ORDINARY MEETING, FEBRUARY 4, 1884.

THE REV. R. THORNTON, D.D., VICE-PRESIDENT, IN THE CHAIR.

The Minutes of the last Meeting were read and confirmed, and the following Elections were announced:


ASSOCIATES:—A. C. Armstrong, Esq., Jun., United States; A. E. Bennett, Esq., Warminster; General J. L. Chamberlain, United States; Professor O. Cone, United States; Professor E. W. Claypole, United States; J. Fraser, Esq., N. S. Wales; Major Guyon, Royal Fusiliers; Rev. C. F. Knight, M.A., Sheffield; Rev. J. Langley, M.A., Birmingham; Rev. W. L. S. Lack Szyrma, M.A. Oxon., Penzance; Alder Smith, Esq., F.R.C.S., London; Rev. T. Smith, B.A. Camb., Shipton-on-Stour; H. S. Vail, Esq., United States; Miss E. H. Ebbs, Kent; Miss E. France, London; Miss M. France, London; Miss G. Harrison, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

HON. LOCAL SECRETARY.—P. W. Reinmuth, Esq., Innsbruck.

Also the presentation of the following works for the library:
Proceedings of the Royal Institution, Royal Geographical Society, and Sydney Observatory.

From the same. "Ecce Terra," by Rev. Dr. Burr and "Kadesh Barnea," by Rev. Dr. Trumbull. From the Authors.

The following paper was then read by the Author:

NEBUCHADNEZZAR, KING OF BABYLON. B.C. 605—B.C. 562. (On recently-discovered inscriptions of this King.) By Ernest A. Budge, M.A.

THE excavations carried on in Mesopotamia during the last few years have been productive of especially good results. Not only has Assyrian grammar and lexicography been enriched by magnificent "finds" of bilingual and grammatical tablets, but a considerable quantity of history has been made known to us through the discovery of cylinders which were inscribed during the latter years of the Babylonian Empire. They are peculiarly valuable, because they are the productions of those who lived at the time when the events happened which they record. Moreover, by means of the numerous contract and loan tablets which are in the collection of our National Museum, a keener insight has been afforded us of the commercial and other affairs of the Babylonian and
Assyrian Empires. Only a few years ago the discovery of
the Egibi tablets revealed the great loan and banking system
that was carried on in Babylon. Recently a valuable historical
cylinder of Cyrus the Great showed exactly what was going
on in Babylon at the time of the actual capture of the city.
This is "perhaps the most interesting cuneiform document
that has yet been discovered."* Other tablets give the reasons
and circumstances of the actual capture. Among other things
brought home recently were two inscribed cones, one very
much rubbed and almost illegible in many places; the other
broken into three pieces, but fortunately containing the text
in a fair state of preservation. One inscription is an amplifica-
tion of the other, and both relate to Nebuchadnezzar, and are
the subject of this paper. They are very interesting, the
spelling on them is very curious, and a great deal is said
concerning the gods and goddesses of Babylon. They mutely
proclaim the glory of the great king, who said: "Is not this
great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom by
the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?"†
The inscription is written throughout in the peculiar Babyl-
onian style, and as far as possible these peculiarities have
been reproduced in type.

The inscription begins with "Nebuchadnezzar, the King of
Babylon, the exalted prince, the worshipper of the god
Marduk, the prince supreme, the beloved of the god Nebo.
I am established, the unfearing one, the restorer of the
temple of the 'lofty head' and the temple of Zida, who to
the god Nebo, and the god Marduk, his lords, worship also
has performed before them (?). The exalted one, he who
causes the ituti to be deep, the messenger of the great gods,
the eldest son of Nabopolassar, the king of Babylon I am."

Nabopolassar is the *Nabu-pal-usûr of the cuneiform inscriptions.
Concerning Nabopolassar, it is known that he was a general
who was rewarded with the crown of Babylon for satisfactorily
quelling a revolt. He made Babylon a tolerably powerful
kingdom and this was the more easily accomplished from the
fact that the Assyrian power had been utterly overthrown.
It is self-evident that he left his reviving power in strong
and energetic hands. The name Nebuchadnezzar has been
explained in various ways by scholars, possibly because the
name has been found written differently in the text of the Bible.

