738.

\*\* On this compare also P. Kleinert in *Stud. und Krit.* 1877, p. 177. But this writer assigns too high an importance to the numerical statements of the Bible. See on this subject Nowack *ibid.* 1881, pp. 300 foll., and comp. above p. 303 foll. footnote. Vol. I. [But the Biblical and Assyrian statements would agree chronologically if we place, with Kamphausen, the accession of Hezekiah in 715 (714)—Translator.]

*the gods of Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivva that they might have delivered Samaria out of my hand?*—With this comp. 323 chap. XIX. 12 foll. Evidently the writer here gives a retrospective glance at the earlier subjugation of these localities by the Assyrians. We also possess notices on the monuments bearing upon these events, at any rate in the case of Hamath, Arpad and Sepharvaim.

𐤆𐤏𐤍 *Hamâth* (compare note on Gen. X. 18, Vol. I, p. 90) was in fact deprived of its independence and incorporated in the empire of Assyria not by Sanherib himself, but by another Assyrian monarch, Sargon. This king gives a summary report of the conquest of Hamath in the passage Botta 40, 20: *ša-lil ma-li-ki ír Gar-ga-mis mât A-ma-at-ti mât Kum-mu-ḥi ír As-du-du avíl Ḥa-at-ti-í lim-nu-ti i. e.* "I who carried forth into captivity the princes of the city Karkemish, the land Hamath, the land Kummuch, the city Ashdod, the hostile-minded Chattaecans". The full account of these transactions may be read in the triumphal inscription, where the passage runs as follows (Botta 145. 2, 9 foll. = Khorsab. 33 foll.): *Ja-u-bi-'di mât A-ma-ta-ai za-ab . . . la bîl kussî avílu pa-tu-u lim-nu a-na šar-ru-ut mât A-ma-at-ti lib-šu ik-bu-ud-ma ír Ar-pad-da ír Ṣi-mir-ra ír Di-maš-ka ír Sa-mí-ri-na it-ti-ja uš-pal-kit-ma pa-a í-da u-ša-aš-kin-ma iḫ-ṣu-ra taḥâza. Um-ma-na-at (ilu) A-šur gab-ša-a-ti ad-ki-ma ina ír Kar-ka-ri ír nadûti-šu ša-a-šu a-di mun-taḥ-ṣi-šu al-ví ak-šud ír Kar-ka-ru ina išâti ak-mu ša-a-šu ma-šak-šu a-ku-uš. Ina ki-rib írâni-šu-nu-ti bîl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi a-duk-ma til lum-mu-u u-ša-aš-kin. II. C. nar-kabâti VI. C. bat-ḥal-lim i-na lib nišî mât A-ma-at-ti aḫ-ṣur-ma ílî ki-ṣir šarrû-ti-ja*

u-rad-di i. e. "Jahubi'di of Hamath, a man . . . .", who  
 324 possessed no claim to the throne, an intriguing, wicked  
 man, had set his mind on ruling over Hamath and seduced  
 Arpad, Zemar, Damaskus, Samaria into insurrection against  
 me and made them of *one* mind and assembled (his troops)  
 to battle (literally, assembled the battle). The entire  
 armies of the god Asur I mustered and besieged in the  
 city Karkar, the city of his exaltation, him together with  
 his warriors, captured (the city), consumed Karkar with  
 fire, himself stripped of his skin. Amid their cities I slew  
 the evil-doers, made the former into a heap of ruins (?).  
 200 chariots, 600 horsemen I took away (for myself)  
 among the inhabitants of Hamath and cast (them) into  
 my royal portion". Lastly, we gather from the annal-  
 inscription (Botta 70, 10 foll.) that this event occurred  
 in the year 720 B. C. See the remarks on Is. XX, 1  
 and comp. also those on Gen. X. 18, 2 Kings XVII, 30.

𐎠𐎼𐎷𐎡 *Arpad*, Assy. (ír, mâ t) Ar-pad-du; see List of  
 Officers; obverse 12 (Rammânirâr); Rev. 16 (Asurdanil).  
 30. 32. 34 (Tigl.-Pileser II), Inscr. of Khorsabad 33  
 (Sargon). Arpad, as far as I have observed, is not  
 mentioned again in the inscriptions after the time of  
 Sargon. Respecting its position (about 13 English miles  
 North of Haleb, at the spot where now stands the mound  
 of ruins Tell Erfâd), see Kiepert in Zeitsch. der  
 Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. XXV, p. 655; comp. pp.  
 528 foll.

𐎧𐎶𐎵𐎠 *Hēna'* and *Ivvá*, two localities in other re-  
 spects altogether unknown. According to G. Hoffmann  
 (Auszüge aus den Akten syr. Märtt. p. 163 note) the two

\* Oppert, Records of the Past IX. 6 : "a smith" (?).

words should be connected together thus : הנעועיה, and this form should be taken as the partic. Nif. of the verb עיעו (of which we have also the form עועים in Is. XIX. 14) = "the thoroughly depraved (city)", standing at the same time in apposition to Sepharvaim, which was probably so called "because it had once been subjugated by Assyria, but had revolted". This would, according to Hoffmann, dispose of every difficulty. Such an error would, however,<sup>325</sup> belong in this case to a rather early date, since even the LXX, in their day, with their rendering Ἀρὰ καὶ Ἀβὰ (just as in XIX. 13), evidently combined the characters in the same way as the Masoretes did. We must bear in mind too that in chap. XVII. 31 the עוים (LXX *Evatoi*), i. e. the inhabitants of Avva (see note on the passage), are mentioned, exactly as in the present verse, along with the Sepharvites. In that passage, however, it is absolutely impossible to suppose that there was an appositional נעועים. There must at all events have existed a place ענה. Hence for הנע also the only assumption that remains possible is to regard it as the name of a locality.

סַפְרַיִם *Sepharvaim*. According to 2 Kings XVII. 24 Sargon deported the inhabitants of this place to Samaria. This was obviously connected with an insurrection which the Sepharvites had attempted—probably in union with the Babylonians—against the Assyrians, in other words with an alliance concluded between the Babylonians and Sepharvites against the Assyrians, just at the commencement of Sargon's reign. In the inscriptions of Sargon there is no express mention of his conquest of Sipar and the deportation of its inhabitants; only we can clearly infer from the Khorsabad inscriptions that at any rate in the time subsequent to the capture of Babylon (710—9)

Sipar had no independent ruler. This by no means excludes the possibility that the conquest of Sipar had already occurred some time before, particularly after the first campaign of Sargon against Babylonia (721 B. C.); indeed it renders the assumption essentially probable. Compare too 2 Kings XVII. 24 and my remarks on that passage. See also Keilinsch. und Gesch. p. 428 note.

XIX. 8. *Libna*, a spot, whose position is uncertain. We must at any rate seek for it in the immediate neighbourhood of Lakish, perhaps to the West of that town.  
 326 If it is Tell-es-Şâfijeh, North-North-West of Eleutheropolis, that is meant, and lying about mid-way between that town and the Timnath mentioned in the cuneiform text, it follows that Sanherib was at this moment in full retreat.

9. *And when he heard of Tirhaka* (תִּרְחָקָה), *king of Aethiopia* (כּוּשׁ), *that it was said: see, he has marched forth to fight with you. . .* In Sanherib's inscription the name of this Aethiopian king is not mentioned, but we become acquainted with it in an inscription of Asurbanipal, where in the Assyrian transcription it is pronounced Tar-ḫu-u (see Smith's Assurbanipal 15, 52; 19, 85 etc. \*). It is, however,

\* Asurbanipal, successor of Asarhaddon, opens the account of his campaign against the revolted Aegyptians in the following words: I-na maḥ-ri-í gir-ri-ja a-na mât Ma-gan u m. Mí-luḥ-ḥa lu-u al-lik. Tar-ḫu-u šar m. Mu-ṣur (u) m. Ku-u-si ša Ašur-aḥ-iddin šar mât Aššur abu ba-nu-u-a apikta-šu iš-ku-nu-ma i-bí-lu mât-su u šu-u Tar-ḫu-u da-na-an Ašur Ištar u ilî rabûti bílî-ja im-ši-ma it-ta-kil a-na í-muḥ ra-ma-ni-šu i. e. "In my first campaign I marched against Makan and Miluḥḥa. Tirhaka, king of Aegypt (and) Aethiopia, on whom Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father, my begetter, had inflicted a defeat and had taken possession (בעל) of his land, this Tirhaka despised (سما) the might of Asur, Istar and

quite clear from Sanherib's inscription that the Aethiopian monarch (he is there called "king of Mîluḥḥî") was the chief personage in the event : it is *his* steeds, chariots and archers which are expressly referred-to by the Great King of Assyria (Cyl. II, 74).

12. *Gozan, Harran, Resseph and the sons of Eden who (dwelt) at Telassar.* Respecting Gôzân see the remarks on chap. XVII. 6, Vol. I, p. 267, and on Harran, the comment on Gen. XI. 31. — *Resseph* 𐤓𐤔𐤏, a Mesopotamian town, which<sup>327</sup> is frequently mentioned in the inscriptions in the form Ra-ṣa-p-pa or Ra-ṣa-p-pa; see the list of officers Obv. 14. 43; Rev. 24. 37. The town appears throughout in conjunction with the other Mesopotamian towns : Nisibis, Arrapcha and Amid. Comp. II Rawl. 53, 37, where the place is mentioned along with Arrapcha (here "Arbacha"), Ihsan and Gozan; Keilinsch. und Geschichtsforschung p. 167.—*Sons of Eden* 𐤓𐤔𐤏 𐤍𐤏𐤍 (comp. Is. XXXVII. 12). The question arises whether we should not connect the kingdom thus designated with the Bît-Adîni of the inscriptions, so frequently mentioned in the records of Asurnasirhabal and Salmanassar II, and which we must suppose to have stretched along both banks of the middle Euphrates, on the tract extending between Bâlis and Biredshik. "Since Eden is here mentioned along with Gozan and Harran, which are undoubtedly West-Mesopotamian towns, and also along with Resseph; and since, moreover, all these towns are stated to have been already destroyed by Sanherib's forefathers, a fact which harmonizes particularly

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the great gods, my lords, and depended on his own powers (עמק)" (Smith's Assurb. 15 foll.; comp. V Rawl. 1, 52--57). There follows the account of Tirhaka's revolt.

well with the Bît-Adini of the inscriptions, a strong argument may be adduced in favour of the combination proposed. Compare Riehm's Handwörterbuch I. 176"; see Keilinsch. und Geschichtsforschung p. 199 footnote. Compare likewise Amos 1, 5 and Ezek. XXVII. 23.—*Telassar* (תֵּל־אַשּׁוּר) Assy. Til-Aš-šu-ri (comp. Layard. 68, 12). The name properly signifies either "Assyrian hill", or else, and more probably, "hill of Asur" (adjectives of reference terminate in Assyrian not in i, but ai). It is one of the numerous names of places compounded with תֵּל, טָל. With regard to the position of the spot, we may conclude from the passage referred-to, one of Tiglath-Pileser's, that the place is to be sought somewhere in the neighbourhood of Bâb-ilu "Babylon", at all events in the Babylonian region, though in the direction of Assyria. Yet there  
 328 might have been other cities with this name, e. g. on the middle Euphrates, where Salmanassar II had already given to a town the name of Lita-Ašur "glory of Asur" (Monolith II. 34 foll.), and the mention of בני עֵרֶן = Bit-Adini points mainly in the direction of this combination. Comp. Keilinsch. und Gesch. p. 199.

13. *Arpad*, Assy. Ar-pa-d-du. Further details respecting the mention of the town or land Arpad on the monuments,—also regarding the time when the independence of the kingdom Arpad may be supposed to have come to an end,—and lastly on the geographical position of the town, which has meanwhile been settled by Dr. Hausknecht's discovery, may be gathered by consulting the remarks on 2 Kings XVIII. 34. Respecting Hamath see the notes on Gen. X. 18; 2 Kings XVII. 30; on Sepharvaim see the comments on 2 Kings XVII. 24, 31; XVIII. 34.



35. *And it happened in the same night, there went forth the angel of Jahve and smote in the camp of the Assyrians 185,000 men.* The Assyrian inscriptions shed no light on this obscure passage. Sanherib in his inscription is altogether silent about the character of the retreat and its causes. Compare the remarks above p. 300 (Vol. I).

36. *and returned and dwelt in Niniveh.* We learn also from the cylinder-inscription col. III. 39 that Sanherib retired to Niniveh, his capital. But if the reader, by pressing the phrase used by the Hebrew historian: "and he remained, or dwelt (וַיֵּשֶׁב) in Niniveh", were to conclude that Sanherib, after the misfortune in the Palestino-Aegyptian war, wholly abstained from military enterprises, he would make a very great mistake. On the Taylor-cylinder Sanherib himself relates five other larger or smaller military enterprises, all of which were in fact directed to the East, North or South of his realm. Consequently for the Western nations, like the Hebrews, they were as though<sup>329</sup> they never happened, and hence are not mentioned by them. Among these expeditions, we have several conducted against Babylonia, directed, moreover, against Merodach-Baladan, whom he had already conquered (and dethroned) in the first campaign, and also against a son of Merodach-Baladan, called N a b ū - š u m - i š k u n\*, whom Sanherib captured alive in the battle (Taylor-cylind. col. III. 50 foll. VI, 6). Respecting Merodach-Baladan see also the comment on chap. XX. 12.

37. *And as he prayed in the temple of Nisroch his god.* In place of *Nisroch* (נִסְרוֹךְ) the LXX read Ἰσοραχ (if we

\* Respecting this name = "Nebo bestowed the name", see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 127, no. 8.

are to regard this as the proper emendation, with Wellhausen, for the traditional *Νασαράχ* or *Μεσεράχ*, comp. the *Ἀράσζη* of Josephus). It is probable that we have here a reference to the God Ašur and that the final *αχ* (*αχ*) is to be regarded as an agglutination of some sort. At any rate we have evidence here of an Assyrian God Ašur, who at the same time appears as the Assyrian supreme deity, not of a god Nisruk, as many have assumed, myself among the rest. The name of the divinity, which, it was supposed, was thus pronounced, ought rather to be read as *Ía* and is identical with the divine name *Ἰαός* in Damascus (see above Vol. I, p. 12); accordingly it has nothing to do with the above.—J. Halévy and F. Delitzsch are of opinion that the name in question is a corruption of that of the Assyrian god Nusku.

*Adrammelech and Sharezer* (𐎠𐎫𐎠𐎢𐎡𐎢𐎩) [*his sons*] *slew him with the sword*. About Adrammelech see the remarks on chap. XVII. 31, Vol. I p. 276 foll. Sharezer, Assyrian Šar-ušur, is the ultimate abbreviation of a fuller form Ašur (Bil, Nírgal)-šar-ušur i. e. "Ašur (Bel, Nergal) protect the king!"—see Assyrisch. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 128, No. 11; p. 156, No. 66. We have a similarly abbreviated name in Abal-ušur "protect the son" II Rawl. 63. III. 9, employed in this shortened form by the Assyrians them-  
 330 selves\*. Regarding the case simply as it stands, we have, therefore, no reason to suppose that it was the Biblical historian who in the first instance contracted the name in this fashion (see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 156). Our judgment, however, becomes considerably modified when we glance at the corresponding account of Abydenus con-

\* [Comp. the illustrations given in Vol. I, p. 45—Transl.]

tained in Eusebius, Armen. Chron. ed. Mai p. 25 (Schoene I, 35). According to this writer Sanherib was assassinated by his son Adramelus, and was succeeded by Nergilus, who in turn was put to death by Axerdis i. e. Asarhaddon\*. Now the identification of Axerdis with Asarhaddon and of Adramelus with Adrammelech, is at once obvious. There remains in the third place the identification of Nergilus with Sharezer. This identity likewise would be complete, if the original name of the son of Sanherib, who is now the subject of discussion, were Nírgal-šar-ušur "Nergal, protect the king" i. e. Neriglissor; see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 128 No. 12. If this assumption be correct, we have the interesting phaenomenon, that the Bible has preserved to us one half of the Assyrian's original name, and Abydenus the other. The reader is aware that Alexander Polyhistor (l. c. Mai p. 19; Schoene p. 27) only mentions *Ardumusanus* (*Ardumuzanus*) i. e. Adrammelech as the murderer of Sanherib\*\*.

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\* Thus according to A. von Gutschmid's correction.

\*\* According to V. Floigl, Cyrus and Herodotus (Leipzig 1881) p. 27, Nergilus is the "legitimate heir and *grandson* of Sanherib, son of Asurnadinsum" and "Adarmalik slew his father, not in order to gain the crown for himself, but to exclude his *step-brother* Asarhaddon from the throne, for whom it had been destined by his father, and to raise Nergilus to that position" (?). For a criticism of the hypothesis of a "five-years interregnum" after the assassination of Sanherib (A. von Gutschmid), see my remarks in the dissertation "On the Babylonian-Assyrian chronology of Alexander Polyhistor and Abydenus" in the Reports of the Königl. Sächsische Gesellsch. der Wissensch. 1880, pp. 6 foll. There I stated that "the glory of Nergilus must have merely lasted during the brief space of time that intervened between the murder of Sanherib and the arrival of Asarhaddon upon the scenes, who had been detained upon a distant field of military enterprise" (ibid. 7); comp. also Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 539 foll.— It should likewise be observed that Alex. Polyhistor, in his statement,

331 The Assyrian sources of information say nothing about Sanherib's assassination. How the matter stands in this respect in the case of Sargon may be gathered from the remarks on Is. XX. 1 *ad fin.*\*

and they escaped into the land Ararat (אַרְרָאֵץ אֲרָרָט). I have already shown (Vol. I, pp. 53 foll.) that Arârât, Assy. Urarîtu, is not so much the name of the mountain so-called, but rather of the great plain watered by the Araxes, south of which stood the mountain Ararat. It is no longer possible to determine with any certainty in how broad and in how narrow a sense this territorial designation was understood by the Hebrews. According to Abydenus quoted in Eusebius (ed. Schoene I. 35), Asarhaddon, in the pursuit of his defeated foes, cast them into the "city of the Byzantines" (*in Byzantinorum urbem injecit*). By this "Byzantium" A. von Gutschmid understands the *Biçavà* of Procopius\*\* to be meant, which lay somewhere on the frontier of Lesser and Greater Armenia. With this hypothesis agrees the cuneiform account which Asarhaddon has

332 left us respecting these occurrences. According to this

which differs from that of the Bible, coincides with Abydenus according to the emended reading (see the preceding footnote).

The definite hypothesis that the Nergilus of Abydenus and the Sharezer of the Bible are identical, as well as the combination of both names into a *single* complete one: Nergal-Sharezer, were originated by Ferd. Hitzig (*Begriff der Kritik*, Heidelberg, 1831, p. 195). He was followed by F. C. Movers, *Phönizier* I (1841) p. 342; Joh. Brandis, *rerum Assy. tempor. emend.* (1853) p. 37 annot.; M. von Niebuhr, *Geschichte Asurs und Babels* (Berlin 1857) p. 37; A. von Gutschmid in the *Leipzig. Centralblatt* 1870, Sp. 1157; *Neue Beiträge*, Leipzig 1876, p. 152; and by the author himself in the first edition of the present work pp. 206 foll.

\* Compare with the above the author's comprehensive article *Sanherib* in Schenkel's *Bibel-Lexikon*, as well as in Riehm's *Handwörterb. des bibl. Alterthums*.

\*\* Procopius de aedif. III. 4. 5, pp. 254—6 (ed. Dindorf); compare the *Notitiae Graecae Episcopatum III*, 483.

record, the decisive battle between Asarhaddon and the troops, as we may conclude, of his parricidal brothers, was fought on the region of Chanigalmit (?), a locality which may be safely placed near to Melitene, that is, in South-East Cappadocia, or Lesser Armenia, close to the Euphrates (Keilinsch. und Gesch. pp. 530 foll.). Asarhaddon's account, upon a broken clay cylinder (III Rawl. 15 col. I, 18 foll.), runs as follows : 18. íl-la-mu-ú-a ina irši-tiv mât Ḥa-ni-gal-mit (?) gi-mir ḳu-ra-di-šu-un 19. ši-ru-ti pa-an gir-ri-ja ṣab-tu-ma u-rak-ša tuklâti-šu-un. 20. Pu-luḥ-ti ilî rabûti bílî-ja is-ḥup-šu-nu-ti-ma 21. ti-ib taḥâzi-ja dan-ni í-mu-ru-ma í-mu-u muḥ-ḥu-ur. 22. (Ilu) Iš-tar bí-lit ḳabli taḥâzi-ra'-i-mat ṣa-an-gu-ti-ja 23. i-da-ai ta-zi-iz-ma ḳašat-su-nu taš-bir 24. ta-ḥa-za-šu-nu ra-ak-su tap-ṭu-ur-ma 25. ina puḥri-šu-nu na-m-bu-u um-ma : an-nu-u ṣar-a-ni i. e. "Line 18. Before me in the region of the land Chanigalmit (?—) the whole of their 19. strong (properly, high) military force awaited the appearance of my army's advance and they drew their troops together (root רכז). 20. The terror of the great gods, my lords, overthrew them. 21. The blow of my vehement onslaught they saw and dreaded (?) the meeting. 22. Istar, the mistress of conflict (and) battle, who loved my ṣangûti (priesthood?), raised my hands, broke their bow (collect.), cleft through their battle-array (literally, "cleft their battle, the array", root ככ), 25. in their ranks (literally in their assembly) resounded the cry : 'This (is) our king'".

*And Asarhaddon, his son, became king in his stead.* This occurred, according to the Canon of Rulers, in the year 681. We read in II Rawl. 68 No. 1 Rev. 5 line 43. 333 44 : [Nabû]-aḥ-LA-íš. [Ašur]-aḥ-iddin ina kussî

it-tu-šib i. e. "Neboach . . . -iš\*. [Asar]haddon ascended the throne". Now the archonship of the above-named officer falls in the year 681. According to the same canon Asarhaddon reigned until 668, i. e. till the archonship of Marlarim (Mar-la-ar-mí). In the archonship of this *eponymus*, on the 12<sup>th</sup> Ijjar (April or May) and, according to the Canon, in the year 668, he abdicated his royal authority in favour of his son Asurbanipal. The account given by the latter of this transaction is as follows (Smith's Asurban. 4, 8—20): Ašur-aḥ-iddin šar mât Aššur abu ba-nu-u-a 9. a-mat Ašur u Bīlit ilī ti-ik-li-šu it-ta'-id, 10. ša iḳ-bu-u-šu í-biš šarrû-ti-ja. 11. Ina araḥ Airu araḥ Ía bīl tí-ni-ší-í-ti 12. ūmu XII, ūm magâri, sí-ša ša (ilu) Gu-la, 13. ina í-biš pi-i mut-tal-li ša Ašur, 14. Bīlit, Sin, Šamaš, Rammân, Bīl, Nabû, 15. Ištar ša Ninua (ilu) šar-rat git-mu-ri, 16. Ištar ša ír Arba-ilu, Adar, Nírgal, Nusku iḳ-bu-u, 17. u-pa-ḥir niši mât Aššur šaḥrûti u rabûti 18. ša tiâm-tiv í-lit u šap-lit 19. a-na na-šir tur (?) šarrû-ti-ja 20. u arka-nu šarrû-ut mât Aššur í-pi-iš i. e. "8. Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father, my genitor, 9. held in honour the command of Asur and Beltis, the divinities of his confidence, 10. who had bid him elevate me into a king. In the month Ijjar, the month of Ea, the lord of the human race, 12. on the twelfth day, a day of grace, the festival of Gula, 13. he issued in execution of the exalted command of Asur, Beltis, Sin, Samas, Adar, Bel, Nebo, 15. of Istar of Niniveh, the

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\* The verbal ideogram LA, to which iš furnishes the phonetic complement, cannot yet be safely determined. Oppert reads Nabu-ach-essis; Smith: Nabu-ach-ikmis, and recently Nabu-achi-eris.

heavenly queen of the All, 16. Istar of Arbela, of Adar, 334 Nergal, Nusku, an edict 17. and assembled the Assyrians, young and old, those of the upper and the lower sea, 19. to recognize my royal authority, 20. and afterwards I assumed the rule over Assyria."

*Notes and Illustrations.* 8. Ašur-aḥ-iddin i. e. "Asur bestowed a brother" see Assy. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 119, no. 2; banûa partic. act. bâni from banû with the suffix of the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing.; here substant. comp. Vol. I p. 5 footnote;—9. a mat occurs in the sense of "command", "injunction" in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal and elsewhere frequently. The root אָמַר is probably ultimately identical with הָמַר "make a rustling" and also with מָדַר ("speak") "swear". Tikil from חָבַל; itta'id "he held in honour" from the oft-recurring na'âdu "be exalted" נִתְהַלַּח; as partic. act. nâ'id it occurs in the name of the last independent Babylonian king Nabû-nâ'id "Nebo is exalted" i. e. Nabunit; see Assy. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 136, no. 25;—10. iḫbû 3 pers. plur. of קָבַח "speak", here "command", "bid"; ibišu infin. of (עָבַשׁ אֶבֶשׁ?) "make";—11. tînišîti nom. abstr. from אָנַשׁ (אֲנָשִׁים) = "mankind";—12. magâru here written ideographically with the signs ŠI'. GA. which are interpreted in II Rawl. 7. line 29 by ma-ga-ru; siš may perhaps be compared with the Hebr. שִׂישׁ "joy";—13. pi from פִּה, פִּי "mouth"; muttallî partic. Ifta. of עָלָה;—17. upaḥḥir Pael of paḥâru "assemble" from which comes the oft-recurring naḫḫar "crowd"; ṣaḥru, ṣiḥru צֶעֶר "small", see Sanherib, Taylor-cylind. col. II. line 37 (see above Vol. I p. 287);—18. tiâmtu = תִּימֹת; îlitu adj. fem. from עָלָה; šaplîtu adj. fem. from šapâlu, שָׁפַל. The "upper sea" = the Mediterranean sea; the "lower sea" = the Persian gulf. See my essay "the names of Seas on the Assy. inscriptions" (Abhandlungen der Berlin. Akademie der Wissenschaften) 1877—8, pp. 187 foll.; naṣîr probably stands for našâru infin. of נָצַר "protect" תְּרִי, here "strengthen", "recognize"; tûru infin. of תָּוַר "to be" = "existence" (?);—20. arkân "afterwards" formed like אַחֲרָיוֹן; see Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 213, no. 2; îpiš (אֶעֱשֶׂה) "I made", imperf. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. from עָבַשׁ (אֶעֱבֹשׁ) instead of the regular form îpuš, îbuš. Similarly I Rawl. 7, no. 3, line 7, in an inscription of one of the last kings, if it be not the last king of Niniveh, the son of Asurbânipal, viz. Asuritilili (see below on 2 Kings XXIII. 29), and similarly also *ibid.* no. 5, line 3 í-bi-iš in an inscription of Neriglissar.

This statement by the son of Asarhaddon is confirmed by

a clay tablet III Rawl. 2. No. 24 which reads as follows :  
 335 Ina araḥ Abu ūm XXVII. lim-mu Mar-la-rim tur-  
 tan ír Ku . . . . ina tiriş Aşur-bâni-abal šar mât  
 Aššur i. e. "In the month Ab, on the 27<sup>th</sup> day, in the  
 archonship of Marlarim, the Tartan of the city Ku . . . ,  
 in the year of the appointment\* of Asurbanipal (to be)  
 king of Assyria".—We learn, moreover, that Asarhaddon  
 was Sanherib's son (𒌆𒌆), just as Sanherib was Sargon's,  
 from Asarhaddon's brick-inscriptions. One of these (I Rawl.  
 48. No. 3) runs thus : 1. Aşur-aḥ-iddin šar mât  
 Aššur, 2. abal Sin-aḥî-irib šar mât Aššur,  
 3. abal Šarrukîn šar mât Aššur-ma e. i. 1. "Asar-  
 haddon, king of Assyria, 2. son of Sanherib, king of As-  
 syria"\*\*. I append also the complete text of a brick-  
 inscription from Sherif-khan (I Rawl. 48. No. 5)\*\*\*, which  
 runs thus : 1. A-na-ku Aşur-aḥ-iddin šarru rabû 2.  
 šarru dannu šar kişşati šar mât Aššur, šakkanak  
 3. Bâb-ilu, šar mât Šumîri 4. u Akkadi, šar šarrî  
 mât Muşur, 5. mât Pa-tu-[ru]-si, mât Ku-si; 6. mât  
 (?) ša ki-rib ír Tar-bi-şi 7. a-na mu-şab Aşur-bâni-  
 abal 8. abal šarri rabû ša bît ridu[-u]-ti  
 9. ablu şi-it lib-bi-ja 10. ar-şip u-şak-lil i. e. 1. "I,  
 Asarhaddon, the great king, 2. the mighty king, the king

\* tiriş here with the ideogram LAL having the phonetic comple-  
 ment iş written according to the Syllabary printed in Norris' Dictio-  
 nary 688. tiriş is from tarâşu, Syriac & Arabic *firmus fuit, firmavit*,  
 also *agnovit*.

\*\* The reader will find the original text reproduced in a wood-cut  
 in my article 'Keilschrift' (Cuneiform writing) in Schenkel's Bibel-  
 lexicon III. p. 510.

\*\*\* I have likewise communicated in a wood-cut the original cunei-  
 form text of the first five lines, in Schenkel's Bibel-Lexicon III, *ibid.*  
 in the above mentioned article "Keilschrift".



of nations, the king of the land Assur; lord 3. of Babylon, king of Sumír 4. and Akkad, king of the kings of Aegypt, 336 5. of Pat[ro]s, of Aethiopia, 6. built the palace in Tarbiz 7. as a residence of Asurbanipal, the imperial son (crown-prince) of my palace, 9. the son, (who is) the fruit of my body, 10. (and) completed it”.

*Notes and Illustrations.* 2. šakkanak is scarcely a prolonged form of šaknu שָׁכַן “viceroy”, but is rather a word of Akkadian origin signifying “head”, “chieftain”, as is shown in the essay quoted below pp. 29 foll. Here it means “feudal lord”. We have here the usual ideogram for this conception. The phonetic mode of writing the word may be observed, for example, in the Borsippa-inscription of Nebucadnezar col. I. 6;—3. Respecting Šumíri and Akkadi, here represented by ideograms, see above Vol. I, pp. 103 foll.;—5. The mutilated Patu . . si is completed by Oppert into Patu[r]si and also compared with the Old Test. word פְּתוּרִים “Upper Aegypt” Is. XI. 11. See his *L'Égypte et l'Assyrie* Paris 1869, p. 41 and comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 285;—6. mât properly “land” can only mean in this passage, if the reading be correct, “country-house”, “villa”. In another inscription of Asarhaddon, likewise discovered at Sherif Khan (I Rawl. 48. No. 8, line 2), we read the unmistakable word íkal רִיכַל “palace”; Tarbiš ancient name of the modern Sherif-Khan, North-West of Niniveh\*:—7. mûšab מוֹשֵׁב (from אִשָּׁב, Hebr. יָשַׁב “dwelling”;—8. comp. III Rawl. 16. No. 2, 40 foll., and respecting bit ridûti “children’s dwelling” = “private-palace”, see particularly Smith’s Assurbanipal 308, 31. 35; 312, 70 (= V Rawl. 10, 51. 55. 91);—9. šîtu i. e. צֶמַח meaning “sprout”, root אִצָּא hebr. יָצָא; libbu לֵב here in the sense of body; aršip 1 pers. Kal of rašâpu “to adjust or fit-in blocks for building”, comp. Hebr. רָצַף, Arab. رَصَف; then “to build” generally; ušaklil “I completed” Imperf. Shaf. 1 pers. from kalâlu כָּלַל.

As for the records of this monarch that have come down to us, they consist either of short inscriptions on

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\* The name is probably to be connected with the root רָבַץ “lie down”, “rest”. Thus we should have in this case an Assyrian counterpart to the German local names “Friedrichsruh”, “Karlsruh” &c.—For narbašu in the sense of “abode” see Sargon’s Cyprus-stele col. II (IV). 25 (see the Transactions of the Berlin Academy of Sciences 1881 (82), Philolog. histor. Kl. VIII. p. 33).

bricks as 1 Rawl. 48. No. 2—9, or of long inscriptions on 337 clay cylinders. To the latter category belongs in the first place the large cylinder-inscription I Rawl. 45—47 dated from the archonship of Atarilu of Lachir i. e. the year 673 B. C. This document has come down to us in a two-fold recension. In the next place we have also the inscription of a broken clay cylinder, of which only the lower part has been preserved. A list, which stood on this cylinder, of 22 kings “of the land Chatti and in the sea” was formerly published (I Rawl. 48. No. 1), and the remaining portion, so far as it has been preserved (III Rawl. 15. 16), has since been given to the world. This list I have published from a fresh collation of the original\*. On the cylinder the tributary princes are merely referred-to in their totality, but in this newly published list they are individually mentioned, and here we also find recorded the name of Manasseh of Juda. On this subject see the remarks on 2 Kings XXI. 1, where the list spoken-of may be found. It is obvious from these inscriptions, in the first place, as an indirect confirmation of the Biblical statements, that Asarhaddon, before he ascended the throne, was compelled to engage in conflict with and to subdue the murderers of his father. See the remarks on this head in the comments upon 2 Kings XIX, 37 (pp. 14 foll.). In the second place we may infer that Asarhaddon subjugated the entire Syro-phoenician portion of Western Asia. In accordance with this, he assumed the proud title of “king of Aegypt, [Patros] and Kush”; see above p. 21. His son Asurbanipal expressly informs us about these conquests, in

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\* See “Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pileasers II &c.” Berlin 1880 (1879) p. 33 (Plate II).

his own cylinder-inscription, where we read (III Rawl. 29. No. II, lines 6 foll.): [Ašur-]aḥ-iddi-na šar mât Aššur abu ba-nu-u-a 7. [ur-]du-ma il-li-ku ki-rib-ša. 338 8. [Apik]ta Tar-ḫu-u šar mât Ku-u-si iš-ku-nu-ma 9. u-par-ri-ru il-lat-su. 10. [Mât] Mu-ṣur mât Ku-u-su ik-šu-du-ma 11. [ina la] mi-ni iš-lu-la šal-la-as-su 12. [mât šu-]a-tu i-na si-ḫir-ti-ša i-bí-íl-ma, 13. [a-na] mi-šir mât Aššur u-tir. 14. [Šum]i írâ-ni maḥ-ru-u-ti u-nak-kir-ma 15. [a-na] iš-šu-u-tí iš-ku-na ni-bi-is-su-un, 16. [avíl] ardi-šu a-na šarrû-ti av. šaknu-u-ti 17. [i-li šu-]nu-u-tí u-pa-ki-da ina lib-bi [bilat man-da-]at-tu bílu-ti-šu 18. . . . u-kin šir-u-uš-šu-un i. e. "6. Asarhaddon, king of Assyria, the father, my progenitor, 7. marched down and penetrated into the midst of the same (i. e. Aegypt). 8. On Tirhaka, king of Aethiopia he inflicted a defeat, 9. destroyed his military power (חיל<sup>ל</sup>; see glossary sub voce חיל<sup>ל</sup>). 10. Aegypt and Aethiopia he conquered, 11. innumerable captives he carried away. 12. He subjugated that country in its entire extent, 13. turned it into the territory of Assyria. 14. The former names of the cities he changed, 15. gave them new names, 16. his servants he entrusted with the rule, 17. with the governorship over them. The payment of the tribute of his rule 18. . . . he imposed upon them."

XX. 12. *At the same time Berodach-Baladan, the son of Baladan, king of Babel, sent a letter and present to Hezekiah, since he had heard that Hezekiah was sick. We have first of all to consider the name of the Babylonian who is here mentioned. In the Bible itself we have a variant with respect to this name. While we find it written in the present passage בְּרֹאֲדָכ־בַּלְדָּאֲן (with initial ב),*

we have it in the parallel passage Is. XXXIX. 1 in the form מְרַאדָּךְ-בְּלֹאדָן (with initial מ). We can scarcely be in <sup>339</sup> doubt which of the two readings is the correct form, since we have also the name of the deity מְרַדָּךְ "Merodach" certified by the Old Testament. The cuneiform inscriptions place the matter beyond all doubt since in them we find the name written Mar(u)duk-abaliddina i. e. "Merodach presented a (or the) son"; see *Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch.* p. 129 No. 13\*. The original reading can accordingly have only been מְרַאדָּךְ.

Now the cuneiform records make repeated mention of a Babylonian king of this name in the epoch which we are specially considering. First of all, we meet with a Babylonian king Marduk-abaliddina, son of Jakîn\*\*, in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II (see the passage above Vol. I, p. 226), and we see from the list of governors that he offered homage to the Assyrian monarch in the year 731 at Sapija. Again we also find Sargon referring on several occasions to Marduk-abaliddina, son of Jakîn; as, for instance, in the great triumphal inscription Botta 151. No. 11, line 1; as well as in the annals Botta 65, 3 foll. &c. &c. About him we learn from Sargon's inscriptions, in which he is referred to as šar mât Kal-di "king of Chaldaea", that the Great King frequently conquered him, and that Sargon, in the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> years of his reign i. e. in the years 710 and 709, undertook a great

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\* There is another Babylonian king with the name Rammân-abal-i-di-na-av "Rammân bestowed the son"; see Oppert, *les inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan* p. 28. The name is of interest from the circumstance that the third element in it is written phonetically throughout, contrary to the prevailing usage.

\*\* He is there called šar tiâmtiv "king of the sea".

campaign against the Babylonian king. This campaign ended in the dethronement as well as imprisonment of Merodach-Baladan and also in the destruction by fire of the city Dûr-Jakîn, into which the Babylonian king had taken himself for refuge\*. This Merodach-Baladan, son of Jakîn, is undoubtedly identical with the Babylonian king of the same name, mentioned by Tiglath-Pileser; and he is clearly the same king of Babel who is said in Botta's Annals pl. 70 to have seized the dominion over Northern Chaldaea and the capital Babylon, in the first year of Sargon's reign. Sargon at that time had to maintain a struggle with him, which ended in the recognition of Merodach-Baladan as king of Babylon. This we may infer, though the Babylonian king's name is obliterated from the plate, from the fact that, in the very year in question, viz. 721, we find in the Ptolemaic Canon that Mardokempad or Merodach-Baladan ascended the throne of Babel. This cannot be an accidental coincidence. Moreover there is an external confirmation of this hypothesis in the discovery of several tablets in Khorsabad i. e. in Sargon's palace, dated from the reign of "Marduk-abaliddina, king of Babylon". These tablets, which are published complete in Oppert's *Les inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan* (Paris 1870) pp. 27. 28, are dated from the 9<sup>th</sup>, 10<sup>th</sup>, 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> years of this Babylonian king. Accordingly he must have reigned twelve years,—exactly the period which the Ptolemaic Canon and Sargon's Annals assign to him i. e. 721—710 B. C. The tablets evidently

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\* Botta 151 no. 11 line 1 foll., 152 &c. Compare also the passages quoted below from the annals (in the remarks on Isaiah XX. 1) belonging to the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> years of Sargon's reign.

found their way to the palace in Khorsabad as spoil taken in war after Merodach-Baladan was dethroned, 710 B. C.

- 341 The Merodach-Baladan, who was contemporary with Sargon, is called in the inscriptions\* the son of Jakîn. The Merodach-Baladan who sent an embassy to Hezekiah was according to the Bible a son of Baladan. Again, Sanherib, both on the Taylor-cylinder and on that of Bellino and likewise in the inscription of Constantinople\*\*, mentions a Merodach-Baladan whom he had conquered in a rîš šarrûti "in the beginning of his reign" i. e. certainly in the first or in the first and second years of his reign. This fact agrees (1) with the Ptolemaic canon, which assumes an interregnum for the first two years of Sanherib's reign (704, 703) i. e. a period of revolution and struggle for the crown of Babel;—also (2) with Polyhistor-Eusebius, who in his chronicle represents Merodach-Baladan as seizing the sovereignty for six months\*\*\* after

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\* Botta 151, 11 line 2; 65, 3. The name is one time written ideographically Ja-DU, the other time altogether in phonetic style Ja-ki-ni. See *Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. Exc. Eigenn.* No. 20 note p. 134. Respecting the signification of the name see *ibid.* No. 61.

\*\* See I Rawl. 37, 19—40; *ibid.* 43, 6—13; Grotfend Bellino-Cylind. 6—13; Layard, plate 63, 6—13.

\*\*\* See *Euseb. chron. armen. ed. Schöne* I p. 27: "Postquam regnasset frater Senicharibi et postquam Akises Babeloniis dominatus esset, et nec dum triginta quidem diebus regnum tenuisset, a Marodach Baldano occisus est; et Marodach Baldanus per viam (regnum) tenebat sex mensibus: eum vero interficiens quidam, cui nomen erat Elibus, regnabat. Verum tertio regni ejus anno, Senecheribus rex Assyriorum exercitum conflabat adversus Babelonios, praelioque cum iis commisso vincebat, et captum eum una cum amicis in terram Assyriorum perducere jubebat. Babeloniis (ergo) dominatus, regem eis filium suum Asordanum constituebat; ipse vero recedens, terram Assyriorum petebat." —It may be remarked in passing that while the statements and citations of Berossus and of the inscriptions generally agree, we are

the death of Sanherib's brother and the overthrow of Hagisa who reigned a single month. The question then is : Was this Merodach-Baladan, by whom Sanherib was 342 confronted, identical with the Babylonian king of the same name whom Sargon defeated and took prisoner; or, was he distinct from the above, perhaps his successor and son? While maintaining the designation of Merodach-Baladan in the Bible as "son of Baladan" (the latter I conjectured to be an abbreviation from "Merodach-Baldadan"), I decided in the first edition of this work for the latter alternative. Now in my work *Keilinsch. u. Gesch.* p. 207 I have clearly shown that, when rulers are designated as "sons" of this or the other personage, as "Achuni, son of Adini", "Jehu, son of Omri", also "Nebu-usabsi, son of Silâni" (II Rawl. 67. 15) &c. &c., these rulers are not represented as the actual sons of the individuals who are called their fathers, but simply as the *governors* of the *territories* named after the founders of the *dynasty* : Bît-Adini, Bît-Omri, Bît-Silâni &c. Hence there is no room for doubt as to how we ought really to regard the designation of Merodach-Baladan as "son of Jakîn" :—the personage so designated was thereby simply represented as belonging to the ruling dynasty : his real father may have been a person with an 343

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somewhat surprised to find that with reference to Merodach-Baladan there is a considerable discrepancy between the Chaldaean historian and the statements on the Assyrian king's monuments. Thus, while according to Berossus, Merodach-Baladan was finally disposed-of or slain by Elibus-Belibus ("sustulit", "interfecit"), Sanherib, in the most distinct manner that it is possible to conceive, states, that several years afterwards he had once more to subdue "the same Merodach-Baladan, whom he had conquered in his first campaign" (Taylor-cylind. III. 49 foll.). How is this strange inconsistency to be explained? On this subject see my remarks in the *Berichte der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellsch. der Wissensch.* 1880, p. 4 note. See "Notes and Addenda".

altogether different name. Thus the father of Merodach-Baladan, the "son of Jakîn", might very well have had some such name as "Baladan"\* which the Bible assigns to him. And nothing stands in the way of the assumption that the Merodach-Baladan who was dethroned by Sargon took advantage of the change of ruler at Niniveh to attempt once more to gain possession of the throne of Babylon and to expel the viceroy, the successor of Sanherib's brother, who had been placed there by the new Assyrian ruler. The Bible, the inscriptions and the Ptolemaic canon are thus in perfect agreement. Accordingly we henceforth abandon\*\* the hypothesis of a Merodach-Baladan II. And our position is sustained by the fact that the Merodach-Baladan of Sanherib is never called the son of another Merodach-Baladan. It is true that it is somewhat remarkable that during the reign of four rulers in Assyria, viz. Tiglath-Pileser, Salmanassar, Sargon and Sanherib, we should have one and the same ruler sitting on the throne of Chaldaea (with certain interruptions). But this circumstance taken by itself has no decisive importance.

The question arises : What was the date of the despatch of the embassy to Hezekiah by Merodach-Baladan narrated in the Bible? According to the Bible it would appear as <sup>344</sup>though this event took place at the time of the Assyrian invasion (see 2 Kings XX. 1, 12, and compare it with

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\* About these abbreviated names in Assyrian consult *Assyrisch-Babyl. Keilinsch.* pp. 154 foll.

\*\* So Lenormant in his valuable essay : *Un patriote Babylonien du VIII. siècle avant notre ère (Merodach-baladan)*, contained in his work : *Les premières civilisations II* (Paris 1874) pp. 202 foll. The writer, however, does not enter further into the discussion of the chief difficulty, to which he refers on p. 263.



both verse 6 and XVIII. 2, 13). And this must also be regarded as in the main correct. But we are not justified (1) in assuming the scheme of Biblical chronology as our basis in this particular case, and thus place the event we are considering in the year 714 B. C.; for, as is shown by the chronological Addenda at the close of this volume, this scheme is traversed by the Assyrian and the Babylonian chronology, both of which are certified by the monuments. And we also may not (2) forget that the above-mentioned scriptural statement stands in a passage that, in its present form, comes from the hand of the last writer at the beginning of the exile (see De-Wette-Schrader, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament* 8<sup>th</sup> ed. § 221 f. p. 355). We have therefore full scope for defining more closely the date of the embassy. Let us bear in mind then (1) that the Merodach-Baladan of Sanherib's time, according to Polyhistor (and indirectly according to the Ptolemaic canon too; see above), reigned during this period only six months; (2) that during this period he was threatened with an Assyrian war and would have occasion to seek the favour and aid of the king of Juda (and undoubtedly of other Syro-phoenician rulers as well); (3) that we can clearly discern from the scriptural narrative that Hezekiah's treasure-chambers were still full and thus had not yet been emptied by Sanherib's requisition for tribute (2 Kings XVIII. 15). From these considerations we deem it most probable that Merodach-Baladan despatched that embassy to Hezekiah during the six months above referred-to, i. e. in the year 704 or 703, certainly before Sanherib's expedition to Syria, Judaea & Aegypt.

Having thus formed a clear idea as to the person <sup>345</sup> referred-to by the Biblical writer in this particular passage, we shall not omit to place before the reader the report of

the Assyrian monarch respecting the revolt of Merodach-Baladan. From the three accounts which have come down to us we select that which Sanherib furnishes us in his inscription upon the Bellino-cylinder. We choose this one because it was composed not long after the events it describes\*, goes into fullest detail, is the most accurate in dates, and is most important for general history. It reads thus : Grotefend and Layard line 6 foll. : 6. I-na riš šarrû-ti-ja ša Marduk-abal-iddi-na šar mât Kar-dun-ja-aš a-di ummâni I'lamti i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš aš-ta-kan apikta-šu. 7. I-na ḳabal tam-ḥari-šu-a-tu i-zib karâs-su, i-diš ip-par-šid-ma a-na mât Gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bit, ki-rib nâr a-gam-mí u ap-pa-ra-a-tí i-ru-um-ma na-piš-tuš i-ṭi-ir. 8. Narkabâti, iṣ ṣu-um-bi, sisî, parî, imîrî, gam-mal-i u Y. ud. ri. ša i-na u-ru-uk ta-ḥa-zi u-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da ḳatâ-ai. 9. A-na íkal-šu ša ki-rib Bâb-ilu ḥa-diš i-ru-um-ma ap-tí-í-ma bît ni-šir-ti-šu : ḥurâṣu, kaspu, u-nu-ut ḥurâṣi kaspi, aban a-ḳar-tu nin-šum-šu, Ša-šu, Ša-ga, ni-šir-tu ka-bid-tu; 10. aššat-su, šikrîti íkali-šu, avílî rabû-tí, avíl man-ša-as-pa-ni, si-ḥir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la-ba-šu-u NAM tab-bi-lu-tu íkali u-ší-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu 11. aš-bat-ma. Arki-šu a-na mât Gu-zu-um-ma-ni av. mun-taḥ-ḥi-ši-ja a-na ki-rib nâr a-gam-mí u ap-pa-ra-a-tí u-ma-'ir-ma V. ú-mí i-pa-ru-num-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu. 12. I-na 346 í-muḳ A šur bíli-ja LX. XX. IX. írâ-ni dan-nu-ti

\* The inscription on the Bellino-cylinder was drawn up as early as the fourth year of the king's reign i. e. 702 B. C.; see above Vol. I, p. 308(?). *for*

bît dūrâ-ni ša mât Kal-di u DCCC. XX. írâni  
 šahrûti ša li[-ví-ti]-šu-nu al-ví ak-šu-ud\* aš-  
 lu-la šal-la-su-un. 13. Avíl U'r-bi, avíl A-ra-mu  
 u avíl Kal-du, ša ki-rib Arku, Nipur, Kiš,  
 Har-saḡ-kala-ma, Kutī a-di ablī ír bīl ḥi-iṭ-ṭi  
 u-šī-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu.

14. Bīl-ibnī abal avíl ma-muḡ-tav ina daḥ-ḥi  
 Šu-an-na, ša kima mi-ra-a-ni ša-aḥ-ri ki-rib  
 íkal-ja ir-bu-u, a-na šarrû-ut mât Akkadi u  
 Šumíri aš-ta-kan ílī-šu-un. 15. I-na ta-ai-ar-  
 ti-ja avíl Tu-'-mu-na, avíl Ri-ḥi-ḥu, avíl Ja-  
 daḡ-ḡu, avíl U-bu-du, avíl Kib-ri-í, avíl Ma-li-ḥu,  
 avíl Gu-ru-mu, avíl U-bu-luv, avíl Da-mu-nu,  
 16. avíl Gam-bu-lu, avíl Hi-in-da-ru, avíl  
 Ru-'-u-a, avíl Pu-ḡu-du, avíl Ḥa-am-ra-a-nu,  
 avíl Ḥa-ga-ra-nu, avíl Na-ba-tu, avíl Li-'-ta-a-u,  
 avíl A-ra-mu la kan-šu pat-ḥa-riš ak-šud-ud\*.  
 17. II. C. VIII. M. nišī zik-ru u sinniš, VII. M. II.  
 C. sisī parī XI. M. I. C. XIII. imírī V. M. II. C.  
 XXX. gam-mal (Pl.), LX. XX. M. I. C. alap (Pl.),  
 VIII. C. M. VI. C. ṣīn (Pl.) šal-la-tu ka-bid-tu  
 aš-lu-la a-na ki-rib mât Aššur.

i. e. "6. In the beginning of my rule (it happened) that  
 I inflicted a defeat upon Merodach-Baladan the king of  
 Kardunias, along with the troops of Elam before the city  
 Kis. 7. In the midst of the battle he abandoned his bag-  
 gage and took himself off alone. He fled to the land  
 Guzumman, concealed himself (properly: entered) in mar-  
 shes and reed and thus saved his life. 8. The chariots,  
 iṣ ṣumbi, horses, mules, asses, camels and dromedaries,

\* That is = ak-šud as Dr. Jensen has pointed out.

347 which he had left upon the battle-field, my hands obtained as booty. 9. His palace in Babylon I entered with glee and opened his treasure-chamber : gold, silver, objects of gold and silver, costly stones of every kind, his property, his possessions, rich treasures ; 10. his wife, the women of his palace, the great ones, the *manşaspani*, the whole of the officials entrusted with the management of the palace, as many of them as there were, I carried away, destined for slavery (literally "counted as booty"), 11. took them captive. Behind him, into the land Guzumman, I sent my soldiers, into the midst of the swamps and morasses. Five days passed by--not a trace of him was seen. 12. In the night of Asur my Lord I took 89 strong cities and fortresses of Chaldaea, as well as 820 smaller towns in their district and carried away their prisoners. 13. The Arabians, Aramaeans and Chaldaeans who [were] in Erech, Niffer, Kis, Charsakkalama, Kutha, together with the inhabitants of the rebellious city, I carried away [and] destined for captivity.

14. Belibus, the son of a wise man in the neighbourhood of the city Suanna, whom one had reared like a little puppy in my palace, I appointed for ruling Sumír and Akkad over them. 15. On my return I conquered altogether the inhabitants of Tuhmun, Richich, Jadak, Ubul, Kibri, Malich, Gurum, Ubul, Damun, 16. Gambul, Chindar, Ruhua, Peḳod, Hamrân, Hagarân, Nabat, Lihtahu, the Aramaeans, who had not submitted. 17. 208,000 men and women, 7200 horses, mules, 11,113 asses, 5230 camels, 80,100\* oxen, 800,600 small cattle, a rich booty, I carried off to Assyria."

\* So Grotefeld ! Oppert in his *Expéd. en Mesopot.* I, p. 288 gives the numbers 308,000 men, 70,000 oxen : perhaps simply owing to a misprint.

*Notes and Illustrations.* Kardunias, name of the kingdom of 348 Merodach-Baladan, which, as may be seen from line 9, also included Babylon. On the extent included under this geographical term see my Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 534;—ummânu, here ideogram, written below in line 10 phonetically. On the rest see above on Sanherib's Taylor-cylinder. It is also to be observed that in the parallel passage Sanherib after the words ummâni mât Ilamti has also rišî "auxiliaries", "allies", root רצה from which comes the often-used word rišût "help";—7. tamḥar root maḥâru "be in front", then "confront one another in battle", comp. Arabic تَقَدَّمَ; izib, root עזב; karâs-su stands for karâš-šu according to Assyrisch. Babyl. Keilinsch. 203 note 1. Karâšu "baggage" (comp. Hebr. רכוש) is the phonetic equivalent of the ideogram KI. MAS; see Norris Dictionary 1045; idiš adv. from חר "one"; agammî from agam "swamp", Hebr. אָגַם; apparâtî plur. of appartu "reed"; see Delitzsch Parad. p. 97. The word nâr "river" standing before the first of the two words is to be regarded as a pure determinative; irum-ma = irub (Smith's Assurbanipal 5, 24) + ma, root ערב "enter"; iṭir, root עטר, "shelter", "protect", comp. the corresponding Hebr. root. On the signification of the word see Lotz, die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileser's I, glossary.—8. iṣ ṣumbi designates evidently, as the determinative for wood shows, an object made of wood, perhaps a car or something of that sort. The word ṣum bu is identical with the Hebr. צב, root צבב, "sedan chair", "litter" (P. Haupt); Y. ud-ri is without doubt a term for some animal of the flock (Y). Delitzsch Parad. p. 96 conjectures, probably rightly, that by it the two-humped camels are meant; for the other names for animals that occur in this passage, see above on Sanherib's Taylor-cylinder; uruk, root ערך "set the battle in array", signifies here "battle-field"; mašar "abandon". In this sense we also find the word in Smith's Assurb. 210, 81 &c.; ikšuda ḡatâai, see Sanherib's Taylor-cylind. II, 82;—9. ḡadiš adv., root חרה "rejoice"; whence we have ḡud, ḡudut, ḡidat "joy", see Norris p. 405; irumma, see on line 7; aptî, root פתה = פתח; niširtu, see on Tayl.-cyl. of Sanherib, III. 36; ûnût see Vol. I, p. 192 and footnote \*\*\*; aḡartu = hebr. אָקַר; nin-šum-šu, see Delitzsch in Smith's Chald. Genesis (1876) p. 296 note; also comp. Sanh. Tayl.-cylind. III, 34—36;—10. For šašu, written also šâšu (and therefore, as may be conjectured, the following šâga) see Delitzsch, Lesestücke 3<sup>rd</sup> edit. p. XVI.—The ideogram NIN is explained in II Rawl. 10, 2. 9. 10 by aššatu "woman"—not to be confounded with the other for bîltu "mistress" II Rawl. 7, 19. On the other hand we find also ḡiratu, ḡirtu placed as the equivalent of this aššatu, whence it is clear that both words mean practically the same thing; šikriti 'palace women'. In the text there stands RAK. UN

(Plur.) = "women"; we have the same ideogram in the parallel passage, Taylor cyl. col. III. 38; sihirtu, root כחר; malabašû Assyrl. Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 260; NAM ideogram for abstract conceptions; tabbilûtu, root עבל = בעל "rule", "superintendence";—11. muntaħħiṣu (for muntaħħiṣu according to Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 204) partic. 349 Ift., root מחץ, "warrior", comp. Botta 145, 2, line 4. 10; Smith's Assurbanipal 155, 40 &c.; uma'ir, root מרר or מאר, Pa., perhaps strictly "cause to hasten", then "despatch", frequently in the inscriptions, e. g. Smith's Assurban. 24, 9; 37, 8 &c. (in the latter passage in connection with ummân "army"); iparunum-ma 3 pers. plur. pres. with -ma from עבר;—12. ímuḳ "depth" עמק, then "strength", "power", "support"; comp. Assurb. I. 56 it-ta-kil a-na í-muḳ ra-ma-ni-šu "he trusted in his own strength"; also 268, 80 it-ti í-mu-ki av. Na-ba-ai-ta-ai "with the military force of the Nabataeans". Likewise comp. Sanherib's Taylor-cyl. col. III. 12. 13;—13. Úrbi, comp. Sanherib Taylor-cyl. III. 31, Vol. I, p. 283, the name of a tribe (Oppert). Respecting the names of cities written ideographically throughout see notes on Gen. X. 10, 2 Kings XVII. 24, Vol. I, pp. 77 foll. 271, also Delitzsch, Parad. pp. 220 foll.; bíl ħiṭṭi "master of revolt" i. e. "one who had made himself guilty of revolt"; comp. the Hebr. בַּעַל כְּנָף "provided with wings" Prov. 1. 17, and other like combinations; also the Assyr. bíl lišâni "master of language", "interpreter" may be cited in illustration (Smith's Assurbanipal 77. 9). Comp. in general Sanherib's Taylor-cylind. col. III. 2. 6.

14. Bíl-ibnî, ideographically written with two sigus, of which the first is the usual ideogram for Bíl ("lord" and "(God) Bel"), the second (KAK, RU) serves to intimate the idea of "making" or "producing" (Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. 112, no. 75). Since this idea is expressed in Assyrian both by the verb עבש "make", and also by the verb בנה "produce", we can with equal propriety pronounce the name Bíl-ibnî (bâni) "Bel produced", or Bíl-ibuš "Bel made". That the latter name might have been intended may be gathered from the Ptolemaic Canon; see the end of this volume p. 490 (German ed.). This, after the twelve years' interregnum, marks down a Babylonian king Belibus. The Elibus recorded by Polyhistor quoted by Eusebius (see above Vol. II, p. 2) is evidently only a corruption of this name; and the existence of a name Belibus has been certified from the phonetic mode of writing it, Bíl-i-bu-uš and Bíl-ibu-uš, not only on Assyrian but also on Babylonian documents. On this subject see my remarks in the Reports of the Königliche Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 1880, pp. 9 foll. note. Nevertheless the writing of the name as Bíl-ib-ni in the newly found Babylonian chronicle (Pinches) is decisive in favour of the pronunciation given in the text;—mamuktav

abstract noun from the root עמק, therefore meaning properly "depth" i. e. of knowledge; an avil mamuḳtav (= מעמקה) means accordingly "man of wisdom" or a "wise man" (חכמה חכמים Dan. II. 12); dalḥi, used interchangeably with dilḥi (Norris p. 229), properly "contact", root רחה "push at something", "touch something", employed adverbially in the sense of "in the neighbourhood", "in the district"; comp. Notes and Illustrations Vol. I, pp. 227 foll.;—Šuanna we know to be the name of a town from KI, the ideogram for town, which follows the word. It is in reality another name for "Babylon"; see also Delitzsch Parad. pp. 211 foll.; mirānu signifies "young dog", see II Rawl. 6, 13; ṣaḥru "small", see Assy. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 27; irbû, root רבה "make great", here = "rear"; aštakan Ift. of šakānu "place" here "appoint";—15. 16. Comp. the identical enumeration in Sanherib's Taylor-cylinder I. 42—47. The tribes are exclusively Babylonian: see the notes on Gen. X. 22; XXV. 13 and comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 105 foll.; taiartu, root תאר, see page 37; kanšu adj. 350 "obedient", root כנש; paḥariš, from paḥāru "assemble", adverb. formation from a noun with an intruded t;—17. zikru here phonetically written; comp. the note on Gen. 1, 27 (Vol. I, p. 17); šīni צאן is written phonetically in the parallel passage on the Taylor-cylinder ši-i-ni.

It will not be out of place if I cite here a passage from the Taylor-cylinder, in order to supplement the preceding account. This passage also serves to confirm a notice from Polyhistor. In <sup>Sennacherib's</sup> his account of his second campaign he describes an expedition against an Eastern frontier-tribe and afterwards relates his great campaign against Aegypt. He then gives an account of a fourth great expedition, once more in a Southerly direction, to Babylonia, where a certain Suzub had set himself up as the ruler of Beth-Jakin. This potentate was conquered and put to flight. Next he turns against Merodach-Baladan, who had evidently come forth from his concealment, and whom he likewise defeats, and after his overthrow places upon his throne his own (Sanherib's) son Ašur-nadin-šum\*. The corresponding

\* = "Asur gives the name", without question the *Asordan* of Polyhistor (see above) and the *Aparanadius* (read *Asaranadius*) of the Ptolemaic canon.

passage in the cylinder reads thus :—col. III, line 49 foll. :  
 49. Pa-an ni-ri-ja u-tir-ma 50. a-na mât Bît-Ja-kin  
 aš-ša-bat ḥar-ra-uu. 51. Šu-u Mar-duk-abal-  
 iddi-na ša i-na a-lak 52. gir-ri-ja maḥ-ri-í  
 apikta-šu aš-ku-nu-ma 53. u-par-ri-ru íl-lat-  
 su, ri-gim kakkî-ja dan-nu-ti 54. u ti-ip taḥâ-  
 zi-ja íz-zi í-dur-ma 55. ilî ma-šal mâti-šu i-na  
 ki-ku-šu-nu id-ki-ma, ki-rib ílippi 56. u-šar-kib-  
 ma a-na ír Na-gi-tí-Ra-a-ḳ-ḳi 57. ša ḳa-bal tiâm-  
 tiv iš-šu-riš ip-pa-riš. Aḥî-šu zír bît abi-šu  
 58. ša u-ma-ší-ru a-ḥi tiâm-tiv a-di si-it-ti niši  
 351 mâti-šu 59. ul-tu mât Bît-Ja-kin ki-rib nâr  
 a-gam-mí u ap-pa-ra-tí 60. u-ší-ša-am-ma šal-  
 la-tiš am-nu u-tir-ma írâni-šu ab-bul 61. ag-gur  
 u-ší-šib kar-mí. Íli bîl sa-li-mí-šu 62. avíl mât  
 Ílamû na-mur-ra-tuv at-bu-uk. 63. I-na ta-ai-  
 ar-ti-ja Ašur-na-din-šum abal rîš-tu-u 64.  
 tar-bit bir-ki-ja i-na kussí bí-lu-ti-šu u-ší-šib-  
 ma 65. rapaš-tuv mât Šumíri u Akkadi u-šad-gil  
 pa-nu-uš-šu i. e. "50. I turned and took my way to  
 the land Beth-Jakîn. 51. That Merodach-Baladan on  
 whom I 52. in my first military expedition inflicted a defeat  
 and 53. whose force I had broken in pieces, dreaded the  
 onset of my powerful weapons 54. and the shock of my  
 mighty battle. 55. The gods, the protection (?) of his land,  
 he gathered in their shrines, 56. shipped them on vessels  
 and took himself off to the city Nagiti-Raḳḳi\*, 57. which  
 is in the midst of the sea, like a bird. His brothers who  
 belonged to the house of his father, 58. whom he left  
 behind on the shore of the sea, together with the remaining

\* According to Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?* p. 324, Nagiti-in-swamp.



inhabitants of his land, 59. I carried away from the land Beth-Jakîn amid swamps and sedge, 60. made them prisoners. His towns I destroyed, 61. laid waste, transformed into fields. In his ally, 62. the Elamite, I inspired terror. 63. On my return I raised Ašurnadinšum, the illustrious son, 64. the offspring of my knees, to the throne of his [Merodach - Baladan's] rule. 65. The broad land Sumír and Akkad I made subject to him."

*Notes and Illustrations.* 49. The phrase *pau nîrija utîr*, occurs in other passages (comp. in this same inscription II, 7). It is derived 352 from the idea of ploughing, and properly means:—"cause the yoke (oxen) to turn (*utîr*) its face to the plougher" i. e. to turn round;—50. *aššabat ḥarrânu*, see on Botta 151, 10. 4 (on Is. XX. 1);—53. *uparrir* Pa. of פָּרַר; *îllatu* from חֵיל "military force", according to Lotz 124 a word borrowed from the Akkadian; *rigim* = רָגַם;—54. *izzu* = יָעָז; *îṭur* "dread" (root עָטַר?); 55. *mašal* is obscure; perhaps = מִשַּׁל "dominion" and then "protection"? *Kiku* denotes unquestionably a receptacle, tent or apparatus in which the images of the gods were preserved or transported, hence "shrine", see Norris 552; *idkî* from *daḫû* "assemble", "present", also in Asarhaddon's inscription on Aberdeen's black stone col. III. 2 (I Rawl. 49);—*îlippu*, likewise in Aramaic signifies "ship"; ideogram interpreted in Assyri. Babyl. Keilinsch. 26 No. 20;—56. *ušarkib* *Shafel* of רָכַב *rakâbu*;—57. *ḳabal* "midst" קָבַל, in this particular case written, as it rarely is, phonetically; *iššûriš* = *kima iššûri* (comp. צָמַר, עֲשׂוּר); *ippariš* Nif. of פָּרַשׁ (Hebr. פָּרַשׁ) "spread oneself over a country", "flee"; 58. *umašir* = *umaššir* Cylind. of Bellino line 8;—59. comp. Cylinder of Bellino line 7;—60. *abbul*, root נָבַל;—61. *aggur*, *aḳḳur*, root נָקַר, נָגַר; *karmî* = כָּרְמִי "hill", "heap" see above p. 228, Vol. I; the word is accus. of effect; *salim* is here employed in the sense of "peace", "friendship"; *bîl salimî* = בְּעַל בְּרִית Gen. XIV, 13; 62. *namurrat* root מָרַר. For the pronunciation see Norris 1041;—*atbuk* from חָבַק "pour or empty out" (Hoerning, Lotz); comp. the Hebr. נָבַךְ;—63. *taiartu* from *târu*, meaning properly "turn in a circle"; comp. דָּוַר, then it signifies "return to the starting-point"; thus in col. IV. 35 &c. We have the verb *târu* in the sense of 'return' e. g. in Assurbanipal's inscription quoted in Oppert's L'Égypte et l'Assyrie 1869, p. 59, line 1;—*rištu* from רָאִישׁ, yet not in the sense of "first-born" (for which the Assyrian word *bukur* is employed), but

rather with the signification "he of the head" i. e. the "commander", "prince", "illustrious one"; comp. the synonym *ašâridû* and the omission of the suffix of the first person.—The name *Ašurnâdinšum* was first contracted to *Ašurnâdin*, and this *Ašurnâdin* again became both the "Asordan" of Polybius by simple abbreviation as well as the "Aparanadius" of the Ptolemaic canon in consequence of corruption.—64. *tarbitu* "sprout" from *רבה*, hence properly "increase"; *birku* "knee". On the dual form *birkâ* that appears also in Assyrian, see Assy. Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 226;—65. *rapaštuv* here written with the usual ideogram. On this see Norris I. 99. With the root we might compare the Hebrew *פראש*;—*ušadgil* Shaf. of *dagâlu* "look at" (different from *takâlu* "trust", see Delitzsch in Lotz 131 foll.); in combination with *panu* "face" it means: "turn to some one (with respect)", wait on him, attend his commands.

- 353 The last passage, where Merodach-Baladan is mentioned, occurs in Asarhaddon's cylinder-inscription col. II. 32. The entire passage reads thus: 32. *ṭa-rid Nabû-zîr-napišti-šutîšir abal Marduk-abal-iddina* 33. *ša a-na šar mât I'-lam-ti it-tak-lu-ma* 34. *la u-šî-zibu nap-šat-su.* 35. *Na-'id-Mar-duk aḥu-šu* 36. *aš-šu í-biš ardu-u-ti-ja* 37. *ul-tav ki-rib mât I'-lam-ti in-nab-tam-ma* 38. *a-na Ninua ír bí-lu-ti-ja* 39. *il-lik-am-ma u-na-aš-ši-iḳ šípâ-ja.* 40. *Mât tiâm-tiv a-na si-ḥi-ir-ti-ša* 41. *ri-du-ut aḥi-šu u-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šu* i. e. "32. (I who) hurled back Nabû-zîr-napisti-sutîsir\*, son of Merodach-Baladan, 33. who had placed his trust in the king of Elam: 34. he did not save his life. 35. Nâhid-Merodach, his brother, 36. in order to\*\* do homage to me, 37. had fled from Elam,

\* The name is written *Nabû-zîr-ZI. SI. DI.* On *ZI* consult Assy. Babyl. Keilinschriften p. 106, no. 8; on *SI. DI* = *išâru* *אשר* see Haupt, Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte 15, no. 233, and on the imp. *šutîšir* see Assy. Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 269. The name signifies "Nebo guide on the right path the Life-sprout".

\*\* *Aššu* (see Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften p. 269) is employed, as it is in this passage, in Smith's Assurbanipal 161, 90. In the

38. had come to Niniveh, my capital, 39. and had kissed my feet. 40. The maritime country in its full extent, 41. the dominion (root ררה) of his brother, I made subject to him." On the phrase dagâl panuššû see immediately above Notes and Illustrations *ad fin.*

— 18. בְּהֵיבֵל מְלָךְ בָּבֶל *in the palace of the king of Babel.* הֵיבֵל, Aramaic הֵיבֵל, Arabic هَيْبَل is a word borrowed from the Assyrian. It is of Sumíro-Akkadian origin, compounded of í "house" and gal "great" i. e. "great house" (Oppert). In Assyrian its form í-kal-luv is directly vouched-for by<sup>354</sup> a bilingual inscription; see Schrader's Höllenfahrt der Istar (1874) p. 148. There is no Semitic derivation of the word to be found. How easily terms of this sort pass from nation to nation is shown by the corresponding Latin word *palatium*; comp. note on Is. VI. 1.

XXI, 1. *Twelve years old was Manasseh (מְנַשֶּׁה), when he became king, and he reigned fifty-five years in Jerusalem.* This king is also mentioned in the cuneiform inscriptions. In fact both Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal refer to him among 22 kings of the land Chatti. We first read his name in a passage on Asarhaddon's broken clay cylinder (III Rawl. 16. c. V), which supplements the following passage of the great cylinder-inscription (I Rawl. 47. V, 11—13): 11. ad-ki-í-ma XXII. šarrí mât Ḥat-ti 12. ša a-ḥi tiâm-tiv u ḵabal tiâm-tiv ka-li-šū-nu 13. u-ma-'ir-šū-nu-ti-ma i. e. "I gathered 22 princes of the land Chatti, who [dwelt] by the sea and in the midst of it; all of them I summoned."—Parallel to

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previous line (89) stands the preposition ana exactly in the place where we read aššû in our inscription.

this we have a list of Asurbanipal, which is found on cylinder C (III Rawl. 27) in a mutilated form, but which has come down to us complete in a fragment that has meanwhile been discovered (numbered Rassam 3). I give both the lists, which in their material variations possess historical interest and importance. The lists are based on copies which I took from the originals, and I here place them in parallel columns before the reader\*.

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
*Asarhaddon.*

1. Ba-'lu šar mât Şur-ri.
2. Mí-na-si-í šar ír Ja-u-di.
3. Ƙa-uš-gab-ri šar ír U-du-mí.
4. Mu-şur-i šar ír Ma-'ba.
5. Şil-bíl šar ír Ƙa-zi-ti.
6. Mí-ti-in-ti šar ír Is-ka-lu-na.
7. I-ka-sam(?) -su šar ír Am-ka-ru-na.
8. Mil-ki-a-ša-pa šar ír Gu-ub-li.
9. Ma-ta-an-ba-'-al šar ír A-ru-a-di.
10. A-bi-ba-al šar ír Sam-si-mu-ru-na.
11. Pu-du-ilu šar ír Bit-Am-ma-na.
12. Aḥi-mil-ki\*\* šar ír As-du-di.

*Asurbanipal.*

1. Ba-'lu šar mât Şur-ri.
2. Mi-in-si-í šar mât Ja-u-di.
3. Ƙa-uš-gab-ri šar mât U-du-mí.
4. Mu-şur-i šar mât Ma-'ba.
5. Şil-bíl šar mât Ƙa-zi-ti.
6. Mi-ti-in-ti šar mât Is-ka-lu-na.
7. I-ka-sam(?) -su šar mât Am-ka-ru-na.
8. Mil-ki-a-ša-pa šar mât Gu-ub-li.
9. Ja-ki-in-lu-u šar mât Ar-u-a-da.
10. A-bi-ba-'-al šar mât Sam-si-mu-ru-na.
11. Am-mi-na-ad-bi šar mât Bit-Am-ma-na.
12. Aḥi-mil-ki\*\* šar mât As-du-di.

\* The original text of the two lists has been published by me, based on a fresh collation, in my essay : "Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tiglath-Pileasers II &c." (Berlin 1880) Plate III.

\*\* This is probably more correct than Aḥu-mil-ki (in the essay Zur Kritik der Insch. des Tigl.-P'il. II *ibid.*); comp. Smith's Assurban. 63, 120 = V Rawl. 2, 92 : A-ḥi-mil-ki = 

*Asarhaddon.*

13. I'-ki-iš-tu-ra šar ír I'-di-'-al.
14. Pi-la-a-gu-ra šar ír Ki-it-ru-si.
15. Ki-i-[su] šar ír Si-il-lu-u-a.
16. I-tu-u-an-da-[ar] šar ír Pa-appa.
17. I-ri-í-šu šar ír Si-il-lu-[u?].
18. Da-ma-su šar ír Ku-ri-i.
19. Ru-mí-su šar ír Ta-mí-su.
20. Da-mu-u-si šar ír Ẁar-ti-ḥa-da-as-ti.
21. U-na-sa-gu-su šar ír Li-di-ir.
22. Pu-ṣu-su šar ír Nu-ri-í (a?).

*Asurbanipal.*

13. I'-ki-iš-tu-ra šar ír I'-di-'-[li].
14. Pi-la-a-gu-ra-a šar mât Ki-it-ru-si.
15. Ki-i-su šar mât Si-lu-u-a.
16. I-tu-u-an-da-ar šar mât Pa-appa.
17. I-ri-su šar mât Si-il-lu.
18. Da-ma-su šar mât Ku-ri-i.
19. Ru-mí-su šar mât Ta-mí-su.
20. Da-mu-u-si šar mât Ẁar-ti-ḥa-da-as-ti.
21. U-na-sa-gu-su šar mât Li-di-ir.
22. Pu-ṣu-su šar mât Nu-ri-í.

i. e.

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*Asarhaddon.*

1. „Baal, king of Tyre.
2. Manasseh, king of Juda.
3. Ẁausgabri\*, king of Edom.
4. Muṣuri, king of Moab.
5. Zilbel, king of Gaza\*\*.
6. Mitinti, king of Ashkelon.
7. Ikasamsu (?), king of Ekron.
8. Milkiasap, king of Byblos.
9. Matanbaal, king of Arados.
10. Abibal, king of Samsimuruna.

*Asurbanipal.*

1. „Baal, king of Tyre.
2. Manasseh, king of Juda.
3. Ẁausgabri\*, king of Edom.
4. Muṣuri, king of Moab.
5. Zilbel, king of Gaza\*\*.
6. Mitinti, king of Ashkelon.
7. Ikasamsu, king of Ekron.
8. Milkiasap, king of Byblos.
9. Jakinlu, king of Arados.
10. Abibaal, king of Samsimuruna.

\* Compare with this the names preserved in Josephus and in the Greek inscriptions, *Κοστοβαρος*, *Κοσβαροχορ(χορ)*, *Κοσδαρος*, *Κοσβαρος*, *Γοσγαρος*, and lastly *Κοσμηλαχορ* i. e. Ẁaušmalaka (see above p. 137 Vol. I); comp. Nöldeke in Monatsber. d. Berl. Akad. d. Wiss. (1880) 761 note; also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 79.

\*\* On Zil-Bel see Vol. I, p. 91.

## Asarhaddon.

11. Puduil, king of Beth-Ammon.
12. Achimelech, king of Ashdod.
13. Ikistura, king of Idalium.
14. Pilâgura, king of Kitrus\*.
15. Kî[su], king of Sillûa\*\*.
16. Itûanda[r]\*\*\*, king of Paphos.
17. Irisu, king of Sillû (?).
18. Damasu, king of Curium.
19. Rumîsu, king of Tamassus.
20. Damûsi, king of Ḳartichadast †.
21. Unasagusu, king of Lidir ††.
22. Puşusu, king of Nuri' (?).

## Asurbanipal.

11. Amminadab, king of Beth-Ammon.
12. Achimelech, king of Ashdod.
13. Ikistura, king of Idalium.
14. Pilâgurâ, king of Kitrus\*.
15. Kîsu, king of Sillûa\*\*.
16. Itûandar\*\*\*, king of Paphos.
17. Irisu, king of Sillu.
18. Damasu, king of Curium.
19. Rumîsu, king of Tamassus.
20. Damûsi, king of Ḳartichadast †.
21. Unasagusu, king of Lidir ††.
22. Puşusu, king of Nuri'.

From the preceding inscription we see clearly that Manasseh was tributary to Asarhaddon and that the same thing 357 was also true of Asarhaddon's successor, Asurbanipal. The list certainly appears to a large extent identical with the contents of Asarhaddon's list. Hence we might be disposed to regard the list of Asurbanipal as simply a boastful reproduction of that of Asarhaddon. But in Asurbanipal's

\* Kitrus is *Χύτρος*, *Χύτροι* (Ptolemaeus V. 14 (13) § 6). See my *Zur Kritik der Insch. Tigl.-Pil. II*, p. 34.

\*\* Sillûa, perhaps "Salamis"; Sillû line 17 = *Soli*; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 79.

\*\*\* Respecting Itûandar = *Ἐτέφανδος* see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 77. "Moritz Schmidt in Jena has read this as the name of a king of Paphos in an inscription which runs thus:—*Ἐτεφανδῶ τῷ Παφῶ βασιλεῖος* (Collection of Cyprian Inscriptions in epichoric style, Jena, 1876, p. 8, no. 10)".

† Ḳartichadašti קרת חדשת "Newtown", therefore ultimately Carthage, *Καρθηδών*. *Zur Kritik der Insch. Tigl.-Pil. II*, p. 34, comp. Meltzer, *Geschichte der Karthager I.* 430, 450.

†† Lidir = *Λέδρον*, *Λέδρα*, *Λέδρα*. Further details may be seen in my above-mentioned essay pp. 34. 36.

list the insertion of the names of the kings Jakinlû of Arados and Amminadab of Ammon, in place of Matanba'al and Puduilu in the list of Asarhaddon, is a proof that we have before us a special catalogue, independent in its kind and drawn up with a purpose, and which takes account of the changes that had occurred in the interval in the occupants of the throne\*. We cannot avoid the conclusion that Manasseh was tributary to the Assyrian Great King during the latter part of Asarhaddon's reign, and at all events during the earlier part of the reign of Asurbanipal. See also the notes on 2 Chron. XXXIII. 11—13.

XXIII. 29. *In his time Pharaoh Necho (נְכֹדַח), king of Aegypt, advanced against the king of Assyria, on the river Euphrates.* An Aegyptian king Ni-k u-u, i. e. Necho, is also mentioned in the Assyrian inscriptions, viz. in the annals of Asurbanipal (Smith's Assurb. 20, 92 = III Rawl. 17, 92; V Rawl. 1, 90). He there appears with the title šar ír Mî-im-pi u ír Sa-ai "king of Memphis and Sais" along with a series of other Aegyptian kings, who had submitted to the Assyrian. But the king there referred-to is Necho I, who reigned until 664 (658?) B. C., and consequently he is not the monarch intended by the Hebrew historian (Josiah did not ascend the throne till 639 B. C.).<sup>358</sup> The Necho II who reigned 611—605 is not mentioned either on Babylonian or Assyrian monuments.

*against the king of Assyria.* The reader is aware that it is a disputed point whether we are actually to under-

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\* Zur Kritik der Inschriften Tigl.-Pil. II, p. 35. Thus what I stated in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 51 foll. under no. 8 can now be asserted much more positively.—[The reader will also notice that Asurbanipal's inscription prefers mât 'land' to the use of ír 'city' in Asarhaddon's list—Transl.]

stand an Assyrian monarch in the narrower sense as meant by the passage—in which case it would be the last of the rulers of Niniveh;—or whether the reference is to the king of the Babylonian empire which had succeeded to the proud position occupied by the empire of Assyria, in other words to king Nabopolassar. The answer to this question depends in its turn upon the answer to another: When did Niniveh fall? According to the account of Abydenus and of Syncellus it would appear as though the conquest of Niniveh preceded or coincided with the ascent of the Babylonian throne by Nabopolassar in 626 (5) B. C.\*. In this case the Assyrian king referred-to by the Hebrew historian can only be the Babylonian king Nabopolassar. According to the other calculation, handed down by Eusebius and Hieronymus, the fall of Niniveh took place considerably later.

359 According to Eusebius - Hieronymus, Cyaxares took the capital of Ninus in the year Olympiad XLII. 4 = 609/608; according to the Armenian Chronicon of Eusebius, in the

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\* Abydenus in Eusebius' Chronic. Lib. ed. Schoene I. 35: „Post quem [scil. Sardanapallum] Saracus Assyriis imperavit, et (qui) certior factus, quod exercitus locustarum iustar (numerosus) e mari exiens impetum faceret, Busalossorum ducem confestim Babelonem misit. Ille autem consilio rebellionis inito Amuheam Ashdahaki (Astyagis) Medorum principis filiam Nabukodrossoro suo filio uxorem despondit. Ac deinde protinus discedens contendeat aggredi Ninum, id est, urbem Ninue. Cum autem de his omnibus certior est factus Saracus Rex, concremavit regiam aulam Evoriti [ex: ἐωῦτον = semet ipsum AvG.]. Nabukodrossorus vero accipiens regni imperium” etc. Comp. Syncellus *ibid.* p. 38 = ed. Bonn. p. 396 (210 B.): Οὗτος (ὁ Ναβοπαλάσαρος) στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ Σαρακὸς τοῦ Χαλδαίων βασιλέως σταλείς κατὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Σαρακὸς εἰς Νίνον ἐπιστρατεύει. οὗ τὴν ἔφοδον πτοηθεὶς ὁ Σαρακὸς ἐωῦτον σὶν τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐπέρησε, καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν Χαλδαίων καὶ Βαβυλωνίων παρέλαβεν ὁ αὐτὸς Ναβοπαλάσαρος, ὁ τοῦ Ναβουχοδονόσορ πατήρ.



year Olymp. XLIII. 1 = 608/7\*. On this supposition the expedition of Necho to the East, in the year 609, would have been actually directed against an Assyrian ruler in the narrower acceptation of the term : it would not have been till his campaign (his second?) of the year 606, which ended with the battle of Karkemish, that he would have come into collision with the newly rising Babylonian empire. Assyrian documents throw no fresh light at all on this problem. This is owing to the fact that we are still very poorly informed by the native records about the concluding episodes of Assyrian history. It may be admitted that, according to the discoveries of G. Smith, Boscawen and A. H. Sayce, there is a growing probability that several rulers succeeded Asurbanipal-Sardanapal [668—626 (?)\*\*] upon the throne of Niniveh, viz. Ašur-itil-ilī-ukinni, son of Asurbanipal, a certain X-šum-iškun, and perhaps also a certain Asurachiddin II (Sarakos). But we cannot deduce therefrom more definite conclusions regarding the date of the capture of Niniveh by the Medes (and Babylonians). Nevertheless the author would be disposed to consider the estimate of Eusebius and Hieronymus as by far the nearest to the truth, and this for the following reasons : If 625, = 1<sup>st</sup> year of Nabopolassar's reign, be <sup>360</sup> the date of the fall of Niniveh, it follows, since Sarda-

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\* See Eusebius, Chron. ed. Schoene II. 90, 91 and comp. Niebuhr, Assur und Babel pp. 114 foll. For more precise details see A. von Gutschmid, de temporum notis &c. Kil. 1868.

\*\* Respecting the identity of Asurbanipal and the Sardanapallus of Berossus, and also respecting his assumed 42-years reign, see the author's essay in "Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissensch." (philolog.-histor. Cl.) pp. 8 foll. 31; Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 541 foll.; comp. p. 369 footnote\*.

napalus-Asurbanipal may be supposed to have sat on the throne till 626 (inclusive), that the decisive struggle must have been limited to a duration of *hardly one* year. This taken by itself is scarcely probable, when we consider that Sardanapalus was able to maintain himself in possession of Babylon till the day of his death. Moreover, it is hardly compatible with this hypothesis, that at least *two* rulers sat on the throne of Niniveh after Asurbanipal. We have monuments of *both* these kings, and *both* were still in a position to erect buildings of greater or less size\*. Again, Herodotus I. 103, 106 speaks of a twice repeated siege of Niniveh by Cyaxares, and of a Scythian domination lasting 28 years. Both these statements are far from favourable to the above theory, as writers have long noticed. Besides this, in the oracles\*\* of Jeremiah, belonging to the fourth year of Jojakim = 606 B. C. (assuming 609 as the first year of the Jewish king), we find mention of the races from Aegypt, in the West, to Media and Elam, in the East; also of the sovereigns of the Nile-country as well as the kings of Media, Elam and Babel, including also the rulers of Philistia and the sheiks of Arabia; but not a syllable is said about *Assur*. We cannot therefore place the date of the capture of Niniveh later than the year 606. If Assyria still existed as an empire in the fourth year of Jojakim's reign, it could not have been

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\* On Ašur-itil-ili-ukinni see the inscription of the king I Rawl. 8, no. 3, as well as that of his daughter III Rawl. 16, no. 2. Respecting X-šum-iškun, see Geo. Smith, *Assyrian Discoveries* p. 383 and also the portion of this king's inscription published by me in the original text in the Reports of the Königlich-Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 1880, p. 38 under no. K. 1662; compare likewise *ibid.* pp. 33 foll.

\*\* Jerem. XXV. 19—26.

passed over in silence. The date of Niniveh's overthrow must therefore be placed in the interval between 609, on the one side, and 606, on the other. If the assumption of 361 many scholars be correct, that Necho (see above) made his first forward movement against the Euphrates in a *second* campaign (Ebers), there would be still greater reason for placing the downfall of Niniveh as late as about the year 606 B. C. Thus the year 607 as that of the capture of Niniveh (Max Duncker) may be held to have the greatest probability in its favour. At all events—to return to the point from which this discussion started—there is no reason to take exception to the accuracy of the statement in the Book of Kings, that Necho advanced against the king of “Assyria”. It is manifest that the position of Karkemish on the Middle Euphrates points mainly to a purposed campaign against Niniveh and Assyria, and not against Babylon. Compare also note on Is. X. 9.

XXIV. 1. *In his (Zedekiah's) days Nebucadnezzar (נְבוּכַדְרֶצְצַר), king of Babel, marched down.* In the cuneiform records the Babylonian conqueror is called (see East India House Inscr. I. 1, Borsip. I. 1 &c.) Nabû-kudurri-uşur written Na-bi-uv-ku-du-ur-ri-u-şu-ur, in which form we at once recognize the prototype of the form נְבוּכַדְרֶצְצַר, occurring in Jeremiah XLIX. 28 (comp. Ezra II. 1 (K'thib)), as well as of the name *Ναβουχοδρονόσορος* in the pages of Strabo, Alex. Polyhistor, Megasthenes and Abydenus\*. The name is compounded of the name of deity 362

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\* Precise details may be found in *Jahrbücher für Protestantische Theologie* VII (1881), p. 619. We can therefore vouch for the following changes in the pronunciation of this king's name: (1) Native Babylonian pronunciation Nabû-kudurri-uşur; (2) Graeco-Babylonian pronunciation *Ναβουχοδρονόσορος*; also Strabo (ed. Bekker) has

Nabû (which in the Assyrian column of the syllabary II Rawl. 7, 41 g. h. corresponds to the written form Nabiu v) and the subst. kudur "crown" (comp. *κίθαρις*), as well as the Imperat. ušur from našâru "protect". Thus the name signifies "Nebo, protect the crown"; see Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 124\*.

We possess a series of inscriptions on bricks and clay cylinders belonging to this king; also an inscribed cameo

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*Ναβοχοδρόσορος*; (3) Hebraeo-Babylonian נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר, probably originally Nebû-khodr-'eššôr i. e. נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר. Then the form came to have an erroneous duplication of the *y* viz. Nēbû-khodr-eššôr; afterwards it became still further corrupted to נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר both as spoken and written; (4) Hebrew-Masoretic orthography and pronunciation נְבוּכַדְרֶאֱצַר i. e. Nebûkhadneššar, whence the German "Nebukadnezar" and the more accurate English spelling Nebuchadnezzar. The Romanists following the Nabuchodonosor &c. of the Vulgate give the name in the form which that version presents.

\* Paul Haupt, *Der Keilinschriftliche Sinfthbericht* (1881) p. 4 would pronounce the name Nabû-kudurrî-ušur "Nebo, protect my crown". It ought, however, to be observed that while kudurrî might be an abbreviation for kudurrî = kudurrîja, yet in the ideographic mode of writing the middle element never appears with the suffix. Comp. the name Nabû-abal-ušur, and see above Vol. I, p. 232 foll. on the name Tiglath-Pileser. Recently Delitzsch (see Mürdter, *Babylon.-Assyrische Geschichte* pp. 210, 270) would be disposed to understand the middle part of the name viz. kudurru as meaning a cap of woven reeds such as the workman was accustomed to wear when engaged in work. Thus he would take the name as signifying "Nebo, protect my work". Comp. V Rawl. 10, 93. Observe, on the other hand, that the word already occurs even in the early Elamite royal names "Kudur-Naḥundi", "Kudur-Mabuk" &c. [But, in the recent *Calwer Bibellexicon* just completed, Fried. Delitzsch furnishes some new etymologies of Assyrian and Babylonian proper names. Thus Nebukadnezzar (Nabû-kudûrî-uzur) is rendered "Nebo, protect my dominion". Comp. also E. A. Budge, *Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon*, Lond. (1885) p. 3 "Nebo, defend the landmark!" See "Hebraica" for Jan. 1885, p. 183—Transl.]

with the royal portrait\*. By far the larger number of these inscriptions—some of which are of considerable extent—are exclusively occupied, when they are not of a religious character, with the royal buildings at Babel and Borsippa. This is a general characteristic of Babylonian,<sup>363</sup> as opposed to Assyrian, inscriptions—a feature that in the interests of historical knowledge is greatly to be deplored. We learn, however, from these records at all events the ordinary title of the king as well as the name of his father. We become acquainted with both from the legends on bricks. One legend of six lines I have copied in the *Bibellexikon*, as well as in *Riehm's Handwörterbuch des Biblischen Alterthums*, from a brick preserved in the Zürich Museum. The inscription runs thus: “1. Nabû-ku-dur-ri-uşur 2. šar Ba-bi-lu 3. za-nin I. SAG. GA. ʾTU (saggil) 4. u I. ZI. DA, 5. abal Nabû-abal-uşur 6. šar Ba-bi-lu a-na-ku i. e. 1. Nebukadnezzar 2. king of Babylon, 3. restorer of the temple of exaltation 4. and of the temple of well-being (?), 5. son of Nabopolassar, 6. king of Babylon, I’.

*Notes and Illustrations.* 1. The name of the king is here written in its first portion with the ordinary ideogram for the god Nebo; in its second portion it is written phonetically; while in its third portion (uşur) it is once more written ideographically with the sign ŠIŠ which is explained in a syllabary by naşâru. See also *Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch.* pp. 124 foll.;—2. “Babylon” is both here and in line 6. written phonetically throughout;—3. zânin partic. of zanânu often used in the sense of “restore”, “improve”. Respecting the two temple-names see above pp. 122 foll. With respect to the name I. ZI. DA,

\* A representation of this portrait may be found in *Schenkel's Bibellexicon* Vol. III, p. 511. *Riehm, Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums* 1067a. On the question of the genuineness and origin of this cameo see *Monatsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin*, pp. 293—298 (where a photographic reproduction is given); *J. Menaut in Rev. Archéol. Par.* 1885; *A. Furtwängler in Sammlung zu Ehren Leemanns', Leid.* 1885 fig.

I would observe in explanation that ZI. DA signifies in the first place imnu "right" (with idu "the right hand"; comp. Hebr. יָמִין); see Assy. Babyl. Keil. p. 194. From this again is derived the meaning kīnu "firm", "trustworthy". We can therefore hover to a certain extent between the renderings "House of the right", "House of well-being" or "of permanence";—5. The name Nabû-abal-uṣur means "Nebo, protect the son" Assy. Babyl. Keil. p. 126;—6. anakû = אֲנָכִי. The final u is long (Haupt).

Of historical inscriptions in the narrower sense of the term, resembling the Assyrian, there has come down to us hitherto only the fragment of a cylinder-inscription which I published in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift* 1879 p. 45 foll. i. e. the portion of the inscription that is to a certain  
 364 extent intelligible. Compare *ibid.* A. Wiedemann 1878, pp. 87—89. The passage runs thus : 13. . . . šanat XXXVII KAN Nabû-kudurri-uṣur šar mât. . . . 14. . . . [mât] Mi-ṣir a-na í-biṣ taḥâzi al-[lik] . . . . 1. . . . [A-ma]-a(?) -su šar Mi-ṣir\* upaḥḥir-ma i. e. 13. . . . "37<sup>th</sup> year of Nebucadnezzar, king of the land [Babel] . . . . 14. . . . (to) Aegypt to fight a battle I [marched] . . . . 1. . . . [Amâ]sis (?), the king of Aegypt assembled and . . ." After this we read of military incidents, of soldiers and horses being slaughtered or transported kirib mât Miṣir "into the midst of the land Aegypt"; but we obtain no more definite intelligence about these proceedings. By the date (37<sup>th</sup> year of Nebucadnezzar's reign) we are brought to the year 568 B. C., which agrees well with the completion of the Aegyptian king's name into Amâsu = Amasis proposed by Pinches and Wiedemann.

I would also remark that quite recently an inscription of Nebucadnezzar, engraved in archaistic cuneiform on a precipitous rock, has been discovered on the Northern

\* The word mât, which we should expect to stand before Miṣir, is omitted through an error either of the copyist or of the ancient tablet-writer.

bank of Nahr-el-kelb (Dog's river), near Beirut. It has not yet been possible to gain any definite information about the contents of the inscription from the casts that have hitherto been made. See A. H. Sayce in "Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology" Nov. 1. 1881, pp. 9 foll.

XXV. 8. נְבוּזַרְאֲדָן, *Nebuzaradan*. The Babylonian form of the name was Nabû-zîr-iddina i. e. "Nebo bestowed posterity". It is compounded of the name of the deity Nabû, the substantive zîr = זֶרַע "seed"\* and the Kal Imperf. of nadânu = Hebrew נָתַן "give". We read the name in the Assyrian original among the list of proper names II Rawl. 64, col. II, 13. See further in my *Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch.* p. 126 No. 7.

27. *And it came to pass in the 37<sup>th</sup> year after the deportation of Jehoiachin . . . then arose Evil-Merodach (אֵיל־מְרֹדַךְ), king of Babel, in the year when he became king.* The name is easily explained. Its original Babylonian form was Avîl-Marduk i. e. "Man of Merodach", a name that is compounded of avîlu "man" and Marduk "Merodach". We find an exactly similar name in *Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch.* p. 157 No. 69, where Şab-şar (צָבִיא־שָׂר) is explained as "man of the king" (II Rawl. 63: col. 1, 7 as well as Şab-Adar "man of Adar" (II Rawl. 63. II, 22).

