

EARLY HISTORY OF BABYLONIA.

PART II.

CONTINUED FROM VOLUME III.¹

BY GEORGE SMITH.

23 GA-SIN-²

This monarch is only known as the father of SIN-IDINNA.

24 SIN-I-DIN-NA-A, SIN-I-DIN-NA.

Sin-idinna, by the character of his legends is closely connected with Rim-agu.

INSCRIPTIONS OF SIN-IDINNA.

³ “. . . . King of Bit his King,
SIN-IDINNA the powerful man,
son of GASIN nourisher of (c.)⁴ Ur, King of Larsa,
King of Sumir and Akkad.”

⁵ “SIN-IDINNA the powerful man,
nourisher of (c.) Ur King of (c.) Larsa,
King of Sumir and Akkad,
who the old house to its place restored,
in the throne of Larsa he was firmly established,

¹ P. 20.

² The remainder of this King's name is wanting.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 3, No. IX, from Senkereh.

⁴ This letter (c.) indicates that it is the proper name of a country, while (g.) that the name is that of a god.

⁵ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 5, No. XX, from Mugheir.

powerful soldiers were committed to his hand ;
 a delightful river, the river Kibigana,
 for the use of the country he excavated,
 perennial waters giving everlasting delight
 to his city and country, he has established.

Ka-ne-nam-kar-ra-ma-ni (*g.*) UR

eldest son of BEL marching before him in war,
 to intelligent ears he has proclaimed his glory.

In (*c.*) UR his renown is established,

Bit-nā-nun-na his delight to (*g.*) UR he built."

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE, FROM SENKEREH.

"To (*g.*) SAMAS, the Lord establisher of life,
 the powerful head of heaven,
 the highest of the spirits, his King,
 SIN-IDINNA the powerful man,
 nourisher of (*c.*) UR, King of (*c.*) Larsa
 King of Sumir and Akkad, Bit-parra for his
 preservation splendidly built he raised.
 By command of (*g.*) UR and SAMAS in Bit-parra,
 and Bit-ner-gal Sin-idinna, for the glory of the spirits,
 festivals magnificently he celebrated."

At this time commences a series of dated tablets, which are of great interest, on account of the insight they give into the condition and history of Babylonia. These tablets, record sales and loans,¹ all are written in the Turanian language, but *almost all* the names are written phonetically in Semitic; they show us that the method of dating in the current years of the reigning sovereign was not then in use, the customary method on most tablets being to date from some particular event which happened in the year. A similar method of dating occurs in several passages in the Bible.²

¹ See Appendix B.

² Compare Isaiah vi. 1; xiv. 28; and xx. 1.

Some few tablets are dated in years of an era, and show us the earliest examples of the use of an era for chronological purposes.

One of these tablets in the reign of Sin-idinna has the following date:—

“(Month) Abu (in the year) when
to (*g.*) *Eri-ul-gar-ra* (bit-)ganki he built
and of gold Sin-idinna King of Larsa made.”

25 NU-UR-VUL.

Nur-vul rebuilt some of the temples at Ur, and his inscription was found near those of Kudur-mabuk and Ardu-sin. Although Nur-vul ruled after the capital was transferred from Ur to Larsa, the worship of Samas god of Larsa, had not yet advanced sufficiently to cause his name to be united with that of Ur on the contract tablets, from which I infer that Nur-vul ruled soon after the capital was changed.

INSCRIPTIONS OF NUR-VUL.

1 “To (*g.*) UR his King, NUR-VUL the powerful man,
the ruler of (*c.*) Ur, King of Larsa,
Bit-rubmah, Bit-minuni Bit-galzib to (*g.*) UR
and (*g.*) NINGAL in (*c.*) Ur he built.”

CHALDEAN CONTRACT TABLET OF THE REIGN OF NUR-VUL.

This tablet is a lease of some land for eight years, at the price of $1\frac{1}{2}$ manehs of silver. The parties to the contract we are told, “By the name of (*g.*) UR and NUR-VUL the King swore.” The date of the contract was in the “month Debitu in the year when a lofty throne with gold for (*g.*) SAMAS he decorated.”

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 2, No. IV, from Mugheir.