† Daniel iv. 30. In the text itself, verse 27.
It is commonly written נבּוּכְדֶּנֶּרֶשׁ, then rarely נבּוּכְדֶּנֶּ𠄎ֶשׁ. * The LXX write it Ναβουχοδονόσωρ, and Berosus Ναβουχοδονόσωρος. The generally-accepted meaning of the name is, “Nebo defend the landmark,” or, in Assyrian, Nabu-kudur-uzar. The first part of the name is Nabu, i.e. “the prophet.” The ideograph for his name is ינב and the Semitic explanation of this is given (W.A.I. ii. 60, 46), to be ינב יב or Nebo; Syriac, נב. A curious ideograph for this god is found in W.A.I., ii. 48, thus:— א and the gloss reads TIM-SAR. His wife’s name was Tasmêtum, or “the hearer,” the ideograph for whose name was יسمع, and its pronunciation KUR-NU-UN. Nebo is called by the following titles (W.A.I. i. 2, 60, 29-40: “Nebo the son of Merodach, the first-born god, the creator of the oracle, the creator of writing and written tablets, the god of knowledge,” etc. Moreover, on the colophons of tablets it is frequently said that “Nebo and Tasmit gave the king broad ears, and his seeing eyes regarded the secrets of Nebo, the literature of the library, etc.” He ranked as one of the great gods, and we know his worship was wide-spread and carried on even until after the death of Christ, for Addai, one of the seventy-two apostles, preaching to the inhabitants of Edessa, asks, “Who is this Nebo, an idol made which ye worship, and Bel which ye honour?” † There was a temple dedicated to Nebo at Borsippa.

The word kudur, “landmark,” is often found in the cuneiform inscriptions, and “remover of borders and landmarks” is a title given to Rimmon-Nirari, and to Ninip.‡ Nebuchadnezzar apparently first took care to build and restore the temples of E-SAG-ILI (𒈗𒈗𒈗𒈗) and E-ZIDA. (𒈗𒈕𒈗𒈗) The first, or “lofty-

* Jeremiah xxxix. 1, 11; xliii. 10; Ezekiel xxix. 18.
† : סָדָא (Addai, p זי, Trübner & Co.). It is curious to note that the LXX translate the רָכַּב of Isaiah xlvi. 1, by Δαυδων, Symmachus writes the name Ναβου, Aquila and Theodotion, Ναβων.
‡ Norris Dict., p. 539; and W.A.I., iv., 44, 9.
headed,” was the shrine of the god Bel. The celebrated
golden image which Nebuchadnezzar made was of this god.*
The second temple was dedicated to Anu. Now Bel was one
of the first great triad of gods, which consisted of Anu, Ea,
and Bel, and all these were the children of Zigaru, “the sky.”
Zigaru is the gloss given by W.A.I., ii. 48, 26, and is the
pronunciation of the ideograph 🕓, which is equated with the Assyrian 🕗 🕗, samû, Hebrew שָׁמִישׁ.
The following are the names, ideographs, and glosses of the
names of the three great gods (W.A.I., ii. 48).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sûsru.</th>
<th>🕗 D.P. A-nu-um</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ubigarga.</td>
<td>🕗 D.P. En-ti1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tal-Tal.</td>
<td>🕗-≡ensi-si</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Anûm is the Assyrian form of the Akkadian 🕗 AN-NA.† Ea was the “king of rivers and gardens,” and, as we see from the above extract, bil nemiki bil ḫa-ši-ši, “lord of deep wisdom and knowledge.” He was the husband of Bahu or chaos (the  webhook of Gen. i. 2), and made father of Bel-Merodach, the tutelary deity of Babylon. Sir Henry Rawlinson thinks the monotheistic Hebrews of Ur belonged to the followers of Ea, he says: “He was the ‘Creator of mankind,’ ‘the God of life and knowledge,’ ‘the Lord of Thib (the blessed city) or Paradise,’ and exhibits many other traces of identity with the Elohim of the Jews. There seems, indeed, to be an allusion to this deity being

* Concerning the statue of Bel, see Daniel, chap. iii.; Herodotus, bk. i.; Strabo, xvi.; Pliny, vi. chap. xxvi.; Q. Curtius, lib. v.; Arrianus, lib. vii.; and Selden, De Deis Syris, p. 193 et seq.
† The following extract shows these gods had other names (S. 35):—

⇒_target_1_target_2_target_3_target_4
⇒_target_1_target_2_target_3_target_4
⇒_target_1_target_2_target_3_target_4
⇒_target_1_target_2_target_3_target_4
⇒_target_1_target_2_target_3_target_4
⇒_target_1_target_2_target_3_target_4
accepted by the Monotheists as the one true God, in the last verse of chap. iv. of Genesis, where, as I understand the passage, it is said that 'about this time, he (i.e., Seth, the Lord of Thib) began to be called by the name of Jehovah.'* 

The god Ea and his son Marduk will always be of the greatest interest to the students of comparative religion. Ea was the lord and governor of all mankind, the supreme great god; his son Marduk was the mediator between man and this god. The children of men offered their prayers to him and he bore them to his great father who received them at his hands. The complaint of the penitent sinner was directed to Ea through his son Marduk, and he commissioned his son, the god of light, to bestow his pardon on him. The rebellion of the gods of darkness and night, against light, was quenched by this shining god; and to the mind of the Babylonian he was the saviour of all.