Tablets dated from the years of the reign of this king, viz. from the year of his accession (562 B. C.), his first year (561) and his second (560), have within a recent period been added to the British Museum. They belong to the group

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\* On the pronunciation zi-i-ru instead of זֶרַע or זֶרַע, comp. Haupt, *Sumerische Familiengesetze* p. 33 note 6.

of so-called I'gibi-tablets. The different modes of writing the name which have been handed down are Avíl-Marduk and A-ví-lu-Marduk. See Boscawen in Transs. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. VI, 1. 1878.

## FIRST BOOK OF CHRONICLES.

V. 26. *Then the God of Israel aroused the spirit of Pul, king of Assyria, and the spirit of Tiglath-Pilneser* (תִּלְגַּת־פִּלְנֶסֶר) etc. Ofcourse פִּלְנֶסֶר stands by mistake for פִּלְאֶסֶר, in just the same way as חִלְגָה arose from the original form הִגְלָה merely by a transposition of letters. This mode of writing the king's name is opposed by the Books of Kings and by the inscriptions alike, and is due either to the Chronicler or to a copyist. See also the comments on 2 Kings XV, 19. 20 and compare the critical discussion of this passage in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 435 foll.

הָרָא *Hârâ*, a corrupt reading. See Schrader, Art. Hara in Riehm's Handwörterb. des Biblischen Alterthums, and Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 430. Compare the notes on 2 Kings XVII, 6. XVIII, 11.

## SECOND BOOK OF CHRONICLES.

IX. 16. *Three hundred [shekels] of gold he put on one shield.* In the parallel passage in the Books of Kings (1 Kings X. 17) there stands "three minas". It would appear from this that the Chronicler reckoned the mina at 100 shekels. That was the valuation of the later, Greek period. The Hebrews of the earlier time valued the mina (as money) at 50 shekels. According to Hitzig, in his commentary on Ezek. XLV. 12, we should read מִנָּה in



place of מאות\*. The whole difficulty would then disappear. Smend adopts this solution. See the note on Gen. XXIII. 16, Vol. I p. 127 foll.

XV. 18. <sup>שִׂמְרָמָה</sup><sub>שמרמה</sub> <sup>שמרמה</sup> *Semiramis*. We find this name in the form *Sammuramat* (written *Sa-a-m-mu'-ra-mat*), as a woman's name, upon the monuments viz. on the statues of Nebo found at Nimrūd (I Rawl. 35 no. 2 line 9). It there appears as the name of Rammānirār's "woman of the palace" (Rammānirār reigned 812—783). Delitzsch in Mürdter's *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens* p. 278 thinks that *Sammuramat* may be explained as meaning "lover of scents"\*\*. It is not surprising that the Hebrews, when they adopted this to them unintelligible name, endeavoured to adapt it to their own mode of pronunciation. Compare the Hebrew רַמוֹן as the equivalent of the Assyrio-Aramaic *Rammānu* *Ῥεμμάν*; as well as טַבְּ-רַמוֹן for *Tāb-Rammān* (*Ταβερρημάν*). See above Vol. I pp. 196, 197.

XXXIII. 11. *Then Jahve brought upon them the military commanders of the king of Assyria who took Manasseh captive with hooks and bound him with chains and carried him away to Babel.* 12. *And when he was in distress he supplicated Jahve his God . . . .* 13. . . . *and He gave ear to his entreaty and heard his prayer, and caused him to return to Jerusalem into his kingdom.* The reader is aware that this passage has been the subject of much<sup>367</sup> discussion. Objections were raised by critics to a state-

\* [Comp. the converse illustration of the very same confusion of א and נ in the case of פִּלְנֶסֶר for פִּלְאֶסֶר in 1 Chron. V. 26. See above the note on the passage—Translator.]

\*\* rām at "lover", root רָהַם = רָחַם; sammu "scent", comp. שְׁמִים.

ment which had no place in the Books of Kings, and it was thought that the passage should be severed from the narrative, as being altogether unhistorical. It was argued in the *first* place, that we have no other mention in the historical books of a supremacy wielded by the Assyrians at that time (700—650) in Western Asia, such as this account presupposes; and in the *second* place, that we here read that Manasseh was transported to Babel, and not to Niniveh, as we should have expected if the king who carried him away into captivity was an Assyrian. Both objections lose their force in the presence of the inscriptions. As to the first, we know that even Asarhaddon, towards the end of his reign, had reduced to subjection the whole of Syria and Aegypt. In both the lists of the twenty-two tributary kings of the Chatti-country (i. e., in the present case, Phoenicia, Philistia and the (Cyprian) island-states), which have been handed down to us by Asarhaddon and (as a parallel list) by Asurbanipal, we find no less a personage mentioned than this Manasseh himself: Mīnasī (Minsī) šar mât (īr) Jaudi; see note on 2 Kings XXI. 1. Now it is not probable that the event we are considering happened as early as in the reign of Asarhaddon. Not a word is said by Asarhaddon, in the inscription containing the above list, about any insurrection of the Palestinian states (it was the Phoenician Sidon that had to be forcibly reduced to obedience). And we have certainly not the slightest hint of Manasseh's opposition to Asarhaddon, when the latter conducted his great conquering expedition against Aegypt towards the close of his reign. On the other hand we know from Asurbanipal, 368 his successor, that mât MARTU (= mât Aḥarri) "the Western country", meaning Phoenicia and Palestine, was

about the middle of his reign (about 648—7 B. C. and previously) involved, along with Elam, the land Gutī (ġ) and Mīlūhġ-Kush, in the revolt of his rebellious brother Šamaš-šum-ukīn i. e. Sammughes-Saosduchin\*. See Smith's Assurbanipal 154, 32 to 155, 38; comp. V Rawl. 3, 100 foll. We may assume with perfect confidence that Manasseh was included among these Palestino-Phoenician rebels. At least he may have drawn upon himself the suspicion of having an understanding with Asurbanipal's rebellious brother. In order to clear himself of this suspicion or to furnish the Great King with guarantees of his faithfulness and submission, he was conveyed away to Babel. But to Babel?—This leads us to the consideration of the second objection. There can be no question that the proper residence of the Assyrian kings, and of Asurbanipal among the rest, was Niniveh, and, as far as Asurbanipal was concerned, Niniveh was the exclusive residence as long as his brother, the above-named Sammughes-Saosduchin, was viceroy of Babel, i. e., according to the Ptolemaic Canon, till the year 648—7 B. C. But nothing stands in the way of the assumption that the Great King, after he had assumed the rank of king of Babylon, resided in that city for a while and there received embassies as well as princes in vindication of themselves. In *one* pertinent instance we are able to establish from the monuments that this actually occurred. The Cyprian ambassadors of "the seven kings of the district Jah of the land

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\* On this identification see Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung pp. 540 foll.; and on the reading Šamaš-šum-ukīn, according to a syllabary recently discovered by Rassam and copied by Delitzsch, see Berichte der Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 1880, p. 2, note 3. Also see Assyr. Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 166.

Jatnan", after the conquest of Babylon and after Sargon  
 369 had placed the crown of Babel upon his head, offered to  
 the Great King *in Babylon* presents as tokens of homage\*.  
 At all events we have under the above circumstances no  
 reason to draw the inference from the mention of Babel, as  
 the place to which Manasseh was taken, that the whole  
 episode narrated by the Chronicler is unhistorical. Let  
 us now turn to the account given by Asurbanipal of the  
 part played by the nations and princes of Western Asia  
 in this insurrection of Sarmughes. His words are (Smith's

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\* Khorsab. 149 a-na ki-rib Bâb-ilu a-di maḥ-ri-ja u-bî-  
 lu-num-ma "to the midst of Babylon before me they brought";  
 comp. the Berlin stele of Sargon col. II (IV), 28 foll. as well as the  
 annals Botta 91, 11. According to the canon of Ptolemaeus this hap-  
 pened in the year 648 B. C., the last of Saosduchin (647 is the first  
 year of Kineladan). On the identity of Kineladan (Ptolemaic canon),  
 Sardanapallus (Berossus) and Asurbanipal (Inscriptions), see Keilinsch.  
 u. Gesch. pp. 517 foll. 540 foll. The essential grounds for these  
 identifications are (1) The Sardanapallus of Berossus was brother of  
 Sarmughes-Saosduchin, just as the Asurbanipal of the inscriptions  
 was brother of Šamaš-šum-ukîn. (2) The "brother and successor of  
 Sarmughes" was a ruler of the Babylonians, just as Asurbanipal follow-  
 ed Šamaš-šum-ukîn as "king of Babylon". Accordingly a Chaldaean  
 clay tablet belonging to Asurbanipal (Smith's Assurb. 324) is simply  
 dated according to the "years" of this monarch as "king of Babylon".  
 (3) The  $21 + 21 = 42$  years of Sarmughes and Sardanapallus in  
 Berossus correspond to the  $20 + 22 = 42$  years of Saosduchin and  
 Kineladan in the Canon of Ptolemaeus. And lastly (4) the beginning  
 of the reign of the Asurbanipal of the inscriptions (668—667) coin-  
 cides with that of Saosduchin-Sarmughes, i. e. Šamaš-šum-ukîn, in  
 the Ptolemaic canon, while Abydenus, who only reports the succession  
 of *Assyrian* rulers, conformably represents Sardanapallus as succeeding  
 Axerdis-Asarhaddon. For the proof that Abydenus handed down the  
 series of *Assyrian* rulers, and Berossus that of the Babylonian poten-  
 tates, see my Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 540 foll. Compare also Berichte  
 der Sächsischen Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften 1880 (philol. histor.  
 Classe), pp. 2. 14. 13, as well as the author's article : Kineladan and  
 Asurbanipal, in Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung I, 222 foll.

Assurbanipal 154\*) : 27. U šu-u Šamaš-šum-ukîn  
 28. aḥu la ki-í-nu ša la iṣ-ṣu-ru a-di-ja 29. nišî  
 mât Akkadi mât Kal-du mât A-ru-mu (Var.  
 A-ra-mu) mât tiâm-tiv ul-tav ír A-ka-ba a-di ír<sup>370</sup>  
 Bâb-sa-li-mí-ti 31. ardu (Var. Pl.) da-gil pa-ni-  
 ja uš-pal-kit i-na katâ-ja i. e. "27. And that  
 Sammughes 28. my unfaithful brother, who did not main-  
 tain obedience to me, 29. seduced the inhabitants of  
 Akkad, Chaldaea, Arumu, of the maritime country 30. from  
 Aḡaba to Bab-salimî, 31. subjects devoted to me, to revolt  
 against me". And again in Smith's Assurb. p. 154. 34 foll.  
 we read (III Rawl. 20, 38—42, V Rawl. 3, 103—106) :  
 34. u šarrî m. Gu-ti (Var. Gu-ti-í), 35. mât  
 Aḡarri (Var. Aḡarri-í), mât Mí-luḡ-ḡi-í, 36. ša  
 ina ki-bit Ašur u Bīlit iṣ-tak-ka-na katâ-ai  
 37. nab-ḡar-šu-nu it-ti-ja u-šan-kir-ma 38. it-  
 ti-šu iṣ-ku-nu pi-i-šu-un (Var. nu) i. e. "34. And  
 the kings of the land Gutî, 35. of the West country\*\*,  
 of the land Míluḡḡí (Kush = Aethiopia), 36. which at  
 the bidding of Asur and Beltis my hands had brought  
 (under subjection) : 37. all of them he (Sammughes)  
 seduced to revolt from me; 38. with him they made com-  
 mon cause" (literally "they made with him their mouth").  
 By the king of Míluḡḡí-Kush we must evidently understand  
 the king of Aethiopia-Aegypt, i. e. Psammetich, as meant.  
 Compare also Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 287 foll. note\*\*\*.

\* Comp. III Rawl. 20, 31 foll.; V Rawl. 3, 96—100.

\*\* See the comments on Gen. X. 6, Vol. I, p. 73.

\*\*\* Despite the objections of Oppert (Journal Asiatique 1872. Extr. No. 1, pp. 11. 13) and of Haupt (Sumerische Familiengesetze I, p. 74) I still adhere to the equivalence of Pi(Tn)-ša-mil-ki and Psamme-

371 On all these grounds I do not hesitate to connect with this attempted insurrection of Šamaš-šum-ukin the treasonable act of Manasseh which, though not openly proclaimed, was resolutely planned. Accordingly I would place it about the year 648 B. C., and his transportation in the following year, 647. But what are we to say of his being deported "in iron chains and with hooks"? Does not that in itself sound altogether fabulous? And is it conceivable that a prince so dishonoured could once more be tolerated on the throne, or that a prince who was so seriously implicated could have obtained complete pardon? About this also we gain light from Asurbanipal's inscription. The Great King reports to us respecting Necho I precisely what we read in the Bible about Manasseh. We read in Smith's Assurbanipal 43, 45 : Šar-lu-dá-ri Ni-ik-ku-u iṣ-bat-u-num-ma ina bi-ri-ti\* parzilli iṣ-ḡa-ti parzilli u-tam-mí-ḡu ḡatâ u šípâ i. e. "They seized Šarludari (and) Necho, bound with iron

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tich. See Smith's Assurb. 66. 28 (V Rawl. 2. 114). To take the corresponding syllables or words in an appellative sense (Oppert) is in point of language impossible; while the fact that the sign for the syllable pi likewise possessed the phonetic value tu (Haupt) only explains the more readily in my opinion the possibility of an Assyrian not comprehending an Aegyptian name and endeavouring to adapt it to his own mode of speech. Compare also my remarks in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 43 and also observe that the potentate referred-to is expressly called, on the cylinder of Asurbanipal recently discovered by Rassam, šar mât Mu-ṣur or, in other words, "king of Aegypt". Thus he cannot have been one of the various Aegyptian departmental or petty princes.

\* Oppert ingeniously proposes to read ḡaš-ri-ti, root ḡaš-ri; yet, so far as I am aware, this reading has not yet been confirmed by variants. The signification in this and other passages is established by the context.

bonds and iron chains hands and feet”\*.—And subsequently, after hearing of his deportation to Niniveh, we are told how the Great King 53. ri-í-mu ar-ši-šu “favour (םרר = םרר) has bestowed upon him” and permitted him to return to Aegypt with his generals (60. šu-ut-sak-i-ja šaknûti a-na [mât Mu-şur it]-ti-šu aš-pur “my officers, the viceroys, I sent with him to <sup>372</sup> Aegypt”\*\*). But what might happen to an Aegyptian potentate, could certainly be inflicted also on a Judæan prince. The result of our investigation we sum up as follows:—that there is no reason to cast any suspicion on the statement of the Chronicler (so far, ofcourse, as facts are reported), and that what he relates can be satisfactorily accounted-for from the circumstances that existed in the year 647 B. C.

## BOOK OF EZRA.

I. 1. *and in the first year of Koresh (כֹּרֶשׁ), king of Persia.* The native pronunciation of the name of Cyrus is K’ur’uš Behistun-inscription I, 28. 39 etc. In the Babylonian inscriptions the name is written Ku-ra-aš, Ku-raš i. e. Kuraš, see the inscription of Cyrus at Murghâb, Assy.-Babylon. Keilinsch. 339; Cyrus-cylinder (V Rawl. 35) line 20; Annals of Nabûnâhid Obv. col. II,

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\* iškâti probably from עֶשֶׂף, عَسْف properly an instrument whereby a man is kept in forcible constraint; utammih Pael from tamâhu, of obscure derivation—perhaps connected with חָמַךְ (?).

\*\* Šaknûti “viceroys”, plur. of šaknu, šakan, is written with the ordinary ideogram NAM whose phonetic equivalent is supplied by the variant in Smith’s History of Assurbanipal 35, 13. The title has passed into the Hebrew in the form שָׁכָן (שָׁכָן); comp. the note below on Is. XLI. 25 and above on 1 Kings X. 15 footnote\* Vol. I p. 175 foll.

1—30 Rev. 12 foll.\*—*Persia* 𐎱𐎠𐎼𐎿 is called in the native dialect Pârça. See Behistun-inscription I, 5. 14. 41 etc. Its Babylonian equivalent is (mât) Parsu written Par-su, Par-su-u, Pa-a-r-su (Behistun loc. cit. Naqsh-i-Rustam 9 etc.); also Par-sa (Xerxes D 13).

2. “*All the kingdoms of the earth Jahve the God of Heaven has given me*” etc. Though the words placed in the mouth of the Persian king are spoken *ex sensu Judaeorum*, yet they may be justified historically from the fact, that they completely accord with the policy of toleration that characterized the reign of the founder of the Persian monarchy. We learn from the recently dis-  
373 covered annals of Nabûnâhid that Cyrus left the worship of the Babylonian deities inviolate; indeed, he caused the divinities whom the last Babylonian king had removed from their former shrines to be restored to their places (Rev. col. I, 21 foll. comp. with Rev. I, 9 foll.). On cylinder line 33 we read “And the gods of Sumîr and Akkad, which Nabûnâhid to the sorrow of the lord of the gods had carried off to Suannaki-Babylon, I caused to take up their abode (again) in peace in their sanctuaries, an abode of joy of heart for the whole of the gods whom I brought back to their towns”\*\*. In the same cylinder

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\* The modes of writing the name hitherto certified by the inscriptions are :—Ku-ra-aš, Ku-ur-ra-šu, Ku-ur-ra-aš, Kur-ra-aš(áš); Kur-raš, Ku-raš and once even Ku-ur-šu the last of which represents the native Persian pronunciation most accurately. Comp. Boscawen in Trans. of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeol. VI. 1 (1878).

\*\* The Babylonian text runs thus : 33. u ilî mât Šu-mî-ri u Ak-kadi-KI ša Nabû-nâ'id a-na ug-ga-tiv bíl ilî u-šî-ri-bi a-na ki-rib Šu-an-na-KI i-na ki-bi-ti Marduk bíli rabî i-na ša-li-im-tiv 34. i-na maš(?)-ta-ki-šu-nu u-šî-ši-ib šu-ba-at tu-ub lib-bi kul-la-ta ilî ša u-šî-ri-bi a-na ki-ir-bi



inscription Cyrus recognizes Merodach in his character of supreme god of the Babylonians, represents the deity as announcing his (i. e. Cyrus') march to Babel, and taking the road to Babylon, while he leads Cyrus at his side as friend and comrade (lines 14. 15). Cyrus also informs us that he has daily offered prayers to Bel and Nebo that they would intercede on his behalf, especially with Merodach\*.

IV. 2. *after the days of Asarhaddon, the king of Assyria, who brought us hither.* As to the name Asarhaddon see the notes on 2 Kings XIX. 37 (above Vol. II, <sup>374</sup> p. 17 foll.). The cuneiform inscriptions contain no express mention of the settlement of Eastern races in Samaria, to which this Biblical passage alludes. From the records of Asarhaddon we only learn that he transferred Eastern populations into the land Chatti generally i. e. Syria, inclusive of Phoenicia and Palestine. This latter statement cannot admit of doubt. We read on Asarhaddon's cylinder, after his account of the defeat of Abdimilkut of Sidon, I Rawl. 45, col. I, lines 24 foll. : 24. nišî-šu rapšâti, ša ni-ba la i-ša-a 25. alpî u ši-í-ni imírî 26. a-bu-ka a-na ki-rib mât Aššur. 27. U-pa-ḥir-ma

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ma-ḥa-zi-šu-un 35. û-mi ša(?) -am ma-ḥar Bîl u Nabû ša a-ra-ku ûmî-ja li-ta-mu-u lit-tib-ka-ru a-ma-a-ta du-un-ki-ja u a-na Marduk bíli-ja li-iḫ-bu-u ša Ku-ra-aš šarru pa-li-ḥi-ka u Ka-am-bu-zi-ja abal-šu . . . etc.—33. With uggatu comp. the Hebr. הנה, הנה;—34. maš(?) taku is obscure; kullat clearly stands for the form we elsewhere meet with kalu (or nabḥar);—35. ûmi šâm etc. = "daily setting up before Bel and Nebo (scil. the prayer) that they would command length of my days (root אמר, in glossary אמר, = המה, from which we have amât "command"), bless my exalted command and announce to Merodach, my lord : "Cyrus, the king (is) thy adorer, and Cambyses his son . . ." (here the text breaks off).

\* See note p. 60.

šarrî\* mât Hat-ti 28. u a-ḥi tiâm-tiv ka-li-šu-nu  
 29. [i-na pani-ja . . . . \*\*] ša-num-ma ír\*\*\*  
 u-šî-bi-š-ma; 30. ír [Ašur-]aḥ-iddi-na at-ta-bi  
 ni-bit-su. 31. Nišî ḥu-bu-ut kaš-ti-ja ša šadi-i  
 32. u tiâm-tiv ši-it šam-ši 33. i-na lib-bi u-šî-  
 ši-ib; 34. avíl šu-ut-saḳ-ja, avíl šak-na íli-šu-nu  
 aš-kun i. e. "24. His (Abdimilkut's) numerous depen-  
 dants, which are not to be numbered, 25. cattle and  
 flocks, asses 26. I carried away to Assyria 27. I gathered  
 together all the kings of the land Chatti 28. and of the  
 sea-coast 29. [before me . . .]. Another town I caused to  
 be built: 30. "[Asar]haddon's town" I called it. 31. The  
 inhabitants of the mountains carried away by my bow  
 32. and those of the Eastern sea 33. I settled in that  
 spot; 34. my officer, the viceroy, I placed over them."

- 375 *Notes and Illustrations.* nišî rapšâti, comp. Delitzsch in Lotz p. 110 note; nibâ, root nabû = נבא properly "name", then "make mention", "number"; išâ = išû Hebr. יש see Assy.-Babyl. Keilinsch. S. 305;—26. abûka root בוך properly "lead astray" then "carry off into exile";—27. upaḥir Pael, root paḥâru;—28. aḥi = <sup>5</sup>وَحْيٍ, see Glossary;—29. On šanumma, šanamma "another" see the trilingual inscriptions and comp. Assy.-Babylon. Keilinsch. Glossary, and respecting the contents of the passage comp. the very similar one Khorsabad 155;—30. attabî 1 pers. Imperf. Iftaal, root nabû = נבא; nibîtu subst. from the same root = נבחה;—31. ḥubut occurs frequently in the inscriptions of Asurbanipal, combined with the verb (Iftanaal) iḥtanabbat (Smith's Assurbanipal

\* There is no reason to alter the text (nišî instead of šarrî) as Oppert proposes.

\*\* Is corrupt. The words supplied are those of Budge, History of Esarhaddon, London 1880, p. 36.

\*\*\* So I can still clearly make out on the photograph that lies before me.

79, 9. 81, 9. 211, 89. 258, 113. 114). According to these passages it has some such signification as "deportation" "spoil"\*

5. The corresponding Persian forms of the kings here mentioned are K'ur'uš = Cyrus (see above note on Ezra I. 1); Dârajavuš = Darius; Khšajâršâ = Ahasveros\*\* = Xerxes; Artakhšatrâ = Artahasta = Artaxerxes, see Behistun insc. 1, 28. 39; Beh. 1, 1. 4; —inscr. designated as D, 6. 11 etc.—Sus. 1. 4 etc. Respecting the succession of the kings, see my remarks in the essay "on the duration of the building of the second temple" in Theologische Studien und Kritiken 1867, pp. 475 foll.

9. Among the nations here referred-to, we have not only Babel and Elam (see Vol. I, pp. 96, 112 foll.) but also *Arak* and *Susan* certainly mentioned in the inscriptions. *Arak* is the Arku, Arak and also Uruk of the

\* I need scarcely say that in accordance with the above documentary data I abandon the doubts I formerly raised in Studien und Kritiken 1867, p. 497 foll. respecting a second colonization of Samaria distinct from the former one carried out under Sargon-Salmanassar.

\*\* אַחַשְׁוֵרֶשׁ, Aramaic חֲשִׁירֶשׁ according to Euting quoted by Hübschmann in Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellsch. XXXIV. Beilage p. 8. But the citation of Hübschmann is inaccurate, as I have convinced myself from personal inspection of the monument, an Aegypto-Aramaic stele (numbered 7707 = 248) in the Royal Museum at Berlin. The name is written חֲשִׁירֶשׁ, i. e. without a final א, but with an א following the ך in the middle of the word. See also Lepsius in the Aegyptische Zeitschrift 1877, pp. 127—132.

The Babylonian pronunciation of the name *Darius* is Dârajavuš, a name that is actually written in fifteen different ways. The chief types are : Da-(a-)ri-ja-(a-)vuš, Da-(a-)ri-'-vuš and Da-ri-'-uš. —The Babylonian form of the name for *Xerxes* was according to the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae :—Ḫi-ši'-ar-šu, written Ḫi-ši'-ar-šu (ša, ši).—The pronunciation of the name *Artaxerxes* was Arta'-ḫatsu, written Ar-ta-'-ḫa-at-su; also Artakšatsu, written Ar-tak-šat-su. See Ménant, Syllab. Assy. I, pp. 90 foll., Assy. Babylon. Keilinsch. pp. 363 foll.

cuneiform, the present Warka (see note on Gen. X. 10, Vol. I, p. 76 foll.). *Susan* is the Šušān (written Šu-šā-a-n) of Asurbanipal's inscriptions 111, 94. With 376 **שׁוּשַׁנְכִּיָּא** may be compared the adjectival form Šušinak\* appearing on the Elamite inscriptions (Fr. Lenormant). Comp. Fr. Delitzsch Parad. p. 327. With the **דְּהִיָּא** we might perhaps, with G. Rawlinson, compare the *Δαοί* of Herodotus (I, 125). All the other identifications attempted by Lenormant and others are uncertain. Likewise the combination of **אֶפְרָסִיָּא**\*\* with the "Persians" (elsewhere **פְּרָסִי**) must for phonetic reasons be given up. Besides

\* Respecting Šušinak comp. the Addenda in this volume on Gen. X. 22 (p. 96 Vol. I).

\*\* We might be disposed to regard with favour the combination of the race-name **אֶפְרָסִיָּא** with the Assyr. (mât) Parsua = Adherbeidshân (Delitzsch in Libri Dan. etc. p. IX); the prosthetic **א** would not constitute a difficulty; see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 173. But it is surprising to find no mention in Asurbanipal's inscriptions of the land Parsua as one that was conquered and subjugated by him. After the time of Sargon and Sanherib (in whose records "land Parsuas" probably = l. Parsua) we find no further reference at all in the inscriptions to this region; Keil. u. Gesch. ibid. With respect to the names **אֶפְרָסִיָּא** and (5, 6) **אֶפְרָסִיָּא**, Delitzsch refers to the Median cities mentioned in Asarhaddon's cylind. IV. 19 foll. Pa-ar-takka (Pa-ar-ta-ak-ka) and Partukka (Pa-ar-tuk-ka). In Asurbanipal's records, however, there is no mention of these also.—The same writer connects the race-name **דְּהִיָּא** with the city (ír) Du-'-u-a (III Rawl. 48, No. I, 9), and we might accept this combination if we knew anything of the position of the town mentioned in the Assyrian contract-tablet. Moreover the town mentioned in the tablet seems to have been situated within the imperial dominion, while, on the other hand, the position of **דְּהִיָּא** in the Biblical passage, between the Susians on the one side and the Elamites on the other (comp. the Addenda in this volume to Gen. X. 22), would scarcely lead us immediately to infer that it was a population belonging to the Assyrian imperial region. Therefore we must leave this combination also an open question.

no Assyrian king ever forced his way up to the land Persis.

10. אֲסַנְפַּר *Osnappar* has not been pointed out as the name of a general either on the inscriptions of Asarhaddon or of any other Assyrian king, nor can it be understood at all as an Assyrian name. From the epithet "the great and mighty" one would suppose it to be the name of a king; and since we find that Asurbanipal (668—(?) 626) was the only Assyrian monarch who penetrated into the heart of Elam and in particular gained possession of Susa, we are disposed to consider that the most probable theory is that of Gelzer, that the name אֲסַנְפַּר is a corruption of the name אֲסַרְבַּנְפַּל = אֲסַרְבַּנְפַּל. See H. Gelzer in *Zeitschr. für die Aegypt. Sprache* 1875, p. 78 foll. (His view is not prejudiced by the inaccuracy of his rendering of the phrase *īli kišir šarrūtija uraddi*, which does not mean "extended over the whole of my kingdom" (?) but "(which) I added to my royal portion"). The deportation of the inhabitants of Elam to Assyria and the Assyrian dominions is placed beyond all doubt by the phrase *ša ašlula ultu kirib mât I'lamti* "whom I carried away from the land Elam", or by the phrase *alkâ ana mât Aššur* "I transferred to the land Assyria" etc. See Geo. Smith, *Hist. of Assurbanipal* 236, 32 foll. 233, 123; 234, 3. Delitzsch agrees with this view respecting *Osnappar*; *Parad.* p. 329.

13. מְנָדָה, also מְדָה "tribute" is unquestionably the 377 Assyrian *mandat*, also *mad(d)at* "tribute" properly gift, root מָדַן = Hebr. מָדַן. See Paul Haupt, *die sumerischen Familiengesetze*, Leipzig 1879, p. 16 note 4.

בָּלַי "impost" word of unknown derivation. Perhaps we might compare the Assyr. *bilat*, *biltuv* "gift", root

אבל. Just as we have here בָּלוּ and מְנָדָה mentioned together, so we have in Assyrian biltu and mandattu; see Asarhaddon-Cylind. I Rawl. 46. III, 58 (biltu v u man-da-at-tuv bī-lu-ti-ja, "impost and tribute of my rule").

V. 2. זְרֻבָּבֶל *Zerubbabel*. The meaning has long ago been correctly explained as = זְרֻעַ בָּבֶל. Nevertheless we can best account for the curious elision of the aspirate by referring to the Babylonian mode of pronunciation, in which the elision or suppression of the *v* occurred in words such as Ukīn-zīr = *Xivζηρος*; Nabû-zīr-iddin = נְבוּזַרְאֲדִין etc.

13. "*In the first year of Kôresh, king of Babel.*" This designation of the Persian monarch as "king of Babel" is remarkable and moreover meets us in the writings of the same period (comp. Neh. XIII. 6)\*. But its peculiarity becomes altogether intelligible in the light of authentic and contemporary Babylonian documents, in which Persian kings sometimes style themselves "kings of Babel" or are called by this title. Thus Cyrus (Kuraš) designates himself on the clay cylinder of Babylon (V Rawl. 35 line 20) as "... šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar Bâbîlu šar mât Šu-mî-ri u Ak-ka-di-i šar kib-ra-a-ti ir-bi-it-tiv" i. e. "... great king, mighty king, king of Babylon, king of Sumîr and Akkad, king  
378 of the four regions". On the I'gibi-tablets as well as on Babylonian contract-tablets the dates are given during the Persian period from the ruler reigning at the time, who

\* Compare the remarks in my essay "The duration of the building of the second temple" in *Theolog. Studien und Kritiken* 1867, p. 475.

is designated as šar Bâbîlu "king of Babylon", sometimes with the additional epithet šar mâtâti "king of countries" or "Emperor"\*. Evidently the title "king of Babel" had somewhat the same meaning to the inhabitants of Western Asia after the time of Nebucadnezzar as the epithet "Roman Emperor" had for the nations of the Middle Ages. It was not until the Persian empire broke up, and during the period of Greek domination, that the title "king of Persia" became current even in Western Asia; see Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken *ibid.*

VI. 2. **𐤏𐤍𐤁𐤏𐤍** *Ekbatana*. The native pronunciation, according to the inscriptions of the Achaemenidae, was Hañgmatâna; compare the New-Persian **همدان**. To this corresponds the Babylonian pronunciation preserved on the monuments (ír) A-g a-m a-t a-n u, Behistun line 60; also (mât) A-g a-m-t a-n u, Nabûnâhid's Annals Obv. II, 3. 4. The capture of Ekbatana by Cyrus after the defeat of the army of Astyages (Iš-tu-ví-gu) falls, according to Nabûnâhid's Annals Obv. II, 2 foll., in the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Nabunit i. e. 550 B. C.

11. *and being raised up let him be struck on (upon?) it (the piece of timber erected)*. This passage is understood to refer to *crucifixion* i. e. the fixing of a living body by nails to a piece of wood. But this punishment is unknown in Oriental countries (the passage in Diodorus Siculus 2, 1 ofcourse proves nothing) and is specifically Roman. Also among the Persians we never meet with it. The reference in Xenophon Anabasis III, 1. 17 is not a case in point.

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\* See my remarks in the Zeitschrift für die ägyptische Spr. u. Alterth. 1879, pp. 39—45 ("on the eleventh year of Cambyses"), also *ibid.* 1880, pp. 99—103 (Addendum to the previous essay).

Should we not then regard the punishment referred to in this Biblical passage\* as that of "impaling" i. e. the 379 spiking of a living body upon a pointed stake? Executions of this kind are frequently portrayed on the reliefs, at any rate of the Assyrians. We might compare with the expression used in scripture the oft-recurring Assyrian phrase *ina zaḳîpi azḳup*; also the Aramaic  $\text{ܐܦܝܩܝܢܐ}$ , as well as  $\text{ܥܪܘܫܐ}$  *cruux*\*\*.

### BOOK OF NEHEMIAH.

I. 1. *And it came to pass in the month Kislev* (כִּסְלֵו); comp. chap. II. 1 *and it came to pass in the month Nisan* (נִסָּן). The reader is aware that these and the other corresponding names of months first came into use among the Hebrews after the time of the exile, and it has therefore been often assumed that they are of Persian origin. But it has been established beyond all doubt that their source is Babylono-Assyrian. In the first place, they were already employed by the prophet Zechariah I, 7. VII, 1. Secondly, we find them in continuous texts of the inscrip-

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\* The passages Esth. V, 14. VII, 10 are not necessarily of the same character.

\*\* It is evident from the Behistun-inscription of Darius lines 63, 83 (*dîku u balṭu dead and living*) that the phrase *ina zaḳîpi aṣkun* (*aṣtakan*) can also express the fixing of living beings upon a stake. Respecting the mode of the execution these words do not allow us to form any definite conclusion. The choice, however, of the preposition *ina* in place of *ana* points in the main to a form of execution like that which is indicated by the Assyrian *ina zaḳîpi azḳup*, which is, without doubt, the method of impaling. From the Persian word *uzmâ* in the Behistun inscription, corresponding to the Babylonian *zaḳîpu*, it is impossible to gain any mere precise idea about the manner in which the death-penalty was inflicted, since the meaning and etymology of the Persian word are themselves doubtful.



tions where we have their corresponding ideograms. Lastly, they are exhibited in the tables of months discovered at Niniveh, which record the phonetic equivalents of the above ideograms. Of these tables we possess several; see Norris Dict. p. 50, P. Haupt Akkadische u. Sumerische Keilschrifttexte 44. 64. The first of these remarkable lists (Norris I, 50) consists of three columns, of which the first column exhibits the ideograms for the respective months, which ordinarily appear in the inscriptions; the second gives their names in the old Babylonian non-Semitic, Suméro-Akkadian language; and lastly the third contains the Babylono-Assyrian terms that correspond to them. We give a list of these last names with the respective Hebrew equivalents by their side\* :

Ni-sa-an-nu	ניסן	380
Ai-ru (Var. Ai-ri)	אייר	
Si-va-nu (Var. Si-man-nu)	סיון	
Du-u-zu (Var. Du-'u-zu)	תמוז	
A-bu (Var. A-bi)	אב	
U-lu-lu	אלול	
Taš-ri-tav (Var. Taš-ri-tuv)	תשרי	
A-ra-aḥ sam-na (Var. A-ra-aḥ sa-am-nu)	מרחשון	
Ki-si-li-vu (Var. Ki-is-li-vu)	כסלו	
Tí-bi-tuv (Var. Tí-bi-í-tav)	טבת	
Ša-ba-tu	שבט**	

\* All the names quoted below are to be found in the Bible, excepting Ab, Tammuz, Tishri and Marcheswan.

\*\* Observe how in these names, with the solitary exception of Araḥ sam-na, the organic sound š corresponds to ש and s to ס, contrary to the rule that otherwise prevails with respect to the adoption of foreign words. See further on this subject Berl. akademische Monatsber. 1877, pp. 82 foll. With regard to מרחשון instead of ארחשמן, comp. the form תמוז arising from Du-u-zu, Du-'u-zu

A d-da-ru (Var. A-da-ri)

אָדָר

Ar-ḥu ma-ak-ru \* ša Addaru

וְאָדָר

Especial interest belongs to the Assyrian names in this list for "Marcheswan" and "Weadar" since they give us a glimpse into the origin of these terms. In the Assyrian name Araḥ-samnu the meaning lies on the surface; it signifies "the eighth month" and is compounded of the usual word for "month" araḥ\*\*, i. e. the Hebr. אָרַח, and the ordinal numeral samnu (comp. the Aethiopic form ሰጠን : from the cardinal ሰጠን = שְׁמֹנֶה etc.). The reader observes that Marcheswan is eighth in the order of months. With regard to the Assyrian designation 381 of Weadar, it is more definite than the corresponding and shorter form in Hebrew, whatever be the meaning of the word, which we are uncertain whether to read as makru or maḥru\*\*\*.

*Susa* (שׁוּשַׁן), capital of Susiana, appears, as I have already remarked, also in the cuneiform inscriptions in the

(perhaps with Paul Haupt we should pronounce it Du-im-u-zu) on the one hand, and Warka 𐎶𐎠 (with initial labial) arising out of 𐎶𐎠 Arku, Uruk (see above Vol. I, p. 77) on the other.

\* So Norris and Delitzsch. Pinches reads maḥ-ru; Haupt is uncertain.

\*\* In the case of the last month this word has a final u = arḥu.

\*\*\* A combination of this makru with a word מְקָרָה signifying "meeting" is, in point of meaning alone, scarcely admissible. In the first edition of this work I assumed a metathesis, makru standing for marku, root אָרַךְ "be behind" (comp. the Assy. arki, arkanu); at the same time I pointed out the transposition of consonants in such cases as Hebr. מְתַלְעוֹת arising out of מְלַתְעוֹת. Hence Ve-Adar was, in my opinion, denominated "the following month" (comp. Chald. 𐎶𐎠 𐎶𐎠). This must, however, still remain a matter of uncertainty. In one copy the word is omitted.

form Šu-ša-an as the capital of mât I'la'm'ti i. e. Elam. See Smith's Assurbanipal 111, 94 (III Rawl. pl. 19. line 94). Comp. also the note on Gen. X. 22 (Vol. I, p. 96).

II. 8. פֶּרְתֵּי פֶּלְעִיִּים *παράδεισος* "pleasure-garden". Delitzsch, *Parad.* p. 95 foll., has propounded the conjecture that this word also may be of Babylono-Assyrian origin. The word, however, does not occur in Greek literature until the time of Xenophon (*Cyropaed.* I, 4. 11 &c.) i. e. until the Persian epoch, and, moreover, is specially employed to express the Persian "parks"; comp. *Diodor. Sic.* 16, 41. Hence it is certainly not through an accident that the word is only to be found in the later as well as latest Hebrew literature\*, at all events in the times subsequent to the exile (*Neh.* II, 8. *Eccles.* II, 5), and, moreover, in the passage which can be fixed chronologically with the greatest precision (*Neh. ibid.*) is employed to designate the "royal" garden of the Persian. Moreover we know (see the above-cited passages in the book of Nehemiah and <sup>382</sup> *Diodorus*) that the Persian kings laid out royal parks of this kind in Palestine and caused them to be properly administered. In this way the Palestinian inhabitants might have become acquainted with the name for the thing which then passed outside the area of the Persian dominion. We have no evidence that the Assyrians formed parks like these in Palestine, and the supposition is hardly probable. Nor can we well believe that the word was brought to Palestine by an Israelite engaged in commercial pursuits at Niniveh. Hitherto neither a Semito-Assyrian nor an Akkado-Sumfrian etymology for the name has been

\* I put on one side *Song of Sol.* IV. 13 which is a special case.

forthcoming; moreover it has been ascertained that other names were employed for "garden" and "wood" in Assyrian. Hence, despite all objections, the theory of a Perso-Indogermanic origin of the word **בַּרְדֵּי** and its connection with the Zend pairidaēza appears to me still to possess the greatest probability.

10. **בַּרְדֵּי** unquestionably a name of Assyrio-Babylonian origin. It corresponds to the Assyrian Sin-ballit i. e. "Sin bestowed life". The form ballit is abbreviated from uballit (3 pers. Imperf. Pael). This is worthy of notice on account of the Hebrew punctuation with non-daghshed **ב**, and also because of the Greek reproduction of the name *Σαραβαλλάτ*, *Σαραβαλλέτης*. We have in Assyrian another analogous name: Nabû-bal-liṭ-an-ni "Nebo bestowed on me life" (II Rawl. 64 col. I, 30). See Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 131.

## BOOK OF ISAIAH.

I. 1. *In the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah kings of Juda.* Respecting the total duration of time represented by these reigns, see my comments on 2 Kings XV, 17 in Vol. I, pp. 215 foll.

383 VI. 1. *sitting on a high and exalted throne.* Exactly the same phrase is used of Sanherib "(Sanherib) set himself on an exalted throne" (see above Vol. I, p. 280). **כִּסֵּא** has no derivation in the Semitic languages, and in these is a foreign word like the Graeco-Latin *thronus* in German and English. It is the ancient Babylonian, non-Semitic (iṣ) gu-za (P. Haupt), which came into the Babylono-Assyrian in the form kussû. The Akkadian *z* passes into the Semitic *s*, as in the Assyrian absû from

the Akkadian *abzu*; see above Vol. I, p. 5. The Hebrews on their migration from Chaldaea brought with them the form **בַּזָּא** approximating most closely to that above-mentioned. The Aramaeans resolved the reduplication and introduced a liquid, and so gave the word the more euphonious form **בַּרְזָא, בַּרְזָא, בַּרְזָא**, and from this again the word was adopted by the Arabs with the pronunciation **كُرْسِي**. In the same class of migratory words we have likewise **הַיְבֵל** (see the comment on 2 Kings XX. 18) and perhaps also **שַׁר**, Assyri. *šarru*, Suméro-Akkadian *šir* (so the word should be read). See above Vol. I, p. 23 footnote \*\* and also comp. Haupt's *Der Keilinschriftliche Sinfthlthbericht* p. 25 foll.

2. **שַׁרְפִּים**. Neither the name of the Seraphs nor the representation of creatures endowed in like manner with six wings, i. e. three pairs of wings, has hitherto been pointed out on the Assyrian monuments. On the other hand we often find genii provided with two upper and two lower wings, which to a certain extent afford an analogy. See the engraving under No. 3 which accompanies my essay "On an ancient Babylonian royal cylinder" (Berlin. Monatsber. 1879, pp. 288 foll.); compare also the winged forms from the North-West palace, engraved in Riehm's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums* 230 a; 1088 b. Moreover there is a passage in the Descent of Istar to Hades, which may be cited in this connexion Obv. line 10 : *lab-šu-ma kima iššurî šu-bat kap-pi* "clad are they (the spirits or in-<sup>384</sup>habitants of the lower world) like birds in a garment of wings", see below my comments on Job X. 21.

4. **הַמַּטְפִּים**. The word for "threshold" **מַטֵּף**, occurring in Hebrew and Aramaic, is also found in Assyrian. In the

latter it is pronounced with the vowel *i*, namely in the form *sippu* (e. g. Descent of Istar obv. 18), thus reminding us of the Aramaic ܣܦܦܐ, ܣܦܐ as well as the Hebr. שִׁפּוּ שִׁפּוּיִם. Moreover, the Syriac word ܣܦܦܐܘܬܐ "lintel" is to be found also in Assyrian (P. Haupt), having the same signification viz. *askuppatur* (not *azkuppatur* 'stake!'). See Descent of Istar Rev. 27.

VII. 1. *Rezîn; the king of Aram, and Peḳah, the son &c.*; see notes on 2 Kings XV, 1. 29. 30. 37.

6. *And let us appoint as king in its midst the son of Tabeël* (ܬܒܥܝܠ). See Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 407 foll. The name of this Tabeël has not yet been pointed out in the inscriptions.

X. 9. ܩܒܠܘ *Kabîó*. The inscriptions give us no light on the situation of this town. Respecting the Babylonian ܩܒܠܘ which has been combined with this ܩܒܠܘ, see notes on Gen. X. 10 (p. 78 Vol. I).

ܩܪܩܡܝܫ *Karkemîsh*, a well-known city on the Euphrates, is frequently recorded in the inscriptions in the form (*ír, mât*) *Gar-ga-mis*, comp. Ašurn. III, 57. 65, Salmanassar's Obelisk 85 &c.; also as (*ír*) *Kar-ga-mis*\* (Tigl. Pileser I col. V, 49; III Rawl. 5 No. 2 line 22). This place is not to be identified, as I supposed in the former edition of this work, with the Circesium of the classical  
385 writers, standing at the confluence of the Chabor and the Euphrates; nor is it Mabbogh-Hierapolis, West of the Euphrates (G. Rawlinson; Maspero); and it can scarcely

\* As to the modes in which the name was written or pronounced viz. *Gargamis*, *Kargamis* on the one hand, and the Hebrew ܩܪܩܡܝܫ, Aegypt. *Ḳarḳamiša* on the other, see my observations in *Zeitschrift für Aegypt. Sprache und Alterthum*, 1879, p. 48.

be the same as Kal'at Nadshim or 'starcastle' (Nöldeke), situated on the Western bank of the Euphrates. But it is probably Jerâbîs-Eurōpos (Ἰερῶπις), lying further to the North of this spot, where numerous ruins have lately been laid bare, partly covered with Hittite hieroglyphs. It is a town which, according to Ed. Pococke, is shaped like a square in its ruins and stretches "half a mile in length and a quarter of a mile in breadth" along the banks of the Euphrates (G. Smith, A. H. Sayce). See the references in Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 221—5 and compare G. Hoffmann, Auszüge (1880) p. 162 foll. F. Delitzsch, Paradies (1881) pp. 265 foll. It was one, if not the chief, city of the 'Land Chatti'. Its independence was destroyed by Sargon (722—705 B. C.), who took Pisiri (Pisiris), king of the land Chatti, prisoner, carried off the spoil of the city to Nimiveh, and imposed on the land "the yoke of Assur" (Botta 40, 20; 72, 7 foll. &c. Nimrud-inscription, Layard 33, 10. 22). The subjugation of the Hittite empire and its incorporation into the Assyrian territory took place, according to the annals, in the year 717 B. C. (Botta 72. 7 foll.). For further particulars see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. *ibid.*, also pp. 233 foll. and compare below the note on Is. XX. 1. Respecting *Hamâth*, *Arpad* and *Damaskus*, see notes on 2 Kings XVIII. 34 (XIX. 13).

14. *And my hand reached towards the wealth of nations as towards a bird's nest* (יִרְדָּ). The simile of the bird's nest is employed by the Assyrians in a somewhat different manner. We read in Asumâsirh. I. 50 : Ki-ma ãi-in-ni u-di-ni HU (iṣṣur) i-na ki-rib šadi-í dan-na-su-nu iṣ-ku-nu i. e. "like the nest of the Udini-bird they had set their fortress in the midst of the mountains". Compare

386 a similar passage in Sanherib's Taylor-cylinder col. III. 68 :  
kima ḳin-ni našri "like an eagle's nest".

28. *He comes to Aiath, passes by Migron, in Mikmas he leaves his baggage. They traverse the pass, at Geba they take up their night-quarter; Rama trembles, Gibeā of Saul flees &c.* The reader is aware that it has often been supposed that we have here a *vaticinium post eventum* and that the prophet is describing the actual advance of the Assyrians against Jerusalem. If any further refutation of this hypothesis were needed, it would be furnished by the Assyrian monuments as completely as could be wished. From these last we perceive (see the notes on 2 Kings XVIII. 14 foll. 17 foll.) that Sanherib did not advance against Judā, as this Biblical passage would lead us to suppose, from the North, on the road by Nazareth-Jezreel-Shechem-Bethel and then by Ai, Mikmas, Geba, Rama, Gibeā, Anathoth and Nob; but we rather infer that he first marched close along the coast over Akko and Joppa from Sidon, and then turned Eastwards, and, while advancing with the main body of his army to Lakish through Benē-Beraḳ, Beth-Dagon, Ekron and Ashdod, he somewhere near Lydda-Diospolis detached a corps to operate towards the East, or rather South-East, against Judā. This division "captured all the fortified towns of Judā" (2 Kings XVIII. 13) and forced its way past Bethhoron against Jerusalem itself. Sanherib despatched another corps to support it, from Lakish through Eleutheropolis, under the command of his 'tartan' (2 Kings XVIII. 17).

If then Isaiah expected the Assyrian to invade Judā on the road from the North, this could only have been at a time when it was still possible that Sanherib might take this route, and when he had not definitely chosen the other



road which passed by the sea-coast, in other words when he had not yet advanced beyond Akko. This agrees with 387 the contents of the oracle. For, while it exhibits an intense dread of the fate awaiting Juda and Jerusalem, it nevertheless presupposes that the Assyrian was still at some distance. It is quite otherwise in chap. XXII, where we must assume that the Assyrian was in immediate proximity to the capital.

XI. 6. נִמְרָ "leopard" is called in Assyrian *nim-ru* (I Rawl. 28, 22). Comp. Arabic <sup>50</sup>نمر.

11. "from Aegypt (מצרים), Pathros (פתרום) and Aethiopia (כוש)". Compare with this the brick-inscriptions of Asarhaddon, in which this king styles himself *šar šarrî mât Mu-šur mât Pa-tu-[ru?]-si mât Ku-si* "king of the kings of Aegypt, Pat(ro)s and Aethiopia". For further information consult Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 283 foll. and the earlier work by Oppert, *l'Égypte et l'Assyrie* p. 41.

12. . . . *from Elam, from Shinar and from Hamâth.* Though we have no express mention of any deportation of Israelites to Elam or to Shinar or Hamath in the time of Tiglath-Pileser and Sargon, yet we have no sufficient reason for throwing any doubt on the correctness of this statement, since it is a sufficiently likely supposition that the Israelites, like the subjects of other nationalities, were transported to the above mentioned cities and countries. We learn from Khorsab. 138 foll. that Sargon transplanted the Hittite inhabitants of Kummuch to territories belonging to Elam. Already in the first year of the king's reign the inhabitants of Western countries were being transported to Shinar - Babylonia (comp. above Vol. I, p. 268 foll.). At all events Sargon distinctly states in

Khorsab. 49. 56, that he settled Armenian inhabitants in Hamath.

388 XIII. 17. *Medians*, see note on Gen. X. 2 (p. 62, Vol. I).

19. *Chaldaeans*, see note on Gen. XI. 28 (pp. 114 foll. Vol. I).

XIV. 8. בְּרוֹשִׁים-אַרְוֵי לְבָנוֹן *Cypresses . . . cedars of Lebanon*. The Assyrians too mention both these species of tree in conjunction as belonging to Lebanon (see on 1 Kings V. 13, Vol. I, p. 172 foll.). In this case we assume that the variety of Pine šurvan, šurvīnu, which is also to be met with in Aramaic שׁוֹרְבָן, מְצִיטָא really meant the cypress. This is, however, by no means certain. At all events we also find the name of a tree burâšū employed by the Assyrians, corresponding to the Hebrew בְּרוֹשׁ; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 194. 532. Salmanassar in his monolith II, 9 mentions in conjunction (just as in the above passage) iṣ írin and iṣ burâšū as felled by him on the range of the Amānus. The name for the cedar írin evidently corresponds to the Hebrew אֲרֶז. The latter, however, is in Hebrew the name also for a variety of fir and does not denote the ‘cedar’, while conversely the name אֲרֶז employed in that language does not occur in Assyrian\*. Comp. also the notes on Is. XLIV. 14.

\* I would also observe that in the list of Asiatic mountains and ranges, and the products which specially belong to them, II Rawl. 51, No. 1 (comp. Delitzsch, Paradies p. 101), it is the Amānus (šad Ḥa-ma-nu line 3) which is called šad í-r-i-ni i. e. “cedar-mountain”, while in line 5 the Lebanon (šad Lab-na-nu, not Lib-na-nu!) is characterized as šad iṣ šur-man (see above). On the other hand in line 10 an unknown mountain Ḥa-na is called šad burâši (SIM [or RIK] LI, Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 532) i. e. Cypress-range. On this subject compare my essay on “Ladanum and Palm” in the Berlin. Monatsber. 1881, p. 413 foll.

12. הַיֵּל בֶּן-שָׁחַר *bright star, son of the dawn*. Similarly the planet Venus<sup>1</sup> is called in Assyrian *muštilil* מִשְׁתִּילִל “the shining star” (in a syllabary III Rawl. 57, 60; see Oppert). Regarding the other name of the planet<sup>389</sup> Dil-bat i. e. *Δελύγαν* see the note on Judg. II. 13 in Vol. I, p. 167.

13. הַר מוֹעֵד “*mount of assembly*”. I regard it as convincingly shown from Lenormant’s intimations, referred-to in Delitzsch Parad. pp. 117 foll., that there existed likewise among the Assyrians or Babylonians an analogous conception of a world-mountain, which was also the dwelling of the gods. The most important passage is in Sargon’s Khorsâbâd-inscription, where he speaks of the temples founded and erected by him at Dûr-Šarrukîn. The passage runs thus : 155. I’a, Sin, Šamaš, Nabû, 156. Adar u ħi-ra-ti-šu-nu ra-ba-a-ti ša i-na ki-rib I’ ĤAR. SAG. GAL. KUR. KUR. RA mât A-ra-al-li ki-niš ’-al-du iš-ri-ti nam-ra-a-ti 157. zuk-ki nak-lu-ti ina ki-rib ír Dûr-Šarrukîn řa-biš ir-mu-u i. e. “I’a (Aos), Sin, Samas, Nebo, Adar, and their exalted consorts, who amid the house Charsaggalkurkurra (i. e. the house of the mountain-summit of lands) of the Aralli mountain\* in eternity are born, founded gleaming

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\* Delitzsch takes šadû Aralli (so he transcribes the cuneiform) as in apposition to Echarsaggalkurkurra and regards Aralli as the special name for the mountain of the gods. The introduction of such a designation would, however, be disturbing in this passage, and, besides this, it is sufficiently ascertained, from the passage cited below II Rawl. 24 b, 7/8, that there was a *land* Aralli. Charsaggalkurkurra i. e. “the summit of lands” lay in the *land* Aralli, at or above it i. e. at the entrance to the lower world. It is no argument against this view to say that we find šad Aralu (A-ra-lu) in a list of mountains and mountain-ranges, appearing as one of them, in which ħurâšu ‘gold’

390 sanctuaries, artistically wrought cells\*, in the city Dûr-Šarrukîn". We also learn from this passage that the abode of the gods lies upon the summit of a mountain, which is itself situated in the Arallu district i. e. at the spot where lies the entrance to the lower world. It is not stated on the monuments that this mountain exists in the North (בְּיַרְדֵּי צָפוֹן Is. XIV. 13). We may, however, conjecture that the Babylonians regarded it as Northern in position, from the circumstance that they describe the land Aralu as a land of *darkness*. Compare also the passage from Job XXXVII. 22, quoted by Delitzsch, "from the North comes gold", and likewise Böttcher in Dillmann, Job p. 332. See also Ezek. XXVIII. 14, 16.

15. שְׁאֵל *Sheól*. This name for the Lower world has not yet been discovered on the monuments. Delitzsch's Šu-al "mighty city" is only to be regarded as a conjecture. The Assyrian name of the "land where one sees not" is

is to be found (II Rawl. 51 No. 1 line 11 a. b; comp. Delitzsch, *Parad.* pp. 101—2). The range Aralu is simply the mountain-range named after the country whose loftiest peak is Charsaggalkurkurra.—Respecting arallu, aralu "lower world", the a-šar la a-ma-ri "the place without seeing" i. e. "the place of darkness" (IV Rawl. 24 b 7/8), see Oppert, *l'immortalité de l'âme chez les Chaldéens* p. 4; Lenormant, *Chaldaean Magic* pp. 151—2; Fried. Delitzsch, *Parad.* p. 118. Compare also V Rawl. 16. 42 e. f. in which I'-kur-bat i. e. "house of the land of death" = aralu (a-ra-li) is interpreted by mitu (mi-i-tuv) = מִתּוּ i. e. *the dead* (collect. sing). The Assyrian for 'death' is mîtu, for 'dying' mîtûtu.—P. de Lagarde compares with this the cuneiform Aralu, the Armenian *Արալէջ*, a name for supernatural, mythical beings. See *Nachrichten von der Götting. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften* 1882 No. 7 (March. 31) pp. 164 foll.—On the archaeological bearings compare also Clermont Ganneau, *L'Enfer Assyrien* (*Revue Archéologique* Dec. 1879).

\* Zukku synonym of parakku according to II Rawlinson 35, 14 a. b (33, 64 a. b; 28, 41 a). Del.

mât Aralu (see note on verse 13). Moreover, according to Delitzsch Parad. p. 120, it is called gi(g)-unu "abode of darkness", semitized into gignunû (IV Rawl. 27, 25/26 a and comp. ibid. 24 7/8 a).

XVIII, 1 foll. Respecting the time, when this oracle was composed, see the notes on chap. XX. 1.

XIX. 1 foll. As I have already indicated, in my new edition of De Wette's Introduction to the Old Testament, § 256 note d\*, the composition of this oracle, which critics on insufficient grounds have declared to be not Isaiah's, falls in the early period of Sargon's reign, or, to be more precise, in the time when the "sultan" (šiltannu) Seveh was defeated by Sargon and compelled to flee (see 391 notes on XX. 1), and, in consequence of this disaster anarchy threatened to break out or had already broken out. This was in the year 720 B. C. The "hard master" with which Isaiah threatens the Aegyptians is none other than Sargon himself (verse 4). Another indication that the passage was composed in the reign of Sargon is to be found in the position of this chapter between chapters XVIII and XX. See also the remarks on chap. XX. 1.

11. *The princes of Zoan* (𐤆𐤏). This city, lying on the Eastern arm of the Nile, is likewise referred to in the Assyrian inscriptions. Thus Asurbanipal mentions a certain Pu-ṭu-biš-ti šar ir Ša'-nu "Petubastes,

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\* "From the Khorsabad-inscription of Sargon (Botta and Flandin, Monument de Ninive pl. 145 lines 13—15; comp. also Journ. Asiat. 1863 I p. 9) we learn that besides the 'sultan' Seveh of Aegypt there existed likewise a 'Pharaoh'. This leads us to conclude that the kingdoms were divided."

king of Tanis" \*; Smith's Assurbanipal 21, 98; V Rawl. 1, 96.

13. *The rulers of Nôph* (נֹפֶן). This Aegyptian city is also called in the Old Testament (Hosea IX. 6) נֹפֶן i. e. Memphis, and appears in the cuneiform inscriptions in the form ír Mí-im-pi; see Smith's Assurbanipal 20, 89. 92 &c.; also in the less accurate form ír Mi-im-pi III Rawl. 29 notice line 21.

- 392 XX. 1. *In the year when the Tartan came to Ashdôd* (see note on 2 Kings XVIII. 17), *namely when Sargôn* (סַרְגִּון) \*\* *king of Assyria despatched him, and he fought against Ashdôd and took it . . . .* This is the only passage in the Old Testament where mention is made of this powerful Assyrian ruler, the builder of Northern Niniveh or Dûr-Šarrukîn (see Vol. I, p. 85), the conqueror of Samaria and father of Sanherib. His name was pronounced in Assyrian Šarrukîn, and is understood by the Assyrians themselves either as Šarru-kînu "Firm (is)

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\* Besides this Ša-'-nu-Zoan we find in the same list another place written in a different way (ír) Ši-'-nu. The latter was ruled by a particular king having the specifically Assyrian name Šarludári (Smith's Assurb. 21, 93 = V Rawl. I. line 91). These two places are distinct from one another. The fact that in Rassam's Cylind. I, 131 we find ír Ši-'-nu, whereas in Cyl. B. col. II, 1 (Smith's Assurb. p. 32) we have the variant Ša-'-nu (Delitzsch), is scarcely a proof that the two spots were identical, but simply confirms what we know from other cases to be true, that the latter cylinder was less carefully inscribed than the former. The scribe had combined the two names, which resembled each other in sound. Observe too, that in *both* passages (V Rawl. I, 30. 31 and I, 131) the town Ši'nu is mentioned in conjunction with Sais; only the second time it is separated by the intervening ír Pi(Bi)-in-di-di "Mendes".

\*\* Also with Raphe in the gimel = סַרְגִּון; on this consult B. Stade, de Isaiæ vaticiniis Aethiopicis, Lips. 1873 p. 38 ann. and Franz

the king"\* , or else as Šar-ukîn i. e. "He (God) ordered the king"; see Assyrisch-Babyl. Keilinsch. pp. 161, 163. The form in which the name is written on the clay tablets, Šar-u-kin arku-u = Šarukîn arkû (III Rawl. 2, 3. 4. 11. 14; in *ibid.* 13. 18. 24. 34 we have the orthography Šar(ru)-GI. NA arkû), leads to the conclusion, that the latter signification was that which was assigned to the name by the Assyrians. The addition arkû "the other", "second" places the bearer of this designation in contrast with an older king of the same name, the celebrated Babylonian monarch Sargon I. Also the orthography Sa-ru-ki-na (with 𐎠), which exists side by side with the above modes of writing the name, is worthy of notice on account of the sibilant. See Assyrisch-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 160\*\*.

Though Sargon never calls himself the son of his prede-<sup>393</sup>cessor—nor, in fact, the son of any one at all\*\*\*,—yet

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Delitzsch *ibid.* on the one hand, and G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Akten* (1880) p. 183 on the other; comp. also Vol. I p. 85 footnote \*\*. For the transition of Assy. 𐎠 into a 𐎡, comp. 𐎡𐎢 from Assy. šakan; 𐎡𐎢𐎣 from the Assy. tuklat.

\* Respecting the signification of the adjective kīnu "firm", "steadfast", on the one hand, and "faithful" on the other, see Assy. Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 161.

\*\* The question arises, whether, on the ground of this phonetic reproduction of the name, it would not be more correct to transcribe throughout by Šar-ukîn. On this point consult also my academic essay : 'The Sargon-stele of the Berlin Museum' (Abhandlung VI of the year 1881) Berlin 1882, pp. 28 foll.

\*\*\* Sargon's inscription we transcribe as follows : I'kal Šarrukîn, ŠA-an Bî'l, NU. AB Ašur, šarru dannu, šar kiššati, šar mât Aššur. This is rendered by Oppert (*Expéd. en Mésopot. II*, p. 328) : "Palace of Sargon, who is the (former) Bel-patis-assur, the mighty king, the king of nations, the king of the land Assur". But the

we cannot doubt that he was of some royal descent, presumably along a collateral line. Thus not only does he boast of his 350 royal predecessors (Botta 37, 41), but his grandson Asarhaddon expressly styles himself grandson of Sargon and great grandson i. e. descendant (lib lib) of Bîlbânî, son of Adasi, king of Assyria, the ancient conqueror (Smith in Lepsius' Zeitschrift, 1869, p. 93). We have no knowledge, however, from other sources, respecting the personality of this Bîlbânî or of his father Adasi. He seems to have been a very ancient monarch whose name does not appear in the list of the historical kings\*.

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correct rendering, as the above writer has himself long acknowledged, should be :—"Palace of Sargon, the representative of Bel, the high-priest of Asur, the mighty king, the king of the host of nations, the king of the land Assur". ŠA is the ideogram for šakânu "to place" from which comes šakuu, const. state šakan, "representative", "vicegerent" (Hebr. שָׂד); see Assy. Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 109 No. 38 and comp. above Vol. I, p. 176 footnote; an is phonetic complement. NU-AB is ideogram for ni-sak-ku (II Rawl. 32, 7, e. f.), a word of unknown origin; its meaning is satisfactorily determined from the ideogram (NU = zikaru "male servant", "attendant"; see II Rawl. 7, 1 e. d. and AB = bîtu "house", "temple" see Syllab. 188). Delitzsch was already on the right track Assy. Lesestücke 2 ed. No. 47 [in 3rd ed. No. 48—Tr]. Moreover from the omission of the perpendicular wedge, i. e. of the personal determinative, we can see that Bîl does not commence a proper name. Compare also the opening lines of the Nimrûd-inscription, Layard 33, 1 (see notes on Is. XLI. 25, Jerem. LI. 23).

\* Oppert's view, propounded in Studien und Kritiken 1871, p. 710 foll., that Sargon came to the throne when an old man 70 years of age, and was grandson of Asur-dan-il and had been placed on the throne as successor by the last king before Pul, Asurnirar, finds no support in the inscriptions, which, in my opinion, show no evidence of a break in the series of rulers occasioned by the intrusion of Pul. Moreover the extraordinary energy displayed by Sargon, from the beginning to the end of his reign, makes such a supposition extremely improbable. In fact it has meantime been abandoned by its author.



Sargon's life-time belongs to those periods of Assyrian <sup>394</sup> history about which we are best informed\*. The monarch himself took care by means of the inscriptions, which he had recorded by way of adornment (chiefly to his great palace at Dûr-Šarrukîn i. e. Northern Niniveh, the present Khorsâbâd), that his exploits should not be lost to the recollection of posterity, and a propitious destiny has preserved to us these slabs in such a condition, that though we may wish that they had been more complete in some places, yet they suffice to give us a conception of the life and deeds of this powerful ruler. These inscriptions, accompanied ofcourse by numerous parallels, fill the whole of the third and fourth folio volumes of Botta's magnificent work. Some additions have been communicated by Oppert, from the MSS. of Victor Place, in his work 'Les inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan', Paris 1870. The chief inscriptions are the following :

1. Sargon's annals, which have unfortunately come down to us only in fragments, and some of these badly mutilated. They may be found in Botta and Flandin's Monument de Ninive IV. pl. 70—92 (Hall II); 104—120 (Hall V); 158—162 (Hall XIV). Besides these we have a few scattered remains of inscriptions on columns. A complete version of the fragments of these Annals has been <sup>395</sup> attempted by Oppert in Les inscriptions de Dour-Sarkayan, Paris 1870, pp. 29—35. This has been revised in Records of the Past VII, 21—56. I would also refer the reader to my observations in Studien und Kritiken 1872,

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\* On this subject compare the articles 'Sargon' in Schenkel's Bibellexicon (1875) and Riehm's Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums H. XV (1881), pp. 1370 foll.

H. IV. pp. 735 foll. These annals cover the first fifteen years of the king's reign B. C. 722/1—707/6.

2. The great, summarizing triumphal inscription at Khorsâbâd; Botta 93—104 (Hall IV); 121—132 (Hall VII) and chiefly the slabs in the Hall No. X : pl. 144—154. There belong also to this list the slabs of Hall No. VIII, which have come down in a very fragmentary state. The inscription has been edited, translated and commented upon by Oppert and Ménéant in the *Journ. Asiatique* 1863 foll. Sér. VI, 1 foll. A revised translation has been given by Oppert in 'Records of the Past' IX, 3—20. This inscription also extends over the events of the first fifteen years of the monarch's reign.

3. The bull-inscriptions of Khorsâbâd; Botta 22—62; Oppert, *Dour-Sark.* pp. 3 foll.

4. The inscriptions on the pavement at the palace-gates (*pavé des portes*); Botta pl. 1—21.

5. The inscriptions on the reverse-side of the slabs; Botta 161—179; see Ménéant, *les inscriptions des revers des plaques*, Paris 1865 fol.

6. The votive-tablets which refer to the founding of Dâr-Sarrukîn, edited and translated by Oppert, *Dour-Sark.* p. 23 foll.

7. The inscription on the clay cylinder I Rawl. 36; Oppert *ibid.* p. 11 foll. This has come down to us in several copies. Compare meanwhile D. G. Lyon, 'The cylinder-inscription of Sargon II', Leipzig 1882.

8. A second still unpublished cylinder-inscription; G. Smith, *Discoveries* pp. 288 foll.

9. The slab-inscription of Nimrûd, Layard 33. 34, the oldest of all Sargon's inscriptions, and the only one which

has been preserved to us from the time previous to the 396 capture of Babylon (710)\*.

10. The triumphal inscription on the Sargon-stele discovered on the site of the ancient Citium. It is now preserved in the Berlin Museum III Rawl. pl. 11. The text has been transcribed and translated by G. Smith in the *Aegyptische Zeitschrift* 1871, pp. 68—72. I have bestowed a detailed treatment upon this inscription in my academic essay "The Sargon-stele of the Berlin Museum" (Dissertation VI of the philos. histor. Class) of the year 1881 (Berlin 1882), with two plates photo-lithographed. As regards its composition, this is the oldest of all the inscriptions drawn up after the fall of Babylon.

11. A series of smaller inscriptions on bricks e. g. I Rawl. 6. No. 7 &c. \*\*

The most important statements contained in these inscriptions, in their bearing upon Biblical history, are the accounts of the capture of Samaria (see note on 2 Kings XVII. 6) and of Sargons enterprises in Western Asia against Tyre (see note on Josh. XIX. 29; Vol. I, p. 157 foll.), the Philistine cities of Gaza and Ashdôd, and also against Aegypt. The report of the latter campaign, which was likewise directed against Gaza, runs thus in the inscription of Khorsâbâd (Botta 145, 2, 1—3): H a - n u - n u š a r í r

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\* For more definite information as to chronology see my dissertation referred-to under No. 10 p. 8 note 1.

\*\* To these must be added the brick inscriptions which are dated according to the years of Sargon's reign. About these the reader might consult G. Smith in Lepsius' *Aegyptische Zeitschrift* 1869, pp. 94 foll. and Oppert in *Studien und Kritiken* 1871, pp. 707 foll. These are published in III Rawl. 2, No. I—XVI. See also the "Chronological Addenda".

Ḥa-zi-ti it-ti Šab-'í šil-ṭan-nu mât Mu-ṣu-ri  
 ina ír Ra-pi-ḥi a-na í-biš ḳabli u taḥâzi a-na  
 gab-ja it-bu-ni; 2. apikta-šu-nu am-ḥa-aṣ. Šab-'í  
 397 ri-gim kakkî-ja í-rim-ma in-na-bit-ma la in-na-mir  
 a-šar-šu. Ḥa-nu-nu šar ír Ḥa-zi-ti ina ḳa-ti aṣ-bat.  
 3. Ma-da-attu ša Pi-ir-'u šar mât Mu-ṣu-ri, Sa-  
 am-si, šar-rat mât A-ri-bi, It-'-am-a-ra mât  
 Sa-ba-'-ai ḥurâṣu iš-bi KUR. RA. sisî gam-mal  
 am-ḥur i. e. 1. "Hanno, king of Gaza, marched with  
 Seveh, sultan of Aegypt, against me at the city Raphia,  
 to join battle and combat with me. 2. I put them to  
 flight. Seveh was afraid of the onset of my weapons; he  
 fled, and there was not a trace of him seen\*. Hanno,  
 king of Gaza, I took prisoner with my hand. 3. I receiv-  
 ed the tribute of Pharaoh, king of Aegypt, of Samsieh,  
 queen of Arabia, of It'amar, the Sabaeen, gold, herbs of  
 the East (incense), horses and camels."

*Notes and Illustrations.* Ḥaziti, Gaza see Vol. I, p. 91, Gen. X. 19;  
 Sab'í Seveh 2 Kings XVII. 4, Vol. I, p. 261 foll.; šilṭannu שִׁלְטָן, see  
 Vol. I, pp. 261, 262 footnote\*; Raphia is the well known city, 22 Roman

\* The flight of Seveh is described with greater detail in the  
 "annals". We read in Botta pl. 71, lines 1—3 : 1. Šab-' . . . . .  
 šu a-na ki-[it-]ri-šu it-[ta-kal-]ma a-na í-biš ḳab-li 2. [u]ta-ḥa-zi  
 a-na gab-ja it-ba-a. I-na zi-kir [A-]šur bí'l-ja apikta-šu-nu  
 am-ḥaṣ-ma. 3. [Ša]b-' (sic!) itti i av. ri'u ša ši-na-šu kil(?)ta  
 í-da(?)nu-uš-šu ip-par-šid-ma íli i. e. "Seveh.... trusted in his troops  
 (kitri Norris 537) and advanced against me, to join battle [and]  
 2. combat with me. With invocation of Asur, my Lord, I smote them.  
 3. Seveh fled away alone with a herdsman, who (guarded?) his sheep,  
 and escaped (יעלי, root עלה)".—On the latter phrase compare the  
 similar passage in an inscription of Tiglath-Pileser II (III Rawl. 9, 37);  
 í-di-nu-uš-šu ip-par-šid-ma í-li with the same signification. I'dinu,  
 root אהר, "aloneness", ídinuššu "in his aloneness" i. e. "alone",  
 Assyrl. Babyl. Keilinsch. pp. 288, 301. Comp. also Tiglath-Pileser II  
 in Layard 66, 18 : í-di-nu-uš-šu (so read) u-maš-[šir] Pa-ḳa-ḥa &c.;  
 see Pognon, Inscr. de Bavian p. 49 note.

miles South West of Gaza, on the frontier of Asia and Aegypt, where the battle took place between Ptolemy Philopator and Antiochus III; —2. *rigim* ‘storm’, ‘onset’, comp. Hebr. רִגְמָה; *iriv* we understand with Oppert to be the imperf of *arû* = Hebr. יָרָא “fear”; *innabit* Imperf. Nif. of *abātu* to flee (Haupt; frequently in the inscriptions); 398 *innamir* Nif. Imperf. of *amāru* (comp. the Aethiop. [አ]አዎረ) “see” (Haupt); *katî* stands for *katija*; see Assy.-Babyl. Keil. p. 246 note 2.—3. Respecting *Pir’u* = פִּרְעָה see note on Exod. I. 11, Vol. I, p. 140; *Samsî* = שַׁמְשִׁי (on the change in the sibilants see Assy.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 196); *gammal* is to be taken as plural, though the plural sign is not attached. This sign is forgotten, just as in the case of *narkabāti* “carriages”, Botta 70, 2.

The report of the capture of Ashdod, to which the present passage in Isaiah refers, runs in the Khorsâbâd-inscription as follows\* : Botta 149. 6. 6. A-zu-ri šar ír As-du-di a-na la na-ší-í bilti 7. lib-šu ik-bu-ud-ma a-na šarrâ-ni li-ví-ti-šu 8. zi-ra-a-ti mât Aššur iš-pur. Aš-šu ħul-tuv í-bu-šu 9. íli niší li-ví-ti-šu bí-lut-su u-nak-kir. 10. A-ĥi-mi-ti a-ĥu ta-lim-šu ana šarrû-ti íli-šu-nu aš-kun-ma 11. Av. Ĥa-attí da-bi-ib za-rar-ti bí-lut-su i-ziru-ma Ja-ma-ni la bíl kussî 12. ša ki-ma ša-a-šu-[nu]-ma pa-laĥ bí-lu-ti la i-du-u u-rab-bu-u íli-šu-un. 150, 1. I-na šu-ĥu-ut lib]-bi-ja gi-biš ummâni-ja 2. ul u-paĥ-ĥir-ma ul aĥ-šu-ra ka-ra-ši 3. itti av. ĥu-ra-di-ja ša a-šar [sa]-al-mí 4. idâ-ai la ip-par-ku-u ana ír As-du-di 5. al-lik-ma u šu-u Ja-ma-ni al-ak gir-ri-ja 6. ru-ĥiš iš-mí-ma a-na i-tí-í mât Mu-šu-ri 7. ša [pa]-at mât M[í]-luĥ-ĥa in-na-bit la in-na-mir 8. a-šar-šu. Ír As-du-du, ír Giim-tu As-du-di-im-mu 9. al-ví ak-šud; ilî-šu aššata-šu ablî-šu banâti-šu 10. GAR. ŠU GAR. GA ni-šir-ti íkal-šu it-ti nišî

\* The words supplied are according to the parallels. See Oppert.

mâti-šu 12. a-na šal-la-ti am-nu. Írâni šu-a-tu-nu  
 a-na íš-šu-ti 13. aš-[bat]; nišî mâtâti ki-šid-ti ka-  
 ti-ja 151, 10. Z. 1. ša ki-rib . . . [ni-pi]-iḫ šan-ši  
 lib-bi u-[šî-šib-ma . . . it]-ti nišî mât Aššur am-  
 nu-šu-nu-ti-ma i-šu-ṭu ab-ša-ni. Šar m. Mí-luḫ-[ḫa]  
 2. ša i-na ki-rib . . . . iz-zu a-šar la 'a-ri u-ru-uḫ  
 . . . . [ša ul-tu ūm]i ru-ḫu-ti a-di-i (?) AN. ŠIŠ.  
 399 (URU) KI. abûti-šu a-na šarrâ-ni abûti-ja 3. rak-  
 bu-šu-un la [iš-pu]ru a-na ša'-al šul-mí-šu-un, da-  
 na-an . . . . ša [. . . Marduk a-na . . . . pul]-ḫi  
 mí-lam-mí šarrû-ti-ja ik-tu-mu-šu-ma it-ta-pi-ik-šu  
 ḫa-attav. 4. I-na ši-iš-ši . . . [bi-ri-tav] parzilli  
 id-di-šum-ma a-na ki-rib mât Aššur ḫar-ra-ni  
 ru-[u-ḫi] u-ša-aš-bi-tu a-di maḫ-ri-ja [il-lik-am-ma]  
 i. e. 6. "Azuri, king of Ashdod, not to pay tribute, 7. his  
 heart was obstinate and sent to the princes of his neigh-  
 bourhood demands 8. to revolt from Assyria. Accordingly  
 I wreaked vengeance 9. and changed his government over  
 the inhabitants of his district. 10. Achimit, his own brother\*,  
 I appointed to be governor over them. 11. The Hittites,  
 who thought of revolt, despised his rule, raised Jaman,  
 who had no claim to the throne 12. and who, like the

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\* Respecting talimu = Targ. Talm. אָלִימָה, תַּלְמִיךְ (Gen. XLIX. 5)  
 see Fried. Delitzsch in G. Smith's Chald. Genesis (Germ. Ed.) 1876,  
 p. 272 note 1. The word also occurs in Asurbanipal's announcement  
 of the installation of his brother Šamaš-šum-ukîn (Saosduchin) as  
 king of Babel; in fact, it is employed with reference to the latter in  
 his relation to Asurbanipal. See III Rawl. 16 No. 5 line 39 [where the  
 passage runs :—Šamaš-šum-ukîn aḫu ta-lim-ja a-na šarru-u-tu  
 Bâbîlu (DIN. TIR. KI) ap-ki-id "Šamaš-šum-ukîn, my own brother,  
 I appointed to rule over Babylon". Fried. Delitzsch, in the Glossary to  
 Assyr. Lesestücke 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., cites the corresponding fem. talimtu 'own  
 sister'.—Transl.]

former, refused recognition of authority, over them. 150, 1. In the rage of my heart my whole army 2. I gathered not, did not even collect my baggage, 3. with my chief warriors, who did not retreat from the victorious track of my arms, 5. I advanced to Ashdod. The above Jaman, as he of the approach of my expedition 6. heard from far, fled to a district (?) of Aegypt, 7. which is situated on the frontier of Miluh̄ḥa; not a trace of him was seen. 8. Ashdod, Gimt-Ashdudim, I besieged, I captured; his gods, his wife, his sons, his daughters, 10. the treasures, possessions, valuables of his palace, together with the inhabitants of his land 12. I destined for capture. Those towns I restored again. 13. The inhabitants of the countries which my hands had seized, 151. 10, 1. which amid . . . . in the East, I settled there; I treated them like unto the Assyrians; they tendered obedience. The king of Miluh̄ḥa, 400 2. who in . . . . a strong, a waste (?) region, on a path . . . ., whose fathers since distant times, (since?) the *adi* (?) of the moon, to my royal predecessors 3. had not sent their envoys, to beg for themselves peace: the might . . . of Merodach [overpowered him?], the dread of my royal majesty overcame him, fear seized him. 4. Into bonds . . . . iron chains he cast him (Jaman); caused him to take his distant way to Assyria and appeared before me."

*Notes and Illustrations.* 149. 6. Našî', našû Infin. Kal, root נָשָׂא;—7. See note on Exod. IX. 7, Vol. I, p. 141; livîtu "neighbourhood"; see Sanherib Taylor-cylind. III, 14;—8. zirât "(summons to) revolt", root זָרַח 'turn aside'; aššû, see Assy. Babyl. Keil. p. 296, No. 7;—10. "Achimit", see note on Josh. XI. 22, Vol. I, p. 150; talimšu, see footnote in preceding page and glossary;—11. bîl kussî "master of the throne" i. e. "one who has a claim to the throne", comp. bî-îl lišâni "master of language" i. e. skilled in language, "interpreter"\*

[\* The reader will not fail to compare the corresponding Hebrew use of בַּעַל, Ewald § 287 f.—Transl.]

Smith's Assurban. 77, 9; palâhu Infin. "reverence", "recognition"; idû 3 plur. imperf. Kal of ארע = ירע; urabbû 3 pers. imperf. Pael "raise" from rabû. 150. 1. šuhut (properly 'destruction' שחה and then (?)) "anger"; gibiš "mass", root גבש; ummân "army", root עמן, extended formation from עמ;—8. "Gimtu Asdudim", perhaps "Gath of the Ashdodites"? See note on Josh. XIII. 3 (Vol. I, p. 154);—9. Comp. Sanherib Taylor-cylind. col. II. 60\*.—10. Comp. Sanherib Tayl.-cylind. col. II. 56, I Rawl. 35, 20;—12. see Sanherib Tayl.-cyl. III. 20.—13. For ašbat 'I took in hand', 'restored' there often stands abnî "I built" as in Standard-inscript. 15 and other passages; nipih 'rising of the sun' like Hebr. מוציא, see Lotz, Die Inschriften Tigl.-Pileasers I p. 84 and comp. note on Ps. XIX. 7;—151, 1. išûtu abšâni see note on Sanherib Tayl.-cyl. II. 64;—2. la'ari (= la 'arî) occurs again in this inscription. Perhaps "without guide", Infin. R. ארה = ירה (Lyon)?—adî is obscure; or should we read a-di I, and take the latter as an ideogram? On this subject consult on the one side Oppert in Records of the Past VII, 22, and on the other, Delitzsch Parad. pp. 291 foll. Compare also my essay "The Sargon-stele of the <sup>British</sup> Museum" (Acad. of Sciences 1881) Berlin 1882 p. 34. AN. ŠIŠ. KI is the ideogram for the moon-god Sin-Nannar. He is thereby designated as "God of Ur" (ŠIŠ. KI = Uru-KI), Ur being the chief seat of his worship in Chaldaea. For this phrase compare in general the parallel passages Khorsab. 145 foll. Berlin. Sargon-stele col. II (IV), 32 foll.;—3. Comp. Sanherib Tayl.-cylind. III, 30. 41;—iktum stands for the more usual word ishup; compare the Aramaic כתר כהם "conceal", "cover", 401 "altogether overpower"; ittapik lft. of הפך; hattuv "terror" חתה;—4. šiš צייץ is obscure. Probably a special kind of chain or bond is meant, but in the mutilated condition of the text it is scarcely possible to determine the signification with any approach to certainty;—biritu (kašritu?) parzilli iddišu, see my remarks on the Taylor-cyl. of Sanherib II. 71 (Vol. I, p. 289); harrânu "way", on the reading comp. East India House Insc. I, 21, where we find the first syllable written ħa-ra (= ħa-ra-nav), see Norris 445. Moreover the same ideogram, accompanied by the determinative expressive of 'town', designates the Mesopotamian city Harran, and without this determinative serves to convey the meaning 'way'. It is quite certain that harrânu signifies 'way', not simply from the present passage nor from the context of other inscriptions, such as Smith's Assurban. 17,

[\* For these citations of the Taylor-cylinder the reader should refer to Vol. I, pp. 281 foll. text and 'Notes & Illustrations'—Tr.]



69 &c., but from the syllabary II Rawl. 38, 24—26, where the word in question is interpreted by *urḥu* i. e. אַרְחָא, and also by *daragu* i. e. דַּרְגָּא, and lastly by *mítíku* i. e. מִעֵתָא “march” from עֵתָא (see above). With the whole phrase comp. Sanberib, Taylor-cyl. III, 50 Norris 451. The completion of the text *ru-[u-ḫi]* is adopted from Bruston; *u-ša-a-ḫ-bi-tu*, in this reading we follow the parallels and Botta 160, 1, *u-ší-bi-la-aš-šu*. We have here supplied the form *illikamma* (*illik* with the conjunct. *ma*) according to Smith's Assurban. 140, 5.

From the above account\* we clearly see that the revolt of Ashdod was connected with a corresponding movement of Aegypt and Aethiopia against Sargon, and likewise that the enterprise of the Assyrian monarch, directed against Ashdod, was connected with still another against the great Western power on the Nile. After the fall of Ashdod, Aegypt evidently despaired of a successful issue to her 402 undertaking and endeavoured to secure herself from the further consequences of failure by a timely retreat and the surrender of Jaman, king of Ashdod, who had revolted and fled to Kûsh (*Míluḫḫa*).

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\* We have a parallel to this record in the cylinder, still unpublished, discovered by George Smith; see G. Smith, *Assyr. Discoveries* p. 289 foll. In this cylinder it is noticeable that the exploit against Ashdod is dated from the ninth, instead of from the eleventh, year of the king's reign. This discrepancy George Smith attempted to explain by assuming a two years interregnum, but the truth is probably that the writer of the cylinder-inscription reckoned the years of the king's reign not from the first actual and complete year of reigning i. e. 721 B. C., but from the year of the royal *eponym* i. e. 719. We have a somewhat analogous instance in the dividing lines that are placed in the eponym-lists, especially in the case of Tiglath-Pileser II (in Canons II and III for the year 743) and in the case of Sargon himself for the year 719.—Thus the discrepancy is only an apparent one: in reality both the writer of the annals (see below p. 96) as well as the composer of the cylinder-inscription placed the event we are speaking of in the year 711.

The question arises, what date are we to assign to this campaign of Sargon against Ashdod? We might feel tempted to believe that this enterprise was identical with that against Seveh, which ended in the battle of Raphia and the rout of the Aegyptians (see above on Is. XX. 1, p. 81). But if this were so, the complete separation of the two accounts, regarding the capture of Ashdod and respecting the defeat of Seveh, would be incomprehensible. Next, we might imagine that the enterprise against Ashdod is to be connected with the despatch of tribute by Pharaoh and Samsieh, queen of the Arabs, notices of which may be read in the opening lines of the Khorsâbâd-inscription (see above p. 88 in this volume). But the inscription keeps this despatch of tribute and the petition of the Aethiopian king for peace perfectly distinct from one another. The one is narrated in Botta 145, 2 line 3; the other in Botta 151, 10 line 3. Therefore what is intended must be the expedition against Ashdod which the annals place in Sargon's 11<sup>th</sup> year. Since we shall have frequently to refer to the chronological dates of the annals, it would perhaps be opportune if I were to subjoin here a chronological survey of Sargon's enterprises based upon these records.

#### Sargon's Annals.

722. *Beginning of the reign* \*. Conquest of Samaria.  
Botta pl. 70, 1—4.

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\* This "beginning of rule" (*rîš šarrûti, šurrat šarrûti*) is in other cases expressly distinguished in the inscriptions from the first year of the king's reign. Comp. for example the obelisk of Salman-assar 22, Tigl.-Pileser I col. 1, 22, Sanherib Bellino-cyl. line 6. The

721. *First year.* Defeat of Humbanigas of Elam\*. 403  
Subjugation of the Babylonian tribe Tu'mun  
Botta 70. line 4 foll. Conquest of Merodach-  
Baladan of Babylon *ibid.* lines 8. 9. Transpor-  
tation of Babylonian inhabitants to the land  
Chatti *ibid.* lines 9. 10.
720. *Second year.* Defeat of Jahubi'di of Hamath in  
the battle of Karkar, Botta 70, 10 foll. Defeat  
of Seveh of Aegypt in the battle at Raphia.  
Capture of Hanno of Gaza. Botta pl. 71,  
lines 1—5.
719. *Third year.* Defeat of Mitatti of Zikirtu. Botta  
pl. 71, lines 6 foll.
718. *Fourth year.* Subjugation of Kiakku of Sinuchta.  
Botta 72, lines 3—6; 158, 6—12.
717. *Fifth year.* Expedition against Pisiri of Gar-  
ganis. Botta pl. 72, lines 7 foll.; 158, 13 foll.
716. *Sixth year.* Rebellion of Ursa and other Arme-  
nian princes. Bagadatti flayed alive. Defeat of  
Ullusun and the town of Izirti burnt. Botta 72,  
13; 73, 1 foll.;—158, 5 foll.
715. *Seventh year.* Fresh disturbances raised by Ursa,  
a king of Armenia. Transportation of Daiukku.  
Botta 74, 10 foll.; Botta 119, 10. Expedition  
to Media. Deportation of subjugated races to

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reason was that the event, which was referred-to, fell in the remainder of the year of the preceding monarch, i. e. in the year in which the new king ascended the throne. The latter reckoned as his "first" year that which was inaugurated by himself as king. For further discussion see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 314 foll.

\* See Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 315 footnote.

- 404 Samaria. Tribute of Pharaoh of Aegypt, Sam-sieh of Arabia and the Sabaeen It'amar\*. Botta 75, 3—7.
714. *Eighth year.* Second war against Ursa of Armenia. Campaign against Urzana of Muşaşir. Capture of this town. Botta 75, 10 foll. 76. 77. 120, 1—7.
713. *Ninth year.* Campaign against Amitassi of Karalla and some other Eastern potentates and territories. Botta 120, 8 foll. 80. 81, 1—8.
712. *Tenth year.* War against Tarchunazi of Milid-Melitene and conquest of Til-Garimmi. Botta 81, 9 foll. 82. 83, 1—12.
711. *Eleventh year.* Intervention in favour of Tarchular of Gamgum. War against Azuri of Ashdod and conquest of that town. The king of Aethiopia sues for peace. Botta 65, 1. 83, 13. 84. 155, 1—12.
710. *Twelfth year.* War with Merodach-Baladan. His dethronement. Botta 65, 1 foll. 66. 85. 86. 87. 88, 1—11 (with the parallels from Hall V).
709. *Thirteenth year.* Continuation of the war with Merodach-Baladan. Botta 112, 3 (from below). 111. 110. 109. 108 ;—89. 90. 91, 1. 2 \*\*; Tribute of the Cyprian kings. Botta 91, 3—10.

\* i. e. יִתְעַמֵּר. Comp. above Vol. I, p. 132. See further in Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 40.

\*\* From this year, i. e. 709 B. C., the eponymate of Mannu-ki-Ašur-li', Sargon dates his first year as king of Babylon (see Smith in Lepsius' Zeitschrift 1869, pp. 95. 96). This exactly agrees with the Ptolemaic Canon, which reckons the year 709 as the first of Arkeanos or Sargon; Assyriol. Keilinsch. p. 164. See the dates of the clay tablets furnished in the "Chronological Addenda".

708. *Fourteenth year* \*. Subjugation of the rebel-<sup>405</sup>lions Muttallu of Kummuch - Kommagene \*\*. Botta 107.
707. *Fifteenth year* (?). Expedition against the land I'llip. In this and the preceding years (see Botta 83, 12 in the account respecting the 10<sup>th</sup> year) took place the building of Dûr-Šarrukîn i. e. Khorsâbâd \*\*\*. Botta 107, 13 foll. 106. 105. 118. No. 1.

We see from the above survey that the great campaign against Aegypt did not immediately succeed the capture of Samaria. Between these two events intervened enterprises against minor Chaldaean races and against the ruler of Beth-Jakîn, Merodach-Baladan; also the defeat of Jahubi'di of Hamath and of the king of the Elamites, Humbanigas. Evidently Sargon, even after the fall of Israel's capital, did not yet feel himself sufficiently strong to undertake so difficult an enterprise as a war against Aegypt, especially when disturbances had arisen in the Eastern part of his kingdom, which first required to be subdued. But as soon as he had succeeded in reestab-

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\* The division of this from the following year cannot be precisely determined on the basis of the Annals alone, because the passages which settle the chronology are at this point badly mutilated. From a fragment, however, in the Canon of Rulers II Rawl. 69 below, right hand, line 2 a-na ír Ku-muḥ-ḥi 'against Commagene', we can see that the campaign against Commagene falls in the fourteenth year of Sargon's reign.

\*\* On the identification of the Kummuch of the inscriptions with the Commagene of the classical writers see the complete evidence in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 127—155, 181—213.

\*\*\* Compare likewise II Rawl. 69, line 7, archonship of Mutakkil-Ašur : Araḥ Airu ûm VI. ír Dûr-Šarrukîn aḳ-[ru] "on the 6<sup>th</sup> of the month Ijjar I [na]med (root קרא) the city Dûr-Šarrukîn".

lishing order, he marches forth to the decisive struggle  
 406 with the Western power, which ended in his favour at  
 the battle of Raphia. Nevertheless the Great King con-  
 tented himself with a payment of tribute and with a formal  
 recognition, as we presume, of the Assyrian supremacy.  
 There was no subjugation, in the proper sense of the word,  
 of the Nile-region in the days of Sargon, such as came to  
 pass later, in the reigns of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal.  
 But Aegypt, or rather Aegypt-Aethiopia\*, found it hard  
 to endure even this loss of its previous influential position.  
 Accordingly secret negotiations were carried on with the  
 Western-Asian states, especially Ashdod, with a view to  
 bring about an universal insurrection of the Western-  
 Asiatic (i. e. Phoenico-Philistian) princes and races, and  
 thereby to shake or even shatter the power of Assyria in  
 the West. In the eleventh year of Sargon's reign i. e.  
 711 B. C. the insurrection broke forth through the action  
 of king Azur of Ashdod. But it turned out disastrously;  
 Ashdod itself fell into the hands of the conqueror. Un-  
 doubtedly assistance from Aethiopia was expected; but,  
 as formerly, when Samaria fell, so now; it never came.  
 Indeed the Aethiopian monarch made haste to conclude  
 peace with the Assyrian even at the price of surrendering  
 the king of Ashdod, who had taken refuge at his court, and  
 to whom the king of Aegypt had doubtless promised his  
 protection. After this the supremacy of Assyria over  
 Aegypt was in fact definitely assured.

Isaiah accompanies the varied phases in the development  
 of these events with his prophetic discourses. The oracle  
 chap. XVIII, which breathes an air of joyous expectation

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\* It was the Aethiopian dynasty which then dominated Aegypt.

and exalts Aethiopia, dates from a time preceding the outbreak of the rebellion, at all events before the fall of Ashdod. Chapter XX has reference to the period of the siege, perhaps even subsequent to the fall of Ashdod. In <sup>407</sup>verses 3 foll. the humiliation of Aethiopia-Aegypt is announced with a distinctness which we can best understand by supposing the attempted plan of breaking the power of Assyria to have already failed. Perhaps the oracle immediately preceded the formal request of Aethiopia for peace, to which the inscription refers.

Sargon reigned altogether 17 years. Whether he fell through the dagger of a malcontent, an inhabitant of the town Kullum (see the Addenda : Lists of Governors No. C. line 11), cannot be determined with certainty on account of the *lacunae* in the text at this passage. On the 12<sup>th</sup> of the month Ab (about July), in the year 705, his son Sanherib ascended the throne, to fall at length, after reigning 24 years, himself in his turn a victim to assassination at the hands of his own sons (2 Kings XIX. 37).

XXI. 2. *Elam—Medes*; see notes on Gen. X. 2, Vol. I, p. 62 and on Gen. X. 22, p. 96.

13. *Arabia*. See remarks on Jer. XXV. 24.