26 AI

27 A-MAT-NIM

These are fragments of the names of the two predecessors of Sargon I.¹

28 SAR-GI-NA.

Sargina I, or Sargon I, was one of the most celebrated of these ancient kings, and is often alluded to in the inscriptions. No original text of this reign is known, but we have two imperfect Assyrian copies of one of his inscriptions, part of which is printed in the *Cuneiform Inscriptions*:² a few new lines can now be added to this fragment, and part of the next column.

INSCRIPTION OF SARGON.

³“SARGINA the powerful King, King of Agade am I.
 My mother was enceint, my father knew not (of it).
 My father's brother oppressed the country.
 In the city of Azupirani, which by the side
 of the Euphrates is situated, she conceived me ;
 my mother was enceint, and in a grove brought me forth ;
 she placed me in a cradle of wicker,
 with bitumen my exit she closed, and launched me
 on the river, which away from her carried me.
 The river to AKKI the Abal floated me,
 AKKI the Abal in tenderness of bowels lifted me ;
 AKKI the Abal as his child brought me up ;
 AKKI the Abal as his husbandman placed me,
 and in my husbandry ISHTAR prospered me . . .
 45 years, the kingdom I took.
 The people of the dark races I ruled,

¹ They are only known from the list printed in *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, No. VII.

³ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 3, p. 4, No. VII.

I over difficult countries,
 in chariots of bronze I rode. I governed
 the upper countries (I rule) the Kings
 of the Lower Countries, . . .
ti-ti-sal-lat I besieged a third time,
 ASMUN submitted DUR-AN-KI-GAL bowed
 I destroyed and
 When the King who arises after me in after (days)
 the people of the dark races (shall rule) over
 difficult countries in chariots of (bronze shall ride)
 shall govern the upper countries (and rule) the Kings
 of the Lower Countries . . . *ti-ti-sal-lat* shall
 besiege the third time (ASMUN submitting)
 DUR-AN-KI-GAL bowing . . . from my city Agane”

This is evidently the text of an usurper, who pretends to be the son of a former monarch. There is a striking parallel between some points in this story, and the account in Exodus ii, of the concealment of the infant Moses. Sargon is often mentioned on the astrological and omen tablets, and an edition of those works was probably written in his reign. Many of the inscriptions on these tablets appear to belong to an earlier epoch, when the city of Ur was the national capital, but all these were incorporated with the tablets of Sargon and his son Naram-sin, and formed two great works, one on astrology or celestial omens, the other on terrestrial omens. He built a city called Dur-sargina, and we probably owe the preservation of this curious inscription, in which he states his early history, to the Assyrian king Sargon, who named himself after the earlier monarch, and also founded a city which is called Dur-sargina.

The further history of Sargon I, after he ascended the throne, is given on a tablet, which I did not discover until after the first part of this work had gone to press. This tablet, which is one of the most remarkable records in the

British Museum, gives the history of Sargon and of his son and successor Naram-sin ; it is divided into fourteen paragraphs, by lines drawn across the tablet, each paragraph containing the account of one war or other celebrated event. At the head of every paragraph is a description of the omen from the Moon under which the work was undertaken, for the Babylonians never started on an expedition, or commenced any work without consulting the omens ; and even the great king Nebuchadnezzar is recorded¹ to have done the same.

The first paragraph of the history of Sargon records a successful campaign in Elam, east of Babylonia, but Sargon does not appear to have met the Elamite monarch ; the barbarous custom of mutilating the bodies of the enemy was practised by the Babylonians in this war.

The second division records a campaign in Syria, in which the king was again successful. It appears from the statement in this paragraph, that the *kiprat arba*, or four races, were in Syria, and that the title "King of the four races" indicated supremacy over Syria. This name "kiprat arba" was probably given to the Syrians on account of there being four races or principal states in that region. A similar division is given in Genesis x, 23, where Aram (Syria) has four sons or divisions, Uz, Hul, Gether, and Mash, corresponding with the four races of the Babylonian inscriptions.

The third clause relates the subjugation of all Babylonia, and the foundation of the new capital city Agane, which Sargon peopled with the conquered races.

The fourth and fifth paragraphs relate to campaigns in Syria ; both are unfortunately much mutilated.

The sixth division is too mutilated to make much out of it ; it may refer to a former period of the history.