After the first triad of gods came "the seven magnificent deities." Only six of them are mentioned in the inscription under consideration, but below is a list of the seven with ideographs, glosses, &c.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GLOSS.</th>
<th>IDEOGRAPH.</th>
<th>ASSYRIAN NAME.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DUMUGU.</td>
<td>D.P. Sin.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UTUKI.</td>
<td>D.P. Samas.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MÉRMERI.</td>
<td>D.P. Rammanu.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUDIBIR.</td>
<td>D.P. Marduk.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GÁSMU.</td>
<td>D.P. Zarpanitum.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TIMSAR.</td>
<td>D.P. Nabium.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KURNÚN.</td>
<td>D.P. Tasmetum.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

* *Jnl. R.A.S.*, vol. xii. p. 81.
The first god in the list is the moon. He was always considered prior to the Sun, and was called "the mighty god."* The 29th day of Elul was called "the rest day of the Moon, the day when the spirits of heaven and the spirits of earth are invoked." Istar was goddess of the half month. The number of tablets in the ancient astronomical library relating to the moon must have been immense, when we consider what a large number are remaining which deal wholly with the moon and its appearances. The Sun was called the "Lady, the mistress of the world." Its gender therefore was feminine.† The god whose name is read Rammanu, was lord of the air, rain, clouds, and storm. Marduk was the son of Ea and Dam-kina "the earth" male and female. His Akkadian name was AMAR-UT or AMAR-UTU, "the brilliance of the Sun." He bore different names in different months.‡ The next name we meet is that of the god Zarpanituv. This is the יָעָרַת בֵּנְאֶה of 2 Kings xvii. 30, (LXX. σωκύωθ ἑβυίθ), and it is said there that the Babylonian colonists who were brought from Samaria made them for their idols. Rashi on 2 Kings xvii. 30, says concerning Succoth Benoth וַיִּמְלַבֵּה—"the image of a cock with its chickens."§ Selden in his De Diis Syris makes it to be Venus. He shows there how ב has the two sounds of b and v, and how t changes into s, so that Benoth comes to Benos, and finally Benos to Venos, and says, "Binos Græca pronuntiatione est Venus nostra."|| Passages concerning the worship are quoted in the note below. The old Akkadian name for the moon-god יָעָרַת is twice

* W.A.I., iv. 33, 9.
† In the Bible it is masc. (Ps. civ. 19); and fem. (Gen. xv. 17).
‡ See W.A.I., iii. 53, 2; and Sayce, Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., iii. 166.
§ For the history and derivation of the word יָעָרַת, see Rev. W. H. Lowe, M.A., Critical Notes, p. 5, in his Fragment of the Talmud Babli Pesachim, Cambridge, 1879.
used and it is curious to note that Nebuchadnezzar calls him “the king my ancient father.” — in W.A.I., iv. 2, 22.) The Euphrates is called the “river of Sippara,” i.e. ....

We meet in this inscription with the oft-repeated phrase, “with bitumen and brick” I built. The other Nebuchadnezzar inscriptions give, ina kūpri u agūrri, “with cement and burnt brick.” Kūpri is the same as the Syriac ēbid “bitumen,” in Gen. iv. 14, and Exod. ii. 3. Agūrri is the same as the Arab ḫir, “lateres coctiles,” or burnt brick.† The component parts of the ideograph for bitumen show it to have been something that was “the product of water.” A four-column syllabary says its Akkadian name was ēbu.‡ Herodotus says the bitumen used by Nebuchadnezzar for building came from the Is, a stream eight days’ journey from Babylon.§

Throughout this inscription, an ideograph is doubled to express the plural, thus:

abulli, “gates.”

TSIR-RUS-TSIR-RUS, “snake gods.”

ulāni, “gods.”

* The Akkadian name of the Tigris and Euphrates is given by the following from St. 2325:

IDICNU.

PURANUNU.