XXII. 1 foll. It is well known that this oracle is usually assigned to the time of Hezekiah and specially referred to the troubles that arose during Sanherib's siege of Jerusalem (comp. De Wette-Schrader, *Einleitung ins A. T.* § 259). Against this opinion Nowack, in *Studien u. Kritiken* 1881, p. 310, has propounded the view that the oracle was composed in the reign of Sargon and refers to the time when this king had besieged Ashdod and had subsequently captured it (Is. XX. 1), an event which according to his annals fell in the year 711 B. C. This

year Nowack makes to synchronize with the third (or fourth) of Hezekiah's reign. But, in the first place, there is not the faintest allusion to this event in the oracle we are now examining; in chap. XX. 1 the case is altogether different. In the second place, neither the annals  
 408 nor the triumphal inscriptions say anything whatever about a conquest of Juda. Certainly nothing is said of a disgraceful defeat sustained on this occasion by the Jews. There is only one passage in the records of Sargon that makes any reference to Juda as a country subjugated by him. This occurs in the Nimrûd-inscription (Layard 33, 8) which comes from the palace of Ašurnaširabal, in which Sargon resided during the earlier portion of his reign. See the passage above in Vol. I, p. 178. This inscription, however, mentions as one of the Great King's exploits the subjugation of the land Karalla which, according to the annals, coincides with the 6<sup>th</sup> year of the king's reign (716 B. C.). *Not yet* have we in this document any reference to the taking of Ashdod. It is evident that the conquest of Juda, alluded-to in the Nimrûd-inscription, cannot refer to an event occurring at the time when Ashdod was taken. And, when we come to the account of the capture of Ashdod itself, we have no mention of any enterprise of Sargon against Juda nor is it to be found in any of his later inscriptions, not even in Geo. Smith's cylinder (see above p. 93 footnote) where (l. 32 ff.) we are only told, that Juda and other lands were "speaking treason". Also in the passage of the sacred record, in which reference is made to the siege and capture of Ashdod (Is. XX. 1), there is not the smallest hint of an expedition of Sargon against Juda - Jerusalem. Accordingly the date advocated by Nowack for the oracle of



Isaiah now under discussion is not to be commended from the standpoint of Assyriology.

XXIII. 1 foll. We have already in another work explained that no adequate reason exists for denying that Isaiah was the author of this oracle (de Wette-Schrader, *Einleitung ins A. T.* 8<sup>th</sup> ed. § 257). Indeed, as we have shown, a satisfactory interpretation of the prophecy may be given by supposing it to have been composed at the time when Salmanassar besieged Tyre, following Menander quoted in *Joseph. Arch.* IX, 14. 2. The passage on <sup>409</sup> Sargon's clay cylinder: "(Sargon), courageous to the conflict, who, in the midst of the sea, drew forth the Ionians like sand and niš fishes and delivered the land K̄ui, as well as the city Tyre, from their oppression" (see Vol. I, p. 157), refers to the time subsequent to the fall of the city. When the chapter has been thus chronologically determined, we can understand among other details the special remark in verse 5 respecting the impression which the news of the fall of Tyre will make in Aegypt. For Aegypt (see note on XX. 1), that was engaged in war with Assyria, it was ofcourse of the highest importance, that so powerful and so dominant a stronghold as Tyre should maintain itself against the attacks of Assyria. Hence the news of its fall must have had a very depressing effect.

13. But is not this entire explanation completely upset by the 13<sup>th</sup> verse, where we find the Chaldaeans mentioned as a people newly established by Assyria? Certainly, if the storming of Tyre by the Chaldaeans is actually announced in this passage, as tradition has assumed. But in the days of Isaiah there was no conceivable motive for such an act of hostility, and hence it would be difficult to reconcile our interpretation of the passage with such an assumption.

But what then do the words mean : “the nation of the Chaldaeans, that was nought : Assur founded it afresh” ? It has been supposed that the Prophet meant :—the Chaldaeans were a people, which had not existed at the place, which they at that time were occupying. But in that case it is just the chief words in the sentence (“at the place”) which have been supplied in the interpretation. But the Prophet could not have expressed his ideas in so clumsy a manner. Besides, this whole hypothesis, that the Chaldaeans were transplanted from the North (Armenia etc.) by the Assyrians in the days of Isaiah to the South, i. e. Babylon, completely breaks down from the simple fact, which has  
 410 been already pointed out in the note on Gen. XI. 28, that the Chaldaeans were certainly settled in Babylon as far back as the *second millennium* before Christ, and that, moreover, there were no Chaldaeans other than those in Babylonia and that in Armenia there had never been any settlement of Chaldaean population \*. Thus the ordinary interpretation falls to the ground both in point of matter and of form. As Ewald has already conjectured, we should read פְּנֵעִים rather than כְּשָׂרִים, in accordance with verse 11. The passage may then be rendered as follows : “*See, the land of the Kanaanites : this people has become nought ; Assur has appointed them to be inhabitants of steppes, has erected its watch towers, has desolated the palaces of the land and made it into a heap of ruins.*” Isaiah has a prophetic foresight of the desolation, which will be brought upon the land of the Kanaanites, and to some extent has already been brought, by the Assyrians.

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\* On this compare my dissertation “The descent of the Chaldees and the early settlements of the Semites”—*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft* XXVII (1873), pp. 397 foll.

The people has already become politically a non-entity and will become so in other respects besides. The same doom awaits them, that befel Samaria. In accordance with the practice of the Assyrians, they—the luxurious Kanaan!—will be transported into another country—a region of steppes—where life can scarcely obtain a respite. Already have the Assyrians commenced devastating the land,—the decisive attack is being hourly expected.—It is only in this way that light can be thrown on this passage and the entire narrative becomes harmonious and coherent.

XXX. 4. חַנְנֵס. *Chânēs (Heracleopolis)*, without doubt the Assyrian *Hi-ni-in-ši*, Smith's Assurbanipal 21, 97; V Rawl. 1, 95. A key to this identification is given by the Aegyptian *Hâ-chnen-su*; see Maspero-Pietschmann, 'History of Oriental nations', Leipzig 1877, p. 23.

XXXVIII. 10. *To the gates of the Lower World.* See <sup>411</sup> the comment on Job X. 21.

XLI. 25. שָׂרָן usually (as in Jer. LI. 23; Ezek. XXIII. 6 etc.) means "viceroys", but is here employed in the general signification of "potentates". It is without doubt the same as the Assyrian *šaknû*t (written *ša-ak-nu-ti*), plural from the sing. *šakan*, *šaknu* = שָׂרָן (שָׂרָן) "viceroy". The root *šakânu* (שָׂכַן), ultimately connected with שָׂכַן, is the ordinary word for "place", "appoint". *Šakan* thus means one who is "appointed", "commissioned", then the "representative", "viceroy". We meet with the singular *šaknu* in the opening words of Sargon's inscription on the clay cylinder I Rawl. 36 line 1 on which we read: *Šarrukîn, ša-ak-nu Bîl, nisakku na-'id Ašur, ni-šit íni A-nu v u Da-kan i. e.* "Sargon, viceroy of Bel, august priest of Asur—apple of the eye to Anu and Dagon" (also compare Vol. I, p. 147 footnote and p. XXXI).

With regard to the transition of k (šakan) into g (גן), compare קִרְנֵי in Is. XX. 1 with the Assyrr. Šarrukîn\*.

XLIV. 14. אֲרֵן *Pine*. The tree in question was so identified by Hieronymus and rabbinical writers. In modern times, however, without any sufficient reason the אֲרֵן was taken to be the "ash". But the Assyrian puts the matter beyond doubt, since the word írin, employed in the combination iš írini šad Labnâni "cedars of Lebanon", was the ordinary designation for a variety of pine, while for 'cedar' the Hebrews ofcourse used quite another word (אַרְזָא). The Assyrian word is usually written with an ideogram, which is expressly interpreted in a syllabary by í-ri-ni i. e. אֲרֵן. See V Rawl. 26 No. 2.  
412 Rev. 15. The same result is obtained by a comparison of two parallel passages in the inscription of Nebukadnezzar edited by Grotfend, col. III, 36 (í-ri-nu v), and in the Nebukadnezzar-inscription of the East India Comp. VI, 8. VIII, 3 (ideogram). Besides í-ri-ni we also find the abbreviated form ír-ni, Layard 39, 22. Compare the notes on 1 Kings V. 13, Is. XIV. 8.

XLVI. 1. *Bel sinks, Nebo falls down*. Respecting "Bel" see my note on Judg. II. 11 (Vol. I, pp. 162 foll.). —*Nebo* נְבוֹ is written in Assyrian Na-bu-u, which has lately been regarded as the Semitized form of the Sumiro-Akkadian (?) Na-bi-u v. We clearly perceive that the two names were identical from a syllabary which represents them as equivalent terms (II Rawl. 7, 36. 41 g. h.). But must we on this account cease to combine the name, as

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\* We have just a reverse instance in the case of Gargamis = Karkēmīsh כַּרְכַּמִּישׁ. On the latter see my remarks in the Aegyptische Zeitsch. XVII, 1879, p. 48 note 3.

hitherto, with the Hebr. נְבִי? A satisfactory explanation of the word from the Sumírian has not been given, at all events up to the present time; and we are justified in connecting the name with the Semitic root نَبَا <sup>نَبَا</sup>, at least to this extent, that the Semitic Assyrians endeavoured to adapt the proper name, which had come to them from the Sumírians and Akkadians, into their own speech, by favouring its pronunciation as a derivative of the above mentioned Semitic root.

Although this deity was known to the Assyrians, and was worshipped by them, in early times \*, yet the land, which was properly the home of his cultus, was not Assyria, but Babylonia : at Borsippa in particular he had a great temple. In the days of the later Chaldaean Empire he was, along with Merodach, in so exclusive a <sup>413</sup> sense the chief deity *par excellence* of the Babylonians, that their kings named themselves after Nebo in every instance (e. g. Nabopolassar, Nebukadnezzar, Nabonid), except in one case when the monarch named himself after Merodach (Evil-Merodach), in another after Nergal (Neriglissor) and in another after Bel (Belshazzar). In the Borsippa-inscription Nebukadnezzar styles himself narâm Nabû "favourite of Nebo", col. I, 3, while he describes the deity as pâkîd kiššat šamí u iršitiv "him who rules over the hosts of heaven and earth" (col. I, 13), and lastly as ablav kînuv "faithful son" (col. II, 66), that is to say, of Merodach. Comp. East India House Insc.

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\* Even the grandfather of Tiglath-Pileser I (the latter reigned about 1100 B. C.) had a name which was compounded of Nebo, namely Mutakkil-Nabû [or should we transcribe by Nusku?] = "Nebo gives confidence" I Rawl. 15, col. VII, line 45; comp. Assyr. Babyl. Keilinsch. 146 No. 42.

I, 30 foll. : ša Marduk, bīlu rabû, ilu ba-ni-ja 31. í-ib-ší-tu-šu na-ak-la-a-ti 32. í-li-iš (at-ta na-a-du!) 33. ša Nabû a-bi-il-šu ki-i-nuv 34. na-ra-am šar-ru-ti-ja i. e. "30. (*I*) whose divine progenitor is Merodach, the great Lord, 31. whose works 32. (are) very wonderful (yea, exalted art thou!), 33. whose faithful son is Nebo, the beloved of my realm". Other epithets applied to the deity are as follows: bīlu ašâridu *dominus princeps* "supreme lord"; rikis kalama "ruler of the world"; il mudû אל מודע "god of knowledge" or of "science"; il tīli'u "god of the oath" (?); ilu muštabarrû salimi "god, establisher of friendship" (partic. Istaf. of כרא), II Rawl. 60, 28—45. He is specially designated as god of the *art of writing*, and as such is called bânû šitri dubsarrûti\* "creator of the writing of the inscribed clay tablets" (line 34); also dub-sar gim-ri "writer of all" I Rawl. 36, 49.

*Notes and Illustrations.* naklât fem. plur. of an adjct. uaklu "artistic", "wondrous" (the masc. plur. naklûti occurs in Khorsab. 157 in a description of structures, and the adverb nakliš occurs in the same inscription 134 in connection with the verb. abnî I built), root נכל "make something artistically", "to erect"; Oppert has already recognized its connection with the Hebr.-Aramaic נכל;—32. íliš abverb<sup>414</sup> from íli עלי "high"; nâ'du from nahâdu נהד, نهج;—33. kînu, see Assy.-Babylon. Keil. 161; abil "son" is simply a collateral form of abal, habal as is immediately evident from the parallel passage in the Borsippa inscription II, 16 : ab-lav ki-i-nuv.—34. The signification of narâmu, root רהם = רחם, may be gathered from Smith's Assurbanipal 302, 10 foll. (= V Rawl. 10, 26 foll.), in which the mother of the gods, Bīlit = "Beltis", is termed ħi-ir-tu na-ram-ti Ašur "beloved consort of Asur".

[\* The reader should compare the note on Exod. V. 6, Vol. I, p. 141 and on Jer. Ll. 27 in the present Vol. in illustration of these forms—Trausl.]

LXIII. 15. מִזְבֹּחַ קֹדֶשׁ וְהַפְּאֵרֶתָךְ *of thy sacred and majestic palace*, comp. note on 1 Kings VIII. 13.

## BOOK OF JEREMIAH.

VII. 18. מַלְכַּת הַשָּׁמַיִם *queen of heaven*. Comp. chap. XLIV, 17 foll. Athar-Astarte is meant who is repeatedly mentioned under the form A-tar-sa-ma-(ai)-in i. e. "Athar of heaven" as the goddess of a North-Arabian tribe of Kedarenes (Smith's Assurban. 270, 96; 271, 104; 283, 92; 295 b—comp. Vol. I, p. 134). Comp. the author's dissertation in "Sitzungsberichte" of the Academy of Berlin May 20. 1886. שׁוֹמֵר יְצִיָּה -

XXV. 24. וְיָאֵחַ כָּל-מְלָכֵי עֲרָב *and all the kings of Arabia*. It has long been recognized that Arabia in the Old Testament is merely the name for North-Arabia or of a North-Arabian tribe or group of tribes. This agrees with the Assyrian usage. On the monuments the term mât A-ri-bu(bi) (also Ar-a-bu) denotes a North-Arabian people, in conjunction with whom we find repeatedly mentioned the Kidraï קִדְרַי and the Nabaitai "Nabataeans" (the *Cedrei* and *Nabataei* of Pliny); see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. pp. 100—105. In the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II we find reference to Za-bi-bi-í and to Sa-a-m-si as queens of mât Aribu (see Vol. I, pp. 246 foll.). The latter appears again in the reign of Sargon in the form Sa-a-m-si-í Khorsab. 27. Comp. Vol. I, p. 134.

25. וְיָאֵחַ כָּל-מְלָכֵי זִמְרִי *and all the kings of Zimri*. Following the hints of Sir Henry Rawlinson and Prof. Sayce, Delitzsch (Parad. p. 237) holds that we can recover this name Zimrî in the (mât) Nam-ri of the inscriptions (Salmanas-<sup>415</sup> sar II and subsequently), a name which might also be pronounced (mât) Šim-ri, (see Syllab. 624) a district which we

must place South-West of Media, South of Turnat-Tornadotus in North-East Babylonia, somewhere in the present region of Jerezûr; see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 169 footnote 170 footn. But, as I have already pointed out, *ibid.* p. 170, the sign standing for nam or šim has never yet been shown to possess the phonetic syllabic power zim; nor have we met with an orthography consisting in a resolved first syllable Zi-im-ri. Moreover the name is often written Namar in the inscr. of Nebukadnezzar I (about 1130 B. C.).

26. וּמֶלֶךְ שֶׁשַׁח and the king of Shêshach. From the context as well as from the parallel passage chap. LI, 41 it can scarcely be a matter for doubt that we must understand by this title the king of Babylon. According to the principle of the Athbash\* alphabet, לְבִקְמִי in Jerem. LI, 1 is equivalent כְּשָׁדִים. In the same way it was thought that ששך was to be taken as equivalent to בבל. On the other hand it has recently been pointed out by Lauth in the Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeol. 1881, Jan. 11. pp. 47—8 and also by Delitzsch, Parad. pp. 214 foll., that in an ancient Babylonian regal register 11 (10) kings of Šiš-kû-KI are enumerated on the reverse of the tablet opposite to, or in other words, subsequent to 11 other kings of Din-tir-KI, i. e. of Babylon (see Pinches *ibid.* 1880, Dec. 7. p. 21). Delitzsch is of opinion that the reproduction of the name כְּשָׁדִים by לְבִקְמִי is simply due to an imitation of the misunderstood and wrongly interpreted שֶׁשַׁח. The passage Jer. LI, 41, where

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[\* The secret alphabet called *Athbash* (אח"בש) was so named because the first eleven characters of the Hebrew alphabet (א to כ) were taken as respectively equivalent to the last eleven characters in reverse order (i. e. ך to ל)—Translator.]



the parallelism in the first member of the verse (= שִׁשְׁיָד) would lead us to expect a proper name different from the word בְּקָל which corresponds to it in the second portion of the verse, is at all events favourable to this view. We must bear in mind, however, that in the later Babylonian<sup>416</sup> literature (dating from the time of Nebukadrezzar), with which we are now specially concerned, this name for Babel, or, as Fried. Delitzsch supposes, for a quarter or division of the city (Delitzsch suggests Borsippa), has not hitherto been found in the inscriptions, while the reading of the name, which appears to be an ideogram, is by no means definitely settled. Comp. also chap. LI, 1.

XXXIX. 3. *Then came all the army-commanders of the king of Babel . . . . : Nergalsarezer, Samgar-Nebo, Sarsekîm, the chief of the eunuchs, Nergalsarezer, the chief of the Magians.* Of these names only the first, Nergalsarezer (נְרַגְלִישָׁרְעָזֶר), has been preserved to us in the original cuneiform documents, where it occurs as the name of the well-known Babylonian king Neriglissor. Its original Babylonian form is Nîrgal-šar-ušur "Nergal, protect the king", I Rawl. 67, col. I, 1. See further Assyriology. Keilinsch. p. 128, No. 12.

The second name *Samgar-Nebo* has not yet been met with in the inscriptions. Its Babylonian type is, however, perfectly evident. Its form, as originally pronounced, would be Šumgir-Nabû "Be gracious, Nebo!" Šumgir is the Imperat. Shaf. (Borsip. II, 27) of magâru, a verb which frequently occurs in the inscriptions in the signification "be favourably disposed" (East India House Insc. VIII, 60; Khorsab. 3 etc.). The Shafel has the meaning "show oneself gracious", like the Hebrew הִטִּיב "show oneself kind" Micah II. 7 etc. In the passage from the

Borsippa-inscription which has been referred-to, the prayer í-ib-ší-tu-u-a šu-um-gi-ri "show thyself gracious to my undertaking" is addressed by Nebukadnezzar to Merodach.

417 *Sarsekîm* (שַׂרְסַכִּים) in its first part is quite clear (שַׂר = "king"). But the second portion of the name is obscure. Is the reading quite correct?

רַב־מָגֵן *Chief magian*. So according to the traditional rendering; comp. verse 13. If we strictly adhere to it, the alternative lies before us, either to regard the word as of Babylonian origin and to refer Magism accordingly to Babylon-Chaldea for its ultimate source; or, to assume an Iranian origin for Magism and then to consider the name as a Semitic-Aryan compound, that is to say as a translation of an original word *maghupati*. In favour of the latter hypothesis the facts may be observed that in Herodotus I, 101 the Magians *Μάγοι* are mentioned along with other races as a special Median tribe; also that the great Behistun inscription of the Persian Darius makes repeated reference to a "Magian" (*Gaumâta*); next, that the word *maghupati* = "*Môbed*" is evidently Aryan in form; lastly that it cannot be altogether denied that it is possible that an Aryan Magism may have insinuated itself into Babylonia even before the Persian era,—indeed it may have been subsequent to Nebukadnezzar's accession, who married Amyitis, the daughter of a Median king. See Schoene's Eusebius I, 30; comp. A. Von Gutschmid, *Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients*, Leipzig 1876, pp. 113 foll.

On the other hand the following considerations are worthy of notice:—(1) It is scarcely an accident that the name *maghu* (which is in Aryan a word of uncertain

derivation) is only found in Western Persia which is situated towards Babylonia, while the other name, having the same meaning, *atharvan*, which is likewise of uncertain derivation, is only to be met with in Eastern Persia. (2) That Babylonian civilization may certainly be pointed out as early as in the 9<sup>th</sup> century B. C. in the frontier-regions of Medo-Babylonia, in other words in the district lying near the source of the Dijâlâ. See fuller information in Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsf. p. 169 footnote \*\* 170 footnote \*. Moreover Herodotus' statement (I, 98) respecting the "seven" encircling walls of the Median capital Agbatana, <sup>418</sup> constructed out of "variegated" (glazed) tiles, points decisively to the influences of Babylonian civilization. Compare the tower of Borsippa with its (seven?) stages characterized by different colours! (3) That the cuneiform script, which is for important reasons designated as "Median" (II style of cuneiform), is ultimately of Babylonian origin; — that it may have entered Media directly from Babylonia, or by a round-about way through Elam; (4) that Magism, as we may infer, was first imported into Persia from Media. Darius Hystaspis was a Persian; on the other hand, Gaumâta was a Magian, the latter depending mainly on Media and the Medes; Beh. I, 59. (5) That there evidently existed, along with the Aryan element\* in the population of Media, an element that was *non-Aryan*, whose language has come down to us probably in the second or so-called Median style of cuneiform. This non-Aryan element, however, was *distinctly subject to Baby-*

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\* This Aryan element is clearly proved to have existed as early as the beginning of the seventh century B. C. by the Aryan proper names of Median rulers inscribed on Asarhaddon's cylinder.

*lonian influence*, which is an indication that the cuneiform script, which these non-Aryans employed, was borrowed in some way from the Babylonians. (6) The specific elements in Magism, if we regard them as consisting in astrology and the interpretation of dreams, are precisely what is stated respecting the *Babylonian* "Chaldaeans". Comp. 419 Daniel II, 4. 5; also in Diodorus, as the reader is aware, the name "Chaldaeian" stands for Babylonian priest. Now, if it were the *Medes* who established their dominion over Babylonia, an importation of "Median" Magism among the Babylonians would be to a certain extent conceivable. But it was not the *Medes* but the *Persians*, who, as we learn from their inscriptions, adhered tenaciously to their native faith in Auramazda and were certainly at political variance with Median magism,—it was the *Persians*, who subjugated Babylon. On the other hand, if the Medo-Aryan Magism had been already, in the days of Nebukadrezzar, officially recognized as a species of state-religion (A. von Gutschmid), we should then have expected to find some trace of this either in the inscriptions of Nebukadrezzar or of his successors. But this is just what we do not find. Even in the inscriptions of the latest Babylonian kings, we simply meet with the specific Babylonian cults. (7) On the other hand, what is peculiar to Magism (see above) may be already pointed out in the works of the ancient and civilized non-Semitic people, the Sumirians and Akkadians, in their hymns and formulas of conjuration. (8) Again, the far-reaching influence of Babylonia and the Chaldaeans upon the East even in times of vast antiquity may be shown on other grounds. Indeed the *Manâ i. e.* the *Babylonian mina* (Hebrew מִנָּה) occurs as a measure of

gold even in the Rigveda \* (so A. Weber, Th. Nöldeke). In fact this influence of the West upon the East must have been brought-about upon the lines of their intercourse<sup>420</sup> by sea. Who would therefore deny that a similar influence of Babylonian civilization, operating on the East by land, and, moreover, on the frontier country in the immediate neighbourhood of Babylonia, might thus be exerted on *Media*, seeing that it is quite certain that Babylonian monuments were erected even as far as the fluvial region of the Dijâlâ? Again, we possess further evidence of the intimate acquaintance of the Babylonians with these regions in the phrase which often recurs in Tiglath-Pileser's inscriptions in reference to the localities in Media ša (ir) dān nûtu ša abal Bâbilu iḡabbušûni i. e. "(the city) which they call the stronghold of the sons of Babylon". Comp. my remarks under (5).—Lastly (9) we ought not attach too much importance to the statement of Herodotus that the Magians were a "*tribe*" of Medes (Herod. I, 101), since the former, according to Herodotus' own representation, were a class rather than a tribe, that is to say the Median priestly order\*\*. No one would be disposed to contest the possibility that the name "Magian", as well as the thing i. e. the office, was introduced into

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\* See A. von Gutschmid, Neue Beiträge zur Geschichte des alten Orients p. 132: "The Kalijuga of 432,000 years corresponds to the period of 432,000 years which Berossos reckons from the first king till the great flood. The flood-legend among the Indians occupies so isolated a position that it might be regarded as borrowed from the Semites. A. Weber has discovered that the duration of the longest day in Gjetisha, which does not apply to India, but agrees to a *minute* with its ascertained duration in Babylonia, has all the appearance of having been directly imported from Babylon."

\*\* Comp. M. von Niebuhr Gesch. Assurs und Babels p. 154.

Media from Babylonia. And if this name be identical with the *imga*, *imga* of the inscriptions, it may certainly be looked upon as Babylonian. This word *im-ga* or *i-im-ga* often occurs in the Babylonian inscriptions in the sense of "respectable", "exalted" (interchanged with <sup>421</sup> *git-ma-lu* "perfect"). See for example Nebuk. Borsip. I, 4; Nebuk. Bab. I, 11 etc. and compare the combination *rubû imga* "the highly exalted" which is an epithet bestowed on the father of the Babylonian king Nabunit, namely *Nabû-balât-su-iḫ-bi\**, who himself did *not* bear the royal title; see I Rawl. 68 No. 2 line 3; No. 3 line 6 (comp. No. 4 line 3 *rubû gitmalu*). If the word is Semitic, a derivation suggests itself from the root עמק, in the softened Babylonian form עמג\*\*, with some such meaning as "one who is deep whether in power and reputation or in insight". If the word is of Suméro-Akkadian origin, we must refer it to the root IM, which is interpreted in the syllabaries by *imûḫu*, root עמק, "fullness of power", *ramânu*, root רוים, "exaltation", as well as by *puluḫtu*, root פלה "fear", "reverence" (Haupt, Akkad. u. Sumer. Keilschrifttexte 28, 617—9). In the latter case *rab-mag* would be a similar hybrid compound to *rab-saḫ* "chief officer" = Hebr. רב־שָׂקָה\*\*\*. See note

\* "Nebo announced his life".

\*\* [A good illustration of the same Babylonian tendency to adopt the weaker *g* in place of *ḫ* may be found in the Babylonian *Diglat* for the *ḫ* *ḫ* *ḫ* (ḫ) and in *Gutû* for *Ḫutû*; see Vol. I, pp. 33, 123.—Transl.]

\*\*\* According to Fried. Delitzsch "The Hebrew language viewed in the light of Assyrian research", London 1883, p. 14, the Assyr. *mâḫu* is a synonym of *âšipu* "sorcerer"; comp. Smith's Assurb. p. 128, 25 "The Sumerian form of the word is *magha*, which has passed into Babylonian in the form *mâḫû* 'the right reverend', a name respectfully applied to the Magi by the credulity of the people".

on 2 Kings XVIII. 17 (Vol. II, p. 3 foll.); also consult Talbot in Journ. of Royal Asiatic Soc., new series IV, 1869 p. 4 No. 148.

13. *Nebuzaradan*, see on 2 Kings XXV. 8 (Vol. II, p. 51).

*Nebushazban* נְבוּשַׁזְבַּן. The name has been preserved in its original Assyrian pronunciation in the list of proper names II Rawl. 64 col. I, 32, where it appears in the form Nabû-šî-zib-an-ni i. e. "Nebo delivers me" (נְבוּשַׁזְבַּן Aramaic "rescue"); Assyri.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 131 No. 18.

XLVI. 2. *Pharao Necho*, see note on 2 Kings XXIII. 29. Vol. II, p. 43.

—*Karkemîsh* (כַּרְכַּמִּישׁ), see note on Is. X. 9. Vol. II, p. 74 foll.

—*Nebukadnezar, king of Babel*. In any case the battle at Karkemîsh (606 or 605 B. C.) took place before the accession of the above-named monarch and while his<sup>422</sup> father Nabopolassar was still living (Josephus-Berosus). Hence the title 'king of Babel' which is bestowed on the conqueror at this early date is certainly inaccurate. Compare notes on 2 Kings XXIII. 29 (Vol. II, p. 44 foll.) and also my article 'Nebukadnezar' in Riehm's Handwört. des bibl. Alterthums as well as notes on Daniel V. 1.

L. 2. בֵּל *Bel*. See notes on Judg. II. 11. Vol. I, p. 162 foll.

מֶרֶדַּךְ *Merodach*, also מְרֹאֲדַךְ (Is. XXXIX. 1; XLVI. 1 (p. 106); comp. 2 Kings XX. 12), chiefly worshipped in Babylonia, to a less extent in Assyria\*, a deity held in high

\* He is not referred-to by Ašurnāširabal, nor does Tiglath-Pileser I mention him in the list of deities at the head of his great inscription. His son Salmanassar II appears, it is true, to have

repute to whose service Nebukadnezzar was most attached. The Babylonian pronunciation of the name was Mar-duk, Ma-ru-du-ki; see Assy.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 129, No. 13; its signification is obscure\*. In the inscriptions of Nebukadnezzar the god is called bīlu rabû 'the great

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included the name of this deity in line 9 of his obelisk-inscription (the passage on the stone is corrupt) but makes no further reference to it. It is not till subsequent to the reign of Sargon (Khorsab. 2), i. e. after the capture of Babel by that monarch, that the Babylonian kings acknowledge themselves more frequently worshippers of Mero-dach, as, for example, Asarhaddon (I Rawl. 48 No. 9 line 1), Asurbanipal (Smith's Asurb. 9, 3), X-šum-iškun (I Rawl. 8 No. 6 line 4. 5 (2. 3)).

\* According to Sayce-Lenormant = Amar-utuk; according to Delitzsch Parad. 228 Mar-Urudug "son of Eridu". [According to Fritz Hommel Mardug arises out of Amar-ndug, the North-Babylonian and Akkadian name of the city-divinity of Babel. This deity became gradually confounded with Bel. Amar-udug, as a non-Semitic or Akkadian name, is rendered by Hommel "Gazelle of the light (or of day)"; he also follows Lenormant in regarding Mardug as a solar divinity. Moreover in the Akkadian hymns we find him identified with the South-Babylonian Meri-(mulu)-dug. 'Mulu' is here probably an unpronounced determinative = 'man'; dug is an adjective meaning 'good' and was an epithet of Ea ('the good' *par excellence*). Thus the city of Ea was called Uru-dugga ("good town"). Another ancient South-Babylonian name of Mardug was Meri-alim-nunna. Alim-nunna ("ram of the water") was an epithet of Ea (I'a), father of Mardug. Meri- therefore, as can be shown from other passages, evidently means 'son', and Meri-dug simply designates Mardug as son of Ea (I'a). He was regarded as mediator of all good between Ea and mankind and is occasionally designated 'first-born of the water-depths' or 'first-born of Ea'. See 'Vorsemitische Kulturen' pp. 376 foll. Lenormant in his 'Chaldaean Magic', transcribing by Silik-mulu-dug (or-khi), gives many interesting examples of incantations and hymns in which this deity's good offices were invoked (see pp. 10 foll. 19. 22, 190 foll.). A vivid description of the conflict of Mero-dach with the goddess or sea-demon Tiāmat, derived from a recently discovered fragment of a tablet, may be read in Budge's 'Babylonian Life and History' (Relig. Tr. Soc.) pp. 142 foll.—Translator.]



lord' (East India House Inscr. I. 30) and also patísi šîru "exalted ruler" (ibid. 5). The king likewise designates him ilu bânîja "god, my begetter". In the Borsippa inscription he is named šar šamíu iršitiv "king of Heaven and Earth" (col. II, 26), also ilu ilu "supreme god" (col. I, 15); lastly Asurbanipal (Smith's Assurb. 105, 63) calls him šar ilî "king of gods".

Just as Sin was the moon-deity, Nergal Mars, Nebo Mercury, Adar most probably Saturn, Istar or Beltis Venus,<sup>423</sup> so Merodach was the planet Jupiter. From the fact that he was also simply called Bîlu "Bel" = "Lord God" (Borsip. I, 16) the circumstance can be explained that among the Mandaeans Jupiter was worshipped as "Bel" i. e. Bel-Merodach. Compare the evidence in Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken 1874 p. 342. Regarding his relation to Nebo see the note on Is. XLVI. 1 (p. 105).

21. *against the land Merâthaim* (מְרָתַיִם), *advance against it, and against the inhabitants of Pekôd* (אֲשֶׁבִי פְקוֹד). I showed in the first edition of this work (1872) that Pekôd reminded us of the cuneiform race-name Pu-ḫu-du. This conjecture has since received considerable support from the circumstance that this race to which we are referring must clearly have been a Babylonian one. See the evidence in Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 108. 111. 113 comp. also 115. The context manifestly points to Babylonia; see verses 23, 28. This combination is confirmed by the further identification, which Delitzsch shows to be exceedingly probable (Parad. p. 182), of the land Merathaim, in the original form *Merâthâm*, with the cuneiform mât marrâti "the sea-country" i. e. South Babylonia. Comp. Khorsab. 22 : mât Bît-Ja-kîn ša ki-šad nâr mar-ra-ti "the land Beth-Jakîn which is on the shore of the sea-

river" i. e. of the Persian gulf (Oppert). Respecting the last phrase see my essay "The names for seas in the Assyrian inscriptions", Berlin 1877 (8) p. 176, as well as Botta pl. 7 (bis), 55 and parall. Comp. also the note on Ezek. XXIII. 23.

LI. 1. לִבְקָמִי = כְּשָׂרִים according to the Athbash-alphabet, just as שֶׁשֶׁן = בְּבַל. See the note on chap. XXV. 26.

23. פְּחוּה וּסְנַיִם. Comp. notes on 1 Kings X. 15 (Vol. I, pp. 175. 6) and Is. XLI. 25.

27. מַמְלְכוֹת אֲרָרָט "kingdoms of Ararat". See above Vol. I, p. 53 and Vol. II, p. 16.

— מִנֵּי "Minnaean".—Comp. the *Minna* of Nicol. Damasc. quoted in Josephus Antiqq. I, 3. 6.—undoubtedly the 424 Manna (Man-na-ai, Ma-an-na-ai) of Salmanassar II (Obelisk 165 comp. 168); of Sargon, Khorsab. 36 etc.; also of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal (Norris, Gelzer). Perhaps the tribe may also be identified with the inhabitants of the land *Mun* (mât Mu-un-na) mentioned by Rammânirâr I Rawl. 35. 8. Comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 174. 212. 520.

מִסָּר *scribe* is the Babylono-Assyrian dup-sar-ru Syll. 370 of which the abstract is dup-sar-ru-ti II Rawl. 27, 27e (respecting the sibilant comp. III Rawl. 70, 78). We likewise find the form dip-sar II Rawl. 48, 38a (Haupt in Transactions of the Berlin Oriental Congress I, 277). The retention of the sibilant *s* in the form of the Hebr. ס is the only correct orthography in the case of a word that was originally Babylonian. Whether the Assyrians pronounced the word dupsarru or dupšarru\*

\* The connection of the Akkado-Assyrian dupsar, dupsarru

cannot as yet be precisely determined. On this subject comp. Vol. I, p. 141; also the "Sargon-stele of the British Museum" p. 30 line 6 foll. on the one side, and F. Delitzsch Parad. p. 142 on the other. The word is of Akkadian origin and is compounded of *dup* meaning 'tablet' and *sar* 'write'. Hence as a name for a person it signifies 'tablet-writer'.

## THE BOOK OF EZEKIEL.

I, 1. *On the river Kebar* (כְּבַר). This stream, according to verse 3, lay in the "land of the Chaldeans" i. e. Babylonia; moreover we only receive information of a deportation of Israelites to *Babylonia* by Nebukadnezzar\*; lastly, the name of this river is very clearly distinguished from that of the Mesopotamian חֲבֹר by the sounds which make up the word. We must therefore definitely abandon the<sup>425</sup> identifications of these two streams which have until recently been the favourite ones. Instead of placing the Kebar in Mesopotamia, with Nöldeke (Bibellexicon I, 508)\*\*, we should assign it to Babylonia, though we are

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with טַפְסָר was originally suggested by Fr. Lenormant; see his 'La langue primitive de la Chaldée, Paris 1875, p. 365'.

\* Babel is expressly referred to three times (2 Kings XXIV. 15 a. b. 16) as the land of the exile.

[\*\* "The name has in fact", says Nöldeke, "entirely disappeared, for the system of rivers and canals in Babylonia has in the course of millenniums suffered so many changes, and so many rivers and canals have even vanished, that we can hardly expect all the names to be preserved. I purposely speak of *canals* in this connection, because from olden times up to the present the same name (*nahar*) has been employed in that country to express both river and canal—even the smallest—of which there were thousands. We may imagine that Chebar was a canal."—Transl.]

no longer in a position to point out a river or canal of that name in this region.

VIII. 14. תַּמּוּז *Tammûz* is written on the Babylonian inscriptions, as the name of a month, in the form Du-u-zi and Du-'-u-zi (Haupt, Akkadische und Sumerische Keilschrifttexte I, 44), a Babylo- Assyrian deity of non-Semitic origin. The name Dû-zi signifies in Akkadian "son of life". The original form of the word was, according to the syllabary V Rawl. 23, 21 c. d., Dumuzi, which comes much closer to the Western Semitic תַּמּוּז. Respecting the legend of Tammûz-Adonis, see F. Lenormant in Mémoires du Congr. intern. des Oriental. Paris 1873. II, No. 11; comp. also P. Jensen in Zeitschr. f. Assyr. I (1886), p. 17 foll.

XXIII. 6. 23. פְּחִיחַ וְסַנְגִּים *provincial governors and viceroys*. On this subject see the notes on 1 Kings X. 15 (Vol. I, p. 175 foll.), Is. XLI, 25 (Vol. II, p. 103).

23. *The sons of Babel and all the Chaldaeans, Pekôd and Shôa' and Kôa', all the sons of Assur with them* etc. Respecting פְּקוּדִים = Puḫûdu, see the note on Jerem. L. 21. Accordingly שׁוּעַ and קוּעַ may likewise be race-names, and Delitzsch would be justified in identifying them with the Kûtu (Gutium), who dwelt in the upper region of Adhem and Dijâlâ, and with the Sutû (Assyr.) who are constantly associated with them. The form Kûtu would become abbreviated to Kû (= קוּעַ) and Sutû to Sû (שׁוּעַ = שׁוּעַ)\*.

[\* On the names Gutû and Sutû Delitzsch (Parad. pp. 233 foll.) cites a large number of illustrative cuneiform notices. From these he draws the inference:—"that the region of the land Sutû (including that of Sumaštu and Jatbur) was the steppe that extended Eastwards from the river Dijâlâ towards Elam and the river Kerkha, from the Tigris as far as the Southern declivities of the Medo-Elamite mountains"; see Cheyne on Isaiah XXII. 5 foll. It is also evident that the

We have already noticed (Vol. I, p. 123) the conjecture that the Gutî (which is the softer Babylonian mode of pronunciation) are mentioned in Gen. XIV. 1.

XXVII. 5. שְׁנִיר *Senîr*; see note on Deut. III. 9 (Vol. I, p. 146).

18. חֶלְבֹן *Helbôn*, a Syrian town, the modern Halbûn in the neighbourhood (North West) of Damaskus (Wetzstein), is mentioned in one of Nebukadnezzar's inscriptions\* (Bel-<sup>426</sup> lino-cylinder I, 23; comp. I Rawl. 65) under the form mât Hî-il-bu-nu-v, as a region from which the king obtained karânav "wine", in order to present it to the deity among various other objects as—"fish" (nu-u-nu-v), "birds" (i-ş-şu-ru), "oil" (ša-a-m-nu-v), "honey" (di-i-š-pa comp. Delitzsch in Smith's Chald. Genesis, p. 285), "cream" (hî-mî-tu חֶמֶת). The passage referred-to runs thus:

meaning "prince", which has been attached to the name קִיץ—Gesenius Lexic. 8th ed. compares Arabic قَلَعَ "spring upon", used of a breeding-camel—will have to be given up together with other imaginary significations attached to these words.—Transl.].

\* It is by no means certain whether the Χαλυβών mentioned in Ptolemaeus V. 15. 17, as situated in the region Χαλυβωνίτις, is identical with this Halbûn "Helbôn", as has been generally assumed. The Barbalissus "on the Euphrates", spoken-of as lying in this district, points to quite a different region much further to the North or rather North-East. It is extremely likely that we ought, with Kiepert and others, to think of Berroea-Haleb. It is not surprising that Berroea should be specially mentioned along with Chalybon by an author of "Geography" who ultimately derived his materials from widely different sources, and it is equally natural that Haleb-Aleppo, which was subsequently well known to classical writers under its proper form Χάλεπ, should have been blended with Helbôn (Χαλυβών), celebrated for its wine and bearing a closely similar name. With this confusion of Halbûn-Chalybon with Haleb-Haleb we might compare that of Halman-Holwân with Halman-Haleb among the Assyrians (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 229 foll. footnote), and that of Hamâth-Hamath with 'Aḥmethâ-Ekbatana in Herodotus (Hitzig, Nöldeke etc.).

22. ka-ra-nav í-íl-lu ka-ra-nav (so!) mât I-za-al-lav  
 23. mât Tu-'im-mu mât Ši-im-mi-ni mât Ĥi-il-bu-  
 nuv 24. mât A-ra-na-ba-nuv mât Su-u-ḥa-am  
 25. mât Bît-Ku-ba-tiv u mât Bi-ta-a-tiv i. e.  
 "22. delicious wine (namely), wine from the land Izallu,  
 23. from the land Tu'immu etc." Also in an Assyrian  
 list of wines II Rawl. 44, 9 h we meet with the karân  
 Ĥul (Ĥil?)-bu-nu i. e. "Ĥelbonian wine". Moreover  
 it is well known from Strabo XV, 735 that the Persian  
 kings held the Helbonian wine in high estimation.

427 23. אַרְנַן a name of a country. Comp. Keilinsch. u.  
 Geschichtsforschung p. 199 footnote \* and see above note  
 on 2 Kings XIX. 12 \*, Vol. II, p. 11.

כִּלְמַד *Kilmad*, identified by Smith and Delitzsch with  
 the modern Kalwâdha near Baghdâd, where bronze rings  
 have been discovered bearing the inscription : íkal Ĥa-  
 am-mu-ra-bi Šarri. See Transactions of the Soc. of  
 Bibl. Archaeol. I (1872) p. 61; Delitzsch Parad. p. 206.

XXVIII. 14. 16. בְּהַר קָדִישׁ אֱלֹהִים on the mountain of

\* [Til Barsip, the modern Biredshik, was the capital of Bît Adini  
 and was situated on the left bank of the Euphrates. Delitzsch (Parad.  
 p. 4) speaks of it as a centre of the most important mercantile caravan  
 tracks running between Syria (and we might also add Cilicia and Asia  
 Minor generally) and Mesopotamia, Assyria and Babylonia. Moreover  
 it was the point whence navigation started down the Euphrates, and  
 was thus celebrated from ancient times for its ship-building and com-  
 manded the commerce which passed down the Euphrates to the Persian  
 gulf. This spot as well as Bît Adini are unfortunately not marked on  
 the map appended to Vol. I. Til Barsip or Birešhik lies, however,  
 within the limits of the map at the extreme end of the Euphrates to  
 the North West, above Karkemîsh (Gargamis), while Bît Adini might  
 be said to occupy the whole region between the Euphrates and its  
 tributary Belikh (Baliḥu). Comp. the facts already stated by Prof.  
 Schrader, Keilinschr. u. Gesch. p. 199; 219 sq. and the map appended  
 to that work.—Translator.]

*God's sanctuary*;—אֱלֹהִים בְּהַר on *God's mountain*. It is evident that we have here a hint of heathenish associations. Compare the remarks on Is. XIV. 13 (Vol. II, p. 79 foll.).

XXXVIII. 2. 3. גִּיג *Gôg, prince of Mâgôg*. This reminds us of the cuneiform representation of the name of the Lydian king Gyges G u-gu, G u-ug-gu (Smith's Assurban. 64, 5 = V Rawl. col. II, 95; Smith's Assurb. 71, 86; 73, 1). We are likewise reminded of the name G a-gi or G a-a-gi, the ruler of a district which has not yet been definitely ascertained, called mât S a-ḥi (Smith's Assurb. 97 IV, 1 foll.). Whether there is any connection between the name of the Biblical prince and the one or the other of the above-mentioned potentates, must remain a matter of uncertainty. Comp. the note on Gen. X. 2 (Vol. I, p. 62) as well as Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 159 footnote\*.

—*prince of Rôsh* (רֹשׁ), *Meshech and Tubal*. Delitzsch (Parad. p. 322) combines the unknown race-name Rôsh (comp. XXXIX. 1), in accordance with inscriptions of Asurbanipal (V Rawl. 5, 67. 70), with the "land Râsh" (mât Ra-a-ši) of the inscriptions situated on the Tigris at the frontier of Elam. But does this position harmonize with the mention of the people in connection with Meshech and Tubal, two races which we know for certain belonged to Asia Minor?

6. *The house of Tôgarmah, from the most distant*<sup>428</sup> *North*. Here Tôgarmah evidently appears to be the more distant, and Gômer to be the nearer race, while in the race-table (in Genesis) we have exactly the reverse,

\* Respecting G. Smith's identification of the inhabitants of the land Saḥi with the Sakians, see Th. Nöldeke in Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellschaft XXIII, pp. 328 foll.

Gômer standing at the head of the list as being the most distant people. But during the interval, i. e. in the period which lies between the composition of the race-table and the life of Ezekiel, the Gômer i. e. the Kimmerians (Gimirrai) had broken into Asia Minor, had taken possession of Cappadocia, Tubal and Meshech and, we may presume, had caused a disruption in Tôgarmah and driven the people to the North or North-East. With this occupation of Cappadocia by the Gômer-Kimmerians must be connected the later name for Cappadocia viz. Gamir (P. de Lagarde, collected Essays p. 254; Dillmann's Genesis 1882 p. 163).

XLV. 12. *Twenty Shekels, twenty five shekels and fifteen shekels shall be the mina among you.* Ofcourse the prophet does not here mean three different minas (Hitzig), but without doubt fixes the standard of the entire mina at sixty shekels i. e. at the old value of the imperial or royal mina. See the note on Gen. XXIII, 16 (Vol. I, p. 127 foll.).

XLVII. 16. 18. ܗܘܪܐܢ *Haurân*, an Aramaic region lying East of Gilead and frequently referred-to in the Assyrian records, in the form (mât) Ḥa-u-ra-a-ni, (îr) Ḥa-u-ra-ni and also (îr) Ḥa-u-ri-na. From the passage III Rawl. 5 no. 6 lines 55 foll. (cited in Vol. I, p. 200) it follows that this region was a mountainous one, as we already know on other grounds. See Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 115.

## BOOK OF DANIEL.

I. 1. *Nebukadnezar.* The original pronounciation of the name was Nabû-kudurri-uşur. See note on 2 Kings XXIV. 1, Vol. II, p. 47 foll.

429 4. Respecting הַיְבֵל, Aram. הַיְבֵל "palace" see 2 Kings XX. 18, Vol. II, p. 39.



*Writing and language of the Chaldees.* Respecting the form and meaning of the name Chaldees (כַּשְׁדִּים) see Gen. XI. 28 (Vol. I, p. 116 foll.). The signification "wise men", that we meet-with in the Book of Daniel, is foreign to Assyrio-Babylonian usage and did not arise till after the fall of the Babylonian empire. This is in itself a clear indication of the post-exilic date of the Book of Daniel.

7. *Belteshazzar* (בִּלְטַשְׁצַר). The Babylonian form of the name was Balâṭsu-uṣur or Balâṭašu-uṣur i. e. "his life protect", a name which resembles Šamaš-balâṭsu-iḱ-bi = "Šamas proclaimed his life", see further in Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinsch. Exc. Eigennamen p. 154, No. 59 a, and respecting the change of forms balâṭsu and balâṭašu (comp. also ba-la-ṭi-ja Nebukadn. East India House Insc. II, 1. 64) see *ibid.* p. 249. Regarding the representation of sibilants in Hebrew, see Monatsberichte der Berlin. Akad. 1877 pp. 79 foll.—When in Dan. IV. 5 the name Belteshazzar is stated to have been bestowed on Daniel "according to the name of the god of Nebukadnezzar", the writer was evidently, in the case of the first syllable, thinking of the name of the god *Bel* בֵּל (comp. Jer. LI. 44) and in this respect wrongly placed the name parallel with the other, Belshazzar (בִּלְשַׁצַּר); see chap. V, 1. Compare my essay "The Sargon-stele of the Berlin Museum", Akad. der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1881 (2) p. 28 foll.

The name *Shadrach* (שְׂדַרְחַךְ) is explained by Delitzsch with considerable probability as a Babylonian one, Šudur-Aku "command of Aku" i. e. of the Moon-deity (Sin). He points to the Assyrian Tê-m-ilu = טַמְ-עַל and to the Hebrew אֲמַרְיָהּ. On the other hand his interpretation of

the name *Meshach* (מיִשַׁךְ) as = Mî-š a-A ku i. e. “who is like Aku?” seems to me open to objection, because, in the first place, the true Babylonian form would be M a n n u- k î-A k u (see Assyri.-Babylon. Keilinsch. 171 No. 6) and, in the second place, the corresponding Babylonian designation would certainly not be a mere translation of the corresponding Hebrew (i. e., in this case, of the name מיִשַׁאֲל). We should have to deal with genuine Babylonian names, for which the Hebrew ones were to be exchanged, as is clearly shown by the other bestowments of names.

*Abednego* (עֶבֶר נְבוֹ) stands, as we have long known, for עֶבֶר נְבוֹ “servant of Nebo”. The conjecture has been confirmed by a bilingual (Assyrio-Aramaic) inscription (III Rawl. 46 col. I, 82), in which the name [עברנב] occurs 430 as one that actually existed among the Assyrians. Other instances have been found of Babylonian names compounded with עֶבֶר, as A b-d-u-mi-li-k עֶבֶרמֶלֶךְ; also we have an A b-d-u-uḥ-mu-nu עֶבֶרחֲמַן (Oppert-Ménant docum. jurid. 271), the latter apparently meaning “servant of Ḥammôn”, the former being certainly identical with the עֶבֶרמֶלֶךְ that appears in the Insc. of Citium 2, 3. The latter name we also meet with on a Babylonian seal (Journal Asiatique 1855, 2 p. 422 in Levy, Phöniz. Studien (Dictionary) p. 35).

—11. מְלִצָר name of an official, having some such meaning as ‘overseer’. This obscure word may possibly be explained as identical with the Assyrian maššaru (ma-aš-ša-ru) “guardian”, root נָצַר; V Rawl. 32, 29 maššar bâbi “guardian of the gate”. The insertion of a liquid after the removal of the duplication would not be unusual in Aramaic (Del.); comp. note on Is. VI. 1, p. 73.

II. 2. אֶשְׁפָּר *conjurer* (one who employs conjurations) = Assyri. a-š-i-pu (II Rawl. 32, 11 e. f. 38, 12 e. f.);

see Delitzsch, *Assyr. Studien* I, 135. The meaning of the Assyrian word (comp. the Aramaic ܐܘܪܐܝܢܐ) is guaranteed by its Akkadian equivalent KA. KA. MA i. e. "the earnest speaker". Comp. also P. Haupt in the *Transactions of the Berlin Oriental Congress* I, No. XI "The Sumerio-Akkadian language" p. 282.

5. אֹרֵא. Respecting this obscure word Theod. Nöldeke writes to me:—"The word is *Persian*. It is the form *azda* discussed by Kern in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländ. Gesellschaft* XXIII, p. 220 foll., and it should be so transcribed, because in *Persian cuneiform* final *a* (i. e. when no aspirate follows; *ah* is otherwise expressed) and *â* are written in the same way. In this case the form should certainly be written with final *â*, on etymological grounds. The word means "certain" "sure" = Sansk. *addhâ*. With it we may connect the אֹרֵא of *Ezra* VII. 23; but about this I cannot be quite sure." This disposes of Fried. Delitzsch's conjecture (*Libri Danielis, Ezrae* etc. 1882, p. VII) that אֹרֵא may be referred to a Semitic אור meaning "to be firm".

14. אֲרִיֹחַ *Ariôch*. There is no reason to suppose that this name has simply been borrowed from *Gen. XIV. 1* (see comment. on the passage). The name *Írî-Aku* is a genuine *Babylonian* one and may have been preserved in *Babylonia* up to the latest date with which we are here concerned. There is no reason whatever for holding that the name was derived (as *Hitzig* supposes) from the *Sanskrit*.

48. סַנַּיִן (and in III. 2 סַנַּיִן) from סַנַּיִן *viceroi, provincial governor*; see note on *Is. XLI. 25* and footnote in *Vol. I, p. 176*.

III. 1. בְּבִקְעָה דִּרְאָ in the plain of *Dûrâ*. There were several *Babylonian* places called *Dûru*, for this name has

been preserved in that region up to the present time as a designation for "hills" (Oppert, Expéd. en Mésopot. I, pp. 238 foll.). The ancient Babylonian race-table shows IV Rawl. 38 on the Obv. col. II, 9—11 alone three localities bearing this name; see Delitzsch Parad. p. 216. The name signifies "rampart" and then "fortress".

431 2. פְּחָה (plur. פְּחָהִים) *viceroy, satrap*; see note on 1 Kings X. 15, Vol. I, p. 175 foll. The other ranks of officers here mentioned (שְׁלֹטְנִים) have Persian designations.—Respecting אֲדָרְגָרִיא Nöldeke remarks that this word in the form *andarzgar* was a title still in use under the Sāsānids. See Nöldeke's translation of Tabarī p. 462 note.

5. The musical instruments that are here mentioned, קִיֹּתָרִים (*κιθάρις*), סַבְכָּא (*σαμβύκη*), פִּסְנַחְרִין (*ψαλτήριον*) and סוּמְפַנִּיה (*συσφωνία*), are Greek, and hence their names are looked-for in vain among cuneiform documents.

29. *And from me goes forth a command that every people, nation and tongue, that utters blasphemy against the God of Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego, shall be cut in pieces . . .* The inscriptions of Nebukadnezzar, which have come down to us in considerable quantity, exhibit that monarch simply as a devoted worshipper, especially of Nebo and Merodach—and thus as a very pronounced idolater.

IV. 1. *I, Nebukadnezzar, lived peacefully in my house and contentedly in my palace, 2. when I beheld a dream which terrified me . . . 25. All bejel Nebukadnezzar the king. 26. After the lapse of twelve months he was walking upon his royal palace of Babel etc.* The narrative of Abydenus quoted in Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica* runs closely parallel to this scriptural account (see Gaisford's ed. IX, 41, 6), and in an abbreviated form we have it in his

Armenian Chronicle (ed. Schoene I, 41. 42; in C. Mueller, *Fragm. hist. Gr. IV*, p. 283 foll.). From the above we learn that, according to a tradition which prevailed among the Chaldees, Nebukadnezzar, after he had become stronger than Hercules and had undertaken expeditions to Libya and Iberia, and had settled a portion of the subjugated populations at Pontus, mounted the royal fortress and, inspired by a god, had declared a prophecy, whereby Perses, (the Persian) mule, would bring the Babylonians under bondage, not without the complicity of their own Babylonian ruler, Nabunit-Labynetus, the "son of the Median woman" (*πίλος Μήδης* as we should read with A. von Gut-<sup>432</sup>schmid). A comparison of both accounts shows that they are narratives which have been moulded independently of one another from one and the same Babylonian popular legend. To these may be added a third variety viz. the concise story in Herodotus (I, 188) respecting Labynetus I, husband of Nitocris and his son Labynetus II\*, the opponent of Cyrus. Of the two first accounts the tradition in Abydenus, written down comparatively late in the form in which we now have it, possesses the greater claim to originality, both on the ground of form and of contents. "The form which the legend in the Hebrew tradition—i. e. through the writer of the Book of Daniel—has assumed,

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\* We need not explain that he is the same as the Nabunit of Berossus and the Nabû-nâ'id of the inscriptions. Nebukadnezzar as Labynetus is contrasted with him in the relation of father to son in just the same way as Belshazzar is contrasted with this same Nebukadnezzar in the Book of Daniel, and as the "son of the Median woman" to the "husband of the Median Amyitis" in the Chaldaean popular legend quoted by Abydenus. Herodotus, the Book of Daniel, and the Chaldaean popular tradition coincide in this case completely in the most important points.

arises in part from mere misunderstandings. Thus, what the legend intended to apply to the foes of the Chaldeans, was referred to the Chaldean monarch, Nebukadnezzar. Also what the legend meant to be a stay among animals, was transformed into a life and a growth resembling that of animals. On the other hand, it also arises in part from the endeavour of the apocalypse of Daniel to employ the legend, which it misunderstood in its most important features, to illustrate the principle which the prophecy enunciates, that the mightiest on earth are completely in the power of the Most High, whose action is truth and whose ways are uprightness, and who is able to bring low those  
 433 who walk in arrogance (Dan. IV. 22, 29. 34). The representation in the Book of Daniel is the Judæo-apocalyptic reconstruction of the Babylonian popular myth, preserved to us in its relatively more original shape by Abydenus." See my essay: "The legend of Nebukadnezzar's frenzy" in the *Jahrbücher für protestant. Theologie*. 1881, pp. 618—629, especially p. 628.

V. 1. *Belshazzar* (בְּלִשְׁצַר), the king, gave a great banquet etc. The legend of the Babylonian king Belshazzar is not simply invented by the author of this book. A Babylonian prince, bearing the above name, actually existed. He was the first-born son of Nabunit (the Nabû-nâ'id of the inscriptions\*) and his Babylonian name was Bîl-šar-ušur i. e. "Bel, protect the king"; see *Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch.* p. 128 No. 11, and, on the reproduction of the sibilants in Hebrew, see my essay in *Berlin. Monatsberichte* 1877\*\*. The passage to which we

\* See *Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch.* p. 136 No. 25.

\*\* The orthography with א retained and ר dropped after the ש, i. e. בְּלִשְׁצַר instead of בְּלִשְׁרַצַר, may perhaps be accounted-for

owe this information occurs on the cylinder of Nabunit (cuneiform Nabûnâ'id) I Rawl. 68 col. II 24 foll., where<sup>434</sup> we read : 24. u ša Bîl-šar-uşur 25. abal riš-tu-u 26. ši-it lib-bi-ja : 27. pu-luḥ-ti ilu-u-ti-ka rabî-ti 28. lib-bu-uš šu-uš-kin-ma 29. ai ir-ša-a 30. ḥi-ṭi-ti 31. la-li-í balâṭi liš-bi i. e. 24. "and as to Belshazzar, 25. the exalted son, 26. the sprout (צמח root צמח) of my body (properly 'heart'), 27. do thou place (thou, god Sin, see line 3) the adoration of thy great deity 28. in his heart; 29. may he not give way (Arabic رشا; comp. Khorsab. 51) 30. to sin; 31. may he be satisfied by life's abundance" (comp. Joh. Meinhold, die Composition des B. Daniel, Greifswald 1884, p. 14 foll.).—See also the glossary and compare the articles "Belsazer" in Schenkel's Bibellexicon I and in Riehm's Handwörterbuch des biblischen Alterthums.—That this first-born son of Nabunit occupied a distinguished position next to the king during his life-time, and especially at the fall of the empire, has been recently established by an inscription on a clay tablet containing the annals of

from the tendency to approximate to the form of the other name בלטשאצר known to the copyist from the preceding passages. In this case the omission of the ך would be quite natural. Conversely from this same tendency may be explained the punctuation of the other name as בלטשאצר with the meaningless prefix בל (see note on I, 7). The accompanying table will make the formation of the following three names clear, viz. *Nebukadnezzar* = Babyl. Nabû-kudurri-uşur; *Belshazzar* = Babyl. Bîl-šar-uşur; *Belteshazzar* = Babyl. Balâṭa-šu-uşur. Besides these *Nergalsharezer* = Babyl. Nîrgal-šar-uşur.

- |                      |   |        |     |     |
|----------------------|---|--------|-----|-----|
| 1. Nabû-kudurri-uşur | = | נבו    | כדר | אצר |
| 2. Nîrgal-šar-uşur   | = | נרגל   | שר  | אצר |
| 3. Bîl-šar-uşur      | = | בל(ע)ל | שר  | אצר |
| 4. Balâṭa-šu-uşur    | = | בלט    | ש   | אצר |

Nabûnâid (Transact. VII, 1 p. 153 foll.). According to this document "*the son of the king*" (a bal šarri), i. e. the crown-prince, was as early as in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the king's reign, i. e. 649 B. C., accompanying the army in Akkad, i. e. North Babylonia, along with the chief men of the empire; he may have held there an independent command. See the annalistic inscription Obv. II. 5 (= 7<sup>th</sup> year); 10 (= 9<sup>th</sup> year); 19 (= 10<sup>th</sup> year); 23 (= 11<sup>th</sup> year). In the last or seventeenth year, in which the overthrow took place, we see instead of the crown-prince king Nabûnâ'id himself accompanying the army in Akkad at Sipar-Sepharvaim, where he fought a  
 435 disastrous battle with Cyrus (Rev. 14. 15). On this occasion no mention is made of the crown-prince. Perhaps while the father confronted the foe on the open field, the son was appointed to defend the capital. On the capture of the town the crown-prince lost his life, meeting with a more honourable end on the field of battle than his father who fell into captivity. Hence in the legend tradition has preserved a vivid remembrance of the former and his death. Already in the days of Nebukadnezzar we have an example of the crown-prince holding a distinguished position in the life-time of his parent. Hence there is nothing surprising in the circumstance that even the title of king was bestowed on him by tradition. We might also compare the designation of Nebukadnezzar as king of Babylon as early as the time of the battle of Karke-mish; Jerem. XLVI. 2, see above p. 115, Vol. II on that passage, and also Vol. II p. 43 on 2 Kings XXIII. 29.

2. *Nebukadnezzar his father*, comp. verses 11, 18 and 22. Agreement with the facts of history, whereby there intervened between Nebukadnezzar and the last king of Baby-



lonia a whole series of rulers (see the canon of Ptolemy and Berossus), does not <sup>stand in the way of the</sup> ~~read us to~~ the assumption of a more indefinite and broader signification for the words "son" and "father". The fact rather is that it was only the blooming period of the great founder of the empire (I do not say the first Babylonian king) and the time of the empire's downfall that remained fixed in the memory. Thus in the various traditions the period of prosperity was uniformly represented by Nebukadnezzar, while the closing period was associated in the memory of the Jews with the person of Belshazzar\*. On the other hand among the Babylonians it

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\* We meet with the same statement in the Book of Baruch I, 11 foll. The question may arise whether one of the two writers could not have borrowed from the other. If so, who was the borrower? or have both derived their accounts from a third source. The agreement also of Bar. I. 15—17, II. 1. 2. 7 foll. 11 foll. with Daniel IX renders it more probable, that the less original author of the Book of Baruch derived his materials from the thoroughly independent writer of the Book of Daniel. Comp. De Wette-Schrader, Einleitung in das Alte Testament 8<sup>th</sup> ed. § 391 p. 603 note f. Moreover, the manner in which the Book of Baruch describes the rule of Belshazzar is decisive in favour of this view. In Daniel Belshazzar is throughout the Babylonian tyrant, who in his arrogance goes so far as to defile even the sacred vessels, and the representation in this book is pervaded by the spirit of vengeance, which is to overtake the Babylonians for their haughtiness. On the other hand, in the Book of Baruch the two kings of Babylonia are two rulers, *under whose shadow* (!) Juda has been living for a *long while*, whom Juda serves and before whom he *finds favour*; and this is obviously the reflex of a description such as that in the Book of Daniel of the lot which fell to the person of *Daniel* according to this very book. Observe also the verbal agreement of Baruch II. 6 with Daniel IX. 7; of Bar. II. 8 with Dan. IX. 13 b; of Bar. II. 9 with Dan. IX. 14; of Bar. II. 11 with Dan. IX. 15 etc. !—Moreover, while it is quite certain, on account of IX. 4 comp. with Neh. I. 5, IX. 32; Dan. IX. 15 comp. with Neh. IX. 10; Dan. IX. 8 comp. with Neh. IX. 44; Dan. IX. 7. 8 comp. with Ezra IX. 7 (see C. von Lengerke, Buch Daniel p. 411), that the writer of the Book of

436 was connected with the person of Nabunit (comp. Herod. I. 188). In order to make the above statement clear I append the following table. Upon this I would merely remark that Herodotus, who like every other ancient Greek, never mentions Nebukadnezzar under this, his proper name, always replaces this altogether strange designation by one that at all events seemed pronounceable to him, and was moreover shorter and more current, viz. Labynet i. e. Nabunit.

I.	II.
<i>Book of Daniel.</i>	<i>Herodotus.</i>
Nebukadnezzar, father.	Labynetus I, father.
Belshazzar, son and last king.	Labynetus II, son and last king.

437 VI. 1. *And Darius, the Mede, succeeded to the kingdom; comp. verse 29 :— -- under the rule of Darius and during the rule of Cyrus, the Persian.* In accordance with the notices of classical and oriental writers, with which we have hitherto been acquainted, the hypothesis of a Median interregnum has appeared, to say the least, extremely improbable. But by the recently discovered cylinder of Cyrus as well as by Nabûnâ'id's annals such a theory has been finally disposed-of. Both these documents represent the last king of Babylon, called Nabûnâ'id, as being immediately succeeded in the rule over Babylonia by the Persian Cyrus. Comp. Cyrus-cyl. 17 foll.; Nabunit's Annals Rev. col. I. 12 foll. The conception of a

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Daniel was acquainted with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, it is, on the other hand, quite certain, from the verbal agreement of Bar. II. 6 with Dan. IX. 7; Bar. II. 10 with Dan. IX. 10, that the author of the Book of Baruch went to Dan. IX as his *special* and *immediate* authority. Comp. E. Schürer in Protestant. Real-Encyclopädie 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. I, p. 501; J. J. Kneucker, Das Buch Baruch 1879, pp. 31 foll.

Median interregnum, which pervades the Book of Daniel \*, evidently originates from a dim recollection of the former position of superiority possessed by the Medes. Their place in Medo-Persia was occupied by the dominion of Cyrus and the Achaemenidae. The tradition takes no account of the fact that this Median rule exactly coincided chronologically with the Babylonian, and that the Persian conqueror had brought Media earlier than Babylonia under his sway. This same tradition made no scruple to assume as a Median interrex, one having the pure Persian name Darius. How far the legend adopted in other respects the material which here comes under consideration, may be ascertained by the reader from my essay "The legend of Nebukadnezzar's frenzy" in *Jahrbücher für Protestant. Theologie* pp. 618—629. See the remarks on chap. V. 1.

VII. 1. *In the first year of Belshazzar.* Comp. VIII. 1<sup>438</sup> "in the third year of Belshazzar". To judge from this mode of expression, the author of the Book of Daniel regarded Belshazzar as a separate and independent monarch, who reigned several years. We cannot at any rate prove from documentary evidence that such was the fact; comp. note on V. 1. Probably we have simply a confusion of this king of Babel, whom the Jews supposed to be the last, with the actually last king Nabunit, who reigned altogether 17 years; comp. note on chap. V. 2.

VIII. 2. 𐤁𐤏𐤍 *Eulaeus Eὐλαῖος*, in Assyrian nâr Ulai

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\* Comp. not only V. 28, VIII. 3. 20 but especially VII. 3 foll. In the last passage the kingdom represented under the image of a bear is without doubt the Median empire, in the same way as the "lesser" empire that follows the Babylonian, referred-to in the monarchic image described in II, 39 a.

(written U-l a - a i) \*, the name of a river in Elam-Susiana, which flowed in the immediate neighbourhood of Susa-Shushan \*\*. Whether it is identical with the Kercha flowing West of Shush-Susa, the Choaspes of the ancients, as we conjecture, or, whether we should not, with Delitzsch Parad. p. 177 foll. 329, consider it the same as the modern Karûn, East of Susa, is a matter which cannot be determined without further investigation.

IX. 1. *Darius, son of Ahashuerus, of Median descent.* On these names see the note on Ezra IV. 5. Comp. also immediately above the remarks on chap. VI. 1.

X. 1. *Kôresh, king of Persia.* See the note on Ezra I. 1.

## BOOK OF HOSEA.

V. 13. *And Ephraim goes to Assur and sends to king Combatant; yet he is not able to heal you.* Comp. X. 6.  
 439 As the reader is aware, exegetes are uncertain whether the Heb. יָרֵב (יָרֵב) is to be understood as a proper name = “(king) Jareb” or as an appellative = “the combatant king”. The latter explanation is the only tenable one from the simple fact—apart from all others—that a king “Jareb” cannot be pointed out in the Assyrian lists of kings. What Assyrian king was specially meant by the prophet it is impossible to state positively, since the Biblical

\* I have already shown in the Monatsberichte der Berlin. Akad. der Wissensch. 1880 p. 275 that the Assyrian should, in agreement with the Greek and Hebrew representation of the name, be transcribed Ulai and not Ula.

\*\* Smith's Assurb. III, 94 foll. (= V Rawl. 3, 41 foll.); 127, 86 foll.; 198, 9 (= IV Rawl. 52 No. 2, 9; Sanherib Bull-inscription Plate 3, 2 (III Rawl. 13).

chronology in relation to the Assyrian is an unsettled problem, and so is the date at which these oracles were composed. In a subsequent passage (see the comment on X. 14) we have perhaps mention of a Salmanassar, who can only have been Salmanassar III (783—773); but, from the way in which he is spoken-of, he must have been a king who by that time belonged to the past. Hence when Hosea refers to “king combatant” he must have meant one of the immediate successors of Salmanassar, perhaps Asurdân, who in the years 755 and 754 made expeditions against Chatarik (Hadrach) and Arpadda (Arpad); see the List of Governors. When we consider the difficulty of reconciling the Assyrian chronology and the traditional one of the Bible for this period, we can scarcely expect to reach a definite conclusion. Nowack in his commentary on this passage identifies יִרְבִּי with Tiglath-Pileser II\*.

See p. XCV -

\* [The identification with Tiglath-Pileser II is certainly the more probable hypothesis. Our knowledge of Asurdanilu's military enterprises is very limited, being derived from the notices in the List of Governors. From these we infer that his powers of offence were seriously crippled by revolts in Assyria itself. Under these circumstances it seems doubtful whether he was in a position to exercise sufficient pressure on Palestine to extort the payment of a subsidy. If Kamphausen's carefully elaborated chronological scheme be even approximately correct (Chronolog. der Hebr. Könige p. 32), the date proposed by Schrader 754 would fall within the reign of the powerful and prosperous Jeroboam II. But this was not an age in which Ephraim suffered from serious political distemper (comp. Hos. V. 13). The notices in 2 Kings XIV. 25, 28 point in the opposite direction. Nor does Juda's “wound” easily apply as a descriptive epithet during the strong rule of the contemporary Uzziah at *that particular time*. On the other hand the language of the prophet in this and other analogous passages (VII. 9, 11, XI. 1, XIV. 3) clearly points to a later, degenerate age, when the weak reigns of Menahem and Pekah placed Israel under subservience to Assyria, her Eastern frontiers being exposed to the victorious inroads of Tiglath-Pileser II.—The “wound

In the second passage X. 6, to which reference has been made, "presents" מִנְחָה are mentioned which were given to the Great King. How far this involved a recognition of the supremacy of Assyria, we do not know, since the contemporary Assyrian records are missing. It may be readily understood from the way in which the Assyrians were accustomed to regard such "presents" or "gifts" (Assyr. *mandat(t)u*, *mad(d)atu*), that these despatches of tribute were not altogether unaccompanied by such a  
 440 recognition of supremacy. Nevertheless we perceive from this passage that the ties of dependence which united Northern Palestine to Assyria, and which had been reestablished by Rammânirâr about 800 B. C., had meanwhile become considerably relaxed; see above Vol. I, pp. 206—208.

6. מִמְּמֻסַּם *Memphis*; see note on Is. XIX. 13, p. 82.

X. 14. *and all thy fortresses will be laid waste, as Shalman laid waste Beth-Arb'êl on the day of battle.* It seems natural to understand by "Shalman" (שַׁלְמָן) an Assyrian ruler, that is to say a Salmanassar, Assyr. *Salmanu-*

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of Juda" may refer to the losses sustained by the Southern kingdom, in the overthrow by Tiglath-Pileser of the confederacy supported by king Uzziah (Azariah); see Vol. I, pp. 209 foll. This we might refer to the year 740 B. C. The subservient conduct of Ephraim, on the other hand, would correspond with the payment of tribute by Menaïem (2 Kings XV. 19), to which the eponym-canon enables us to assign the date 738 B. C. Nothing is said about subservience on the part of Juda. It is true that Juda suffered by the brunt of war, but honour was not sacrificed. This is exactly in accordance with what we otherwise know respecting Uzziah (Azariah); comp. Vol. I, p. 245. —Lastly, the reader will observe that in the comment on X. 14 Dr. Schrader expresses doubts as to the identification of "Shalman" with Salmanassar III, thus invalidating one of the grounds on which his hypothesis, that Jareb = Asurdanilu, is made to rest.—There can be little question that no Assyrian monarch better deserved the epithet of "combatant" or "struggler-king" than Tiglath-Pileser II.—Translator.]

a šârid, from which name that which stands in the text has become abbreviated; indeed, according to Oppert, *Expéd. en Mésopotamie* I, 366 there exists in London a piece of ivory on which the name (this royal name?) appears shortened into Salmanu. And, when we ask which Salmanassar was specially meant by the prophet, we might suppose it was the great Salmanassar, the second of that name (860—825 B. C.), the same as the king to whom we owe the small obelisk of black basalt and who makes mention of Jehu of Israel. But apart from the fact that no reference is made in his inscriptions to the destruction of a city Betharbel, such an event was evidently one which still remained fresh in the recollection of the prophet and of those whom he addressed. Accordingly we must fix upon a later Salmanassar, namely the king who reigned according to the Canon of Rulers from 783—773 B. C. i. e. in the last decads preceding the composition of Hosea's discourses. But the Beth-Arbêl (בֵּית אַרְבַּאל) of this passage can hardly have been the Galilaean place of that name, since we can scarcely conceive of the destruction of that city unless the district had been invaded by the Assyrians, an enterprise of which we have no information whatever. Nor can Beth-Arbêl be identified with the<sup>441</sup> Assyrian Arbela, South-East of the modern Mosul, in which there existed a sanctuary of Istar held in very high esteem (see *Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschriften* p. 172), for this place had for many centuries formed a part of the Assyrian empire, and it can hardly be supposed that the destruction of so distant a town would have produced a very powerful impression on the Israelites. It is much more likely that Beth-Arbêl is the place of that name situated on the other side of Jordan, near Pella (see Eusebius-Hieronym., *Ono-*

mast. ed. Lagarde I. 88, 6). And this agrees with the fact which we learn from the List of Governors, that Sal-manassar III (783—773), already referred-to, made in the year 775 an expedition into the cedar-country (mât frini), that is to say the Lebanon-district (see my remarks on 1 Kings V. 13, Vol. I, pp. 172 foll.). On that occasion he may have penetrated into the trans-jordanic region and destroyed this Arbela. But here again I cannot refrain from doubts respecting this whole combination. Would the prophet have actually omitted to define the Assyrian Great King as such, i. e. as an Assyrian, by the addition of “king of Assyria”, while in other cases (e. g. X. 6), as the reader is aware, he speaks of “kings of Assyria”?—Now Tiglath-Pileser (Pul) in his great triumphal inscription II Rawl. 67 line 60 (see above Vol. I, p. 249) mentions a Moabite king Sa la ma nu i. e. שלמן\* as a prince who paid tribute to him. According to the Bible, Hosea was a contemporary of Menahem, and therefore of Tiglath-Pileser (Pul) also (comp. too the chronological excursus below). Hence there cannot be any doubt that Salman of Moab was a contemporary of  
<sup>442</sup> Hosea. Now we know from 2 Kings XIII. 20 that the Moabites in the time of Joash made an incursion into Israelite territory. They were afterwards, it is true, subjugated by Jeroboam II (2 Kings XIV. 25). After his death, however, when troubles broke out in the Northern kingdom, they must have once more made themselves independent. Perhaps they even assumed the offensive, and, in an incursion into the territory of Israel, destroyed the town of Beth-Arbél. In the case of a *contemporary* prince, reigning

\* שלמן appears as a proper name also on a *Palmyrene* inscription; see de Vogüé, *Syrie Centrale* I p. 55 No. 76.



over a *neighbouring* people, the omission by the prophet of any defining epithet, to designate the personality referred to, is easily intelligible. Unless we are to assume the existence of a place called Salman-Bethel-Arbêl (with Hitzig and Steiner), about which we have no knowledge, the last combination to which I have referred has most to be said in its favour. Comp. also Nowack's Commentary on Hosea *ad loc.*

### BOOK OF AMOS.

1. 4. *Hazael, Benhadad*; see my remarks on 1 Kings XX. 1, 2 Kings VIII. 15 (Vol. I, pp. 191, 197 foll.).

5. *בֵּית עֵדֵן Bêth-Eden*; see notes on 2 Kings XIX. 12 (Is. XXXVII. 12), Ezek. XXVII. 23; comp. Keilinsch. und Geschichtsf. p. 199.

V. 26. *Thus shall ye then take Sakkûth (סכּוּת), your king, and Kēwān (כּוּוּן), your star-god, your images which ye have made for yourselves, and I will carry you off into captivity.* The justification of this rendering may be read in my article "Assyrio-Biblical" (I) in the Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken 1874 pp. 324—332, where (p. 332) the meaning of the passage is expounded in its connexion\*. סכּוּת is to be punctuated סכּוּת, and כּוּוּן as כּוּוּן. These are 443 names of deities—originally Babylono-Assyrian deities.

\* The meaning of the entire passage is: I take as little pleasure today in your burnt-offerings and meal offerings (V. 22, 23), as formerly during the journey through the wilderness (V. 25) and the people will certainly not be able by such external ceremonial service to prevent the arrival of the judgment (V. 24), which will befall both the people (V. 26) and the gods worshipped by them (V. 25), both of whom shall equally be destined to go into exile (comp. Is. XLVI. 2 as well verse 5 in the above chapter of Amos).

The former corresponds to the name of the Assyrian divinity Sak-kut, according to II Rawl. 57, 40 c. d., another term for Adar (= Adrammelech). The latter is, as Oppert has already recognized, identical with the Assyrian Ka-ai-va-nu\*, a name for the planet Saturn, II Rawl. 32, 25 e. f. And this tallies with the epithet אֱלֹהֵיכֶם בּוֹכֵב in the Hebrew text\*\* and also with the tradition of the Mandaeans (and then of the Arabians and Persians) according to which کَبْوَان is the name for Saturn. This explanation is supported by the Peshiṭto, which gives us صَمَدًا as well as by the LXX whose Παυσαρ (not Remphan!) must be simply a corruption of the Greek form corresponding to the Hebrew בַּיִן. The etymology of the name Kai vān is still obscure; the derivation formerly attempted from the Semitic root כָּבַן must now be given up. The name Sakkut I consider to be, like the alternative name Adar, of non-Semitic i. e. of Suméro-Akkadian origin. Perhaps, just as Adar signifies "Father of Destiny" (A-tar), so Sakkut may mean "Head (šak) of Decision (kut)". See the evidence in "Reports of the Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften", Philolog. histor. Cl. 1880 pp. 19—23.

444 —27. *and I carry you into captivity beyond Damaskus.* This expression only possesses meaning when we suppose the prophet to have had the Assyrians in his mind, who after the time of Ašurnaširabal and Salmanassar II—nay

\* Regarding the pronunciation Kai vān (not Kāvān!) see Monatsberichte der Berlin. Akademie der Wissenschaften 1880, p. 275.

\*\* Respecting the transposition of the plural צְלִמְיֶכֶם which is quite meaningless as it stands, and which ought to be placed after כּוֹכֵב אֱלֹהֵיכֶם (comp. also the LXX), see the above-mentioned Art. in Stud. und Kritiken p. 331.

as far back as the days of Tiglath-Pileser I—were only too familiar to the inhabitants of Palestine-Phoenicia. The way, however, in which the Assyrians are merely *hinted at* in this passage would lead us to conclude that there was no immediate danger to be apprehended from them at that time. Comp. the notes on VI. 2 and 14.

VI. 2. *Pass over to Kabneh* (בְּלִנְהָ) *and behold, and go from thence to Hamâth, the great* (הַמְּטָה הַגְּדוֹלָה), *and descend to Gath of the Philistines etc.* The phraseology points to serious catastrophes which befel the towns above-mentioned. If *Kabneh* is the same as the Kul-unu in Babylonia, referred-to in the inscriptions, it appears as a captured town in the records of Sargon, composed after the occupation of Babylon in the year 710 B. C.\* *Hamâth* fell in the reign of Sargon, in the year 720 B. C. (see above Vol. II, p. 6, 8—).—*Gath* we may hold to have been mentioned as a town captured by Sargon, if the Gimtu Asdudîm in the inscriptions of that monarch be *Gath* in Philistia (see above Vol. I, p. 154); for that town would have come into the hands of the Assyrians (see note on Is. XX. 1, Vol. II, pp. 89 foll. 95) in the 11<sup>th</sup> year of the king's reign i. e. 711 B. C. at the same time as Ashdod itself. The three dates would agree with one another in a manner as remarkable as is their disagreement with the traditional view that the book of Amos was composed about 800 B. C. One would scarcely, however, be disposed to place the composition of the Book of Amos so late as 700 B. C., and this for the simple reason that we have in these oracles merely *hints* respecting the Assyrians

\* Cyprus-stele col. I (II), 15. Khorsab. 9; comp. Botta's *Annals* p. 109, 10 foll.

(V. 27, VI. 14). Hence the opinion forces itself upon us that verse 2 has been interpolated. Gustav Bickell holds that we are justified in assuming this upon internal grounds derived from the grammatical connexion as well as from the facts involved\*. Comp. my remarks on Is. X. 9 (XXXVI. 19, XXXVII. 13 =) 2 Kings XVIII. 34; XIX. 12, 13.

14. *from Hamâth as far as the brook of the plain.* Comp. 1 Kings VIII. 65 *from Hamâth as far as the brook of Aegypt.* The current idiomatic form of the phrase shows that we ought not to draw any conclusion from verse 14 with respect to the mention of Hamath in verse 2 (see the remarks above).—As to the “people” (גוי) whom Jahve here summons against Israel, we can only understand the Assyrians to be meant by this term, though the announcement is couched in mysterious language. Comp. the note on chap. V. 27.

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\* Bickell's reasons, contained in a private communication, are as follows. (1) Verse 2 does not fit in to the metrical system of Amos VI. 1—7 (heptasyllabic distichs); (2) It breaks the grammatical connection (apposition) between verse 1 and verse 3, since **הַמְנַרִים** cannot possibly refer to the suffix in **מִנְכַלְכֶם**. (3) It does not furnish an intelligible sense either in itself or in the context, since the meaning which seems to be on the surface, that the towns are to serve as warning examples, does not harmonize with the following question, which is moreover extremely obscure and ungrammatical, while, to regard them as examples of states, on whom God has bestowed fewer favours than on thankless Israel, introduces an altogether foreign conception, which has to be for the most part supplied in thought, and presupposes a much too tortured form of expression. [The challenge is, according to Bickell, probably a marginal note on the part of a reader belonging to the time of Sargon; and the question is an unfortunate attempt to explain it, proceeding from a gloss-writer of a much later period.] (4) The overthrow of Kalneh and of Hamath here alluded-to we may infer from Is. X and XXXVII had not yet taken place at the time when the Prophet Amos lived” [This is quite right—see the text.—Schrader].

## BOOK OF OBADIAH.

20. פָּרְסָא. The Persian cuneiform inscriptions of Darius repeatedly refer to Çparda as a land or race under subjection to the Great King and this name is always<sup>446</sup> mentioned in immediate connection with Jaunâ i. e. "Ionians" or "Greeks". In the great Behistun inscription we read col. I, 15 (Persian text) : Çparda, Jaunâ, Mâda, Armina, Katapatuka, Parthava i. e. "Sparda, Ionia, Media, Armenia, Cappadocia, Parthia". In the inscription of Darius lines 12. 13 we read : Armina, Katapatuka, Çparda, Jaunâ, tjaij uškahjâ utâ tjaij darajahjâ i. e. "The Armenians, Cappadocians, Sparda, the Ionians of the mainland and those of the islands" etc. Lastly, in the first inscription of Darius from Naksh-i-Rustam (NRa. 27. 28) : Armina, Katapatuka, Çparda, Jaunâ, Çakâ i. e. "Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, the Ionians, the Scythians". From these passages it is quite certain that by Çparda we must understand a district in Asia Minor, if not in Europe (?), at all events one that was close to the Ionians. The Sefhârad occurring in this passage of the Bible has repeatedly been connected with the above Çparda, most probably *Sardis*. To this spot accordingly captive Jews were transported or sold. But the question might arise :— Is it at all probable that Nebukadnezzar, who is never reported to have made his way to the settlements of the Ionians in Asia Minor, transported even a portion of the Israelites into those regions, especially as it is the uniform tradition of the Jews from the most ancient times, that, when they were deported, settlements were assigned to them in Babylonia? The exegete is here confronted by

the alternative either to attribute the book to a later period, or to give up the identification with Sardis. If Sēphârad is really identical with Çparda and the latter with Sardis, the oracle cannot have been composed in the days of <sup>447</sup> Nebukadnezzar, which is the ordinary opinion\*. Its origin must necessarily in this case (with Hitzig) be assigned to the Persian or Greek period. But if the oracle was composed in the time of Nebukadnezzar, we can only understand by Sēphârad a Babylonian or some other locality, district etc. If such be the case, we might suppose that the (mât) Šaparda of Sargon's inscriptions was referred to, situated in South-Western Media towards Babylonia, a name which would phonetically correspond in every respect with the Hebrew ספּרר. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 116—119.

## BOOK OF JONAH.

I. 2. *Go to Niniveh, the great city.*

III. 3. *But Niniveh was for God a great city, taking three days to compass.*

IV. 11. *Niniveh, the great city, in which are more than twelve myriads of human beings, who know not how to distinguish between right and left.*

Though these statements respecting the size of Niniveh, inasmuch as they are those of a late writer, cannot lay claim to statistical accuracy, yet they do nevertheless rest upon a tradition not far removed from the actual basis of facts. As we have already pointed out, in the comment

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\* Comp. De Wette-Schrader, *Einleitung ins Alte Testament* 8<sup>th</sup> ed. § 290 and Bleek's do. 4<sup>th</sup> ed. § 216.

on Gen. X. 11 (Vol. I, p. 83), 'Niniveh' may be understood in a narrower and a broader sense. In the narrower sense it is only the Western town that is meant, the residence of Sennacherib and Asurbanipal, and lying opposite to the present Mosul. In the broader sense the name can only designate the entire network of towns situated in the angle<sup>448</sup> formed by the Tigris and its tributary, the Záb, that flows into it. Thus it would not only embrace Niniveh proper (Kujundshik) but also Kalah (Nimrúd), Rechobóth-I'r, and lastly Dâr-Šarrukîn (Khorsábád). The circumference, including these four quarters or towns, was calculated by Jones to amount to 90 miles, which would, roughly speaking, correspond to three-days journey.

Assuming that the number of children below the age of eight bears to the number of the remaining population the proportion of one to five, it follows that there were 600,000 adults living together with the 120,000 children. We might therefore reckon the total population as amounting to about 700,000 inhabitants—in itself not an improbable supposition. But we must beware of basing on this circumstance any presumption in favour of the credibility of the narrative in the Book of Jonah in all its details upon this subject. For while from the above considerations we should be disposed to consider the estimate of Niniveh's size on the part of the later writer to be near the mark, yet we must not forget that this presumes that the Northern town, viz. Khorsábád, belonged to Niniveh. But Dâr-Šarrukîn was only built by Sargon in the closing decads of the 8<sup>th</sup> century B. C., in other words 100 years after the time when the Prophet Jonah lived and worked in the Northern kingdom. If we exclude the Northern town, ofcourse our calculation is altogether different.

## BOOK OF MICAH.

I. 6. *And I make Samaria into a stone-heap in the field* (לְעֵי הַשָּׂדֶה) *and into vine-plantations* (מִטְעֵי כַרְם). The oft-recurring Assyrian phrase is exactly similar *ana til u karmí utîr* "I changed into a rubbish-heap and fields" (i. e. the town). See above Vol. I, p. 226  
 449 (II Rawl. 67 line 25 ad fin.) and the comment on the phrase p. 228. There is no reason to alter the text into עֵינָה with Hitzig.

IV. 10. *For thou shalt pass forth from the town, dwell on the field and then reach Babel.* The threat of a transportation to Babel has seemed strange. But there is nothing surprising about it when we bear in mind that Tiglath-Pileser had already subjugated Babel (see above Vol. I, p. 222 foll.) and carried out deportations of tribes *from* that region as well as *to* that region. If the oracle was not composed till after the fall of Samaria, the threatening referred-to becomes still more intelligible, since we know that Sargon, even in the first year of his reign, transplanted Babylonian tribes to Syria, and, we may suppose that in their place, again, others were appointed to settle in Babylonia (2 Kings XVII. 24; Is. XX. 1). The report of the settlement of subjugated populations, more especially in Babylonia, must have also made its way to the Hebrews. Hence the threatening pronounced by the prophet. Are we therefore actually to regard verse 10 as a *vaticinium ex eventu* with B. Stade in *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* I (1881) p. 167, and are we, mainly and almost solely on the ground of this verse, to separate the entire section IV. 8—10 from the rest of the text?



## BOOK OF NAHUM.

III. 8. *Art thou better than Nô-Amôn (נֹמֹן נְ), situated on the river Nile, water round about her, which is a fortress of the river, whose wall is the river\*? 9. Aethio-450 pia mightily and Aegypt without number\*\*, Put and the Libyans were thine aid. 10. She too hath gone into exile, hath departed into captivity; her children too were dashed in pieces in all corners of the streets and over her chief ones they cast the lot, and all her great ones were bound in chains. 11. Thou too shalt be intoxicated, shalt be covered with night; thou too shalt seek protection from the enemy.*

\* [The interpretation is somewhat uncertain. The use of the word נֹמֹן in this passage for the river Nile occurs also in Isaiah XVIII. 2, XIX. 5 (comp. Is. XXVII. 1, Jer. LI. 36, where it is applied to the Euphrates). The term may be used in reference to any broad sheet of water, and the Nile when it overflows might well be called a lake. Dr. Cheyne compares the Sanskrit *sindhu* 'sea' as applied to the Indus. The 'waters around her' probably refer to the canals cut on both sides of the Nile; see the plan in Dümichen's *Egypt* (Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen 1880, Abth. 25). The phrase is, however, rather obscure. The last two clauses might be rendered "which is a lake-stronghold, by the lake arises her wall"—but the translation given by Schrader is on the whole preferable, though involving an oxymoron (like that of LXX, Syr. and Vulg. which read נֹמֹן). Ewald's rendering "whose wall was a defence from sea to sea" sets aside the punctuation (which agrees here with the versions) and is doubtful as to its precise meaning; but it certainly presents a smoother construction (comp. Mic. VII. 12).—The fame of Thebes—one of the great wonders of the world—was quite familiar to the Hellenes in those days. The bards of Javan sang its greatness in the lines :

ὄθι πλεῖστα δόμοις ἐν κτήματα κεῖται,  
 Αἱ θ' ἐκατόμυλοι εἰσι, διηκόσιοι δ' ἄν' ἐκάστας  
 Ἀνέρες ἐξοιχνεῖσι σὲν ἵπποισιν καὶ ἕρσασιν.—Translator.]

\*\* [A better construction is obtained by pointing נֹמֹן and translating :—"Aethiopia was her strength and also Aegypt—yea, without end".—Transl.]

This was a passage that for a long time occasioned great perplexity to the commentators—so much so that it was regarded as a later interpolation and some critics were disposed to cancel it as such out of the text. But an unexpected light has been thrown upon it by the Assyrian inscriptions, which give us special details respecting the destruction of Aegyptian Thebes here referred-to. According to these documents it was Asurbanipal, son and successor of Asarhaddon, who in his second Aegyptian expedition against Urdamani i. e. Rud-Amôn, the successor of Tirhaqa, brought upon Thebes its overwhelming fate. We read in Smith's Assurbanipal 55, 70 : Ina tu-kul-ti Ašur, Sin u ilî rabûti bilî-ja 71. ina taḥâz šri rap-ši apikta-šu iš-ku-nu u-par-ri-ru il-lat-su. 72. Ur-da-ma-ni-î í-diš ip-par-šid-ma í-ru-ub a-na ír Ni-' ír šarrû-ti-šu. 73. Ma-lak araḥ X. ûmi ur-ḥi pa-aš-ḫu-u-ti arki-šu il-li-ku a-di ki-rib ír Ni-', 74. ír šu-a-tu a-na si-ḥir-ti-šu ik-šu-du is-pu-nu a-bu-biš. Rev. 1. Ḥurâšu, kaspu, í-par mâti-šu ni-sik-ti abni NIN. aḫ-ru (also r.!) ni-širt-ti [í-]kal-[šu] 2. lu-bul-ti bir-mí KUM (Pl.) sisî rabûti nišî zikrûti u sin[niš] 3. ... za-a-ti pa-gi-í u-ḫu-pi tar-bit šad-di-šu-un 4. ina la mí-ni a-na mu-'di-í ul-tu ki-rib-í-šu u-šî-ṣu-num-ma im-nu-u šal-la-tiš 5. a-na Ninua ír bí-lu-ti-ja šal-miš iš-šu-num-ma  
451 u-na-aš-ši-ḫu šípâ-ja i. e. 70. "In confidence on Asur, Sin and the great gods, my lords, 71. they (i. e. my troops) inflicted on him in the battle, in a wide plain, a defeat and shattered his might. 72. Urdamanî fled alone and entered into Nô, the city of his royalty. 73. In a march of a month and ten days they advanced, on ways hard to traverse, behind him, into the midst of the city Nô;

74. that town in its entire extent they captured, overthrew like a flood. Rev. 1. Gold, silver, the dust of its land, objects of cast metal (?), precious stones, the treasure of his palace, 2. garments of Berom (?) and KUM, great horses, men and women, 3. . . . . pagī and uḫupi, the product of its mountains, 4. in measureless quantity they carried forth out of it (lit. out of the midst of it), they counted as spoil; 5. to Niniveh, my royal city they carried them away in good condition and kissed my feet."

*Notes and Illustrations.* 70. Tukulti absol. state instead of tuklat; see Assy.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 230;—71. šīru stands also in other places, as it does here, in the sense of "plain" also "desert". Compare with this passage Sanherib's Taylor-cylinder col. III. 53.—72. idiš = **הרש**, root **הר** = **אחר**;—73. malak, root **הלך**;—Rev. 1. ípar is **עפר** "dust", exists in exactly the same connection in Tiglath-Pileser II's inscription II Rawl. 67 line 27 *ad fin.* (see Vol. I, p. 226 —also 228), comp. also Job XXVIII. 6 **עפרות זהב** "ingots of gold";—aḫru comp. aḫartuv Sanherib Bellino-cyl. line 10;—lubulti for lubušti, root **לבש**;—pagī, uḫupi are probably names for animals. They cannot be species of wood or metals since the corresponding determinative ideograms are not employed. But if they are names for animals, they are altogether unknown to us. Should we connect uḫupi with **קוף** 'an ape'?—tarbīt, root **רבה**, see Sanher. Taylor-cyl. col. III. 64, Vol. II, pp. 36, 38;—4. mu'dí (Genit.) from **מָאָד**; míni root **מנה**; kirib-í-šu (sic!) instead of kirbi-šu, see Assy.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 207 note; ušíšû, root **אצא** = **יצא**; šalmiṣ adverb from šal mu "well-being" = "in good preservation"; Lotz, Die Inschriften Tiglath-Pileasers I, p. 182.