The seventh clause records the greatest campaign of the

¹ Ezekiel xxi. 21, 22.

reign, it occupied three years, and in it Sargon penetrated to the sea of the setting sun (the Mediterranean); here he conquered the country, and set up memorial statues in commemoration of his triumph. At the close of this expedition, the spoil of these distant regions was carried in triumph to Babylonia.

The eighth division records the enlargement of the palace of Agani by Sargon, who named it Ekiam-izillik.

The ninth paragraph gives an account of the revolt of Kas-tu-bi-li of Ka-zal-la. Sargon made an expedition to Kazalla, and wasted the country with fire and sword.

In the next division we find a change of fortune, Sargon, who had carried his arms from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean, was now closely besieged in his own capital Agani, but he made a sally with his army, and, attacking the surrounding hosts, defeated them and obliged them to raise the siege and retire with the loss of their baggage. The besieging host is called by the name *mak-kaka-bi*, which I conjecturally read Kaldi or Chaldeans, but the meaning of the expression I should rather think to be "all countries."

The tenth paragraph shows Sargon resuming his career of conquest; he now attacked the kingdom of Subartu and conquered it; he occupied their territory, destroyed their army, and finally entered his capital Akkad with the spoil. The history of the reign of Sargon now closes, and the rest of this important inscription relates to the exploits of his son and successor Naram-sin.

The following is a translation of the inscription, omitting the astrological omens, several of which are imperfect, and all of them difficult.

1 "When the moon," &c., &c.¹ An omen for Sargina, who at this position

¹ The astronomical indications are omitted, not being required for historical information.

2 to Elam marched, and the Elamites destroyed,
3 their overthrow he accomplished their limbs he cut off.

4 When the moon, &c., &c.
5 An omen for SARGINA, who to Syria marched and
6 the Syrians destroyed; the four races his hand con-
quered.

7 When the moon, &c., &c.
8 An omen for SARGINA, who at this position the whole
of Babylonia subdued, and
9 the dust of the spoil of Babduna removed and
10 . . . (c.) Akkad the city he built ki its
name he proclaimed
11 in the midst he placed.

12 (When the moon), &c., &c.
13 &c. (An omen for SARGI)NA, who at this
position to Syria
14 (marched, and the) four races his hand conquered.

15 (When the moon), &c., &c.
16 (An omen for SARGINA, who at this position to) Syria
marched, and
17 his his leaders
18 in the gate of his rising.

19 (When the moon), &c., &c. (An omen for SARGI)NA,
who at this position
20 *ri* his left hand? ISTAR
21 caused him to conquer; to the front
his

22 (When the moon), &c., &c. An omen for SARGINA,
who at this position
23 arose, and an equal or rival had not, his
forces over

- 24 (the countries of) the sea of the setting sun he crossed,
and in the third year at the setting sun
25 his hand conquered, under one command he
caused them to be only fixed, his image at the setting sun
26 he set up, their spoil in the countries of the sea he
made to cross.

-
- 27 (When the moon), &c., &c.
28 (An omen) for SARGINA, who his palace *padi* five *batlu*
enlarged
29 . . . chief of the people established and Ekiam-izallak
he called it.

-
- 30 When the moon, &c., &c.
31 &c. The same. KASTU-BILA of Kazalla re-
volted against him ; and to Kazalla
32 he marched, and their men he fought against, their
overthrow he accomplished,
33 their great army he destroyed ; Kazalla to mounds and
ruins he reduced,
34 the nests of the birds he swept away.

-
- 35 When the moon, &c., &c.
36 &c. An omen for SARGINA, of whom at this
position,
37 the elders of the people revolted against him, and in
Akkad surrounded him, and
38 SARGINA came out and their men he fought against,
their overthrow he accomplished.

REVERSE.

- 1 their great army he destroyed.
2 the encampment he broke through.

-
- 3 When the moon, &c., &c.
4 &c. &c.

- 5 An omen for SARGINA, who at this position
 6 Subarti in its strength its people to the sword he
 subdued, and
 7 SARGINA their seats caused to occupy, and
 8 their men he fought against, their overthrow he accom-
 plished, their great army
 9 . . . the spoil he collected, into (c.) Akkad he caused
 to enter.
-
- 10 When the moon, &c., &c.
 11 &c. An omen for NARAM-SIN,
 12 who at this position to (c.) Apirak marched, and
 13 *ip-lu-su* RIS-VUL King of (c.) Apirak
 14 and (c.) Apirak his hand conquered.
-
- 15 When the moon, &c., &c.
 16 &c. An omen for NARAM-SIN, who at this
 position
 17 (to Ma-)ganna marched, and Maganna he captured,
 and
 18 King of Maganna his hand conquered.
-
- 19 seven and one-half to after him . . .
 20 may they not gather *i-ba*
-

The tablet contains at the end a colophon, which states that it is a copy made by order of a king of Assyria, whose name is lost by a fracture.