μετὰ γάρ τὸν Νίλον καὶ Γάγγην ὄντως ἰππομότατοι σχίζον τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν ποταμῶν Εὐφράτης καὶ Τίγρις τὰς μὲν πηγὰς ἔχουσιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀρμενίων ὄρων οἰστηκαὶ ὄρατο αἰλῆλον σταδίους δισχίλιους καὶ πεντακοσίους.—Diod. Siculus, bk. ii. sect. 11.

† vox Pers. In Arab. linguam translata “Lateres coctiles” (Freytag, p. 15).

‡ The whole line from St. 2325 is thus given:

sarri, "kings."
abni, "stones."
kabri, "weapons."

for ili rabi, "great gods."

In col. 3, line 22, we meet with an example of the redundancy so common in Syriac, thus: —subursu dur Börzippau "the height of it—the fortress of Borsippa," i.e. "the height of the fortress of Borsippa."

And this brings us to the consideration of Babylon itself. Babylon is the Greek form of Babel or Bab-ili. And Ba-bel is the exact Semitic translation of the Akkadian KA DIN GIRRA, or "the gate to god." It bore two other names, viz., EKI "the house," par excellence, and DIN-TIR "the house of the jungle,"† or, according to others, "the place of life." But this is properly the designation of the town on the left bank of the river. Babylon is also expressed by D.P. Bab-ilani "the gate of the gods."‡ It was said to have been built in very early times, it became the capital under Khammuragas (B.C. about 1700, who built a temple to Merodach there) and held this position for 1200 years. It was conquered by Tukulti-Ninip, B.C. 1271; by Tiglath-Pileser I. B.C. 1110; by Tiglath-Pileser II. B.C. 731; by Merodach Baladan, B.C. 722; by Sargon, B.C. 721. It was sacked and burnt by Sennacherib, B.C. 692; restored by Esarhaddon, B.C. 675; captured by Assur-bani-pal, B.C. 648, (also by Nabu-pal-usur, B.C. 626?) and finally taken by the Medes and Persians about B.C. 539. The city was built on both sides of the river in the form of a square, and was enclosed within a double row of high walls, the inner being called Imgur-Bel, the outer Nimitti Bel. Ctesias makes the outer walls 360 stades in circumference, Herodotus and Pliny § 480, Strabo || 385, Q. Curtius ¶ 368, and Clitarchus ** 365.

* This usage reminds us of the רָאִים of Genesis xiv. 10, to express multitude, רָאִים of Judges xv. 16.
§ N. H. vi. 26. || xvi. i. 5. ¶ v. i. 26.
** ἀπολαβόμενα δὲ τῶν ὑπόφατων ποταμῶν τὰς μέσους προμέλατο τίχος τῷ πάλι στάδιον ἔχθεντα καὶ τρικαλίων, διαλαμίσθη τὴν πύργον καὶ μεγάλης, ὡς φασὶ Κηπαράς ὁ Κλίνως, ὡς δὲ Κλίναρχος καὶ τῶν ὄφεων μέτ' Ἀλεξάνδρου διαβάσαν τις των ἄσιν τινὸς ἀνέγραφαν, τρικαλίων ἔχθεντα καὶ πεντε στάδιον καὶ προστίθεαν ὤτα τῶν ἴσων ἡμερῶν τῶν στάδιων ὑποστήσασθαι. —Diod. Siculus, book ii. sect. 7.
The spaces between the towers were broad enough to allow a pair-horsed chariot to turn (Herod. i. 179).* The question of the actual height has been discussed by Sir H. Rawlinson in Herodotus, and by Dr. Oppert in the Athénaeum Français, 1854, p. 370. The celebrated Hanging Gardens were on the eastern side of the river and within the palace precincts. They were built in the form of a square (each side being 400 feet long) upon a series of arches.†

The absence of genuine history in the inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar is remarkable. All the inscriptions yet found narrate his great care to make Babylon a success in the matter of buildings. There is no doubt he was a most pious king, and whether he considered the giving an account of his restoration and rebuilding of the temples of the gods of more importance than a narrative of his wars, is very hard to say. If only the history of his expedition through Palestine, of his siege of Tyre, and of his defeat of all the nations in that part of the world could be found. In the following inscription, the large India House inscription is perhaps referred to when he speaks of the account of his works which he wrote.

Nebuchadnezzar III., son of Nabopolassar, reigned from about B.C. 605 to B.C. 562. He took command of the Babylonian army on the occasion of the war between Nabopolassar and

* One cannot help thinking there must be an allusion to these mighty walls in the verse in Jeremiah (li. 53), “Though Babylon should mount up to heaven, and though she should fortify the height of her strength,” &c.