We perceive how completely the account of the Assyrian tallies with the description by the prophet which now lies before us. And since we know absolutely nothing of any other destruction of Thebes, whether earlier or later, putting aside the last destruction (which in the present case, moreover, falls altogether out of account), no doubt can henceforth be entertained that Nahum threatens the Assyrians with the same fate that they had themselves inflicted

on the Aegyptian capital. Moreover the time when the latter event took place, and therefore also indirectly the date of Nahum's oracle, may be determined with fair precision. It follows from the account of Asurbanipal in his annals, that the second great campaign, which the Assyrian conducted against Aegypt, and in which Thebes suffered her untoward fate, took place soon after Tirhaka's death. We read in Smith's Assurbanipal 47, 67 : Ur-dama-ni-í abal aššati-šu ina kussî-šu u-šib-ma u-ma-'ir ma-a-tu. 68. Ír Ni-' a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun u-pa-ḥir íl-lat-su, 69. a-na í-biš ḳabla u taḥâza ílî ummâni-ja tuklâti-šu u-šat-ba-a iṣ-ba-ta ḥar-ra-na i. e. "67. Urdamanî, son of his (Tirhaka's) wife, set himself upon his throne and summoned the country. 68. Nô-Thebes he prepared for his defence, marshalled his might. 69. To join battle and combat, he caused his troops to march out against my host (and) commenced the journey."—Now Tirhaka, according to the Apis-stelae, died in the year 664, and the second Aegyptian expedition of Asurbanipal here spoken-of perhaps took place in the year following. Moreover the overthrow of Nô-Amon was still fresh in the memory of the prophet and of his contemporaries. Hence the year 660 might be regarded as the approximate date when Nahum delivered his prophetic discourse against Niniveh. It is scarcely probable that a prophet 'even after several decads' should have referred to this event as one that was clear to all and stood vividly before the imagination (Steiner), if we have here simply a catastrophe befalling a foreign race 453 and not one that immediately concerned the people whom the prophet was addressing.

17. וְטַפְסֵרְיָהּ. See note on Jerem. LI. 27.

## BOOK OF HABAKKUK.

III. 11. וְזָרְחָה (*Sun and Moon remain*) in their exalted dwelling. See note on 1 Kings VIII. 13.

## BOOK OF ZEPHANIAH.

II. 14. If we translate:—“for the cedar-beams are pulled down” (comp. the LXX) we might bear in mind how the Assyrian kings, at all events after the time of Asurnâsirabal, employed cedars in the construction of their palaces. See note on 1 Kings V. 13 (Vol. I, p. 172 foll.). But this entire view of the passage has its difficulties; see Hitzig’s commentary.

## BOOK OF ZECHARIAH.

I, 7. in the eleventh month, that is the month *Shebât* (שְׁבַט); see note on Neh. I. 1.

IX. 1. חֲדַרְחַי *Hadrach* may be conjectured to be the land (mât) *Ḥa-ta-rak-ka* or *Ḥa-ta-ri-ka* or *Ḥa-ta-rik-ka* of the Assyrian inscriptions, in which this name occurs in conjunction with Damascus and Hamath, as well as with *Zôbâ*, *Zemar* (*Ssemar*) and *Arka*. See Keilinsch. und Geschichtsforschung p. 122 and compare also below the List of Governors as well as III Rawl. 10. 3. line 34.

XI. 5. רֹעֵה *herdsman* occurs also in Assyrian in the signification which is ultimately intended in this passage viz. ‘prince’. The word *ri’û* רֵעִי has this sense in e. g. Sargon’s cylinder I Rawl. 36. 3, in which *ri-i-uv ki-i-nuv* ‘faithful shepherd’ is an epithet of Sargon. Also we have the abstract substantive *ri’ût* רְעוּת “rule”, Sanherib Taylor cyl. VI, 65 etc.

454 XII. 11. *At the same time great is the lamentation at Jerusalem, like the lamentation for Hadad-Rimmôn (הַדַּד־רִמּוֹן) in the valley Megiddo.* We shall not here discuss the  *vexata quaestio*  as to whether by Hadad-Rimmôn in this passage a god (Adonis?—comp. Ezek. VIII. 14) was intended for whom lamentation was made,—which lamentation here forms the  *tertium comparationis* ,—or whether Hadad-Rimmôn is to be regarded as the proper name of a geographical locality designated from the above-mentioned deity. We shall content ourselves with simply observing that the name of the deity, from which this locality was unquestionably called according to the second theory, has received in all essential points definite illustration from the Assyrian monuments. It has already been clearly established from the classical writers (Macrob. Satir. I. 23) that Hadad (הַדַּד) was the Syrian god of heaven as well as sun-god. Also the monuments show that the Syrian god Dad i. e. Hadad is identical with the Assyrian Rammân u, Râ mân u, the god of thunder and storm (root רעם). See note on 2 Kings V. 18, Vol. I, p. 196 foll. The same ideogram (AN.) IM serves to designate both the deity Dad = Hadad and the god Rammân (Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 538 foll.). The compound form Hadad-Rammân signifies that the heavenly deity, Hadad, is here specially regarded as the ‘storm-god’. The double name might be compared in signification with the designations of Zeus (Jupiter) as  *Ζεὺς βρουτήσιος*  or  *βρουτῶν*  (Inserr. Graec. 3, 4040, I;—3, 3810. 5932) or else with “Jupiter tonans”. The vocalization of the form רמון, that was completely misunderstood by the punctuators, as רמון is due to mere conjecture; comp. note on 2 Kings V. 18 (Vol. I, p. 197). The deity referred-to has nothing whatever to

do with the pomegranate. The reader might consult Hitzig-Steiner's commentary on the passage; Baudissin's <sup>455</sup> Studien zur semit. Religionsgeschichte I (1876), p. 305 foll.; J. Wellhausen in Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen 1877, p. 185 foll., and my own articles in Riehm's Dictionary 1294, as well as in Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung II (1885) p. 365 foll.

### PSALMS.

II. 12. נִשְׁקֶי do homage. Also in Assyrian נִשְׁק is employed in the Paal and likewise in the Kal to signify 'kiss of homage'. Comp. Asarhaddon IV. 26—28: mur-ni-iz-ki rabûti (aban) uguna, ti-ib mâti-šu, a-na Ninua ir bí-lu-ti-ja iš-šu-num-ma u-na-aš-ši-ku šípâ-ja i. e. "great steeds, Ugnu-stone, the best of the land, they brought to Niniveh, the city of my dominion, kissed my feet." Similarly in Sanherib, Taylor-cyl. II. 57: iš-ši-ku šípâ-ja (Vol. I, p. 281). Comp. also Hos. XIII. 2.

XIX. 7. מִצֵּן rising of the sun. We have just the same phrase in Assyrian ši-it šam-ši (i. e. צֶמֶח שָׁמֶשׁ); see notes on Gen. XIX. 23, Vol. I, p. 126.

XXIX. 6. וְשִׁרְיֹן and Sirjôn. Here too שִׁרְיֹן should be read (with ש). See note on Deut. III. 9, Vol. I, p. 146.

XLIX. 15. וְשֵׂאוֹל מִקֶּבֶל לוֹ "the lower world—their palace of splendour". Compare the phrase 'in glory' in verse 13. Also respecting the signification of וְבֵל consult the note on 1 Kings VIII. 13, Vol. I, p. 174 foll.

### BOOK OF JOB.

X. 21.—before I depart, never to return, into the land of darkness and gloom. We find similar passages in Job XVI. 22, XVII. 16 ("dust"); Is. XXXVIII. 10 ("gates of the lower world"). With these compare the language

of the opening lines of 'Istar's descent to Hades', Obverse lines 1—20 (see my edition of *Höllenfahrt der Istar*, Giefsen 1874, p. 8 foll. and compare Alfr. Jeremias, *die Höllenf. d. Ist.* Lpz. 1886, p. 8) :

1. A-na mât la tairat  kaḫ-ḫa-ri i-di-[...] ?
  2. Istar marat Sin  u-zu-un-ša [ki-niš]
  3. iš-kun-ma\* marat Sin  u-zu-un-[ša iš-kun]
  4. a-na bît i-ṭi-f  šu-bat\*\* Ir-ka-la
  5. a-na bîti ša i-ri-bu-šu  la a-ṣu-u
  6. a-na ḫar-ra-ni ša a-lak-ta-ša  la ta-airat
  7. a-na bîti ša i-ri-bu-šu  zu-um-mu<sup>u</sup> nu-u-ra
  8. a-šar ip-ru ma'du bu-bu-us-su-nu  a-ka-l-šu-nu  
ṭi-iṭ-ṭu
  9. nu-u-ru ul im-ma-ru  ina i-ṭu-ti aš-ba
  10. lab-šu-ma kima iṣ-ṣu-ri  šu-bat kap-pi
  11. ili dalti u sikûri  ša-pu-uḫ ip-ru.
  12. Istar a-na bâbimât la tairat i-na ka-ša-di-ša
  13. a-na NI. GAB ba-a-bi  a-ma-tuv iz-zak-ka-r
  14. a-na NI. GAB mî-f  pi-ta ba-ab-ka
  15. pi-ta-a ba-ab-ka-ma  lu-ru-ba a-na-ku.
1. To the land without return, the region . . . (?)
  2. Istar, Sin's daughter, her mind [fast?]
  3. directed and the daughter of Sin [directed her] mind
  4. to the house of darkness (?), the dwelling of Irkalla,
  5. to the house whose entering is not returning,
  6. to the path whose way is without return,
  7. to the house, whose entering is bereft of light,
  - 456 8. a place, where much dust is their nourishment, clay their food,
  9. where light they never behold, where in twilight one dwells,
  10. where they are clad like birds with a winged garment,
  11. on the doors and their panels (?) dust spread.
  12. "Istar, as she reaches the gate-way of the land whence there  
is no return,

[\* Comp. Insc. col. II 6 Vol. I p. 109 and the Heb. phrase הָכִין לְקָבוֹ לְ (set one's heart on', 'purpose to...'), Ezra VII. 10; 2 Chron. XII. 14.—Transl.]

\*\* Var. mu-šab.



13. to the sentinel at the gate-way the command she addresses,
14. to the sentinel of the water :—"open thy gate,
15. open thy gate; assuredly I will enter!" etc.

*Notes and Illustrations.* For the different readings of the text in this edition see the cited paper of A. Jeremias p. 22 foll., whose corrections of the translation I adopt also in the main.—Respecting KUR. NU. GI. = mât la tairat compare the phrase in Job XVI. 22 :—אֲנִי לֹא אֶשׁוּב. See Höllenf. d. Istar, pp. 23 foll.—9. immaru stands for imaru 3 pers. plur. pres. of amâru "to see" (comp. the Aethiopic አክዳር). See Haupt, Sumer. Familienges. p. 10 note 1; 42 note 1;—10. read labšû-ma perf., root לבש; see Haupt, Nachrichten von der Gött. Gesellsch. der Wiss. 1880 p. 518.

XVII. 16. עַל עֶפְרָת נָחָה (*where*) . . . *in the dust is rest.* Compare the passage in 'Istar's descent to Hades' quoted above on X. 21, lines 8—11.

XXVIII. 6. וְעֶפְרַת וְהָב לוֹ *and it has ingots of gold (or gold ore?).* We have a parallel phrase in the Assyrian. Comp. Smith's Assurbanipal 55 Rev. 1 (quoted above on Nahum III. 8 foll.) :—ḥurâšû, kaspu, í-par mâti-šû . . . ni-šir-ti [í]-kal-šû] "gold, silver, the dust (ore?) of his land . . . the treasure of [his] palace", comp. also Tiglath-Pileser's inscription II Rawl. 67 line 27 ad fin. cited in Vol. I, p. 226, 228.

XXXVII. 22. *From the North comes gold.* See the comment on Isaiah XIV. 13, Vol. II, p. 79 foll.

XXXIX. 9. 10. רִים, more correctly רִאִם (comp. Numb. XXIII. 22, Deut. XXXIII. 17), occurs frequently in Assyrian in the form rîmu, written ri-i-mu, and without doubt designates a species of antelope. But it is, to say the least, doubtful whether it denoted the same thing among the Assyrians, as among the Hebrews. Among the Assyrians the rîmu was a large powerful animal, according to figured representations a (wild) ox with a shoulder fully arched; hence it was probably the wisent. We con-

tinually meet with metaphors in the inscriptions derived from the strength of this animal; e. g. Salmanassar Monol. II, 52 *mât-su kima (alap) rîmu a-di-iš*, 'His land I trod down like a wild ox' (root שׁר); the adverb *ri-ma-niš* "like a wild ox" we read in Sennacherib's Taylor-cylinder I, 69 etc.\* See F. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugethiere*, Leipzig 1879, p. 22, 432 foll.

\* [Fried. Delitzsch in his 'Hebrew viewed in the light of Assyrian Research' p. 6 remarks:—"The last two editions of Gesenius' Lexicon explain רִמֵּי the Arabic رَمِيمٌ "antelope leucoryx", although that animal could never have lived in Palestine, its home being on the sandy wastes of Arabia and the North-Eastern regions of Africa. Besides, in spite of its two spear-shaped horns, the *antelope leucoryx* is known to be an animal of meek disposition, directly opposed to the wild, hostile nature ascribed to the רִמֵּי. Gesenius, guided by the *parallelismus membrorum*, in passages like Deuteron. XXXIII. 17, translates buffalo, but the existence of the buffalo in Western Asia is traceable only a short time before the Christian era. We know now, by the cuneiform inscriptions and the pictorial representations on the Assyrian sculptures, that the רִמֵּי is the Assyrian *rîmu* [It is only fair to Mühlan and Volck's 9th ed. (1883) of Gesenius' Lexicon to state that the Assyrian equivalent is there given—Tr.] that strong-horned, fierce-looking wild-bull skilled in climbing the mountains, whose colossal and formidable likeness was placed by the Assyrian kings before the entrance of their palaces to ward off and terrify the approaching enemy." On the other hand Prof. Schrader, in *Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung* p. 135 footnote \*\*, thinks it most probable that this animal, figured as possessing a powerfully arched neck covered with mane-like hair, which also extended over the shoulder, and also as possessing short bent horns, was a species of wisent or buffalo which is still to be found wild in the Caucasus. In the great monolith-inscription of Asurnaširabal col. III, 48. 9 that monarch boasts of having slain 50 and captured 8 of these *rîmî* with his own hand. But in a cylinder-inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I (col. VI. 62—70) that despot speaks of hunting and slaying not only four powerful *rîmî* in the land *Milân* and the city *Araziḫ*, but also ten huge elephants (AM. SI comp. Vol. I, pp. 176—7 and footnote\*) in the land of *Harran* and on the banks of the river *Chabor*, four of the latter being

## SONG OF SOLOMON.

II. 9. כְּתֹל “wall” occurs in Sennacherib’s Taylor-cylind. VI. 28 in the form kutallu\*.

IV. 13. פְּרָדִים “pleasure-garden”, *παράδεισος*. See note on Neh. II. 8.

## ADDENDUM. 2 BOOK OF MACCABEES.

I. 13. ἐν τῷ τῆς Ναυαίας ἱερῷ in the temple of Nanaea, compare too the same verse b and 15. We find mention also in the Babylonian inscriptions of a goddess Nanâ (Na-na-a) or Nanai (Na-na-ai). See Norris Dict. 944; Delitzsch Parad. p. 222; Strassmaier (in the journal below cited) No. 62, 40. According to the Biblical passage the deity was worshipped in Elam. We are informed by Asurbanipal that the image of Nanâ, which had been carried off 1635 years previously from Babylonia and erected in Susa, he had brought back to Erech. See above Vol. I, p. 122; comp. also Smith’s Assurban. p. 234. 9; 244, c; 249 f, g. Regarding the number see Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 48\*\*.

also captured alive. These he conveyed together with the skins and tusks of the slain animals to his royal residence Ašur.—From such passages, where the rimu is mentioned side by side with the elephant (piru), we may infer that the rimu like the elephant was an animal of large bulk.—Comp. also Wetzstein in Delitzsch’s commentary on Job 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (1876), who compares the Arabic mahâ (Laue’s Arab. Lexicon 234 col. II). The revised Version has altered the rendering ‘unicorn’ (LXX *μονόκερως*, Vulg. *unicorns*) into ‘wild ox’.—Translator.]

\* [Compare also the Chaldee כְּתֹלָא (Dan. V. 5 כְּתֹל)—Transl.]

\*\* “In one inscription (Smith’s Assurb. p. 234. 9) the number is given as 1635, but in the other (249, g) as 1535. The first quotation is the correct one, as is perfectly clear from a third passage (251, 16), in which the number is reckoned not by the decimal but by the Soss-system [Soss = 60] as 2 Ners 7 Sosses 15 years i. e. 2 × 600

We frequently meet with the name of this deity on contract-tablets belonging to the time of the ancient Babylonian king Hammurabi (see Strassmaier, *Ancient Babylonian Contracts of Warka*, in *Transactions and Addresses of the Fifth International Orientalist Congress*, Berlin 1882, p. 349). From one of the passages there cited (see Text p. 71 line 1) we learn in particular that Nanâ was distinct from Dingir-ri (= Venus) and Istar; and we gather from Smith's *Assurbanipal* p. 250 that she had the epithets (ilu) U-*ṣur-a-mat-sa* "preserve her declaration" and (ilu) Ar-*ka-ai-i-tu* "she of Erech". Accordingly we might, indeed we should, suppose her to have been a deity that was originally Babylonian and whose cultus in later times still survived in Elam. Consult Lagarde, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* (collected essays) 16. 143. 157. 295; G. Hoffmann, *Auszüge aus syr. Aktt. pers. Märtyrer* p. 156 foll.

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= 1200, + 7 × 60 = 420, + 15 = 1635. The mistake must have been not so much one of computation as of reading, the copyist having read the number from a document on which one of the 3 lower wedges, of the six representing hundreds, had become scarcely legible or completely obliterated." [On the sexagesimal system of the Babylonians comp. Vol. I, pp. 10 foll. and p. 48 footnote \*\*, Lenormant, *Chaldaean Magic* p. 366, Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke* 3<sup>th</sup> ed. (1885) p. 38.—Transl.]

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## EXCURSUS ON CHRONOLOGY.

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When we come to examine Biblico-Assyrian chronology we find ourselves in the strange position of being confronted by two completely developed systems, the Hebrew chronology of the Books of Kings, and the Assyrian contained in eponym-canons from B. C. 900 to 666 \*. This

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\* For Assyrian chronology before 900 B. C. we incidentally obtain evidence (1) in a notice contained in Sennacherib's Bavian inscription, from which we learn that Sennacherib, when he occupied Babylon for the second time, brought back from thence to Assyria the Assyrian images which Tiglath-Pileser I had lost after a disastrous battle with the Babylonian king Marduk-nâdin-aḫi. The following is the passage III Rawl. 14, 48 : Ilī a-šib lib-bi-šu ḳatâ niši-ja ik-šu-su-nu-ti-ma u-šab-bi-ru-ma . . . . ša-ga-šu-nu il-ḳu-ni. (Ilu Rammân) (ilu) Sa-la (?) ili 49. ša ír íkalâti ša Marduk-nâdin-aḫi šar mât Akkadi a-na tar-ši Tukul-ti-habal-îšarra šar mât Aššur il-ḳu-ma a-na Bâb-ilu u-bil-lu 50. i-na IV. C. XVIII šanâti ul-tu Bâb-ilu u-ši-ša-am-ma a-na ír íkalâti a-na aš-ri-šu-nu u-tir-šu-nu-ti i. e. "48. The gods, which dwelt there, the hands of my people seized and broke them in pieces . . . their treasures they carried off. Rammân, Sala (?) the gods 49. of the City of Temples which Merodach-nâdin-aḫi, king of Akkad, had taken away from Tiglath-Pileser king of Aššur and had brought away to Babylon, 50. after 418 years I carried off from Babylon and brought them to the City of Temples to their place". Now this restoration of the images is connected with the defeat of Suzub and Nebo-šum-iškun of Kardunias, the son of Merodach-Baladan. This event occurred, according to Sennacherib's Taylor-cylinder, in his 8<sup>th</sup> campaign. But Ašurnâdinšum sat on the throne of Babylon until 694—3. Consequently the above restoration of the images must not be assigned to a date previous to the 12<sup>th</sup>

459 would be a matter for congratulation if the two systems coincided. But this is not the case. There is a single

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year of Sennacherib's reign, 693 B. C. at the earliest. If we add to this 418 years, we are led back to about the year 1110 B. C. as that in which Tiglath-Pileser I was deprived of those statues of divinities by the Babylonian king. Now on the cylinder, on which Tiglath-Pileser describes the events of the first five years of his reign, not a word is said about this war with Babylon. Hence we cannot with propriety assume that it occurred at any other period than the latter part of his reign. Therefore he may have ascended the throne of Assyria as early as in 1130 B. C. and even before that.

For the time immediately preceding Tiglath-Pileser I some evidence is furnished by the names, preserved in his cylinder-inscription, of his father Ašur-riš-iši, of his grandfather Mutakkil-Nabû (Nusku), of his great-grandfather Ašur-dân, and lastly of his great-great-grandfather Adar-abal-išarra. Moreover in the synchronistic table in reference to Assyrio-Babylonian history (III Rawl. IV. No. 3 lines 20. 21) we find mention of a Bîl-kudur-ušur as the predecessor (father?) of the last mentioned monarch. We have thus five successive reigns, and, by assuming that each amounted in round numbers to 20 years, we in this way reach the second half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century viz. about 1250—1230 B. C. (Geo. Rawlinson, History of the Five Great Monarchies II ed. Vol. II p. 49). For the period that immediately precedes this we have no data from the monuments. The tradition respecting the succession of sovereigns is here interrupted. On the other hand, we have once more a *datum* for the reign of Tuklat-Adar the son of Salmanassar I—the latter being the founder of the city Kalah (see Vol. I, p. 80). This piece of evidence consists in a very remarkable tablet of Sennacherib, in which that king tells us that in one of his conquests of Babylon—it may be the first in the year 703 B. C. or else the later one (693? see above)—he recovered the seal of an old Assyrian king, no other than Tuklat-Adar, in the treasure-house of Babylon and brought it back to Assyria, from which it had been taken 600 years before to Babylon. Moreover he takes the opportunity of quoting the inscription borne by the seal. The whole passage reads as follows (III Rawl. 4 No. 2 lines 1 foll.): 1. . . . Tuklat-Adar šar Aššur abal Šulmâ-nu-ašârid šar mât Aššur, 2. kâšid-ti mât Kar-du. Mu-kaḳ-ḳir šitra-ja šuma-ja, 3. Ašur, Rammân šum-šu mât-su lu-ḫal-li-ḳu. 4. Kunukku an-nu-u ištu mât Aššur ana m. Ak-kadi ša-ri(?) ik-ta-din. 5. Ana-ku Sin-aḫ-irib šar mât Aššur 6. ina VI. C. šanâti Bâb-ilu akšu-ud-ma

date, viz. the capture of Samaria 722 B. C. \*, in which the two schemes either completely coincide (if we adopt as our <sup>460</sup> basis of computation e. g. Thenius' chronological measurement), or coincide approximately. But the two systems do not agree either before or after the above date. What therefore at first sight appears a cause for satisfaction turns out to be quite the reverse. Only one of the two schemes can be correct. Thus the chronologist finds himself com-

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7. ištu ša-ga Bâb-ilu us-si-ši aš-šu i. e. "1. Tuklat-Adar, king of Assyria, son of Salmanassar, king of Assyria, 2. the conqueror of Kardû (*sic!*) who blots out my writing, my name, 3. his name and his land may Ašur and Rammân destroy. 4. This seal was carried off (?) from Assyria to Babylonia . . . 5. I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria 6. after 600 years conquered Babylon 7. and took it forth and away from the treasure of Babylon (roots **𒌦𒌦** and **𒌦𒌦**)."

After a lacuna the tablet once more recites the inscription on the seal (lines 1—3), only in place of Kar-du we have here the fuller form Kar-du-ni-ši; and beneath the inscription we find the subscription ša ina ili kunukki ša za-kur i. e. "(this is) that which is" stated on the seal" (Strassmaier reads ša za-lat and renders: "seal of Zalât-stone"). This notice leads us from 700 B. C. to a date 600 years anterior viz. 1300 B. C. as that in which Tuklat-Adar either had the seal made or when it was carried off to Babylonia. This king is mentioned on an inscription of Samsi-Rammân I Rawl. 35, III 19. 20 as šar mât Šu-mí-ri u Ak-ka-di i. e. king of Babylonia. Proceeding backwards in time we become acquainted with the kings of Assyria through four generations from the tablets of Ʒal'at-Sherkat, the ruined site of the ancient imperial capital Ašur (see above Vol. I, pp. 35, 81), where the monarchs preceding Salmanassar I resided, at least as a general rule. For the inscriptions here referred-to see I Rawl. 6 No. III, A—C and No. IV. According to these, Salmanassar I's father was Rammân-nirâri I, whose father again was Pudi-il, and his father last of all was Bîl-nirâri. Ascending upwards in time from the reign of Bîl-nirâri we only know a few royal Assyrian names, without being able to arrange them even approximately in chronological order.

\* The reasons for placing the capture of Samaria in the year 722 B. C. are stated in Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung p. 314 foll. [The facts are clearly set forth in Vol. I of the present work pp. 264—266. Comp. Geo. Smith's Assyrian eponym canon pp. 174—176.—Transl.]

pelled to decide to which of the two systems he will turn and which he will declare to be the right one. The course which first suggests itself is to take the Biblical chronology as our basis, seeing that it is so well dovetailed together and the chronological notices of the Books of Kings, relating to the  
 461 two kingdoms of Israel, are apparently checked the one by the other. But every Old Testament inquirer is aware that this Biblical scheme is by no means without its difficulties. Not a few discrepancies yawn within it\*. And unfortunately we cease to feel confidence in the scriptural computation just at the point where a comparison with another chronological system is rendered possible, namely in the period succeeding 722\*\*. For this period we possess an extra-Biblical test in the shape of the so-called Canon of Ptolemaeus. From this we learn that the campaign of Sennacherib to Aegypt-Palestine cannot have taken place until after 705, the year when the Assyrian king ascended

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\* See von Niebuhr, *Geschichte Assurs und Babels* p. 84. J. Wellhausen in *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie* XX, p. 607 foll. and comp. above Vol. I, p. 215 foll., and also E. Krey in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie* XX, p. 404 foll.

\*\* There is no sufficient reason for the objection, that the guarantee afforded by the parallel North Israelite chronology extending, as the reader is aware, to the 6<sup>th</sup> year of Hezekiah's reign and which breaks off subsequent to that date, is altogether more worthy of confidence. For this is notoriously untrue with respect to just the very period referred-to. Thus, according to the chronological statement 2 Kings XV. 30, Peḳaḥ was slain in the 20<sup>th</sup> year of Jotham's reign i. e. in 738 B. C.; according to the same verse and according to the cuneiform records, the murder of Peḳaḥ was immediately followed by Hoshea's accession to the throne of Israel, i. e. Peḳaḥ was assassinated in the year 728 B. C. Thus, in the portion of Israelite history which is controlled by the chronology of the Northern kingdom, we have a discrepancy of full 10 years, just as in the subsequent period we have a discrepancy of 13 years! Wherein then consists the essential difference between the two chronologies? Compare also the dissertations cited below.



the throne, while, on the other hand, the Books of Kings represent the expedition as having occurred in 714 B. C. of the traditional chronology. Here we have a discrepancy of at least 9 years \*. We see that one of the two systems must be abandoned. And we cannot doubt against which of <sup>462</sup> the two sentence must be passed, when we bear in mind the fact that the chronological data of Ptolemaeus are confirmed down to the smallest detail by the Assyrian chronology viz. the eponym-lists and the annals of Sargon (see 'chronological addenda' Nos. III and IV). It is therefore in the most recent period of chronology that our verdict must be pronounced against the scriptural system, though we should have expected the most trustworthy and unassailable statements with respect to that period. The system must, however, be abandoned in presence of the corresponding statements of the monuments and the eponym-canon \*\*. We ask the question :—have we any right to

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\* In reality 13 years! see Vol. I, p. 305 foll.

\*\* Attempts have been made to get over the difficulties by assuming that the chapters in the 2 Book of Kings and in Isaiah have been transposed (J. Oppert in *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellsch.* XXIII (1869) p. 147 and elsewhere; V. Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot* 1881 p. 26), or by assuming that there was a confusion of the year of Sennacherib's invasion, which was the 29<sup>th</sup> of Hezekiah's reign, with a previous invasion by Sargon, which was in the 14<sup>th</sup> year of Hezekiah's reign (H. Brandes, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Orients*, Halle 1874 p. 76 foll.; P. Kleinert in *Theolog. Studien u. Kritiken*, 1877 p. 171; Raska, *Chronologie der Bibel*, 1878 p. 286; H. Matzat, *Chronolog. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Könige von Juda u. Israel* (Weilb. Progr. 1880) p. 23, also previously Prof. A. H. Sayce. [The theory that the chapters in 2 Kings and also in Isaiah have been transposed was originally put forward by Dr. Hincks in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* Oct. 1858. "The text" he says "as it originally stood was probably to this effect :—2 Kings XVIII. 13

claim a greater credibility for the Books of Kings in respect of their chronology in the earlier portion of history which would be far less exempt from involuntary errors? We  
 463 should be disposed to doubt this \* and can only regard such doubts as justified in fact and substance, when, in the chronological details bearing on the earlier time, we take as our guide sources which have been preserved with such fulness and completeness for the later period. I refer to the *monuments* in which we possess the additional advantage of gaining access to documents which have not, like the

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Now in the fourteenth year of king Hezekiah the king of Assyria, came up' [referring to the attack mentioned in Sargon's annals against Philistia and Ashdod 711 B. C.]. XX. 1—19 'In those days was king Hezekiah sick unto death etc.' XVIII. 13 b 'And Sennacherib king of Assyria came up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them' XVIII. 13 b—XIX. 37."—The reader might also consult Geo. Smith's Assy. Eponym Canon p. 171 foll. and the excellent discussion in Canon Cheyne's commentary on Isaiah 3<sup>th</sup> ed. (1884) Vol. I, pp. 201 foll. (introductory to Is. XXXVI—XXXIX).—Translator.]

For a criticism of the above theories see Vol. I, p. 303 foll., Vol. II, p. 6, Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 345 foll. as well as my remarks in Zeitsch. der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellsch. XXV (1871) pp. 449—454, XXVI (1872) p. 816; Leipzig. Centralblatt 1873 No. 35 col. 1089—91, 1874 No. 47 col. 1545 foll. Theolog. Literatur-Zeitung V Jen. 1880 No. 12 p. 274—277; and comp. H. Gelzer in Jenaer Literatur-Zeit. II (1875) No. 3 p. 38 foll.; Ad. Kamphausen in Von Sybel's Histor. Zeitsch. 1875 p. 387 foll.

\* In support of this statement we would especially refer to the third non-Biblical documentary memorial, which—quite apart from the uncertain dates of Aegyptian records—comes in aid of comparative chronology in addition to the cuneiform inscriptions and the Ptolemaic canon. I refer to the stone of Mesha. Here again the Biblical synchronistic scheme is left in the lurch. The stone of Mesha in line 8 assumes that the reigns of Omri and Ahab together lasted at least 40 years, while the Bible limits them to 34 years. Probably the discrepancy is even greater. On this subject see Nöldeke's article *Mesa* in Schenkel's Bibellexicon IV. 188.

scriptural writings, notoriously been subjected in the course of centuries to numerous alterations\*.

If we cast a glance at these monuments, viz. at the 'Canon of Rulers'\*\*, the 'List of Governors'\*\* and lastly the 'Babylono-Assyrian tables', and ask the question, what is their bearing on scriptural chronology, we arrive at the following fixed dates :

858. **Salmanassar II's** eponym-year\*\*\*.

854. V<sup>th</sup> (IV<sup>th</sup>) year (Dajan-Ašur). War with Benhadad and Ahab. Battle at Karkar.

\* It is hardly necessary for me to remind the intelligent reader that also these monumental statements are not free from error and are themselves chargeable with mistakes of various kinds and therefore they too should be employed with discrimination and judgment. Further remarks on this subject may be read in my Keilinsch. u. Gesch. pp. 42 foll., 299—356. [We find copyists vacillating between the forms Mu'ab and Ma'ab for Moab, Arumu, Arimu and Aramu for Aram, Samírina and Samíurna for Samaria etc. To these may be added such *lapsus calami* as šarrûtiĵa for šarrûtišu, see Vol. I, p. 184 line 90; the number of slain at the battle of Karkar 25,000 in Salmanassar's obelisk inscription but 14,000 in the monolith inscription. A further discrepancy in number may be observed in the footnote on 2 Maccab. I. 13. But while acknowledging the possibility of error on the part of the cuneiform scribe, we must regard with considerable suspicion any attempt to amend these ancient documents contemporary with the events they describe, in order to support an hypothesis. And yet this is what we find so sober a scholar as Kamphausen doing (Chronologie der Hebräischen Könige p. 43 footnote), when he revives a theory that Wellhausen has abandoned viz. that in the description of the events of the year 854 in Salmanassar II's monolith-inscription 'Ahab' stands in line 91 by mistake for Joram.—Translator.]

\*\* We retain these names as the most concise modes of expression though aware of their inadequacy.

\*\*\* This was according to the ancient usage the second complete year of the king's reign, who thus in reality ascended the throne in the year 860; see Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 326 foll.

- 464 850. IX<sup>th</sup> year (Ḥadilibuš). War with Dadidri (Hadadezer).
849. X<sup>th</sup> year (Marduk - âlik - panî). War with Dadidri.
846. XIII<sup>th</sup> year. War with Dadidri.
842. XVII<sup>th</sup> year. War with Hazael. Tribute of Jehu "son of Omri".
839. XX<sup>th</sup> year. War with Hazael.
823. Šamsi-Rammân's eponym-year.
810. Rammân-nirâri's eponym-year.
803. VIII<sup>th</sup> year (Ašur - ur - nišî). Campaign to the sea-coast including Palestine.
781. Salmanassar III's eponym-year.
775. VII<sup>th</sup> year (Nîrgališšiš). Expedition to the cedar-country.
771. Asur-dân-il's eponym-year.
763. IX<sup>th</sup> year (Purilsagalî). Eclipse of the sun on June 15.
753. Asur-nirâri's eponym-year.
745. Tiglath-Pileser II's year of accession and first of his reign\*.

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\* From the time of Tiglath-Pileser II (745—727) onwards, we constantly find in the eponym-list Canon I, that the year of the king's accession is also reckoned as the *first* year of the new series of eponyms. The dividing-line now invariably stands before the year of the king's accession. Canons II, III and IV vary in their mode of reckoning the first year. Sometimes they reckon it as the year of the king's accession, the first complete year of his rule, at other times the first year is the year in which the king became eponym. Before the time of Tiglath-Pileser II (as indicated in a previous footnote) the king's accession is to be placed in the *second* year before the king's eponymy.—Keilinschriften u. Gesch. p. 330 foll.

738. VIII<sup>th</sup> year (Rammânbfîlukîn). Tribute of Menahem of Samaria. His contemporary, according to the Bible and the inscriptions, was Azarjah-Uzziah.
734. XII<sup>th</sup> year (Bîldânîl). Expedition to Palestine (Aḥaz and Peḡaḥ).
733. XIII<sup>th</sup> year } Campaign to Damascus (Rezîn).  
 732. XIV<sup>th</sup> " }
727. **Salmanassar IV's** accession.
724. } siege of Samaria (according to the Bible).  
 723. }
722. (Adar-malik). **Sargon's** accession to the throne. 465  
 Conquest of Samaria.
721. I<sup>st</sup> year (Nabû-târîṣ). Defeat of Merodach-Baladan.
720. II<sup>nd</sup> year (Ašur-iška(?)-danin). Defeat of Sab'i of Aegypt.
715. VII<sup>th</sup> year (Takkil-ana-Bîl). Tribute from Pharaoh king of Aegypt.
711. XI<sup>th</sup> year (Adar-âlik-panî). Siege and capture of Ashdod.
710. XII<sup>th</sup> year. Defeat of Merodach-Baladan.
709. XIII<sup>th</sup> year. Sargon king of Babylon (Babel).
705. **Sanherib's** (Sennacherib's) accession (Pacharbel).
704. I<sup>st</sup> year (Nabû-dîn-ibuš). Conquest of Babylon (Babel).
702. III<sup>rd</sup> year (Nabûli'). Construction of the Bellino-cylinder.
701. IV<sup>th</sup> year (Chananu). Campaign against Judaea-Aegypt.

699. VI<sup>th</sup> year (Bil-šar-ušur). First year of the reign of Ašurnâdinšum, installed by Sanherib as king of Babel.
681. (Nabûahiššîš). Asarhaddon's accession and (?) the *first* year of his reign.
673. VIII<sup>th</sup> (IX<sup>th</sup>?) year (Atarilu). The cylinder-inscription drawn up.
668. The year of Asurbanipal's accession.

Let us compare with the above the Biblical dates. The latter, stated according to the traditional computation, will be as follows.

According to the monuments :	According to the Bible :
<b>Ahab</b> :—854 Battle of Karkar.	918—897 period of his reign.
<b>Jehu</b> :—842 payment of tribute.	884—856 period of his reign.
<sup>466</sup> <b>Azariah</b> (Uzziah) : 742—740.	809—758 period of his reign.
<b>Menahem</b> : —738 Payment of tribute.	771—761 period of his reign.
<b>Pekah</b> :—734 Defeat by Tiglath-Pileser.	758—738 (?) period of his reign.
<b>Hoshea</b> :—728 last year that Ausi' can have paid tribute to Tiglath - Pileser. 722 Fall of Samaria.	730—722 period of his reign.
<b>Hezekiah</b> :—701 Sanherib's (Sennacherib's) campaign.	722 Fall of Samaria. 714 Sanherib's invasion.

According to the monuments :	According to the Bible :
<b>Manasseh</b> : 681—673; 668 (667?); about 647 revolt of Sammu- ghes*.	696—642 period of his reign**.

We see from the above comparison that the discrepancy in point of time between the Bible and the monuments is not throughout the same in extent during the different periods, but that it is sometimes more and sometimes less, while at the date of the capture of Samaria it seems to disappear entirely. Then, again, for the subsequent period we observe a discrepancy amounting to 13 years, while in the reign of Manasseh both systems of chronology satisfactorily harmonize.

From the character of the discrepancies exhibited in the 467 preceding pages we can clearly perceive that they do not depend on any individual and special error in computation,

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\* In the interval between the accession of Asarhaddon (681) and the composition of the cylinder-inscription (673 B. C.), Manasseh must have paid tribute to the above-mentioned Assyrian ruler. The payment of tribute to Asurbanipal took place during his first campaign (Rassam's cylind. I 52, 69 foll.) and cannot therefore be placed later than the year 667 B. C. Respecting the year 647 see above Vol. II, p. 54 foll.

\*\* Attempts to reconcile the two systems of chronology may be found in Max Duncker's *History of Antiquity* 5<sup>th</sup> Germ. ed. (1878) p. 270 foll.; Fritz Hommel, *Abriss der babylonisch-assyrischen u. israelitischen Geschichte*, Leipzig 1880; V. Floigl, *Gesch. des semit. Alterthums*, mit 6 Tabellen, Leipzig 1882. Comp. also the essays cited above pp. 164—166 footnotes. [To these may be added J. E. König, 'Beiträge zur Biblischen Chronologie' in *Zeitsch. für kirchliche Wissenschaft* 1883 Nos. VI, VIII, IX and XII; and also Kamphausen's *Die Chronologie der hebräischen Könige*, Bonn 1883. See also the Notes and Addenda at the end of this volume—Translator.]

so that by removing this error we should obtain the desired harmony between the two systems\*.

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\* As for example by assuming a break of 46 or 47 years in the lists of eponyms. [This was Prof. Oppert's theory—the gap of 47 years occurring between the eponymate of Nirgal-nâsir (B. C. 746 according to Rawlinson's, which is now the accepted, chronology) and the following eponymate (which is also marked as the year of Tiglath-Pileser's accession). The latter was placed by Oppert in the year 744; the former in the year 792 B. C. Prof. Oppert's scheme was based upon two leading considerations. (1) The eclipse of the sun referred-to in the notice attached to the eponymate of Purilsagalî Oppert identified with that of June 13. 809 B. C. (2) The reign of 'Pul', the problematical king of Assyria, was introduced by the French Assyriologist into this 47 years' gap in the Assyrian canon. Grave objections to Oppert's theory were clearly stated in Geo. Smith's Assyrian Eponym Canon p. 75 and objections still more serious—indeed fatal—were advanced in Schrader's Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 340, 346 foll. In fact Prof. Oppert's hypothesis involves fresh difficulties. As that hypothesis is adapted to meet the supposition that Pul and Tiglath-Pileser, mentioned in 2 Kings XV, were distinct personages, and since mention is made, in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser (744—726 according to Oppert's own chronology), of Menaḥem of Samaria and Azariah of Judah, it became necessary to assume that there were two Menahems and two Azariahs, one in each pair of namesakes belonging to the time of Pul and the other to that of Tiglath-Pileser. The final *coup de grace* to this entire structure may be said to have been given in May 1884, when Mr. Pinches published the newly discovered list of Babylonian kings, in which is found the name Pûlu for the years 728—7, while in the recently discovered Babylonian chronicle there is recorded the name of Tuklat-abal-îšarra (Tiglath-Pileser) as Babylonian ruler for precisely the same period (see Vol. I, p. XXXII). In this way the hypothesis that Pul = Tiglath-Pileser II, first advanced by Sir H. Rawlinson and subsequently by Lepsius, and supported by Schrader in an overwhelming array of arguments (Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung pp. 441 foll.; comp. Vol. I, pp. 219—231), becomes an ascertained fact, and thereby an indirect confirmation is obtained for the identification of the eponymate of Purilsagalî with the year 763 B. C. and for the continuity of the eponym lists preceding and succeeding that date—Translator.]



On the contrary, we must acknowledge the artificial character of the Biblical chronological data both for the time succeeding as well as for the time preceding the year 722. On the other hand, the historical record of the Bible, apart from these chronological details, is on the whole sustained. We have had to note few inaccuracies, comparatively speaking, and, at all events, the contemporaneous relation of persons and events, required by the circumstances involved, has been, as a rule, fully demonstrated. See the notes on 1 Kings XVI. 29 (Vol. I, pp. 183—190); 2 Kings IX. 2 (Vol. I, pp. 199 foll.); 2 Kings XV. 1 (p. 213 foll.); XV. 30. 37 (p. 251 foll.); XVI. 8. 9 (p. 255 foll.); XVII. 1. 3 foll. (p. 255 foll.); XVIII. 1 foll. (p. 277 foll.); XIX. 3. 7 (Vol. II, p. 17 foll.); XX. 12 (Vol. II, p. 23 foll.) etc. etc.

Though the chronological system of the Books of Kings, as compared with that of the monuments, is shown to be untenable, yet in other respects the Bible receives from the latter, even in the matter of chronology, satisfactory corroboration.

We have thus far endeavoured to exhibit clearly the relation of the two systems of chronology, with which we are at present concerned. It remains for us to show how that system, which we hold to form the basis for computation, is to be absolutely fixed and receive throughout its requisite chronological adjustment; and what fixed data are available for this object. For the Hebrew chronology, we have this fixed datum, as all are aware, in the death of Herod in the year 4 before the era of Dionysius; and also <sup>468</sup> in the Dedication of the Temple on the 25<sup>th</sup> Kislev in the year 148 of the Seleucid era i. e. December 164 B. C. In both cases we take into consideration the dates of the

Ptolemaic canon with regard to the length of reign of the Babylonian kings from Nebucadnezzar to Nabunit, as well as of the Persian kings up to Alexander the Great. For Assyrian chronology the fixed point of departure is the eclipse of June 15. 763 B. C., which is marked in the accompanying List of Governors as occurring in the archonship of Purilsagalí\*. In consequence of this chronological determination, with which the *data* of the Ptolemaic canon tally throughout, the first year of Sargon's rule as king of Babylon falls in 709 B. C. (see the accompanying Canons III and IV), while the year of Tiglath-Pileser II's accession (i. e. the scriptural Tiglath-Pileser) is 745 B. C., that of his successor Salmanassar 727, that of Sargon 722, that of Sanherib (Sennacherib) 705, that of Asarhaddon 681 and that of Asurbanipal 668. Now, we may at the present time regard it as certain that the last mentioned monarch is identical with the Sardanapallus of Berossus, on the one hand, and with the Kineladan of the Ptolemaic canon, on the other; we refer the reader to the remarks made above, Vol. II, p. 56 footnote. Moreover the reign of Kineladan, like that of Sardanapallus, terminated in the year 626. Consequently the year 626 B. C. was the date of his immediate successor's accession to the throne. This successor may have been X-šum-iškun or Ašur-itil-ilī-

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[\* The astronomical data for the solar eclipse of June 15. 763 B. C., which was nearly a total one for Niniveh and its neighbourhood, may be seen in Geo. Smith's Assyrian Eponym Canon p. 83 (according to the calculations of Mr. Hind and the Astronomer Royal, Mr. Airy); compare Schrader's Keilinschriften u. Geschichtsforschung p. 338 foll. where substantially the same results are given as calculated by Mr. P. Lehmann. Some explanatory remarks on the *termini technici* occurring in the text may be read by the student in the Introductory Preface to Vol. I, p. XXVI foll.—Translator.]

ukinni, and the Saracus mentioned by Abydenus may be identical with the second of these two names or with a still unknown third personage (Ašur-aḥ-iddin II?) whose history we are not yet in a position to know. Compare the Reports in the Königl. Sächsische Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften 1880 Philol. hist. Cl. p. 28 foll. Respecting the date of the conquest of Samaria according to the Assyrian account (viz. 722 B. C.), see above Vol. I, p. 264, Vol. II, p. 163.

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## CHRONOLOGICAL ADDENDA.

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I.  
THE ASSYRIAN CANON OF RULERS.  
II Rawl. pl. 68. 69. III Rawl. pl. 1. Del. ALS<sup>2</sup>. 87—91.

B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.	B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.
893		. . . . šar . . . . .	860	Ṭāb-Bīl	
892		Adar(?)—zar . . . . .	859	Šarru-ur-niši	
891		Ṭāb-īdīn-[Ašur?]			
890		[A]šur-la-du . . . . .	858	Šul-ma-nu-ašāridu, šarru	
889		[Tuk]lat-Adar, šarru	857	Ašur-bīl-ukan-ni <sup>2</sup> )	
888		Tak-kil aua bīl-[j]a	856	Ašur-ban-ai-ušur	
887		Abu-Malik	855	Abu-ina-ikal-lil-bur	
886		Ilu-mil-ki	854	Dân-Ašur	
885		Ja-ri-i	853	Šamaš-abu-u-a <sup>3</sup> )	
884		Ašur-šī-zib-a-ni	852	Šamaš-bīl-ušur } <sup>4</sup> )	Šamaš . . . . .
	. . . . . šarru	Ašur-nāšīr-a-bal, šarru	851	Bīl-ban-ai	Bīl-ban . . . . .
882	. . . . . iddin	Ašur-iddin	850	Ḫa-di-li-bu-šu	Ḫa-di-li-bu-su
881	. . . . . ku	. . . . ik(mut?)-ti-a-ku <sup>1</sup> )	849	Nirgal-âlik-pani	Nirgal-âlik-pani
880	. . . . dammiḫ	Ša-(ilu) Ma dam-ka	848	. . . . . ma-na	Pur <sup>5</sup> )-Ra-man
879	. . . . . nāšīr	Da-kan-bīl-uāšīr	847		Adar-mukin-niši
			846		Adar-nâdin-šum <sup>2</sup> )

878	. . . . . ja-ušur	Adar-pi-ja-ušur	845	Ašur-ban-ai
877	. . . . . bi'l-ušur	Adar-bi'l-ušur	844	Tâb-Adar
876	Šakan (?) -Ašur-lil-bur	. . . . . lil-bur	843	Takkil-a-na šar
875	Šamaš (Var. Ša-maš)-upaḥ- ḥir	. . . . . -u-pa-ḥir	842	Rammân-lid-a-ni
874	Nîrgal-bi'l-ku-mu-u-a	. . . . . bi'l-ku-mu-u-a	841	Bi'l-abu-u-a
873	Ḳur-di-Ašur	. . . . . Ašur	840	Šul-mu-bi'li-la-uhbul <sup>6)</sup>
872	Ašur-li'	. . . . . li'	839	Adar-kip-si-ušur
871	Ašur-na-at-ki[na-ad-gil?]	. . . . . kil	838	Adar-malik
870	Bi'l-mu-dammik	. . . . . ik	837	Ḳur-di-Ašur
869	Dân-Adar		836	Nîr-šar
868	Ištar-nudammik[at-id-dan (? Sm.)		835	Nîrgal-mu-dam-ik
867	Šamaš-nu-ri		834	Ja-ḥa-lu
866	Mannu-dan-il-ana-il (?)		833	Ulul-ai
865	Šamaš-bi'l-ušur		832	Šar-pa-ti-bi'l
864	Adar-malik		831	Nîrgal . . . . .
863	Adar-iḫi-ir-an-ni		830	Iḫu(?) -ba-ai
862	Ašur-malik		829	Ilu-mukîn-aḥ
861	Nîrgal-iz-ka[?] -dau-in			

<sup>1)</sup> Var. Mit(?) -a-ku Ašurn. II, 49 (Del.). — <sup>2)</sup> Var. ka-ni, Salm. Mon. II, 30 (Del.). — <sup>3)</sup> Is omitted according to Del. in Frgm. Rassam. — <sup>4)</sup> So Frgm. Rass. — <sup>5)</sup> Bir (Rass.). — <sup>6)</sup> Norr. Dict. 402; comp. also 401.

B. C.	Can. I.	B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.	Can. III.
828	Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu, šarru	792	. . . . ba-ša(gar)-ni		Bi'l-ba-ša(gar)-a-ni
827	Dân-Ašur	791	. . . . Šamaš		Nîr-Šamaš
826	Ašur-bâni-ai-ušur	790	. . . . ukîn-aḥ		Adar-ukîn-aḥ
825	Ja-ḥa-[lu]	789			Rammân-mu-šam-mir
824	Bil-ban-[ai]	788			Šil <sup>9</sup> -Ištar
823	Šam-[-ši-Rammân, šarru]	787			Ba-la-ḥu <sup>4</sup>
822	Ja-ḥa-lu	786			Rammân-u-bal-liḥ
821	Bi'l-dan-ilu (dân?)	785			Marduk-šar-ušur
820	Adar-upaḥbir <sup>4</sup> )	784	. . . . . ušur		Nabû-šar-ušur
819	Šamaš-malik	783	. . . . nâši-ir		Adar-nâšir
818	Nîrgal-maliḥ	782	[Nal]bar(?)-li'		Nalbar(?)-li'
817	Ašur-bâni-ai-ušur	781	Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu, šarru	Šul . . . . .	Šul-ma-nu-ašaridu, šarru
816	Šar-pa-ti-i-bi'l	780	Šam-ši-ilu	Šam . . . . .	Šam-ši-ilu
815	Bi'l-ba-laḥ	779	. . . . lid-a-ni	Marduk . . . . .	Marduk-lid-a-ni
814	Mu-sik-niš	778	. . . muštîšir	Bi'l . . . . .	Bi'l-muštîšir
813	Nîrgal	777	. . . . pur-uki-in	Nabû- . . . . .	Nabû-pur-ukîn
812	Šamaš-ku-mu-u-a	776	. . . . la-ḥabal	Pan-Ašur . . . . .	. . . Ašur-la(?) . . .
811	Bi'l-ḫat-ša-bat	775	[Nîr]gal-issi-iš	Nîr . . . . .	



B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.	B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.
810	Rammân-nirâri, šarru		774	Istar-dûr	Is . . . . .
809	Nîrgal-malik	Can. V (?).	773	Man-nu-ki-Rammân	
808	. . . -dan-ilu (dân ?)	Bîl-dan-ilu (dân ?)	772	Ašur-bîl-ušur	
807	. . . . . bîl	Šîl-Bîl	771	Ašur-dau-ilu (dân ?), šarru	
806	Aš . . . . . kil	Ašur-tak-kil	770	Šam-ši-ilu	
		Can. II.	769	Bîl-malik	
805	Ilu-itti-ja (?)	Ilu . . . . .	768	Abal-ja (Can. V -ai)	
804	Nîr . . . . .	Nîrgal-išši-[iš]	767	Ķur-di-Ašur	
803	Ašur-ur- . . . . .	Ašur-ur-niši	766	Mu-šallim-Adar	
802	Adar . . . . .	Adar-malik	765	Adar-[ukîn]-niši	
801	Nîr-[šar]	Nîr . . . . .	764	Šî-[id-ki]-ilu	
800	Ilu . . . . .		763	Pur-[il(?)]Sa-gal-i](Can.V)	
799	Mu-tak-kil . . . . .		762	Tâb-Bîl	
798	Bîl-tarši-ualbar(AN-MA?)		761	Adar-ukîn-aḥ	
797	Ašur-bîl-[ušur]		760	La-ki-bu	
796	Marduk-šadu-u-a		759	Pan-Ašur-la-ḥabal	
795	Ukîn-abu-u-a		758	Bîl-tak-kil	
794	Man-nur-ki-mât(?)-Aššur		757	Adar-iddin	
793	Mu-šallim-Adar <sup>2</sup> )				

<sup>1</sup>) So according to Epon 875. In the text stands the Ideogr. UP. LA. — <sup>2</sup>) Var. Mu-šal-lim Rass. — <sup>3</sup>) Var. IŠ. MI (Ideogr.) Rass. — <sup>4</sup>) Between 788 and 787 the Frgm. Rass. interpolates an eponym Nabû-šar-ušur, and between 786 and 785 one of the name Marduk(?)-šar-ušur. We should thus have *four* proper names ending in -šar-ušur following almost immediately after one another, and among these we should have twice over exactly the same name (Nabû-šar-ušur)! It is evident that we have here dittographic errors.

B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.	Can. III.	Can. IV.	Contemporary events.
756	Bīl-šadu-u-a				
755	Ki-i-su				
754	Adar-ši-zib-a-ni				
753	Ašur-nirāri, šarru		Ašur-nir . . . . .	. . . nirāri, šar māt Aššur	
752	Šam-ši-ilu		Šam-ši . . . . .	. . . si-ilu	
751	Marduk-šallim . . . . .		Marduk-šal-lim-a . . . . .	. . . šallim-an-ūi	
750	Bīl-dan . . . . .		Bīl-dan-ilu (dān?)	. . . dan-ihu (dān?)	
749	Šamaš-ittalak . . . . .		Šamaš-ittalak-šun (?)	Šamaš-ittalak-šun (?)	
748	Rammān-bīl-ukūn	Rammān-bīl-ukūn	Rammān-bīl-ukūn	Ašur (sic!)-bīl-ukūn	
747	Sin-šallim-an-ūi	Sin-šal-lim-a . . . . .	Sin-šal-lim-a-ūi	Sin-šal-lim-an-ūi	
746	Nīngal-nāši-ir	Nīngal-nāši-ir	Nīngal-nāši-ir	Nīngal-nāši-ir	
745	Nabū-bīl-ušur	Nabū-bīl-ušur	Nabū-bīl-ušur	. . . . . bīl-ušur	
744	Bīl-dan-ihu (dān?)	Bīl-dan-ihu (dān?)	Bīl-dan-ihu (dān?)	. . . . . māt Aššur <sup>1)</sup>	
743	Tuklat-abal-šarra	Tuklat-abal-šarra, šarru			
742	Nabū-dan-in-an-ni	Nabū-dan-in-an-ni			Nineteen Hamathite districts revolt to Azri-jāhu (Uzzabab).
741	Bīl-Harran-bīl-ušur	Bīl-(ir)Harran-bīl-ušur			
740	Nabū-ḫi-ir-an-ūi	Nabū-ḫi-ir-a-ni			
737	Sin-tak-kil	Sin-tak-kil			

738	Rammân-bîl-ukîn	Rammân-uki-in (sic!)	
737	Bîl-îmur-an-ni	Bîl-îmur-a-ni	
736	Adar-malik	Adar-malik	
735	Ašur-šal-îm-au-ni	Ašur-šal-îm-au-ni	
734	Bîl-dau-ilu (dân?)	Bîl-dan-ilu (dân?)	
733	Ašur-dan-in-au-ni	Ašur-dan-in-a-ni	
732	Nabû-bîl-ušur	Nabû-bîl-ušur	
731	Nîrgal-u-bal-liš	Nîrgal-u-bal-liš	
730	Bîl-îu-da-ri	Bîl-îu-dâ-ri	
729	Nap-ḥar-îlu		
728	Dûr-Ašur		
727	Bîl-Îarran-bîl-ušur		
726	Marduk-bîl-ušur		
725	Maḥ-dî-î		
724	Ašur-ḥal . . .		
723	Šul-ma-nu-ašâriḍu <sup>2)</sup>		
722	Adar-malik	Adar . . . . .	

Tribute of Menahem of Samaria, Rezin of Damascus and Hiram of Tyre.

Expedition to Pilista. Defeat of Peḳah of Samaria. Tribute of Jahuzazi (Aḥaz) of Juda.

Expedition to Damascus. Rezin killed.

Merodach-Baladan offers homage to the Great King at Sapija.

Peḳah killed. Tiglath-pileser sets up Auzi' (Hoshea) as king of the land of the house Omri.

Beginning of the siege of Samaria.

Its continuation.

Fall of Samaria. Sargon ascends the throne.

<sup>1)</sup> Del. — <sup>2)</sup> Var. Šul-man-ašâriḍu.

B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.	Can. III.	Can. IV.	Contemporary events.
721	Nabû-târi-iš		Nabû . . . . .		1st year of Sargon and 1st year of Merodach-Baladan, king of Babel. Defeat of Merodach-Baladan. Settlement of Babylonians in the land Chatti.
720	Ašur-iš-ka(?)-dan-in		Ašur-iš-ka . . . . .		Defeat of Sab'i of Aegypt, at Raphia. Capture of Hanno of Gaza.
719	Šar-ukîn		Šar-ukîn, šarru		
718	. . . -bâni		Zîr-bâni	Zîr-bâni	
717	Tâb-šâr-Ašur		(no interval!)	Tâb-[šâr]-Ašur	
716	Tâb-šil-šarra		Tâb-šil . . . . .	Tâb-šil-šarra	
715	. . . -kil-ana-Bîl		Tak-kil-a . . . . .	Tâk-kil-ana-Bîl	
714	Ištar-dûr		Ištar . . . . .	Ištar-dûr	
713	Ašur-ba-ni			Ašur-ba-ni	
712	Šarru-îmur-an-ni			Šarru-îmur-an-ni	
711	Adar-âlik-pan			Adar-a-lik-pan	Capture of Ashdod.
710	Šamaš-bîl-ušur	. . . . bîl-ušur		Šamaš-bîl-ušur	War with Merodach-Baladan. 12th year of his reign.
709	Man-nu-ki-Ašur-lî'	. . . . ki-Ašur-lî'	Can. V (VI) (II R. 69).	Man-nu-ki-Ašur-lî'	Sargon "king of Babel". First year.
708	Šamaš-upaḥ-ḥir	. . . . u-pa-ḥir	Šam[âš-] . . . . .	Šamaš-u-pa-ḥir <sup>1)</sup>	

707	Ša-Ašur-du-bu	. . . [A]šur-du-ub-bu	Ša-Ašur-du-ub-bu	Dūr-Šarrukīn built and named.
706	Mu-tak-kil-Ašur	. . . tak-kil-Ašur	Mu-tak-kil-Ašur	
705	Upaḥḥir-Bīl	{ (Sin)-aḥi-irib, šarru Upaḥḥir-ra-Bīl	Upaḥḥir-Bīl <sup>3)</sup>	Death (Assassination?) of Sargon. Sennacherib (Sannacherib) ascends the throne on the 12th Ab. First year.
704	Nabû-di-ni-ipu-uš (III R. I Var. : -di-i-ni-)	Nabû-di-ni-ipu-uš	{ . . . aḥi-irib šar mât Aššur	War with Merodach-Baladan. His embassy to Hezekiah.
703	Kar-šil(?)-ai	Kar-šil(?)-ai	. . . di-ni-ipu-uš	Belibus placed on the throne.
702	Nabû-li'	Nabû-li'	. . . šil (?) . . .	Belibus, king of Babel. First year.
701	. . . na . . .	Ḥa-na-[nu]	Nabû . . . . .	Sennacherib's campaign against Aegypt - Judaea. Siege of Jerusalem.
700	. . . tu . . .	Mi' . . . . .		Campaign of Sennacherib against Suzub of Babylon
699	[Bīl]-šar[a-ni] <sup>5)</sup>	Bīl . . . . .		ASORDAN-AŠUR-NĀDIN-SUM.
698	. . . mu-šar	Šul-[mu-šar]		
697	. . . dūr-ušur	Nabu-[dūr-ušur]	Šu-lum-[šar] (No. 19)	Ašurnâdin (Aparnad), king of Babel. First year.

<sup>1)</sup> According to III R. 2 No. X; there also exists a Var. u-paḥ-ḥir. — <sup>2)</sup> Del. conjectures a mistake in the edition. — <sup>3)</sup> Rass. : u-pa-ḥir. The same Canon has, like VI and V, no dividing line between 706 and 705. — <sup>4)</sup> See the text of the tablet in Lepsius' Aegypt. Zeitschrift 1870 p. 35; also Rassam's cyl. — <sup>5)</sup> Comp. III R. 48. No. 2, 68. — Del.

B. C.	Can. I.	Can. II.	Can. III.	Can. IV.	Contemporary events.
696	(Tab?)-Bi'l		Can. V (VI).		
695	. . . bi'l-ušur	Ašur-[bi'l-ušur]	flu-itti-ja <sup>1</sup> (No. 22)		
694	. . . itti-ja		Nâdi-ni-aḫi (No. 23)		
693	Nâdin-aḫi		Za-za-a(ku?) (No. 24)		
692	Za-za-ai				
691	Bi'l-šmur-a-ni				
690	Nabû-mukin-aḫ				
689	Gi-ḫi-lu				
688	Nâdin-aḫi		Can. III. Nâdin-[aḫi]		
687	Sin-aḫi-irib		————— (?) <sup>2</sup>		
686	. . . šmur-an-ni		Ašur(sic!)-aḫi-[irib]		
685	. . . dân-in-an-ni		Bi'l-šmur-a-ni		
684	. . . zi-ir(V. za-ar)-ni-i		Ašur-dân-in-a-ni		
683	. . . ki-Rammân		Man(V.ma)-nu-zâr-ni-i		
682	. . . šar-ušur		Man-nu-ki-Rammân		
681	. . . aḫ-išši-iš		Nabû-sar-ušur		
	[Ašur]-aḫ-iššidin ina kussi it-tu-šib		Nabû-aḫ-išši-iš		Murder of Sennacherib (according to the Bible). Asarhaddon ascends the throne.

680	Da-na-nu	Da-na-(V. a)nu	First year of Asaridin i. e. Asarhaddon as king of Babel accord. to the Ptolem. Canon.
679	Ta-an-im-a-ni-nu (?) <sup>3)</sup>	Da (Ta? Del.)-an-im-ni (?) <sup>3)</sup>	
678	Nīrgal-šar-ušur	Nabû-Nīrgal-šar-ušur	
677	Abu-ra-mu	Abu-ra-mu	
676	Ba-am-ba-a	Ba-am-ba-[a] (V. Ba-an, Ban-)	Manasseh of Juda tributary to the Great King.
675	Abu-aḫi-iddi-na		
674	Šarru-nu-ri		
673	A-tar-ihu		
672	Nabû-bīl-ušur		Asarhaddon causes the eyelid-inscription A to be set up.
671	Tībit-ai		
670	Šul-mu-bīl-la-aš-šib(?)		
669	Šamaš-kāšid-aibi		
668	Mar-la-ar-mī (V. la-rim)		Sardanapal - Asurbanipal ascends the throne on the 12th Ijar.
667	Ga-ab(V. Gab-)-ba-ru		First year Saosduchim-Šamaš-šum-ukīn, king of Babel. Manasseh of Juda tributary to the Great King.
666	. . . . -ai		
. . .	. . . . .		

<sup>1)</sup> II R. 47 No. 8 l. 63 : *Ilu-itti-ia* (III R. 1; Del.). — <sup>2)</sup> So accord. to II R. 69 and Del. 91; III l. 1 does not mark a dividing line. If there was one there, it must be regarded like that in Canon I between 829 and 828 and in Canon III between 720 and 719. See Keilinsch, u. Gesch. p. 307 footnote\*. The Variants in the names of the eponyms from 680 onwards follow other tablets. — <sup>3)</sup> Perhaps we ought to transcribe *Ištu-Kammân-aninu*.

## II.

## THE EPONYM-LISTS WITH ADDENDA (LISTS OF GOVERNORS).

## A.

II Rawl. pl. 52. Del. ALS<sup>2</sup>. 92—94.

Text.

## 1. Obverse.

817. [Ašur-bâni-ai-ušur] . . . . . A-na mât Til(?)-li-[f].  
 816. [Šar-pati-bi' ša ir Na]-ši-bi-na. A-na mât Za-ra-a-ti.  
 815. [Bi'l-ba-laṭ ša] . . . . nu . A-na ir Di-ri. Ilu rabû a-na ir Di-ri  
 it-ta-lak.  
 814. [Mu-šik-niš ša mât] Kir-ru-ri. A-na mât Iḫ(Aḫ, Uḫ?)-sa-ua.  
 813. [Nirgal ša mât] Šal-lat(?). A-na mât Kal-di.  
 812. [Šamaš-ku-mu-u-a ša mât] Arba-ḫa. A-na Bâbilu.  
 811. [Bil-ḫat-ša-bat ša ir] Ma-za-mu-a. I-na mât.
- 
810. [Rammân-nirâri, šar mât] Aššur. A-na mât A. A. <sup>1)</sup>.  
 809. [Nirgal-malik avil tur]-ta-nu. A-na ir Gu-za-na.  
 808. [Bi'l-dan-ilu av. . . . . (?)] híkal. A-na mât Man-na-ai.  
 807. [Šil-Bi'l av. rab]-hi-lub <sup>2)</sup>. A-na mât Man-na-ai.  
 806. [Ašur-tak-kil av.] tukultu. A-na mât Ar-pad-da.  
 805. [Ilu . . . avil ša] mât. A-na ir Ḫa-za-zi.  
 804. [Nirgal-iššiš ša mât Ra]-ṣap-pa. A-na ir Ba-'-li.  
 803. [Ašur-ur-niši ša mât Ar]ba-ḫa. A-na kišad tiámtiv. Mu-ta-nu.  
 802. [Adar-malik ša ir A]-ḫi nâr Zu-ḫi-na. A-na ir Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a.
801. [Ni'r-šar ša ir Na]-šib-i-na. A-na mât A. A.  
 800. [Ilu . . . ša ir] A-mí-di. A-na mât A. A.  
 799. [Mutakkil-. . . ] avil rab-saḫ-i (Pl.). Ana mât Lu-u-ši-a.

<sup>1)</sup> A country which has not yet been definitely ascertained, but undoubtedly lying East of Assyria; see "Insc. of Tigl.-Pileser II" p. 26 note 1. — <sup>2)</sup> We retain the transcription hitherto adopted since we are not in a position to give a better. The meaning also remains a matter of uncertainty.



## II.

## THE EPONYM-LISTS WITH ADDENDA (LISTS OF GOVERNORS).

## A.

## II Rawl. pl. 52.

## Translation.

## 1. Obverse.

817. *Asurbaniaiusur* . . . . . To the land *Tū[ī]* . . . . .
816. *Sarpatibel of Nisibis*. To the land *Zarati*.
815. *Belbalaš* . . . . . *nu*. To the city *Diri*. The great god entered into the town *Diri*.
814. *Musiknis of Kirruri*. To the land *Ichsana (Achsana etc.)*
813. *Nergal [of] Sallat (?)*. To the land of the *Chaldees*.
812. *Samaskumūa of Arbacha*. To *Babylon*.
811. *Bilkatšabat of Mazamua*. In the land.
- 
810. *Rammāunirār, king of Assyria*. To the land *A. A.*
809. *Nergalnalik, Tartan*. To the city *Gozan*.
808. *Beldanil, captain of the palace-guard*<sup>2)</sup>. To the land *Man*.
807. *Zilbel, Rabbilub (?)*. To the land *Man*.
806. *Asurtakkil, Minister*. To the land *Arpad*.
805. *Il* . . . . . captain of the land. To the city *Chazazi*.
804. *Nirgalešsis (?) of the land Rezeph*. To the city *Ba'li*.
803. *Asururūsi of Arbacha*. To the sea-coast. *Pestilence*.
802. *Adarmalik of the city on the river Zuchina*. To the town *Chubuskia*.
801. *Nersar of Nisibis*. To the land *A. A.*
800. *Mardukbelušur of Amid*. To the land *A. A.*
799. *Mutakkil*- . . . . ., chief of the captains. To the land *Lūsia*.

<sup>1)</sup> In the lithographed text (II Rawl. 52) Obverse and Reverse are interchanged. On this see *Theol. Studien u. Kritiken* 1871, p. 681 footnote. — <sup>2)</sup> According to *Oppert, L'Étalon* p. 8 foll. the phrase properly means "man of the Sar (= 3600) of the palace".

- 482 798. [Bīl-tar[(ši nalbar?)] ša ír] Kal-ḫi. A-na mât Nam-ri.  
 797. [Ašur-bīl-[(ušur)] ša mât] Kir-ru-ri. A-na ír Man-šu-a-ti.  
 796. [Marduk-šadûa . . .] Šal-lat (?). A-na ír Di-í-ri.  
 795. [Ukîn-abua ša mât] Tuš-ḫa-an. A-na ír Di-í-ri.  
 794. [Mannu-ki-mât (?) Aššur ša ír] Gu-za-na. A-na mât A. A.  
 793. [Mušallim-Adar] ša Til-li-í. A-na mât A. A.  
 792. [Bīl-baša(gar)ni ša] ír Mí-ḫi-niš. A-na mât Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a.  
 791. [Nīr-Šamaš ša mât] I-ša-na. A-na mât I-tu'-a.  
 790. [Adar-ukin-aḫ] ša ír Ni-nu-a. A-na mât A. A.  
 789. [Rammân-mušammir ša ír] Kak(?) -zi. A-na mât A. A.  
 788. [Šil-Ištar ša (. . .)] -ki. Kar-ru.  
 787. [Balātu ša Sibaniba] <sup>1)</sup>. A-na mât A. A. Nabû ana bit NI  
 i-ta-rab.  
 786. [Rammân-uballit ša ír Ri]-mu-si (?). Ana mât-Ki . . ki <sup>2)</sup>.  
 785. [Marduk-šar-ušur . . .]. Ana mât Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a. Ilu rabû  
 a-na ír Di-ri [it-ta]-lak.  
 784. [Nabû-šar-ušur [Mab (?) -ba-] an. A-na mât Ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a.  
 783. [Adar-nâšir ša ír] Ma-za-mu-a. Ana mât I-tu'.  
 782. [Nalbar(?) -li' ša ír Našib-]i-na <sup>3)</sup>. A-na mât I-tu'.
- 
781. [Šulmanu-ašâridu šar mât] Aššur. A-na mât Ur-ar-ṭi.  
 780. [Šamši-ilu] <sub>4</sub> tur-ta-nu. A-na mât Ur-ar-ṭi.  
 779. [Marduk-lidani] rab-bi-lub. Ana mât Ur-ar-ṭi.  
 778. [Bīl-[muštīšir] rab (?) íkal. Ana mât Ur-ar-ṭi.  
 777. [Nabû-pur-ukin] tukulti. A-na mât I-tu'.  
 776. [Pan-Ašur-la-ḫabal] ša mât. Ana mât Ur-ar-ṭi.  
 775. [Nirgal-iššiš] ša mât Ra-šap-pa. Ana mât í-ri-ni.  
 774. [Ištar-dûr] ša ír Na-ši-bi-na. Ana mât Ur-ar-ṭi, mât Nam-ri.  
 773. [Mannu-ki-Rammân ša ír] Šal-lat (?). Ana ír Di-maš-ka.  
 772. [Ašur-bīl-ušur ša] ír Kal-ḫi. A-na mât Ḫa-ta-ri-ka <sup>4)</sup>.
- 
771. [Ašur-dau-ilu (dân?) šar mât] Aššur. Ana ír Ga-na-na-a-ti.  
 770. [Šamši-ilu tur]-ta-nu. A-na ír Ma-ra-ad (?) <sup>5)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> These words are supplied by Smith.—Whence? — <sup>2)</sup> Smith supplies Kiski (?). — <sup>3)</sup> The names of eponyms for the years 782—759 are still preserved on a special fragment of the list of governors. See Delitzsch *Assyr. Lesestücke* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. — <sup>4)</sup> Here we have the dividing line acc. to the photograph lying before me, confirmed by G. Smith and Fried. Delitzsch (against H Rawl.); Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 309 footnote 1. — <sup>5)</sup> So Delitzsch. *Comp. Parad.* p. 220.

798. *Beltaršinalbar* (?) of *Kalah*. To the land *Namri*. 483  
 797. *Asubīlušur* of *Kirruri*. To *Mansuati*.  
 796. *Marduksadua* of *Sallat* (?). To the city *Di'ri*.  
 795. *Ukinabua* of *Tuschan*. To the city *Di'ri*.  
 794. *Mannuki-Assur* of *Gozan*. To the land *A. A.*  
 793. *Musallim-Adar* of *Tilli*. To the land *A. A.*  
 792. *Belbasani* (?) of *Michinis*. To the land *Chubuskia*.  
 791. *Ner-Samas* of *Isana*. To the land *Ituh*.  
 790. *Adarukinach* of *Niniveh*. To the land *A. A.*  
 789. *Rammân-musammir* of *Kak*(?)*zi*. To the land *A. A.*  
 788. *Zil-Istar* of . . . *ki* . . . .  
 787. *Balaš* of *Sibanibi*. To the land *A. A.* *Nebo* entered the new (?)  
     *temple*.  
 786. *Rammânuballit* of *Rimusi*. To the land *Ki* . . . *ki*.  
 785. *Marduksarušur*. To the land *Chubuskia*. The great god made  
     his entrance into *Di'ri*.  
 784. *Nebošarušur* . . . . . Into the land *Chubuskia*.  
 783. *Adarnašir* of *Mazamua*. To the land *Ituh*.  
 782. *Nalbartih* of *Nisibis*. To the land *Ituh*.  


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 781. *Salmanassar*, king of *Assyria*. To *Armenia*.  
 780. *Samsül*, *Tartan*. To *Armenia*.  
 779. *Marduklidanni*, *Rabbilub*. To *Armenia*.  
 778. *Belmustesir*, commander of the palace. To *Armenia*.  
 777. *Nebopurukin*, *Münister*. To the land *Ituh*.  
 776. *Panasurlachabal*, commander of the country. To *Armenia*.  
 775. *Nergaleses* of *Rezeph*. To the cedar-country.  
 774. *Istarduri* of *Nisibis*. To *Armenia*, the land *Namri*.  
 773. *Mannuki-Rammân* of *Sallat* (?). To the city *Damaskus*.  
 772. *Asurbelušur* of *Chalah*. To the land *Hadrach*.  


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 771. *Asurdanil* (?), king of *Assyria*. To the city *Gananat*.  
 770. *Samsül*, *Tartan*. To the city *Marad* <sup>1)</sup>.

<sup>1)</sup> See footnote 5 on p. 190.

## 2. Reverse.

769. [Bíl-malik ša mât] Arba-ḥa. A-na mât I-tu-'<sup>1</sup>).
768. [Abalja ša ír Ma]-za-mu-a. In-a mât.
767. [Kürdi-Ašur ša ír a]ḥi nâr Zu-ḥi-na. A-na mât Gan-na-na(a)-ti.
766. [Mušallim-Adar ša ír] Til-í. A-na mât A. A.
765. [Adar-(ukin)-niši ša] mât Kir-ru-ri. A-na mât Ḥa-ta-ri-ka. Mu-ta-nu.
764. [Si(dki)-ilu ša] mât Tuš-ḥa-an. I-na mât. 2)
- 
763. [Pur-(il-ša-gal-í ša ír Gu-za-na. Si-ḥu ina ír Lib-zu<sup>3</sup>). I-na arah Sivanu šamšu atalâ ištak-an.
762. [Tâb-Bíl ša ír A-mí-dí. Si-ḥu ina ír Lib-zu<sup>3</sup>).
761. [Adar-[ukin-aḥ ša] ír Ni-nu-a. Si-ḥu ina ír Arba-ḥa.
760. [Laḫibu ša] ír Kak(?) -zi. Si-ḥu ina ír Arba-ḥa.
759. [Pan-Ašur-la-ḥabal ša] ír Arba-ilu. Si-ḥu ina ír Gu-za-na. Mu-ta-nu.
758. [Bíl-takkil ša] ír I-sa-na. Ana ír Gu-za-na. Šul-mu ina mât.
757. [Adar-iddin ša] ír Nat(?) -ban. Ina mât.
756. [Bíl-šadûa ša] ír (Par?) -nun-na. Ina mât.
755. [Kišu ša ír] Mí-ḥi-ni-iš. Ana mât (Var. ír) Ḥa-ta-ri-ka.
754. [Adar-šízibani ša ír] Ri-mu-si. A-na mât (Var. ír) Ar-pad-da. Ištu ír Ašur ta-ai-ar-tav<sup>4</sup>).
- 
753. [Ašur-nirâri šar mât] Aššur. I-na mât.
752. [Šamši-ilu, tur-]ta-nu. I-na mât.
751. [Marduk-šallimani avíl ní'r] íkal. I-na mât.
750. [Bíl-dan-ilu (?), rab] hi lub (?). I-na mât.
749. [Šamaš-ittalak šun (?)], tukultu. A-na mât Nam-ri.
748. [Rammân-bíl-ukin] ša mât. A-na mât Nam-ri.

<sup>1</sup>) In lines 1—9 the corresponding names of the list have been subsequently discovered on this very list in a fragment belonging to the tablet, as I have personally ascertained on my first visit to London (1875). Compare also Delitzsch's *Assyr. Lesestücke* 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. where it is published. — <sup>2</sup>) This line is omitted in K. 3403 (Del.). Comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 310 footnote 2. — <sup>3</sup>) -zu is probably to be read (with Rawl.) instead of ír the phonetic value of a closely resembling sign which, according to Delitzsch, the tablet exhibits. On the photograph of the list, which lies before me, the sign is no longer to be clearly distinguished. A town with the name Lib-ír has not been found in any other passage. — <sup>4</sup>) So Delitzsch and the photograph that lies before me.

## 2. Reverse.

485

769. *Bel-malik of Arbacha. To the land Ituk.*  
 768. *Abalja of Mazamua. In the country.*  
 767. *Kurdi-Assur of Achi-Zuchina<sup>1</sup>). To the land Gananût.*  
 766. *Musallim-Adar of Tili. To the river-country.*  
 765. *Adarukinnisi of Kurruri. To the land Hadrach. Mortal disease (pestilence).*  
 764. *Zidküil of Tushan. In the country.*
- 
763. *Purilsagalî of Gozan. Disturbances in Libzu<sup>1</sup>). In the month Swan the Sun suffered an eclipse.*  
 762. *Ṭabbel of Amid. Disturbances in Libzu<sup>2</sup>).*  
 761. *Adarukinach of Niniveh. Disturbances in Arbacha.*  
 760. *Lakib of Kak(?)zi. Disturbances in the city Arbacha.*  
 759. *Pan-Asur-lachabal of Arbela. Disturbances in Gozan. Mortal illness (pestilence).*  
 758. *Beltakkil of Isana. To Gozan. Peace in the country.*  
 757. *Adar-iddin of Natban(?). In the country.*  
 756. *Belsadûa of Parnunna. In the country.*  
 755. *Kisu of Michinis. Into the land Hadrach.*  
 754. *Adar-sezibani of Rimusi. Into the land Arpad. Return from the city Asur.*
- 
753. *Asurnîrâr, king of Assyria. In the country.*  
 752. *Samsûil, Tartan. In the country.*  
 751. *Marduksallimani, commander of the palace. In the country.*  
 750. *Beldanil, rabbilub. In the country(?).*  
 749. *Samasittalak . . . , minister. To the land Namri.*  
 748. *Rammûnbelukin, commander of the country. To the land Namri.*

<sup>1</sup>) See footnote 3 on p. 195. — <sup>2</sup>) See footnote on p. 192.

- 486 747. [Sin-šallim-ani, ša mât] Ra-šap-pa. I-na mât.  
 746. [Nírgal-nâšir ša ír] Na-ši-bi-na. Si-ḥu ina ír Kal-ḥi.
- 
745. [Nabû-bíl-ušur ša] ír Arba-ḥa. Ina araḥ Airu ūm XIII  
 Tuklat-abal-išarra ina kussi it-tu-šib;  
 ina araḥ Tašritu a-na bi-rit nâri it-ta-lak.  
 744. [Bíl-dan-ilu ša] ír Kal-ḥi. A-na mât Nam-ri.  
 743. [Tuklat-abal-išarra] šar mât Aššur. I-na ír Ar-pad-da.  
 [Di-ik-tav ša mât Ur-ar-ṭi di-kit<sup>1</sup>).  
 742. [Nabû-dânin-ani] tur-ta-nu. A-na ír Ar-pad-da.  
 741. [Bíl-Ḥarran-bíl-ušur] avíl šar íkal. A-na ír Ar-pad-da. Ana  
 III. šanâti ka-šid.  
 740. [Nabû-ítir-ani] rab-bi-lub. A-na ír Ar-pad-da.  
 739. [Sin-takkil] tukultu. Ana mât Ul-lu-ba, ír Bir-tu. Šab-ta-at.
738. [Rammân-bil-ukîn] ša mât. Ír Gul-la-ni ka-šid.
737. [Bíl-ímur-ani] ša mât Ra-šap-pa. A-na mât A. A.  
 736. [Adar-malik] ša Na-ši-bi-na. A-na šípâ šadi Na-al.  
 735. [Ašur-šallim-ani] ša mât Arba-ḥa. Ana mât Ur-ar-ṭi.  
 734. [Bíl-dan-ilu] ša ír Kal-ḥa. A-na mât Pi-lis-ta.  
 733. [Ašur-dânin-ani] ša ír Ma-za-mu-a. Ana mât Di-maš-ka.  
 732. [Nabû-bíl-ušur] ša ír Si-'mí-í. Ana mât Di-maš-ka.  
 731. [Nírgal-uballit] ša ír a-ḥi nâr Zu-ḥi-na. Ana ír Ša-pi-ja.  
 730. [Bíl ludari] ša ír Til-í. I-na mât.  
 729. [Nap-ḥar-ilu] ša mât Kir-ru-ri. Šarru katâ Bíl išša-bat.  
 728. [Dûr-Ašur] ša ír<sup>2</sup>) . . . . .

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<sup>1</sup>) So Sayce correctly reads. — <sup>2</sup>) The sign for ír 'town' stands on the photographed tablet lying before me. — The dividing line is still quite clearly visible as far as ša ír.

747. *Sinsallimani, of Rezep. In the country.* 487
746. *Nergalnaşir of the town Nisibis. Disturbances in Kalah.*
- 
745. *Nabubeluşur of Arbacha. On the thirteenth of Ijjar. Tiglath-Pileser placed himself on the throne; In the month Tishri<sup>1)</sup> he marched to the river.*
744. *Beldanil of the town Chalah. To the land Namri.*
743. *Tiglath-Pileser, king of Assyria. In the town Arpad. The troops of Armenia were slain.*
742. *Nabudaninani, tartan. To the city Arpad.*
741. *Bel-Charran-uşur, commander of the Palace. To the same city. In three years he took it.*
740. *Nabuişirani, rabbilub(?). To the city Arpad.*
739. *Sintakkil, minister. To the land Ulluba, the city Birtu. Conquests<sup>2)</sup>.*
738. *Rammânbelukin, Commander of the palace. captures the town Gullani.*
737. *Belemurani of Rezep. To the land A. A.*
736. *Adarmalik of Nisibis. To the foot of the mountain Nal.*
735. *Asursallimani of Arbacha. To Armenia.*
734. *Beldanil of Chalah. To Philistia.*
733. *Asurdaninani of Mazamua. To Damaskus.*
732. *Nabubeluşur of Simi'. To Damaskus.*
731. *Nergaluballit of Achi-Zuchina<sup>3)</sup>. To the city Sapija.*
730. *Belludari of Tili'. In the country.*
729. *Napcharilu of Kurruri. The king takes the hands of Bel.*
728. *Dur-Asur of the city . . . . .*

<sup>1)</sup> That is five months after his accession. — <sup>2)</sup> Geo. Smith's translation: "the city of Birtu built" is grammatically impossible. Comp. also III Rawl. 9, 33 foll. — <sup>3)</sup> Signifies "(city) on the river Zuchina."

**B.**Fragment copied by the author<sup>1)</sup>.

T e x t.

732.	. . . . . -í		. . . . .
731.	. . . . . Zu-ḫi-na		a-na . . . . .
730.	. . . . . -í		i- . . . . .
729.	. . . . . -ri		šarru ḳat . . . . .
728.	. . . . . -an šarru ḳat Bil <sup>2)</sup>		išša-bat ír Di . . . . .
<hr/>			
727.	. . . . . -na		a-na mât <sup>3)</sup> . . . . .
	. . . . . -nu(?)-ašâridu		ina kus[si it-tu-šib] . . . . .
726.	. . . . . -di		i-[na . . . . .
725.	. . . . . Ninua		a-na . . . . .
724.	. . . . . -zi		a-na . . . . .
723.	. . . . . [mât Aššur]-KI		a-[na . . . . .
	. . . . .		. . . . . <sup>4)</sup>

**C.**

II Rawl. 69. Fragm. No. 5.

T e x t.

Lim-mí		Ša[maš] . . . . . rabûti. A-na ír Ḳu-muḫ-ḫi . . . . .
Lim-mí		Ša-Ašur-du-ub-bu avíl ša-laṭ ír Tuš-ḫa-[an] . . . . . is-su-uḫ-ra íkalâti šal-lu . . . . . Araḫ Tašritu ûm XXII. ilâ-ni ša ír Dûr-Šarrukîn . . . . .
Lim-mí		Mu-takkil-Ašur avíl ša-laṭ ír Gu-za-na. Šarru mu . . . . . Araḫ Airu ûm VI. ír Dûr-Šarrukîn . . . . .
Lim-mí		Upaḫḫir-Bi'l avíl ša-laṭ ír A-mí-di . . . . . Bi'l-ka-iš-pa-i(?) avíl Ku-lum-ma-ai . . . . . avíl tidûku ma-dak-tav ša šar mât Aššur . . . . .
Lim-mí		Araḫ Abu ûm XII. Sin-aḫi-irib [ina kussi it-tu-šib]. Nabû-di-ni-ipu-uš avíl ša-laṭ ír Ninua . . . . . ír La-rak(?) ír Sa-rab-a-nu . . . . . íkal ša ír Kak(?)-zi í-pi-iš ka . . . . . rabû bi-ka(?) . . . . .

<sup>1)</sup> Comp. G. Smith, Transactions Soc. Bibl. Arch. II, 2, 330 sq.; F. Del., Assyrische Lesestücke 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 94; the author in Jahrbh. f. Prot. Theol. 1875 S. 324. — <sup>2)</sup> In the List of Governors stands the dual ḳatâ. So also Delitzsch. — <sup>3)</sup> Delitzsch reads ír. — <sup>4)</sup> The rest of the dividing line is still clearly visible.



## B.

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## Fragment copied by the author.

## Translation.

732.	[Nabubelusur of Sim]'	[To Damaskus]
731.	[Nergaluballit of Achi- Zuchina.	To [the city Sapija]
730.	[Belludari of Til]'	In the [country]
729.	[Napcharilu of Kirru]ri	The king the hand [of Bel seizes]
728.	[Dur-Asur of Tusch[an <sup>1</sup> ]. city Di[ri]	The king the hand of Bel seizes. The
<hr/>		
727.	[Bel-Charran-belusur of Goz]an	To the country (city?) . . . . .
	. . . . . Salman]assar	on the thr[one placed himself]
726.	[Merodachbelusur of Amid]	In the . . . . .
725.	[Machdi of] Niniveh	To . . . . .
724.	[Asur-chal(?) . . . of Kak(?)zi	To . . . . .
723.	[Salmanassar, king of] <sup>2</sup> ) Assyria.	To . . . . .

## C.

## II Rawl. 69. Fragm. No. 5.

## Translation.

Archonship of	Samas . . . . . great. To the city Kumuchchi . . . . .
Archonship of	Sa-Asur-Dubbu, viceroy of Tushan . . . . . The palaces were ransacked(?) . . . . . In the month Tishri, on the 22 <sup>nd</sup> , the gods of Dur- Sarrukin . . . . .
Archonship of	Mutakkil-Asur, viceroy of Gozan, the king . . . . . In the month Ijjar, on the 6 <sup>th</sup> , Dur-Sarrukin . . . . .
Archonship of	Upachchir-Bel, viceroy of Amid . . . . . Belkaispai(?), the Kulummite . . . . . a soldier, the murder(?) of the king of Assyria <sup>2</sup> ) [car- ried out]
Archonship of	In the month Ab, the 12 <sup>th</sup> , Sanherib [ascended the throne] Nebo-din-ipus, viceroy of Niniveh, . . . . . The town Larak(?), the town Sarabannu . . . . . the palace of the town Kak(?)zi I(?) built . . . . . great(?) . . . . .

<sup>1</sup>) These have been supplied, with Smith, in accordance with List A as well as the Eponym list. I cannot discover the source of the eponym Tizkaru-iḫbi assigned by Smith to the year 725. — <sup>2</sup>) So we should translate, as I have done in the text, if this and the preceding line are connected together. But if this is not the case, the words must be rendered: A man murdered(?) the king of Assyria. Respecting the ideogram for the Assyrian dāku see Syllab. 339 (Assyr.-Babylon. Keilinsch. p. 37) as well as the Inscr. of Asurnasirabal col. II. 41.

III.  
THE BABYLONIAN CANON OF RULERS IN  
PTOLEMAEUS.

Years B. C.	Greek form of the kings' names	Babylono-Assyrian or Persian form of the kings' names	Years of the reign	Sum of these years
747	Ναβονασσάρου	Nabû-nâsir	14	14
733	Ναδίου <sup>1)</sup>	[Nabû]-nâdin-zîr	2	16
731	Χιρζίρου καὶ Πόρου	Ukiu-zîr. — Pûlu	5	21
726	Ἰλουλάου	Ulûlai	5	26
721	Μαρδοκεμπάδου	Marduk-abal-iddina	12	38
709	Ἀρκεάνου	Šarrukin	5	43
704	Ἀβασιλέτου πρώτου		2	45
702	Βηλίβου	Bîl-ibni	3	48
699	Ἀπερανάδου	Ašur-nâdin-šum	6	54
693	Ῥηγεβήλου	Nîrgal-ušîzib	1	55
692	Μεσημορδάκου	Mušîši-Marduk	4	59
688	Ἀβασιλέτου δευτέρου		8	67
680	Ἀσαριδίου	Ašur-aḫ-iddin	13	80
667	Σαοσδουχίνου	Šamaš-šum-ukîn	20	100
647	Κινηλαδάνου	(? = Ašur-bâni-abal)	22	122
625	Ναβοπολασσάρου	Nabû-abal-ušur	21	143
604	Ναβοκολασσάρου	Nabû-kudurri-ušur	43	186
561	Ἰλλοκρονδάμου	Avîl-Marduk	2	188
559	Νηργασολασάρου	Nîrgal-sar-ušur	4	192
555	Ναβοναδίου	Nabû-nâ'id	17	209
538	Κύρου	Kuruš	9	218
529	Καμβύσου	Kambujîja	8	226
521	Δαρείου πρώτου	Dârajavuš	36	262
485	Χέρξου	Khšajâršâ	21	283
464	Ἀρταξέρξου πρώτου	Artakhšatrâ	41	324
423	Δαρείου δευτέρου	Darajavuš	19	343
404	Ἀρταξέρξου δευτέρου	Artakhšatrâ	46	389
358	᾽Ωχου	Vahuka	21	410
337	Ἀρωγοῦ	= Ἀρσης	2	412
335	Δαρείου τρίτου	Dârajavuš	4	416

<sup>1)</sup> For the variants and the Babylonian form of the names see Assy.-Babyl. Keil. p. 164 foll. and compare *Pînches* in Proc. of Soc. of Bibl. Arch. 1884 p. 197 sqq. — Regarding Ἰλουλάου = Ulûlai see Keil. u. Gesch. p. 336. The other identification, Kineladan = Asurbanipal, is an undoubted fact. See above Vol. II p. 56 and footn. Keil-insch. u. Gesch. p. 541 and compare Zeitsch. für Assyriol. I, 222 foll.

## IV.

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## BABYLONO-ASSYRIAN SYNCHRONISMS

according to the dated clay tablets (III Rawl. 2. Smith's Eponym Canon pp. 84 foll.).

Years B. C.	Ptolemaic Canon	Archouship of	Years of Sargon's reign according to the tablets	
			as king of Assyria	as king of Babylon
716		Tab-šil-išarra	6	—
713		Ašur-bânî	9	—
712		Šarru-îmur-anni	10	—
711		Adar-âlik-pan	11	—
709	Ἀρχέλαος 1.	Mannu-ki-Ašur-li'	13	1
708	" 2.	Šamaš-upaḥḥir	14	2
707	" 3.	Ša-Ašur-dubbu	15	3
706	" 4.	Mutakkil-Ašur	16	4

## GLOSSARY

### TO THE ASSYRIAN TRANSCRIBED TEXTS.

NB. The reader will be careful to notice that the *numbers* in the references indicate *the page-numbers of the original German edition standing in the margin of the present work*. When a numeral immediately follows (preceded by a comma), it designates *the line of the inscription*. Thus 207, 97. 102 signifies page 207 of the German ed. and lines 97 and 102 of the inscription quoted.

*Note.* Roots beginning with א, ה and ע as well as those with an initial ח, when the corresponding sound has passed into a mere breath, are registered as roots with an initial א. Moreover roots with י or with ו as the first radical are respectively cited under י and ו. Also those having י or ו as their second or third radical are distinguished from one another as much as possible. The list likewise contains all the proper names occurring in the extracts quoted from the inscriptions, with the exception of the names belonging to the Eponym-lists.

[Fried. Delitzsch and Paul Haupt indicate the origin of א in their Assyrian glossaries by distinguishing an א<sub>1</sub> (= Heb. א), א<sub>2</sub> (= ה), א<sub>3</sub> (= ח or ח), א<sub>4</sub> (= ע<sub>1</sub> i. e. ע) and א<sub>5</sub> (= ע<sub>2</sub> i. e. ע). — Translator.]

#### א

אא I'a, written I'-a name of a deity *Ea, Ao*, *Ἄος* 12, 56; (Eng. ed.); 333, 11; 389, 155.

אא (mât) A. A. Ideogr. designation of an Eastern country 253; 480 (Text) etc.

אא, see אר.

אאיתא U-ai-ti', Arabic proper name 208.

אאסרם U-as-su-r-mí, name of a Tabalæan 253; 257.

אכ (אכו?) abu *father*, phonetically written a-bu 174, (Stat. constr.); Ideogr. 174 (Stat. constr.); 289, 58; 301, 20 (Gen.); 326; 333, 8. — abûti Plur. Ideogr. 277, 5(?); 399, 2. — A-bi-ba'-al, A-bi-ba-al Phœnician proper name *Abibaal* אביבעל (173); 355, 10. — A-bi-mil-ki

Phoenic. proper name *Abimelech* אַבִּימֶלֶךְ 105. — Abu-Malik Assy. 523 proper name 150.

אב ib-ba Subst. — ? — 175.

אב Abu *name of a month*, Hebr. אָב Ab, written A-bu (bi) 380. Ideogr. 335 (III Rawl. 2 No. 24); 488, C. 11.

אבאן uban see אבן.

אבב abûbu Subst. *flood* 79; til a-bu-bi *water-billow* 234, 25; 262, 15. — a-bu-biš Adv. *just as a water-billow* 247, 2; 450, 74.

אבב ibbu *pure*, comp. אָב, Arab. أَب, Syr. ܐܒܐ, ܐܒܒܐ. Plur. msc. ib-bu-ti 19, 31.