Sargon, who was one of the most memorable of the early kings of Babylonia, was a great builder, as well as a warrior; besides the rebuilding of his palace at Akkad, which is mentioned in this tablet, he also built a great temple at Akkad, dedicated to the goddess Anunit. The site of the city of Akkad has not yet been discovered, so at present we are not acquainted with the ruins of Sargon's buildings, but an

account of the temple of Anunit is found in an inscription of Nabonidus, the last native king of Babylon: his statement is as follows:—¹

“(The memorial cylinders) of BITULMAS of
(c.) Akkad from the time of (SAR-GINA)
King of (c.) Babylon and NARAM-SIN his son
the very ancient kings, to the time of
NABU-NAHID King of (c.) Babylon were not seen.”

29 NA-RA-AM-SIN, NA-RAM-SIN.

Naram-sin the son and successor of Sargon is mentioned in the two last inscriptions. He appears by the historical tablet to have continued the conquests of his father, subjugating the kingdom of Apirak and afterwards that of Maganna. The name of the conquered king of Apirak is Ris-vul, which is Babylonian, and leads to the inference that Apirak was in or near Babylonia. Among the cities of Babylonia, the nearest name to Apirak is Karrak, which we know to have been a capital at this time. The reading Karrak is not quite certain, as the first character *kar*, is a polyphone, so that the name may possibly be Apirak. Maganna was the most ancient cuneiform name of Egypt, and the conquest of this country might lead us to suspect that Naram-sin invaded Egypt: hence the loss of the name of the conquered king of Maganna is a misfortune; but there may have been another country called Magan, nearer to Babylonia, in the same way that in later times there were two countries named Muzur. There is an inscription of Naram-sin on a vase which was discovered by M. Fresnel at Babylon, and since lost in the Tigris; the inscription² reads, “NARAMSIN King of the four races, conqueror of Apirak and Magan.” A large omen tablet which was composed

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 69, col. 2, lines 29-32.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 3, No. VII.

during this reign has, with reference to one omen, the notice that it was "good" or "lucky for NARAM-SIN."

Another fragment of an inscription¹ which gives the names of some of the Babylonian-kings, does not contain the name of Naram-sin the successor of Sargon, but I attribute this to the imperfect state of the fragment.

30 ELLAT-GULA.

Ellat-gula was a queen, she probably succeeded Naram-sin and was the last of the dynasty of Sargon. Nothing is known of her reign, and at its close, Hammurabi a foreign prince, who was perhaps related to her by marriage, succeeded to her throne.

The history must now travel again to the south of the country which was ruled at this time by Rim-agu, the last native monarch.

31 RI-IM-AGU.

Rim-agu was the son of Kudurmabuk; he was made King of (c.) Larsa during his father's lifetime. Extensive remains of buildings erected by Rim-agu have been discovered, and in his inscriptions he claims to have restored many of the national temples.

INSCRIPTIONS OF RIM-AGU.

- ² "RIM-AGU the powerful man, the high Ruler, established by (g.) BEL nourisher of (c.) UR, King of (c.) Larsa, King of Sumir and Akkad, son of KUDUR-MABUK the Lord of Elam, (c.) UR the great he embellished, its he established, (g.) UR my King blessed me, the great wall of Harris-galla to prevent invasion, its circuit I raised I built, the city I encircled, the great tower of (g.) UR strongly I constructed."

¹ *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 65.

² *Cuneiform Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, p. 5, No. XVI, from Mugheir.

ON AN UNPUBLISHED CONE.