† “In uno latere civitatis erant horti suspeusi, fere conjuncti fluvio Euphrati; qui numerabantur inter septem miracula mundi. Situs eorum erat figura quadrare, quadringentorum pedum, per quemlibet angulum quibus corrisponderent secundus et tertius. Intus erant quatuor atria vel aree, quadringentorum pedum longitudinis, et centum latitudinis, ita ut una supra aliam emineret. Prima elevabatur a terra duodecim cubitos cum dimidio. Secunda, viginti septem cubitos cum dimidio. Quarta, proxima Euphrati, quinquaquinta cubitos. Illic extrahebatur aqua ab Euphrate certis quibusdam machinis, ad irrigandos hortos. Tota hae structure sustinebatur fornicibus latericiis, sibi coherentibus lato interstitio secundum proportionem arearum; quorum quilibet habet duodecim pedes diametri; distabat itaque unus at altero formix pedes viginti duos; et hoc quidem tam pro firmatione intermedia, quam pro commoditate mansiuncularum quarundam, ibi exstructarum. Superiora harum tabernarum, primo erat instra magis lapidibus, longitudinis sedecim pedum, et quattuor latitudinis. Deinde totum illud erat cooptum multis arundinibus. Tertio, omnes ille arundines erant obiectae magnis laminis plumbeis, que defendenter fornices ab humiditate terra. Tandem erat super omnia hae, optima terra, excula exquisitis floribus et plantis,” &c.—Not. in Diod. Sic., i. p. 124.
Necho King of Egypt. Nebuchadnezzar routed the Egyptian army at Carchemish "and took all that pertained to the King of Egypt from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates" (2 Kings xxiv. 7). At this time Jehoiakim, king of Judah, submitted to Nebuchadnezzar and served him as a tributary for three years. About B.C. 598 Nebuchadnezzar marched against Palestine, deposed Jehoiachin, son of Jehoiakim and set up Zedekiah in his stead. Zedekiah, according to the custom of the Israelitish kings (even though the King of Babylon had made him swear by מַלְאַךְ הַיָּהָוֶה), rebelled, "stiffened his neck, and hardened his heart." Meanwhile Nebuchadnezzar was away quelling a revolt in Media, but, about B.C. 589, he came to Riblah, in Hamath, and sent his general Nebuzaradan * to besiege Jerusalem. The siege lasted about a year and a half, and Jerusalem was taken, B.C. 587.† The sackage and pillage of the temple is familiar to all from the Bible history. Zedekiah fled by night "by the way of the gate between two walls which is in the king's garden," but he was overtaken in the plains of Jericho and brought before the King of Babylon at Riblah, where his sons were slain before him, and his eyes made blind (יָלָד).

From B.C. 586 to B.C. 573, Nebuchadnezzar besieged Tyre ‡ with very doubtful success. He had left Gedaliah in charge of Judah, but the new ruler was slain by Ishmael, the son of Nethaniah. Again came the King of Babylon to take vengeance, and carried off the Jews to Babylon. He now turned his attention to the capture of Egypt, whose king, Pharaoh Hophra, had incited Palestine to rebellion. Nebuchadnezzar defeated and deposed him, routed his army, over-ran Egypt, and installed a king, a tributary to Babylon. This was in the year B.C. 572. After this war the King of Babylon appears to have devoted his attention to the beautification of his city. He had thousands of captives to work for him, and indeed his buildings attest the enormous quantity of human labour that must have been at his disposal. Sacred and profane writers alike give testimony to the glory of his

* The Biblical יְנֵה הַיָּהָוֶה = יְנֵה הַיָּהָוֶה D.P. Nabu-zir-idinna, i.e., "Nebo gave a seed."
† See Jeremiah xxxix. 1, 2; 2 Kings xxv.
city, his palaces, gardens, temples, and the massive golden image of the god Bel. Numerous indeed were the gods whose shrines filled Babylon, and Jeremiah sarcastically alludes to this (chap. I. 38) when he says: "For it is a land of graven images, and they madly confide in idols."* As a general and as an architect he was great, and one instance of kindness is recorded of him. For we read: "Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, gave charge concerning Jeremiah by the hand of Nebuzaradan, the captain of the guard, saying, Take him and set thine eyes upon him, and do him no harm; but do unto him even as he shall say unto thee" (Jerem. xxxix 11).†

The inscription finishes with a prayer of the king to the god of Marad. It reads thus:

Col. iii. 1. 15, "O God, the king AMARDA, the lord of all warrior (gods)
16, to the brickwork of my hands for blessing
17, joyfully be favourable, and
18, a life to a day remote (with)
19, sufficiency of glory,
20, establishment of throne and a long reign
21, for a gift. O give!
22, Sweep away the disobedient
23, Shatter their weapons
24, Devastate all the land of the enemy
25, Sweep away the whole of them
26, with thy powerful weapons
27, which benefit not my enemies
28, May they draw near, and may they sting
29, to the subjugation of my enemies may my hands go.
30, In the presence of Marduk, king of heaven and earth
31, my works cause to be blessed,
32, command my prosperity."