אכר comp. עכר, חֶסֶף, عَمِل (also in Assy.). — Ab-du-uḥ-mu-nu Babyl.-Phoenic. proper name עבֶרְחַמֶן 430. — Ab-di-li-'-ti Phoenician proper name 104 *ad fin*; 288, 49. — Ab-du-mi-lik Babyl.-Phoenician proper name עבֶרְמֶלֶךְ 430. — Ab-di-mi-il(mil)-ku-ut-ti Phoenician proper name *Abdmeleketh* עבֶרְמֶלֶכֶת 104.

אכר u-ab-bid, see אכת.

אכר (avil) U-bu-du name of a town 346, 15.

אכרד (avil) I-ba-di-di Arab. name of a tribe 277.

אכרדן (mât) Ab-da-da-na name of a country 213, 8.

אכל ūbil etc. see וכל.

אבל ablu Subst. *son*; St. estr. abal, abbreviated into bal, Akkad. ibila, as proper name אָבֵל perhaps also passed into Heb. Ideogr. 44; 45; 91, 55 foll. Phon. ab-lav 413; a-bi-il (with Suff.) 413, 33. — Plur. Ideogr. 153, 63; 289, 60, col. III. 4; 302, 26. — Abal-ušur Assy. proper name 329.

אבל abullu Subst. *city-gate*, Talm. אָבּוּלָא 232, 10; Ideogr. 234, 23; 261, 7; 290, 22.

אבל (א) [A-]bi-il . . . . name of a town(?) = [A]bel-[beth-Maacha]? 255, 17.

אבל (avil) U-bu-luv 346, 15.

אבן abnu Subst. *stone* אָבֶן; Ideogr. (Sg. and Plur.) 345, 9 etc.

אבק (at-ta-baḳ 1. Ps. Impf. Ift. *I poured out* 48, footnote ††.

אכר comp. Hebr. עכר. — i-bir 1. Ps. Impf. Kal *I passed over* 82, 105; 156; 193, 82; 202; 203; 207, 97. 102; — 3 Ps. Sg. *he crossed over* 152. — i-pa-ru-num-ma 3. Ps. Plur. with parag. ma 345, 11. — i-ti-bir 1. Ps. Ift. *I crossed over* 193, 78. — i-bir-ta-au Subst. Stat. constr. *crossing* 184, 66.

524 אכרך a-ba-rak-ku Subst.? — 152.

אכררו ab-ra-ru-u — ? — 195, 100. Perhaps *field*; comp. the adjoining word rap-šu.

אבש (אפש) — ibuš, also íbuš, 3. Ps. Sg. Kal *he made, erected, built*, written í-bu-šu 248 = II Rawl. 67, 4. Ideogr. with phon. complement = ibu-uš 97; 213, 18. — i-bu-šu the same 124, 28. — i b-šu-u 3. Ps. Pl. (for i-bu-šu-u) 290, 7; 302, 26. — ibuš 1. Ps. Sg. Kal *I made*. Ideogr. with phon. complement. = íbu-uš 194, 87; 232, 7; 278. — í-pi-iš the same 333, 20; 488 C, 14. — u-ší-bi-š 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I caused to be prepared, built* 374, 29. — í-bi-š Part. Stat. constr. *making, doing* [194, 95]; 289, col. III. 4; 291, 41; 302, 26. — íbīšu Inf., written í-bi-š (Stat. constr.) 154; 201; 291, 41; 333, 10. 13; 352, 36; 364, 14; 396, 1 etc. — í-bi-šu Infin. 124, col. II. 5. 14. — í-ib-ší-tu Subst. *doing, deed* 413, 31; with Suff. 416.

אבש (= Arab. أبس?). — ab-ša-a-ni, ab-ša-ni Subst. *subjection, obedience* 189; 287; 289, 64; 398 (151. 1). According to Stan. Guyard *presents, tribute* (?).

אבת u-ab-bit (so transcribe!) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I cast to the ground* 232, 9; 234, 25. The root is ultimately identical with Hebr.

אבד. See on this Lotz "The insc. of Tigl.-Pil. I" 169. — in-na-bit, in-nab-tav (*he took himself off, disappeared*) 3. Ps. Impft. Nif. (Hpt.) 255, 20; 288, 37; 301, 19; 345, 7; 353, 37; 397, 2; 398 (Botta 150, 7).

אבת comp. Hebr. עבת. — ab-ta-a-ti Subst. Plur. *firmly bound masonry* 124, 10 foll.

אנג comp. Hebr. הגנה, רגג. — ug-ga-tu Subst. *displeasure (anger as well as trouble)* 373, (footn. \*\* 33). Comp. also Haupt Akk. u. Sum. Keilsch. 177, as well as V R. 1, 64: lib-bi í-gug.

אנג (ilu) I-gi-gi A name of divine beings, apparently. These in other cases are called V. II 213, 1; Phon. 285, 2. A word of unknown origin.

אנם a-gam-mí Subst. Plur. *marshes*. Comp. אָנַם, אָנַם 345, 7. 11; 351, 59.

אנמתו (ír, mât) A-ga-ma-ta-nu, also A-gam-ta-nu *Ekbatana* Aram. אָחְמַתָּא Old Persic Hañgmatâna, New Persic *همدآن Hamadân* 378.

אנג (aban) ug-na Subst. *a species of stone* 455.

אנג (nâr) Ug-ni-i (Uk-ni-f) name of a river 232, 6.

אנס igisu *gift* (is Hebr. נְכֶסֶם *treasures* connected?); i-gi-si Subst. Plur. 82, 106.

אגרו agurru Subst. *burnt tile*, Arab. أَجْر, أَجْر 121; written a-gu-ur-ri 124, col. II. 3.

**אד** (from **אאר**) comp. Hebr. **אחד**, Aram. **ח(א)חד**. — *i-da one* (Acc.) 525 323 (line 9, fr. below). — *i-diš Adv. alone* 345, 7; 450, 72. — *ídinu alone* Adj. *i-di-nu-uš-šu he alone* 191; 261, 6; 397, footnote \* especially *ad jin*.

**אד** *hand*, see **יד**.

**אדבאל** (*avíl*) [I]-di-bi-'-i-lu, I-di-bi-['-]i-lu name of a tribe *Adbeel* = Hebr. **אֲדַבְאֵל** 148. — Gentile adj. I-di-ba-'-il-[ai] 148.

**אדגלת** (*nâr*) I-di-ig-lat (I-di-iḱ-lat) name of the river *Tigris* = Hebr. **חַדְקָל**, Sam. **חַדְקָל**, Aram. **ܚܕܩܠ**, Ar. **بَجَلَة**; abbreviated into **Di-ig(iḱ)-lat** 32. Ideogr. 184, 67; 193, 78; 232, 5.

**אדי** *adi* Prep. *till*, comp. Hebr. **עַד**, **עַדִּי**. The root is perhaps ultimately Hebr. Aram. **עַדְדָּה**, **عَدَد**, **U, P, D**: Written *a-di* 2, 11; 22, footn. 83, 15; 184, 67, 69; 194, 97; 201 (line 5 from below); 203. Ideogr. 91, 60. — *a-di íli* Prep. *till* 213, 10, 13.

**אדי** (= Hebr. **יַעַד**, Arab. **عَد**?) — *u-ad-di* 3. Ps. Sg. Pa. *he appointed* 15, 3. — *a-di-i*, see **ידי**.

**אדם** (*mât, ír*) U-du-(u)-mu (*mi, mí*), name of a country *Edom* Hebr. **אֲדָמ** 149; 213, 12; 355, 3. — (*mât*) U-du-mu-ai Adj. 257; also U-du-um-ma-ai 288, 54.

**אדן** *ídinu* Subst. *field*, Hebr. **עַדְנָן**. Phon. and Ideogr. 17; 26.

**אדן** *u-di-ni* H<sub>U</sub> (latter Ideogr. for '*bird*' = *iššur*), name of a bird 385.

**אדן** A-du-ni(nu)-ba-(')-al (*li*) Phoenic. proper name = **אדניבעל** 105; 173; 194, 94. Comp. Hebr. **אדניר**.

**אדן** (*ír*) A-di-ín-nu name of a city 194, 88. — (Bit-) A-di-ni, see **בית**.

**אדר** *i-dur* (so read!) *he avoided* 350, 54; *i-du-ru* 3. Ps. Plur. Impf. Kal *they avoided* 194, 86.

**אדר** (Determin.) *ud-ri* Subst. Pl. *two-humped camel* (dromedary) 345, 8; (Del. Par. 96); 348.

**אדר** Adar name of deity (from Akkad. *a + tar*). Ideogr. 160; 284; 333, 16; 389, 156; with phon. complement *ra* 284. — Adar-malik Assy. proper name (and name of deity) Hebr. **אֲדַרְמַלְךָ** 284.

**אדר** Adar name of month *Adar* **אֲדָר**. Written *Ad-da-ru*, *A-da-ri* 380, 12. Ideogr. 314, footnote.

**ארש** *renew*, comp. Hebr. **חַדָּשׁ**. From this *iššûtu* (*iš-šu-tu*, *i-š-u-tu*) *renovation*. — *A-na iš-šu-ti (tí) anew* 97; 338, 15; 398 (150, 12).

526 און comp. Ar.-Hebr. הָוֶה. — a-u, a-iv Subst. *breath, wind* 25, footn. \*\*.

אָויל (אַמל?) avīlu Subst. *man, human being*, comp. (אַויל־מְרַדָּךְ). Written a-ví(mi)-lu Syll. 850 in Haupt and Norr. 35. According to Stan. Guyard l. c. p. 22 from אַל, אַל, אַל = alu town = “*inhabitant*”, “*town-dweller*” (?). — Ideogr. 94, footnote \*; 323; often as determ. Ideogr. Pl. (with phon. complement í) 193, 85; without it 195, 100. — a-ví-lu-tu *humanity, mankind* (= tínišítuv II R. 24, 24 f. g.) 26, 15. — Av(m)íl-apsí(?) Babyl. name of a king 129. — Avíl-Marduk Babyl. proper name *Evil-Merodach* = אָויל־מְרַדָּךְ 365.

אָויל (nâr) U-la-ai name of a river *Eulaeus* אָויל־אֵלֶּי Eύλαϊος 438.

און i-nu Subst. *possession, property*; comp. Hebr. הוֹן, הוֹן (or Arab. هَوْنٌ with Haupt?) 272. — u-nu-ut Subst. Stat. constr. *furniture, vessel* 201 *ad fin*; 203; 345, 9.

אויס A-u-si-' Israel. proper name *Hoshea* הוֹשֵׁעַ 255, 28.

אור *light*, see אָר.

אור Uru name of a town *Ur*, Hebr. אֹר. Ideogr. 129; 130. — U-ru-mil-ki Phoen.-Bybl. proper name = אורמלך 185; 288, 50.

אוב comp. אֶזִּיב. — í-zib 1. Ps. Sg. Impf. Kal *I left, left behind, left remaining* 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1); 234, 24; 262, 15 (?); 345, 7.

אודבר Iz-du-bar proper name 92. As Accadian the name must be thus pronounced. In Assyrian we must transcribe by Iṣṭubar.

אוז (= Hebr. עוֹז etc.). — izzu Adj. *strong*. Phon. iz-zi (Gen.) 350, 54. Plur. msc. iz-zu-tí 193, 79. — iz-zi-zu? — 202. Is the root זיז = izîzu? — A-zi-ba-(')-al Phoenic. proper name עובעל 105.

אול (אַעל?) (mât) I-za(ša?)-al-lav name of a country 426, 22.

[און uznu *ear, mind, purpose*. Phon. u-zu-un 455, 2. — Transl.]

אור A-zu-ri Philist. proper name (= Hebr. עֶזְרָא?) 162; 398, 6. — (ir) A-zu-ru name of a Kanaanite town, perhaps the modern Jâzûr 167; 289, 66.

אוריאו Az-ri-ja-(a)-u Judaeen proper name *Azarjah* עֶזְרִיָּהּ (188) 218; also Az-ri-a-[u] 217; 219, as well as [A-]ṣu(?)-ri-ja-u 218.

אה aḥu Subst. *brother*, Hebr. אָח etc., phon. a-ḥu 398, 10. Plur. aḥî Ideogr. 289, 60; 350, 57. — a-ḥa-viš Adv. *brotherly, mutually* 201; 202. — A-ḥi-ja-ba-ba Mesopotamian proper name = אחיבכ 110 (footn. p. 95 Eng. ed.). — A-ḥi-mil-ki, Aḥ(i)-mil-ki Phoen.-Philist. proper name *Achimelech* = Hebr. אַחִימֶלֶךְ 105; 163; 355, 12. —



A-ḥi-mi-ti Philist. proper name 162; 398, 10. — A-ḥi-ra-mu Mesopot. 527  
proper name = אַחִירָם 110 (Eng. ed. p. 95 footn. \*).

אחי a-ḥi prep. *near*, see רחי.

אחב A-ḥa-a b-bu proper name = Hebr. אַחָבָב 194, 91.

אחו comp. אֲחֻוּ, אַחְוִי, אֲחָדָּ, אֲחָדָּ. — aḥ-zi 1. Ps. Sg. Impf.

Kal *I took* 213, 19 (20?). — u-ša-ḥi-iz 1. Ps. Sg. Impf. Shaf. *I caused to be taken* 272. — ta-ḥa-zu *battle*, properly *hand-to-hand fight*, secondary formation from the Iṭteal, see under תחו. — mit-ḥu-u-z-zu Subst. *battle*, see *ibid.*

אחון u-ḥi-nu Subst. — ? 234, 24.

אחר aḥratu (iḥratu? — Haupt.) comp. Hebr. אַחֲרִית, אַחֲרָה the *future*, Stat. constr. aḥ-rat 153. — (mât) Aḥarri name of a country *West country*, properly *Hinder land* comp. Hebr. אַחֲזֵר i. e. *Kanaan* (Phoenicia-Palestine), written A-ḥar-ri(-i), also ideogr. (mât MAR.TU) 90; 91, 59; 157, 86; 213, 11; 288, 55; 301, 19; 370, 35. — (mât) A-ḥar-ra-ai Adj. *Phoenician, Kanaanite* 157, 86.

אטה íṭû *to be dark* [comp. Heb. עָטָה *wrap up*, Syr. حَطَى.—Transl.]. — íṭi phonet. í-ṭi-í Subst. Genit. *darkness* 455, 4. — íṭû tu phonet. (genit.) í-ṭu-ti the same 455, 9. Comp. with this under אהל atalû.

אטר comp. Hebr. עָטַר. — í-ṭi-ir 1. Ps. Sg. Impf. Kal *I spared* 345, 7.

אי ai prohibitive particle *not*, Lat. ne, comp. Eth. አ; Hebr. אִי (still preserved in אִי-נָקִי Job 22, 30; אִי-כָבוֹד 1 Sam. 4, 21, אִי-בָבֶל, אִי-עֹר; also in Phoenic. אִי cf. Schröder, Phön. Spr. 118. 211). In Phoenician and Heb. the part. is an objective negation, while in Assyrian it is subjective. Written ai 434, 29.

אידאל (ír, mât) I'-di-'-al, I'-di-'-li name of a town *Idalion* 355, 13.

אכל(ל) ikallu Subst. *palace*, Hebr. אֶיכָל, Arab. قَيْسَل, Ethiop.

U.P.ḤA: (Accad. in origin). Phon. í-kal-luv 354; in Assy. Ideogr. see Höllenf. der Istar 148. Ideogr. written í-gal 123; 212, 1; 213, 21; 291, 38; 302, 32 *bis*. Plur. íkalâti (so read, comp. Tigl. Pil. I col. VI, 94 etc.: íkalâ-tí!) 193, 80; 194, 89; 458, footn. 49. 50.

איכסם I-ka-sam-su(?) Philist. proper name 355, 7.

אחר(ל) I'-ḥar-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra, name of a locality 389, 156.

א(ל)כר I'-kur name of a temple 213, 3; similarly I-šar-ra 213, 3. — Comp. also below בית.

איכשחר I'-ki-iš-tu-ra Cypr. proper name *Ikistura* 355, 13.

אין í-nu-ma, from ínu = Arab. حِينَ + ma, in the sense of the

Arab. حِينَ = *at the time, when* 2, 1. 7; 17, 1

528 אִינּוּ *inuv*, also *inuv*, Subst. *eye, spring*, Hebr. עֵינַי, Arab. عَيْن etc. Plur. *inî, inî* (Dual *inâ*) Ideogr. 160; 218, 6. — *I-ni-ilu* proper name of a prince of Hamath אִינַל 107; 252 (last line); 257.

אִיר *Airu* name of the month *Ijjâr*, Hebr. אִיר. Phon. *Ai-ru(ri)* 380; Ideogr. 193, 78; 333, 11; 405, footnote \*\*\*; 486 (B. C. 745); 488, C, 7.

אִישׁ *ai-ši* strengthened sep. pron. of the 1. Ps. Sg. *I, of me*, etc. 152 *ad fin.* Comp. *jâši* under יֵשׁ.

אִכַּד (*mât*) Akkadî (*land*) *Akkad*, written *Ak-ka-di* 460, footn.; II R. 65, 52 a and b etc. Comp. אִכַּד. Ideogr. Akkadî-KI Khors. 3; Tigl. Pil. II line 1 etc.; also with *mât* prefixed 136, footnote \*. — 335, 4; 346, 14; 351, 65; 369, 29; 373, footn. \*\*; 458, 49 (footn.); 459, 4 (footn.). — (*avil*) Akkadîm Subst. *those of Akkad* (adj. of relation in plur. from the sing. *Akkadû*). Phon. *Ak-ka-di-im* (Ham-mur. Louvre I, 12); *Ak-ka-di-i* 88.

אִכּוּ (*ir*) *Ak-ku-u* name of a town *Akkô* עִכּוּ 173; 288, 40.

אִכּוּב (*ir*) *Ak-zi-bi* name of a town *Akzib, Ekdippa* אִכּוּב 170; 288, 40.

אִכַּל comp. Hebr. אָכַל etc. — *i-ku-lu* 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he ate* 145. Ideogr. 19, 30. — *ta-ta-ak-ka-al* 3. Ps. Sg. Fem. Impft. Ifta. = האַחַכַּל 181.

אִכַּל *ikallu*, see אִיכַל.

אִכַּל (*akl* comp. عَقَلَ?). — (*avil*) *ak-kil* Subst. *savant(?)* 277, 4.

אִכַּם *i-kim, i-ki-i-mu* 1. Ps. Sg. Impf. Kal *I took* 195, 102; 201 (Eng. ed. 192); 203; 209, 52; 286, 13. — *i-k-i-mu, i-ki-i-mu* 3. Ps. Pl. *they took* 218, 10; 220, 31.

אִלָּא comp. Hebr. אִלָּא. — *ti-li-'u* Subst. *vow?* — Or should we, on account of the aspirate in the third radical indicated in the script, recur to some such form as אִלָּא, אִלָּא?

אִלּוּ *ilu* Subst. *God*, Hebr. אֱלֹהִים. Phon. *i-lu (i-lu v)* 11, footnote; Ideogr. 176. — Stat. constr. 413, 30. — *ili* Plur. Ideogr. 2, 7. 9; 17, 1; 91, 53; 175, *bis*; 176, *bis*; 177; 178; 180. — *ilâni* Plur. Ideogr. with phon. complement *ni* 157, 85 etc. — *ilûtu* Subst. *divinity*. Written *ilu-u-ti* (Gen.) 434, 27. — *I-lu-bi-'di* Syr. proper name 23.

אִלּוּ *ul* Adv. *not*, Hebr. אֵל 19, 30 etc.

אִלְבְּרִיא (*mât*) *Al-lab-ri-a* name of a country 213, 8.

אִלְדּוּ see וְלַדּוּ.

אִלִּי comp. עָלַי, עָלַי etc. — *i-li* 3. Ps. Sg. Kal *he took himself*

off 209, 53. — í-li 1. Ps. Sg. *I ascended, marched up* 157, 85. — 529 í-li-u 3. Ps. Pl. *they took themselves off* 203 (end of the passage). — u-úl-la-a 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I set up, raised* 124, col. II. 15d. — u-u-úl-la-a 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *he set up, raised* 124, col. I. 30. — u-úl-lu-u Inf. Pa. *setting up* 124, 15. — ut-li-í 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *I raised up and carried forth* 213, 20. — mut-tal-li Part. Ifta. (Gen.) *exalted* 333, 13. — u-ši-li 1. Ps. Impft. Shaf. *I raised, lifted up* 232, 10; 261, 8. — ílû Adj. *high, upper* (of rivers, also of the sea) e. g. Zâbu ílû *the upper Zab* (see map). From this is derived ílitu Adj. fem. same in meaning, written í-lit 333, 18. — Ideogr. 203. — í-liš, í-li-iš *above* 2, 1; also in *high degree* 413, 32. — mîlu Subst. *high flood* = מעלה? — See under מלא. — úl-lu Adj.; Plur. masc. úl-lu-ti (with collective ûm; or abstr. = ullûtu? —) *reaching far up or back, previous* 124, 15c. — íli Prep. *upon*, Hebr. על, عَلى, Arab. على. Phon. i-li 290, 27; 302, 30. Ideogr. 195, 98; 220, 32; in connection with other prepositions adi íli *until, to* 213, 10. 13. — ištu ílî *from . . to* 213, 11.

הלך *go* comp. Hebr. הלך. — il-lik, il-li-ku, with cop. il-li-kam-ma 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he went, marched* 338, 7; 353, 39; 399, 4. — il-lik-am-ma 235, 26. — a-lik 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal 207, 102 foll.; 210, 55. 61. — al-lik the same 288, col. II. 34; 301, 18; 326, footn. \*; 364, 14; 398 (150. 5). Ideogr. (DU) the same 91, 61. — il-li-ku 3. Ps. Plur. Impft. Kal 289, 75; 450, 73. — illi-ku-ni the same, Ideogr. with phonetic complement 82. — it-ta-lak 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifta. *he marched* 480, B. C. 815; 482 B. C. 785; 486 B. C. 745. — ittala-ku (ittalla-ku) the same, *he went*. Ideogr. with compl. ku 213, 4; 247, 3. — âlik Partic. act. Kal, phon. a-lik 97; 194, 96. — alâku Subst. *the advance*, stat. constr. a-lak 152; 350, 51; 398 (150. 5). — malaku Subst. with same signif., Stat. constr. ma-lak *march* 450, 73.

הלל comp. הלל, הלל. — illu Adj. *bright, gleaming, exalted, also precious*. Phon. í-íl-lu 426, 22. Ideogr. 213, 3; Plur. íllûti 232, 16. í-íl-li-tuv (tiv) Fem. Sg. 13. — muš-ti-lil Part. Ifte. *illuminating, gleaming* (?) 388.

הלל U-lu-lu name of the month *Elul*, Hebr. אֶלּוּל 380. — Ulul-ai proper name *Elulacus* Ἰλουλαίος, properly *man of Elul* 490, footn. 1. Comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. 336 footn.

אלם illamû Prep. *before* (Is Hebr. אֶלֶם to be connected with it?). With Suff. íl-la-mu-u-a 289, 77; 332, 18.

אלם (mât) Í-lam-tu(ti), Í-lam-mat, name of the country *Elam*, Hebr. אֶלָם 111; 353, 33. 37. Ideogr. 111; 345, 6. — (avil) Í-la-mu-u Adj. *the Elamite* 111; 136. Ideogr. 351, 62.

530 אַלְפּוּ alpu Subst. *ox*, Hebr. אֶלְפִי. Plur. alpi; Ideogr. 290, 18; 346, 17 etc.

אַלְפִּי ilippu Subst. *ship*, Aram. ܐܠܦܝ 52, footn. \*. Ideogr. Pl. 184; 193, 82; 350, 55.

אַלְפִּי (mât) Il-li-pi name of a country 213, 6.

אַלְתּוּ ultu Prep. *out of, from* collat. form of istu (q. v.). Written ul-tu 124, 31; 140 (Asarh. I. 7); also ul-tav 204. Ideogr. 184 (above).

אַלְתּוּ illatu Subst. *might*. With Suff. il-lat-su 338, 9; 350, 53; 450, 71; 452, 68. Akkad. in origin (Lotz 124)? —

אַלְתַּקּוּ (ír) Al-ta-ḳ-u-u name of a town, *Eltekeh* אֶלְתַּקָּה 171; 289, 76. 82; 301, 24.

אַלְתַּרְבּוּ (ír) Il-li-ta-ar-bi name of a town 220, 30.

אַמְּ ammu Fem. ammatu Pron. demonstr. *that, that yonder*. — am-ma-[tí] (so read! — see Keil. u. Gesch. 141 \*\*. The photograph of the original that lies before me leaves no doubt as to the correctness of the conjecture) 156. Acc. to the photograph there seems to have stood in the following line niši-í or rather avíli-í as we find also in the monolith of Karch, see Keil. u. Gesch. 140 \*. — 193, 82. 85 (am-ma-ti). — um-ma Adv. *thus* 332, 25.

אַמְּ AM Akkad. word, i. e. Ideogr. for rîmu רִימָה, see רִימָה. — AM.SI i. e. *horned or provided with teeth* AM, name of the elephant (in Assy. píru, see Lotz Tigl. Pil. I 163 foll.). Comp. 187 (I Ki. X. 22) and footn. \*.

אַמְּבַּאֵל Am-mi-ba-'la Mesopot. proper name = עַמְּיַבְעֵל 110 (Eng. ed. p. 95 footn.).

אַמְּגַּא im-ga, im-ga Adj. *exalted*. Syn. of gitmalu *perfect* 420; 421. Is it of Akkadian origin (IM-GA) or Semitic? (root עַמְּקָ) ? — 421.

אַמְּדַּא comp. Hebr. עַמְּדָה. — í-mid I. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal I *appointed, I imposed* 272; 273, 4; 287; 289, 64; the same 189. The signification redigere assumed on p. 189 is unnecessary; translate: — “on the land Juda (and) on Hezekiah, its king, I imposed obedience”. We have an abbreviation of ímid abšâni in the phrase ímid (without abšâni) used in the same sense (288, 37; 301, 19 etc.). — Ni-mi-it-ti-Bîl name of a rampart of Babylon, interpreted by Delitzsch as meaning “*Foundation of Bel*”. Comp. under מַאֲדָה.

אַמְּדַּי (ír) A-mí-di name of the town *Ámid-Diárbekr*, آمِدْ, آمِدْ 106, (footn. \*\*); 480, B. C. 800; 484, B. C. 762; 488 C, 6.

אַמְּדַּי (mât) Amadai, written A-ma-da-ai name of a country and people 80.

אמי (ימי) comp. Syr. ܐܡܝܐ, ܐܡܝܐ (Hpt.); also Hebr. הַמָּה? — li-ta-mu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Volunt. Ifte. (*that*) they might command 373, 35 (footn. \*\*). — amâtu Subst. *saying, command*. Stat. constr. a-mât 531 333, 9, also a-ma-a-ta 373, 35 (footn. \*\*) and a-ma-tuv 455, 13 (Eng. ed. p. 156). — mamîtu Subst. *mandate, divine command*, Stat. constr. ma-mit 262, 16; 289, 70.

אמכן A-muk-k-a-a-ni proper name 234, 23; also written A-muk-a-ni 232, 11.

אמל a milu, see אול.

אמלך Am-mu-la-di-in, name of a Kedarene king 148.

אמם um mu Subst. *mother*, Arab. أم, Hebr. אַם, Aram. ܐܡܐ, Eth.

አሞ: Phon. u-m-mu 175. Ideogr. 175; Stat. constr. 175.

אמם comp. Hebr. (עמם) עַם. Or ought we to assume a special root עמ, as extension of עמם? — um-mânu, Subst. Pl. ummanâti (Stat. constr. umma-na-at) *host, troops*. Phon. 195, 99; 209, 43 foll.; 323; 345, 10. Ideogr. 152; 203 (*bis*); 398 (150. 1). Plur. Stat. constr. 301, 23.

אמם um âmu Subst. *beasts*, especially with the meaning *large animals* = Hebr. אַמָּה. Phon. Stat. constr. u-[m a-am] 17, 4.

אמם a m mat u Subst. *yard* (? *cubit*), Hebr. אַמָּה. Ideogr. 124, 29.

אמן comp. Hebr. אמן, Arab. آمِن, Ethiop. አሞን: — tímînu Subst. *foundation-stone, foundation* (secondary formation from the Ifte.), written tí-mí-in-(ša) 124, 7.

אמן (mât, ír) Bit-Am-ma-nu name of the country *Ammon*, Hebr. עַמּוֹן, written Am-ma-na(nî), Am-ma-a-[na] 141; 355, 11. — (ír mât) Bit-Am-ma-na-ai Adj. *he of Ammon* 257; 288, 52. — (mât) A-ma-na-ai Adj. the same 194, 95. — (šad) Am-ma-na name of a mountain (= *Amānus*) 220, 27.

אמם [A-ma]-a(?)-su Egypt. proper name *Amasis* (?) 364, 4.

אמק comp. עמק etc. — ímûķu Subst. properly *depth*, then *power, might* 421. Written í-mu-u-ķu comp. II R. 36, 55. Stat. const. í-muķ 326, footn. \*; 346, 12. — ímûķi, written í-mu-k-i, the same, Pl. *military forces* 289, 75; 301, 24. — ma-muķ-tav Subst. *depth of wisdom* (?), מעמקה (?) 346, 14. — For í-im-ga, im-ga see above אמג.

אמקרן (ír) Am-ķar-ru-na name of the town *Ekron*, עַקְרוֹן, Ἀκκάρων 164; 289, 69. col. III. 1; 290, 25; 301, 22; 302, 25. 30; 355, 7.

אמר comp. Eth. አሞር: (Hpt.). — í-mur 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I saw* 261, 14. — í-mu-ru 3. Ps. Pl. 332, 21. — im-ma-ru (for

i-ma-ru) 3. Ps. Pl. Pres. *they see* 455, 9; 456 (Notes and Illust.). — in-na-mir 3. Ps. Impft. Nif. *he was seen* 345, 11; 397, 2. — amâru 532 Inf. *seeing*. Written a-ma-ri (Gen.) 389, footn. \*. — ta-mir-tu Subst. *look*, then *circle of vision* (Eng. 'sight') 289, 76; 301, 20. 24; 345, 6. — ta-mar-tu Subst. *object of display, present* 288, 56.

אמר imîru Subst. *ass*, Arab. حمار, Hebr. חמור, Aram. سحر.

Ideogr. = i-mî-ri III Rawl. 2, 45 (XX, 3). Ideogr. Plur. 290, 18; 345, 8; 374, 25.

אמת (mât) A-ma-(at)-ti name of a country, prob. *Hamâth* 105; 194, 88. 91; 281; 323 (*ter*). Comp. חמת. — (mât) A-mat-(ta)-ai Adj. 201; 202; also A-ma-ta-ai 203; 323.

אנא ana Prep. *towards, to*, Ideogr. 48, footn. ††. Phon. a-na 18; 26, 15; 82, 105; 124, 5 etc.

אנא ina Prep. *in*. Ideogr. 82, 104. 105; 91, 52. Phon. i-na 17, 1; 124, 8. 13 etc.

אננû annû Pron. dem. *this*, written an-nu-u 332, 25; 459, 4. — annûtu Pron. Fem. of the above; an-nu-u-tuv 79. — an-nu-ti Plur. msc. *these* 194, 95.

אנ (îr) U-nu name of a town in Upper Aegypt 152.

אנ comp. Hebr. [ענמלך]. — Anu name of a deity (= Oannes?). — It is perhaps the Semitized Akkad. ana "Heaven", then "deity"; comp. also AN.TA = ilû. — A-nu 2, 14; A-nuv 160 (Deut. XXXII. 10); 284; 411. — \*Anu-malik proper name *Anammelech* ענמלך 284.

אנאל Ġ-ni-ilu, Hamathite proper name = Phoen. עינאל 107 (read Ġ-ni-ilu!); 252.

אנאן AN.AN Akkad. designation of the supreme God (= AN) 127.

אנדיא (mât) An-di-u (also An-di-a) name of a country 213, 9.

אנני comp. Hebr. ענה, ענה. — í-ni 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I injured* 124, 7.

אנה i-na-aḥ 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *it fell to ruins, became waste*, perhaps a collateral form of ניה 97.

אנק anâku Subst. *lead*, Hebr. אֶנְקָה. Ideogr. 208, footn. \*. Plur. *pieces of lead*, Ideogr. 157, 87; 193, 84; 208.

אנכו anaku (kû?) Pron. 1. Pers. Sg. *I*. Hebr. אֶנְכִי etc. Phon. a-na-ku 335 (I Rawl. 48 No. 5. 1); 363, 6. Ideogr. with phon. complement ana-ku 91, 55; 459, 5.

אנני (אנה?) — annu Subst. *ill, evil, badness*. Written an-ni 289; 302 (col. III. 4). — root ענה? — or חנה, חנה bend. — Acc. to

Haupt Gloss. under אַרְן, it stands for arnu, which, however, would 533 still have been a *collateral* use and signification.

אַן annu *this*, see אָן.

אַננכִי (ilu) A-nun-na-ki name of a deity of the subterranean waters Eug. ed. Vol. I p. 57 (read Anunnaki); 174; 285.

אַננה (ilu) A-nu-ni-tuv name of a deity *Anunît* 280.

אַנסנס U-na-sa-gu-su Cypr. proper name 355, 21.

אַנק (mât) Un-ki name of a country 249, footn. †.

אַנש aššatu *woman, wife*, comp. Hebr. אִשָּׁה, אֲשֵׁרִי: אֲנִשִּׁי, אֲנִשִּׁי. — Comp. below נִשׁ. — Ideogr. 12, footn. †; 289, 60; 345, 10; 398, 9; 452, 67. Plur. aššâti Ideogr. 291, 39; 302, 32. — tí-ni-ší-í-tu Subst. *mankind, men* 333, 11 (= avilutuv II R. 24, 24 f. g.).

אַנה atta (for anta) pers. pron. *thou*, comp. אַתָּה, אַיִן, אַנְתָּ, אֲנִי: Written at-ta 413, 32.

אַסדר (ir, mât) As-du-du (di) name of a town, *Ashdod*, Hebr. אֲשְׁדוֹד 162; 290, 24; 302, 29; 323; 355, 12; 398 (149, 6; 150, 8). — (ir) As-du-da-ai Adj. *he of Ashdod* 288, 51. — As-du-di-im-mu, see גַּמְתִּי.

אַסכּפּת as-kup-pa-tuv Subst. *threshold*, אֲשַׁכּפּת 384.

אַסמע (avil) I-sa-am-mí-' name of a North-Arabian tribe (= *Ishmael* אִשְׁמַעֵל?) 148.

אַסמר asmaru Subst. *spear* (NR. 28). Pl. as-ma-ri-í 261, 5.

אַסנת (mât) U(?)-sa-na-ta-ai Adj. *he of U(?)sanat* 194, 93.

אַסקלון (ir, mât) Is-ka-lu-na, Is-ka-al-lu-na name of a town *Ashkelon*, Hebr. אֲשַׁקְלוֹן 165; 289, 58. 63; 301, 20. 21; 302, 29; 355, 6. — (mât) As-ka-lu-na-ai Adj. 257.

אַסר comp. Hebr. אָסַר, Syr. اَسَّرَ, Ar. أُسِرَ, Eth. አሰረ: (አሠረ): — í-sir 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I shut in* 209, 54; 213, 16; 234, 23; 261, 9; 289, 72; 290, 21; 301, 23; 302, 29.

אַסר comp. Hebr. עָשַׂר, New Hebr. עֶסֶר etc. — misratu Subst. *decad*, comp. מַעֲשׂוֹר 15, 3. Thence comes the denomin. verb: u-ma-a-s-sir 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *he divided into tens* 15, 3 and Notes and Illust.

אַפּךּ comp. Hebr. הִפִּיךָ. — it-ta-pi-ik 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *he overpowered* 399, 3. — apiktu Subst. *subjugation, defeat* Id. 194, 97; 201 (Eng. ed. p. 191 last line); 202; 203; 209, 48; 289, 79 (read apiktaš u-un); 326, footnote \*; 349, 52.

אַפּס apšû, the Sumer.-Akk. zu-a-b Subst. *Sea, Ocean*. Ideogr. 2, 3.

- אִפֶּק from which is derived tupku, see תַּפְּקוּ.
- 534 אִפֶּק (ir) Ap-ku name of the town *Aphék* אִפֶּק 204.
- אִפְּרָא ipru Subst. *dust*, עָפָר, עֶפְרָא, 455, 8. 11. Stat. constr. i-par 235, 27; 450, Rev. 1; 456 (Job XXVIII. 6).
- אִפְּרָא appartu Subst. *reed* (Del.), *rush*, *morass?* — Pl. ap-pa-ra (a)-ti 345, 7. 11; 351, 59. Comp. Targ.-Talm. אִפְּרָא, אִפְּרָא.
- אִשׁ iš, iššu (on the latter form see Keilinsch. und Geschichtsforschung p. 109 footnote) Subst. *wood*, *tree*, Hebr. עֵץ, Ethiop. ሀሰ, Arab. عَص (Homm.) and also عَصَا, Aram. אִשׁ. As determinative 183 (1 Kings V. 13); 184 ad init. etc. etc. — Plur. iš-i comp. Hebr. עֵצִים written iš-i. See Halévy-Sayce in Journ. Asiat. VII. 1 (1876) p. 353.
- אִשְׁשֻׁרוּ אִשְׁשֻׁרוּ see אִשְׁשֻׁרוּ.
- אִשְׁשֻׁרוּ iššûru Subst. *bird*, comp. عَصْفُور. Phon. iš-šu-ru(ri) 255, 23; 426; Stat. constr. iššur. Ideogr. (for this comp. II R. 40, 17 e. f.) 261, 9; 290, 20; (302, 28); 383, ad fin.; 455, 10. — iš-šu-riš Adv. "like a bird" 350, 57.
- אִשְׁרָאמַחַס (ilu) U-šur-a-mat-sa epithet of Nanaea "guard her saying!" 457; comp. below נִצַּר.
- אִכְּבִּיבּוּ ikkibu (for ikkibu) Subst. *heel*, comp. عَقِبٌ, كَعْبٌ, with Suff. ik-ki-bu-uš 290, 23.
- אִכְּבָא (ir) A-ka-ba name of a town *Akaba*, 370, 30.
- אִכְּלִי ik-lu Subst. *field*, Aram. حَقْلٌ, سَمْلٌ, חֲקִיל 27.
- אִקְּוּ u-ku-pi. Subst. Plur. *apes* (comp. Hebr. קוֹף)? — 450, Rev. 3.
- אִקְּשׁוּ (root עִקַּץ?) ik-šu Adj. *strong*, *powerful*; from which ik-šu-[ti] Plur. msc. 17, 2.
- אִרְּוּ iru (iru?) Subst. *town*, Hebr. עִיר. Synon. âlu. Ideogr. 79, footnote\*; 93 (Eng. ed. p. 76 footn.); 97 and footn.; 156; 193, 80. 81 etc. Plur. ir-â-ni 193, 78; 194, 87.
- אִרְּוּ? — Ur —? proper name *Uruk*(?) 94.
- אִרְּוּמִי urumu Subst. *tree-stem* (? — Rad. רֹמֶם?) [u]-ru-mi Plur. 17, 2.
- אִרְּוּשׁוּ I-ri-i-šu Cypr. proper name 355, 17.
- אִרְּוּבּוּ comp. Aram. حَرَبٌ (Hebr. עֲרַב, Ar. غَرَبٌ). — iru-ub (written T U.ub), with Cop. i-ru-u-m-ma (for i-ru-u-b-ma) 1. Ps. and 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal I, *he entered* 193, 80; 261, 7; 345, 7. 9; 450, 72. — u-širi-ib(bi) 3. and 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. I, *he brought in* 373, 33. 34 (footn. \*\*). — u-širi-bu do. 3. Ps. sing. *he had brought in* 290, 33; 299



(Notes & Illust.); 302, 31. — *i-ta-rab* 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *he entered* 482, B. C. 787. — [*lu-ru-ba* precat. (or voluntat.) *I will assuredly enter* 455, 15, see under *לִי* or *לָּו*. — Transl.]. — *âribu* Part. act. Kal Ideogr. (Gen.) 178; 179. — *î-ri-bu* Subst. *entrance*, of the sun *setting*. With suff. 455, 5. 7. Stat. constr. *î-rib* 140; 184, 69.

**ארב** (*mât*) A-ri-bu, A-ri-bi, name of the country *Arabia* (*North Arabia*), comp. **עֲרַב**, **عَرَب** 253; 255, 30; 262, 15; 397, 3; 414. — *av.* Ur-bi name of a tribe 290, 31; 302, 31; 346, 13. — (*mât*) Ar-ba-ai Adj. the *Arbaïte* 194, 94; 277, 4.

**ארבא** see **רבא**.

**ארבאל** (*îr*) Arba-ilu, Ar-ba-'il name of the town *Arbela*, Pers. *Arbîrâ* 118, footnote \*; 333, 16; 484, B. C. 759. — Arba-ilu proper name of *Istar* as goddess of *Arbela* 36. — Arba-ilu-a-ši-rat proper name, Aram. **ארבלסר** 36.

**ארבח** (*îr*) Arba-ḥa, Ar-rap-ḥa name of a city or country *Arrhaphitis*, *Albâq* 112; 480, B. C. 812. 803; 484, B. C. 769; 486, B. C. 745. 735.

**ארבלא** Ur-bal-la-a, name of a Tuchiaean 253; 257.

**ארבן** (*îr*) Ir-ba-an name of a town 315, probably the modern Arbân **عربان** on the Châbûr, where Layard discovered Assyrian remains.

**ארבן** (*mât*) A-ra-ba-nuv name of a country 426, 24.

**ארנמן** ar-ga-man-nu Subst. *red purple*, Hebr. **אַרְנָמָן** 155.

**ארנן** (*îr*) Ar-ga-na-a name of a town 194, 88. 89.

**ארדמן** Ur-da-ma-ni-î Aegypt. proper name 450, 72; 452, 67.

**ארוד** (*îr*) Ar-va-da, also A-ru-a-di, A-ru-a-da, A-ru-da(-ai), name of a town *Arados* 104; 157, 86; 355, 9. — (*îr*) Ar-va-da-ai Adj. *Arvadite* 194, 93; 257. — (*mât*) Ar-va-da-a-ja Adj. do. 184. — (*îr*) A-ru-da-ai Adj. do. 288, 49.

**ארוזש** (*mât*) A-ra-zi-aš name of a country 213, 6.

**ארוק** (*îr*) A-ra-zi-ki name of a town *Arazik*, *Ἐρακιζα*, Talm. **ארניוא** 184 (and footn. \*\*).

**ארה** urḥu Subst. *way*, Hebr. **אַרְחַ**. Plur. ur-ḥi 450, 73.

**ארה** (Rad. ?) ar-ḥiš Adv. *at the right time* (?) 289, 68.

**ארה** arḥu Subst. *month*, see **ורח**.

**ארחלאן** Ir-ḥu-li-(î)-ni(na) Hamathite proper name (**ירחל-עין**?) 107; 194, 88. 91; 201.

**ארתח** (*nâr*) Araḥti, written A-ra-aḥ-ti, name of a river or canal 31.

**אריאך** Iri-Aku, name of an old Babyl. king = Hebr. **אַרְיֵךְ** 135; 430.

אָרֶךְ *to be long*, comp. Hebr. אָרֶךְ. — ur-ri-ku 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Kal *they became long* 2, 13. — a-ra-ku Subst. (stat. constr.) *length* 373 (footn. \*\*).

אָרֶךְ urku Subst. *battle-array*, comp. Hebr. מַעֲרֶכֶת. Stat. constr. u-ru-uk 345, 8.

אָרֶךְ arki, see וּרְךְ.

אָרֶךְ Arka, also Uruk, name of a town *Erech-Warka*, Hebr. אָרֶךְ 13; 94; 346, 13. — Arkaitu Adj. Fem. *she of Erech* 94, written Arka-ai-i-tu, Var. Arka-ai-i-tav Sm. Assurb. 250, o) 457.

536 אָרֶךְ U-ri-ik(-ki) proper name of a Ḳuaean 252; 257.

אָרֶל (mât, šad) Aralu, written A-ra-al-lu(li), A-ra-lu. Name of a locality, especially of a mountain, at the same time an Assy. term for the Lower World 389, 156 and footnote.

אָרַם arammu Subst. *bulwark, rampart*, comp. عَرِم 290, 15.

אָרַם A-ra-mu, A-ru-mu, A-ri-mu(mi), name of a race, *Aramaean*, Hebr. אָרַם 115 and footnotes. — (mât) A-ru(ra)-mu name of the country *Aramaea* 116; 232, 5. 13; 369, 29. — (mât) Ar-ma-a-ja race-adj. *Aramaean* 116. — A-ra-mí, proper name of a North-Syrian king 193, 83.

אָרַם U-ri-im-mí, name of a prince 253.

אָרַמְלֶךְ U-ru-mil-ki, see under אָוֶר.

אָרְן arnu Subst. *sin*. With Suff. a-ra-an-šu-nu 290, 6. — Derivation uncertain. — Comp. also under אָנֶן.

אָרֶן (iṣ) í-ri-nu-v(ni) Subst. *cedar*, comp. Hebr. אָרֶן 411; 412; — 388; Plur. írinî Ideogr. 184; shortened ír-ni 412.

אָרַנְתַּ (nâr) A-ra-an-tu name of the river *Orontes* 195, 101. Comp. Aegypt. *Anurtha, Arnutha* (Chabas: *Aranta*).

אָרַסְלִים (ír) Ur-sa-li-im-mu (mía) name of the city *Jerusalem* יְרוּשָׁלַיִם אִסְרַלִּים 161; 290, 8. 20. 32; 302, 27. 29. 31.

אָרַפַּד (ír, mât) Ar-pad-da name of the town *Arpad* אָרַפַּד, the modern Tell-Erfâd 323 (Khorsab. 33 foll.); 324; 328; 480, B. C. 806; 484, B. C. 754; 486, B. C. 743—40.

אָרֶץ iršituv Subst. *earth*, comp. אָרֶץ, Ar. أَرْض, Aram. אֶרֶץ. Phon. ir-ši-tiv (Gen.) 123; 124, 27; 178. — Written irši-tiv ibid. 177.

אָרֶךְ arḳu Adj., see וּרְךְ.

אָרֶךְ (ír) Ar-ḳa-(a) name of a town, *Arḳá*, Hebr. עֲרֶקֶי, Greek Ἄρακα, Lat. *Arca* 104.

אָרַקְנַת ((mât) Ir-ḳa-na-ta-ai Adj. *man of the land Irḳanat* 194, 92.

אָרר *urru* Subst. *light*, comp. Arab. <sup>أُر</sup>, Hebr. אֹר, written *ur-ru* 53, footn. \* (Eng. ed. p. 54) (to be pronounced *û ru?* —) 53, 30. — *U-ru-mil-ki*, see under אֹר.

אָרר *arratu* Subst. *curse*. Stat. constr. *arrat* Ideogr. 47. Hebr. אָרר. אָררט *U-ra-ar-tu(ṭi)* name of the country *Armenia*, comp. the Bibl. אָררט (52) 83; 482, B. C. 781 foll.; 486, B. C. 743. 735.

אָרש *iršu* (not *íršu!*). Subst. *bed, couch*, comp. עָרַשׁ, حُرْتًا, عَرَسٌ. 537 Ideogr. 213, 19; Plur. 290, 36; 299.

אָרש *maršitu*, see אָרש.

אָש *aš-šu* properly *to that* (we may suppose it to be compounded from *ana-šu*, see *Assyr. Babyl. Keil.* (1872) p. 296), transitional or illative particle *accordingly* 398 (Botta 149, 8); Prep. *to* (bef. Infin. in the sense of *in order to*) 353, 36.

אָש *išatu* Subst. *fire* אָש, אֵשׁ: (אֵשׁ). Phon. *i-š-a-tuv* 180. Pl. *išātu*. Phon. *i-ša-a-ti* (Gen.) 182. Ideogr. 181; 194, 89. 90.

אָש *iššûtu*, see אָרש.

אָשב *išbu* Subst. *vegetable* עֵשֶׁב. Written *iš-bi* 397, 3.

אָשן (*ír*) *U-šu-u* name of a town 288, 40; 301, 20. Accord. to Delitzsch = Hebr. אושא (?).

אָשחן (*šad*) *Aš-ḥa-ni* name of a mountain 220, 29.

אָשחח *Uš-ḥi-it-ti*, name of a Tunaean 253; 257.

אָשם *uš-ma-ni* Subst. Plur. *stores*, comp. Hebr. אָסַם, Aram. אָסַן 209, 51. — *šabi uš-ma-ni* *baggage servants* (?) 261, 8.

אָשף *a-ši-pu* Subst. *one who employs conjurations* אָשַׁף, أَحَدٌ 430 (on Dan. II. 2).

אָשף *iš-ḫa-ti* Subst. Plur. fem. *bonds, fetters* (root עֶשֶׁף, عَسَف?) 371.

אָשר *ašru* Subst. *place*, comp. Ar. <sup>أَشْر</sup>, Aram. <sup>أَشْر</sup>. — *aš-ru*, with Suff. *a-ša-ar-šu* (*ša*) 124, 7. — *a-šar-šu* 188; 213, 9; 345, 11 (*ad fin.*); 397, 2; 398 (150, 8; 151, 10 line 2). Stat. constr. *a-šar* 288, 41; 389 (footn. \*); 455, 8 (Eng. ed. p. 156). Gen. with Suff. (*a-na*) *aš-ri-šu-nu* 458 (footn. \*. 50). — *išritu* Subst. *holy place, temple*. Plur. *iš-ri-í-ti* 136 (footn. \* p. 122 Eng. ed.), *iš-ri-ti* 389, 156.

אָשר *ašáru* *to be good, kind*; comp. יֵשֶׁר. — *šu-tí-šu-ru* Inf. *Istaph. management, regulation* 124 (col. 1. 32). — *âšir* Part. *good, kind*; Fem. *âširat*. Ideogr. with phon. complement *rat* 36. — \**ašûr* (*sic!*) Adj. masc. *kind* 36. — *mu-šar(sar)-í* see מָסַר.

אָשר *Ašur* name of the god *Asur*, written *A-šur* 35. Ideogr. 91, 52; 153; 194, 96; 201 etc. — *Ašur-aḥ-iddin* a proper name *Asarhaddon*

Hebr. אֶסְרָדִין, Gr. Ἀσαρίδιος = Axerdis (35); 326, footn. \*; 333, 44. 8; 335 (line 1 *bis*); 337, 6; 374, 30. — Ašur-bânî-abal "Asur the creator of the son" proper name *Sardanapalus* 335, *bis*. — Ašur-til-ili-ukinni "Asur, the exalted among the gods, made me", proper name 359. — Ašur-na-din-šum "Asur gives the name", proper name Gr. Ἀσαρνάδιος (written Ἀπαρνάδιος) 35; 351, 63. — Ašur-nâšir-abal "Asur protects the son", proper name 184, 63. — Ašur-rîš-i-ši "Asur, exalt the head!" proper name 91, 56.

- 538 אֶשׁוּר (ir) Ašur name of the town (comp. the name of the god) *Asur*, written A-šur 35; 97; 193, 85. — (mât) Aššur (Ašur) comp. Hebr. אֲשׁוּר, Syr. ܐܫܘܪ name of the country *Assyria*. Phon. Aš-šur and A-šur 35. Ideogr. 91, 52. 56. 57; 97; 117; 156; 180; 184, 63. 64 etc. — Aš-šu-ri-tuv Adj. Fem. *Assyrian* 35.

אֶשְׂרָד a-ša-ri-du Adj. *chief, princely* 266 footn. \* P. S.; 413; of uncertain origin. [Acc. to Fr. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. from ašar (ašru) 'place' and idu 'one'. — Transl.]. Occurs frequently in the Assyrian royal name Šulmânu-ašârîdu, see below under שְׁלֹם.

(אש) = אדש from אדש = Hebr. אֶדְשׁ? — i-š-ši-i-š Adv. from the Adj. iššu *new*, meaning *anew* 124, 15 b. — iššûtu Subst. *newness*. Phon. (ana) iš-šu-ti, iš-šu-u-ti i. e. *in newly founding, anew* 97; 249 (Eng. ed. p. 241 footn. †).

אֶשְׁתּוּ ištū Prep. *from, out of* (of what etymology?). Phon. iš-tu 184, 69. Ideogr. 91, 58; 179, *bis*; 184, 66. Comp. also אֶתּוּ.

אֶשְׁטוּ aššatu, see אֶנְשׁוּ.

אֶשְׁתִּין ištīn, comp. Hebr. עֶשְׂתִּי (עֶשֶׂר). Written ištī-in 234, 24. — ištī-niš (so read!) Adv. *in one, with one another* 2, 5. Comp. Aram. כְּתִינָא (Hpt.); Hebr. כְּתִינָא etc.

אֶשְׁתַּנְדָּא (?) (ir) Iš(Mil)-tu-an-da-ai Adj. *the Istundaeen* 253; 257.

אֶשְׁתַּר Ištār comp. عِشْتَر (حَد), name of the goddess *Istar-Astarte*, written Iš-tar 176; 177. — išt-ari-tuv *goddess* 177. Ideogr. 13; 178; 326, footn. \*; 333, 15 etc. — ištārāti *goddesses*, written ištārâ-ti 177; išt-ār-at 180; Stat. estr. ištār-at 177 (179); 180. — Išt-ār-dûr-ka-li proper name = עֶשְׂדַרְקַל 177.

אֶתּוּ itti Prep. *with*, comp. Hebr. אֶתּוּ and (Del.) Assy. ittu "side". Phon. it-ti 26, 16; 140; 194, 97; 201; 203; 289, 78; 290, 34; 301, 24; 302, 31 etc. Ideogr. (= KI) *passim*.

אֶתְּא attā Pron. 2. pers. *thou*, see אֶנְתּוּ.

אֶתְּא (avil) I-tu- name of a tribe 232, 5.

אֶתּוּ itû Subst. *boundary*. Gen. i-ti-í 398 (150. 6). Masculine form of the feminine form ittu, Plur. itâti? — on this comp. Del. in Lotz *Insch. Tigl. Pileser I* 115 foll.

אחואנדר I-tu-u-an-da-ar Cypr. proper name *Itûandar* = Ἐτέ Fav-  
δος 355, 16.

אהך utukku Subst. *Genius, Demon* 39; 160.

אהך (ilu) I-tak name of a god 283.

אהלו atalû Subst. *overshadowing, eclipse* (see III Rawl. 58 No. 8  
line 50). Ideogr. A N.MI 484 B. C. 763<sup>b</sup>. Should we compare Arab.

عطل, Hebr. עֲטַלָּה?

אהן (ir) A-ti-in-ni name of a town 220, 30.

אהנן (mât) A t-n-a-n-a name of a country, *Cyprus* 86, see also אהנן.<sup>539</sup>

אהק comp. אַהַק, אַהַק. — i-ti-i-ḳ 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he received*  
(I Rawl. 7 No. J. 3) 287, 28. — ti-ti-ḳ u 3. Ps. Sg. fem. Impft. *Ifte she*  
*went* 262, 16. — in-ni-it-ḳ a-am-ma 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Nif. with Cop.  
*he was carried away* 277 (I Rawl. 36. 20). — mí-tí-ḳ u Subst. *march,*  
401; Stat. constr. mi-ti-i-ḳ 218, 2; 289, 65; also mi-ti-i-ḳ 301, 22.

אהר (ilu) A-tar name of a goddess, *Adar*, comp. אַהַרְמֶלֶךְ, properly  
*father of decision, father of destiny* 179; 443.

אהר (ilu) A-tar-s-a-ma-(a i)-in Syr.-Arab. deity = אַהַר סַמִּין, i. e.  
שמין "ע Athar (*Astarte*) of heaven 110 (footn. \* Eng. ed. p. 94); 148;  
414 (Jer. VII. 18).

## ב

באו (ilu) Ba u name of a god, written Ba-u (= Hebr. בְּאוּ?) 14.

באל bálu *to rule* = Hebr. בעל etc. From it we get i-bí-lu, i-pi-  
lu, i-bí-íl 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he ruled, obtained possession of* 248,  
4; 326, footn. \*: 338, 12; a-bil 1. Ps. Sg. *I took possession of* 232, 6.  
14. — bí-lu Subst. *lord*, Hebr. בעל (בל is in Hebr. a foreign word);  
Stat. constr. bíl. Ideogr. 124, Col. II. 5; 174; 193, 79 *ad fin.*; 194,  
96 etc. Written bí-lu 174; Stat. constr. bíl 174 and *passim*; bíl  
kussî *one who has a right to the throne* 323 (Khorsab. 33 *ad inít.*);  
398, 11; bíl narkabti *charioteer* 261, 3; bíl lišâni *interpreter* 400  
(Eng. ed. p. 91 Notes and Illust.); bíl adí etc. 289, 70; bíl ḥittî  
323 (line 4 fr. below Eng. ed.); 346, 13. — bílî Subst. Plur., written  
bi-í-li-í with Suff. 174; Ideogr. 91, 54. — bíltuv Subst. *mistress*.  
From this we get Stat. constr. bílit, bi-í-li-it, bí-lit 175, *passim*; 176;  
177, *passim*; 178, *passim*; 232, 16. — bílûtu Subst. *dominion*, written  
bí-lû-ti-(ja) (Gen.) 193, 79; 286. — bí-lu-ti-(ja) 288, 36; 301, 18;  
338, 17 etc.; with Suff. 3. Ps. bí-lut-su 398, 9. — tab-bi-lu-tu  
Subst. *dominion, government* 345, 10. — Bílu name of the god *Bel*,  
Ideogr. 123; 160; 173, *bis*; 174, *passim*; 177, *ad fin.* — Bíltu, Bílit  
name of the goddess *Beltis*, written Bí-lit 178. Ideogr. 175. — Bíl-

a bu-u-a proper name 150, footn. — Bīl-ímur-a-ni proper name 314, and footn. \*. — Bīl-ibuš proper name *Belibus*, written Bīl-ibuš, Bīl-ibu-uš, Bīl-i-bu-uš 176 and footn. \*; 346, 14 (Bīl-ibnī; see 349 Notes and Illust.). — Bīl-lu-d a-ri proper name 166. — Bīl ʾar-ušur proper name *Belshazzar* בִּלְשַׁאצַּר 176; 433 and footn. \*\*; 434, 24. — Ba-ʾlu(li), Tyr. proper name = בעל 170 and footn. \*\*; 173; 355, 1. Ba-ʾal-ḥ a-nu-nu Phoen. proper name i. e. בעלחנן 105. — Ba-ʾal-ja-šu-pu Phoen. proper name i. e. Kanaanite בעליסר 105. — Ba-ʾal-ma-lu-ku Phoen. proper name i. e. Kanaanite בעלמלך 105. — (mât) (šad?) Ba-ʾli-ša-bu(pu)-na name of a country or mountain 154; 220, 27. — (šad) Ba-ʾli-ra-si name of a mountain = Hebr. בעל-ראש 210, 60; 211 (Notes and Illust.).

540 באן uban Subst. (Stat. constr.) *thumb*, then *summit*, comp. Hebr.

בֹּהַן, Arab. أَبْهَامٌ. Ideogr. 209, 45; 211 (Notes and Illust.).

כאם Ba-ʾsa Ammonite royal name *Baasha* = Hebr. בעשא 141 (Gen. XIX. 38); 189; 194, 95.

כב bâbu *door*, *gate-way* comp. Arab. بَابٌ, Aram. כְּבָא; written ba-a-bu Syll. 365. Ideogr. 129; 455, 12.

כבל (for בכאל) (ir) Bâbilû (Bâbilu?) name of the town *Babylon* = Hebr. כְּבַל, written Ba-bi-lu, Ba-bi-i-lu, Bâb-ilu etc. (see p. 128) 11 (footn.); 128; 247, 1; 276; 278; 335 (I Rawl. 48 No. 5. 3); 363, 2. 6; 480, B. C. 812 etc. — (ir) Bâbilai Gentile adj. *Babylonian*, written Babila-ai 128 (footnote \*\*\*). — (mât) Bâb-ilu *land of Babel*, *Babylonia* 129. — (ir) Bâb-dûr name of a town, properly *gate-way of the fortress* 129. — (ir) Bab-sa-li-mi-ti name of a town 370, 30.

כוז (mât) Ba-a-zu name of a country, comp. Hebr. כּוּז 141 (Gen. XXII. 21).

כוך comp. Hebr. כּוּךָ (כּוּךָ) (Arab. كَاك). — a-bu-ka 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I carried away* 374, 26; 375 (Notes and Illust.).

כול bul Subst., probably to be connected with יכל = *produce*, *production*, also applied to animals, written bu-ul 17, 4.

כחל bit-ḥal-lu(1a) Subst. *horsemen*, *cavalry* 194, 101; 195.

כחר see פחר.

כטן (iṣ) buṭnu name of the plant *Pistacio*, comp. Hebr. כֶּטָן (Gen. 43, 11), Ar. بَطْنٌ. Written bu-uṭ-nu Asurn. Stand-Inscr. 18; his Obelisk inscr. I R. 28 col. II, 15; Sargon's Khors. 159 etc.

כיה bitu Subst. *house*, Hebr. בֵּית, Arab. بَيْت etc. — Bit-ZI.DA

name of a Babylonian building 123; 363, 4. — Bit(I')-Par-ra name of a temple 280. — Bit-Sag-ga-ṭu (I'-sag-ila) name of a temple 122; 363, 3. — Bit-ri-du-[u-]ti name of a palace 335, 8. — (mât) Bit-A-di-ni name of the country **בֵּית-עֶדֶן** 116; 327 *bis.* — (mât) Bit-Am-ma-na(nu) name of the country *Ammon*, **עַמּוֹן**, see below **אֲמֹן**. — (ír) Bit-Da-kan(gan)-na name of the town *Beth-Dâgôn* 167; Josh. XV. 41; 289, 65. — (ír) Bit-zi-it-tí name of a town = **בֵּית-צִיֹּת** 288, 39. — (mât) Bit-Ḥu-um-ri-i name of a country *Omriland*, see **חַמְרֵי**. — (mât) Bit-Ja-ki-ni, Bit-Ja-kin name of a country *Jakin'sland* (in Babylonia) 247, 3; 350, 50; 351, 59. — (mât) Bit-Ku-ba-tiv, name of a country 426, 25. — (mât) Bit-Ša-'al-li name of a country 234, 25. — (mât) Bit-Ši-la-a-ni name of a country 232, 8; 234, 25.

**בֶּן** (šad) Bi-ik-ni name of a mountain 247, 3.

**בָּכַר** comp. **בָּרַךְ**, **בָּרַכְתִּי**. — lit-tib-ka-ru 3. Ps. Pl. Volunt. 541 lfte. (from a quadril. **אֲבָכַר**?) *may they bless* 373 (footnote \*\* 35).

**בַּלַּח** (nâr) Ba-li-ḥi name of a river *Belias*, *Belich* **الْبَلِيح** 134.

**בַּלְאֲטוּ** balâṭu *to live*. u-bal-liṭ 3. Sing. masc. Imperf. Pael *he preserved alive* esp. in proper names Rammân-u-bal-liṭ *Rammân preserved alive* 472 (Can. III B. C. 786). Sometimes abbreviated to balliṭ as in Sin-balliṭ (Hebr. **סַנְבַּלְט**) and Nabû-bal-liṭ-an-ni 382 (Neh. II. 10). — balâṭu Subst. *life*. Stat. constr. bal-[lat] 195, 100. — bal-ṭaṭ Asurb. Cyl. Rass. IV, 95 (see under **נָפֵשׁ**). — balṭûtu Subst. *the being alive, life* with Suff. bal-ṭu-us-su-nu *them . . . alive* 261, 7; 289, 81; 302, 25. — bul-lu-ṭu Inf. Pa. *summoning to life* 26, 16. — Balâṭ-su-ušur or Balâṭa-šu-ušur proper name *Belteshazzar*, Hebr. **בַּלְטַשְׁאֲצַר** 429.

**בַּלְסוּ** Ba-la-su, Ba-la-si-i Babyl. proper name *Belesys* **Βέλεσος** 234, 26; 236, Notes and Illust.

**בִּלְטוּ** biltu, Stat. constr. bilat, see under **וּבַל**.

**בִּמְם** (ír) Bu-ma-mí name of a town 220, 30.

**בָּנִי** banû *build*, Hebr. **בָּנָה**, Arab. **بَنَى**, Aram. **בָּנָ**. — ab-ni 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I built* 97. — ib-nu-u 3. Ps. Sg. and Pl. masc. Impft. Kal *he made* 26, 15; *they made* 17, 1. — ba-ní Part. Pl. *doing, making* 289, col. III 6. — ib-ba-nu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Nif. *they were made* 2, 9. — ba-n u-(a) Part. or Subst. *creator, producer* 174; 326 (footnote); 333, 8; 337, 6; ba-ni-(ja) 413. — bin-bin Subst. (comp. Hebr. **בֶּן** etc.) *son's son, grandson* 46. — bintu Subst. Fem. (comp. Hebr. **בַּת** etc.) *daughter* 46; Stat. constr. banat(?) 179; Plur. banâti Ideogr. 289, 60; 291, 38; 302, 32. — binûti Subst. *production*. Stat. constr. bi-nu-u-t 235, 28. — nab-nitu Subst. *sprout*. Gen. uab-ni-ti 175, *ad fin.*

בְּנֵי-בַרְקָא (ir) Ba-na-a-i-bar-ka name of a Phoen.-Philist. town בְּנֵי-בַרְקָא 167 (Josb. XV. 41); 172; 289, 66.

בַּר (mât) Ba-ri name of a country 277, Botta 75, 4. Or, with Delitzsch, are we to take it as an appellative = âšibût madbari "inhabitant of the desert" comp. Khors. 124 : ša-ab šîri "people of the steppe"? —

בַּר mu-uš-ta-bar-ru-u Part. Istafa. creating 413.

בַּרְגָּא (ir) Bar-ga-a (Mas-ga-a?) name of a town 194, 88.

בִּרְדָּא Bir-da-ad-da (Smith's Assurb. 271, 106), also written (Var.) (Bir-ilu) Dadda (A.N.I.M), Syr. proper name = בִּרְדָּא i. e. Hebr. בִּרְדָּא 148; 206.

בִּר i-ba-ru-u 3. Ps. Pres. Kal he draws forth 169.

בַּרְחָא bu-ru-ḥi Subst. (Gen.) spear, comp. Hebr. בַּרְחָא 209, footn. \*; bu-ru-ḥa-ti Plur. 208.

בִּרְכָא birku Subst. knee, Hebr. בִּרְכָא, Eth. ቢርቱ, Syr. برك, comp. Chald. אֲרִכְוֹבָא. Phon. Pl. bir-ki with Suff. 351, 64.

542 בִּרְמִי bir-mí Subst. a clothing material = Berom בִּרְמִי? — 213, 19; 216 (footn. \*\*\*); 235, 28; 255, 25; 450, Rev. 2.

בִּרְנָא Bu-ra-nu-nu Akkad. river-great (= Euphrates) 34, comp. בִּרְתָא.

בִּרְסָפָא Barsap, Barsip, Barzipav etc. name of a town, Borsippa, written Bâr-sap (so read!) 124, Col. I. 27; 278. For the other ways of writing the name see 124 footn. \*.

בִּרְקָא comp. בִּרְקָא, יִבְרָק, 𐎲𐎠𐎫𐎠. — bir-ku(ki) lightning 205. — (ilu) Bar-ku (for Ba-ri-ku!) lightener, name of a god 205. — (ilu) Bir-ku lightning 206.

בִּרְשָׁא (ir) bu-ra-šu name of a plant cypress בִּרְשָׁא 388. Ideogr. 388.

בִּרְתָא properly to bind (comp. birîtu chain?). — birtu Subst. union. Stat. constr. bi-rit between, also ina, ana bi-rit to or in the neighbourhood of 486, B. C. 745c.

בִּרְתָא bi-ri-tu (= birîtu root בִּרְתָא? —) Subst. chain 289, 71; 301, 23; 371 (399, 5).

בִּרְתָא Burattuv name of the river Euphrates, Hebr. בִּרְתָא, Arab. بَرْتَات. Phon. Bu-rat-tuv 34. Ideogr. with phon. complement rat 82, 104; 156; 193, 82.

בִּרְתָא name of a country (Bit)-Bu-ru-ta-aš 83.

בִּרְשָׁא basû properly in eo sc. est, then he, it is from ba + šu comp. Eth. ቢር, see Assy. Babyl. Keil. 304; W. Wright in Trans. Soc.



Bibl. Arch. III, 109. — ba-šū-u 26, 16. Frequently combined with mala = mala-bašû *so many of them as there were*, see under מלא. — u-šab-šū-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impf. Shaf. *they realized, executed, practised* 289, col. III. 2; 302, 26.

בשל bašlu Adj. written ba-aš-lu *ripe*, comp. Aram. בשל. Substantival 19, 30.

בשם to be beautiful, glorious, comp. Hebr. בישם, Aram. بصر. — u-ba-aš-šim 3. Ps. Sg. masc. Impf. Pa. *he raised up gloriously* 15, 1. — u-ba-aš-ši-mu 3. Ps. Plur. 17, 2.

בחק (בחך? — comp. Hebr. בחק, Arab. بتك). — ab-tuḫ (ab-tuk) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal. *I cut off* 290, 24; 302, 29.

בחה (mât) Bi-ta-a-tiv name of a country 426, 25.

## ג

גאם Gi-a-m-mu proper name 193, 79 *bis*.

גב gab with ana Prep. *opposite*, comp. Talm. גבי, גב 194, 96; 201. (Eng. ed. p. 191); 203; 396, 1; 397 (footn. \* 2).

גבל (ír, mât) Gu-ub-li name of a town or city *Byblos* גבל 185; 543 355, 8. — (ír) Gu-ub-la-ai Adj. *Byblian* 185; 252, *ad fin.*; 257; 288, 49. — Gu-bal-ai Adj. 157, 86; 185; 207 (Lay. pl. 92. 102 foll.).

גבר Ga-ba-ri proper name 193, 83.

גבש gi-biš (Stat. constr.) *mass, crowd*, comp. Arab. جيس, Hebr. גביש 209, 42; 398 (150. 1). — gabšū Adj. *in a mass, complete*. Fem. Plur. gab-ša-tí 218, 8; gab-ša-a-ti 323.

גוא Gu-ai Adj. *the Gnaean* i. e. one of the land Gu'í or Ḳu'í (Keil. u. Gesch. 121. 236 foll.; 257 foll.) 194, 92.

גג Gu-gu, Gu-ug-gu proper name *Gyges, Γύγης* (= Hebr. גוג?) 427 (Ezek. XXXVIII. 2). — Ga-gi, Ga-a-gi proper name 427, *ibid.*

גוס Gu-si, also Gu-u-si (Asum. III, 77) proper name 193, 83.

גומן (mât) Gu-zu-um-ma-ni name of a country 345, 7. 11.

גון (ír) Gu-z-a-na name of a town *Gozan* 275; 480 (B. C. 809); 482 (B. C. 794); 484 (B. C. 763. 759. 758); 488 C, 6.

גחל guḥlu Subst. Phon. gu-uḥ-li 290, 35.

גחן Gu-ḥa-an + DI (Assyr. Guḥānu?) 31 (Gen. II. 13). Not im- probably = גיחון.

גל (ilu) Gu-la name of a deity, *the goddess Gula*, properly *the mighty, majestic* comp. Akkad. GAL. Phon. 333, 12.

... גל (ír) Ga-al-[ad?] name of a town *Gile[ad?]* 255, 17.

גלל gullatu Subst. *region* (Syn. of šubtu) comp. Hebr. גְּלִילָה, גְּלִיל; see Haupt Sumer. Familiengesetze 28 and comp. Asurn. Stand. 4 da-a-iš gul-lat nâkiri "treading down the region of the enemy", as well as the passage cited in 456 *ad fin.* belonging to the Salmanassar-inscr.; but this meaning is ill-suited to the passage Cyrus Cyl. 34 (above p. 373, footn. \*\*). Ought we to assume the existence of two completely distinct words? — Comp. below כל.

גמבל (avîl) Gam-bu-lu name of a tribe 346, 16.

גמט (mât) Gam-gu-ma-ai Adj. *he of Gangum* 193, 84; 253; 257.

גמל comp. גַּמֶּל, 𐎮𐎠𐎺𐎠: 𐎮𐎠𐎺𐎠. — gammal Subst. *camel*, phon. gam-ma-lu 194, 94. — gam-mal 397, 3; Plur. gam-mal (with sign for Plural) 290, 18; 345, 8; 346, 17.

גמר comp. Hebr. גָּמַר, Aram. ܓܡܪ. — gimru Subst. *the total, whole* 2, 4. — Stat. constr. gi-mir 83, *ad init.*; 174; 234, 24; 332, 18. With Suff. gim-ri-(šu, ša etc.) Gen. 213, 9. 10; 249 (Eng. ed. p. 241 footn. †). — gi-mir-tu (same meaning) 220, 27. 29 (*bis*). — git-mu-ru (Gen. ri) 333, 15.

גמר (mât, avîl) Gi-mir-ra-ai Adj. *the Kimmerian*, comp. Hebr.

544 גָּמַר, Κιμμέριοι 80; 84.

גמתיאסדרם (îr) Gi-im-tu-A s-du-di-im-mu name of a Phoenician town, perhaps = גַּת אֲסַדְרִים (Hal.)? — 166; 398, 8.

גן ginû *garden*, written gi-nu-u, comp. גֵּן, Arab. ܓܢܐ, Aram. ܓܢܐ, 𐎮𐎠𐎺𐎠: (Akkad. ga-na) 27 foll.

גנדיבא Gi-in-di-bu' proper name *Gindibuh* 194, 24.

גננכר (mât) Gi-nun-bu-un-da name of a country 213, 7.

גמר giparu Subst. *darkness, gloom*, Akkad. in origin; gi-pa-ra 2, 6.

גַּר GAR.GA, GAR.ŠU [these readings have been meanwhile shown to be incorrect. With Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. p. XVI, read ša-ga ša-šu as is shown by the variant to Taylor cyl. col. II 56 ša-a-šu; comp. Dr. Schrader's note on p. 348 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 33). — Transl.]. Ideograms of essentially similar meaning viz. *property, wealth, baggage* and also *stores, provisions* 193, 81; 194, 88. 89; 213, 20; 232, 10. 11; 255, 21; 289, 56; 295.

גראמר (mât) Gar(Ša)-imîri-šu name of a country *Syria-Damaskus* 138; 202; 213, 15; 262, 15; abbreviated (mât) Imîri-šu 138; 201; 203; 207, *bis*; 209, 41; 213, 15. — (mât) Gar-imîri-šu-ai Adj. *Syrian* 252. Comp. under אמר imîru.

גרגמיש (îr, mât) Gar-ga-miš name of the town *Karkemish*, Hebr. כַּרְכַּמִּישׁ, written Gar-ga-mis 314 (Eng. ed. Vol. I p. 308 footn. \*); 384, *ad fin.*; also Kar-ga-mis 384, *ad fin.* — (îr, mât) Gar-ga-mis-ai

Adj. *he of Karkemish* 193, 83; 252, *ad fin.*; 323 (Botta 40. 20). See also **כרנמס** under **כר**.

**גרי** comp. **جری**. — *girû* Subst. *campaign*, written *gir-ri* (Gen.) 288, 34; 289, 65; 301, 18. 22; 326, footn. \*; 332, 19; 350, 52; 398, (150. 5). — *gi-ri* 294 (Notes and Illust.).

**גרם** (*avil*) *Gu-ru-ma* name of a tribe 346, 15.

**גרפרד** *Gir-pa-ru-da* (so read!) proper name 193, 84 *bis.* — *Gar-pa-ru-un-da* the same 197, Notes and Illust.

**גשר** *gušuru* Subst. *beam*, comp. **جسر** **גשר**. — Ideogr. Plur. 184, *ad init.* [Targ. and Talm. **גִּישָׁרָא** (comp. Syr. and Arab.) means 'bridge' as well as 'beam'. Fried. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., cites the adjct. *gašru* or *gišru* fem. *giširtu strong, powerful.* — Translator.]

**גת** *ga-tu* (Babylon.) Subst. *hand*, comp. Assy. *ḡa-tu* (for the etymology see Assy. Babyl. Keil. p. 194) 124. Dual *ḡatâ* 370, 31. 36.

**גתי**, also **קתי** (**קתו**) *Gutî, Kūtî(û)* name of a race 137 (= **גוים** Gen. XIV, 1?), written *Gu-ti(i)*, *Gu-ti-um*, *Ḳu-ti-i* 370, 34; 425 (Ezek. XXIII. 23).

## ד

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**דאר** (*ir*) *Du-<sup>1</sup>-ru* name of a town *Dôr*, **דֹּוֹר**, **דֹּוֹר** 168 (Josh. XVII. 11).

**דב** (*ir*) *Du-ba* (*Gub-ba?*) name of a town 232, 4.

**דבב** *id-bu-ub* 3. Ps. Impft. Kal *he plotted, devised plans* 151 (Gen. XXXVII. 2). — *da-bi-ib* Part. Stat. constr. 398, 11. — *da-bab* Subst. stat. constr. *plan* 151.

**דכסר** *dup-sar-ru, dip-sar tablet-writer*, Hebraized as **מִפְסָר** 154, Exod. V. 6; 413; 424. — Compounded of Akkad. *dup, dip tablet* and Akkad. *sar (šar) write* and then Semitized by the vocalic ending. — *dup-sar-ru-tu* Subst. *the inscribing of tablets* [II R. 27, 27 (so read!)] 424; Gen. *dup-sar-ru-ti* (II R. 60, 34 e) 413.

**דכר** *du-bu-ri-(šu-nu)* Subst. — ? — 195, 100.

**דכר** *mad-ba-ri(?)* Subst. Gen. (?) *desert*, Hebr. **מִדְבָּר** 277, footn. \*\*.  
So Del. Comp. below **בר**.

**דגל** *dagālu to behold*, comp. Hebr. **דָּגָל** *flag, banner* (at which one gazes Del.). — *da-gil* Part. (Stat. constr.) *beholding* 370, 31. — *u-šad-gi-la, u-šad-gil* 1. Ps. Impft. Shaf. *I caused to look (at me), made submissive, subject to me* 261, 8; 351, 65; 353, 41.

**דגלת** (*nâr*) *Di-ig-lat*, see **אדגלת**.

**דגן** (*ilū*) *Da-gan-ni* (sic!) name of a god, *Dagon*; Hebr. **דָּגוֹן** 181, comp. **דכן**.

דד Da-ad-da, equivalent of (ilu) IM = *Rammānu*, comp. דדד, Syr. name of the god *Hadad* (Sm. Assurb. 271, 106) 454. — Keil. und Gesch. 538 foll.

דדאד (ilu) Dad-'id-ri, also Dad-id-ri = דדדדדד i. e. דדדדדדדד Syr. proper name *Hadadezer* = Hebr. דדדדדד 110, footn. \*; 200; 201 *passim*; 202; 203, *ad init.* Comp. דדדד.

דדאל Da-di-i-lu proper name of a prince of Kaski (= דדאל "Hadad is god", comp. Dad-'idri דדדדדד?? —) 253.

דדו Du-u-zi, Du-'u-zi 1) name of the deity *Tammuz*, Hebr. דדדדד 425 (from Akkad. dū "son" and zi "life"); — 2) name of the month *Tammuz* 380; comp. also דדדו.

דדוק comp. Hebr. דדדד. — a-d uk 1. Ps. Impft. Kal *I slew* 209 footnote \*; 234, 23. 24; 289, col. III. 2; 302, 26. — i-d u-nk, i-duk 3. Ps. Impf. Kal *he slew* 184. — i-d u-ku 3. Ps. Plur. *they slew* 193, 80. — dīktu Subst. *warrior, combatant, military force*. Written di-ik-ta v (Nom.) 486, B. C. 743; di-ik-ta (Acc.) 234, 23. — dīku, Fem. dīkit Adj. *killed*. Written di-kit 486, B. C. 743. — ti-du-ku (pronounce tidūku) the same 488 C. 10. Plur. ti-du-ki 194, 98; 201, *ad fin.*; 209, 49.

דדוק (ilu) Dav-ki-na name of a god <sup>דדד</sup> *Daukina*, *Αυ'ζη* 12, also footn. †.

546 דדור dūr Subst *rampart*, then a *place* or *fortress* surrounded with a rampart. Comp. Hebr. דדדד *circuit*, Arab. دد. Ideogr. Pl. dūrāni, written dūrā-ni 288, 41; 346, 12; or durī 290, 13; 302, 28. — (ír) Dūru name of a town Ideogr. 430, comp. דדדד Dan. III, 1. — (ír) Dūr-ku-ri-gal-zi name of a town 231, 4. — (ír) Dūr-šarrukīn name of a town *Sargonsfort* 101, *passim*; 389, 157; 405 (B. C. 707 and footn. \*\*\*); 488 C, 7.

דד di-ḥi, di-iḥ Subst. Stat. constr. properly *contact, proximity*, then Prep. *near to* 83; 234, 24. Root and etymology? — daḥ-ḥi Subst. the same 346, 14.

דד (mât) Du-uḥ-a name of a country *Ducha* 83.

דדן Dajan-Ašur proper name 193, 78.

דדש comp. דדש, דדש, ددس, ددس. — a-di-iš 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I trod down* 232, 11; 456, *ad fin.* — da-ai-aš-tu(ti) *treading down, threshing* 232, 11.

דדק id-ka, id-ka-a 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he called together, summoned* 209, 44; 350, 55. — a-d-ki, ad-ki-i 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I summoned* 203, *ad init.*; 323; 354, 11. — id-k-u-ni 3. Ps. Plur. *they summoned* 203. — The root is rather דדקע, see Delitzsch, Ass. Lesest. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. p. 139.

דבן (ilu) Dakan name of the god *Dagon*, Hebr. דָּבָן. Phon. Dakau (gau) 160 (Deut. XXXII. 10); 181; 411; see also דָּבָן.

דכר Dak-ku(r)-ri Babyl. proper name, after which a land (mât) Bit-Dakkurri was named 234, 26; 236 (237).

דלבת (ilu) Dil-bat name of a deity *Dilbat* *Δελέβατ* 178; 389, *ad init.*

דלו da-la-ni Subst. Plur. *pitchers, jugs*, comp. Hebr. דְּלֵי, Arab. دَلْو 208 (inse. and footn. ††).

דלת da-al-tuv Subst. *folding door*, root דָּלַל comp. Hebr. דְּלַת II Rawl. 23, 1. 20 c. d.

דמוס Da-mu-u-si(su) Cypr. proper name, perhaps *Damysus* *Δάμυσος* 355, 20.

דמו Du-mu-zi, original form of the name Du-u-zi or Du-'u-zi = דָּמוּז V R. 23, 21 c (dû = dumu) see 425, Ezek. VIII. 14, comp. above under דון.

דמן (avîl) Da-mu-nu name of a tribe 346, 15.

דמש Da-ma-su Cypr. proper name *Damasus* *Δάμασος* 355, 18.

דמק [damâku *to be exalted; to be kind, gracious*. — mudammik Pael partic. *treating with favour* e.g. in proper names Bîl-mudammik 'Bel treats with favour' 471, Can. I B. C. 870 &c. — Transl.] — damku (danku) Adj. *exalted, favourably disposed, also faithful, devoted*. Ideogr. 39, *bis*. Plur. damkûti Ideogr. 290, 31; 302, 31. — dunku Stat. constr. dumuk Subst. *power, reputation*; written dun-ki (Gen.) 373 (footn.\*\* 35).

דמשק (îr, mât) Dimasški(ka), also Dimmasška, name of the town 547 *Damaskus*, Hebr. דְּמֶשֶׁק, Arab. دِمَشْق. Phon. Di-ma-aš-ki etc. 138; 209, 54; 213, 16, 21 etc.; — 482, B. C. 773; 486, B. C. 733. 732.

דנג Dun-gi(?) Babyl. name of a king 94; 129.

דנגר Dingirra Subst. Akkad. *God*, written Dingir-ra; so for example in the name of Babylon KÂ-AN. RA = KÂ-Dingir-ra; from which comes Dingirri Subst. Akk. *goddess*, written Dingir-ri 95.

דנק du-un-ki see under דמק.

דן u-dan-ni-nu 3. Pers. Plur. Impft. Kal *they strengthened* 218, 10. — dun-nu-un Inf. Pa. *defence* 290, 32. — dan-a-an Subst. stat. constr. *power* 326, footn.\*; 399, 3. — dan-nu(ni) Adj. *strong, powerful* 184, 63. 64. 65; 212, 1; 332, 21. — dannûti Plur. Ideogr. 194, 96. Phon. dan-nu-ti 288, 41; 290, 13; 302, 28; 452, 68. — dan-natu Subst. *strong place, castle*. With Suff. dan-na-su-nu (for dan-nat-su-nu) 385, *ad fin.* — dannûtu Subst. *power, strength*, written dan-nu-tu(ti) 85; 152, *ad init.*; 209, 46.

דקלה (uâr) Diqlat, see under אדגלה.

דקק comp. דקק, דִּקֵּן, דִּקֵּן. — u-daḡ-ḡi-ḡu(iḡ) 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I crushed* 232, 8; 247, 2.

גרג comp. Arab. درج. — da-ra-gu Subst. (mounting) *path*, then *way* in general = Hebr. דִּרְגָה 401 (Notes and Illust.). — du-ur-gi Subst. Plur. *ways* Tigl. Pil. I col. IV, 56.

דשב dišbu Subst. *honey*, comp. Hebr. דְּבַשׁ, Arab. دُبْس, Syr. دَبْس. Writteu di-iš-pa 426.

ו

ו ū Conj. *and*, Hebr. ו, Arab. وَ etc. 123, *ad init.*; 124, col. II, 1; 374, 25. 28 (serves to connect nouns).

ובל comp. Hebr. וּבִל (יביל), Aram. اَوْبَل (also Arab. وبل). — u-bil, u-bil-lu 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he carried away, removed* 207, *ad fin.*; 458, footn. 49. — ub-la (for ubila) 1. Ps. *I brought* 193, 81. — u-bi-lu-ni 3. Ps. Plur. 301, 20. — u-bi-lu-num-ma the same with Cop. 369, footn. *ad init.* — u-ší-bi-lam-ma 1. Ps. Sg. Shaf. with Cop. *I caused to be brought* 291, 40; 302, 32. — biltu, Stat. constr. bilat Subst. *offering*, then *tribute* (see p. 215 footn. \*), also *talent*, comp. Hebr. בִּלְתִּי 377. — bil-ti (so read!) (Gen.) 154 (Exod. IX. 7); 398, 6. 548 — bi-lat Stat. constr. 115, footn. \*\*; 232, 15; 277, 5. Ideogr. 213, 18. 19 *bis*; 272, *ad init.*; 288, 45; 290, 27; 302, 30. — bí-la-a-ti Plur. *payments* (in money), espec. payment of soldiers 290, 33 (302, 31).

ודי comp. 𐎠𐎢𐎣, וּדִי, ידה. — i-du(?) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I threw* 194, 89. [Read with Dr. Craig, Hebraica July 1887 (confirmed by Pinches), ad-di *I lay, set* (fire to etc.); see under נדה. — Trausl.]. — a-di-(i) Subst. Plur.(?) (Gen.) *agreements*, comp. Hebr. הַוְדָה 289, 70; 301, 23; 369, 28 (literally “*who did not keep my agreements*”).

ורוי aḥû Subst. *side, bank*, Arab. وَحْى, also prepositionally *at, by*. Written a-ḥi, also a-a ḥ, 220, 31; 232, 6; 350, 58; 354, 12; 374, 28; 480, B. C. 802; 486, B. C. 731. — a-ḥat the same 201.

ולר comp. Arab. ولد, Eth. 𐎠𐎡𐎢, Hebr. ילד, Aram. ܝܠܕ. — Perf. ʿal-du (3. Ps. Pl.) *they are born* 389, 156. — álidu Part. act. Kal, álidtu Fem. *giving birth to*, with Suff. a-lid-ti-ja 175, *ad fin.* — mu-al-li-da-at Part. Pa. in the Stat. constr. *producing, mother* 2, 4. — ta-lid-tu Subst. *birth* 176, *ad init.*

ולל u-lil-lu 1. Ps. Impft. Kal *I summoned to battle*, comp. Arab. وول, Aram. ܘܠܠ, Hebr. הָיִל (יִל) 157, 85.

ומש comp. Hebr. מִשַׁן. — at-tu-muš 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *I left*,

*took my departure* 193, 78. 81; 194, 86. 87. 89 [construed usually with *ištu*, ~~occasionally with direct accusative~~. — Transl.] *or else with illū*

נָסַח u-saḥ *I carried away* 156, doubtful in origin, perhaps Impft. v. *Rev. 8, 100; 9, 13*. Kal of the root נָסַח, a collateral form of נָסַח.

נָצַח comp. Eth. **ጠጽጸ**; Hebr. נָצַח, Aram. **ܢܥܚ** (Impft. u-ṣi-a, u-ṣ-ṣi, see Salm. Monol. II, 66; Sargon Botta 151, no. 10, line 114, comp. above 151 footnote \*), *go out, arise* (of the sun). — aṣû Part. Kal. Ideogr. Sg. 178; 179, *ad init.* — aṣû Subst. *exit* 455, 5. Pl. written a-ṣi-î 290, 22. — u-ṣi-ṣa-a(a-m-ma) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I carried forth or away* 194, 89; 290, 9. 19; 302, 27; 345, 10; 346, 13 etc. — u-ṣi-ṣi (from uṣ-ṣi-ṣi = uṣiṣi comp. Assy.-Babyl. Keil. 203 footn.) 459 (footn. p. 163 Eng. ed.). — a-ṣi-ṣu-num-ma 3. Ps. Plur. Impft. Shaf. with ma 450, Rev. 4. — ṣitu Inf., then Subst. comp. Hebr. נָצַח; Stat. constr. ṣi-it 1) *sprout* 335, 9; 434, 26; 2) *rising* (of the sun) 140 (Gen. XIX. 23); 184, 69; 374, 32; 455 (Ps. XIX. 7). — ṣûṣâ Subst. *sprout*, Ethiop. **ጠጽጸ**; Hebr. נָצַח; ṣu-ṣa-a 2, 6. — mûṣû, Plur. mûṣî, written mu-ṣi-î Subst., comp. Hebr. נָצַח, *outflow, canal* 124, 32.

קָרָא comp. **قَرَأَ**, יָקַר, מַכָּר. — aḳ-ru Adj. *precious* = Hebr. יָקָר; — 450; Rev. 1. — a-ḳar-tu Adj. fem. 345, 9.

רָאָה u-ra-a 1. Ps. Impft. Kal *I removed, carried away* 232, 12; 255, 28. — With Suff. u-ra-aṣ-šu, [u-ra]-aṣ-šu-nu 255, 30; 289, 61; 301, 21.

רָדָה comp. Arab. **رَدَى**, Eth. **ጠጸጸ**; Hebr. רָדָה. — [ur]-du (so 549 read!) 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he descended, went down* 338, 7 (for the form urdu see Tigl. Pil. I, col. I, 69; III, 71 (ur-du-ni). — at-ta-rad (so read!) 1. Ps. Impft. Ifte. *I marched down* 82, 105. — at-rad the same contracted 202. — ridu, ridû Subst. *servant, apprentice*, Pl. ri-[du]-u-ti 335, 8 (*ad fin.*). — ri-du-ut Subst. (st. const.) *subjection* 353, 41. — ardu Subst. *servant*. Ideogr. (in the Plur.) 338, 16; 370, 31. — ardûtu Subst. *obedience, submission*. Phon. ar-du-ti (Acc.!) 213, 18. Ideogr. with phon. complement ardu-u-ti 353, 36.

רָחַח arḥu, Stat. constr. araḥ, Subst. *month*, **ጠጸጸ**; Hebr. רָחַח, **ጠጸጸ**. Phon. ar-ḥu 380; a-ra-aḥ 380. Ideogr. 47; 124, 8; 193, 78; 333, 11; Plur. 15, 4.

רָחַק arku Subst. *what is subsequent*, comp. **رَكَح**, **رَكَح**, **رَكَح**, **رَكَح**. Stat. constr. arak Ideogr. 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1). — arki(ka) Prep. *after*. Ideogr. 79, *ad init.*; 81, footn. \*\*; 209, 53; 291, 40; 450, 73. — ar-ku(ka) Adv. *behind* 135, *ad init.*; 207, *ad fin.* — arkû Adj. *later*. Written arku-u (Ideogr. with phon. complem.) 392. — ar-ka-nu Adv. *subsequently*. Ideogr. with phon. complem. 333, 20. — ma-

ak-ru(? — for ma-ar-ku? —) Subst. *that which is subsequent(?)* 381, and footn. \*\*.

ורש comp. **𐎠𐎢𐎽**; **𐎠𐎢𐎽**; **𐎠𐎢𐎽** — maršitu Subst. *possession, property*, comp. Hebr. מִרְשָׁה. Phon. Gen. mar-ši-ti 261, 10; 276.

ושב comp. (Arab. وَثَبَ) Hebr. וָשַׁב, Aram. ܘܫܒ. — u-šib 3. Ps. Impft. Kal *he placed himself sat, abode* 287, II, 2; 452, 67. — u-ši-šib 3. and 1. Ps. Sg. Shaf. *he (or I) established, or assigned abodes* 208, *ad inīt.*; 273, 3; 276; 286 etc.; also in the sense of *changed* 351, 61. — u-ši-ši-ib the same 373, footn. \*\* 34; 374, 33. — it-tu-šib 3. Ps. Sg. Ifte. *he set himself* 333, *ad inīt.*; [477 (B. C. 705 III)]; 478 (B. C. 681); 486 (B. C. 745). — a-šib Partic. Stat constr. *dwelling* 272, *ad inīt.*; 273, 1; 458, footn. \* 48. — a-ši-bat ditto Fem. 175. — a-ši-bu-ut Plur. msc. stat. constr. 83; 277, 4; also a-ši\*)-bu-ti 180. — šubat Subst. *dwelling*, written šu-ba-at (Stat. constr.) 123, *ad inīt.*; 373, footn. \*\* 34; 455, 4. — mu-šab Subst. *abode* Stat. constr. 335, 7; 455, 4 (Var. see footn. \*\*). — aš-ba Kal 3 fem. sing. (or plur.) *Pernansive they dwell* 455, 9.

י

זבב Za-bi-bi-í name of an Arabian queen = 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐎽; 253; 414 (Jer.

XXV. 24).

550 זבל zabālu *honour, esteem highly*, comp. Hebr. זָבַל (149, Gen. XXX. 20). — u-ša-az-bil 1. (3.) Ps. Impft. Shaf. *I or he caused to be esteemed highly(?)* 219. 17. — Bit-zabal name of a temple: *house of exaltation* 185 (1 Kings VIII. 13).

זון (זון) comp. Hebr. זָוַן. — ta-zi-iz 3. Ps. Fem. Sg. *she raised* 332, 23. — uš-zi-iz 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. of the Pael *he caused to come forth* 15, 2. 4; 124, 11.

זיר comp. Arab. زَارَ, Hebr. זִיר (\*\*). — i-zi-ru 3. Ps. Plur. Impf. Kal *they despised, rejected* 398, 11. — zi-ra-a-ti Subst. Plur. Fem. *summons to rebellion* 398, 8.

\* So we should read with Oppert against his own published text. The half-obliterated phonogram is to be completed into the sign for šī.

\*\* To regard these and similar roots as those with a middle **𐎠** = 𐎠𐎢, with Lotz, Die Insch. Tigl. Pil. I p. 182, because the Part. act. Kal is formed in â-'i e. g. zâ-'i-ru, dâ-'i-šu (root 𐎠𐎢𐎽) etc., appears to me extremely questionable. Probably the truth is that the formation dâiš is the regular and original one, out of which the collateral one kânu etc. arises by contraction, just as ašbu from ašibu.