“(g.) UR Lord of spirits and angels
 my King RIM-AGU nourisher of the temple,
 head Ruler of Bit-nergal the renowned man,
 Lord of Bit-parra, mizkin of ancient (c.) Eridu,
 who the religious festivals keeps,
 Bit-hansa of (c.) Zirgulla its site he restored,
 its great ramparts his hands made,
 UR and SAMAS to their places he restored.
 The Prince his begetter Bit-sarna for his life
 established in the service of his Lord
 who marches before him, for the preservation of his life
 he built his house, also he restored its site,
 and the four houses of Saggal, for his preservation
 and the preservation of KUDUR-MABUK
 the father his begetter, the house with rejoicing Bit-tingal
 he built,

a statue before the house he”

“To (g.) NIN *bil gal-lu dub-ba ram-e ki-ka-de*
*zi-gal-zu luh-mah lib-ka-va*¹ great god

his command *si-ku-du* his King,
 RIM-AGU ruler of the lordship of (c.) Nipur
 mizkin of ancient (c.) Eridu,
 nourisher of (c.) Ur and Bit-uddaimtiz,
 King of (c.) Larsa, King of Sumir and Akkad,
 worshipper of (g.) ANU (g.) BEL and (g.) HEA,
 the great gods who the ancient city of Uruk
 into my hands have given.

To NIN- my King, exalter of my right hand,
 Bit-daram-semu the sanctuary of his delight,
 for my preservation I built.”

Besides this inscription there are several tablets dated in

¹ The interpretation being very difficult and doubtful, the whole passage is here transliterated.

the reign of Rim-agu, which give us some notice of the events of his reign. Probably the earliest of these are the tablets dated in the year of the fall of Karrak. One of these has upon it part of the name of Rim-agu. Now this city of Karrak I have suspected to be the same as the Apirak taken by Naram-agu, and I further supposed that Rim-agu was the Turanian form of Naram-sin, but these are only suppositions and I have since considered them erroneous. It is more probable that Naram-agu ruled in the north of Babylonia, while Rim-agu ruled at Larsa over the south. Karrak appears to have retained its position as a capital, until it fell before the arms of Rim-agu, and was annexed to the kingdom of Larsa. Rim-agu from this date ruled the whole of the country from Nipur to the Persian Gulf. The dates in this year are as follows: "Month Nisannu 25th day in the year when the powerful soldiers of (g.) ANU (g.) BEL and (g.) HEA (c.) Karrak the royal city captured;" and "Month *Nisannu* 30th day in the year when the (powerful) soldiers of (ANU) (g.) BEL and (g.) HEA (c.) Karrak the royal city captured." In both these dates the month is uncertain; but I may here remark that I suspect, from the dates on some of these tablets, that the year at this time commenced with the month Tisri at the autumnal equinox, instead of with the month Nisan at the vernal equinox; for in two instances on these early tablets the intercalary month is placed between Elul and Tisri.

The Babylonians attached so great an interest to the capture of Karrak that they commenced dating from it as an era, and the following dates from it are in the British Museum; all of these fall within the reign of Rim-agu:—

"Month Ululu in the fifth year
after Karrak was captured."

"Month Addaru 30th day in the sixth year after
Karrak was captured."

In this tablet Rim-agu bears the title "King of (c.) Larsa and (c.) Ur.

"Month Addaru 30th day in the seventh year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Nisannu in the eighth year after Karrak (was captured)."

"Month Tasritu 30th day in the thirteenth year after Karrak by the living ruler RIM-AGU was captured."

"Month Sabadu in the eighteenth year after Karrak was captured."

"Month Sabadu 10th day in the twenty-eighth year after Karrak was captured."

Beside the dates from the era of the taking of Karrak, there are several others of the time of Rim-agu. Two of these are dated in the year when Rim-agu placed two bronze statues in the Temple of the Sun, they are :—

"Month Davazu in the year when two bronze statues RIM-AGU the King in Bit-parra placed.

"Month Sabadu in the year when two bronze statues RIM-AGU the King in Bit-parra placed."

Another tablet is dated,

"Month Duvazu in the year when the river Ud-kas-nun(?) was excavated."

And two others,

"Month Tasritu in the year when the great wall of Bellu was built."

In the case of one document the inside copy reads, "Month Abu in the year when the river Tigris was excavated;" while the outside copy reads, "Month Abu in the year when the river Tigris, the river of the gods, to the ocean was excavated." From these notices I suppose that Rim-agu whose name is attached to all these documents made a channel from the Tigris to the sea.

END OF SAMPLE TEXT



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