Nebuchadnezzar died about B.C. 562, and was succeeded by his son, Evil-Merodach.‡

* קֶּרֶם מַטְּלִים יְהֵא וְקָצְאֵימוֹת יִהְיוُ: "Literally.
† Nebuchadnezzar, after he had begun to build the fore-mentioned wall, fell sick, and departed this life when he had reigned forty-three years, whereupon his son, Evil-Merodach, obtained the kingdom.—Fl. Joseph. against Apion, 1. sec. 20.
INSCRIPTION OF NEBUCHADNEZZAR, KING OF BABYLON.
FROM A RECENTLY-DISCOVERED CLAY CYLINDER
IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

COLUMN I.

1. Nebuchadnezzar the king of Babylon,
2. the exalted prince, the worshipper of the god Marduk
3. the supreme lord, the beloved of the god Nebo,
4. the unwearied prince of the gate,
5. the restorer of the temple SAG-ILI and the temple ZIDA
6. who to the god Nebo and the god Marduk his lords
7. worship has performed before their persons
8. the exalted one, who causes the ituti to be deep, the
   messenger of the great gods,
9. the eldest son of Nabu-pul-usur (Nabopolassar),
10. the king of Babylon am I.
11. Prince Marduk the great lord then caused me to hold
   firmly
12. a sceptre (?) to rule the people [as a] shepherd,
13. to restore the fortresses, and to renew the temples
14. greatly he encouraged me.
15. I put my trust in Marduk, my lord, my judge,
16. his supreme fortress, the citadel his high place [the walls],
17. Imgur-Bel, Nimitti-Bel
18. I caused to be completed over their great fortresses
19. upon the threshold of its great gates
20. mighty lords (gods)
21. and [images] of poisonous snakes
22. I set up
23. the which never had any king my predecessor made.
24. The quay (of the fortress), its ditch (moat)
25. with bitumen and brick
26. the father my begetter built and completed for a bulwark.
27. As for me, the paths of the ancient quay
28. once, twice
29. I built up with bitumen and brick, and
30. the quay which my father had worked I excavated.
31. I caused its foundation to be laid with huge flat slabs, and
32. I raised up its summit like a mountain.
33. The quay of brick at the ford of the setting sun
34. within Babylon I completed.
The paths along the quay with bitumen and brick, the father my begetter had worked at; its buttresses (?) with brick along the river of Sippara I bound together, and I fully completed its banks. As for me his eldest son (i.e., eldest son of Nabopolassar) the beloved of his heart, the paths along the quay with bitumen and brick, in addition to the quay which my father had made, I renewed. In the temple of SAG-ILI the kiṣṣra I set. The palace of heaven and earth, the seat of tranquillity, E-KU-.A the shrine of Bel, the temple of the gods and of Marduk, the gate of Hilisud the seat of the goddess Zirpanitum, and the temple of ZI-DA the dwelling-place of the divine king of heaven and earth I caused them to be covered with shining gold and I made them brilliant as the day. The temple, the foundation of heaven and earth, the tower of Babel I built anew. The temple of ZIDA, the eternal, the (temple) beloved of Nebo I built anew within Borsippa, and

COLUMN II.