זָךְ zukku Subst. *cell* (Del.). Plur. zuk-ki 389, 157. Comp. 390, footn. \*.

זָכַר comp. Hebr. זָכַר. — 1) zak-rat 3. Ps. Fem. Perf. Kal *she named* 2, 2. — zuk-ku-ru 3. Ps. Pl. Perf. Kal *they named* 2, 8. — iz-zak-kar (for iz-ta-kar) Iftaal Impft. 3. Ps. Sing. masc. (for fem.) *he [she] announced, addressed* 455, 13. — za-kur Adj. *mentioned, reported* (?) 460, footn. — zikru Subst. *name, invocation, Stat. constr. zi-kir* 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1); 247, 3; 397 (footn. \* 2). — 2) u-za-ak-ki-ru 3. Ps. Plur. Impft. Pa. *they raised, comp. Syr. ܙܥܩܐ* 124 (col. I. 29).

זָכַר zikûratu *summit*. Stat. constr. zi-ku-ra-at 124 (col. I. 27). Should we comp. ܙܥܩܐ? — Haupt in his Glossary gives a form zik̄k̄û-ratu *summit* under a root זָקַר זָקַר to be high.

זָכַר comp. Hebr. זָכַר, Arab. نَكَرَ, Aram. ܙܥܩܐ (*ram*), ܙܥܩܐ. — zikaru Adj. *male, manly*. Phon. zi-ka-ru 17, Gen. I. 27; Fem. zi-ka-rat 179. We find also zik-ru (Var. zi-kar) 17, Gen. I. 27; 346, 17. Ideogr. 290, 17.

זָלַל iz-lal 3. Ps. Impft. Kal *he became ruined, destroyed, comp. Arab. نَلَّ*, Hebr. זָלַל 97.

[זָמַם zamû *shut in or shut out*. — zu-um-mu-u (so read) Pael Infin. (?) *shutting out* = devoid of 455, 7. — Transl.]

זָנַן comp. Eth. ḤṢṢ: [zanânu *to rain*. — ušaznin Shaf. Imperf. I Sing. *I caused to rain* phonet. u-ša-az-nin (so read with Dr. Craig confirmed by Mr. Pinches in a letter to me) instead of u-ša-aš-ṣu-u in Salmanassar's monolith col. II 98. Vol. I p. 185. — Transl.]. — zunnû Subst. *rain*, Eth. ḤṢṢ: (Hebr. זָרַם?). Ideogr. 47; phon. zu-un-nu v 124, col. II. 1.

זָנַן za-nin Part. (Stat. constr.) *preserver, keeper, perhaps protector, comp. Hebr. זָנַן*. It may, however, be objected to the latter signification, that, as is shown by the Subst. zi-in-ua-a-ti East. Ind. House Insc. I, 12 the first radical is not זָ but זָ. — 213, 3; 363, 3 and Notes and Illust.

זָךְ zu-ku-ut Subst. Stat. constr. *ladle, comp. Hebr. זָךְ, זָךְ, זָךְ* 551 208 (Eng. ed. p. 199 and footn. \*\*\*).

זָכַר comp. זָכַר, ܙܥܩܐ. — zakîpu Subst. *pointed stake, comp. ܙܥܩܐ*

Moreover, we should expect under these circumstances, e. g. in the Imperf., to meet with the orthography with modified *í* in the middle syllable = i-zi-i-ru, which is not exhibited either in this case, or, so far as my observation extends, in the other roots of this class.

*crux.* Written za-ki-pu(pi) 232, 10; 379 and footn. \*\*; Plur. za-ki-pa-a-ni 261, 8.

זקק *zi-ki-kiš* Adv. — ? — 247, 2.

זרא comp. Hebr. זרע, Arab. نرع etc. — *zîru* Hebr. *seed* זרע etc. Written *zi-i-ru* 364 (Eng. ed. p. 51 footn.). Ideogr. 350, 57. — *za-ru* (šu-un) Part. act. *begetting, begetter* 2, 3; stands as זרע for *zâriu*, as aš-bu Descent of Ist. obv. 9 for *âšibu*; comp. Assyr.-Bab. Keil. 389. — *Zîr-bâni-tuv(ti)* name of a deity properly *she who bestows seed* 175; 232, 15; 282. — *Zar-pa-ni-tuv* the same 19, 28; 175; 282.

זרבנת (זרפנת) *Zîrbanitu, Zarpanituv*, see זרא.

זרר *za-rar(?)-tî* Subst. *throwing off(?)* 221, 31; 398, 11. Reading not certain.

זתן (*îr*) *Zi-ta-a-nu* name of a city 220, 30.

## ח

חבר (*nâr*) *Ĥa-bur* name of a river *Châbôr* خابور 275 and footn. \*\*.

חבת *iĥ-ta-nab-ba-ta* 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Iftana. *he carried away* (as booty). Sm. Assurb. 258, 113. — *iĥ-ta-nab-ba-tu* the same 3. Ps. Pl. *ibid.* 79, 9 etc. (see 375, *Notes and Illustr.*). — *ĥu-bu-ut* Subst. Stat. constr. *carrying-off, spoil* 374, 31.

חגר (*avîl*) *Ĥa-ga-ra-nu* name of a tribe 346, 16.

חדי comp. חדרה, *ĥa-diš* Adv. *joyous* 345, 9.

חור *ĥirtu, ĥirtuv* Subst. *wife*. Written *ĥi-ir-tu* 414, *Notes and Illust.*; Stat. constr. *ĥi-rat* 177; also *ĥi-ir-ti* 175; Plur. *ĥirâti*, written *ĥi-ra-ti* with Suff. 389, 156.

חירן (*mât, îr*) *Ĥa-u-ra-(a)-ni, Ĥa-u-ri-na*, name of a mountain or country *Haurân* חורן 210, 55; 428 (Ezek. XLVII. 16).

חז (*mât*) *Ĥa-zu* (so read!) name of a country 220, 28. — Orthography and presumable position show that the country is distinct from the חזו mentioned below.

חזאל *Ĥa-za-'ilu* Syriac and Syro-Arabic prop. name, *Hazael*, Hebr. חזן(ה)אל 148; 207; also *Ĥa-za-ilu* 207 *ad fin.*; 208.

חזו (*mât*) *Ĥa-zu-u* name of a country, comp. Hebr. חזו 141, Gen. XXII. 21.

חזז (*îr*) *Ĥa-za-zi* name of a town *Azâz* عزاز 480, B. C. 805. Comp. Keil. u. Gesch. 217 footn. \*\*.

552 חזקיהו *Ĥa-za-ki-ja-u*, also *Ĥa-za-ki-a-u* proper name *Hiškia (Hezekiah)*, חזקיהו 161 (Josh. X. 1); 189; 285 (2 Kings XVIII. 1); 286, *ad fin.*; 290, 11. 29; 301, 23; 302, 27. 30.

הוּחַ (ír, also mât) H̱a-zi-ti, H̱a-az-zu-tu, H̱a-(az)-za-at-(tu), name of a town *Gaza* עָזָה, غَزَّة 107, *ad init.*; 161, *ad fin.*; 162, *ad init.*; 255, 20; 290, 26; 302, 30; 355, 5; 396, 1; 397, 2. — H̱a-za-at-ai Adj. *man of Gaza* 257, *ad fin.* — H̱a-az-za-at-ta-ai the same 255, 20.

הַטָּא comp. Hebr. הַטָּא, خَطِي etc. — ẖi-it-tu(ti) Subst. *sin, faithlessness, revolt* 289, col. III. 6 (Acc.); 302, 25 (Acc.); ẖi-it-ti (Gen.) 220, 31; 323; 346, 13. — ẖiṯitu Subst. the same. Written ẖi-ṯi-ti 289 col. III. 6; 434, 30.

הַטָּר ẖu-ṭar-tú Subst. *stajj*, comp. Hebr. הַטָּר, Syr. ܗܛܪܐ 208, 5 (2 Ki. IX. 2); 209, footn. †††.

הַיֵּן H̱a-ja-ni proper name 193, 83.

הַיָּה (avíl) H̱a-ja-pa-a name of an Arab. tribe *Chajapá*, Hebr. יַיִפָּה 146, Gen. XXV. 4; 277, *bis*, comp. Keil. u. Gesch. 263, 17. — (ír) H̱a-ai-ap-pa-ai Adj. *the inhabitant of Chajapá*, comp. Keil. u. Gesch. 261, 8.

הַיֶּק comp. Hebr. הַיֶּק, Arab. خَاق — i-ḥi-ku-u 3. Ps. Plur. Impft. Kal *they embraced* 2, 5.

הַיְרוּם H̱i-ru-um-mu Syrian proper name *Hiram*, Hebr. חִירוֹם, חִירָם 170, *ad init.*; 252, *ad fin.*

הַלְבַּב taḥlûbu Subst. *roofing*, written ta-aḥ-lu-bu 127, footn. \*. — taḥluptu Subst. the same written ta-aḥ-lu-up-tu (Gen. ti) 124, col. II. 3. 9.

הַלְבוֹן (mât) H̱i-il-bu-nuv, also H̱ul(Hil?\*)-bu-nuv, name of a country *Helbôn* הַלְבוֹן 426, *passim*.

הַלָּה (ír) H̱a-lah-ḥu name of a town *Chalach* (הַלָּח?) 275 *ad fin.*

הַלֶּךְ (mât) H̱i-lak-ku(ki) proper name *Cilicia* (inser. חַלֶּךְ) 83, *bis*.

הַלְמָן (ír) H̱al-man name of a town 1) *Holwán* חַלְמָן 197, Notes and Illust. — 2) *Haleb* حَلَب 194, 86. 87 (Keil. u. Gesch. 229\*\*).

הַלְפָּה comp. Hebr. הַלְפָּה, خلف. — ẖi-it-lu-pa-tuv Subst. *change-garment, dress* 153 (Gen. XLV. 22). Comp. חַלְפָּה. — na-aḥ-lap-tuv the same 153 (Gen. XLV. 22). — D. G. Lyon in his *Cylinderinschr. Sargons II*, Lpz. 1882, p. 14 derives these words from the root חַלַּב *to cover*.

הַלְשָׁה ḥalšu Subst. *fortress, bulwark, rampart, castle*, Pl. ḥal-šu 553 (with sign for plurality) 290, 21; 302, 29.

\*) The sign ḥul probably also possesses the phonetic value ḥil.

חֶלֶק. Acc. to Haupt its fundamental meaning is *to flee, escape* (?). — aḥ-li-iḳ *I divided* (?) 195, 100. — lu-ḥal-li-ḳu 3. Ps. Pl. Prec. Pa. *may they destroy* 459, footn. 3.

חֶלֶל ḥul-tu v Subst. *punishment, revenge*, of obscure origin, perhaps Akkadian (ḪUL = limnu!) 398, 8.

חֶמָּה ḥimītu Subst. *cream*, Hebr. חֶמָּה 426.

חֶמֶד (ir) Ḫa-mi-di-i name of a town *Āmid-Diārbekr* (?) 106, footnote \*\*. Comp. above אֶמֶד.

חֶמֶם ḥa-ma-mi Subst. Plur. Ideogr. *lights* 124 (col. I. 27); 125 (*Notes and Illust.*).

חֶמֶן (šad) Ḫa-ma-nu name of a mountain *Amānus* 388, footn. \*.

חֶמֶרֶב Ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi proper name 427.

חֶמְרִי Ḫu-um-ri-i Israelite proper name *Omri*, Hebr. עֲמֹרִי 188 (1 Ki. XII. 19); 189 (1 Ki. XVI. 23); 190, *passim*; 208 (2 Ki. IX. 2); 210, 65. — mât (Bit) Ḫu-um-ri-i(a) name of a country *Omriland, Samaria* 150, *ad fin.*; 188; 189 (1 Ki. XVI. 23); 191, *passim*; 213, 12; 255, 17. 26; 277, *ad init.*

חֶמְרָן (avil) Ḫa-am-ra(a)-nu name of a tribe 346, 16.

חֶמְתָּה (ir, mât) Ḫa-ma(at)-ti, Ḫa-am-ma-ti, Ḫa-am-ma-at-ti, name of a town or country *Hamâth*, Hebr. חֶמֶת 105, *ad fin.*; 106; 220, 31. — See under אֶמֶת. — (ir) Ḫa-am-ma-ta-ai Adj. *Hamathite* 253, *ad init.*; 257.

חֶמְתָּה (ir) Ḫa-ma-a-ta v *Hammôth-Dôr* (?) חֶמְתָּה דֹּר 172 (Josh. XXI. 32).

חֶמְתָּה (ir) Ḫu-mut name of a town 232, 6.

חֶן (šad) Ḫa-na name of a mountain 388, footn. \*.

חֶנְגַּלְמֶת (?) (mât) Ḫa-ni-gal-mit (pronunciation dubious), name of a country region in South-Eastern Cappadocia 332, 18.

חֶנְדָּר (avil) Ḫi-in-da-ru name of a tribe 346, 16.

חֶנּוּ Ḫa-nu-nu, Ḫa-a-nu-(u)-nu, Philist. proper name *Hanno*, Hebr. חֶנּוּן 162; 255, 19; 257, *ad fin.*; 396, 1; 397, 2.

חֶנְנִס (ir) Ḫi-ni-in-ši name of a town *Chânēs* (Heracleopolis), Egypt. Hachnensu, Hebr. חֶנְנִס, 410 (Is. XXX. 4).

חֶרְחָר (mât) Ḫar-ḥar name of a country 213, 6.

חֶרְרָן (ir) Ḫar-ra-na(ni) name of a town *Harran* 134, Gen. XI. 31.

חֶרֶן ḥarrānu Subst. *way*, see below חֶרֶר.

חֶרְסַקְכַּלְמָה (ir) Ḫar-saḳ-ka-la-ma "*summit of the world*" name of a city *Charsakkalama* 232, 16; 346, 13.

חֶרְפָּה ḥarpu Subst. *autumn*, Hebr. חֶרְפָּה, written ḥa-ar-pu 53 (Eng. ed. p. 54 footn. \*).

הַרְפַּל ḥar-pa-lu(?) Subst. — ? — 195, 99; 198 (*Notes and Illust.*).  
 חָרָץ ḥûrâṣu (ḥurâṣu?), comp. Hebr. חָרוּץ. Subst. *gold*, written 554  
 ḥu-ra-ṣu 134, *ad fin.* Ideogr. 193, 84. Plur. Ideogr. 157, 87.

חָרַר ḥar-ra-nu(ni), ḥa-ra-nu, Subst. *way, campaign* (comp. Ethiop.  
 ስረፈ?) 218, 2; 350, 50; 399, 4; 452, 69. — For the signific. see  
 401, *Notes and Illust.*

חָרֶשׁ ḥurṣu Subst. *wood, forest*, Hebr. חָרֶשׁ. — ḥur-ša-ni Plur. 83.

חֶשְׁמֵן (?) Ḥu-šim(rik)-na-ai Adj. *the Chusimnaean* (?) 253.

חַה (mât) Ḥat-ti, Ḥa-at-ti(tí), Ḥa-at-tí-í, Ḥa-tí-í, name of the  
 country *Chattiland* or *land of the Hittites* 107; 115, footn. \*\*; 117;  
 201; 202; 213, 11; 262; 276; 288, col. II. 34; 301, 18; 323 (Botta 40,  
 20) (here Ḥa-at-tí-í); 354, 11; 374, 27 (read Ḥat-ti); 398, 11 etc. —  
 (mât) Ḥa-at-ta-ai Adj. *Chattaean* 107; 156; 193, 85.

חַתָּן ḥa-ta-nu Subst. *son-in-law*. Hebr. חַתָּן 140 (Gen. XIX. 14);  
 Stat. constr. ḥa-tan 140 (Gen. XIX. 14).

חַחֲרָק (mât, also ír) Ḥa-ta-rik-ka, Ḥa-ta-ri-ka, Ḥa-ta-rak-ka  
 name of a country *Hadrach* חַחֲרָק 220, 28; 453 (Zech. IX. 1); 482,  
 B. C. 772; 484, B. C. 765. 755.

חַחַת comp. Hebr. חַחַת. — ḥa-at-tav Subst. *terror* 399, 3.

## ט

טַבַּח Ṭi-bi-tuv, Ṭi-bi-í-tav name of a month *Tebeth* טַבַּח 380.

טַיֵב comp. طَاب (F. i.), טַיֵב, טַיֵב. — u-ṭib-bu 3. Ps. Plur. Sg.  
 Impf. Pa. *they made good* (*he made good?*) 213, 2. — ṭâbu *good*, from  
 which comes the Adv. ṭa-biṣ 389, 157. — ṭi-ib (Subst. constr.) *the*  
*good, best* 455, (Ps. II. 12). — ṭu-nb Subst. *good, gladness, joy* 373, 34.

טַרִיד comp. طَرِيد, طَرِيد. — ṭa-riḏ Part. (Stat. constr.) *repulsing* 352, 32.

טַרְפִּי (iṣ) ṭarpi' name of the tree *Tamarisk*, Arab. طَرْفَال, written ṭar-  
 pi-' Asum. Stand. Inscr. 18 in conuection with (iṣ) buṭni בְּטָן (see  
 בְּטָן). Comp. Berl. Monatsberr. 1881 p. 419.

## י

יָא (mât) Ja-' name of a country *Jah* 86.

יָאוּא Ja-u-a Israel. proper name *Jehu*, Hebr. יְהוּא 189 (1 Ki. XVI.  
 23); 208 (2 Ki. IX. 2); 210, 64.

יָאוּבֵדִי Ja-u-bi-'-dī Syr. proper name 23; 106, *ad fin.*; 323, Botta  
 145. 2, 9.

יָאוּדָא (mât, ír) Jaûdu name of the country *Juda*, Hebr. יְהוּדָה.

Phon. Ja-u-du(di) 188 (1 Ki. XIV. 21); 189; 218, 4; 286, *ad fin.*;  
555 355, 2. — (mât) Ja-u-d a-a i Adj. *Jewish, Judæan, Jew* 188 (1 Ki.  
XIV. 21); 189 *passim*; 218, 3; 257, *ad fin.*; 289, 72; 290, 12; 301, 23;  
302, 27.

יֹאחָזִי Ja-u-ḥa-zi Jewish proper name *Joachaz [= Ahaz (Achaz)]*,  
Hebr. יְהוֹאָחָז 188 (1 Ki. XIV. 21); 257, *ad fin.*

יֹאחָזִי Ja-u-ta' (= U-ai-ti'?) Kedarene royal name 148, *ad init.*  
(Keil. u. Gesch. 54); 208.

יֹאֵל Ja-'lu-', also Ja-'lu-u, proper name 25, footn. \*; 208, *ad init.*,  
contracted from Ja-u-i-lu = יֹאֵל —

יִבְרָר (ír) Ja-ab-ru-du name of a town 183, footn. \*.

יָד idu Subst., comp. Arab. يَدٌ, Ethiop. ጸዳ, Hebr. יָד, Samarit.  
𐤎𐤃, Aram. ܝܕܐ, properly *hand*, then *arm* (?), lastly *strength, power*;  
from which we have idâ Du. and idi Plur. Ideogr. 194, 96; 201 (Eng.  
ed. p. 191); 202. Phon. with suffix ai = i-da-ai 332, 23; Ideogr.  
with phon. complement 398, 150. 4.

יָדָה comp. Eth. (ጸዳ)ጸዳ, Hebr. יָדָה, Aram. ܝܕܐ. — i-du(u)  
3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he knew, was acquainted with* 277, 4; 398, 12. —  
mu-du-u Subst. *knowledge = מוֹדָע* comp. מוֹדָע. — Respecting a-di-i  
Subst. *recognition, submission*, see under יָדָה.

יָדָק (avíl) Ja-daḳ-ḳu name of a tribe 346, 15.

יָדָה (ír) Ja-da(ta)-bi name of a town 220, 29.

יָצִיב u-ši-zi-bu 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *he rescued*, Aram. ܝܨܝܒ,  
𐤎ܨܝܒ 353, 34. — šu-zu-ub Inf. Shaf. Stat. constr. 203 (*insec. ad fin.*);  
209, 52; 261, 6.

יָמִים ūmu, Hebr. יָמִים *day*, Arab. يَوْمٌ etc. Ideogr. 19, 28. 29; 53  
(Eng. ed. p. 54 footn. \*); Stat. constr. 19, 28; 124, 8; written u-um  
124, 31. — ūmi or ūmī, Plur. Ideogr. 2, 13; 153 (Gen. LXIX. 1).  
Ideogr. with phon. complement 82; 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1); 157, 84  
(written UD.mí) etc. — Ina ūmī(mī)-šu-ma = *in his i. e. those  
days, then (happened this or that)* 201 (Layard pl. 90. 59); 203, *ad init.*  
— immu (pronounce imu!) Subst. ditto, written im-mu 53 (Eng. ed.  
p. 54 footn. \*). — im-ma Adv. *ever*, comp. (Haupt) Syr. ܡܡܐ 277,  
(Botta 75. 4).

יָוָן (mât, ír) Javanu name of a country *Greece*, written Ja-a-va-nu  
81. Ja-va-nu 81, *ad fin.* — (mât) Ja-av-na-ai Adj. *Greek, Ionian*  
81; 169.

יֶכַן Ja-ki-ni, Ja-kin Babylon. proper name 235, 26; 350, 50; 351, 59. Comp. also above under בֵּית.

יֶכְנָלוּ Ja-k-i-in-lu-u Arvado-Phoenic. proper name 25, footn. \*; 105, *ad init.*; 355, 9 (Asurbanipal).

יָמֵן im-nu comp. יָמִין, יָמֵן etc. Adj. and Adv. *on the right*, also *right* (moral.), *on the right hand side* 123; 135 (Gen. XIII. 9); 363, *Notes and Illust.*

יָמָן Ja-ma-ni Ashdodite proper name 398 (149. 11, 150. 5). 556

יָפָא = יָפַע, see יָשָׁפָא.

יָפוּ (îr) Ja-(ap-)pu-u name of the city *Joppa*, יָפֹי 172 (Josh. XIX. 46); 289, 66.

יָרָא comp. יָרָא. — *î-rim-ma* 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal with Cop. *he feared* 397, 2.

יָרָא (nâr) Ja-ru-'u name of the river *Nile*, Hebr. יָרָא, Kopt. יָרָא, יָרָא 152, *ad init.*

יָרָק (šad) Ja-ra-ku name of a mountain (= "*the green mountain*") comp. יָרָק *green?*) 220, 29.

יָשָׁא ja-a-ši, intensive pers. Pron. *I, of me* etc. 152, *ad jin.* A similar intensive pronoun is יָתָא = jâti. Comp. also Assy.-Bab. Keil. 253 foll. See also under אִישָׁא.

יָשָׁא išû properly Subst. *being*, comp. Hebr. יָשָׁא, Aram. יָשָׁא, then as a Vb. *he is*, or *he has*; in the latter case the verb is construed with the accusat. (like bašû. ibšû) 159 (Deut. XVI. 10). Phon. i-š-u-u 290, 14; 302, 28. Ideogr. with phon. complement 159 (Deut. XVI. 10). — i-ša-a ditto 374, 24.

יָתָאמַר It-'am-a-ra proper name *Jatha'âmîr*, Himj. יָתָאמַר 146, *ad init.*; 397, 3; 404, footn. \*.

יָתָנָא (mât) Ja-at-na-na name of a country *Cyprus* 86 (Gen. X. 4). See also אָתָנָא *Atnana*.

## כ

כָּאָם kiâm Adv. *accordingly*, comp. Hebr. כָּאָם 140, Gen. XVII. 17.

כָּבָא (mât) Kib name of a country 213, 6.

כָּבָבָא comp. כָּבָבָא, כָּבָבָא; כָּבָבָא. — ka-ba-bi Subst. Pl. *shields* 261, 5.

כָּבָבָא ik-bu-ud 3. Ps. Impft. Kal *it was obstinate* [their heart — comp. Hebr. כָּבָבָא] 154, Exod. IX. 7 *bis*; 323; 398, 7. — ka-bid-tu(tav) Adj. Fem. *heavy, rich* 288, 56; 291, 37; 301, 19; 345, 9; 346, 9. —

kab-ta (for kabd-ta?) Adj. (Fem.?) ditto 139, Gen. XV. 5. — Should we with Lotz assume a root ככה? —

כבס comp. Hebr. כָּבַס, also the allied form كَصَب, as well as the Arab. كَبَس. — ak-bu-us 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I trod down, subjugated*, V Rawl. 4, 103. — ka-bi-is Part. Kal *treading down, subjugating* 83. — šuk-bu-us Inf. Pa. (Stat. constr.) *defeat* 290, 15.

כבר kib-ra-a-ti, also written kib-rat, Subst. Plur. fem. *tracts, regions, countries*, comp. Hebr. כְּבָרָה 213, 4; 247, 1; 377, *ad fin.* Ideogr. UB.DA II R. 35. 39. 40.

כבריא (a vil) Kib-ri-i name of a tribe 346, 15.

557 כבש kabšu Subst. *lamb*, כָּבַשׁ, كَبِش, عَبْصًا. Plur. kab-ši-i 193. 82.

כבת (mât) Bit-Ku-ba-tiv see ביה.

כד comp. Ethiop. ነቅደን. — ik-ta-din 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *he was concealed, disappeared* 459, footn. 4.

כדר Ku-du-ur-Ma-bu-uk(ug) proper name of a Babylon. king 129, (Gen. XI. 28); 136. — Ku-du-ur-(La-ga-mar) assumed to be the original form of the Hebr. כְּדֻרְלַעְמֹר 137. — Ku-dur-(ilu)Na-ḥu-un-di, also Kudur-(ilu)Nan-ḥu-nn-di, name of an Elamite king 136.

כול see כלל.

כון comp. Hebr. כּוּן, קָוִין, Arab. كَان, ܟܢܝ: (Aram. ܟܢܝ etc.). — u-kin (pronounce ukîn) 1. and 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I or he set, placed or laid* 213, 14; 232, 15; 288, 46; 301, 19 etc. — ki-i-nu(nuv) Adj. *firm, faithful* 363, *Notes and Illust.*; 369, 28; also ki-i-nuv 413, 33; 414, *Notes and Illust.* — ki-niš Adv. 389, 156. — mikittu Subst. *substructure* (?) (for mikintu). Acc. mi-ki-it-ta-(ša) 124, col. II. 11; 127 (*Notes and Illust.*). — na-kan-tu Subst. *treasure-chamber* (?) 193, 81. — Ukin-zîr proper name Νῆριζήροζ, Νῆριζήροζ 234. 23.

כוס Kûsu name of a country *Aethiopia*, or *Upper-Aegypt*, Hebr. כּוּשׁ, Egypt. Keš, written Ku-u-su(si) 86 (Gen. X. 6); 205, footn. \*; 326, footn. \*; also Ku-su(si) 86 (Gen. X. 6); 335 (I Rawl. 48 no. 5. 5); 338, 10; 387. Comp. also under כוש.

כוי a-ku-uš (so read!) 1. Ps. Impft. Kal *I drew off* (sc. the skin) 323, *ad fin.* For the sibilant comp. the variants in Asurn. I, 110: a-ku-šu (Opp.). Probably קוץ, קוץ are etymologically connected; in respect of the change of meaning we should perhaps compare Ethiop. ጠብሐዎ: ጠብሐዎ: *he drew off* (properly *slaughtered*) from him his hide.

כוש Kûšu name of a country *Aethiopia* or *Upper-Aegypt*, Hebr. כּוּשׁ, Egypt. Keš 86 (Gen. X. 6). Comp. above כוס.

כות (ir) Kutî, see כתי.



כִּי kî Conj. *as* = Hebr. כִּי. Written ki 255, 23; 276 (translate : according to the non-agreement of will of the gods i. e. against the will of the gods). — ki-i ša *just as* comp. Hebr. כַּאֲשֶׁר 218, 6; 219, 24; 273, 4.

כִּיּוֹן Ka-ai-va-nu, name of the planet Saturn, Hebr. כִּיּוֹן, Aram. ܟܝܘܢ, Arab. كَيْوَان (Am. V, 26) 443.

כִּי (כִּיּוֹן) (mât) Ka-i-za(?)-ai Adj. *Kaizaeon*(?) 157, 86.

כִּיּוֹן (kîmu) kimtu Subst. *family*. Written ki-im-ti (Gen.) 301, 20. [Fried. Delitzsch prefers to connect with this Assyrian word the Hebr. כִּיּוֹן (the Hebr. and Aramaic name for *Pleiades* in Amos V. 8, Job IX. 9, XXXVIII. 31) instead of combining the latter with the Arabic كَوْمَة 'heap'; see his 'Heb. Lang. and Assyrian Research' p. 69 and comp. also below under כִּי Assy. kummu. — Transl.].

כִּיּוֹן Ki-i-su Cypr. proper name *Kisu* 355, 15.

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כִּיר kîru Subst. of doubtful etymology 48, footn. †† : (ana) ki-i-ri. By the contrasted phrase : ana libbi we are led to infer the meaning "inner side", comp. Gen. VI. 14 : מְבִית וּמְחוּץ. Haupt (under קִיר) understands the word to mean a *covering of pitch*, comp. Aramaic ܟܝܪ.

כַּךְ kakku (for karku, root כָּרַךְ, comp. Aram. כָּרַךְ?). — Subst. *weapon* (properly *equipment*?), comp. Hebr. and Aram. חֶבְרִיךְ. Ideogr. Piur. 193, 79; 194, 96; 195, 99; 201 *ad jin.*; 202, footn. † (277, foot. †).

כִּךְ ki-ku Subst., some kind of receptacle 350, 55; 352.

כַּכְבֵּן kakkabu Subst. *star*, Hebr. כּוֹכַב, Arab. كَوْكَب etc. Ideogr. Plur. 15, 2. 4; 139 (Gen. XV. 5). — ka-ak-ka-bi-iš Adv. *like stars* 139 (Eng. ed. p. 125 footn. \*).

כַּלְאֵן Kul-unu-KI name of a Babylonian town, perhaps *Kabueh* ܟܠܢ Am. VI. 2, or ܟܠܢ Gen. X. 10 (also ܟܠܢ Is. X. 9 ?) 96; 444.

כַּלְדָּי (mât) Kal-du(di) Subst. *Chaldea*, Hebr. כְּשָׁדִים, Greek *Χαλδαῖοι* 115, footn. \*\*; 131, *bis*; 232, 14; 346, 12; 369, 29; 480, B. C. 813. — (avíl) Kal-du gent. name *Chaldaean* 133; 346, 13 (Kal-du).

כַּלְהָ (ír) Kalḥu name of a town, *Kalah*, Hebr. כְּלָה, written Kal-ḥu (ḥa, ḥi) 97; 482, B. C. 798. 772; 486, B. C. 744.

כַּלְל comp. ܟܠܠ, ܟܠܠ, ܟܠܠ. — u-šak-li-il, u-šak-lil I. P's. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I completed*, comp. Aram. ܟܠܠ, ܟܠܠ.

335, 10. — kalu (kala, kali) Subst. *entirety*, comp. כָּל, כָּל etc. (Haupt *sub voce* assumes a root כול). Phon. ka-li (Gen., also Nom. and Acc. with Suff.) 154 (Exod. XXI. 8); 184, 68; 288, 55; 301, 19; 354, 12; 374, 28. — ka-la with following Gen. 191 (1 Kings XVI. 23). — Ideogr. 178, *ad init.*; 232, 5. — ka-la-ma Pron. indef. *what, whoever, of all kinds*. Ideogr. with phonetic complem. ma 235, 28. — kul-la-tu Subst. *entirety* 247, 2; 373, footnote \*\* 34. Comp. however under נָלָל. — ki-lal-lu Subst. *totality* 220, 28. — mu-kal Subst. *total* 315 (root וכל?).

כָּלֵם ka-la-ma Subst. *world, earth* 413. Comp. the kalama of the preceding article.

כָּלֵן Kulunu name of a town, written Kul-unu, see כְּלָאן.

כֶּם (?) kummu Subst. *mass, chief portion*, written ku-um-mu 124, (Col. II. 4). The word is probably connected with kimtu *family*.

כֶּם ki-ma, comp. Hebr. כֶּמוֹ etc. — Prep. or Conj. *just as* 124, 15a. 15c; 169. Ideogr. 139 (Gen. XV. 5); 195, 98 etc. — ki-ma ša *just as* 124, 15c. Comp. above under כִּי.

כַּמְבוּי Ka-am-bu-zi-ja, also Kam-bu-zi-ja Pers. proper name = *Kambujīja* 373 (footn. \*\* 35).

כַּמוּ ak-mu 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *burnt down* 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II. p. 7, 5 lines fr. below).

559 כַּמָּה (mât, ir) Kum-mu-ḥi, Ku-muḥ-ḥi name of a land or city *Kommagene* 323 (Botta 40, 20); 405 (footn. \*). — (ir, mât) Ku-(um)-mu-ḥa-ai, Ku-muḥ-ai Adj. *he of K.* 193, 83; 252, 50; 257, 57.

כַּמְסַנְדַּב Kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi Moab. proper name *Kamosnadab* כַּמְסַנְדַּב = כַּמְשַׁנְדַּב (141, *ad init.*); 288, 53. Comp. the Hebr. כְּמוֹשׁ *Chemôsh* and Hebr. כַּמְשׁ-נְדָב on the one hand, and the name כַּמְשׁ-נְדָב in the stone of Mesha line 1 on the other. [But Smend and Socin in their recent work 'Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa' (1886) read the name as כַּמְשַׁמְלֵךְ *Chemôsh-melech*. — Transl.] — Ka-(ma?)-as(?)-ḥal-ta (?) Moab. proper name 141 (Gen. XIX. 37).

כַּנְרֶשֶׁךְ Ku-un-da-aš-pi proper name 193, 83.

כַּנְךְ kunukku Subst. *seal*. Ideogr. 155 (Exod. XXVIII. 19): 459, footn. 4; 460, footn. Derivatiou obscure.

כַּנְלִיָּא (ir) Ki-na-li-a name of a town 249, footn. †† 11.

כַּנְךְ kappu Subst. *wing*, comp. כַּנְךְ, كَنْفٌ, كَنْفٌ, 𐎧𐎢𐎠: — Plur. kap-pi 383, *ad fin.*

כַּנְשׁ (= Hebr. כָּנַע?) ik-nu-šu 3. Ps. Sg. and Plur. Impft. Kal *he (they) submitted* 288, 43; 289, 59. 68; 301, 20. — u-šak-ni-ša(šu), also u-šak-niš 1. and 3. Ps. Impft. Shaf. *I (or he) subjugated* 184, 70.

— u-šik-ni-šu ditto 213, 5. — u-šik-niš ditto 213, 14; 232, 13. — kit-nu-šu 3. Ps. Pl. Perf. Itte. *they had submitted* Tayl. Cyl. III, 70. — mu-šak-niš Part. Shaḫ. 188, *ad fin.* — kan-šu Adj. *submissive* 346, 16.

כנש (= Aram. כְּנַשׁ, Hebr. כָּנַס) kiššatu Subst. *entirety, host*. Phon. Stat. constr. kiš-šat, ki-iš-ša-at 10; 413. — Ideogr. 184, 63. 64. 65; 212, 1.

כסא kussû Subst. *throne*, comp. כְּסֵא, كُوسِي, كُوسِي, word of Akkadian origin (386, Is. VI. 1). Ideogr. 208, *ad init.*; 213, 3; 286, *ad fin.* etc. etc. Ideogr. Pl. 290, 36. — On the length of the final û, see Syll. II R. 46, 50<sup>b</sup> : ku-us-su-u.

כסב kasbu Subst. *double-league*, Akkadian in origin, written kas-bu 204 (1 Kings XX. 26).

כַּסְךְ (îr, mâṭ) Kas-ki name of a country or race *Kask* 83, *ad init.* — (îr, mâṭ) Kas-ka-ai Adj. *the Kaskaean* 253. Regarding the name comp. the Greek Κόλχοι. Κολχίς.

כסלו Ki-si-li-vu, Ki-is-li-vu name of the month *Kislew*, Hebr. כְּסֵלוֹ 380.

כספּו kaspu comp. Hebr. כֶּסֶף, Syr. كَسْفٌ *silver* (134, Gen. XIII. 2), written ka-as-pu. Ideogr. 142, *ad init.*; 193, 84. Plur. Ideogr. 157, 87.

כַּפּי kap-pi, see כַּף.

כַּפּוּ (?) ik-ti-pa 3. Ps. Sg. Impf. Ift. *bound, ruled* (?) 16 (and also 560 footn. \*\*).

כַּפּרּוּ kupru, kupur Subst. *bitumen, asphalt*. Hebr. כֶּפֶר. Phon. ku-up-ru 48 (footn. ††); 121 (sub כַּפֵּר).

כַּרּוּ kar-ru Subst. 482, B. C. 788. Perhaps we ought to read ƛar-ru signifying *cold, frost* קָרָה, קָרָה, قَرَّةٌ, كَرٌّ, ΦΑΓΙ:

כַּרּ (îr) Kar-ba-ni-ti name of a town 175, footn. \*. — (îr) Kar-Ašur, name of a town 232, 7. — (mâṭ) Kar-du-ni-aš, Kar-dun-ja-aš 42 (footn. \*); 232, 14; 345, 6; 458, footn.; Kar-du-ni-ši 460, footn.; also (mâṭ) Kar-du 459, footn. 2. — (îr) Kar-Šul-ma-nu-ašâridu name of a town 193, 81. — (îr) Kar-Šarrukin, new name bestowed on ƛarƛar, Khors. 63, 61. — (îr) Kar-Rammân (K.-Dadda) name of a town 220, 27. — (îr, mâṭ) Kar-ga-mis, more softly pronounced Gar-ga-mis, name of a town *Karkemish*, Hebr. כַּרְכַּמֵּיץ 384 (Is. X. 9). See also גַּרְגַּמִּים.

כַּרּ KUR.RA Ideogr. for the conception *East*, Assy. šadû 397, 3.

כרא comp. Hebr. כָּרַע (Syr. ܟܪܐ, Arab. كَرَعَ). — kitrû Subst. *obedience, submission*. Geu. kit-ri-i 289, 64.

כרב kirûbu(?) Subst., written ki-ru-bu(?) *Cherub*, Hebr. כְּרוּב 39, *ad fin.*

כרן kirû Subst. *plantation*. Ideogr. 210, 55; plur. 234, 24; 261, 9.

כרון (ír) Kir-za-u(?) name of a city 194, 97.

כרי (ír, mât) Ku-ri-i name of a Cyprian town *Curium* 355, 18.

כרם kar-mí Subst. Plur. *orchard, vineyard*, comp. Hebr. כְּרָם 234, 25; 351, 61. — Comp. also 448 (Mic. I. 6).

כרן karânuv Subst. *wine*, written ka-ra-nav(nu) 426.

כרש karâšu Subst. *baggage, property*, comp. Hebr. רְכוּשׁ. Written ka-ra-ši (Acc.) 398 (Botta 150. 2). Ideogr. KI.MAS with suffix = karâs-su (for karâš-šu) 345, 7; comp. 348 (Notes and Illust.).

כרש Kuraš, also in one place Kuruš, Persian proper name *Cyrus*, Hebr. כְּרֶשׁ, Pers. K'ur'uš 372 (Ezra I. 1) and footn. \* (Eng. ed. p. 60); 373, footn. \*\* 35.

כש (mât) Kaššu gentile adj. *the Kassian*, written Ka-aš-šu-u, Ka-aš-ši-i, also Kaš-ši-i 88; 132, *ad fin.*

כש Kiš(KI) name of a town 345, 6; 346, 13.

כשד kašâdu *to reach, arrive-at, capture*. — kašâdu genit. kašâdi *arrival* 455, 12. — ak-šud *I obtained possession of, I captured* 1 Ps. Impft. Kal 195, 101; 261, 12; 272, *ad inît.*; 346, 12. 16 [ak-šud-ud]. Ideogr. with phonet. complem. ud 194, 88; 202, *bis*; 207. — ik-šu-du 3. Ps. Sg. *he captured, seized* 338, 10; the same with Suff. = ik-šu-561 su-nu-ti 458, footn. \* (III Rawl. 14, 48). — ik-šu-du 3. Ps. Plur. 450, 74. — ik-šu-da (for ik-šu-du = 3. Ps. Plur. or Dual?) 289, 82; 345, 8. — ka-šid Part. Kal *conquering, conqueror* 91, 58; 184, 66; 213, 5; 277, *ad inît.*; 486, B. C. 738. 741<sup>b</sup>. Ideogr. with phon. complement ti = kašid-ti i. e. kâši-ti (for kâši-di) the same 459, footn. 2. — kišad Subst. *bank*. Ideogr. 480, B. C. 803. — kišidtû Subst. *capture, conquest, spoil*. Stat. constr. kišidti, written ki-šid-ti 232, 7; 273, *ad fin.*; 398, Botta 150, 13.

כשר kišûdu Subst. *neck*, more often kišâdu = Eth. 𐤀𐤍𐤁𐤁: 83: ki-šu-di in the phrase ka-bi-is ki-šu-di, comp. Asurn. Stand. Inscr. mu-kab-bi-is kišâd ai-bi-šu "treading on the neck of his enemy"; see also the accompanying figured representations on the royal relief as well as on the monument of Darius at Behistun.

כשר (Hebr. כִּשָּׁר?). — í-ik-ši-ír 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I set straight, set upright, improved* 124, col. II. 10.

כשר Ki-šar name of a deity *Κισσάρης* 2, 12; 12, 4.

כַּשְׁתָּ (nâr) Kaš-šā-tu (?) name of a river 193, 79.

— kiššatu, see under כִּנְשׁ.

כִּשְׁתַּשְׁפִּי Ku-uš-ta-aš-pi proper name of a prince of Kummuch 252 (beginning of inser.); 257 (beg. of inser.).

כְּתִי (ir) Ku-ti-i name of a town *Kutha*, Hebr. כּוּתָּ(ה) 278; 346, 13.

כְּתָל ku-tal-lu Subst. *wall*, Hebr. כְּתֵל, Aram. כְּתָלָא, כְּתָלָא 457 (Song of Sol. II. 9).

כְּתָלָל (ir) Kit-la-la name of a town 193, 80. 81.

כְּהַם comp. كَتَمَ (כָּטַם) — ik-tu-mu 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he overpowered* (properly *he covered*) 399, 3.

כְּתֵרֵךְ ki-tir-ru Subst. Gen. *wreath, crown*, comp. Hebr. כְּתֵרֵךְ, כְּתֵרֵךְ 124 (col. II. 13).

כְּתֵרֵי ki-[i t-]ri Subst. Gen. 397 footn. \* 1, a word whose form and meaning are uncertain. It is doubtful whether it should be completed according to the form kitru because the corresponding Assyrian word should probably be read siḥru "*alliance*".

כְּתֵרֵסִי (ir, mâ t) Ki-it-ru-si name of a Cyprian town *Chytros* 355, 14.

### ל

לָא la, also la-a, Adv. *not*, Hebr. לֹא, Arab. لَا 2, 1. 2; 124, col. I, 30. 32; 139 (Gen. XV. 5); 159, Deut. XVI. 10. — The particle combines with the following substantive to form a kind of compound e. g. la libbi 276; la bîl kussî etc.

לֵי li-' Adj. *fresh, cheerful*, then *successful, victorious* 169 (not li-ih!). 562

לָאֵרִי la 'a-ri phrase with some such meaning as *desert, wilderness* 398 (151, 10. 2). Etymology unknown; but comp. Strassmaier, Assyrisches Wörterverzeichnis No. 694. 4738.

לֵאֲתָאוּ (avîl) Li-'ta-(a)-u name of a tribe 232, 12; 346, 16.

לִבְּ libbu Subst. *heart, mind*, לִבְּ, لُبُّ, لُبُّ, لُبُّ. Phon. li-ib-bu 124 (col. II. 5). — lib-ba 154 (Exod. IX. 7) (Nom.!).; 289, 73 (ditto). Gen. lib-bi 20; 48, footn. †† (Eng. ed. p. 48); with Suff. 140 (Gen. XVII. 17); 272, *ad init.*; 273, 1; 434, 28 (lib-bu-uš!). — Ideogr. 154 (Exod. IX. 7); 175, *ad fin.*; 272, *ad init.* (273, *ad fin.*). — Acc. lib-ba(bi) Prep. *over, at, to* 152 (Gen. XLIII. 23); 398, 150. 10. 1; 458, footn. \*. With Prepos. a-di lib-bi *as far as* 220, 30. — ina lib-(bi) Prep. *at, in* 175; also an Adv. *there* 193, 86; 210, 62; 374, 33. — lib lib *great-grandson, descendant* 393.

לִבְּ lub(?) Subst. *harem?* 291, 38. 39; 300 (Notes and Ill.); 302, 32. — Others think avîl LUB and aššāti LUB mean *men-singers* and *women-singers*.

לְבַן al-bi-in 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I stamped bricks* 121 (Gen. XI. 3). — u-šal-bi-na 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I caused bricks to be stamped* 121. — libittu Subst. (*air-dried*) brick, Syr. ܠܒܝܬܘܢ, Hebr. לְבִינָה; written li-bit-tu 121 (Gen. XI. 3); li-bi-it-tu(ti) (collect.) 124, col. II 2. 4. 9; Stat. constr. libnat 121 (Gen. XI. 3). Plur. libnâti Ideogr. 121 (Gen. XI. 3). — lib(?) -ban-na-ti(?) Subst. Gen. *treading down, pressing flat* (?) 290, 16.

לְבַן (ilu) La-ban name of a deity (= *Laban*?) 149 (Gen. XXVII. 43).

לְבַנּוּ (šad) Labnânu proper name *Lebanon*, Hebr. לְבָנוֹן. Written Lab-na-na 157, 84; 183 (1 Kings V. 13); 184, *ad init.* and 67; 220, 27; Lab-na-nu 388, footn. \*; Lab-na-a-ni 183 (1 Kings V. 13); 184; La-ab-na-nu-v 183 (1 Kings V. 13).

לְבַר la-bi-ri-im-ma Adv. *anciently, formerly* 124, col. II. 15 a.

לְבַשׁ comp. לְבָשׁ, ܠܒܝܫ, ΛΒΗ: lab-šu 3. Ps. Pl. Perf.

Kal *they had put on, were clothed with* 383, *ad fin.*; 456 (Notes and Illust.). — lubuštu, lubultu, Subst. *apparel, dress*. Ideogr. 19. Phon. lu-bu-uš-tav II R. 9, 49; lu-bul-ti 213, 19; 235, 28; 255, 25; 450, Rev. 2.

לְבַת u-šal-bit 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I imposed* 286, *ad fin.*

לְדָן la-du-nu (with determinat. ideogr. ŠIM (or RIK) Subst. *Ladanum*. Greek λήδαρον, λάδαρον, Hebr. לֶדָן 151 (Gen. XXXI. 25).

לְדָר (ír, mât) Li-di-ir name of a Cyprian town *Ledra, Αέδρα, Αέδρα* (Αέδρωρ) 355, 21.

לוּ lu, lu-u, particle of asseveration, *truly, yea*, of unknown origin.

We ought scarcely to connect it with the Ethiop. Λ:; Arab. ُ appearing in voluntative clauses, originally indicating direction — 157, 84. 85; — 194, 87; 213, 16; 278; 288, 34; 301, 18.

563 לוּד (mât) Lu-ud-di name of the country *Lydia* 114.

לוּי comp. לוּיָה, ܠܘܝ. — al-ví 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I besieged* 261, 12; 272, *ad init.*; 289, 68; 290, 17; 302, 28. — li-ví-ti Subst. *boundary, frontier district* 290, 14; 302, 28; 346, 12; 398, 7. 9.

לוּ (ilu) La-az name of a deity 232, 15.

לְחַם Laḥ-mu name of a deity 2, 10. — La-ḥ-a-mu name of a deity 2, 10.

לְכֶם (ír) La-ki-su name of the town *Lakish*, Hebr. לְכִישׁ 287, 3.

לְלָל Lal-li proper name 193, 83.

לְלָד (ír) Lal-li(?) -da-ai Adj. *he of Lallid*(?) 193, 83.

לְלִי Lu-li-i Phoenician proper name *Luli, Elulæus* = Phoenic.

אלול, Ἰουλιαιος i. e. "he of the month Elul" (= Assyr. Ululai) 103 (Gen. X. 15); 286, *ad fin.*; 288, 35; 301, 18.

לִּם limu Subst. *Archonship*. Written li-mu, lim-mu 315; 335, *ad init.*; Gen. li-mí 193, 78.

לִּמְנוּ limnu Adj. *evil, bad*. Phon. lim-nu 19, 29; 323. Pl. msc. lim-nu-ti 323.

לַמַּסּוּ lamassu Subst. image of the sun-god(?) 39.

לַמְתִּיר lam-ti-i-ri (?) 195, 101. [Dr. Craig: kima ti-i-ri. — Tr.]

לָקַח comp. Hebr. לָקַח. — il-ḵu 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *had taken*, 458, footn. \* 49. — il-ḵa-a ditto (histor. pres.?) *he took* (these 12 princes to help him), *brought them up* 194, 95. — al-ḵa-a 1. Ps. Sg. 376, *ad fin.* — il-ḵu-ni 3. Ps. Plur. Impft. *they took* 458, 48.

(לָרַס) Larsa, Larsam(v) name of an ancient Babyl. town, probably if not certainly the Biblical אֶלְסָר 135. Written La-ar-sa and La-a-r-s-a-am(av), followed by KI.

לִישָׁנוּ lišānu Subst. *tongue, speech*, comp. לִישׁוֹן, لِسَانٌ, 𐎠𐎢𐎽𐎢𐏁.

Ideogr. (comp. II R. 17, 32 a. b.) 400 (Notes and Illust.). Phon. li-ša-nu Xerxes C, a. 6; C, b. 7. 10 etc. Stat. constr. li-ša-an II R. 17, 32<sup>b</sup>; Khors. 161; Plur. li-ša-na-a-ta Darius O, 16.

## מ

מַ Conj. 1) connective enclitic particle appended to a word, *and*. Sometimes with adversative meaning 2, 5; *passim*, connects sentences together. 2) Emphasizing particle, not infrequently lending stress to the following clause which it introduces, like the Hebr. ׀ consec. 2, 9 (here placed after the verb to be emphasized) comp. 2, 3; 82, 105.

מֹאב Ma-'bu, Ma-'ab, Ma-'a-ab, Mu-'a-ba, Ma-'ba name of a country *Moab*, Hebr. מוֹאָב 140 (Gen. XIX. 37); 257; 355, 4. — [Ma]-'ba-ai Adj. *Moabite* 288, 53.

מְאֹד comp. Hebr. מְאֹד. — ma'du Adj. *much, many*. Ideogr. 235, 564 28; ma'-dûtu Pl. Ideogr. ma-at-tu Fem. Sg. 234, 22. — ma'-diš Adv. *much*. A-na ma'-diš *in large numbers* 209, 44. — mu'du Subst. *crowd*, Hebr. מְאֹד 18. — (ana) mu'-di-í 450, Rev. 4. — ni-mí-du *powerful, exalted* 287, 27; 290, 36. — Ni-mi-it-ti-Bil, name of an encircling wall of Babylon 185 (1 Kings VII. 21). But see also under אֲמֹד.

מַ(מָּ) (mât) Mi-su name of a country 213, 7.

מֹאֲרָ u-ma-'ir 3. and 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *he (or I) despatched, summoned* 345, 11; 354, 13; 452, 67.

מגדו (ír) Ma-gi(ga)-du-u name of a town *Megiddo* מְגִדוֹ 168 (Josh. XVII. 11) *ad fin.*

מגן (mât) Mâgan name of a country, written Ma-ga-n-na, Ma-gau 89, footn. \*; 205 (Eng. ed. 195 footn.); 326, footn.

מגן im-gur 3. Ps. Sg. Impf. Kal *he is willing, inclined, favourable.* — šu-um-gi-ri Šaf. Impft. Sg. msc. *show thyself gracious* 416, *ad fin.* Comp. the proper name סַמְגִיר־נָבֻּ = Šum gir-Nabû 416. — mâguru Part. *favourable, willing, obedient.* Phon. Plur. ma-gi-ri 247, 2. — magâru Subst. *grace, favour.* Ideogr. 19, 28; 124, col. II. 8; 333, 12. — Im-gur-Bîl name of an encircling wall of Babylon 185, 1 Ki. VII. 21.

מדו (mât) Madai, written Ma-da-ai name of the country *Media*. Hebr. מְדִי 80; 213, 7.

מוש comp. אַמְשׁ, Arab. <sup>س</sup>أمس on the one hand, Arab. مَسَاء, Ethiop. **ጠላት**: on the other. — mûšu Subst. *night*, written mu-šu 53 (Eng. ed. p. 54 footn. \*); mu-ša Acc. 16.

מות comp. (מָוֶת) מוּת, מָוֶת, **ጠላት**: — mu-ta-nu Subst. properly *death*, then *mortal disease, pestilence* 480, B. C. 803; 484, B. C. 765. 739<sup>b</sup>.

מח muḥ-(ḥi) Akkad., Prepos. imported into Assyr. *upon, over* 232, 7.

מחז ma-ḥa-zu Subst. *fortress, town, place*, comp. Targ. מחווא Pl. ma-ḥa-zi 207; 373 (footn. \*\* 34).

מחלב (ír) Ma-ḥal-li-ba name of a town = אַחְלָב, חֶלְבָּ? 173; 288, 39.

מחלה (mât) Ma-ḥal-la-ta-ai Adj. *Machallataean* 157, 86.

מחץ comp. Hebr. מַחֵץ. — am-ḥa-a-ṣ, am-ḥa-ṣ 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I broke to pieces, then struck* 396, 2; 397, footn. \* 2. — Written am-ta-ḥi-i-ṣ, also am-t(d)aḥ-ḥi-i-ṣ 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ift. *I fought* 194, 97; 198, *Notes and Illust.*; 201; 203; 209, 47; 289, 79 (am-da-ḥi-i-ṣ); 565 301, 24 (similarly written). — mun-daḥ-ḥi-ṣi, [mun]-taḥ-ṣi properly Part. Pl. Ift., then Subst. *combatants* 261, 4; 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 6 fr. below); 345, 11. — mit-ḥu-ṣu Inf. Ifte. *fighting, battle* 290, 16.

מחץ maḥ-ṣu Adj. *bitter*, comp. Hebr. חָמֵץ, see under מרת mar-ratu.

מחר am-ḥur 1. Ps. Impft. Kal. *I received* 82, *ad fin.* (Obelisk-insc. 109); 157, 87; 193, 86; 194, 87; 207, 102 foll.; 208 (2 Kings IX. 2); 210, 65; 213, 21 etc. — am-taḥ-ḥar 1. Ps. Impft. Ifta. *I received* 82, 106. — muḥ-ḥu-ur Inf. Pa. (*hostile*) *encounter* 332, 21. — mahrû



Adj. *earlier (ancient)*, written maḥ-ru-u (ra-a), also ma-aḥ-ru (ri, ri-i) 97 (Stand. insc. 14); 124, col. I. 28; 272; 289, 62; 301, 21; 326, footn. (*ad init.*); 350, 52. — maḥrîtu the same Fem. Sg. Written maḥ-ri-ti (Gen.) 290, 27; 302, 30. — maḥ-ru-u-ti the same Plur. msc. 338, 14. — maḥ-ri Prep. *before*, with a-di *before, to, unto* 289, 57; 301, 21; 369, footn. *ad init.*; also ma-ḥar 373, footn. \*\* 35; also a-na ma-ḥar 235, 26; with Suff. ma-ḥa-ar-(šu) 287, II. — mi-iḥ-rit Prep. *before* 232, 10. — tam-ḥa-ru Subst. (*hostile*) *encounter, struggle* 169; 195, 101; 289, 82; 345, 7.

מי mī Subst. Plur. *water*, comp. Hebr. מים etc. Ideogr. 2, 5. Phon. mi-i (Gen.) 124, col. I. 32; mí-i 195, 99.

מִיֹּל ma-ai-al, ma-ai-al-tuv Subst. *couch* מִיֹּל 216, footn. †.

מִזְּ (מִיִּץ) (mât) Ma-i-za (?) - ai Adj. *Maizean (?)* 157, 86.

מכּל mu-kal, see כלל.

מכּר? — ma-aḥ-ru Adj. — ? — Combined with arḥu 380, 13.

מִלּוּ mīlu Subst. *high flood* (root מִלָּא?). Written (ina) mi-li-(ša) 193, 82; also (ina) mi-li-(ša) 203, *ad init.* Comp., however, under אֵלִי.

מִלָּא comp. Hebr. מִלָּא, Aram. مَلَا, Arab. مَلَا, مَلَا. — u-mal-lu-u

3. Ps. Sg. Impf. Pa. *he filled* 213, 2. — u-mal-la-a 1. Ps. Sg. 234, 24. — u-šam-li 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. 195, 99. — ma-la Pron. *who-soever*, properly Acc. Subst. *fulness of . . .*, in connection with ba-šu(-u) (q. v.) *as many of them as there are or were* 232, 13; 345, 10.

— milû Subst. *high flood*. See the sections under מִלּוּ and comp. under אֵלִי.

מִלֶּד (ir, mât) Mī-lid-da-ai Adj. *he of Melid* i. e. *Melitene* 253; 257.

מִלַּח Mīluḥḥu name of the land *Upper-Aegypt* or *Nubia*, written Mi-luḥ-ḥi, Mī-luḥ-ḥi, Mī-luḥ-ḥi-i and also Mi-luḥ-ḥa 87, *ad init.* (205, footn.); 289, 74, 81; 301, 24; 302, 25; 326, footn.; 370, 35; 398, (Botta 150, 7; 151, 10, 1).

מִלַּח (avil) Ma-li-ḥu name of a tribe 346, 15.

מִלְכּ malku Subst. *prince*, Hebr. מֶלֶךְ, Arab. مَلِك. Phon. ma-lik 566

23, footn. \*\*. — mal-ki, ma-li-ki Plur. 23, footn. \*\*. 115, footn. \*\*. 213, 4; 323 (Botta 40, 20). — ma-li-kat Subst. fem. Stat. constr. *princess* II R. 66, 4. — mal-kut Subst. Stat. constr. *rule* 213, 1. — (ilu) Ma-lik name of the deity *Moloch (?)* 150 (text and footn. \*); 155, (Lev. XVIII. 1). — Malik-ram-mu name of an Edomite king 150, (Eng. ed. p. 136); 288, 54. — Mil-ki-a-ša-pa Phoenico-Bybl. proper name 185 (1 Kiugs V. 32); 355, 8.

מלם *mílam mu* Subst. *majesty, splendour*. Is it of Akkadian origin? — *mí-lam-mí* (Gen.) 213, 17; 235, 27; 288, 35; 290, 30; 301, 18; 302, 30 etc.

(מומו) *mum mu* Subst. *watering, wave* (= *mâmi*? —); written *mu-mu* 2, 4.

מוי *mâmi* Subst. Plur. *water, waters*, comp. Hebr. מוֹיֵי, written *ma-a-mí* (Var. *ma-mi-ja*) 116.

מויתו *mamitu* Subst. *declaration, oath*, see אמוי.

ממן *mamman*, see מנמ.

ממה (*ir*) *Mí-im-pi*, also *Mi-im-pi* name of the town *Memphis*, Hebr. מֶמְפִּי and מֶמְפִּי, Egypt. *Men-neffer*, Kopt. **ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲉⲫⲉ**, **ⲙⲉⲛⲛⲉⲫⲓ** 357 (2 Ki. XXIII. 29); 391 (Is. XIX. 13).

[מנו] *mannu* (*manu*) interrog. pron. 'who?', comp. מַנּוּ (מֵן), Aram. **ܡܢܘ**. — *Man-nu-ki-Rammân* *who is like Rammân?* 478, B. C. 683, comp. 429 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 126). — Transl.]

מן *ma-na* Subst. *Mina*, Hebr. מִנָּה, Arab. مَنَا, Aram. **ܡܢܐ**, word of Sumeru-Akkad. origin 143, *ad inít*.

מן (*mât*) *Mu-un-na* name of a country (= מְנִי?) 213, 8. — (*mât*) *Man-na-ai*, *Ma-an-na-ai* Adj. 423, *ad fin.*; 480, B. C. 808. 807; Hebr. מְנִי, Greek *Mivváç*.

מנו comp. מנה, Aram. **ܡܢܐ**, Arab. مَنَى, مَنَا. — *am-nu* 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I counted* 255, 22; 289, col. III. 4; 290, 20; 302, 26. 28; 345, 10; 398 (Botta 150, 12). — *im-nu-u* 3. Ps. Sg. and Plur. 247, 2; 450, Rev. 4. — *ma-ni* Subst. *counting, reckoning* (Gen.) 202, *bis*; 203; 210, 57; 213, 21 etc. — *mi-ni* Subst. (Gen.) with same meaning 338, 11; also *mí-ni* 450, Rev. 4. — *mínûtu* Subst. *reckoning, number* Acc. (NB!) *mí-nu-ta* 159 (Deut. XVI. 10) (for the Acc. see under ישׁ *išû*). Ideogr. (MIŠ) 159. — *ma-na* Subst. *mina*, see under מן.

מנחם *Mí-ni-ḫi-(im-)mi* *Menahem*, name of a king of Samaria, Hebr. מְנַחֵם 191 (1 Ki. XVI. 24); 223, *ad fin.*; 252. — *Mi-in-ḫi-im-mu* ditto, name of a king of Samsimurun 288, 47; comp. 192.

מנמ *manaman, manman, mamman* *whosoever, any one* 235, 26. — *ma-na-ma* the same 2, 7. [See above under מנו. — Transl.]

מנסי *Mí-na-si-í* Jewish proper name *Manasseh*, Hebr. מְנַשֶּׁה 189 (1 Kings XIV. 21); 355, 2<sup>a</sup>. — *Mi-in-si-í* the same 189 (1 Ki. XIV. 21); 355, 2<sup>b</sup>.

567 מנצפח (*avíl*) *man-ša(z)a-as-pa-ni* Subst. Plur. a name of a person of rank 345, 10.

מס mis-ta Subst. *number?* — Further particulars may be seen about this assumed word in 159 (Deut. XVI. 10).

מסא (aví) Mas-'ai, Ma-as-'ai Adj. *he of Mas'a* i. e. מִשְׁא 148, *ad fin.*

מסך (mât) Mu-us-ki, Hebr. מִשְׁךְ (perhaps we ought to point it מִשְׁךְ?), Greek name of a people *Μόσχοι*, LXX *Μοσόχ*, *land of the Moschi* 84. Comp. also under מִשְׁךְ.

מסר mu-sar-i Subst. Pl. *lines* comp. Akkad. SAR = Assyr. šatâru שמר 315.

מסקן (iṣ) mu-suk-kan-ni name of a tree, *palm* (name of Akkad. origin) 234, 24.

מצר i-mi-iṣ-šir? — 195, 100. [Dr. Craig, *Hebraica* July 1887, confirmed by Pinches, reads i-mi-iṣ širi; see "Corrections and Additions" to Vol. II. — Transl.]

מצר miṣru Subst. *region* (= Aram. מִצְר, Syr. مَصْرٌ, Arab. مَصْرٌ *boundary?*). Phon. mi-šir Stat. constr. 117, *ad fin.*; 220, 32; 255, 18; 338, 13.

מצר (mât) Muṣur, Muṣru name of the country *Aegypt*, Hebr. מצרים, written Mu-ṣur, Mu-ṣu-ru(ri), Mu-uṣ-ri 89, *ad init.*; 153 (Exod. I. 11); 158 (Numb. XXXIV. 5); 205, footn.; 247, 4; 255, 20; 289, 73; 301, 23; 326, footn. \*; 335 (I Rawl. 48 No. 5. 4); 387 (Is. XI. 11); 396, 1; 397, 3; 398 (150, 6). — (mât) Mi-šir the same (Babylon.) 89; 364, *ad init.* — (mât) Mu-ṣu-ra-ai Adj. *Aegyptian* 289, 73; 302, 25 (likewise with determ. mât). — (mât) Mu-uṣ-ra-ai Adj. probably the same 194, 92. — Comp. Keil. u. Gesch. p. 256. — Mu-ṣu-ri Moab. proper name 355, 4.

מקת comp. Arab. مَقَت. — u-šam-ḳit 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I overthrew, destroyed* 195, 98; 201, *ad fin.*; 209, 50; 277, 5.

מרא maru Subst. *son*, comp. Arab. مَرَى; from which is derived martuv, Stat. const. marat *daughter* Ideogr. 46; 97 (footn. \*); 179. — mi-ra-a-nu Subst. *puppy* 346, 14 (comp. II R. 6, 13 foll.).

מרדך Maruduk, Marduk name of the deity *Merodach*, Hebr. מְרַדְךָ. Phon. Ma-ru-du-ku, Mar-duk 422 (passim). Ideogr. 19, 28; 123, *ad init.*; 124 (col. II. 5); 373, footn. \*\* 33; 399, 3; 413, 30. He is also called *Bîlu Bel* 174, *ad fin.*; bîlu rabû 422. — Marduk-abal-iddi-na proper name 235, 26; 339, *passim*; 345; 350, 51; 353, 32. — Marduk-uâdin-aḥi proper name 458, footn. \* 49.

מרלרם Mar-la-rim(?) proper name 335, *ad init.*

מרנזק (מרנצק) mur-ni-iz(iš)-ki Subst. Pl. *horses* 455 (Ps. II. 12).

מרסמן (avil) Mar-si-ma-ni name of an Arab. tribe 277, *ad inît.*  
and Botta 75, 4.

568 מרר mar-ru Adj. *bitter*, Hebr. מרר, see below מרת.

מרת (mât) Martu (Akkad.) *Western land*, written Mar-tu 90; 91.

מרת (nâr) marratu Subst. *Ocean-stream*, name of the Pers. gulf. Written (nâr) mar-ra-ti 247, 3. — Mât (nâr) mar-ra-ti *land of the ocean-stream*, name of South-Babylonia, perhaps the מרתים, to be pronounced מרתים of Jer. (50, 21) 423. — The subst. marratu is most probably to be derived with Del. from the root מרר *to be bitter*. Thus it may have designated the salt maritime stream as the bitter-water. With the Assyr. word comp. Syll. II, 17, 36—38<sup>a</sup> : תַּבּוּ טב *sweet*; marru מר *bitter*; maḥṣu מחץ (= Hebr. חמצ) *sour*.

משא comp. Arab. مَسَا. — im-ši 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he formed a low estimate of, forgot, despised* 326, footn. — im-ma-šu 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Nif. *they were forgotten, became obsolete* Khors. 11.

משך mašku Subst. *skin, hide*, comp. مَشْكُو. Phon. ma-šak (Stat. constr.) 323. Ideogr. 193, 82. Stat. constr. 290, 36.

משך (mât) Mu-uš-ki name of a people, *inhabitants of Mushki* = מַשְׁכָּי 84 (and footn.). Comp. also above under מסך.

משל comp. Hebr. מְשַׁל, Arab. مَسَّلَ etc. — tanšilu Subst. *likeness, resemblance*; tan-šil Stat. constr. *just as* 15, 2.

משל ma-šal Subst. (Stat. constr.) *rule(?)* and hence *protection(?)*, Hebr. מְשַׁל (?) 350, 55.

משר u-maš-ši-ru, u-maš-šir 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *he left* 152 (Gen. XLI. 1); 191, *ad fin.*; ; 345, 8; 397 (footn. \* *ad fin.*); *he set free* (to live) 266; — u-ma-šir-ru the same 350, 58. — uššuru Inf. Pa., as Subst. *pardon, amnesty*. With Suff. uš-šur-šu-un (so read) 266; 290, (col. III. 7); (302, 26).

משתך (ina) maš(?)-ta-ki-š(u-nu) Subst. — ? — 373, footn. \*\* 34.

מת mâtuv, mât Subst. *land*, Akkad. in origin, has passed into Aram. as מְתָא, مَتَا. — Phon. ma-a-tu 202, *ad fin.*; 452, 67. Ideogr. 2, 2; 80, *passim*; 81 and often elsewhere; also 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1) (Sing.!); mât la tairat *land without return* 455, 1; 456, Notes and Illust. — Plur. mâtâti Ideogr. 174; 175, 3; 273, and frequently.

מתי mât Matai, written Ma-ta-ai, name of a land and people 80, *ad fin.*

מתן Ma-ta-an-ba'-al, also [Ma]-ta-an-bi-'il proper name of an

Arvadite = *Matanba'al*, Phoen. מתנבעל *Muthumballes* 104, *ad fin.*; 257; 355, 9<sup>a</sup>. — Ma-ti-nu-ba'-li the same 104, *ad fin.*; 173; 194, 93. — Mi-ti-in-ti Philist. proper name *Mitinti*, comp. מתניה 162, *ad fin.* 166; 257; 261, 12; 288, 51; 355, 6<sup>b</sup>; also Mi-ti-in-ti 355, 6<sup>b</sup>. — Mí-tí-in-na Tyrian proper name comp. *Mytton*, *Mutton*, *Metten* etc. 169, 569 *ad fin.* — Mí-tu(?)-na proper name 261, 14.

## נ

נַן (*ír*) Ni-' name of the city *Nó(-Amón)*, *Thebes*, Hebr. נַן, Aegypt. *Ne*, *Ni* 152, *ad init.*; 450, 72. 73; 452, 68.

נָא comp. נָא. — it-ta'-id 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *held in honour* 333, 9. — na-a-du Part. (for nâ'du from nâ'idu) *exalted* 413, 32. — na'-id Part. Stat. constr. *exalted* 411 (Is. XLI. 25). — nâdûtu Subst. *exaltation*, *majesty* (Hpt.). Ideogr. 323. — Na'-id-Mar-duk proper name 353, 35.

נָא, see נֹם.

נָא nâru Subst. *river*. Hebr. נָא, Arab. نَهْر. Ideogr. 31 (Gen. II. 13); 82, 104; 486, B. C. 745<sup>c</sup>. Also occurs often as determinative ideog.

נָא (mât) Na-i-ri name of a country 91, 60. 61. — (mât) Na'-ri the same 213, 9.

נָא comp. נָא, נָא, (נָא), (נָא). — na-bu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Perf. Kal *they have named* (Subj. the plur. šawâmu) 2, 1. — i-nam-bu 3. Ps. Sg. Pres. (for i-na b-bu) *he announces* 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1). — ab-bi 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I called*, *named*, 232, 7. — nam-bu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Perf. Pa. *they proclaimed aloud* 332, 25. — at-ta-bi 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *I named* 374, 30; 375 (Notes and Ill.); comp. נָא

נָא. — ni-ba Subst. *statement*, *number* 290, 14; 302, 28; 374, 24; 375 (Notes and Ill.); ni-bi 218, 5; 289, 75; 301, 24. — uibitu Subst. *naming*, with Suff. ni-bi-i-s-u-u (for nibit-sun 338, 15); ni-bit-su 374, 30; 375 (Notes and Illust.).

נָא Nabû, name of the god *Nebo* (root נָא?). Phon. Na-bu-u 412 (II R. 7, 40 g. h.); Na-bi-uv 412 (II R. 7, 41, left-hand col. and elsewhere; see below). Ideogr. 232, 15; 333, 14; 373 (footn. \*\* 35); 389, 155. — Nabu-bal-liṭ-an-ni proper name 382 (Neh. II. 10). — Nabû-zír-iddina proper name *Nebuzaradan*, Hebr. נְבוּזַרְאֲדַן 364 (2 Kings XXV. 8). — Nabû-zír-napišti-šutišir i. e. "*Nebo*, *guide the sprout of life*" 353, 32. — Nabû(Nabiuv)-abal-ušur proper name *Nubopolassar* 363, 5. — Nabû(Nabiuv)-kudurri-ušur proper name *Nebukadnezar*, Hebr. נְבוּכַדְרֶצַּר. Written Na-bi-u-v-k-u-d-u-r-r-i-u-š-u-r

etc. 361 (2 Ki. XXIV. 1); 363, 1; 364, 13. — Nabû-li' (so read!) proper name 315. — Nabû-nâ'id, written Na-bi-uv-na-'id proper name *Nabunît*, *Nabonidus*, *Ἀβύνητος* 433. — Nabû-šî-zib-an-ni proper name *Nebosēzban*, Hebr. נְבוּשֶׁצְבַן (166) 421 (Jer. XXXIX. 13). — Nabû-šum-iš-kun proper name 329 (2 Ki. XIX. 36). — Nabû-u-šab-ši proper name 232, 9. — The writing Na-bi-u-v instead of Na-bu-u-v is like ra-bi-u-v instead of ra-bu-u-v (Borsippa-Inscription etc.).

נבית (avîl) Na-ba-ai-tu name of a tribe *Nabataean*, comp. Hebr. נְבוֹיָה 117 footn. *ad fin.* — (mât) Na-ba-ai-ti name of a country 147 (Gen. XXV. 13). — Ni-ba-'a-ti, or [Na]-pi-a-tî see *ibid.*

נבל comp. נָבַל. — a-b-bul 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I destroyed* 194, 90; 218, 9 etc.; also a-bul 210, 57.

נבל nu-bîl-tuv (? — reading uncertain). Means perhaps *festival* 19, 28.

570 נבת (avîl) Na-ba-tu name of a Babylon. tribe 117 footn.; 147 (Eng. ed. 133 last line); 346, 16.

נגו n a g ū Subst. *district, circuit*, comp. نَجَاوَة, written na-gu-u 86 (Gen. X. 4); 189, *ad init.*; 195, 94; 286, *ad fin.*; Plur. na-gi-î 220, 30; 261, 15.

נגר (נקר) comp. Hebr. קִרְקַר (Haupt). — ag-gur (aḳ-ḳur) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I destroyed, desolated* 194, 90; 218, 9 etc.; also a-gur (ḳur) 210, 57. [Observe that this form is often combined with a-bul Kal Impf. of nabâlu. See above under נבל. — Transl.]

ננתירק (ir) Na-gi-tî-Ra-aḳ-ḳi name of a town 350, 56.

נדה [or נדה nadû *to lay*. — ad-di Kal Impft. 1. Ps. sing. *I set* (fire to etc.) 194, 89 — so read with Dr. Craig, *Hebraica* July 1887, instead of i-du. — Transl.]. — id-du-u 3. Ps. Sg. and Pl. *he laid, they laid* 136, footn. \*; 289, 71; 301, 23. — id-di(-šum-ma) 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal with Suff. and Cop. 399, 4. Perhaps the Hebr. נדח "to push" is to be connected with it, which has acquired in Assy. the meaning "push or cast away". — With the Assy. ḳatâšū iddû (136, footn. \*) comp. נִדְחָה דָּחַ Deut. XIX, 5.

נדן comp. Hebr. נָתַן (Aram. نَدِن). — iddina, also idinav 3. Ps. Impft. Kal *he gave*, phon. i-di-na-av 339, footn. \*; Ideogr. with phon. complement iddi-na 194, 96. — id-di-nu 3. Ps. Pl. *they gave, handed over* 289, 72; 301, 23. — id-di-nu-nuv the same with Nun epenth. Inscr. of Hammurabi col. I, 13. — ad-din 1. Ps. Sg. *I gave* 290, 26; 302, 30. — na-dan Inf. Stat. constr. 195, 100; 289, 63; 290, 27; 291, col. III. 40; 302, 30. 32. — mandattu (maddattu, madattu, madatu) Subst. *tribute*, comp. מְדַתָּה, מְדַתָּה. Phon. 82, *ad fin.*; 157, 85.

87; 193, 82; 194, 87; 207, 102 foll.; 208 (2 Ki. IX. 2); 210, 63; 213, 14 (ma-d a-t a v); 218, 2; 219, 24; 273, 4; 286, *ad fin.* Comp. also 377, *ad init.* — Na-di-ni Babyl proper name 235, 26.

נֹחַ comp. Hebr. נֹחַ etc. — nûḥu Subst. *rest.* Stat. constr. nu-uḥ 20 (II R. 32, 16<sup>a</sup>).

נוֹם (נָאֵם?) comp. Hebr. נָאֵם. — ni-nu-mi 1. Ps. Pl. Impft. Kal *we announced* 124 (col. I. 27) (here with a present meaning).

נוּן comp. Arab. نُون, Aram. نُون (Hebr. נֵיִן). — nûnu Subst. *fish*, nu-u-nu v (ni) 169; 182, *ad init.*; 426, *ad init.*; for the Ideogr. see II R. 40, 18 e. f.

נֹר comp. نَار, نُور; — Hebr. נֵר *lamp*, Aram. نְרָן *fire*. — Nan-571 uar, written Na-a-n-nar, name of a god “*the Illuminator*”, epithet of the moongod 10 *ad fin.* — nûru Subst. *lamp*, Hebr. נֵר, Arab. نُور. Stat. constr. nu-ur 155, (Exod. XXVII. 20); 175, *ad init.*

נוּז mauzazu *dwelling*; from which comes man-za-z[i] Subst. Plur. 15, 1.

נַחַל naḥlu Subst. *brook*, Hebr. נַחַל, Aram. نَاحِل. Stat. constr. na-ḥal 158 (Numb. XXXIV. 5).

נִיסָן Ni-sa-nu name of the month *Nisan*, Hebr. נִיסָן 380, *ad init.*

נִיר (נָאֵר) nîru, Subst. *yoke*, Arab. نَيْر; then also *side* 156 (Numb. XXII. 5). Phon. (ana) ni-ri with Suff. 195, 102; 289, 59; 301, 20 etc. Ideogr. 156; 184, 70; 193, 85; 213, 5. 13; 232, 13 (read nîri-ja). — nirâru, nîrarûtu (nîrarûtu?) Subst. *help, assistance* Ideogr. with phon. complem. ti 194, 95; 473, B. C. 810. — Root נִיר or נִרר?

נְכוּ Ni-(ik-)ku-u proper name *Necho*, נְכוּ, נְכוּ 357 (2 Kings XXIII. 29); 371.

נַכַּל naklu Adj. *artistically wrought*. From this we have the Pl. msc. nak-lu-ti 389, 157; Plur. fem. na-ak-la-a-ti Adj. Pl. Fem. 413, 31. Should the Hebr.-Aram. נַכַּל be brought into comparison?

נַכְמוּ nakâmu *heap up*. — nakantu Subst. *heaping up, place for storing up, treasure chamber* (?). Phon. na-kan-ti 193, 81.

נַכַּס ak-kis, a-kis 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I cut or hewed down* 210, 55; 261, 9; 234, 24. — nik-su (?) Subst. *hewing in pieces* (?). Phon. Gen. nik-si 290, 16. Comp. Aram. نَكِص.

נַכְרַי comp. Hebr. נַכְרַי, Arab. نَكْرَى etc. — unakkir 3. Ps. msc. Impft.

Pa. *he changed*. Ideogr. 19, 31; Phon. 338, 14; 398 (Botta 149. 9). — u-na-a-k-k-i-ir 1. Ps. Sg. Pa. 124 (col. II. 7). — u-šan-kir Impft. Shaf. *he seduced to rebellion* 370, 37. — nâkiru, nakru, nikru Subst. *enemy*. Pl. na-ki-ri *enemies* 154 (Exod. XXI. 8). — ni-ik-ru-ti the same 154, *ad fin.* — nak-riš Adv. *with hostile intent* 289. 72.

נמו comp. נום in-na-mu-u 3. Ps. Sg. Impf. Nif. *he fell to pieces* 124 (col. I. 31).

נמר comp. נִמְרָא, נִמְרָא. — namru Adj. *bright*. Plur. fem. nam-ra-a-ti 389, 156. — nim-ru Subst. *leopard*, נִמְרָא, נִמְרָא, נִמְרָא: 387 (Is. XI. 6).

נמֶר namurtu Subst. *onset, tempest*, comp. Syr. نَمْرُت. Phon. na-mur-ra-tuv 351, 62. Stat. constr. na-mur-rat 193, 79.

572 נמר (mât) Nam-ri name of a country 414, *ad fin.* Is the word to be pronounced Zim-ri? — 415; 482, B. C. 798. 774; 484, B. C. 749. 748; 486, B. C. 744.

נמחר (ilu) Nam-tar (god of) *decision, destiny; plague* 179, *ad fin.*  
 נן nin, Akkad. word adopted into Assyrian meaning *thing, possession*. — nin-šum-šu = *all to which a name belongs* i. e. *things of all sorts* 291, 37; 302, 32; 345, 9. [Delitzsch reads mimma šum-šu, — mimma being an Assyrian neut. compound form = minma *whatsoever, anything*, from interrog. manu *who?* See under ננח. — Transl.]

ננא (ír) Ninua, Ninâ, Ninû name of a town *Niniveh*, Hebr. נִינְוָה. Phonet. (ír) Ni-nu-a 99 (e. g. Asurn. I, 101); 482, B. C. 790; 484, B. C. 761; 193, 78; 291, 39; 455 (Ps. II. 12) etc. — Ni-na-a 99 [e. g. Asurn. III, 91 (see Norr. 1049!). 92]; Ni-nu-u (very seldom! — II R. 48 No. 3 line 9). Etymology doubtful; see Delitzsch's conjecture in Parad. 260.

נני (ilu) Na-na-ai, Na-na-a Babyl.-Elam. deity *Nanaea, Nánaia* 232, 15; 457.

ננא comp. Hebr. נָסַע. — u-na-as-su-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Pa. *they carried away* 124, col. II. 2.

ננח comp. Hebr. נָסַח. — as-su-ḥu, with Comp. as-su-ḥa-am-(ma) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft Kal *I transported* 276; 277 (Botta 75, 5); 289, 61; 301, 21; with Suff. also as-su-ḥa-šu-nu-ti 232. — Respecting u-saḥ 156 (Numb. XXII. 5), see נסח.

ננס nisiktu Subst. *something poured out* (? — Root נָסַךְ?). Phon. ni-sik-ti 235, 26. 28; 290, 34; 450, Rev. 1. — Comp. also 237, *ad init.*

ננס nisakku Subst. *viceroi, governor*. Phon. ni-sak-ku 393, footnote \*\*\*. Ideogr. 393, *ibid.*; 411 (Eng. ed. p. 103 *ad fin.*). On this comp. D. G. Lyon, Cyl. Inschr. Sargous II, Lpz. 1882 p. 12.



נִשְׁכּוּ (נשך?) Nusku (Nušku?) name of a deity (prob. only another name for Nebo, comp. the list of deities, Del. Assyr. Lesest. 1<sup>st</sup>. ed.) 91, 57; 333, 16.

נִסְנָן Ni-sa-nu, see נִסְנָן.

נִפְחָ (should we compare Syr. نَفْحٌ? — observe the contrasted phrase : šul-mu šanši! — see also Del. in Lotz 83 fig.). — naphu Subst. *the rising* (of the sun), Stat. constr. na-paḥ 140 (Gen. XIX. 23); 213, 6. 11. — Ideogr. 247, 3. — nipḥu Subst. with same meaning, Stat. constr. ni-pi-iḥ 140, *ad fin.*; 398 (Botta 151, 10 line 1).

נִפּוּר Nipur name of a town *Nipur*, the modern *Nijer*. Phon. Ni-pu-ru II R. 13, 24 c. d. Ideogr. 232, 5; 346, 13.

נִפְשָׁתוּ napištu Subst. *soul, life*, comp. Hebr. נִפְשָׁתוּ. — na-piš-ti 17, 3 and Notes and Illust.; 266 instead of napištišunu aḫbi (Guyard) 573 we ought to read there acc. to Cyl. Asurb. Rass. IV, 95 : ba-laṭ na-piš-ti-š-u-nu aḫ-bi *I announced the life of their soul*. Plur. napšāti Ideogr. 195, 100; 203 (end of insc.); 209, 53; 345, 7 (na-piš-tuš instead of na-piš-tu-šu); 353, 34 (nap-šat-su).

נִצַּח (נצי?) u-š-a-a-ṣ-ṣu 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I caused to descend*(?) 195. 98. [Read with Dr. Craig u-š-a-a-z-nin; see under נִנְן. — Transl.]

נִצְבָּן (ir) Na-zi-bi-na, Na-zib-i-na name of a town *Nisibis* نَيْسَبِيس 275; 480, B. C. 816. 801; 482, B. C. 782. 774; 486, B. C. 746. 736.

נִצַּר comp. Hebr. נִצַּר, Aram. نَجَر. — i-ṣ-ṣu-ru 3. Ps. Sg. Impf. Kal *he preserved* 369, 28. — u-ṣur Imper. *guard!* Comp. the proper name U-ṣur-amatsu 457, and comp. such names as Nabû-kudurri-u-ṣur, Bîl-šar-u-ṣur etc. etc. — nâṣiru Part. *protector*. Ideogr. 194, 96. — na-ṣir Subst. (Inf. for naṣar??) *protection* 333, 19. — ni-ṣir-tu (tav) Subst. *that which is preserved, treasures* 193, 81; 291, 37; 302, 32; 345, 9 *bis*; 398, 10 foll.; 450, Rev. 1. — Ni-ṣir(zir?) name of a country and mountain 53; Eng. ed. pp. 57, 58, Vol. I.

נִקְדָּן (ir) Na-ḫ-u-di-na name of a town 220, 28.

נִקְיָ comp. Aram. نَقِي (نقى) *pour out*. — inaḫ-ki Kal Imperf. (II) with present meaning 3. Ps. Sg. *he offers* 19, 32. — aḫ-ki (read thus) for aḫ-ḫ-i 1. Ps. *I offered* 232, 16. — niḫû Subst. *offering*. Phon. ni-ḫ-u-u 19, 32. Pl. niḫî, Ideogr. 157, 85; 194, 87; 232, 16; 278.

נִנְרָ see נִנְרָ.

נִרָא (ir, mât) Nu-r-i-í name of a Cyprian town *Nuri* 355, 22.

נִרְגָל nír-gal-í Subst. Pl. *Lion-sphinxes* 283, *ad init.* — Nírgal name of a god *Nergal* נִרְגַל 232, 16; 283; 333, 16. — Nírgal-šar-u-ṣur (u-ṣu-ur), proper name *Neriglissor*, Hebr. נִרְגַל שָׂרָאֲצַר 330; 416 (Jer. XXXIX. 3).

נִרְרָו *nirâru* and *ni-ra-ru-tu* Subst. *help, assistance* see under נִרְרָו.

נִשׁ comp. Hebr. נִשְׂאָה, Aram. ܢܝܫܐ, Arab. نَسَاءٌ. — *nišû* Subst. (femin. gender) 1) *people* (see Del. in Lotz, *Die Insch. des Tigl. Pil.* I 110). Plur. Ideogr. 19, 29; — 2) *people, inhabitants* (against Del. *ibid.*) Plur. Ideogr. e. g. Smith's Assurb. 223, 39; 224, 42; also Sanh. Tayl. Cyl. II, 63; III, 17. 38 (see Eng. ed. Vol. I p. 281 foll.). Likewise 83; 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1); 255, 27; 273, 1. 3; 289, 69; 301, 22 etc. etc. — *ništu* *pupil* (of the eye), comp. Hebr. אִישׁוֹן. Stat. constr. *ni-šit* 160; 411 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 103 *ad fin.*) [acc. to Del. in *Zeitsch. für kirchl. Wissensch.* 1882 p. 125 from נִשָּׂא = *raising* (of the eyes), *favoured one*, comp. נִשְׂאָה פָּנִים; see Eng. ed. Vol. I p. XXXI].

נִשָּׂא comp. Hebr. נִשְׂאָה, Eth. ጸሰጸ, Arab. نَشَأَ. — *aš-šu* with Cop. *aš-š-u-m-ma*, 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I raised up*, also *brought, led forth* 124, col. II. 15: 459, footn. 7. — *iš-šu-ma* 3. P's. Pl. with Cop. 277, 5. — *iš-šu-num-ma* ditto with Nun epenth. and Cop. 289, 57; 450, Rev. 5; 455 (Ps. II. 12). — *na-š-u-u* Inf. *raising, offering*, Oppert, *Exped. en Mesopot.* II, 94; Gen. *na-š-i-i* 154 (Exod. IX. 7); 398 (Botta 149, 6).

נִשָּׂק comp. Hebr. נִשְׂקָה, ܢܝܫܩ. — *iš-ši-ku* 3. Ps. Pl. Kal *they kissed* 289, 57; 455 (Ps. II. 12). — *u-na-aš-ši-ka*, *u-na-aš-ši-ik* 3. and 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I, he kissed* 235, 27 *bis*; 353, 39. — *u-na-aš-ši-ku* 3. Ps. Pl. 450, Rev. 5; 455 (Ps. II. 12). [Comp. in O. T. 1 Ki. XIX. 18, Hos. XIII. 2. — Transl.]

נִשְׂרָו *našru* Subst. *eagle*, נִשְׂרָו; — ܢܝܫܪܐ, نَسْرٌ, ܢܝܫܪܐ: Written *naš-ri* (Gen.) 386, *ad init.*

## ם

סֵאוּ (*mât*) *Sa-u* name of a country 220, 27.

סַאֲדוּ *sându* a *dark-coloured precious stone*, written *sa-an-du* 30 [stands probably (Del.) for *sântu*, *sâmtu* i. e. Fem. of *sâmu* = Hebr. שֶׁהָם].

סִבָּה comp. שְׁבַעַת, ܫܒܥܐ etc. — *sibâ*, *sibûtu*(?) numeral, *the number seven* 315 (Gen. *si-bu-ti*). — *si-bit* (= *si-bit-tuv*) the same 21. — *Si-bi-it-ti-bi-'li* proper name (= *שְׁבַעַת-בְּעַל*?) 185 (1 Kings V. 32); 252, *ad fin.*; 257.

סִבָּא (*mât*, *ír*) *Sa-ba'* name of a country *Sabaea* 145 (Gen. XXV. 3). — (*mât*) *Sa-ba'-ai* Adj. *Sabaeian* 397, 3.

- סגַר (nâr) Sa-gu-ri(ra), Sa-gur-ri name of a river *Sâdshûr* ساجور 156; 193, 85.
- סדר si-id-ru Subst. *order, order of battle*, Hebr. סֶדֶר 289, 77.
- סואי (šad) Sa-u-i name of a mountain 220, 26.
- סוחם (mât) Su-u-ḥa-am name of a country 426, 24.
- סון Si-va-nu, see ס(ו)ן.
- סח si-ḥu Subst. *insurrection, disturbances* 484, B. C. 763—759; 486, B. C. 746.
- סח (mât) Sa-ḥi name of a country 427 (Ezek. XXXVIII. 2. 3).
- סחה comp. Hebr. סָחָה, Syr. سَحَف. — is-ḥu-bu(pu), is-ḥup 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he cast to the ground* 213, 17; 235, 27; 288, col. II. 36 (301, 18); 288, col. II. 43; 290, col. III. 30; 302, 31; 332, 20.
- סחר comp. Hebr. סָחַר. — is-su-uḥ-ra *he (they?) was (were) turned about (ransacked?)* 488 C, line 4. — si-ḥir-tu, si-ḥi-ir-tu Subst. *circuit, region* 213, 7. 11; 220, 28. 29; 255, 18; 338, 12; 353, 40 etc.
- סיר (ir) Sa-ai name of the Aegyptian town *Sais* 357 (2 Ki. XXIII. 29).
- סיאן (ír) Si-an-nu name of a town 219, 26.
- ס(ו)ן Si-va-nu, also Si-man(van)-nu name of the month *Sivan*, 575 Hebr. סִינָן 380, 3. Ideogr. 484, B. C. 763<sup>b</sup>.
- סיסוּ sîsû Subst. *horse*, comp. סוּס, Aram. סוּס(ו), سَيْسُ 188, *ad init.* Ideogr. (= imír KUR.RA *ass of the East*) Plur. 188, footn. \*\*; 195, 102; 261, 4; 289, 74; 301, 24 etc.
- סישׁוּ sîsû Subst. *joy* (= Hebr. שִׁישׁ?) 333, 12.
- סכות (ilu) Sak-kut name of a Babylonian deity, another name for Adar-Saturn Hebr. סְכוּת (Am. V, 26) 443, *passim*.
- סל (ilu) Sa-la name of a deity 458, footn. \* 48.
- סלו (ír, mât) Si-il-lu-(u?) name of a Cypr. town *Soli* Σόλοι? 355, 17.
- סלוא (ír, mât) Si-(il-)lu-u-a name of a Cypr. town *Salamis?* 355, 15.
- סלם (= שלם?). — salimu Subst. *friendship, alliance(?)* Gen. sal-li-mí(mi) 351, 61; 413. — salmu Subst. *victory(? —)*. Written sal-mí (Gen.) 398 (Botta 150, 3).
- סלמל Su-la-ma-al proper name of a prince of Miliddu = Melitene 253, *ad init.*; 257.
- סלמן Sa-la-ma-nu Moab. proper name comp. שְׁלֵמָן (Hos. X, 14); 257; 441. — Sulmānu-ašârīdu name of an Assy. king, Hebr. שְׁלֵמָנָאֶסֶר. See under שלם.

סמאל (ir) Sa-am-'la-ai Adj. *man of Sam'al* 253, *ad init.*; 257; 261, 12.

סמל (is) sa-mul-luv Subst. name of a *tree* or *wood*, with ideogr. for deity prefixed = Šamaš *sun-god* 159, Deut. IV. 16. This acc. to a syllabary discovered by Del.; see Schrader in *Berichte der Königl. Sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften* 1880, 2. note.

סמן comp. שְׁמוֹנָה, ἵσθητῆς, ثمانية, سمان. — sa-am-nu (Var. sam-na) Ordinal *eighth*, comp. Ethiop. ስምንት: 380, 8.

סמסיה Sa-am-si(i) femin. Arab. proper name *Samsieh* = شمسية 255, 30; 262, 16; 397, 3; 414, Jer. XXV. 24. Khors. 27.

סמסמור (ir, mât) Sam-si-mu-ru-na, also written Sa-am-si-mu-ru-na (355, 10<sup>b</sup>), name of a Kanaanite town 163 (Josh. XII. 20); 192; 355, 10 a. b. — (ir) Sam-si-mu-ru-na-ai Adj. *man of Samsimuruna* 288, 47.

סמרמת Sa-am-mu-ra-mat feminine proper name *Semiramis*, Hebr. שְׁמִרְמוֹת 366 (2 Chr. XV. 18). The proper ref. is 2 Chr. XVII. 8 ḵrî.

סמרון (ir) Sa-mí-ri-na, name of the town *Samaria*, Hebr. שְׁמֶרֶן, Aram. שְׁמֶרֶן, 191 (1 Kings XVI. 24 *passim*); 204; 272, *ad init.*; 273; 277, Botta 75, 6; 323. — Sa-mir-i-na the same 191; 192, *ad init.* — Sa-mí-ur-na the same 191. — Sa-mí-ru-na-ai *Samaritan* 191; 223, *ad fin.*; 252, *ad fin.*; 273.

סן (ilu) Sin name of the moon-god. Ideogr. 179; 333, 14; 389, 155; 450, 70. Comp. also ideogr. AN. ŠIŠ.KI 398 *ad fin.* and 400 (Notes and Illust.). — Sin-aḥî-irib (ir-ba) name of the Assyr. king *Sennacherib*, Hebr. סְנַחֲרִיב, Σενναχηριμ (LXX); Σεναχηριβος (Jos.); Σαναχάριβος (Herod.) 285 (2 Kings XVIII. 13); 287, II Inscr.; 335, I Rawl. 48 No. 3; 459, footn. 5 \*. — Sin-bal-liṭ (for Sin-u-bal-liṭ) proper name *Sanballat*, Hebr. סַנְבַלַּט 382 (Neh. II. 10).

סנב Sa-ni-bu name of an Ammonite king, perhaps = שְׁנַאֲב (Del.) 141 (Gen. XIX. 38); 257.

סנגר Sa-an-gar proper name 193, 82. Hebr. שְׁמַנְגָר (Del.).

סנד sa-an-da-niš Adv. of unknown meaning 169.

576 סנר (šad) Sa-ni-ru name of the mountain *Senîr* שְׁנִיר 159 (Deut. III. 9); 209, 45.

שנן sinniš, sinnišat Adj. *feminine, female*. Phon. sin-niš 17 (Gen. I. 27); sin-ni-ša-at 179, *ad init.* Ideogr. 290, 17. — The reading zin-niš (Del., Hpt. and others) does not seem to me hitherto sufficiently guaranteed.

ספט Sa-pa-ti-ba(-')-al Phoenic. proper name = סַפְטַבְעַל i. e. Kanaan. שַׁפְטַבְעַל 105; comp. שְׁפַטְוָהוּ 2 Chron. XX, 2.

ספי (ír) Sa-pi-í name of a town Sapî 234, 23; alternating with Sa-pi-ja 235, 7; as well as Ša-pi-ja 486, B. C. 731.

ספל sap-lu Subst. *bowl*, Hebr. סֶפֶל 208 (2 Ki. IX. 2).

ספן comp. Eth. ሰፈን: (Haupt). — is-pu-nu 3. Ps. Sg. and Pl. Impft. *he, they threw down, overpowered* 247, 2; 450, 74. — sa-pi-in Part. Kal *overpowering* 191 (Botta 36. 18).

ספן si-i-p-pu Subst. *threshold*, comp. סֶף, سَفَا 384 (Is. VI. 4).

ספר siparru Subst. *copper*. Ideogr. 157, 87; 193, 84. Ideogr. Plur. *bars of copper* 157, 87.

ספר (ír) Si-par, Sip-par, Si-ip-par name of a town *Sepharvaim*, Hebr. סְפַרְוַיִם Σιπράβαια 232, *ad init.*; 279, *passim*. Now represented by the ruins of *Abu-Habba* 280.

סַקְ-כַּל Saḵ-kal Subst. (Akkad.) literally *mighty head*, title or designation of office 261, 7.

סראל (mât) Sir-'la-ai Adj. *the Sirlite, Israelite*, comp. Hebr. יִשְׂרָאֵלִי 151, *ad init.*; 194, 92.

סרבוּא (ír) Sa-ar-bu-u-a name of a town 220, 29.

סרבן (ír) Sa-ar-ra-ba-a-nu name of a town 232, 8.

סרה (nâr) Su-ra-pi name of a river 232, 5.

סרר (šad) Si-ra-ra name of a mountain *Sirjôn* שְׂרִיּוֹן 159 (Deut. III. 9); 184, *ad init.*

סתי Sutî (Sutû) name of a people, comp. Hebr. שִׁטְי (Del.), written Su-tî-(i), Su-ti-i (Khors. 19. 82. 123. 136; Smith's Sennacherib 31, 13 [there Su-ti-i] Del. Parad. p. 235) 425 (Ezek. XXIII. 23).

סתר sittu Subst. *remainder, remnant*, comp. سِتْرٌ, سِتْرٌ, East-Syr. سِتْرٌ, also Hebr. שְׁתָּרָה (see 272, Notes and Illust.). Written si-it-tu (tâ, ti) 277, *ad init.*; 350, 58. From this comes Plur. si-it-ta-tî 277 (Botta 75, 5). — si-it-tu-tî Subst. the same 272, *ad init.*; 289 (col. III. 5) (in the last passage used of persons).

## פ

פאן pi-in-ti (reading uncertain) Subst. 19, 30 Lotz renders *fire* (?)

פא(ת) pātu, also (?) pa-a-di Subst. *side*, then *boundary*, comp. Hebr. פְּאָה *side, frontier, district*. — pa-ti Stat. constr. 140, *ad fin.*; pa-at the same 398 (Botta 150, 7) — or should we read pa-ad? See under פֶּד.

פגן pa-gi-í Subst. Plur. meaning unknown; probably name of a *species of animal* 450, Rev. 3.

פגר pagru Subst. *corpse*, comp. Hebr. פֶּגֶר, Aram. 𐤏𐤍𐤒 139 (Gen. XV. 11). Phon. with Suff. pa-gar-(š)u 139, *ibid.*; Plur. pag-ri 139, *ibid.* Ideogr. 195, 99? — pag-ri-(š)u 19, 31 (= body?).

פד padu (pâdu — comp. Arab. فِدْ? —) Subst. *district, region*. Phon. pa-di 204 (Eng. ed. p. 194); constr. state pād; 213, 9. 10; 215, footn. \*\*; 249, footn. †.

פדאל Pu-du-ilu name of an Ammonite king 141 (Gen. XIX. 38); 288, 52; 355, 11. Comp. Hebr. פְּדָה־אֵל, as well as the name of the Assy. king Pu-di-ilu I R. 6 No. III a. and b. Or is the name to be explained as אֵל־בְּדָאֵל (ע), that is "servant of god"? Comp. the Phoenician name *Bodostôr(t)* and others.

פדיבאל Pa-di-ba-'al Phoenician proper name = פְּדִיבְעַל 105.

פדי Pa-di-i Philist. proper name = פְּדִיָּה 164; 289, 70; 290, 7. 25; 301, 22; 302, 26.

פד comp. Arab. فِدَا, Hebr. פְּדָה. — padû Subst. *redemption*; a-na pa-di-šu-nu 26, 15.

פו pû Subst. *mouth* and hence *command*, Hebr. פִּה, Arab. فَوْ, فُو, Eth. 𐩧𐩢𐩨. — pi-i Gen. 204, footn. \*; 333, 13; Acc. (Pl.?) 370, 38. — pa-a Acc. 323 (Eug. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 9 from below).

פוח pûtu Subst. *what is opposite*. Should we compare (with Barth) Syr. 𐩧𐩢𐩨? — Stat. constr. pu-ut 209, 46.

פחתי paḥatu Subst. *viceroxy*, Hebr. פָּחָה. Ideogr. 249, footn. †; Pl. pa-ḥa-a-ti 186 (1 Kings X. 15 and footn.); 187. Comp. Hebr. פְּחֹת. — piḥatuv Stat. constr. pi-ḥa-at Subst. *office of viceroxy* 187. Ideogr. 220, 27 (comp. 221, footn. ††).

פחח upaḥḥir, written u-pa-ḥir 3. and 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *he, I assembled*, comp. Hebr. פָּחַח, 𐤏𐤍𐤒: 333, 17; 374, 27; 452, 68; u-paḥ-ḥir 398 (Botta 150. 2). Ideogr. 364, 1. — puḥru Subst. *assembly*. Phon. pu-uḥ-ru 17, 1. Stat. constr. pu-ḥur 232, 11; 255, 27. Ideogr. 332, 25. — napharû Subst. *totality*. Stat. constr. nab-ḥar (likewise with Suff.) 370, 37. Ideogr. 178, *ad init.* — pat-ḥa-riš Adv. *altogether* 346, 16. The Adv. is syon. of ištiniš, comp. p. 68 line 30 foll.

פטר comp. Hebr. פֶּטַר, Arab. فِطْر. — tap-ṭu-ur 3. Ps. fem. Sg. Impft. Kal. *she cleft, divided* 332, 24 foll. — up-ta-aṭ-ṭi-ir 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifta. *he burst in pieces* 124, col. II. 3.

פירס(י) Pi(i)-si(i)-ri-is (also without final s) proper name of a prince of Karkemish 252, *ad fin.* Del. Parad. p. 270.

פּה (ir, mât) Pa-ap-pa name of a Cyprian town *Paphos* 355, 16.

פּלגּר Pi-la-ag-gu-ra(-a) Cyprian proper name *Pilâgurâ* 355, 14 foll. 578

פּלוּ palû Subst. *year of the reign* (Akkad.?). Ideogr. Pl. 82, 104; 202, *bis*; 207, *bis*; 209, 40.

פּלגּ palgu Stat. constr. palag Subst. *canal*, Hebr. פּלגּ 29 (Gen. II. 11 and footn.) IV Rawl 14 No. 3 line 11 foll. II R. 38, 15 a. b. comp. with Nerigl. II, 6. 8 (Del. Parad. 142).

פּלה (Syr. ܦܠܗ? — Nöld. and Haupt deal with the word otherwise) ip-laḥ 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he was afraid* 218, 8; 289, 73; 301, 23. — ip-la-ḥu 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *they feared* 193, 79. — pâliḥu Part. *fearing, revering*, written with Suff. pa-li-ḥi-ka (Nom.!) 373, footn. \*\* 35. — pa-laḥ Infin. *fearing, revering, obedience* 398, Botta 149, 12. — pulḥu Subst. *fear, terror*, written pu-ul-ḥi (Nom.!) 213, 17; pul-ḥi (the same word) 235, 27; 288, 35; 290, 30; 302, 30 etc. — puluḥtu the same, written pu-luḥ-ti 301, 18; 332, 20; 434, 27 (Acc.); comp. 421; from this we have pul-ḥa-at Stat. constr. 193, 79.

פּלכּה uš-pal-kit 3. Ps. Sg. Shaf. of the Pa. *he seduced to transgress or rebel* 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 9 from below); 370, 31.

פּלם (mât) Pi-lis-ta name of the land *Philistia*, Hebr. פּלשְׁתִּים 102 Gen. X. 14); 486, B. C. 734. — (mât) Pa-la-as-tav ditto 103; 213, 12.

פּלם palâsu Semitic root of the non-Semitic ŠI.BAR 'to rock'. See 175 (and footn. †) ŠI.BAR-a-n-ni 'rocked me'. Delitzsch and others give to the Niphal naplûsu also the signification 'behold' in the pregnant sense 'gaze upon with affection or sympathy'. See Haupt in Germ. ed. p. 72.

פּן panu (panû?) Subst. *face, front*, Hebr. פּנִים. Stat. constr. pa-an 213, 3; 350, 49. — pan Prep. *before* (properly *in face or front of*); pa-an 184, 10 (255, 20); 332, 19; with Suff. pa-ni-ja, or pa-ni-a 97; 370, 31; also pa-nu-u-a 205 (Eng. ed. Vol. I p. 195 footn.). — pa-nu-uš-šu 351, 65; 353, 41. Ideogr. 194, 96. — pa-an-na the same (?) 195, 99. — a-na pan *before* 194, 87; ina pan 234, 23. — pa-ni Adv. *before, in front* 135, *ad init.* [also in proper names as Nîrgal-âlik-pani *Nergal goes before* 470, B. C. 849. — Transl.]

פּנם Pa-na-am-mu proper name of a prince of Sam'al 253, *ad init.*; 257 (Eng. ed. Vol. I p. 249 line 6 from above).

פּסן pisânu Subst. *receptacle*, written pi-sa-an-nu 29 (Gen. II. 11). Hebr. פִּישׁוֹן? —

פּצם Pu-ṣu-su Cypr. proper name *Pussusu* 355, 22.

פּצת (ir) Pa-ṣi-tav name of a town 232, 4.

פקד comp. פָּקַד. — ap-ki-id 1 Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I appointed* 399, footn. — u-pa-ki-da (for u-pa-ḳi-da) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I entrusted* 338, 17. — pākidu Part., written pa-ki-id (Stat. constr.) *ruling* 413 (Eng. ed. Vol. II. p. 105).

פקד Pu-ḳu-du name of a tribe, Hebr. פְּקוּד 232, 12; 346, 16; 423. (Jerem. L. 21); 425 (Ezek. XXIII. 23).

פקח Pa-ḳa-ḥa Israel. proper name *Pekach*, Hebr. פִּקְחָה 191, *ad fin.*; 255, 28; 397, footn. \* *ad fin.*

פרא parû Subst. Pl. *mule* (comp. Hebr. פָּרָא *wild ass*). Plur. parî. 579 Phon. pa-ri-î Khors. 29; II R. 16, 35 b. c. Ideogr. 290, 18; 345, 8; 346, 17.

פראו Pi-ir-'u proper name *Pharaoh* פִּרְעוֹה 153 (Exod. I. 11); 397, 3.

פרזל parzillu Subst. *iron*, comp. Aram. פִּרְזֵל, פִּרְזֵל, Hebr. פְּרוֹזֶל. Phon. par-zil-lu v 296; Ideogr. 213, 19; 289, 71; 301, 23; 371.

פרך comp. Hebr. פָּרַךְ, פִּרְכָּת. — ip-par-ku-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Nif. *they separated* 398, Botta 150, 3. — mu-par-ku-u Part. Pa. *acting violently, violent, violator (of command)*, comp. Hebr. פָּרַךְ 213, 3. — par-ka-nu Adj. with same meaning 214, footn. ††. — naparku Adj. *shortened*, generally in combination with la = *unshortened*, or *undiminished*. Ideogr. with phon. complem. = la naparka-at (Fem.) 288, 46, comp. 295 Notes and Illust.

פרך parakku Subst. *altar, shrine*. Phon. pa-rak-ku 390, footn. \*.

פרס (mât) Parsu name of the land *Persia*, Hebr. פִּרְס. Written Par-su, Pa-ar-su, also Par-su-u 372 (Ezra I. 1).

פרסא (mât) Par-su-a name of a country, in the main *Adherbeid-shân* 213, 8; 376, footn. \*\*.

פרר u-par-ri-ru 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I broke in pieces* 338, 9; 350, 53; 450, 71, comp. Hebr. פָּרַר. The comparison of the Arabic فَرَّ (Assyr. Pa. = *to put to flight* Haupt) is not so probable; comp. Asurn. Stand-Insc. 4 and elsewhere; also we have already three other words for "flee" viz. parâšû, paršâdu and abât u.

פרש ip-pa-riš 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. *he fled* 350, 57.

פרשד ip-par-ši-du, ip-par-šid(šî-id) 3. Ps. Sg. Impft, Nif. *he fled away* 255, 20; 261, 6; 345, 7; 397, footn. \* 3; 450, 72.

פרת Purattu, see כרת.

פשח u-šap-ši-ḥu 3. Ps. Impft. Shaf. *he procured rest* 169. The derivation is uncertain. (The combination proposed on p. 169 foot-note \*\*\* with Arab. نَسَح is not free from objection.) Or should we



read u-šap-piḥ in which case of course we obtain an altogether different meaning?

פשמלך Pi(Var. Tu)-ša-mil-ki proper name *Psammetich* (?) 370, footu. \*\*\*.

פַּשְׁקוּ pašḳu Adj. *hard of approach, difficult to pass*, Pl. msc. pa-ša-ḳu-ti 450, 73.

פָּתַח comp. Arab. فَتَحَ, Eth. ፈተከ; Aram. פֿתַח, Hebr. פָּתַח. — ap-ti-i 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I opened* 345, 9; also ap-ti 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I opened* 193, 81. — [pita phonet. pi-ta, pi-ta-a open 2. Sg. Imperat. Kal 455, 14. 15. — Transl.] — pa-tu-u Adj. *open, easily accessible, untrustworthy* (?) 323, (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 12 from below).

פָּתַן (mât) Pa-ti-na-ai Adj. *man of Patin* 193, 84.

פָּחַס pa-ti-si Subst. *commander* 422, *ad fin.* Of doubtful origin. Comp. on this word D. G. Lyon, die Cylinderinschr. Sargons II, Leipzig 1882, p. 12.

פֶּתֶר (îr) Pi-it-ru name of a town *Pethor*, Hebr. פֶּתֶר 155 (Numb. 580 XXII. 5); 156; 193, 85.

פֶּתָרִים (mât) Pa-tu[-ru]-si name of the land *Pathros, Middle Aegypt*, פֶּתָרוֹם 335 (last insc. on page line 5).

## צ

צֶאֱנָן ṣînu Subst. *sheep and goats* comp. Hebr. צֶאֱנָן, Arab. ضَائِنٌ, Plur. ضَائِنٌ, Aram. צֶאֱנָן, ܘܨܢܐ. Written ṣi-i-ni 235, 28; 290, 19; 374, 25; ṣi-na 139 (Gen. XV. 5). (The preceding word lu is the ideogr. for "flock" and should properly have been enclosed in brackets); also ṣi-na (Acc.) 397, footn. \*. Ideogr. 346, 17.

צֶאֱנָן (îr) Ṣa-'nu name of a town *Zoan (Tanis)*, Hebr. צֶעֶן, Egypt. *Sân-t* 391 (Is. XIX. 11). — (îr) Ṣi-'nu name of a town 391, footn. \*. Is it identical with Ṣa'nu?

צֶעֶר (îr) ṣîru Subst. *field, plain, wilderness*. Ideogr. 17, 4; 450, 71; of doubtful origin (عج, 𐤏𐤍 [Ipt.]? = "Depression" [Del.]? —).

צָבָא comp. Hebr. צָבָא. — ṣabu Subst. *man, soldier, companies, troops*. Phon. ṣa-ab (za-ab) Stat. constr. 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 12 from below). Ideogr. 194, 91. 92. 93. 94; 289, 74 (in the Parallel 301, 23 we read Ṣab. ṢUN i. e. ummanât, with the following word ḳašti!); 290, 31; 302, 31. — Ṣab-Adar Assyr. proper name 365 (2 Ki. XXV. 27). — Ṣab-šar Assyr. proper name 299, line 12 from above; 365 (2 Ki. XXV. 27).

צב (iṣ) ṣu-um-bi Subst. plur. *carts, carriages*, comp. Hebr. צב *sedan-chair or litter* (Del.) 345, 8.

צבת comp. Hebr. צבת (צבתהים) *sheaf*, Talm. צבת, צבתא *tongs*, as well as **𐎠𐎢𐎡**; see Haupt's Glossary in the German edition. ṣab-tu-(ma) 3. Ps. Pl. Perf. *they had seized* (expected) 332, 19. — iṣ-bat, iṣ-ba-tu(ta) 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he seized* 213, 17; 452, 69. — aṣ-bat 1. Ps. sing. *I took, captured, seized* 156 (Numb. XXII. 5 *bis*); 157, 84. 85 (of offerings made to the gods); 193, 85; 249, footn. †; 345, 11; 398, Botta 150. 13. — iṣ-bu-tû 3. Ps. Pl. *they clasped, seized* 157, 87; 194, 86. — iṣ-bat-u-num-ma the same with Cop. 371, Smith Assurb. 43. 45. — u-ṣab-bit 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *he seized* 219, 23 (?). — u-ša-aṣ-bi-ta 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. 204, footn. \*. — iṣṣa-bat 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. Ideogr. (LU) with phonetic complem. bat 486, B. C. 729; 488, B. C. 728. — aṣṣa-bat 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *I seized, took* 350, 50. ṣab-ta-at Subst. Plur. *conquests* 486, B. C. 739. — ṣibtu Subst. *produce*. — ṣubātu Subst. *garment*. Stat. constr. ṣu-bat 383, *ad fin.*; 455, 10.

צבת (ír) Ṣu-bat name of the town *Zôba* צבתה 172 (Josh. XXI. 32). We also find the forms or modes of writing the name Ṣubût (Ṣu-bu-tav) and Ṣubît (Ṣu-bi-ti) 183 (2 Sam. VIII. 3 and footn.); comp. Keil. u. Geschichtsf. p. 122.

581 צדן (ír) Ṣi-du-nu name of a town *Sidon*, Hebr. צידן 103 (Gen. X. 15); 213, 12. — Ṣi-du-uu-nu(ni) the same 103 (Gen. X. 15); 286; 288, 38; 301, 18. — (mât) Ṣi-du-un-na-ai Adj. *Sidonian*, also Ṣi-du-na-ai 157, 86; 207; 210, 64.

צדק Ṣi-id-ka-a Philist. proper name *Zidkâ* = צדקה = צדקיה 165; 289, 58. 67; 301, 20. Another explanation is given by Prof. Robertson Smith; see "Notes and Addenda".

צחר comp. Hebr. צער, Arab. صغر. — u-ṣa-aḥ-ḥir 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I diminished, cut short* 290, 26; 302, 30. — ṣaḥru, also ṣiḥru Adj. *small*, Hebr. צעור, Arab. صغیر. Ideogr. 103, *ad fin.*; 288, 38 etc. ṣa-aḥ-ri (Gen.) the same Sg. msc. 346, 14. Pl. ṣaḥrûti Ideogr. 333, 17 etc.

צחר ṣiḥirtu Subst. *heat*, then *summer*, comp. Hebr. צחר, Arab. صحر, written ṣi-ḥir-tu 52, *ad fin.*, footn. \*.

ציא (?) a-ṣi' 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. — ? — 203 (towards the end of insc.).

ציץ ṣi-iṣ-ṣi Subst. Pl. probably a species of *bonds* or *chains* 399 (Botta 151, 10, 4).

ציר ṣi-i-ru Adj. *high, exalted* 174; 422. Pl. msc. phon. ṣi-ru-ti 332,

19; šîrûti Ideogr. 184, *ad fin.*; 194, 96. — šîr, šî-ru Prep. *upon, above* 286, *ad fin.*; 288, 46; 301, 21 etc.

צֶלַל šillu Subst. (Pl.?) *shadow*, Hebr. צֶלַל, Arab. ظِلٌّ, Aram. ܘܫܠܘܐ, Eth. ጸላለ: ጸላለተ: — (ana) šil-li (with determ. of deity) 289, col. II. 72; 301, 23. — Šil-bîl Philist. proper name *Zil-Bel* = צֶל-בֶּעַל 162 (sub voce עֵינַי); 290, 25; 355, 5.

צֶלֶם 1) šalmu Subst. *likeness*, Hebr. צֶלֶם, Aram. ܫܠܡܘܘܬܐ, Arab. صَمٌّ, Stat. constr. ša-lam 210, 61. Ideogr. 255, 21. — 2) *darkness*, comp. צֶלֶם, ظِلْمَةٌ, ጸልፎ: — (iš) šal-mat-ti Subst. *sun-shade, canopy?* 213, 20; 216, footn. †††.

צֶמֶב (iš) šu-um-bi Subst. Pl. — ? — 345; see under צֶבֶב; comp. 348 (Notes and Illust. *ad loc.*).

צֶמֶד šimidtu, Stat. constr. šimdat Subst. *yoke, team*, comp. Hebr. צֶמֶד. Ideogr. with phon. at 195, 102.

צֶמֶן (îr) Ši-im-mi-ni name of a country 426, 23.

צֶמֶר (îr) Ši-mi-ra, Ši-mir-ri name of a town *Zemar* = צֶמֶר, Gr. Ζιμωρα, Σιμίρα 105; 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 10 from below).

צֶפֶר šupru Subst. *nail* (of the finger) = ظَفْرٌ, ጸፋር: טֶפֶר, טוֹפְרָא, and also Hebr. צֶפֶן. Stat. constr. šu-pur 159 (Deut. XXI. 12).

צֶר (îr, mât) Šur-ru(ri), name of the city *Tyre* צֶר 169, *passim*; 213, 12; 355, 1. — (îr, mât) Šur-(ra)-ai Adj. *Tyrian* 157, 86; 207 (Eng. ed. Vol. I p. 198 line 4); 210, 63; 252, *ad fin.*

צֶרְפַּת (îr) Ša-ri-ip-tav name of the town *Sarepta* צֶרְפַּת (1 K. XVII. 582 9. 10; Obad. 20) 200; 288, 39.

## ק

קֶבֶא ka-bu-a-ti Subst. fem. Pl. from the Sing. ka-bu'tu *goblet*, comp. Hebr. קֶבֶעַת 208 (2 Ki. IX. 2 and footn. †).

קֶבֶב kabbu Subst. *cage*, comp. Hebr. קֶבֶה. Phon. ku-up-pi 261, 9; 290, 20; (302, 28).

קֶבִי (קֶבֶא?) comp. Hebr. קֶבֶב, קֶבֶב. — aḳ-bi 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I spoke, announced*, 290, 7; [302, 26]. — iḳ-bi 3. Ps. Sg. *he spoke, one named* 140 (Gen. XVII. 26). — iḳ-bu-u 3. Ps. Sg. *they commanded, had commanded* 333, 10. 16. — i-ḳa-bu-šu-ni 3. Ps. Sg. Pres. with Suff. and parag. ni 156; 193, 86 and comp. Notes and Illust. *ad loc.* The same ideographically (KA.GA) written 232, 6. — li-iḳ-bu-u 3. Ps. Volunt. Kal (*that*) *they may announce* 373, footn. \*\* 35. — ḳibîtu

Subst. *bidding, command*. Stat. constr. ki-bit 201 (Eng. ed. p. 191 line 2 from below); 370, 36; but also ki-bi-ti 373, footn. \*\* 33.

קבל *qabâlu meet*, Hebr. קבל, Aram. ܩܒܠ, Eth. (ጥ)ቆለ፤

Arab قَبَلَ. — *qablu* Subst. 1) *struggle, combat*. Phon. *qab-li* (Gen.) 397, footn. \* 1. — Ideogr. 178 (Eng. ed. p. 166); 194, 96; 201. Pl. with phon. complem. *qablâ-ti* 177. — 2) *Midst*, stat. constr. *qabal in the midst*. Ideogr. 157, 87; 169; 288, 37; 301, 19.

קָרָר (*mât*) Ki-id-ri, *Qa-ad-ri* name of a country *Kedar*, Hebr. קָרָר 147, *ad fin.*; 208, Eng. ed. p. 198. — Ki-id-ra-ai, *Qid-ra-ai* Adj. *Kedarene, the Kedarene* 147, *ad fin.*

קוּא (*mât, ír*) *Qu-u-i* name of a country; from this comes (*mât*) *Qu-u-ai* Adj. *one of Kul* 252, *ad fin.*; 257.

קוּשְׁמֶלֶךְ *Qu-uš-gab-ri* name of an Edomite king 150 (Eng. ed. p. 137 line 1). — *Qu-uš-ma-la-ka* Edom. king's name = *Κοσμάλαχος* 257, *ad fin.*

קִיר, see כִּיר.

קָלֶל *qul-lul-ti* Subst. *worthy of a curse* (Gen.) 289, col. III. 6.

קִנּוּ *qinnu* Subst. *nest*. Hebr. קִנּוּ, Aram. ܩܢܐ. Written *qi-in-ni* 385, *ad fin.*; *qin-ni* 386, *ad init.*

קִפּוּ *quppu* Subst. *cage*, see קָבַב.

קָצַר comp. Eth. ቆጸፈ፤ properly *gather*, then *gather together, take away*, comp. Hebr. אָסַף 1) *gather*, 2) *take away*. From this we have *ki-iš-ṣu-ra* 3. Ps. Sg. msc. Perf. lftē. (for *qitṣura*) *he was collected, gathered together, taken away* 2, 6. — *aḳ-ṣur, aḳ-ṣu-ra* 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I took together* 398, 150, 2; *I carried away* 261, 9; 272, *ad init.* (273, 3); 323, *ad fin.* — *ik-ṣu-ra* 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. *he assembled, marshalled* 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 8 from below). — *qišru* Subst. *share* (properly *what has been taken away*). Stat. constr. *qi-šir* 273, 2; 323, *ad fin.*; 376 (Ezra IV. 10).

קָקַר properly *to be even*, see for the Etymol. *qakkaru*. — *mu-kaḳ-kir* Part. Pa. *making level or like*, then (of writing) *blotting out, destroying* 459, footn. 2. — *qakkaru* (for *qarqaru*) Subst. *surface of the earth*, comp. Arab. قَرَقَر (Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. 383), also Hebr. קָרַקַע (Hpt.), as well as Talm. קָרַקַרָה (Buxt.). Phon. *qar-ḳar* 204 (1 Kings XX. 26).

קָרָא comp. קָרָא, قَرَأَ. — *aḳ-[ru]* 1. Ps. Impft. Kal *I named* 405,

footn. \*\*\*; but the reading is uncertain. — iḳ-tí-ru-ni(num-ma) 3. Ps. Impft. Ifte. (and with Cop.) *they summoned* 289, 75; 301, 24.

קרב comp. Hebr. קָרַב aḳ-rib 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I approached* 289 (col. III. 1); [382, 25]. — aḳ-ṭi-rib (for aḳ-ti-rib) 1. Ps. Impft. Ifte. 193, 79. 82; 194, 86. 88. 89. From this comes ḳit-ru-up Subst. *attack* 290, col. III. 15. — kirbu Subst. (instead of ḳirbu) *midst, inward part* comp. Hebr. קִרְבָּ. Stat. constr. kirib (for ḳirib) with Prepositions: ina kirib, ultu kirib etc. phon. ki-rib 195, 101; 213, 21; 290, col. III. 7. 20. 23; 291, 39; 302, 27. 28 etc.; also ki-ri-bi 373, footn. \* 33. With Suff. e. g. ul-tu kir-bi-šū-un 290, 19 etc.

קָרַד ḳardu Adj. *brave* (= Arab. قَدْر?). Phon. ḳar-du 17, *ad fin.* 584 247, 2. — ḳurādu Subst. *hero, combatant, warrior*. Pl. ḳu-ra-di 332, 18; 398, Botta 150, 3.

קָרַר (ír) Ḳar-ḳa-ru(ra, ri) name of a town *Ḳarkôr* קָרַר 180 (Judg. VIII. 10); 194, 90. 97; 323 (lines 7 and 5 from below Eng. ed.)

קָרַחֲדַסַּת (ír, mât) Ḳar-ti-ḥa-da-ast-i name of a Cyprian town *Kartichadast* = קָרַחֲדַסַּת (Carthage) 355, 20.

קָשְׁטוּ ḳaštu Subst. *bow*, comp. Hebr. קִשָּׁת, Aram. قَسَط, Ethiop. ቀስተ, Arab. قَوْس. Gen. ḳašti (Ideogr.) 261, 4; 289, 74; 301, 23 etc. (comp. 296, *Notes and Illust.*); 374, 31. With Suff. ḳašat-su-nu 332, 23.

קָטוּ ḳatu Subst. *hand* (of what etymology?). Phon. with Suff. ḳa-tu-š-šū 213, 2. — [ḳa-]ti-ja 219, 23 (Eng. ed. p. 211); from the latter it is prob. shortened to ḳa-ti 302, 25; 397, 2; comp. Assy.-Bab. Keil. 246 Note 2. Ideogr. 208, 2 Kings IX. 2. Dual 136 Note line 2; 370, 36 etc. etc.

קָטוּתִי Ḳutû(tî), see קָטוּ.

## ר

רָאד comp. Hebr. רָעַד, Ar. رَعَد, Ethiop. ርሳዖ. — rádu Subst. *thunder, storm*, written ra-a-du 124, col. II. 1.

רָאוּ (avíl) Ru'-(u)-a name of a tribe 232, 12; 346, 16.

רָאִי comp. Hebr. רָעָה, Arab. رَعَى, Aram. رَعَى, Ethiop. ርሳዖ. — ri' u Subst. *herdsman*, sometimes in its proper sense (preceded then by avíl e. g. 397, footn. \* 3), sometimes in the figurative sense *leader, commander*. Phon. ri-i-uv 453 (Zech. XI. 5). Ideogr. 19, 29; 397, footn. \* 3. — ri' i'útu Subst. *rule*. Stat const. ri-i-uv-ut 153 (Gen.

XLIX. 1)? 453 (Zech. XI. 5). — ri-i-tu Subst. *pasture* 288, col. II. 41 (ri-i-ti genit.). (Hpt.).

𐎠𐎢𐎣 comp. Hebr. רעם, רעם, 𐎠𐎢𐎣: — rîmu Subst. *thunder*, written ri-mu(mi) 205, Eng ed. p. 196. From this comes Rammânu, Ramânu, written Ram-ma-nu, Ra-ma-nu, Ra-man (205, 2 Kings V. 18), name of the *god of storm* = Hebr. רמון (written רמון and pronounced רמון comp. Ῥεμμών). Ideogr. 91, 53; 194, 87; 195, 98; 333, 14; 458, footn. \* 48; 459, footn. 3. — Rammân-abal-i-di-na-av proper name 339, footn. \* = 'Rammân bestowed a son'. — Rammân-nirâri proper name 184, 65; 212, 1 = *Rammân is help*. [We have other names compounded with Rammân as Šamšî-Rammân(?) 472, B. C. 823, Rammân-mušammir '*Rammân bringeth flood*', 472, B. C. 789, Rammân-uballit '*Rammân hath preserved alive*' 472, B. C. 786. Mannu-ki-Rammân '*who is like Rammân?*' 478, B. C. 683. — Transl.]

𐎠𐎢𐎣 comp. 𐎠𐎢𐎣, Aram. 𐎠𐎢𐎣, 𐎠𐎢𐎣, Arab. رحم, Eth. 𐎠𐎢𐎣: ra-'i-mat Part. act. fem. (Stat. constr.) *loving* 332, 22. — ri-i-mu Subst. *mercy, favour* 371 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 59). — ri-mî-nu-u Adj. *merciful* 26, 16. — narâmu Adj. *beloved, loved one, favourite*. Stat. constr. na-ra-am 413, 34. — naramtu ditto Fem., written na-ram-ti (Stat. constr.!) 414, *Notes and Illust.*

𐎠𐎢𐎣 (alap) rîmu Subst. *wild ox (wisent?)*, Hebr. רימון. Phon. ri-i-mu 160 (Deut. XXXIII. 17); 456 (Job XXXIX. 9). Ideogr. 456. *ibid.* — ri-ma-niš Adv. (formed from the Plur. rimâni) *like a wild ox* 456 (Job XXXIX. 9).

𐎠𐎢𐎣 (avîl, so read!) Ra-'sa-a-ni name of a tribe 232 (Eng. ed. p. 224 line 4).

𐎠𐎢𐎣 ruḫu Adj. *far*, Hebr. רחוק, 𐎠𐎢𐎣: 𐎠𐎢𐎣, 𐎠𐎢𐎣, written ru-u-ḫu 188. *ad fin.*; ru-ḫu 213, 9; also ru-uk-ki (Gen.) 288, 36. Pl. msc. ru-u-ḫu-ti 277 (Botta 75, 4); ru-ḫu-ti 398, *ad fin.* — ru-ḫiš Adv. *far, from afar* 398 (Botta 150, 6). — rîḫûtu Subst. *distance*, Gen. ri-i-ku-tiv 124 (col. I. 31).

𐎠𐎢𐎣 rîšu Subst. *head, summit*, also *beginning, commencement*, comp. 𐎠𐎢𐎣, 𐎠𐎢𐎣, 𐎠𐎢𐎣: — Phon. ri-i-ši (Gen.) 124, col. II. 15; ri-i-ša-a (Acc.) 124, col. I. 30. col. II, 15 d. Ideogr. 231, 4; observe also rîš nâri = 𐎠𐎢𐎣 *source of a spring* 29; rîš tiâmdi, perhaps *promontory?* 210, 61; rîš šarrûti *beginning of rule, opening reign* 273; 345, 6. — rîšîtu Adj. *distinguished, exalted, majestic* (not *first!* — see p. 352), written rîš-tu-u 2, 3; 12, footn. †; 351, 63; 434, 25; —

177, *ad fin.*; 178 *ad init.* (riš-ti). — Ri-iš-í-ni (ír) name of a place *Resen* (?), properly 'head of the spring', 'spring' 100.

רַב comp. רַבַּע (א), רַבַּע (א), רַבַּע (א), רַבַּע (א): — arba-tu four Ideogr. with phon. complem. ti 213, 4; also ir-bi-it-tiv 377, *ad fin.*

רַב (avil) Ru-bu' name of a tribe 232, 5.

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רַב comp. רַבַּע, רַבַּע, רַבַּע. — ir-bu-u 3. Ps. Sg. and Pl. Impft. Kal *he, they grew up* 2, 11; 346, 14. — u-rab-bu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Pa. *they raised* 398, Botta 149. 12. — rabû Adj. *great*, written ra-bû-u 124, col. II. 5; 194, 96; rabu-u (Ideogr. with phon. complem. 103, *ad fin.*; 288, 38; rabitu Fem. Ideogr. with phon. complem. tuv, tiv, tí 91, 59; 140 (Gen. XIX. 23 *passim*); 157, 85 *bis* etc. Pl. fem. ra-ba-a-ti 19, 29; 389, 156. — rubû Adj. *mighty* (formation like maḥrû), Phon. ru-bu-u 421, *ad init.* Ideogr. 97. Pl. rubûti *the great ones*, Ideogr. 289, col. II. 69, col. III. 2. — tarbîtu Subst. *sprout*. Stat. constr. tar-bit 351, 64; 450, Rev. 3. — kima tar-bî-ti — ? — 232, 8; 247, 2.

רַבֶּסַק rab-saḳ name of an official *Rabsak*, literally *Great-Head*, then *commander*, hebraized into רַבֶּשֶׁקָה 319; 320. Comp. 421 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 114 last line).

רַבֶּץ comp. רַבֶּץ, רַבֶּץ, רַבֶּץ. — nar-ba-ṣu Subst. *abode* 336, footnote \*. — (ír) Tar-bi-ṣi name of a town *Tarbiz*, properly '*resting-place*' 335, 6.

רִגִּם ri-gim Subst. Stat. constr. *onset*, comp. Hebr. רִגִּם, Aram. רִגִּם; to stone 350, 53; 397, 2. — [Haupt regards rigmu as signifying 'shout' (hence 'battle-shout') from ragâmu to cry out; comp. Deluge-story col. III. 9 u-nam-bi (= unabbi Pael Impf. nabû 'speak') iltu rabitu (ṣirtu) ṭa-bat rig-ma 'the exalted goddess called out with loud voice' (or should we render 'the exalted goddess with kindly voice etc.'?). — Transl.]

רַדִּי u-rad-di 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I added* 290, 28; 302, 30; 323, *ad fin.*; 376 (Ezra IV. 10).

רַדִּי u-šar-di 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *I laid low* 195, 99. — Lotz (Tigl.-Pil. I, 80 etc.) *scatter*.

רַדִּי ar-tí-di 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte. *I pursued* 209, 53.

רוּם comp. רוּם. — murîmu Part. Pa. *elevating, erecting*. Stat. constr. mu-rim 213, 3. — râmânu properly *exaltation* (421), then *self*, with Suff. *I myself, thou thyself* etc. — (a-na) ra-ma-ni-ja(šu) 156 (Numb. XXII. 5); 193, 79; 262, 15; 326, footn. \*\*.

רַחַב Ru-ḥu-bi Ammon. proper name 194, 95.

רַחַח (avil) Ri-ḥi-ḥu name of a tribe 346, 15.

רַחֵץ comp. Hebr. רַחֵץ. — ra-ḥi-ṣu Part. *overflowing, overwhelming*.

— ri-ḥi-il-tu Subst. (= ri-ḥi-iṣ-tu) *overwhelming, storm* 195, 98; 198 (Notes and *Illust.* ad loc.).

רכב comp. רִכַּב, רִכֵּב, רָכַב. — ir-kab 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he travelled* 184, *ad init.* — u-šar-kib 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *he caused to mount, conveyed* 350, 56. — rab-bu Subst. *ambassador* (Acc.!) 291, col. III. 41; 302, 32; 399, 3. — nar-kab-tuv Subst. *chariot*, Hebr. מְרִכְבָּה. Ideogr. 19, 32. Pl. narkabâti Ideogr. 194, 91 bis. 92. 93.

רכבה Ru-kib-ti Philist. proper name *Rukipt* 166, *ad init.*; 289, 62; 301, 21; also Ru-u-kib-tu written 262, 16.

רכס u-rak-kis, u-ra-kis 1. Ps. and 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I, he* 586 *displayed, stationed, marshalled* 218, 16; 290, 22; 302, 29. — ri-kis Subst. Stat. constr. (properly *array*, then (?) *marshaller, ruler* 413. — rak-su Subst. *rank, battle-array* 332, 24.

רכש comp. Hebr. רָכַשׁ. — u-rak-šu 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Pa. *they drew together* 332, 19.

רכי comp. רָכַה, רָכָה, רָכַי, רָכַי. — ir-mu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Kal *they cast down, founded* 389, 175. — u-šar-mu-u 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *he settled in, transported to* 277, *ad init.* — Haupt in his Glossary gives to the root the general signification of *dwelt, settle, rest* and compares Hebr. רָכַה and Arab. رَمَى. Comp. Amiaud l. c.

רכים Ru-mí-su Cypr. proper name 355, 19.

רכיש nam-maš-ši (so we should read instead of šim-miš-ši according to K. 3358; K. 36, see Del. in Lotz Die Insch. Tigl. Pileser I, 167 note), arising out of nar-maš-ši, *crawling animal, worm*, comp. Hebr. רָכַשׁ 17, 4.

רפה (ír) Ra-pi-ḥi name of a town *Raphia* 204; 396, 1.

רפש comp. Hebr. פָּרַשׁ, rapâšu *to be broad*. — mu-rap-pi-šat Part. Pa. fem. Stat. constr. *glorifying* 176, *ad init.* — rap-šu(ši) Adj. *wide, extended* 189, *ad init.*; 191, *ad init.*; 195, 100; 255, 18; 450, *ad fin.* — rapaštu Adj. fem. of the same, written ra-pa-aš-tuv(tiv) 129. Ideogr. with phon. complement tu, tuv 202, *ad fin.*; 351, 65. Plur. fem. rapšâti Ideogr. 195, 99; 374, 24.

רצי rišûtu Subst. *help, assistance*, comp. Hebr. רָצָה, Arab. رَضِيَ, written ri-šu-tu 91, 52. — ri-šu-us-su-un the same with Suff. 289, 76.

רצן Ra-šun-nu(ni) Syr. proper name *Rezin* רָצִין 191; 252.

רצה comp. Hebr. רָצָה, Arab. رَاصَف, rašâpu *fit together*. — ar-šip 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal. *I prepared, erected* 335, 10; 336 (Notes and *Illust.* ad loc.).



רַצָּח (mât) Ra-ša-ap-pa, Ra-šap-pa name of a country or city *Rezepeh* רַצָּח 327, *ad inît.*; 480, B. C. 804; 482, B. C. 772; 486, B. C. 747. 737.

רַבֵּב (for רַבֵּב) ra-ru-bat Subst. Stat. constr. *majesty, terror*, comp. Syr. ܪܒܘܬܐ, ܪܒܘܬܐ 288, 42; 294 (Notes and Illust. *ad loc.*).

רֶשֶׁת (mât) Ra-a-ši name of a country (hardly to be identified with the רֶשֶׁת of the Bible) 427, *ad fin.*

רֶשֶׁד comp. ܪܫܘܢܐ. — u-šar-ši-du 3. Ps. Pl. (Sg.?) Impft. Shaf. *they (or he) established* 213, 3.

רֶשֶׁן comp. ܪܫܘܢܐ. — ir-šu-u 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal. *he granted* 290, col. III. 33 [301, 31]. — ar-ši 1. Ps. Impft. Sg. *I granted, bestowed* 371 (Smith's Assurb. 43, 53). — ir-ša-a 3. Ps. Sg. Pres., or Volunt. *he will (or may he) yield* 434, 29.

## ש

שָׁא ša Pron. relat. 19, 28. 30; 79, footn. \*; 97; 124, col. I. 28; expresses the genitival relation 79, footn. \*; 82, 106. 109; 91, 52. 59; 143, *ad inît.*; 156 (Numb. XXII. 5) etc. etc. [With this comp. the Aramaic genitival usage with ܫܝ or ܫܝ. — Transl.] Conjunction 82, 105 etc. etc.

שָׁ שֻׁ, see שֻׁ.

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שָׁא šī-uv Subst. *corn*, comp. Akkad. šī 182, *ad inît.*

שָׁאֵל comp. ܫܘܐܠܐ, ܫܘܐܠܐ. — u-ša-'-lu 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Pa. *they begged, summoned* 289, 77. — ša-'-al Inf. Stat. constr. 399, 3.

שָׁאֵן Šu-an-na-KI name of a town (either another name for Babylon or designation of a quarter of that town) 346, 14; 373, footn. \*\* 33.

שָׂרַר šī'ru Subst. *flesh*, comp. Hebr. שָׂרַר. Ideogr. 19, 30.

שָׂאֵן ša-a-šu (from šâ + šû) *that one, he himself*. Demonstr. pronoun 289, 59; 301, 20; 323 (Eug. ed. p. 7 lines 5 and 6 from below). — ša-a-šu-nu Pl. msc. 398 (Botta 149, 12).

שָׂבָא šab-'-i Egypt. proper name *Seveh*, Hebr. סוּבָא (read סוּבָא!) probably Egypt. Sabaka 269 (2 Kings XVII. 4); likewise 396, 1. 2; also Šab-' 397, footn. \* 1. 3. The sibilant is always š. —

[שָׂבָא šibû *to be satisfied or satiated with*, comp. Hebr. שָׂבַע, Arab. شَبِعَ, Syr. ܫܒܥ. — lišbi (phonet. liš-bi 434, 31) precat. *may he be satisfied with*. — Transl.].

שָׂבִי ša-bi-'i Subst. *agate*, Hebr. שָׂבִי 155 (Exod. XXVIII. 19).

שבט *ša-ba-tu* name of a month *Shebat*, Hebr. שֶׁבַט 380.

שבר comp. Hebr. שָׁבַר, Eth. ሰባረ; Arab. ثَبِر, Aram. ܫܒܪ. — taš-bir 3. Ps. Sg. fem. Impft. Kal *she broke or shattered* 332, 23. — u-šab-bir 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Pa. *I broke in pieces* 261, 3. — u-šab-biru 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Pa. *they broke in pieces* 458, footn. \* 48.

שבת comp. Hebr. יְשֻׁבָה. — ša-bat-tuv Subst. *day of rest*, Hebr. יְשֻׁבָה 20, *ad init.*

שג *ša-ga* and *ša-šu*, see under גר.

שר *šīdu* Subst. (*images of the bull-deity*), Hebr. שָׂר. Ideogr. 39; 160 (Deut. XXXII. 17).

שרד *šiddu* Subst. *boundary*, Targ. שְׂרָא *side*. Plur. ši-di, šid-di 157, 84. 85; 203; 232, 5; ši-di-i 288, 55.

שרן *šadû* Subst. *mountain, mountain-range*. Ideogr. (*passim*); with phon. complement *u* 213, 10; 220, 29 *bis*; Pl. šadi-í 209, 45; 210, 55. 60; 220, 27; 374, 31. — šad-di-(šu-un) the same (with Suff.?) 450, Rev. 3. — [šad determinative 157, 84; 209, 46; 210, 60; 220, 26 etc. As the ideogr. for šadû and mâtu is the same, it is in many cases hard to decide which of the two should be read or (as in determinatives) understood. — Transl.]

שו *šû* demonstr. pron. msc. *that, that one*, written šu-u 97; 261, 6; 290, 29 [302, 31]; 326, footn.; 350, 51 etc. — šu-a-tu (Gen. ti) the same Fem. 195, 101; 338, 12; 345, 7. — šu-a-tu-nu Plur. msc. 398 (Botta 150, 12).

שׁוּט (שׁאט?). Should we compare the Hebr. שׁוּט? — i-ša-aṭ 3. Ps. Sg. Kal *he tendered, offered* 289, 64. — i-šu-tu 3. Ps. Pl. 398 (Botta 151, 10. 1). [Etymology very uncertain. The word occurs in the combination i-ša-aṭ ab-ša-a-ni (Tayl. cyl. col. II. 64 comp. V Rawl. 2, 77; V Rawl. 7, 88) “tendered submission”. Friedr. Delitzsch gives the verb the meaning ‘draw’, ‘draw upon oneself (as a yoke)’ hence ‘to bear’, the word abšânû meaning ‘yoke’, root אבש (חבש) ‘to bind’. — Transl.]

שון (*mât*) Ši-za(ša?)-na-ai Adj. *man of Sizan* 194, 94.

שחת *šu-ḥu-ut* Subst. *wrath* (Hebr. שַׁחַת?) 398 (Botta 150, 1).

שטר comp. Hebr.-Aram. שֶׁטֶר (Arab. سَطَر). — aš-tur, al-ṭur 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I wrote* 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1. Exod. V. 6). — iš-ṭur 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal 153 (Exod. V. 6). — ša-ṭa-ru Inf. *writing* 153, *ad fin.* — šiṭru Subst. *writing* Stat. constr. ši-ṭi-ir 124, 12; ši-588 ṭ-ri 413 (II Rawl. 60, 34e). Ideogr. with Suff. (Acc.) šiṭra-ja 459, footn. 2.

שיא *ší-* 3. Ps. Sg. masc. Pf. Kal *he budded or sprouted forth*, comp. Hebr. שִׁיחַ 2, 7.

שׁוּב comp. Hebr. שׁוּב, Aram. شَاب, Arab. شَاب. — šibu Subst. *old man, grandfather*. From this we have as fem. ši-ib-tu *grandmother* = ummu [rabitū] (II R. 32, 65 c. d.; comp. with 67 c. d.) 139 (Gen. XV. 15), and also ši-bu-tu Subst. *Age* (II R. 33, 10).

שׁוּב, see יוּב.

שׁוּמ comp. Hebr. שׁוּמ. — ši-ma-tav Subst. *destination, fate* 2, 8. — šim-tav the same 207, *ad fin.* (Asarbaddon's Cylind. col. III. 19).

שׁוּכַן comp. Hebr. כּוּן, Aram. صم, Arab. كَان, Eth. ነገ: (according to Haupt sub voce = (שׁוּכַן). — iš-kun, iš-ku-nu(na) 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he made* 209, 47; 326, footn.; 338, 8. 15. — iš-ku-nu 3. Ps. Pl. *they made* 370, 38; 385 (Is. X. 14). — aš-ku-un, aš-kun, aš-ku-nu 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I made* 124, col. II. 13; 193, 80; 194, 97; 201 (Eng. ed. p. 191 last line); 202 (Insc. ad fin.); 203 (Eng. ed. p. 193 line 8 from below); 209, 48; 210, 62; 220, 32; 255, 19. 29; 289, col. II. 63; 301, 21. — u-ša-aš-kin 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *he caused to be made (made?)* 323 [Eng. ed. p. 7 (Vol. II) lines 8 and 3 fr. below]. — šu-uš-ki-in Imp. Shaf. 434, 28. — šit-ku-nu 3. Ps. Sg. and Pl. Perf. Ifte. *was or were erected, set up* 218, 14; 289, 77. — ištak-au 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ift. Ideogr. (ŠA) with phon. complement *he brought about* 484, B. C. 763 (here of the darkness produced by an eclipse of the sun). — aš-ta-kan 1. Ps. Impft. Ifte. 289, 79; 301, 24; 345, 6; 346, 14. — iš-tak-ka-na 3. Ps. Pl. Ifta. (Subj. katâ-ai) 370, 36. — šaknu, Stat. constr. šakan *viceroys* = Hebr. שָׂכָן. Phon. ša-ak-nu (Stat. constr.) 411 (Is. XLI. 25). Šak-na (accus.) 374, 34; Stat. constr. šakan, written ŠA-au 393, footn. \*\*\*. Pl. šaknûti Ideogr. 220, 32; 255, 19; with phon. complem. u-ti 338, 16. — šiknatu Subst. *creature*. Stat. constr. šik-na-at 17, 3 (and Notes and Illust.) (8).

שׁוּכַן šakkannak(k)u Subst. (as it seems of Akkadian origin) *commander, lord* 289, col. II. 69, III. 1; 301, 22; 302, 25; 335 (I Rawl. 48. No. 5. 2). Comp. my Essay "die Sargonsstele des Berl. Mus." (1882) p. 29 foll.

שׁוּכַר šikrîti Subst. Plur. Fem. *palace-women* (?). Ideogr. 291, col. III. 38; 302, 32; 345, 10.

שׁוּלַט comp. שׁוּלַט, شَلَط (سلط). — šallâtu Subst. *commandant, viceroys* = שׁוּלַט. Phon. ša-laṭ (Stat. constr.) 315; 488 C, line 3. 12. Ideogr. 314, footn. \*; 488 C, 6. — šil-ṭan-nu Subst. *ruler*, comp. سُلْطَان 270; 396, 1. But see under תּוּרַתָּן.

שׁוּלַל comp. שׁוּלַל. — iš-lu-la 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he conveyed away* (into captivity, as spoil) 338, 11. — aš-lu-la 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal 589

*I carried away* 193, 81; 210, 59; 261, 13. 14; 272, *ad init.*; 289, 68; 301, 22; 346, 17 *ad fin.* etc. — ša-lil Part. *carrying away*. Stat. constr. 323 (Botta 40, 20). — šal-la-tu Stat. constr. šal-la-at Subst. *spoil, captive* 261, 13. 14; 287, II Inscr. 3; 346, 17 etc. — šal-lat(?) 261, 4. With Suff. šal-la-(as)-su 139 (Gen. XV. 5); 194, 88; 338, 11. — šal-la-su-nu(sun) 210, 58; 289, 68. 83; 301, 22. — šal-la-tiš Adv. *as booty* 290, col. III. 20; 302, 28; 346, 13; 450, Rev. 4.

שלם (alternating with \* שלם?) comp. שלם, سلم, سَلَم. — [ušal-lim (contracted to šallim comp. 382 (Neb. II. 10) *Sin-ballit*) Pael Impf. 3. Sing. 'he preserved', 'gave prosperity to' e. g. Sin-šallimani 'Sin gave me prosperity' (recompensed me?) 474, B. C. 747. — Transl.]

šalmu Subst. *welfare*, Hebr. שְׁלוֹם, Arab. سَلَام etc. — ša-al-mu 124, col. II. 8. Also used of the *setting* (of the sun) e. g. Sauh. Tayl. Cyl. I, 13 : ša-lam šan-ši. Comp. p. 215 footn. ††. — šulmu Subst. 1) *peace*, written šul-mu(mí) comp. III Rawl. I col. V, 26 (šu-lum); 399 (Botta 151. 10. 3); 484, B. C. 758; 2) *greeting, salutation, hail*. Phon. šul-mu 152 (Gen. XLIII. 23); 3) *setting* (of the sun), written with the Ideogr. DI and the phonet. complem. mu 140 (Gen. XIX. 23); 213, 13; 247, 4. — šalmiš Adv. *sound, uninjured, in good condition* 450, Rev. 5. — ša-li-im-tu Subst. *peace* 373, footn. \*\* 33. — Šulmānu-ašāridu שלמנאשר proper name *Salmanassar* (*Shalmaneser*), Hebr. שְׁלֹמֹנֶסֶר, written Šul-ma-nu-ašāridu [but in the earlier part of Vol. I Šal-ma-nu-uššir] 97; 266 (2 Kings XVII. 3); Šulma-nu-ašāridu 19; 459, footn. 1.

\* [Haupt holds that the root שלם, common to Semitic languages, appears in Assyrian sometimes in the form שלם, salāmu being the root-form in Assyrian. But according to Fried. Delitzsch, in *Assyr. Lesestücke* 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (glossary), there are two independent roots which come to approximate one another in meaning salāmu *turn oneself to* — hence *be gracious or helpful to* (synonym saḥāru); šalāmu *to be uninjured, sound, complete*. Pael, *to keep whole, — complete, recompense*. Zimmern, *Busspsalmen* p. 57 illustrates the use of salāmu e. g. šar tašmí u salimí *king of hearing and showing-favour*; Bīl ana ali u biti šašu islimu iršū târi 'Bel turned himself (graciously) to city and temple and granted mercy (forgiveness)'. The two ideas, however, 'favour' and 'well-being', 'peace' very closely approximate, and in the latest inscriptions salāmu and šalāmu are used in the same sense. Lastly the Assyrians employ the same ideogram for both. See Haupt's *Beiträge zur Assyrl. Lautlehre* (Assyrian Phonology) § 9. — Transl.]

שלש šalšu numeral *third*, comp. Eth. ሳለሁ; Arab. ثَالِث

(Hebr. שליש, Aram. ܫܠܫܐ). Written šal-ši (Gen.) 288, col. II. 34; 301, 18. — šalaštu numeral *three* = שלשת 315. [In this passage however, we should transcribe šalašta, or šalaštu. The TA of the text belongs to the Akkad. group TA.A.AN = tân (numerical determinative)].

שם šumu Subst. *name*, Hebr. שֵׁם, Aram. ܫܡܐ; šu-ma Acc. 2, 2. 8; with the (phon.) sign šum 291, 37; 302, 24; 345, 32; also šu-mi Genit. 124, col. II. 12. Ideogr. with Suff. 459, footn. 2. 3; Ideogr. Pl. 338, 14.

שם ŠIM (RIK) with SUN (= ma'du), Akkad., literally *much sweet-smelling*, i. e. *incense*, *spices* 235, 28. Comp. Haupt on Flood-legend col. III. 48; 237 (*Notes and Illust.*).

שמע comp. Hebr. שָׁמַע, שָׁמַע, Arab. سَمِعَ etc. — iš-mí-í 3. Ps.

Impft. Kal *he heard* 152, *ad init.* — iš-mí-ma the same with Cop. 398, Botta 150, 6. — Taš-mí-tuv name of a god 232, 15. — Iš-mí-Da-gan name of an ancient Babyl. king 129, *ad fin.*; 182, footn. \*.

שמאל šu-mí-lu Adj. and Adv. *left, on the left*. Hebr. שְׂמאל = šumílu, also šumílu. Adj. and Adv. *left, on the left hand* 135 (Gen. XIII. 9).

שְׂמַר (mât) Šumíri (*land*) *Sumir* i. e. שִׁנְעַר *Shinar*, written Šu-mí-ri 118 (Gen. XI. 1); 373, footn. \*\* 33; 460, footn.; (avíl) Šu-mí-ir-ím *the Sumerians* (Pl. of Šu-mí-ir-û) 118 (Gen. XI. 1). Comp. Khors. 3; II Rawl. 65, 52 a. etc. Ideogr. 335 (1 Rawl. 48 No. 5. 3); 346, 14; 351, 65.

שמד comp. השמיד. — aš-mud 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I destroyed* 590 234, 24.

שָׁמַי' šamí', written AN-í (í phon. complement, comp. the orthography ša-mi-í V Rawl. 21, g. h. and see Lotz, *Inscr. Tigl. Pil.* I 216), Subst. plur. = Hebr. שָׁמַיִם *heaven*. Entirely phonet. ša-mi-í 123, *ad init.* Ideogr. with phonet. complement í 139 (Gen. XV. 5); 177, *ad fin.* (read šami-í); 178, *ad init.* — ša-ma-mu pronounce šamâmu the same (poet.) 2, 1.

שָׂמֶן ša-am-nuv Subst. *oil*, Hebr. שֶׁמֶן 426.

[šamâru *to come down in floods, be tempestuous*. Hence šamru and šitmuru *raging* especially used in ref. to a flood (Haupt). šumûrtu (constr. šumûrat) *flood, tempest*. Deluge-story col. II. 49 šu-mur-ra-as-su (= šumuratšû) 'his (Rammân's) tempest'.

Comp. also the phrase in Salmanassar's Monolith col. II. 98 kima Rammân ili-šu-nu ri-ḫi-il-ta u-ša-az-nin (so Dr. Craig reads in 'Hebraica' July 1887) "I rained down a flood on them like Rammân". — mušammir Partic. Pael 'tempest bringing'. Rammân-mu-šammir *Rammân bringeth a tempest*, name of an eponym-official 472, Can. III B. C. 789; 482, B. C. 789. — Translator.]

שָׁמַשׁ šamaš, šamšu (šanšu) Subst. *sun*, Hebr. שֶׁשׁ, Arab. شمس etc. Gen. šam(n)-ši, written sometimes altogether phonetically šam-ši, sometimes with the Ideogr. U.D(PAR) and the phonet. compl. ši 140 (Gen. XIX. 23); 178; 213, 6. 11 etc. etc. Comp. also 484, B. C. 763<sup>b</sup>. — (ilu) Šamaš name of the *sun-god*. Phon. Šamaš 262, 16. Ideogr. 91, 53; 279, *ad jin.*; 280, *ad inūt*. — Šamaš-balât-su-iḫ-bi proper name 429 (Dan. I. 7). — Šamaš-šum-ukîn proper name 'Samas established the name' *Sammughes* Σαοσδούχινοç 368, footn.; 369, 27.

שָׁנַן šangu Subst. *priest*, Ideogr. 213, 3. — š'angûtu Subst. *priesthood* (?). Phon. ša-an-gu-ti-(ja) 332, 22.

שְׁנִי comp. שְׁנָה, 𐎶𐎵𐎲; — شَنِى, 𐎶𐎵. šinû numeral *two*. Phon. ši-na 21, footn. \*. — šânitu *the second*. Written šâni-i 273 (Eng. ed. p. 265 line 11) (Gen.); šâni-tí the same 193, 82. — šânitu Subst. *repetition, time*. Ideogr. 82, 104; 91, 61; 202, 87; 207, 97. 102; 209, 40. — Perhaps (?) we have as a derivative from this šattu, St. cstr.

šanat, Subst. *year*, Hebr. שָׁנָה, Arab. سَنَة, Aram. 𐩦𐩣𐩪. Phon. šat-ti (Gen.) 288, 46; 290, 27; 302, 30. Ideogr. 15, 3. Pl. šanâti, written šanâ-tí 160 (Deut. XXXII. 7); Ideogr. 458, footn. \* 50; 459, footn. 6. — On 364, 13 we ought perhaps instead of Stat. constr. šanât to read St. abs. šattu. [Comp. ש (singular) in Moabite stone line 8 and Schröder, Phöniz. Sprache pp. 105—106. — Transl.]

שָׁנַן comp. Eth. 𐤏𐤍𐤏: (Lotz). — šanânu Infin. *rivalry, emulation*, then *equality*, occurring frequently in the phrase la ša-na-an *without equal, without rivalry* 213, 2. — ša-ni-nu Subst. *the rival*, occurring frequently in the phrase ša-ni-na la i-šu-u *he who has no rival*.

שֵׁן šinnu Subst. *tooth*, comp. 𐎶𐎵, 𐎶𐎵, 𐎶𐎵: 187 (1 Kings X. 22). — šin al-ap *tooth of the elephant*, equivalent of the Hebr. שֵׁן הָאֵפֶיץ *ivory* 187 (1 Kings X. 22; but comp. footn. \*).

שָׁפַע = שָׁפַע and ultimately identical with Hebr. שָׁפַע, — ša-pu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Pf. Kal *they came forth* 2, 7. — u-ša-pu-u 3. Ps. Pl. 591 Pa. *they caused to come forth* 17, 3. — u-š-ta-pu-u 3. Ps. Pl. Impft.

Ift. *they were brought forth* 2, 10. — šupû Subst. Phon. (Gen.) šu-pi-i — ? — 290, col. III. 15.

(ו)שפּוּ šipû (šipû?) Subst. *foot*, perhaps so named because it is that which rubs the ground, or is the member which glides over it, comp. Hebr. שָׁפָה, Aram. ܫܦܗ, ܫܦܗ. — šipâ Dual 157, 87; 194, 86; 235, 27; 289, 57; 455 (Ps. II. 12). — šipu Prep. Written with Suff. 1. Ps. Sg. ší-pu-u-a 288, col. II. 44.

שפי (ír) Ša-pi-ja name of a Babyl. town 486, B. C. 731. Comp. also Ša-pi-ja, as well as Ša-pi-í under ספי.

שפך comp. Hebr. שָׁפַךְ, Arab. سَفَكَ, — iš-ša-p-i-k 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Nif. *he was washed away* 124, col. II. 4.

שפל comp. Hebr. נִשְׁפַּל, Arab. سَفَلَ, Aram. ܫܦܠ. — šaplítuv *lower*; Ideogr. šapliti genit. 203; 232, 6; 333, 18 (šap-lit). — šap-liš Adv. *below, beneath* 2, 2. — muš-pa-lu *depression* = *lower town*? (Stand. Inscr. 17) 99, footn. \*.

שפר comp. سفر. — iš-pu-ra 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he sent* 291, 41 [302, 32]. — iš-pur the same 398 (Botta 149, 8). — aš-pur 1. Ps. Sg. *I sent* 320. — iš-pu-ru 3. Ps. Pl. *they sent* 399 (Botta 151, 10. 3). — ša-pi-ru Part. *sending forth* 277 (Botta 75, 4).

שפרד (mât) Ša-pa-ar-da name of a country (= סַפְרָד?) 447 (Obad. 20).

שקא ša-ku-u 3. Ps. Pl. Perf. Kal? *they mounted up* (?) 218, 5.

שקי comp. הַשְׁקָה, سقى, ܫܦܩܐ, — šu-ku-tu Subst. *drinking vessel, goblet*, comp. Hebr. שִׁקִּית. Written šu-ku-ti 235, 28. — šikîtu written ši-ki-tuv Subst. *giving to drink, watering, irrigation* 31 (Gen. II. 13). — maš-ki-tu, written maš-ki-tav Subst. *drink* II Rawl. 44, 10g in the phrase karânu maš-ki-tav ša šarrû *wine, drink of the king*, — maš-ki-ti genit. 288, col. II. 42.

שקל comp. Hebr. שָׁקַל, Eth. ܫܦܠܐ, Arab. ٱسَالَ, Aram. ܫܦܠ. — iš-ku-ul 3. Ps. Impft. Kal *he weighed*, comp. Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinsch. p. 20. — i-ša-kał 3. Ps. Impft. Pres. *he weighs out* 142 ad init.

שר Šar name of a god 2, 12. 15.

שרא comp. Aram. ܫܪܐ Pa., ܫܪܐ. — šurratu (properly Infin. Pa. with feminine ending) Subst. *beginning* Stat. constr. šur-rat 402, footnote \* (comp. Asurnas. Monolith-inscr. I, 43 u. a. St.).

שרח mu-šar-ri-ḥat Part. Pa. fem. (Stat. constr.) *(she) who makes mighty* 177 (Lotz 92 foll.).

שרחא (ilu) Ší-ru-uḥ-a name of a god 232, *ad fin.*

שרך iš-ru-ka 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he bestowed, rendered* 194, 97.

שרמן (iš) šur-mí(ví)-uu, šu-ur-mi(vi)-nu name of a tree, Aram.

שרמנא, שרמנא 183 (1 Kings V. 13) and footn. \* (Eng. ed. p. 173); 388 (Is. XIV. 8). From Akkadian šur-man (?) 388, footn. \*.

592 שרה comp. Hebr. שָׂרָה. — aš-ru-up 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I burnt* 194, 90; 234, 25. Ideogr. with phon. complement up 210, 58.

שרר šarru Subst. *king*, Hebr. שָׂרָר (= Akkad. širru?) 23, footnote \*\*; 124, col. I. 28. Ideogr. with Suff. šar-a-ni *our king* 332, 25. Stat. constr. Ideogr. 91, 56. 57. 58; 97, Stand-inscr. 14; 174 etc. — Pl. šarri, written šarri-i 79, *ad init.*; šar-ri 277 (Botta 75, 5). Pl. šarrâ-ni Ideogr. with phon. complem. ni 82, 106. 109; 115, footn. \*\*; 153 (Gen. XLIX. 1); 157, 85; 194, 95. — šar-rat Subst. fem. Stat. constr. *queen* 178, *ad init.*; 253 (Eng. ed. p. 245); 255, 30; 262, 16; 333, 15; 397, 3. — šarrûtu Subst. *kingdom, rule*. Phon. Gen. with Suff. šar-ru-ti-ja 273, 2. Ideogr. with phon. complem. tu (ti) 161 (Josh. X. 1); 194, 88. 90 etc. etc.; with Suff. šarrussin, written šar-us-si-in *her* (fem.) *rule* 248, *ad init.* Stat. constr. šar-ru-ut 276 (Botta 70. 8—10); šarru-ut 323 (Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 7 line 11 from below). — Šar-lu-dá-ri, Šar-lu-dá-a-ri Assy.-Philist. proper name *Sarludâri* 166, *ad init.*; 289, 62; 301, 21; 371. — \*Šar-ušur Assy. proper name *Sharezer* שָׂרְאָצֶר 329, *ad fin.* — Šar-ukîn or Šarru-kînu Assy. proper name *Sargon* סָרְגֹן (סָרְגֹן) 335 (I Rawl. 48. No. 3. line 3); 392, *passim*; 411 (Is. XLI. 25). Phon. Sa-ru-ki-na (with ס) 392.

שש šuššu Subst. *Sóssos*, total of 60 units. Ideogr. 315.

ששך Šiš-ku-KI — ? — name of a town 415 (Jerem. XV. 26). Is it = שֶׁשֶׁךְ? 415 *ibid.*

ששן (ír) Šu-ša-an name of a town *Susa*, Σοῖσα, Hebr. שֹׁשָׁן 111, *ad fin.*; 375, *ad fin.*; 381. — Šu-ši-na-ak Elamite name for the district of Susa = *Susiana*, comp. the race name שֹׁשַׁנְכִיָּא (Ezr. IV. 9) 112, *ad init.* Whether the word was originally an adjective (376, *ad init.*), cannot be safely determined; see Notes and Addenda.

שח šattu *year*, see שני.

שחא comp. Hebr. שָׁחָה, Eth. ḥṯP: — iš-tu-u 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *they drank* 145 (Gen. XXIV. 54).

שחסק (amíl) šu-ut(par?)-sa ḫ Subst. *commander, viceroy* Akkadian in origin. Sg. and plur. 255, *ad init.*; 272, *ad init.*; 320 (2 Kings XVIII. 17); 374, 33.



## ת

תַּאֲמֻת *tiâmtu* Subst. *sea*, comp. תַּרְוִים; also abbreviated into *tâmtu* (*tâmdu*) 6; 57 (Eng. ed.) 59. 60. Ideogr. 91, 85 *bis*; 157, 87. *tiâm-tiv* (Gen.) 140 (Gen. XIX. 23); 169. — *tiâm-di* the same 157, 84 (or should we read *Ud-di* (Akkad.!)?); 203, etc. etc. — *ti-amat* the same 2, 4; this afterwards became a proper name.

תַּאֲמַת (*mât*) *Tu-'im-mu* name of a country 426, 23.

תַּאֲמֻנָּה (*avîl*) *Tu-'mu-na* name of a tribe 346, 15.

תַּבְּאָה *it-ba-a* 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *he came, advanced*, Ar. *تبع*? *تبا* 593 (or is it secondary formation from *בוא* Impft. *ibâ'u?* —) 397, footnote \* 2. — *it-bu-ni* 3. Ps. Pl. Impft. Kal *they came* 194, 96; 201 (Eng. ed. p. 191 line 3 from below); 203; 396, 1. — *u-šat-ba-a* 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Shaf. *he caused to come forth* 452, 69.

תַּבְּאֵל *Tu-ba-'lu* Phoenician proper name *Ithobal*, Hebr. *אֶתְבַּעַל*, *Ἐθώβαλος*, *Ἰθώβαλος* 104, *ad init.*; 173; 286, *ad fin.*; 288, 44. 48; 301, 19.

תַּבּוּךְ comp. Hebr. *בוך*. — *at-bu-uk* 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal *I poured out* 351, 62, used metaphorically of inspiring terror.

תַּבַּל *Tabal* name of a land and people, Hebr. *תַּבַּל*, written *Ta-bal-uv* (*lu, li*) 82, 85. 86; 83, *ad init.* (*bis*); also *Tabal* 83 (Eng. ed. p. 65 line 10 from below). — (*mât*) *Ta-bal-ai* Adj. *Tabalaeen*, *the Tabalaeen* 253.

תַּבַּק comp. Hebr. *בַּקַּק*. — *at-ta-baḳ* *I poured out* 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. *Ite.* 48, footn. ††.

תַּדּוּךְ *tidûku*, see *דוּךְ*.


תַּוּר comp. *تور*, *تور*. — Properly *turn round*, then in Assy. it comes to signify *become, be*. — *utir* 1. and 3. Ps. Impft. Pa. *I or he made to turn round* (so 290, col. III. 22; 350, col. III. 49); then *I or he made, produced*. Phon. *u-tir* 234, 25; 255, 24; 338, 13 etc.; also *u-tir-ra* 255, 18; 290, 22. Ideogr. (GUR) with phon. complement *râ* = *utir-ra-a* 220, 32. — *ut-tir* 193, 85. — *taiartu* Subst. *return*. Phon. *ta-ai-ar-tuv* (Gen. ti) 346, 15; 351, 63; 484, B. C. 754; *ta-ai-rat* 455, 6. Ideogr. 455, 1; 456 (Notes and Illust. *ad loc.*).

תַּחַז comp. *אחז* (Ift.). — *taḥâzu* Subst. *hand to hand conflict, battle*. Phon. *ta-ḥa-zi* (Gen.) 177; 332, 22. Ideogr. 177; 178; 194, 86. 96; 201 (Eng. ed. line 3 from below); 203 (Eng. ed. line 7 from below). — *mit-ḥu-uz-zu* Subst. *combat* 218, 7 is to be crossed out (Del.). Comp. *Sanherib*, *Taylor-Cyl.* III, 16 (Peiser).

תַּחַם *Tu-ḥa-am-mî*, name of an *Istundaeen* 253 (Eng. ed. 244 line 2 from below); 257.

תחן (mât) Tu-ḥa-na-ai Adj. *the Tuchanaean* 253; 257.

תימא (ir) Tí-ma-ai name of a tribe *Thematite*, comp. Hebr. תִּימָא 149 (Gen. XXV. 15).

תכל comp. Syr.  and Arab. وكل. — u-tak-kil 3. and 1. Ps. and *he* (or *I*) *encouraged* e. g. Lay. 69, 3<sup>b</sup> above. — mu-tak-kil Part. Pa. *inspiring confidence* in the proper name Mutakkil-Nusku (= Nabû?) 91, 57 (412, footn. \*); on this consult Assyri-Babylon. Keil. p. 146, no. 42. — u-šat-kil, read u-šad-gil and see under דגל. — it-ta-kil 3. Ps. Sg. Impft. Ifte.\* *he confided, trusted* 209, 43; 326, footn. \*; 397, footn. — it-tak-lu-ma the same with Cop. 353, 33; 3. Ps. Pl. 201 (Eng. ed. p. 191 line 4 from below). — tukultu Stat. constr. tuklat *trust, confidence, reverence, service*. Phon. tu-kul-ti (Gen. and Stat. constr.) 241 and footn.; 247, 2. Ideogr. 193, 79 (277, 5); with phonet. complement ti 213, 4; the same with the meaning *minister* (as a title) 480, B. C. 806; 482, B. C. 777 (read tukultu); 484, B. C. 749; 486, B. C. 739 From this we have tuklâti Plur. Ideogr. *devoted servants, soldiers* 157, 85; 218. 16; 452, 69. Phon. tuk-la-a-ti in bit-tuklâti *house of soldiers, fortress* 288, comp. Sm. Assurb. 207, 56 (III R. 21, 56), likewise III R. 9, 36 (tuk-la-tí). — tik-lu Subst. *confidence*. Phon. ti-ik-li (Gen.) 333, 8.

594 תכלת Tuklat-Adar proper name 184, 64; 459, footnote 1. — Tuklat-(Tukul-ti)-abal-í-šar-ra proper name *Tiglath-Pileser*, Hebr. תְּגִלְתַּיִם פְּלֶאֶסֶר 231; 240; 91, 55; 247, 1; 458, footn. 49; 486, B. C. 745<sup>b</sup>.

תכלת ta-kil-tu Subst. *violet-blue purple*, Hebr. תְּכֵלֶת 155 (Exod. XXV. 4).

תכנ comp. Hebr. תִּכְנֶן. — u-ša-at-ka-an-ni (probably for ušatka-ninni) 3. Ps. Impft. Shaf. with Suff. *he adjusted or arranged for me* 124, col. II. 6.

תל tillu (not tullul) *hill*, comp. Hebr. תֵּל, Arab. تَل. Ideogr. 232, 9; 234, 25; 262, 15 (til abûbi); 234, 25 (ana tili etc.). ti-lani-iš Adv. *like a mound* (or *heap*) 124, col. II. 4. — Til-Aš-šu-ri

\* [Haupt in Hebraica Oct. 1885 p. 5 footn. 6 holds that ittakil *he trusted* is not the Ifteal of a root وكل but rather the Niphal (Haupt designates it by the Arabic VII form انفعّل) of the root takâlu which he identifies with the Ethiopic takâla *fixit, stabilivit*. Natkil will then be the Imperative Niphal, formed quite regularly like naš-kin; comp. naplis (look). — Transl.]

name of a town *Telassar* תִּלְגַּרִּימֻשׁר 327. — Til-Ga-rim-mu(mí) name of a town 85. — Til(so read!)-kam-ri name of a town 232, 6. — Til(so read!)-ša-habal-a-ḥi name of a town 193, 80.

תַּלִּימֻ תַּלִּימֻ *own brother*. Comp. Targ.-Talm. תַּלְמִיָא and Targ. אַחֵי תַּלְמִיָא (Gen. XLIX. 5). Fried. Delitzsch derives it fr. root talámu *to bestow*. With Suffix ta-lim-ja 398 (Botta 149, 10), talim-šu 399 footn.

תַּמְרֻ (avíl) Tam-mu-di, Ta-mu-di name of an Arab. tribe 277, ad init. and Botta 75, 3).

תַּמְרֻ u-tam-mi-ḥu 3. Ps. Pl. Pael *they bound* 371 (and footn. \* Eng. ed. Vol. II p. 59).

תַּמְנֻ (ír) Ta-am-na-a name of a Hebr. town תַּמְנֵה *Tinnath* 170 (Josh. XIX. 43); 289, col. II. 83.

תַּמְסֻ (ír, mât) Ta-mí-su name of a Cyprian town or district *Tamassus* 355, 19.

תַּמְרֻ tumru Subst. *date*, Arab. تَمْرٌ, Syr. (Pl.) تَمْرٌ. Pl. Phon. tum-ri 19, 30; and Eng. ed. p. 20 footn. \*. [Zimmern, however, in Busspsalmen p. 76 gives the word the meaning 'smoke'. — Transl.]

תַּמְתַּמְרֻ Tam-tam-ak-ai(?) Adj. — ? — 235, 26.

תַּן (mât, ír) Tu-na-ai Adj. *the Tunaean* 253; 257.

תַּפֵּה a-tip-pa (a-ṭip-pa) 1. Ps. Sg. Impft. Kal(?) *I touched(?)* (should we comp. the Hebr. טָפַח = תַּפַּח?) 193, 81. [Dr. Craig (confirmed by Mr. Pinches), Hebraica, July 1887, reads amur (a-mur) 'I saw' Kal Impft. Sing. of amâru q. v. — Transl.]

תַּיִבֻ ti-ip Subst. *impetus, onset*, comp. Hebr. תַּיִבֻ, Arab. تَفْعٌ. Phon. ti-ib(ip) 332, 21; 350, 54.

תַּקֻּמֻ tuḳ-ma-tu Subst. *resistance, oppression* 154 (Exod. IX. 7) Comp. Hebr. קוּם etc.

תַּרְחֻלֻ Tar-ḥu-la-ra proper name of a prince of Gamgum 253, ad init.; 257.

תַּרְשֻׁ comp. Arab. تَرَسٌ (also Syr. تَرَسٌ *make straight, guide*). — tir-šu Subst. *establishing, recognition*. Stat. constr. ti-riš 335, ad init. — tar-ši with ana Prep. *exactly opposite* 458, 49 [or perhaps, with Delitzsch, we might render 'in the time of', comp. insc. of Sennacherib I Rawl. 40, 45. 6 alâni . . ša ina tarši abija I'lamû ikimu "cities . . which the Elamite had seized in the time of my father." The metaphor of space is applied to time, as with the Hebr. לְפָנַי etc. — Transl.].

הַרְקָּ Tar-ku-u proper name of an Egyptian king *Tirhaka* תְּרִהַקָּה 152, *ad init.*; 326 and footn. \*; 338, 7.

595 תּוּרְתַּנּוּ tur-ta-nu official title *Tartan*, Hebr. תְּרִתָּן 270, footnote \*; 319, *ad init.* Stat. constr. tur-tan 335 *ad init.*; 480, B. C. 809; 482, B. C. 780. 770. 752; 486, B. C. 742. Also 270, *ad init.*; 396, 1 (Eng. ed. I, p. 261 foll.; II, 88, 1) instead of šiltannu is to be read turtannu, because, according to Dr. Hugo Winckler, in the Sargon-inscriptions the sign for *tar*, *šil* interchanges with the sign for the syllable *tur*. Compare C. P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Gesch.* I, 260 note, who prefers the pronunciation tartanu.

תִּשְׁעֵי תִּשְׁעֵי ti-šî-î Subst. genit., of doubtful meaning 177, root תִּשְׁעֵי = תִּשְׁעֵי? Comp. Delitzsch in Lotz, *Die Insch. Tigl.-Piles.* I p. 92.

תִּשְׁרִיטָּ Tašrîtu name of the month *Tishri*, Hebr. תִּשְׁרִי. Written Taš-ri-tav (tuv) 380, 7; 486, B. C. 745<sup>c</sup>; 488, C 5. Haupt writes Tišrîtu.

תִּשְׁלֵי ta-ši-il-tu Substant. — ? — 193, 80.

תּוּתַּמּוּ Tu-ta-am-mu-u name of a king of Unki 249, *ad fin.*

To these are to be added:—

[כּבּ] bubûtu *food* with suffix bu-bu-us-su-nu (for bu-bu-ut-šu-nu) 455, 8.

תִּיטָּ tiṭu *clay filth*, comp. Hebr. טִיט, phonet. ṭi-it-ṭu 455, 8 similarly ṭiṭiṣ adv. Jeremias, *Die Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstellungen* etc. p. 25.

כּדּרֵי kudûru *frontier* employed in proper names Kudur-Naḥundi, Kudur-Mabug etc. 136. Nabû-kudurri-ušur 'Nebo protect my frontier' (Haupt) or rather with Schrader 'N. protect the frontier' 361; 362 and footn.; 428 *ad fin.*

לֵלָּ lalû (lulû) plur. phonet. la-li-î 434, 31 *abundance, splendour*; comp. Nabonidus cylind. col. II, 28 [l']-ḫul-ḫul bit šu-bat la-li-î-ka "Iḫulḫul (*House of joys*) thy splendid abode." Latrille in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* 1885 p. 350 foll. Flemming p. 44. — Transl.]

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## NOTES AND ADDENDA.

[FROM THE GERMAN EDITION.]

608 On Vol. I p. 5 foll. — Respecting the question of relationship of the Babylonian Creation-story and other primitive legends to the corresponding Hebrew traditions, comp. Aug. Dillmann on the origin of the primitive legends of the Hebrews (*Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preufs. Akad. d. Wissenschaften Phil.-histor. Cl.* 27. April 1882 p. 427—440). [Reference has been made to this interesting Essay in my Introductory Preface Vol. I p. XVIII. An English translation is to be found in the 'Bibliotheca Sacra' for July 1883 pp. 433—449. — Transl.] For a criticism of the story of Paradise in particular, comp. Th. Nöldeke in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft XXXVI* p. 173 foll.; Fr. Philippi in *Theol. Literaturzeitung* 1882, No. 7 (April 8); H. Strack in *Theolog. Liter. Blatt* 1882, No. 12 (March 24); J. Oppert in *Götting. Gelehrt. Anzeiger* 1882 pp. 26 foll.; J. Hommel in *Augsburg. Allgemeine Zeit. Beilage* 229. 230; C. P. Tiele in *Theolog. Tijdschrift* 1882 (dated Jan. 82); J. Halévy in *Revue critique* 1881, No. 50. 51; François Lenormant in *Les Origines de l'histoire II* (1882) pp. 529 foll.; C. H. Toy in *American Or. Society, Proceedings at New Haven* Octob. 26, 1881.

On page 12. — Should we suppose Ἀσσορος to have arisen immediately out of Assar (standing for Au-sar), just as Κισσάρης arises from Ki-sar? And just as in the latter case, so in the former, ought we simply to identify the word with the Akkadian? And should we in consequence hold that Ašur and Ἀσσορος have no connection with one another?

On page 20. — According to Jos. Epping in the 'Voices from Maria-Laach' 1881, VIII, 290 (comp. J. N. Strassmaier in *Transactions of the Berlin Oriental Congress 1881(82)*, p. 70) the plauet guttu is equivalent to Mars-Nergal and is not to be identified with Bel-Merodach



(Jupiter). The order of the planets in the list must be rectified accordingly.

Vol. I p. 46—47. — Franç. Lenormant in his *Origines de l'histoire* 609 I p. 344 holds that the Hebr. נַפְלִיִּים Gen. VI. 4 is to be connected with an Assyrian word *naplu* which means 'werewolf' or 'man-wolf' and originally, in accordance with the Akkad. *ušugal*, signified "great one", being derived from a root *palû* 'to distinguish', 'separate'. But such a root has not yet been proved to exist in Assyrian and the form above cited, *naplu*, is the same word as *nablu* which appears as a royal epithet in Tigl.-Piles. I col. I, 42; col. V. 42. This is the partic. act. of the root *nabâlu* to *destroy* (standing for *nâbilu*). Whether we should connect this with the Hebr. נפיל requires further discussion. [A presumption in favour of such a view seems to be afforded by the probable connection of the word מְבוּל with the same root *nabâlu* (compare מְבוּעַ and נבע) first suggested, I believe, by Delitzsch in *Parad.* p. 156. This theory is certainly preferable to that put forward by Haupt in p. 66 of the German edition of the present work, that מְבוּל is a popular-etymological modification of *abûbu* 'flood'. We should therefore understand מְבוּל to have originally signified *desolation, destruction*, a view which is confirmed by the qualifying use of מָוֶם, whether in the phrase מְוִי הַמְבוּל or, in apposition, comp. Gen. VI. 17, VII. 6. The opinion enunciated by Fried. Delitzsch is also supported by Canon Cheyne in *Hebraica*, April 1887, p. 175 foll. Comp. also Fried. Delitzsch's 'Hebrew in the light of Assyrian' p. 67; *Prolegg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aramäischen Wörterbuchs* p. 122. — Translator.]

Vol. I p. 67. — In *Libri Dan. Ezr. Nehem.* ed. Baer (1882) p. IX 610 Fried. Delitzsch connects the Hebrew אֲשַׁכְנִי with the cuneiform (*mât*) *Aš-gu-za* [gentile name (*mât*) *Aš-gu-za-ai*], the name of a country whose prince appears, according to Asarhaddon's cylinders II, 29 foll., to have been united in alliance with the Kanaeans in Armenia. We must bear in mind also Jerem. LI. 27 where Ararat, Minni and Aškenaz are similarly named in succession to one another. We should accordingly assume with Delitzsch that an original form *Ašgunza* or *Aškunza* = אֲשַׁכְנִי became in the pronunciation of the Assyrians *Ašguzza* and lastly *Ašguza* (actually *Ašgûza*?). I call to mind the Assyrian *Guzân* (Salmanassar's Monolith col. I, 28 the name of an Eastern district) arising out of the harder form *Gilzâni* or *Kirzâni*, comp. Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung p. 167.

Vol. I p. 96 (comp. also Vol. II p. 64). — I adhere to the opinion that *Šušinak* is the name for the *district of Susa* (see Glossary *sub voce*). *Šušinak* always occurs in the Elamite inscriptions at a place

where one expects to find the name of a country; for example, after the name of a king, as in the phrase *anin Šušinak* i. e. "king of Susiana". To translate this phrase, as Oppert and Fried. Delitzsch do, *rex Susius* is in my opinion impossible, for such a mode of expression 611 is contrary to analogy.\* Moreover in the passage in Ezra (IV. 9) the race-name *שושנכיא* is formed from *Šušinak* in the same way as the forms *בבליא*, *ארכויא* and *עלמא* are formed from *בְּכַלְ*, *אֶרֶךְ* and *עֶלְם*. The writer was evidently thinking of a *locality* or a *land* with the inhabitants of which he was specially concerned. These inhabitants were the Shushankaeans i. e. inhabitants of the region Shushanak or the land *Šušinak*.\*\* The fact that the writer names in particular the Elamites *עלמא* as well as the Susians is to be explained in the same way as the definite distinction made by the Greeks between the territory of Susa and that of the Uxians although *Hûga = Oἰξιοι* was the Persian name for the *entire* province Susiana; see Nöldeke in *Nachrichten von der Götting. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften* 1874, No. 8, pp. 184 187. I would observe in conclusion that in contrast with the Hebrew-Assyrian *Šušān שושן* the native pronunciation of the city's name was apparently *Šušun*. See the great inscription of king Šutruk-Nahḫunti line 4 (*Šu-šu-un*) and compare also my article *Susan* in Riehm's *Handwörterb. des Biblischen Alterthums*.

Vol. I p. 96 (*אַרְפַּכְשָׁר*). — Instead of *Arba-ḥa* J. Halévy in *Rev. critique* 1881 p. 480 reads the form as *Arba-nun* (as against Delitzsch *Parad.* pp. 124—5) and interprets it, according to the analogy of the other name, *Arba-ilu* "Arbela", as signifying "four lords." On the

\* The same thing may be said in the main of the translation adopted by Prof. Sayce in *Transs. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.* p. 479 viz. "king of the Susians." Moreover this interpretation also is refuted by the Aramaic race-name formed from that of the country (see immediately below).

\*\* Oppert, who in conjunction with Sayce has made strenuous endeavours to interpret the Susian inscriptions (in the treatise cited Vol. I p. 96), regards the name *Šušunḫa* (with *ק*) as the name of Susiana, occurring in the combination *anzan Šušunḫa* (great inscription of Sutrak Nachchunti line 2 etc.). But he is disposed to regard *Šušinak* not as a proper name but as an appellative adjective meaning 'fair', 'brave'. But apart from what has been stated above, this supposition is in my opinion opposed by the fact that the Silchak inscriptions, for example, would not exhibit any designation of the king according to the kingdom he ruled, since they do not contain any title belonging to him except *anin Šušinak*.

other hand it must be recollected that the sign ḥa, which Halévy reads as nun, never has the meaning "lord", Assy. rubû. Indeed as an ideogram its proper signification can only be "fish" Assy. nûnu. But this Assyrian word nûnu has nothing whatever to do with the Akkadian NUN meaning "lord." Moreover it is no longer possible to interpret arba as signifying 'four' on account of the variant Ar-rap-ḥa Sennacherib, Taylor-cylind. col. II. 3; Tigl.-Pileser II (II Rawl. 67) line 14 (in this last passage with the determinative mâṭ "land", in other cases, as in the Taylor-cylind., cited above, with the determ. ír "town"). The final *a* of arba, protected by Ain, (standing for, as well as in conjunction with, arba) = ארבע cannot, as would be the case with Ar-rap-ḥa, completely vanish without leaving a trace of its existence; for the 612 final *a* in Arba-ilu even maintains itself before a following vowel (*i*), without blending with the latter into a diphthong. In fact in the  $\eta$  of the Greek ( $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ ) Ἰσβαηλα we discern a trace of the final *a*-vowel in the first part of the name.

Vol. I p. 100 footn. \*\*\*. — The other name for Mesopotamia פְּרִין אֲרָם (Gen. XXVIII. 2, XXXI. 18 etc.) occurring in the document of the Annalistic narrator [Priestercodex] is combined in its first portion i. e. פְּרִין by Moritz (and Delitzsch?) with the Assyrian pa dânu which is explained in II Rawl. 62, 33 a. b. by the ordinary ideogram for iḫlu חֲקֵל "field" and ginû גִּן "garden" (III Rawl. 70, 96 foll.) and accordingly has a similar meaning and well adapted to the Hebr. פְּרִין אֲרָם. In order to determine the actual original signification of the Assyrian word, observe that it is explained on the one hand in IV Rawl. 69 I, 6 foll. by the ideogram for the conception *cleave, divide* פִּטַּר, and on the other in II Rawl. 38, 28 c. d. by the ideogr. for "foot" NIR (GIR), whereas a statement in a syllabary (unfortunately mutilated), which immediately follows, explains an Akkadian word (NIR?) gal-la (see also syllabary 667 in Haupt) by kibusu, "treading", comp. Hebr. כָּבַשׁ, כָּבַשׁ, and daraggu meaning perhaps *ascent*, compare دَرَج (the word is synonym of urḫu = אֲרָחַ, ḥarranu, comp. אֲרָחַ, and mītiḫu = מֵעֵתֶק II Rawl. 38, 24—27 c. d. comp. also durgu *path* Tigl.-Pileser I col. II 86 and elsewhere.)

Vol. II p. 195, B. C. 337. — The ancient Persian form of the name 618 Ἰσσηγ which has not yet been discovered in the Inscriptions must have been pronounced Arša and is to be regarded as the second element in the name Khšajarša = Xerxes.

## [ADDED TO THE ENGLISH EDITION.]

Vol. I p. 46. Dr. Schrader is now disposed to hold precisely the opposite view to that indicated in the text. He now considers that *ibila* in Sumíro-Akkadian is a loan-word from Babylono-Assyrian and at all events Semitic. See his essay "Zur Frage nach dem Ursprunge der altbabylonischen Cultur" p. 24 footnote: "To the same category, as it seems to me, we should assign the Akkadian *ibila* (Syllab. 307) as compared with the Assyrian *abal* 'son' which I formerly was disposed, along with Delitzsch, Haupt and others, to explain as having a non-Semitic origin (KAT<sup>2</sup> 45). The word has not yet been discovered in a connected Akkadian text, while in Akkadian proper names the word which appears for 'son' or 'child' is not this but another, *dû*. Lastly we certainly cannot pronounce the word to be thoroughly nonsemitic in type."

p. 47 foll. It has been proposed by Fried. Delitzsch and even asserted by Fritz Hommel that the original cuneiform signs usually read as *Iz-du-bar* (Iš-ṭu-bar — Sayce *Gis-du-bar*) should be pronounced *Namra-uddu* = Biblical נִמְרוֹד Nimrod. But to this conjectural reading Dr. Schrader (in a letter to me dated May 1. 1886) is not able to give his approval. See Delitzsch in *Calwer Bibel-lexicon* p. 639. Fr. Hommel in *Zeitschr. für Keilschriftforschung* 1885 p. 105 footn. 2. Comp. also Halévy in *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* 1887 p. 397 foll. who interprets *Namra* (*Namar*)-*udu* = *Namra-šit* = 'light of the East.'

p. 78. "Akkad has not yet been pointed out on the inscription as the name of a town." Since these words were written the name *Akkad* has been found as the designation of a town with the determinative *ír* prefixed viz. in an inscription of *Nebucadnezzar I* col. II. 50 (*ír*) *Ak-ka-di*. See V *Rawl.* 55 foll. Herm. Hilprecht, *Freibrief Nebukadnezzar's I*, Leipzig 1883. (Schrader.)

p. 108 ad init. Respecting the temple *I-zi-da* and the question of its identity with the *Borsippa* temple, see also Joh. Flemming, *Die grosse Platteninschrift Nebucadnezzar's II*, Göttingen 1883, as well as C. P. Tiele, *De Hooftempel van Babel en die van Borsippa*, Amsterdam 1886 p. 3. (Schrader.)

p. 120 foll. Gen. XIV. 1. The views here expressed require modifying and supplementing. At the conclusion of a dissertation on the cuneiform list of Babylonian kings (in the *Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*; philos.-historische Classe 1887) Prof. Schrader remarks — "We have above (p. 582 in the essay) stated the reasons which appear to us to prove the correctness of the assumption of Mr. Pinches that the dynasty of eleven kings which preceded the *Šišku*-dynasty in the canon is the same as the dynasty of eleven kings of Babylon on the obverse of Tablet 80, 11. 12 No. 3.

If this conclusion be a sound one, the inferences which may be deduced from it will be not unimportant. In the first place, it is quite evident that the age in which king Ḥammurabi of Babylon, sixth in the series of Babylonian kings, lived, must be placed much earlier than we have hitherto been disposed to place him. Of course a precise estimate of the length (beginning and end) of the first dynasty, though we have exact data, cannot be arrived-at, since the Canon has a lacuna in the middle which can only be filled up hypothetically. Pinches assigns to the dynasty the date B. C. 2232—1939, while Tiele, *Gesch.* Vol. I, p. 112, basing his calculation on the statements of Assyrian kings, is inclined to place the date 70 or 80 years earlier . . . King Ḥammurabi must be placed somewhere about the time 2100 B. C.