1. with gold and sculptured stones
2. I made [it] like the brilliance of heaven.
3. I caused it to be covered over with durable cedar and gold
4. up to the ceiling of the great temple of Life. The shrine of Nebo
5. I caused to be erected before those three
6. The great temple, the temple of the “lady of the headland” within Babylon,
7. the temple (called) “he gives the sceptre of the world,” the temple of Nebo of Harie,
8. the temple of Namgan, the temple of the wind within Kumari,
9. the temple of the dwelling, before the lady of heaven near the fortress,
10. I rebuilt within Babylon, and
11. I reared up their summits
12. the which never had any king my predecessor done.
13. Four thousand cubits square, the citadel with walls
14. towering and inaccessible
15. the everlasting fortress of Babylon at the ford of the
rising sun
16. I caused to surround.
17. I dug out the moat, I emptied away the water that had
gathered there,
18. I made its bed of bitumen and brick, and I excavated
19. the quay which my father had worked at.
20. the lofty fortress with bitumen and brick
21. I built up like a mountain upon its side.
22. The height of the fortress of Borsippa thoroughly
23. I rebuilt.
24. The quay and the moat [lined and built] with bitumen
and brick
25. I made to surround the citadel for a protection.
26. For the god Turkit, the lord, the breaker of the weapons
of my enemies
27. I rebuilt his temple within Borsippa.
28. The temple of the Sun, the temple of the sun-god of
Sippara,
29. the temple the established seat, the temple of the
god ....
30. of the city Batz,
31. the temple of the eyes of Anum, the temple of the god
Dar
32. of the city of the planet Venus,
33. the temple of heaven, the temple of Istar of Erech,
34. the temple of the sun, the temple of the sun-god of
Larsa,
35. the temple of Kis- Kur- gal, the temple of the moon-god
of Ur,
36. these temples of the great gods
37. I rebuilt; and
38. I caused their beautiful adornments to be completed.
39. The restoration (or furniture) of the temples of SAG-ILI
and ZIDA
40. the new places of Babylon
41. which more than before
42. I have made more extensive
43. and I have established them even to their summits.
44. An account of all my magnificent works,
and of my restorations of the temples of the great gods
above what the kings my fathers wrote
upon a stone tablet I wrote; and
I set it up for future days.
The account of all my works
which I have written upon the stone tablet
with understanding mayst thou look upon
and upon the glorious things of the gods.
May men understand that
I built the fortresses of the gods and of the goddess Istar
of the great lord and of Marduk.

COLUMN III.

1. As for myself Marduk urged me on,
2. he girded me up in heart,
3. reverently, and not failing him
4. I completed his beautiful [works].
5. [I rebuilt] (?) for the god the king of Marad, my lord,
6. his temple within Marad the
7. which had been built from a remote time;
8. its ancient foundation stone
9. which no former king had ever seen
10. I took hold of, I uncovered, and
11. upon the foundation stone, the beloved of the Moon-god,
   the king,
12. my ancient father, I laid down its foundation.
13. I made an inscription in my name, and
14. I placed it within it.
15. O God the king of Marad, lord of all warriors,
16. to the brickwork which my happy hands [have made]
17. be favourable joyfully and
18. my life to a far distant day
19. with abundance of glory,
20. fixity of throne, and length of rule
21. to eternity do thou lengthen.
22. Sweep away the disobedient,
23. break in pieces their weapons,
24. devastate the lands of the enemies,
25. sweep them all away.
26. Thy mighty weapons
27. which benefit not my enemies
28. may they draw near and may they fight
29. for the subjugation of my enemies, may they go by my sides.
30. In the presence of Marduk king of heaven and earth
31. upon my works pronounce blessing
32. command my prosperity.

TEXT AND TRANSLATION.

COLUMN I.

1. \( \text{D.P. Na-bi-uv-cu-dur-ri-utsu-ur} \)
   Nebuchadnezzar

   sar Ba-bi-lav D.A.
   the king of Babylon

2. \( \text{ru-ba-av na-a-dav mi-gi-ir} \)
   the exalted prince the worshipper

   \( \text{D.P. Marduk} \)
   of the god Marduk

3. \( \text{is-sa-ak-ku tsi-i-ri na-ra-am} \)
   the prince supreme, the beloved

   \( \text{D.P. Na-bi-uv} \)
   of the god Nebo

4. \( \text{sa-ac-ca-na-cu la-a ne-kha} \)
   I am established the unresting or
   \( \text{la-a pil-kha} \)
   the unfearing one
5. the restorer of the temple of the lofty head and the temple of Zida

6. sa a-na D.P, Na-bi-uv u D.P. Marduk
who to the god Nebo and the god Marduk

7. worship also has performed before their persons

8. the exalted one, he who causes the ituti to be deep,

9. the eldest son of Nabo-

10. King of Babylon I am.

' Variant ١٤٠١٩١٨١٩.
11. ni - nu - uv D.P. Marduk bil ra - be - u
   The prince Merodach great lord
   ci - ni - is lu - ba - an - ni - va
   firmly may he cause me to hold also

12. D.P.... su-te su-ru ni-sim ri-e-a-av
   a sceptre (?) to direct the people the shepherd,

13. za-na-an ma-kha-zi ud-du-su
   (to) restore the fortress to renew
   e-es-ri-e-tiv
   the temples