We thereby obtain a result which, in my opinion, is likely to shed some light on a subject that has hitherto remained obscure. As is well known, we may conclude from the dates of contract-tablets belonging to the reign of this Babylonian king that he conquered king Riv-Aku (I'ri-Aku) of Larsav and incorporated his dominion in his own.\* Riv-Aku of Larsav i. e. the Biblical Arioeh of Ellasar, was

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\* See the statements in Geo. Smith, *Notes on the Early History of Assyria and Babylonia*, London 1872, p. 9 foll.; *Early History of Babylonia in Records of the Past* V p. 64 foll. 68. 70. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte* p. 122 footn. 3. The passages in the inscriptions, with which we are now concerned, are to be found in IV Rawl. 36, 4—20, comp. 21—44. Tiele in his *History* Vol. I p. 124 objects to the identification of Arioeh and I'ri-Aku that the reading of the latter, though possible, is by no means proved. He would hardly deny that the same objection might be urged with equal force against his own reading *Arad-Sin*. For the reading I'ri-Aku (or Riv-Aku) it may be argued that this name with the pronunciation Arioeh אֲרִיּוֹךְ was certainly quite current in Babylonia even in the latest times, as we learn from the Book of Daniel (II. 14 foll.). It will probably be no longer a matter of doubt in the present day that the Babylonian proper names in that book are not artificially formed, whatever views may be held respecting the historical character of those who bear them . . . What, however, appears in our eyes decisive as to the true reading of the name in question is the phonetic mode in which the name of the 'son of Kudurmabug' is written viz. Ri-iv-AN.EN.ZU in col. I, 11 of the insc. of Afadj (see Lenorm., *choix de textes cunéif.* p. 164) whereby the reading Arad-Sin (or -Aku) is finally disposed of. Moreover we have also to investigate the identity of Riv-Aku with Ri-iv-A-gu-um (IV Rawl. 35 No. 8, 1, comp. Delitzsch, *Kossäer* p. 69 note 1).

according to Gen. XIV a contemporary of Amraphel of Shinar and of Chedorlaomer of Elam. According to the inscriptions (I Rawl. 2 No. III. 3--5; Fr. Lenormant, *choix de textes cunéiformes* III fasc., No. 70, p. 164 foll.) Riv-Aku was a son of Kudur-Mabug of Ur, son of Simti-Šilḥak. Therefore he must have belonged to an Elamite-Chaldaeian dynasty. Moreover Kudur-Mabug is expressly designated as adda Jamutbal "Father (i. e. Ruler) of Jamutbal", an Elamite province. It may be assumed *a priori* that he continued to enjoy friendly relations with his mother-country as well as tribal land, one of whose former rulers (about 2280), Kudur-Nahundi, made a successful campaign against Chaldaeia (Asurbanipal's cylinder-inscr. comp. Keilinsch. u. Gesch. p. 47 foll.). Accordingly it is not surprising to find him in alliance with an actual king of Elam, likewise a Kudurid, Kudur-Lagamaru כדרלעמר. But the same thing may be said with equal truth of a temporary association of both kings with a third, the prince of the Babylonians, in a case where we have a campaign conducted against a non-Chaldaeian potentate. From the history of the Sargouids we learn that, whenever it was incumbent on the Chaldaeians to make war on Assyria, the enemy of the Babylonian empire, Elam was the firmest ally of the Babylonians. Also in earlier days this may for a time have been the actual state of the case. It is true that we have no records at the time referring to such an alliance of Elam and South-Chaldaeia with North-Chaldaeia or Babylonia. But can this be regarded as a sufficient objection? As far as I know, even tolerably advanced sceptics in the domain of Biblical history, like Ed. Meyer, refer the account in Gen. XIV, as regards its contents, to a Jew who obtained in Babylon more precise information respecting the most ancient periods in the history of the country and simply out of his own imagination "had woven the story of Abraham into the history of Chedorlaomer" (Meyer Gesch. Vol. I p. 166). Accordingly no doubt is cast upon the narrative in its historic foundation so far as it refers to Babylonia. Assuming the correctness of the reading Riaku, Meyer considers this ruler, who calls himself "king of Larsam", to be undoubtedly identical with the אריוך מלך אלסר spoken-of in Gen. XIV. The objections brought by this writer in another place (p. 169) against the identity of this Riaku with the Riaku, with whom Ḥammurabi waged war, have probably in the meantime been regarded even by the author as destitute of support since the publication of the Babylonian dynastic canon and also owing to the earlier date which in consequence became probable, if not necessary, for the reign of king Ḥammurabi.

But in saying this we are confronted by a new question which awaits an answer, namely: Who then was "Amraphel king of Shinar", who appears at the head of the allies and occupied, accordingly, as

we may suppose, an important, if not a leading place among them? As is well known, a king of this name is not to be found in the inscriptions, and even in the list of Babylonian kings in the Canon we seek for it in vain. Moreover the name itself, with its Biblical form and pronunciation, has not been discovered anywhere in the inscriptions. Also the etymologies and explanations derived from Assyrio-Babylonian have not been confirmed and have been, in some cases, already given up.\* But, on the other hand, we have no right to assume that the name is devoid of any historical basis and has simply been formed artificially. For we have the other names of persons and countries appearing in the same passage including even גִּיּוּם perhaps = Gutium (Rawl.). We must remember that Iriaku of Larsav, in our opinion identical with Arioeh of Ellasar, was undoubtedly a contemporary of Hammurabi of Babylon, who is spoken-of as having conquered the former. Also let us bear in mind that Iriaku himself was descended from the Elamite dynasty of Kudurids and accordingly appears as a natural ally of the Elamite Chedorlaomer; that moreover Hammurabi in his own inscriptions that have come down to us never boasts, at least not in express terms, that he has defeated his powerful rival. From this we are entitled to infer that, at the time when these inscriptions of Hammurabi were composed, he had not yet overpowered his rival, and that he rather stood, as a matter of fact, in friendly relations with the latter. Accordingly it would not be a very far fetched combination, if we were to assume that prior to the breach in the friendly relations between these Babylonian states they joined in military operations against a foreign foe, drawing into their alliance Elam that stood in closer relationship with Arioeh of Ellasar, and also the Babylonian-Median frontier-people of Gutu who were more closely united to the Babylonians. Amraphel of Shinar would then simply be identical with Hammurabi of Babylon. As illustrations of the interchange between א and נ (or ה) within the limits of the Assyrian language itself in the case of proper names we may cite Hamatti and (ir) Amatti = Hamath חַמַּת in the inscriptions of Sargon, and also the Hebr. חֲדַקְלַת Tigris as compared with the Babylonian Idiglat (Idignat) and Aram. חַדְקַל and Arab. حِدْكَالَة. [Comp. Vol. I p. 33]. The interchange between

\* Fritz Hommel, *Babylon.-Assyr. Geschichte* p. 169 footn. 1 is disposed to combine the name with that of the father of Hammurabi, which he reads Amar-muballit, although for 'Amar-' there stands the ordinary ideogram for the moon-god Sin. This ideogram also appears in the preceding name which even Hommel reads Apil-Sin, and not Apil-Amar. Comp. also Fried. Delitzsch, *Sprache der Kossäer* p. 66 and likewise his new *Assyr. Wörterbuch* I p. 21.

כ and פ in the last syllable *bi* = *pi* requires no special remark so far as Assyrian is concerned. The change of the appended *jôd* in Hebrew (intended to express, we presume, the long final *i*\*) into a Lamed (LXX Ἀμαρρηλ) may be due to a scribal error. How ancient such textual corruptions may be is shown by such examples as אסנפר (Ezra IV. 10), LXX Ἀσσεναφῆρ as compared with what we may assume to have been the original form אסרנפל. In the ancient Hebrew script ל and ו are liable to be confused with one another in cases where (as may be easily imagined) the two left-hand horizontal strokes of the *jôd* are almost completely obliterated in the manuscript lying before the copyist.\*\*

We may assume that all admit the equivalence of the terms שנער and Chaldaea (with Babylon as its centre).

We may therefore suppose the course of events to have been as follows:—Ḥammurabi of Babylon at the beginning of his reign, when he ruled simply as a Babylonian ruler, joined with other similar co-regents in an expedition against the West — an enterprise which, according to the Biblical account, did not have the success that was anticipated. As time went on, and for reasons with which we are not acquainted, there was a dissolution of the alliance. A struggle broke out between Ḥammurabi and Arioch of Ellasar. The latter was conquered and his empire at length overthrown. During Ḥammurabi's long reign of 55 years it is no matter of surprise that such a revolution should have taken place in the relations which subsisted between him and the surrounding states."

[To these words may be added a supplementary reference to an interesting Excursus by Fried. Delitzsch contributed to Prof. Franz Delitzsch's *New Commentary on Genesis* (1887) pp. 539 foll. Full justice is there rendered by the Leipzig Assyriologist to the importance of the results of Dr. Schrader's dissertation from which the preceding extract has been made. Prof. Delitzsch adds some additional matters of importance to the subject in hand derived from his personal investigations. In March 1887 he obtained possession of an

\* The length of the final *i* seems proved by the formation of the name; see Fried. Delitzsch, *Sprache der Kossäer*, Leipzig 1884, p. 72. It is not certain whether we also find the orthography *bi-i* as well as that with the sign *bi* (Tiele, *Gesch.* p. 126). Comp. Nöldeke, *Mesa-Inscription* 1870 p. 32.

\*\* Or should we regard the final ל as simply an accretion, just as the final ך in the name נסרך (from אסרך = Ἀσσυραχ; LXX Μεσερωχ or Νασσωρωχ, Joseph. Ἀπόσχη, originally אסר = Ašur)? So Wellhausen. See note on 2 Ki. XIX. 37 in the present volume pp. 13. 14.



ancient clay cylinder containing two columns of inscription of king Sin-iddinam of Larsam (Ellasar). From this inscription the conclusion to be drawn is, that of the three kings of Larsam which we now know to have belonged to the same period, Nur-Rammân ('Rammân is light') was the father of Sin-iddinam. We may also infer on other grounds that Rim-Sin (Schrader:—Riv-Aku = Arioch) came after them and was the last king of Larsam (Ellasar).

As to the pronunciation of the cuneiform sign for the last mentioned king, Delitzsch is of opinion that the first sign cannot possibly be read as Iri- or Eri-. On the other hand the reading Aku for the second sign is quite possible since A-ku has been found on the monuments as one of the names for the moon-god. We may therefore with good reason read the name as Rim-Aku, or as the Babylonian pronounced the name in later times Riv-Aku, Ri-Aku. This king may be identified therefore with אֱלֶכָר king of אֲרִיֶךְ. — Translator.]

Vol. I, 121 l. 1. Read "Notes on the early history of Assyria and Babylonia", London 1872 p. 10. 29.

Vol. I p. 153. In a letter to Prof. Schrader from Prof. W. Robertson Smith dated June 2 1884 upon the Philistine proper names discussed in the comment on Josh. XIII. 3, the writer says:—"Let us begin with the name Šidkâ. The analogy which subsists between this and the Hebrew forms שְׂמִי, שְׂמָא or שְׂמַיָּא, מִיכָא, עֲזַיָּא (עֲזַיָּא, עֲזַיָּא), זְכַיָּא etc. is evident. These latter have been discussed by Derenbourg, Hist. de la Pal. 95, 150 and by Wellhausen, Jahrb. für deutsche Theol. XX. 631. But the termination in these abbreviations has no reference to the form of the second half of the original name; for similiar abbreviations are also common in Phœnician, and occur in such a manner that it is quite impossible to refer to the name יְהוּהָ by way of explanation. Thus כְּלָבָא in Corp. Insc. Semit. I, 1, no. 52 cannot be separated from כְּלָבָאִים no. 49, and we must come to a like conclusion with respect to חֲנַנָּא as compared with Hannibal etc. and with respect to בֹּדֹדָא (בֹּדָא or עֲבֹדָא no. 10), שְׂמַעָּא no. 11, פְּרֹחָא etc. etc. If this be so, we must form a similar opinion of the names with an I-termination. We already find in Hebrew that endings oscillate between â and ay, just as in Phœnician עֲבֹדָא alternates with עֲבֹדַי, Ἀβδαῖος; and the Assyrian transcription of מְנַשֶּׁה appears to show that an original ay may be represented by Assyr. i." Compare also Robertson Smith's article 'Philistines' in the recent edition of the Encyclop. Britannica and his note on a gem with the inscription יִשְׁעָא, Pal. Expl. Fund. Qu. Stat. 1885 p. 131.

Vol. I p. 262 footn. \*. Dr. Hugo Winckler has communicated to Dr. Schrader the information that from a personal examination of paper squeezes in Paris he has found that in the inscriptions of Sargon

the sign which can be read as *šil* and *tar* interchanges in the case of this title with the sign which bears the special value *tur*. Consequently the reading *turtanu* (*Tiele*) becomes much more probable, assuming that we have no error on the part of the tablet writer.

Vol. II p. 27 footn. The explanation of the apparent discrepancy between Berossus and the monuments (in Dr. Schrader's article in the Reports of the Royal Saxon Society of Sciences 1880 p. 4) is to the following effect:—"The only difference which has hitherto been positively ascertained to exist between Berossus and the monuments is concerned with the statement of the former, that Merodach Baladan was not only dethroned by Sanherib, as the Inscriptions testify, but that he was also put to death (Euseb. Chron. I p. 27). Bearing in mind the definite statements on this point by Sanherib himself [see the extract from the Bellino-cylinder quoted in Vol. II p. 30 foll.] one can hardly hesitate to which of the two accounts one ought to give the preference. Does however the Armenian text of Eusebius in this passage really admit of no other rendering than that of *interfecit* or *sustulit*; or might we not suppose that the corresponding Armenian phrase is due to the misunderstanding of a Greek word of more general signification such as 'removed' i. e. dethroned?" Comp. also H. Winckler in *Zeitsch. für Assy.* 1887 p. 392 foll.

Vol. II p. 31, Inscr. line 14, comp. also p. 34 *Bīlibnī*. — The recently discovered (1884) Babylonian chronicle gives the name *Bīl-X(?) Bήλιβος* in the phonetic form *Bīl-ib-ni* "The name *Bήλιβος* meets us [in the Babylon. chronicle] in the same form as on the Bellino-cylinder [cited in Vol. II p. 30—31] only ofcourse with this exception that the Babylonian form of cuneiform signs is chosen instead of the Assyrian. The chronicle according to Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeol. 1884 p. 199 gives as phonetic equivalent of the name in its second portion . . . *ib-ni* so that the pronunciation *Bīl-ibni* or *Bīl-ibni* appears to be warranted as that which occurs on the monuments. How the pronunciation *Belibus-Elibus*, certified by the Ptolemaic Canon and also indirectly by Berossus, originated, still remains a problem." (*Die keilinschriftliche Babylonische Königsliste in Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften* 1887 p. 589.)

Vol. II p. 52, 1 Chron. V. 26 *וְהָרָא וְהַבּוֹר וְהָרָא וְנָהַר גִּזְזָן וְנָהַר*. "The meaningless phrase of the Chronicler *וְנָהַר גִּזְזָן וְנָהַר וְהָרָא וְהַבּוֹר וְהָרָא* is evidently a corruption from the original text in 2 Kings XVIII. 11 *וּבְהַבּוֹר נָהַר גִּזְזָן וְעָרֵי מָרְי*" — *Keilinsch. u. Geschichtsforschung* p. 430 footn. Dr. Schrader shows on p. 435 foll. that errors have crept into the Chronicler's text and that the original trustworthy textual tradition is to be found in the second Book of Kings.

Vol. II p. 81. Add after line 4 from above the following section:—  
Isaiah XIV. 29 **שָׁבַט מִבָּרָךְ** *rod which smote thee*. Probably the Assyrian king Tiglath Pileser II is intended who died in the year 727 B. C. and in the year 734 B. C. conducted an expedition against Philistia (see Vol. I p. 246). Comp. likewise J. Barth, Beiträge zur Erklärung des Jesaia, Berlin 1885 p. 18 foll. and also Max Duncker, Geschichte des Alterthums, Berlin 1885, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. II p. 244 (Schrader.)

Vol II p. 230. Ad vocem **רָרַר**. Instead of za-rar(?)-ti H. Winckler proposes to read za-lip-ti.

### ADDITIONAL NOTES CONTRIBUTED BY THE TRANSLATOR.

Vol. I p. XXXI ad fin. If Prof. Fried. Delitzsch's combination of **אֵישׁוֹן** 'pupil of eye' with a root **אִישׁ** to be strong, be justified, we have an interesting parallel in the Aegyptian *nutrit* 'eye-ball' connected by Page Renouf with *nutar* or *nutra* having the original signification of 'strong'. (Lectures on Origin and Growth of Religion 1879 p. 98.) But the existence of a Hebrew root **אִישׁ** 'to be strong' (even if we connect it with another collateral **אִישׁ**) is extremely problematical. The form **הַתְּאִישׁוֹן** Is. XLVI. 8 may well be a denomin. from **אִישׁ**. The proper name **יְהוֹאִישׁ** or **יְהוֹאִישׁ** proves nothing, as Nöldeke has already pointed out. (Zeitsch. der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellsch. 1886, art. on Fried. Delitzsch's Prolegg. eines neuen Heb.-Aram. Wörterbuchs, ad fin). There is therefore no justification whatever for Fried. Delitzsch's assertion that such a meaning for the root is "satisfactorily proved" by the above proper name (Prolegomena p. 161 footn. 3). Nöldeke is disposed to agree with Gesenius in regarding **יְהוֹאִישׁ** as signifying 'Jehovah has given' and would compare the Arabic root **أَوْس**. This is also the view of Prof. D. H. Müller in the 10<sup>th</sup> edition of Gesenius' Hebr. Lexicon sub voce **יְהוֹאִישׁ**. See the examples from Corp. Insc. Semit. there cited. The name accordingly signifies 'Jehovah has given (sc. a son)'; comp. Hebr. **יְהוֹנָתָן**, Assy. Marduk-a-bal-iddina (Merodach has given a son), Adar-iddin and similar names.

Vol. I p. 15 (Gen. I. 14) *misrata umazzir*. Sayce (Hibbert Lectures 1887 p. 389) renders (transcribing *mizrâta yumazzir*) "appointing the signs of the Zodiac" 'Mizrata is the mazzârôth of Job XXXVIII. 32'.

\* On this Dr. Schrader writes to me (Feb. 1. 1888) as follows:—  
"A transcription *mizratu umazzir* (Hibbert Lectures 389) I consider

Vol. I p. 19, Insc. line 30 šīru ša pīnti bašlu ša tumri ul ikul is rendered by Zimmern in Babylon. Busspsalmen p. 76 "neither roast nor smoked (ša tumri sc. bašlu 'cooked') flesh shall he (the king) eat"; tumru is regarded as signifyng 'smoke', bašlu being evidently connected with the root bašālu 'to cook'. As an illustration of the above signification for tumru Zimmern cites from Nimrod-epos 44, 53 taramīma damkāru(?) ša kânāma tu-um-ri išpukaki thou lovedst also the shepherd who continually poured out (šapāku Hebr. שָׁפַךְ) before you incense" (Sayce: — smoke [of sacrifice]). The root in any case would be תמר 'mount on high', 'to be high', Assy. tamāru. — pīntu Zimmern follows Delitzsch in connecting with Hebrew פֶּחֶם 'coal' — the original form being pīntu.

Vol. I p. 28, Gen. II. 9 'tree of life'. Prof. Sayce quotes a remarkable fragment of a bilingual hymn translated by him as follows:—

1. In Eridu a stalk grew overshadowing; in a holy place did it become green;
2. its root was of white crystal which stretched towards the deep,
3. while before Ea it went, Eridu was richly fertile(?)
4. its seat was the central place of the earth etc. . . .
6. Into the heart of its holy house, which spread its shade like a forest, hath no man entered.

Prof. Sayce thinks that "it is pretty clear from the sculptures that the sacred tree of the Babylonians was the cedar, which was subsequently displaced by the palm; so that Hommel's view, which sees a palm in 'the stalk' of Eridu may still be maintained: . . . Long after the days when the hymns and magical texts of Eridu were composed the mystic virtues of the cedar were still remembered . . . 'the beloved of the great gods which their hand has caused to grow.' It was possibly the fragrance of the wood when lighted for sacrificial purposes that gave the tree its sacred character. It is possible that as time went on another tree became confounded with the original tree of life. The palm was from the earliest period characteristic of Babylonia; and while its fruit seemed to be the stay and support of life, the wine

improbable on account of the sign which is generally read as šir; but also my own transcription umassir is in my opinion not without objection and I am disposed to concur in the view of Prof. P. Haupt who in Zeitsch. für Assy., Sept. 1887, p. 271 reads mišratu umaš-šir. He refers these words to a root מצר to cut, determine, comp. mišru district [see the glossary. Haupt ibid. refers also to namšaru sword]. He does not however give any rendering of the phrase. Perhaps it should be 'the frontier-districts (courses of the stars?) he determined'."

made from it made 'glad the heart of man'. Date-wine was largely used not only in Babylonian medicine, but in the religious and magical ceremonies as well. . . In later Babylonian belief the tree of life and the tree of knowledge were one and the same. The text, which describes the initiation of a sooth-sayer, associates the cedar with 'the treasures of Anu Bel and Ea, the tablets of the gods, the delivering of the oracle of heaven and earth' — Hibbert Lectures 1887 pp. 238—242.

With Gen. II. 9 we may compare Ezek. XLVII. 12 where in the vision of the river proceeding from the temple the prophet beholds upon the banks "every kind of tree for food whose leaf withers not . . . and its fruit serves as food and its leaf for medicine" (וְעֵלְהוּ לְתֵרוּפָה). These two passages are blended in the apocalyptic vision Rev. XXII. 2. There is an interesting parallel in Jeremias, *Babyl.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* p. 93. After Nimrod's (Izdubar's) return from the spot where he was cleansed of his leprosy, Pir(Šamaš)-napištim shows the hero a plant which seems to have grown upon high trees or cliffs in the island. The name of the plant indicates its magic property — viz. šibu-iššaḥir-amīlu [iššaḥir Niphal Imperf. of ṣaḥāru, see Glossary under צָרַר lit. *to be small* — then *young*.] '(already) an old man, the man became young' (line 267). Nimrod in his joy exclaims that through its possession he would fain return to that (vigour) which he possessed in his youth lûtûr ana ša šihrijâma. No wonder that demons of the under-world longed for this divine plant and that a lion of the earth (ni'su ša kaḳḳari) robbed the hero of his priceless possession and plunged with it into the deep. Parallels from other literatures and mythologies may be suggested. Jeremias refers to the Zoroastrian plant *Hom*.

Vol. I pp. 47 foll. Gen. VII. 13 בְּעֵצִים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה on this very day. Comp. Exod. XXIV. 10 בְּעֵצִים הַשָּׁמַיִם like the very heavens. עֵצִים properly signifies 'bone' and its synonym נֶרֶם is similarly employed in 2 Kings IX. 13. To this idiomatic use we have a close parallel in the Assyrian mašku *hide, skin* hence = self e. g. I Rawl. 41, 49 (campaign of Sennacherib against Babylon) si-dir-ta pa-an maš-ki-ja šab-tu-ma "they planted [their] line of battle right in front of me" [literally, before my skin i. e. before myself]. See Prof. Lyon's *Assyrian Manual* p. 71.

Vol. I p. 120 foll. Gen. XIV. 5 רִפְאִים. In *Academy* Oct. 30. 1886 Dr. Neubauer suggests "Possibly the early inhabitants of these [Amorite Hittite] countries are also called by the general name of Rephaim, the explanation of which is not yet settled. According to the later meaning of this word in Isaiah, the Psalms and Job, it means the shades of the Sheôl; and it may be that the Rapha represented a divinity of

the shades from which a plural Rephaim has been formed similar to Elohim; at all events the words Repha-el (1 Chron. XXVI. 7) and Repha-yah (ibid. III. 21 etc.), and the later use of Raphael as the name of an angel, would in some respects confirm my supposition. I would venture to explain also from this name of Rapha the word Teraphim (Gen. XXX. 19. 34; 1 Sam. XIX, 13, 16 and elsewhere) which perhaps represented the *manes*; and if so, it would prove the existence of ancestor-worship among the Canaanitish tribes." In the following no. of the Academy (Nov. 6) Prof. Sayce supports the above views: — "The Assyrian inscriptions strikingly confirm Dr. Neubauer's brilliant explanation of the Teraphim despite the Masoretic vocalization of the word. The Assyrians had a verb rapû 'to be weak' corresponding to the Heb. רַפָּה. From this was formed the word tarpu (i. e. tarapu) which signified 'feeble' or 'departed' (Acadian dimma or dimme) and then a ghost or more exactly an inhabitant of Hades. That rappu could be used in the same sense as tarpu is shown by the fact that the ideogram which denotes a spectre has the value of rap. We thus have an explanation of the Hebrew Rephaim. They are "the departed" great ones, who like ancient heroes of the Babylonian mythology sat on their shadowy thrones in Hades or else represented the historic populations of the Semitic world."

Prof. Sayce remarks in another place:— "Military expeditions to the distant West were not the unlikely events they were once supposed to be. Long before the age of Abraham, Sargon of Akkad had set up his image on the shores of the Mediterranean and had even crossed over into Cyprus, while a cylinder containing the name of his son, Naram-Sin, was found by General di Cesnola at Kurion."

Gen. XVII. 1 אֲנִי אֶל שָׂדֵי. An attempt has been made by Fried. Delitzsch with much ingenuity to connect the name שָׂדֵי with the Assy. šadû 'to be high' and šadû 'mountain', the compound name אֶל שָׂדֵי being compared with such proper names as Ilu-šadûa or Bil-šadûa 'God is my rock (or mountain)'. Similarly, since šadû meant really 'rising', 'height' and šad (šadi) ūru meant 'rising of the light' or 'day-break', we have in this phrase an explanation of the Hebrew proper name שָׂדֵי אֶרֶץ (Proleg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterb. p. 96). The latter admits, however, of a more satisfactory explanation by combining the first portion with the root שָׂדָה which appears in Aramaic as שָׂדָה, שָׂדָה 'to throw' — the name would therefore signify 'light- or fire-thrower'. Moreover in Eccles. II. 8 occurs the form שָׂדָה usually rendered 'mistress', but which Delitzsch (ibid. p. 97) refers to the Assyrian root šadâdu 'to love'; the noun šudâdu being used as synon. of râ'imu 'lover', while našaddu

'favourite', 'darling' is employed instead of the alternating expression *narâmu* or *naramtu* (so also Haupt in glossary, Germ. ed. sub voce *שָׂדֶה*). He would therefore translate *שָׂדֶה* 'beloved one'. But it is safer to resist so attractive an hypothesis since (1) Hebrew itself with the verb *שָׂדָה* 'to be powerful, violent', hence 'to destroy', corresponding to the Arabic root *سَدَّ*, furnishes an adequate explanation of *שָׂדֶה* the termination in proper names being explained as in Olsh. § 217 a. — *שָׂדָה*, Assy. *šîdû*, Syriac *ܫܝܕܘܢ* (= N. T. *δαμωωρ, δαιμωνιον*, comp. Canon Driver in Expositor 1885 p. 296) would then be referable to the collateral root *سَدَّ*, *שָׂדָה*, like *שָׂדָה*, from *שָׂדָה*: *שָׂדָה* on the other hand might be either connected with *שָׂדָה*, or, more probably, with *שָׂדָה* (comp. *צִיצִים* and *צִיצִים*, *סָנִים* and *סָנִים* Olshausen § 83 c) and with its signification 'mistress' might be taken as a feminine counterpart to *בַּעַל* (= *בַּעַלְתָּ הַבַּיִת* 1 Ki. XVII. 17). (2) Halévy in *Zeitsch. für Assy.* 1885 p. 405 foll.\* and Jensen (*Zeitschr. für Assy.* 1886 p. 251) doubt whether *šadû* in Assy. signifies 'to be high' — Nöldeke, in *Zeitschr. der Deutsch. Morgenländ. Gesellschaft* 1886, impugns the massoretic punctuation *שָׂדֶה* which he ascribes to the tradition which resolved the form into *יש + די* (= *יֵשׁ אֱשֶׁר*), just as *שָׂדָה* was taken as = *שָׂ + לוֹ* in Gen. XLIX. 10. Hence the rendering *ὁ ἰκαρός* or *ἀντάραχος*. Nöldeke considers "that the actual pronunciation was *שָׂדֶה* or *שָׂדֶה* which naturally enough in later times became repugnant to the feelings of the Jew."

Vol. I p. 127, Gen. XIX. 38. The geographical terms (*ir*) *Bit-Ammâna* or (*mât*) *Bit-Ammâna* clearly indicate that *Ammân* or *Ammôn* (*עַמּוֹן*) was a deity.\*\* Sometimes the name for the deity

\* Halévy thinks *šadû* means 'to throw', 'project', 'extend', Aram. *שָׂדָה*, Arab. *سَدَّ*.

\*\* With this we may compare the use of *בֵּית יְהוָה* in Hosea VIII. 1 and *בֵּיתִי* in chap. IX. 15. The term *בֵּית* expressed the land and the people who dwell in it combined in one notion. (Comp. Exod. XX. 2 where Egypt is designated *בֵּית עֶבְרָיִם*). Prof. Cheyne (*Camb. Bible for Schools, Hosea*) thinks my comparison of Assyrian obscures the beauty of the figure. It is quite true that, according to the dominating idea of Hosea's oracles, Jehovah's house is the bride-groom's house, but it is clear from the context in the two passages cited (and from the parallels) that to the mind of a Hebrew the phrase *בֵּית יְהוָה* must

assumes the shorter form Ammî (עמי). Thus in Rassam's fragments, quoted in Delitzsch Parad. p. 294, we have a king belonging to the time of Asurbanipal Am-mi-na-ad-bi (עמינרבי Exod. VI. 23. 1 Chron. VI. 7). Other analogous compound names, such as Ammî-shaddai and Ammî-êl, may be found in the Hebrew Lexicon. The last case is interesting as we have the same elements inverted in Eliam (2 Sam. XI. 3). Dr. Neubauer has pointed out that we have the same name for deity in Jeroboam. Prof. Sayce observes that the "mother of Rehoboam was an Ammonitess, and Rehoboam is formed exactly like Rehob-iah (1 Chron. XXIII. 17) just as Jekam-'am (1 Chron. XXIII. 19) is formed like Jekam-iah (1 Chron. II. 41)."

Exod. XXVI. 31. פֶּרֶכֶת *curtain* (before the Holy of Holies). In Assyrian also we have a word from the same root פֶּרֶךְ viz. parakku signifying *shrine*. Thus Nabonidus invoking the god Šamaš says V Rawl. 64 col. III. 13 ana l'babbara bît naramika ina iribika 14. parakkaka darû ina ramîka "when thou enterest l'babbara thy beloved house, 14. when thou dwellest in thine eternal shrine." Parakku meant the inner shrine or *adytum*. Comp. Sayce, Hibbert Lectures p. 64.

Vol. I p. 142. Exod. XXVIII. 41 וּמָלְאָהָ אֶת־יָדָם *and thou shalt invest them* (i. e. with the priesthood) *lit.* 'fill their hand'. In Assyrian we meet with the same idiom I Rawl. 35 No. 3, 4 ša Ašur malkût la šanân umallû kâtušu 'whom Ašur has invested (lit. filled his hand) with rule without equal'. (Fried. Delitzsch, Proleg. eines neuen Hebr.-Aram. Wörterb. p. 48.) Comp. Vol. I p. 204 (line 2 of inscription there quoted).

Deut. VIII. 15 צוֹר הַחֲלָמִישׁ. There seems to be a close etymological connection between this word הַחֲלָמִישׁ, designating a hard stone and the Assyrian ilmîšu signifying apparently 'diamond' IV Rawl. 68, 33 c uûr ša ilmîši ina pân Ašuraḥiddina ušanamara "diamond-light will I cause to shine (Shaf. Impf. II namâru to shine) before Asarhaddon." — Fr. Delitzsch *ibid.* p. 86 footu.

Deut. XX. 19. 20. The prevalent custom of cutting down fruit trees round a besieged town is here forbidden. Other Semitic nations frequently resorted to this practice in warfare. Prof. Robertson Smith (O. T. in Jewish Ch. p. 368) remarks that "in Arabic warfare the

have also meant Israel's land, viz. Canaan, and that the prophet was thinking of an Assyrian invasion and prospective exile. Comp. Canon Cheyne's own note on Hos. IX. 15, and the commentaries of Nowack and Wünsche on Hosea, and lastly W. R. Smith, 'Prophets of Israel' p. 170 foll. and 'Old Testament and the Jewish Church' p. 355 foll.



destruction of an enemy's palm-groves is a favourite exploit." Similarly Tiglath-Pileser II in describing his operations against Chinner (II Rawl. 67, 23. 24) says:— 24. *ḳiri iṣ musuḳḳani ša diḥ dūrišu akisma ištīn ul izib.* 24. "The plantations of palm which were close to his fortress I cut down, a single one did I not leave" (see Vol. I p. 226). With this, moreover, we may compare the policy recommended by Elisha to Israel in the war against Moab 2 Kings III. 19.

Deut. XXXII. 41. 'If I have whetted my glittering sword' (בִּרְקָהּ lightning of my sword). Fried. Delitzsch observes that the Babylonian script represents the notion 'lightning' (*birḳu*) and 'sword' (*namṣaru*) by the same ideogram. (*Zeitsch. für Keilschriftforschung* 1885 p. 387). Comp. Nah. III. 3, Hab. III. 11.

Josh. XV. 59. בֵּית עֵנָה a town in Judah. Comp. also בֵּית עֵנָה in the tribe of Naphtali Josh. XIX. 38, Judg. I. 33 mentioned along with בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ as places in which the Canaanite was permitted to remain. These places seem to have been devoted to the cultus of the Semitic deity Anat. Prof. Sayce (*Hibbert Lectures* 1887 p. 187) reminds us that in the annals of Thothmes III (circ. 1580 B. C.) mention is made of one of these towns called Beth Anath. Anat was the Semitic feminine counterpart of the Semitic supreme god of Heaven, Anu (of pre-Semitic origin). Anat, in contradistinction to Anu 'Heaven', designated the Earth; comp. the list III Rawl. 69 No. 1 (*Fritz Hommel, Semitische Völker und Sprachen* p. 373). Probably Shémesh among the Canaanites (Babyl. Šamaš) took the place of Anu as the male counterpart of Anat, while Ashtoreth (Babyl. Ištar) was the companion-goddess of Baal, the Canaanite deity. It is important in this connexion to observe that among the ancient Babylonians themselves Anu and Šamaš were blended together (see Zimmern, *Busspsalmen* p. 60). Is it possible, however, to connect the אָן in בֵּית-אָן with the Babylonian Anu? And can the Aegyptian Ān (*Georg Ebers, Durch Gosen* p. 507) be similarly combined? (The interchange of ע (ע) and א in Semitic languages presents no difficulty. Respecting Aegyptian and Semitic see examples in Hommel, *Semit Völker. Nachträge* p. 440).

2 Kings V. 10. *Go and wash seven times in the Jordan.* Similarly washing the person is prescribed as a final process in connection with leprosy in Levit. XIV. 8. 9. With this we may compare the following passage, descriptive of Nimrod's (Izdubar's) cure from leprosy, cited in *Jeremias, Vorstellungen vom Leben* etc. p. 90 from the Nimrod-epic lines 225 foll. in which Pir (or Šamaš)-napištim with a view to Nimrod's recovery directs his servant Arad-Ea in the following words:—

amīlu ša tallika panāsu iktasû malû pagarsû  
maškû uḳtattû dumuḳ šīrišu

liḳiṣuma Arad-Ŷa ana namsi bilṣuma

malīṣu ina mī kima illi limsī

liddi maṣkiṣuma libil tāmtum ṭabu lu ṣa-pu zumurṣu

"The man before whom thou hast gone is covered (Ifte. Impf.

כסה) in his body with leprosy,

Leprous-skin has destroyed the beauty of his flesh;

Arad-Ea, take him, bring him to the place of washing,

His leprosy let him in water wash-clean (Prec. Kal כסא) like snow,

Let him shed (Prec. נדה) his leprous-skin, let the sea carry it

away (Pecat. ובל), fair may his body appear" (ṣapū

comp. Heb. צפה).

The following lines refer to the garments which are to be renewed for the hero to serve for his return-journey (comp. Levit. XIII. 52 foll.).

The success of the cleansing is stated in the lines 237 foll. :

maliṣu ina mī kima illi imsi

iddi maṣkiṣuma ubil tāmtum ṭabu iṣṣapī zumurṣu.

His leprosy in water like snow he washed clean,

shed his leprous-skin, the sea carried it away, fair appeared

(Nifal) his body.

Vol. I p. 273 line 12 from above. From an article by Dr. Hayes Ward in Hebraïca for January 1886 we may conclude that there is some reason to expect that the Sipar of Anunit is to be identified with Anbar, a ruined site of very considerable extent about a mile from the present bed of the Euphrates. "It is a double city" says the writer "and the principal or apparently older city is surrounded by walls from 30 to 50 feet high . . . To the East of this city and its wall is another on a lower level, separated from the first by what seems to have been a canal or moat." It is possible that this is the actual Sepharvaim or Double-Sipar of Scripture. A fragment of a tablet obtained by Dr. Ward exhibits a portion of the Sumirian column of a bilingual inscription read by Mr. Pinches as follows

Sipar D. P. (? Anunit)

Sipar ídina D. P.

Sipar uldua D. P.

Sipar utu D. P.

which leads us to infer that there were not two but four districts or cities called Sipar, the last being the Sippara of Šamaš (Sumirian utu = Šamaš) identified by Mr. Rassam with Abu Habba. Sipar ídina (Sipar of the plain; see Vol. I pp. 26. 27) will prove of some importance as a clue to the geographical position of Eden discussed in Prof. Delitzsch's interesting monograph on the Site of Paradise.

Halévy in Zeitsch. für Assyriol. 1887 p. 401 combines ספרנים with סברנים in Ezek. XLVII. 16 situated between Hamath and Damascus

and which is the town of Šabara'in destroyed by Salmanassar IV. But this identification ספרים = סברים is arbitrary since (1) The absence of monumental evidence of a destruction of Sippara by a predecessor of Sennacherib is not conclusive proof that no such conquest ever took place. It may well have been accomplished in the year 721 by Sargon (see Vol. I pp. 268 foll., 273 foll.; Vol. II p. 9 foll.). (2) In 2 Kings XVII. 30. 31 Sepharvaim is connected not only with Hamath, but also with Babylon and Cuth (where Nergal was worshipped). [Compare also respecting Šabara'in or Šamara'in II. Winckler in Zeitsch. für Assy. 1888 No. 1. — Schr.]

Isaiah X. 18 פָּנֹחֵם נִסֵּם. The root נסם has been usually been connected, as in the 10<sup>th</sup> ed. of Gesenius' Lexicon, with the Syriac ܦܢܘܚܐ *ill*, ܦܢܘܚܐ *weak* and Canon Cheyne follows the traditional interpretation 'like a sick man's pining away' but in the 'Critical notes' (Vol. II p. 145) looks upon the phrase with suspicion. Fried. Delitzsch suggests that the root should be connected with the Assyrian nasâsu 'weep', 'lament'. We should therefore render 'like the pining away of a mourner'. The idea would be parallel to that of Is. XXIV. 4; XXXIII. 9. Amos I. 2 (Prolegg. p. 64).

Vol. II pp. 79. 80. Comp. Vol. II p. 156 and also Jeremias, Die Babylon.-Assyr. Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode pp. 81 foll. 109 foll. and Canon Cheyne, Expositor, Jan. 1888 p. 22 foll.

Isaiah XXXIV. 14. לִילִית *Lilith*. In one of the magical formulae quoted by Fritz Hommel (Vorsemit. Kulturen p. 367) occurs the phrase

"The (male) Lilla, the (female) Lilla, the maid of Lilla".\*

Lilith, or in Babylonian lilātu (or lilitu), is the Semitic form of this demon which is placed in this incantation in juxta-position with the pest-demon Nam-tar. According to Prof. Sayce (Hibbert Lectures 1887 p. 145 foll.) Lilatu was confounded with the Semitic lilatu 'night' and so "became a word of terror denoting the night-demon who sucked the blood of her sleeping victims." Consult Canon Cheyne's Commentary ad loc.

Isaiah XLI. 18 מוֹצְאֵי מַיִם. I have already in another place (Expositor Dec. 1886, p. 479 foll.) called attention to the fact that Assyrian seems to corroborate the rendering ἰδρυαγωγοί 'water-channels' given by the LXX. "In the parallel passage contained in the later appendix to Psalm CVII (evidently based on this utterance by the Deutero-Isaiah) מוֹצְאֵי מַיִם is translated by δειξέσθαι while in 2 Kings II. 21 the same Greek equivalent is used. It is also the term employed to render the פְּלִגֵּי מַיִם of Ps. I. 3." While the LXX, however, render thus in all cases except Is. LVIII. 11, the Aramaic versions (Targum and Syriac)

\* Prof. Sayce reads "The lilu, the lilat, the hand-maid of lilu."

give as their equivalents מפקנא רמיה or מפקנא (Syr. . . . מִפְקַנָּא or مَفْكِنَا). This may have been partly due to the fact that in Is. XXXV. 7 we have a parallel passage in many respects analogous to this and to Ps. CVII. 33 foll. In Isaiah XXXV. 7 מְבוֹעֵי מַיִם stands in place of מוֹצְאֵי מַיִם. But we have no more right to take the two phrases as synonymous than to assume a like equivalence for מְדַבֵּר and שָׁרַב because the one takes the place of the other in the parallel passages referred to, — Now the older tradition, preserved in the LXX, appears to be confirmed by the usage in Babylono-Assyrian. Of this two examples will be given and it is to be noted that they are taken from the Babylonian of Nebucadnezzar. Thus in an inscription of Nebucadnezzar, describing the restoration of the temple of Borsippa and the ruinous state in which the building existed prior to that restoration, there occurs the phrase col. I. 32 la šutíšuru mûši mîša 'there was no regulation of its water-gutters' (or water-drains). Comp. Vol. I p. 109 and Dr. Schrader's comment. on p. 111. Also in another inscription of Nebucadnezzar (on a cylinder) published by H. Winckler in the Zeitsch. für Assyriologie April 1887 p. 126 foll., in a minute description of a splendid edifice erected by the monarch we are told col. I. 25 nâr mu-ši mí-í-šu as-ni-iḫ-šu 26 ina ku-up-ru u a-gu-ur-ru 27. ab-na-a su-uḫ-ki-šu col. II. 1 aš-šum ina nâr mu-ši-í mí-í-ša . . . . 4 la í-ri-bi 5 ina pa-ar-zi-il-lum í-lum-tim aš-ba-at mu-ša-a-šu i. e. col. I. 25 "a water-channel I affixed to it 26 with bitumen and tiles I built its bed col. II. 1. In order that into its water-channel . . . . . 4 might not enter, 5. I surrounded its channel with polished (gleaming) iron." In both these passages the context indicates that mûšu does not simply mean 'out-flow' but bears the specialized signification of 'channel', 'watercourse'. Further citations from the Hebrew text tend to establish the meaning proposed for the phrase which we have seen to be common to both languages. In the Siloam-inscription (see Gesenius, Hebr. Grammar ed. Kautzsch p. 377) there occurs the passage וילכו המים מן המוצא אל הברכה "and the water flowed from the channel into the pool [along a distance of 1200 cubits]." Here ofcourse the ordinary rendering given to מוצא is "spring." It is adopted by Prof. Sayce, and certainly gives a perfectly intelligible meaning. But let us compare this passage with 2 Chron. XXXII. 20 "Likewise it was Hezekiah who stopped up the upper water-channel of the Gihôn (מוצא מימי גיחון העליון) and guided the waters straight downwards to the West of the city of David". Prof. Sayce in his discussion about the Siloam inscription in "Fresh Light from the Ancient monuments" p. 103 cites this very verse and there translates by "upper water-course." Indeed, the interpretation

“upper spring” involves us in topographical as well as exegetical difficulties since, as he says, there was only *one* natural source, the Virgin’s spring near to Jerusalem and sufficient to satisfy the conditions of the problem. And this rendering is confirmed by a comparison of the following passages viz. 2 Kings XX. 20, Is. VII. 3, XXXVI. 2 (see also Is. XXII. 9. 11), from which it is evident that the word מוֹצָא is used by the Chronicler as the equivalent of הַעֲלָה in the earlier records. We may also infer that the upper conduit led to the upper pool (בְּרֶכֶת) mentioned by Isaiah and the lower conduit to the lower pool, both being supplied from the same source viz. the Virgin’s spring. — The use of מוֹצָאֵי מַיִם as ‘water-channels’ employed in irrigation would thus stand parallel with similar terms in Is. XLIV. 4, Ezek. XXXI. 4 (תְּעֹלְהֵיהֶן). The Vulgate in its rendering hovers between *fontes* and *rivi aquarum*. On the use of מוֹצָא as material object or instrument consult Stade, Heb. Gram. §§ 268—9.

Isaiah LIII; Is. XXV. 8; Hos. XIII. 14. In the Proceedings of the Soc. of Biblical Archaeology Jan. 1885, Mr. Pinches draws attention to a remarkable text in Rawl. IV, pl. 61 No. 2, which appears to indicate that the ancient Babylonians (perhaps 3000 B. C.) had conceptions which might be called Messianic. “It begins with the reflections of some ancient hero, who looking on the land and the people around him, saw on all sides nothing but evil. The ruler (as it seems) broke off prayer and discontinued supplication, did not teach his people reverence and honour, and did not himself call upon God. He, however, the speaker, was wise: the day for the worship of the gods was the delight of his heart, and the prayer of a king — that was joy. The writer goes on for several lines in the same strain and speaks of one who had learned the glorious path of the god”

i-ka-a-ma il-ma-da a-lak-ti ili a-pa-a-ti  
ša ina a-m-mat ib-lu-ṭu i-mut ud-di-iš.

How did he learn the path of god glorious,  
who in the world lived, died, renewed?

ikâma perhaps another form of akî ‘like’ (= kî) with suffixed ma. The meaning, though not quite certain, is clearly that of an interrog. particle [? Kal Impf. הַכֵּם]. — alakti constr. state of alaktu ‘path’ from alâku ‘to go’. — âpâti fem. constr. of âpû (not found) ‘to shine forth brightly’ probably connected with the root of šûpû (Shaf.) ‘to cause to shine forth’ and with יפֵה and יפע. âpâti agrees with âlakti. — ammât (for ammatu — one of the peculiarities of this text being the omission of the terminations in one or two cases). This word occurs with the meaning ‘earth’ on the first creation-tablet. — ibluṭu aorist [Imperf.] Kal of balâṭu ‘to live’ Hebr. פָּלַט. — imût

aor. Kal of *mâtû*, to die Hebr. מוֹת. — *uddiš* aor. Pael of *âdâšû* 'to be new' Heb. שִׁחַרְחַרְתָּ.

The writer then seems to speak of some misfortune which overtook himself; his goddess had not mercy on him and did not go by his side. But suddenly his tone changes

pi-ti ki-maḥ ir-šu-u šu-ka-nu-u-a  
a-di la mi-tu-ti-i-ma bi-ki-ti gam-rat\*

Open the great place, they have my pardon(?)  
until not death be and weeping be ended.

*Pitî* imperat of *patû* or *pitû*, to open, Hebr. פָּתַח. — *Kimah* (or *Kimahḥa* accusat.) a compound word from the Accadian *ki* 'place' and *maḥ* 'supreme', 'great'\*\* (= high place). — *iršu* 3 pers. plur. aor. Kal of *rašû* 'have', 'possess' Aram. רָשַׁף [also with meaning 'grant' according to glossary under רָשַׁף]. — *šukanû* a apparently noun from the *Shafel* of the root *kanû* (Heb. כָּנָה) with the suffixed pron. -a 'my'. Both the meaning and derivation of *šukanû* are, however, doubtful. — *mîtuṭîma*. This word comes from *mîtu* 'death' (*mâtû* Heb. מוֹת) with the lengthening *i* and the suffix -ma 'and'. — *bikîti* "weeping" from *bakû* 'to weep' Heb. בָּכָה. — *gamrat* 3 pers. fem. sing. permans. Kal of *gamâru* 'to complete', 'put an end to', Hebr. גָּמַר.

"After a few more lines the tablet comes to an end. This was considered by the Assyrians or Babylonians important enough to have a kind of running glossary in which all the difficult or unusual words are explained by others better known."

The above details are quoted from the article by Mr. Pinches in the Proc. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch. and also from a private communication from him to myself (Febr. 1888) in which the writer makes the following reservation "Whether, when I have made out the full meaning of the context the signification of the passages will be greatly

\* In IV Rawl. 19. 11 b Marduk is called *bîlu rîmu ša mîti bulluṭu irâmu* "merciful lord, who loves giving life to the dead" IV Rawl. 29 No. 1 Rev. *attama muballiṭ [mîti] attama mušallim[u] rîmînu ina ilâni* "Thou givest life to [the dead], thou the giver of peace, merciful among the gods" and also in another passage *rîmînu ša bulluṭu bašu ittišu* "the merciful with whom is the summoning-to-life". The same thing is said of *Nebo murrik* (= *mu'ar-rik* (Piel Partic. אָרַךְ) *umi muballiṭ mîti* "thou who prolongest days, givest life to the dead", see *Jeremias, Vorstellungen* p. 101; *Zeitsch. für Assyriol.* 1886 p. 206.

\*\* Or should we read in *Semitic Assyrio-Babylonian ašra rabâ?*

modified or not, I cannot say. The meaning of the passages in question is fairly certain, and what further researches I have made only tend to confirm the rendering."

Vol. II p. 120 Ezek. VIII. 14. 'And behold there the women were sitting bewailing Tammuz', comp. Zech. XII. 11 (Vol. II p. 154), comp. also Amos VIII. 10 and Jer. XXII. 18. Prof. Sayce cites the Greek parallels in Hibbert Lectures p. 228. With this we may compare the following difficult passage in the Descent of Istar lines 132 foll.

ik-rim a-ḫi-ša taš-mí tam-ḫa-aṣ (ilu) Til(Bi?)-li-li šu-tar-ta ša  
 \* \* \* \*  
 a-ḫi í-du la ta-ḫab-bil-an-[ni]  
 ina ū-mí (ilu) Dumuzi íl-la-an-ni\* gibu ukni šimir santi  
 it-ti-šu íl-la-an-ni  
 it-ti-šu íl-la-an-ni íninî(?)u íninâti(?)

I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Pinches for these last two lines and their interpretation which is appended below. The last line in the poem is not quoted on account of its obscurity.

"The goddess Tillili (Bílili) heard of her brother's death, broke the jewelled circlet (so Sayce) . . . .  
 . . . (saying) my only brother, let me not perish.

On the day when they bring up Tammuz to me, a circlet of uknû a ring of santi with him they shall bring up to me,

With him they shall bring up to me the male and female mourners". By uknû we are to understand "a stone mottled blue and white — a kind of *lapis lazuli* with white marks in it, if we may trust an inscription on a disc of this stone, which a dealer has now for sale" (Pinches). This passage evidently contains a reference to the death of the 'bridegroom of Istar', Tammuz, for whom mourning is made.

Vol. II p. 124 foll. Consult the suggestive articles of Prof. Fuller on the "Book of Daniel in the light of recent discoveries" (Expositor, March and June 1885). He draws attention to a tablet published by Mr. Pinches in Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch. VII. 210 from which it is inferred that Nebucadnezzar twice attacked Egypt. Prof. Fuller ingeniously conjectures that Nebucadnezzar's golden image in Dura was suggested to the Babylonian monarch, during his campaign in Aegypt in 572, by

\* The interpretation of this word is very doubtful. Mr. Pinches translates it "bring-up-to me" (making Dumuzi the object) from ílû *rise* used also in a transitive sense. Perhaps we ought to translate with Prof. Sayce 'Tammuz bound on me a ring etc.' íllanui being the Kal 3 sing. Aorist-Imperf. (for ílulanni) of alâlu 'to bind' (comp. subst. allu 'chain'). A new sentence will then begin with íninî. — šimir stat. constr. of šimiru 'ring'.

the colossus of Rameses at Tanis. — On the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, see Budge's *Babylonian Life and History* p. 79 foll.

Vol. II p. 155 foll. The Hebrew poetry of the Old Testament forms only a very small portion of an ancient Semitic treasure of poesy and song secular as well as religious, dramatic and lyric as well as didactic, comp. Amos VI. 5, Is. XXIII. 16, Ezek. XXVI. 13 and the titles to Pss. IX, XXII, XLV, LVI, LVII, LX. That the Canaanite had epithalamia as stately as Psalm XLV and lyrical dramas as full of charm as the Song of Songs, and that his religious hymnal liturgies in honour of Baal or Ashtoreth were constructed as well as chanted in analogous forms to those which exist in the Hebrew Psalter, may be regarded as extremely probable. But, in the complete wreck of the once great and seductive civilization of Canaan and Phoenicia and the utter extinction of all its literature, we are unable, from the varied monumental records that have been discovered, to show the profoundly interesting resemblances of form which doubtless subsisted between Hebrew and ancient Canaanite poetry. Of ancient Hebrew *praexilic* poetry we possess only a slight remnant, an anthology divinely inspired, and limited by a divinely inspired principle of selection. How much has been abandoned to oblivion we can only imagine. How colossal was the destruction of North-Israelite literature we may dimly surmise from the records of overwhelming disaster and desolation befalling the Northern kingdom which are contained in the Annals of Tiglath Pileser and Sargon. If an ancient Israelite (or Ephraimite), as well as an ancient Judaeen, national literature had survived to any considerable extent and had come into our hands in forms other than through Judaeen recensions, how great would have been the gain to the Biblical and historical student! How many books and hypotheses would never have seen the light!

In default of any contemporary Semitic parallels lying nearer to the original home of Hebrew literature, the poetry of Babylono-Assyria acquires an exceptional importance. The ancient Babylono-Assyrian hymns are in a large number of instances translations from older non-Semitic Sumíro-Akkadian lays. Many of these hymns are merely formulae of incantation of which numerous examples may be found in Lenormant's *Chaldaean Magic* or in Appendix III of Prof. Sayce's recently published work. But there were liturgical songs of a more exalted character addressed to Anu, Šamaš, Ištar and Merodach of which examples are given in the above-mentioned work. We have also a certain class of hymns that are called 'Penitential Psalms', of which Dr. Zimmern has given a collection, the texts having not only the Semitic Babylonian rendering, but also the Akkadian original. Dr. Zimmern, however, considers that these psalms were originally com-

see p. 214 -



posed in Semitic Babylonian, "because, in spite of their bilingual texts, they must have proceeded from a Semitic atmosphere of thought on account of the character of the conceptions contained in them. Moreover the Assyrian is no mere interlinear version, but in forms, syntax and vocabulary belongs to the most finely developed portions of Babylonian-Assyrian literature." Without entering into so disputable a matter, it is sufficient to say that this ancient poetic literature of Babylonia shows a marked resemblance in its form to Hebrew poetry. In Babylonian hymns we see undoubted prevalence of the *parallelismus membrorum* which characterizes Old Testament poetry and in many cases it is quite possible to trace a strophical arrangement. Of parallelism we have an indubitable instance in the opening lines of the Descent of Ištar quoted in Vol. II p. 156, comp. the Creation-tablet transcribed and rendered in Vol. I p. 2 (where we find not only parallelism but apparently a strophic arrangement of six lines). The following examples will exhibit the facts in a clearer light. The first is a brief extract from a 'penitential psalm' addressed to Ištar (Zimmern pp. 34 and 42).

[akal] ul âkul bikîtum kurmatî  
 [mî' ul aštî] dîmtu maštîti  
 [libbi ul ihdi] kabittî ul immir

[food] have I not eaten, weeping was my refreshment,  
 [water have I not drunk] tears (Heb. דִּמְעָה) were my drink  
 (root שָׂרָה),  
 [my heart rejoiced (Heb. הִרְרָה) not] my disposition was not  
 bright (root namâru).

In spite of the *lacunae* in the text, the parallelism of phrase is clearly visible. The passage possesses a further interest because the expressions are identical with those of Psalm XLII. 4 הַיְסוּדָה לִי דִמְעוֹתַי לְחֶם comp. also Pss. LXXX. 6, CII. 10.

Another example will be given in Prof. Sayce's rendering:—

"My Lord in the anger of his heart has punished me,  
 God in the strength of his heart has taken me,  
 Ištar, my mother, has seized upon me and put me to grief.

God, who knoweth that I knew not, has afflicted me,  
 Ištar, my mother, who knoweth that I knew not has caused  
 darkness.

I prayed and none takes my hand,  
 I wept and none held my palm,  
 I cry aloud and there is none that will hear me,  
 I am in darkness and hiding, I dare not look up.

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To God I refer my distress, I utter my prayer,  
 The feet of Ištar, my mother, I embrace,  
 To God, who knoweth that I knew not, my prayer I utter,  
 To Ištar, my mother, who knoweth that I knew not, my prayer  
 I address."

Here both strophical arrangement and parallelism are very conspicuous. The Babylonian psalms are characterized by much repetition of phrase a feature that usually appears in all religious litanies, and is especially prominent in the Babylonian formulae of incantation. But the Psalms of the Old Testament present numerous examples of refrains and recurrent phrases e. g. Pss. XXIX, XLII, XLIII, LXXX, CXV. 9—12; CXVIII. 1—5; CXXXV. 19. 20; CXXXVI. Comp. Is. IX. 8—X. 4; Amos I. 3—II. 8. It is interesting to note that one liturgical term bearing reference to religious hymns seems to be common to Assyrian and Hebrew, the Hebrew שְׁנִיּוֹן being represented by the Assyrian šigû (both from the same root שָׁנָה), the latter signifying 'penitential psalm'.\*

The Babylonians had several kinds of musical instruments including the harp and the flute. The harp comes down from very ancient times. On a fragment of a basrelief assigned to the age of king Gudia which is to be found figured in Fritz Hommel's Hist. of Babylonia and Assyria p. 243, there is a representation of a harp with twelve strings and a musician standing by with out-stretched hand fingering the middle string.

Psalm LXXIX. 3 לְשִׁפְכוּ דַמְיָם כַּמַּיִם. *They have shed their blood like water.* This passage is analogous to the following line cited from the fragment of a penitential Psalm addressed to Ištar (Zimmern p. 74):  
 ina I-UL(?)-bar bit piristiki dami kima mi innaḡu  
 "in I-Ulbar, temple of thine oracle, blood like water is poured out"  
 (Niph. Imperf. naḡû, see Glossary נָקַי). This fragment (IV Rawl. 19, No. 3) is throughout very interesting as affording a close parallel to Ps. LXXIX. In both the historic groundwork is an invasion by a powerful foe (nakru gabšu) by whom sacred cities have been overthrown and desecrated: ina aliki rišti Uruk šumu ittaškan "in thine august city Erech desolation(?) hath been wrought"; compare Ps. LXXIX. 1.

Ps. CXVI. 9 "I will walk before the Lord in the lands of the living" similarly IV Rawl. 61, 41a ina kaḡḡar šulmi maḡraka littallak

\* So Zimmern who quotes šilatti ūmî širim u lilâtî šigû išasi "three days morning and evening he is to repeat a šigû". — ina ūmi magiri šigû ana I'a išasi "On a propitious day he shall utter a šigû to Ea." In both cases šigû is phonetically written ši(ši)-gu-u.

"in the land of peace before thee may he walk" (Ifte. precat. alâku); balat umî ruḫûti maḥarki lutallak "that I may walk before thee a life of many days" (lit. distant days). Sargou in Khorsab. 174 says aššu ṭâbu napišti umî ruḫûti nadanimma u kunnu palía na'diš akmis "in order to the well-being of my life and the bestowment of distant days and firmness of my rule, I solemnly (adv. root נָאֵד, see Glossary) bowed myself" (Kal impf. 1. pers. kamâsu), comp. Exod. XX. 12, Prov. III. 16 etc.

Job I. 1 אֶרֶץ עוּץ. Fried. Delitzsch draws attention to the phrase Sâsi mar (mât) Uš-ša-a "Sasi son of an Uzzite" occurring in line 154 of Salmanassar II's black obelisk. This land Uššu lay not far North(?) of Aleppo and also stood in connection with Patin and like the latter lay towards the Syro-Arabian desert. Parad. p. 259; Zeitsch. für Keilsch. 1885 p. 96 foll.

Job II. 11 בְּלֶדְדַּר הַשְּׁוֹהֵי. Fried. Delitzsch *ibid.* p. 91 combines שׁוּחַ with the Assyrian sūḫu (foreign שׁ represented by ס in Assyrian). This was a region which stretched from above the mouth of the Belich to the mouth of the Chabûr. It lay therefore lower down the stream than Karchemish.

Job VIII. 20 לֹא יִתְחַזֵּק בְּיַד מְרַעִים taketh not hold of the hand of evil-doers i. e. renders evil-doers no aid. The phrase יִתְחַזֵּק בְּיַד meaning to 'support' or 'assist' occurs also in Is. XLII. 13, XLII. 6. In Assyrian we have an exactly similar expression kâta šabâtu. Comp. Smith's Assurbanipal 100. 19: nirba usîbilšuma ašbat katsu "corn I caused to be brought to him (Shafel imperf. וְכַל abâlu with pron. suffix) and gave him aid" (lit. held his hand). The phrase often occurs in proper names e. g. Nabû-kâti-šabat "Nebo, take hold of my hand" = come to my aid; Bîl-kâti-šabat eponym official for 811 B. C.

Job XXII. 21 תְּבוֹאֲתֶךָ, coup. תְּבֹאֲתֶךָ, Deut. XXXIII. 16 and תְּבֹאֲרֶיךָ 1 Sam. XXV. 34. These are understood by Dillmann to be hybrid forms arising from the addition of Perfect affirmatives to the imperfect of the verb בּוֹא (comp. Ewald, Lehrbuch § 191 c). תְּבוֹאֲתֶךָ is explained as תְּבוֹאֲתָה with the suffix attached. But these are such unparalleled forms that it is much safer with Barth, Zeitsch. für Assyriol. 1887 p. 208 to assume a stem תְּבֹאֲתָ (3. sing. Perf.), and this is confirmed by the existence of an Assyrian root tibû 'to come' of which tibâ is the 3. sing. Imperf. Kal. See Glossary sub voce תְּבֹאֲתָ.

Song of Songs V. 10 דָּגוּל מְרִבְבָּה דָּגוּל מְרִבְבָּה. Fried. Delitzsch, Prolegg. p. 60 suggests the translation 'gazed at by ten thousands' and would com-

pare the Assyrian dagâlu 'to gaze upon' (with interest, affection or awe). From the same root we have dîglu 'banner' (an object of contemplation), comp. Ps. XX. 6, see Glossary sub voce דגל. This appears to be a more satisfactory interpretation than that which is based on the comparison of the Arabic سَجَلَ 'to cover' — the noun דגל banner being explained as that which covers up the pole upon which it is carried. — The truth appears to be that the original sense of the verb דגל is 'to gaze at' from which the subst. דגל designates 'banner' as being the object gazed at. In this *primary* sense the passive partic. דגול is to be understood in the above quoted passage (Song of Songs V. 10). But דגל is also to be taken as a *denominative* from the subst. דגל meaning 'bear a banner'. Thus in Song of Songs VI. 4. 10 the Niphal דגלוֹת signifies 'bannered hosts' and in Ps. XX. 6 the Kal דגל should be rendered 'bear our banner'. Fried. Delitzsch's interpretation of this last passage is very forced. Possibly we ought to read דגל (LXX).

Vol. II p. 161 foll. On the subject of Biblical chronology during the regal period the reader may also consult Geo. Smith, Assy. Eponym Canon, chaps I and VII; Samuel Sharpe, Hebrew Nation and Literature pp. 381 foll. 389 foll.; Wellhausen, Einleitung in das A. T. p. 264 foll., Prolegg. zur Gesch. Isr. (1883) p. 285 foll.; Robertson Smith, Journal of Philology X. p. 209 foll. Prophets of Israel p. 146 foll. 413 foll. and Stade, Geschichte p. 88 foll. 558 foll. As mention has been made on several occasions of Prof. Kamphausen's scheme of chronology for the Hebrew royal period, it will not be inappropriate if I subjoin it here (see Chronologie der Hebr. Könige p. 32). The bracketed dates are my own proposed alterations. I have also, consistently with ordinary usage, sometimes modified Kamphausen's dates by a year so as to make the date of the initial year of a king's reign identical with that of the final year of his predecessor.

Saul 1037—1018

David 1018—1011 (Judah), 1010—978 (over Israel and Judah)

Solomon 978—938

Rehoboam	938—921	Jeroboam I	938—916	
Abijam	921—918	Nadab	916—914	
Asa	918—877	Baasha	914—891	[914—901]
		Elah	891—890	[901—900]
		Zimri	890	[900]
		Omri	890—879	[900—875]
Jehoshaphat	877—852	Ahab	878—857	[875—853]
Jehoram	852—843	Ahaziah	856—855	[853—852]
Ahaziah	843—842	Jehoram	854—843	[852—842]

Athaliah	842—837		Jehu	842—815	
Joash	837—797		Jehoahaz	815—798	
Amaziah	797—777		Jehoash	798—782	
Azariah or Uzziah	777—736		Jeroboam II	782—741	
Jotham as regent	750—736		Zechariah, Shallum	741	
Jotham as king	736—735		Menahem	741—738	
Ahaz	735—715		Peġahjah	738—736	
Hezekiah	714—686	[726—697]	Peġah	736—730	[736—734]
Manasseh	685—641	[697—641]	Hoshea	730—722	[734—722]
Amon	641—639				
Josiah	639—608				
Jehoahaz	608				
Jehojaġim	608—597				
Jechoniah	597				
Zedekiah	597—586				

The purpose of this system of dates is to harmonize the existing Biblical Chronology with that of the Assyrian eponym canon, so as to entail as little disarrangement as possible of the numerical statements of the Books of Kings and at the same time no disturbance of the general synchronism of the Jewish and Israelite reigns and of the fabric of Judæo-Israelite Biblical history. This Dr. Kamphausen has been successful in accomplishing, chiefly because he has a wholesome respect for the integrity of Old Testament history and a wholesome scepticism towards artificial theories of "Zahlenspielererei." At the same time it must be frankly admitted that several further adjustments are necessary before the proposed chronology can be accepted as adequately harmonizing with the data of modern archaeological discovery. In order to accomplish this result I have placed on the left hand in square brackets the dates I should propose to substitute for those in Prof. Kamphausen's scheme.

It will be observed that the disturbance of the Biblical numerical statements occurs mainly in the Judæo-Israelite cross references by which the redactors fixed the relative chronology of the Israelite and Judæan kings. One single error in such a harmonistic scheme will obviously generate others. That these harmonistic Judæo-Israelite cross-references are the chief source of our chronological difficulties is shown by the fact (which Stade has already pointed out in *Geschichte Isr.* p. 558) that after 722 B. C., when we have Judæan history only to deal-with, the chronological statements are comparatively free from

difficulty.\* — Another source of divergence may have consisted in the mode in which a king's fractional closing year was reckoned. It is well known that the Biblical chronology gives us integers only, and we are justified in assuming that the final surplus fraction of a year was reckoned in the Biblical chronology as though it were a whole one. Moreover the statement of the Mishna tractate, *Rôsh Hashshana 2<sup>a</sup>*, is to be noted: "Nisan is for the kings the beginning of the year and a day in the year (after Nisan) is reckoned as a year." Whether this principle was strictly carried out in ancient Israel it is difficult to say. At any rate the above considerations render it possible for us to shorten or lengthen a reign (as stated in the O. T.) to the extent of nearly one year without traversing the accuracy of the Biblical statement.

In the dates for the Judæan kings, I have very few modifications to suggest. The year 715 assigned by Kamphausen to the death of Aḥaz is recommended by the consideration that it affords a clue to the foreign policy of Judah during the siege of Samaria. This can hardly have been anything else but one of friendly neutrality towards Assyria and such an attitude is best explained by the assumption that Aḥaz, who was a steadfast ally of Assyria, still controlled the policy of the Southern kingdom. With the death of that monarch the policy of Isaiah became ascendant and involved resistance to the encroachments of the Ninivite power. Moreover, I believe that we may with good reason assume that in the year 726 Hezekiah was associated with his father in the kingdom. Does Isaiah scornfully allude to this in Chap. III, 4, 12? At all events the above assumption agrees better with the Biblical statement respecting the contemporary reigns of Hezekiah and Hoshea (comp. also superscription to Hosea's oracles) while it dispenses with the necessity, to which Kamphausen is driven, of shortening the reign of Manasseh. For the reasons above stated it is safer to assume the correctness of the numerical statements in the Bible after the overthrow of Samaria. At the same time, if we place the death of Aḥaz and the beginning of Hezekiah's *sole* reign in 715, the difficulties involved in 2 Kings XVIII. 13 (Vol. II pp. 6, 165 and footn.) disappear. From 2 Kings XV. 5 we know that Jotham reigned during the life-time of his parent. The theory of conjoint reigns was recog-

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\* Doubtless the Judæan chroniclers would have information less complete respecting the annals of the North-Israelite kings, more especially on account of the enormous destruction and wholesale deportations of inhabitants which took place during the reigns of Tiglath Pileser, Salmanassar and Sargon in the Northern kingdom. The perplexing confusion which occurs in Judæo-Israelite chronology precisely at this point is very noticeable.

nized by the late Mr. Samuel Sharpe as a very reasonable mode of avoiding the difficulties created by the apparently undue length of time occupied by the successive reigns of both Judæan and Israelite monarchs (comp. Stade, *Gesch. Isr.* p. 559). But this method was carried by him to excess. See also 'Additions and Corrections' to Vol. II. p. XV.

Among the modifications which I have proposed in the scheme of Prof. Kamphausen it will be observed that a much longer reign has been assigned to Omri. This has been effected by sacrificing the length of the reign of Baasha to the extent of about 10 years. The reign of Ahab must have extended to at least 853 B. C., for we know from Salmanassar II's monolith-inscription that Ahab's troops were involved in the overthrow of the Battle of *Ḳarḳar*. At that time Ahab was in alliance with the Syrian monarch (1 Kings XX. 34), probably owing to a common fear of the growing power of Salmanassar II. But the overthrow of Benhadad (= Hadadidri = Hadadezer) in that battle and the apprehension of a like disaster from the colossus of the East impelled Ahab to an altogether different policy (comp. Vol. I pp. 189—190 and also Prof. Francis Brown, 'Assyriology, its Use and Abuse' pp. 53—62); and this involved him speedily in war with his former ally.

The extension of the period of Omri's rule to at least 25 years is rendered highly probable by the fresh collation of the Stone of Mesha by Professors Smend and Socin. In lines 7. 8 we read

7 וירש עמרי את כל אר

8 ן מהדבא וישב בה ימה וחצי ימי בנה ארבען שת

Adopting the most natural construction, which takes Omri as subject throughout, we render "And Omri took possession of all the land of Mehdeba and dwelt in it during his days and half the days of his son forty years." At first sight it would appear as though Ahab was associated with Omri during the last portion of the latter's reign which would thus extend to forty years. But this supposition, though quite possible, does not harmonize well with the express statement that precedes in line 6 "and his son succeeded to him (ויהלפה) and said 'I will oppress Moab'", and it would therefore be safer to understand the last clause ורצו ונו as referring to the separate reign of Ahab during a part of which Israel still occupied Mehdeba, as in the time of Omri. Again, in lines 4—5 we read

4 עמר

5 י מלך ישראל \* ויענו את מאב ימן רבן

\* I take this to be an Imperf. sing. ending in ן. This is made nearly certain by the form (line 6) אענו 'I will oppress' (Moab); comp. Hebr. ענו.

“Omri was king of Israel and oppressed Moab many days”.

From these passages we infer (1) that Omri's reign extended over a long period and (2) that Ahab's reign and Omri's considerably exceeded forty years in duration. (It is not necessary to take מְצַי as an exact mathematical expression.) This inference respecting Omri's reign is confirmed by notices extraneous to the fragmentary annals contained in the Books of Kings. From these notices it is easy to see that his rule was marked by energetic administration and produced so deep an impression outside the limits of the Northern kingdom that we find a reference to him and his successor in the oracles of Micah, the prophet of the Southern kingdom 150 years later (Mic. VI. 16), while the Assyrian annals continued to designate the Northern kingdom as (mât) Bît Ĥumri or 'land of the House Omri' from the days of Salmanassar II (854) to those of Sargon (720), Jehu, though a usurper, being called Ja'ua abal Ĥumri (comp. Vol. I p. 260 ad fin.). Respecting the equivalence Ĥumri = עֲמֹרִי and the cuneiform data generally see Dr. Schrader in Vol. I pp. 179—180, also *Assyr.-Babyl. Keil.* p. 198 note 3; *Keilinsch. u. Gesch.* p. 217; *Z. D. M. G.* XXXIII p. 330.

In conclusion we commend to the reader the following historic verifications of the chronological system advocated above.

(1) In 2 Kings XIII. 5 we are told that Jehoahaz, king of Israel, was very hard pressed by the power of Syria. But the Lord sent him a 'deliverer' so that they went out from under the hand of the Syrians. This 'saviour' (מְשִׁיעַ) can have been none other than the Assyrian king Rammânirâri who created a powerful diversion by the signal overthrow wrought by him in the year 803 B. C. See the inscription quoted in Vol. I pp. 203 foll. The effects of this disaster on the Syrian states seem to have endured for some time, for we learn from verse 25 that Jehoash, the successor of Jehoahaz, was enabled to recover from Benhadad (= Mari) the cities which his father had lost. The synchronism is therefore not with Jeroboam II, as Dr. Schrader supposes p. 208, nor is the "deliverer" to be identified with Salmanassar, as G. Smith proposes in *Assyr. Eponym Canon* p. 192. The victories won by Hazael, predecessor of Benhadad, over Jehoahaz synchronize with the disturbed reign of Samsi-Rammân III (Tiele, *Bab. Assyr. Gesch.* p. 205). See Max Duncker, *Hist. of Antiq.* II. p. 258.

(2) How are we to account for the easy victories won by Jeroboam II over his Northern enemy? Syria in all probability never fully recovered from the defeat inflicted by Rammânirâri. Moreover fresh humiliations from Assyria were in store. Jeroboam, it may be assumed, followed the traditional policy inaugurated by Jehu of yielding tribute, or at least compliance, to the Assyrian king; and his annexations of territory to the North are probably to be connected with the expeditions of



Salmanassar III marked down in the List of Governors for the year 775 ana mât írini (to the Cedar-country, Phoenicia) and in 773 ana ír Dimaška (to Damascus).

(3) Amos prophesied during the reign of Jeroboam II, but never mentions the name of Assyria. This is easily to be accounted-for by the fact that during the reigns of Ašurdanilu and his successor Ašurnirâri, pestilence and internal revolt paralyzed for a time the power of Assyria, so that the empire ceased during that interval to exercise a potent influence over the politics of the Western kingdoms. On the other hand, when Hosea's prophecies were being uttered, the Assyrian power once more began its victorious and destructive career, Tiglath Pileser "the Struggler" (תִּגְלַת־פִּלְעֶזֶר) coming into repeated collision with the Palestinian states. Hence we find frequent references to Aššur in the oracles of this prophet

Vol. II p. 178 foll. On the subject of Assyrian as compared with Hebrew proper names I have no space to do more than indicate a few parallels. Among other literature the reader may be referred to Ols-hausen, Lehrbuch der Hebr. Sprache § 277; Nestle, Die Israelitischen Eigennamen nach ihrer religionsgeschichtlichen Bedeutung, and Fried. Delitzsch, Prolegomena eines neuen Hebräisch-Aramäischen Wörterbuchs p. 188 foll., as well as Prof. Schrader's statements in his Excursus, die assyrisch-babylonischen Eigennamen, in Assyr.-Babyl. Keilinschr. (1872) p. 115—167. Most of the ancient Semitic names are religious in character and this remark ofcourse includes the large number of Phoenician-Canaanite names which have been preserved on Phoenician monuments and in Assyrian transcription and which exhibit close analogies to the Old Testament proper names (see Vol. I p. 88 foll.). In both Assyrian and Hebrew-Canaanite names we often have a designation conferred on the infant soon after birth commemorating some pious wish, prayer or prophecy with reference to the child in which the name of the deity is invoked. In some cases the child's personality seems hardly present to the thoughts of the parent, but rather the parent himself as in the name Abû-ina-ikalli-lilbur (precat. labâru 'to be old') 'may the father grow old in the palace'; comp. the Hebrew אֲבִינֵעָם 'my father is darling'; or some national event may be thought-of, as in the names given by Hosea (comp. also Isaiah) to his children; comp. Nîrgal-šar-ušur, Nabû-šar-ušur "Nergal, Nebo, defend the king". Or we may have only a reverent ejaculation of pious trust Gabbî-ina-ka-tâ-šamaš "all is in the hands of Šamaš". The following brief list, which might be indefinitely prolonged, will be found suggestive :

אֲבִישׁוּר 'my father is a wall' Abu-durû 'the father is a fortress'

אֲבִינֵר (אֲבִי) 'my father is a light' Aḥu-nûru 'the brother is a light'

אָבִיָּהּ, אָבִיָּהּ, אָבִיָּהּ, אָבִיָּהּ etc.	Bīl-abûa, Šamaš-abûa 'Bel, Šamaš is my father'
נְרִיָּה, אֹרִיָּה 'Jahve is my light'	Šamaš-nûri 'Šamaš is my light'
אֱלֹהֵי עֲזָרָה 'my God is help'	} Rammân-nirârî 'Rammân is my help'
עֲזָרָה אֱלֹהֵי 'God has helped'	
עֲזָרָה אֱלֹהֵי 'God is my help'	
עֲזָרָה אֱלֹהֵי 'Jahve has helped'	
אֱלֹהֵי עֲזָרָה, אֱלֹהֵי עֲזָרָה . . . . .	Bīl-šadûa, Marduk-šadûa 'Bel, Merodach is my mountain'
עֲזָרָה אֱלֹהֵי . . . . .	Ilu-ittija 'God is with me'
אֱלֹהֵי מַלְכָּה, מַלְכָּה, מַלְכָּה . . . . .	Šamaš-malik, Nîrgal-malik, Adar-malik, Bīl-malik
אֱלֹהֵי מִדָּמִיק, מִדָּמִיק . . . . .	Bīl-mudammik, Nîrgal-mudammik 'Bel, Nergal shows favour'
יְהוָה יִרְאֶה . . . . .	Bīl-îmurani 'Bel hath seen me'
אֱלֹהֵי מִדָּמִיק 'my God is deliverance'	Nîrgal-uballit 'Nergal has preserved alive'
מִי־כִיָּהּ (הוּו) 'who is like Jahve'?	} Mannu-ki-Rammân 'Who is like Rammân?'
מִי־כִיָּהּ 'who is like God'?	
אֱלֹהֵי נָתַן, אֱלֹהֵי נָתַן 'Jahve (God) hath given'	Adar-iddin 'Adar hath given'
אֱבִי־מַלְכָּה . . . . .	Abu-malik
אֱחָזְזָה 'Jahve hath held' (= helped me)	Bīl-ka-tâ-ša-ba-t 'Bel, take the hands'

Vol. II p. 279 Glossary sub voce רָרִי. According to Haupt, Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen 1883 no. 4 p. 95, there is good reason for taking tarṣu as meaning 'reign' and ina tarṣi as 'in the reign of . . .' Apart from the fact that it is used in reference to kings or governors e. g. Monolith of Salmanassar col. II. 37 ina tarṣi Ašûr-kirbi šar (mât) Aššur and other passages, we have the same sign for ítillu 'lord', malku 'prince' and šarru 'king' as we have for tarâṣu (II Rawl. 26, 15 c, S<sup>b</sup> 130, V Rawl. 31, 64. 63 e, II Rawl. 38, 67 a, V Rawl. 16, 7 a); comp. Zeitsch. für Keilschriftforschung 1885 p. 106 and Dr. Craig in Hebraica July 1887 p. 228. tarṣu, meaning rule or reign (šarrûtu), is thus easily connected with the root-signification of tarâṣu 'guide straight', 'direct', 'put straight'. Syriac ܬܪܫܘܢ, ܬܪܫܘܢ etc.

# APPENDIX I.

## ASSYRIOLOGICAL LITERATURE.

BY PROF. EBERH. SCHRADER.

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As some of my readers may desire to examine and test for themselves the original cuneiform texts communicated in transcription in the course of the present work, or may be stimulated to pursue their studies further and obtain a more thorough acquaintance with Assyrian and Babylonian, I have thought it well to append a list of the most important grammatical and lexical publications likely to aid the student in his investigations. I have also made reference to special treatises or dissertations bearing upon the subject in hand.

### *I. FUNDAMENTAL INVESTIGATIONS.*

E. Botta, mémoire sur l'écriture Assyrienne (*Journal Asiatique* 1847); comp. the author's *Monument de Ninive* (Paris 1849. 50), tome V.

Jules Oppert, déchiffrement des inscriptions cunéiformes (tome II of the author's *Expédition en Mésopotamie*), Paris 1869. 4<sup>o</sup>.

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Edward Hincks, on the Khorsabad inscriptions. Dublin 1849. Comp. the same author's articles in *Transactions of the Royal Irish society* XXII, 1852; XXIII, 1854; in *Journal of sacred literature and biblical record* 1855. 56.

Henry Rawlinson, Babylonian text of the Behistun inscription in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* XIV, 1. 1851.

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Justus Olshausen, Prüfung des Charakters der in den assyrischen Keilinschriften enthaltenen semitischen Sprache (Abhandlungen der Königl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften belonging to the year 1864. Berlin 1865. pp. 475—496).

E. b. S c h r a d e r, die assyrisch - babylonischen Keilinschriften. Kritische Untersuchung der Grundlagen ihrer Entzifferung (Separate publication from Vol. XXVI. of the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenl. Gesellschaft*). Leipzig 1872.

*II. ON GRAMMAR.*

## A. COMPLETE TREATISES.

Jules Oppert, *Duppe lisan Assur. Éléments de la grammaire Assyrienne*. II. éd. Paris 1868.

Joachim Menant, *Manuel de la langue Assyrienne* (also with the title, *Éléments d'épigraphie Assyrienne*). I. la Syllabaire; II. la grammaire; III. choix de lectures. Paris 1880.

A. H. Sayce, *an Elementary Grammar with full syllabary and progressive reading book*. London.

—, *an Assyrian Grammar for comparative purposes*. London 1872.

D. G. Lyon, *an Assyrian Manual*. Chicago 1886.

Ernest Budge, *Assyrian Texts*. London 1880.

Theoph. G. Pinches, *Texts in the Babylonian wedge-writing*. I. London 1882. 4<sup>o</sup>.

Eb. Schrader, *der grammatische Bau (der assyrischen Sprache)*. [Part II of the work : *die Assyrisch-Babylonischen Keilinschriften*.]

Friedrich Delitzsch, *Assyrische Grammatik*, Berlin, H. Reuther (will be published in summer 1888).

— *Assyrische Lesestücke, nebst Paradigmen, Schrifttafel, Textanalysen und kleinem Wörterbuch*. 3rd ed. Leipzig 1885.

L. Abel and H. Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen. Mit Schrifttafel u. Wörterverzeichnis*. Berlin, H. Reuther (will be published in autumn 1888).

C. Bezold, *Prolegomena zu einer babylonisch-assyrischen Grammatik*. Wien 1887.

Paul Haupt, *Prolegomena to a comparative Assyrian grammar* (*Proceedings of Amer. Orient. Soc.* Oct. 1887).

Bruto Teloni, *chrestomazia Assira, con paradigmi grammaticali*. Roma-Firenze. Torino 1887.

George Smith, *the phonetic values of the cuneiform characters*. London 1871. 4<sup>o</sup>.

Eb. Schrader, *assyrisches Syllabar. Mit den Jagdinschriften Asurbanipal's*. Berlin 1880. 4<sup>o</sup>.

A. Amiaud et L. Méchineau, *tableau comparé des écritures Babyloniennes archaïques et modernes*. Paris 1887.

R. E. Brünnow, *a classified list of all simple and compound cuneiform Ideographs etc.* I. Leiden 1887. 4<sup>o</sup>.

## B. SPECIAL TREATISES.

## (1) ON PHONOLOGY.

In addition to the works or dissertations upon the above-mentioned subjects by Hincks, Rawlinson, Oppert and others we mention

Paul Haupt, Assyrian Phonology, with special reference to Hebrew, in "Hebraica" 1885, Jan. p. 175 foll.

—, Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre (phonology) [insbesondere zur Lehre von den Zischlauten], in "Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen" 1883, No. 4, p. 89 foll., 92 foll.

Eb. Schrader, über die Aussprache der Zischlaute (sibilants) im Assyrischen, in den Monatsberichten der K. Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften 1877, p. 79—95.

—, zur Frage nach der Aussprache der Zischlaute im Babylonisch-Assyrischen, in Zeitschrift für Keilschriftf. I (1884) p. 1—18; 178 f.

Fritz Hommel, über die Zischlaute im Assyrischen wie im Semitischen überhaupt, in his work Zwei Jagdinschriften Asurbanipal's, Leipzig 1879 p. 19—49.

Stan. Guyard, quelques remarques sur la prononciation et la transcription de la chuintante et de la sifflante en Assyrien, in Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung I (1884) p. 27—31.

Theoph. G. Pinches, on the consonants š, r and l, in Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Arch. 1881, Apr. 5 p. 82 foll.

J. Barth, Verschiebung der Liquiden im Assyrischen, in Zeitschr. für Assyriol. III (1888), p. 57—94.

P. Haupt, über den Halbvokal *u* im Assyrischen, in Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie II (1887) p. 259—286.

—, the Assyrian E-vowel. Baltimore (Johns Hopkins University) 1887.

F. Hommel and C. Bezold, zur Lautbestimmung von *í*, in: Zeitschrift f. Keilschriftforschung I (1884) p. 72—74.

Eb. Schrader, über den Lautwerth der Zeichen *a-a* und *i-a* im Assyrischen, in den Monatsberichten der K. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss. 1880 p. 271—284.

—, zur Aussprache der Zeichen *â* und *ia* im Assyrischen, in Zeitschr. für Assyriol. III (1888), p. 1—16.

Rich. Cull, on the expression of the soft sound of the Hebrew *y*, in Proceedings of Soc. of B. Arch. 1880, May 4, p. 62 foll.

Occasional remarks on Assyrian phonology by B. Stade, F. Philippi and others are quoted in the above-named papers.

## (2) ON INFLECTIONS, DECLENSIONS, CONJUGATIONS etc.

Edw. Hincks, specimen chapters of an Assyrian grammar, in Journ. of Roy. Asiat. Soc. N. S. II, 1866 p. 480 foll.

Theoph. G. Pinches, papers upon Assyrian grammar, I, II, in Proceedings of the Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology 1882, Nov. 7, p. 21 foll.; 1884, Jan. 8, p. 62 foll.

P. Haupt, the oldest Semitic verb-form, in Journal of R. Asiat. Soc. N. S. X p. 244—252.

G. Bertin, Notes on the Assyrian and Akkadian pronouns, in Journal of Roy. Asiat. Soc. N. S. XVII, 1.

—, the Assyrian numerals, in Transactions of Soc. of Bibl. Arch. VII, 1882 p. 370—389.

A. H. Sayce, Notes on the Assyrian numerals, in Proceedings of Soc. of Bibl. Archaeology 1882, June 6, p. 105 foll.

Theoph. G. Pinches, the Akkadian numerals in *ibid.* 111 foll.

C. F. Lehmann, über protochaldäische Zahlwörter (Proto-Chaldaean numerals), in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie I (1886) p. 222 foll.

J. Barth, das Nominalpräfix *na* im Assyrischen, in Zeitschrift für Assyriologie II, 2 (1887) p. 111 foll.

—, das semitische Perfect im Assyrischen, Zeitsch. für Assyriol. 1887, p. 375.\*

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\* [A brief notice of this important article will not be out of place. Dr. Barth endeavours to show that "The *present* forms [otherwise called 'present-Imperfect' as opposed to the 'aoristic Imperf.' *ikšud*] viz. *i-kašad* (Kal), *u-kaššad* (Pael), *u-šakšad* (Shafel) are nothing more than the *old-Semitic Perfect* كَسَدَ, كَسَّسَ, سَكَّسَ. As in Assyrian the Semitic Imperfect [i. e. aoristic impf. *ikšud* (Kal), *ukaššid* (Pael), *ušakšid* (Shaf.)] has assumed the functions of the perfect, so, on the other hand, the Semitic Perf. [i. e. the *present i-kašad* etc.] in Assyrian has passed over to the position and function of an Imperf. The two tenses have simply exchanged their usual functions. This is the more easily conceivable because in Old-Semitic there was no proper tense or time-distinction between the two forms. The single peculiarity in the Assyrian as compared with the other Semitic perfects consists in the fact that the personal pronouns appear as preformatives instead of suffixes." (It is also held that the so-called '*Permansive*' is no proper tense; see below Dr. Schrader's remarks in Appendix II.) Such a theory, if accepted, tends to overthrow the primary or Sanskrit rank of Assyrian in the Semitic family and confirms the view taken up by Fritz Hommel whereby a more isolated position is assigned to Babylon-Assyrian (see his classification Semit. Völker, p. 442, comp. also

J. F. Mc Curdy, the Semitic perfect in Assyrian, in the Actes du sixième Congrès international des Orientalistes. Deuxième partie, sect. I. Leide, E. J. Brill, 1885 p. 507 foll.

C. Bezold, eine eigenthümliche Statusconstructus-Erscheinung, in Zeitschrift für Keilschriftforschung II (1885) p. 316.

Ernst Müller, grammatische Bemerkungen zu den Annalen Asurnassirpal's, in Zeitschrift f. Assyriologie I (1886) p. 349 foll.

P. Haupt, in Die sumerischen Familiengesetze I (1879), passim.

### III. ON LEXICOGRAPHY.

Fox Talbot, Assyrian Glossary. Part I—III, in Journal of Roy. Asiat. Soc. New Ser. III, 1 foll. (1867 foll.).

Edwin Norris, Assyrian Dictionary. Part I—III. London 1868—72. 4<sup>o</sup>.

Stan. Guyard, Notes de lexicographie Assyrienne. Par. 1883.

J. N. Strassmaier, alphabetisches Verzeichniss der assyrischen und akkadischen Wörter der cuneiform inscriptions of Western Asia vol. II. Leipzig 1886. 4<sup>o</sup>.

Friedrich Delitzsch, assyrisches Wörterbuch. Lief. I. II. Leipzig 1887 ff. 4<sup>o</sup>. — Compare the treatise by the same author "The Hebrew language viewed in the light of Assyrian research." London 1883; Prolegomena eines neuen hebräisch-aramäischen Wörterbuchs zum A. T." Leipzig 1886.

Glossaries to separate Babylono-Assyrian texts or collections of texts are published by J. Oppert, H. Pognon, E. Budge, F. Delitzsch, W. Lotz, P. Haupt, T. G. Pinches, C. Bezold, D. G. Lyon, H. Zimmern, S. A. Smith, H. Winckler and by the author of this book.

Transcribed cuneiform texts, in historical arrangement and with added German translation, will be found in the work *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Uebersetzung. Bd. I. Historische Texte des altassyrischen Reichs. In Verbindung mit Dr. Abel, Dr. Bezold, Dr. Jensen, Dr. Peiser, Dr. Winckler herausgegeben von Eberh. Schrader. Berlin, H. Reuther (will be published in the autumn 1888).

pp. 16. 62) and the claims of South-Arabic are duly maintained. The extreme view of Prof. Sayce (Hibbert Lectures p. 46) "to compare Arabic and Hebrew together is like comparing Latin with modern German" will hardly commend itself. — Transl.]

## APPENDIX II.

### ON ASSYRIAN MOODS AND TENSES.

BY PROF. EB. SCHRADER.

In reference to the terms employed by the author to designate the moods and tenses of the Assyrian verb, it may be explained that

(1) The term *Imperfect* (abbreviated *Impf.*) signifies the *tense of narration*, corresponding in its *use* to the Greek *Aorist* and in its *formation* to the Hebrew Imperfect יִקְטֹל, יִכְבֵּד (Arab. يَقْتُلُ etc.). These Imperfects in Assyrian have the form iškunu, iṣbatu etc.

(2) The term *Present* is employed by the writer in common with most Assyriologists to designate the second imperfect, formed from the preceding, as in Ethiopic, by the introduction of the vowel *a* after the first radical e. g. iṣaḳal, iṣabat (iṣṣabat), iṣarak (iṣarrak), inaddin [also inaḳḳi Vol. I p. 19 inscr. line 32, see Glossary under נִקֵּי]. The form aḳḳi is the aoristic imperf. — Tr.]

(3) Another tense, also with present meaning, occurs in Assyrian under the form ṣakin (3. pers. masc.), ṣaknak(ku) (1. pers.) etc. This tense has been usually designated by Assyriologists since Edward Hincks by the name "*Permansive tense.*" In agreement with Oppert I am still unable to recognize this as an actual and special tense. Taken in connection with compound forms like ṣarraku "I am king", rištānaku, kainak etc. I am disposed to regard the former as combinations of subject and predicate, standing on the border-land between the syntactical union of a sentence and the close and intimate combination of predicate (participle or noun) and subject (pronoun) in the proper verbal tense. Compare the analogous combinations in Aramaic, more especially Biblical-Aramaic i. e. the so-called Chaldaean "Pe'il conjugation." Consult my Assyrisch-Babylonische Keilinschriften (1872) p. 266 footn. 4; 304 foll.

(4) By *Precative* (Prec.) is meant according to traditional usage the verbal form liṣṣur (root ליצור), liṣbat (root ליצבה). This arises from the prefixed preposition or rather conjunction li. Comp. Hebr. לִ, Arab. لِ, the form being analogous to those found in Arabic.

The statements made by the author in his work Assyrisch-Babylon. Keilinschriften (1872) p. 390 foll. are to be corrected and supplemented in accordance with the above.



## APPENDIX III.

CONCORDANCE OF THE PTOLEMAIC CANON, THE  
BABYLONIAN LIST OF KINGS AND THE STATEMENTS  
OF BEROSSUS.

[From Dr. Schrader's essay: Die keilinschriftliche babylonische Königsliste p. 29 (= 607) to illustrate Vol. I p. XXXII and to supplement and correct Vol. II p. 198.]

Ptolemaeus		Babylon. list of kings		Berossus	
747	Ναβονάσσαρος	?	Nabû-nâsir	. . . .	
733	Νάδιος	733	Nabû-nâdiu-zîr	2 Years	
		—	Nabû-šum-ukîn	1 M. 12 Days	
731	Χιτζηρος και Πωρος	731	Ukin-zîr	3	
		728	Pûlu	2	
726	Ἰλούαιος	726	Ulûlai	5	
721	Μαρδοκέμπαδος	721	Marduk-abal-iddina	12	
709	Ἀρκέανος	709	Šar-ukîn	5	
704	Ἀβασίλ. πρῶτ.	704	Sin-aḥ-îrba (sic!)	2	Frater Sina-cheribi
		—	Marduk-zâkir-šum	1 Month	Akises 30 Days
		—	Marduk-abal-iddina	6 Months	Marodach-Baldanus 6 Months
702	Βήλιβος	702	Bîl-ibnî (ibuš)	3	Elibus 3 Years
699	Ἀπαρανάδιος	699	Ašur-nâdin-šum	6	Asordanius . . . .
693	Ἡριγέβαλος	693	Nîrgal-ušîzib (sic!)	1	
692	Μεσησιμύροδακος	692	Mušîzib-Marduk	4	
688	Ἀβασίλ. δεύτερ.	688	Sin-aḥ-îrba (sic!)	8	
680	Ἀσαρδίνος	680	Ašur-aḥ-(iddina)	. . . .	Axerdis 8 Years?*
667	Σαοσδοίχινος	?	Šamaš-šum-(ukîu)	. . . .	Sammughes 21 Years
647	Κινηλάδαρος	?	Kandal(ann)	. . . .	Frater ejus Sardana-pallus 21 Years

\* The proof that the length of reign (8 years instead of 13), here wrongly assigned to Axerdis-Asarhaddon, arises from a transposition of the numbers for the duration of anarchy and for Asarhaddon's reign, may be read on p. 21 (= 599) footn. 3 of the above-mentioned essay of Dr. Schrader.

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