14. ra-bi-is u-ma-ah ir-an-ni
   greatly he encouraged me

15. a-na-cu a-na D.P. Marduk bil-ya
   I upon the god Marduk my lord,
   pa-al-li u-ta-ku
   my judge trusted

16. Ba-bi-lav D.A. ma-kha-za-su tsi-i-ri
   Babylon his supreme fortress,
   ta-na-da-a-tu-su
   the citadel his high place
17. Im - gu - ur Bel Ni - mi - it - ti
    Imgur-Bel Nimitti

    D.P. Bel Bel

18. e - li dur - su GAL - GAL
    upon its great fortress

    u - sa - ac - li - il
    I caused to be completed

19. a - na se - ip - pi ABULLI - su
    upon the threshold of its great gates

20. bi - e - li e - ik - du - u - tiv
    gods (?) mighty

21. u TSIR RUS TSIR RUS tu - zu - u - tiv
    and powerful snakes strong (poisonous)

22. u - us - zi - iz
    (then) I set up;

23. sa sar ma - akh - ri - iv la i - pu - su
    which a king preceding (me) had not made

24. ca - a - ri khi - ri - ti - su
    its quay its ditch (moat)
25. i-na IDD U u libittu AL
with bitumen and brick
UR - ra

26. a-ti-si-si-su aba-av ali-tu
its ............... (?) the father (my) begetter
u-sa-al-am
the citadel completed (or raised).

27. ya-ti ca-ari dara-ati bu-su-si-su
As for me the quay lasting its paths

28. is-ti-en-ni-ti sa-ni-i
once, twice

29. i-na IDD U u libittu
with bitumen and brick
UR - ra ab-ni-va
I built and

30. it-ti ca-ari aba-av ik-zu-ru
with the quay (my) father had made (bound)
e-es-ni-ik-va
excavated and
31. i-si-su i-na bu-ra-at Gil-GAL
its foundation with the . . . . of inscription stones

32. ri-si-su sa-da-ni-is
its head like a mountain

33. ka-a-ri-iv libittu AL UR alu
the quay of brick . . . . . (at) the city

pal-ri D.P. Sam-su
the ford of the setting sun

34. i-na Ba-bi-lav u-sa-al-av
within Babylon I raised.

35. ka-a-ri a-ra-akh-tiv
the quay, the paths

36. i-na IDDUR u libittu
with bitumen and brick

AL UR-ra
37. a-ba-av a-li-tu ik-zu-ur-va
the father (my) begetter worked at and

38. ba-ca-atsi libittu AL-UR-ra
with brick

39. a-ba-ar-ti nahar puranunu D.A.
along the river of Sippara
u-ra-ak-ki-is-va
I bound together

40. ma-la u-sa-ak-ili
fully I completed
se-it-ta-a-tiv
its banks

41. ya-ti a-bi-il-su ri-e-es-ta-a-av
As for me his eldest son

42. na-ra-am li-ib-bi-su
the beloved (one) of his heart

43. ka-ar-ri a-ra-akh-tiv
quay paths i.e. (the road along the quay)

1 In a four-column bilingual list the pronunciation of this word is said to be pu-ru-ru-nu. W.A.I., v. 22, 31.
44. 

\[ \text{i-na IDDU u libittu UR-ra} \]

with bitumen and brick

45. 

\[ \text{it-ti ka-a-ri a-ba-a-av} \]

with the quay (which my) father

\[ \text{ik-zu-ur-ru u-sa-an-ni-in} \]

had made I renewed.

46. 

\[ \text{i-na E SAG-ILLI ki-its-tsi-ra} \]

In the "temple of the lofty head" the whole

\[ \text{as-ba-av} \]

collection I set.

47. 

\[ \text{E-GAL sami-e u ir-zi-tiv} \]

The palace of heaven and earth

\[ \text{su-ba-at ta-si-la-tiv} \]

the seat of prosperity

48. 

\[ \text{E CU-A pa-pa-kha Bel} \]

The temple of E CU-A the shrine of Bel,

\[ \text{bit ilani D.P. Marduk} \]

the temple of the gods (and) Marduk

\[ ^{1} \text{Var. } \text{Vv.} \]
49. bab khi - li - sud su - ba - at
The gate of Khilisud the seat

D.P. Zir - pa - ni - tuv
of the goddess Zirpanitu\u2014

50. E ZI - DA su - ba - at D.P. sar
The temple of Zida, the dwelling place of the divine king

dim - me - ir AN - CI - A
heaven and earth

51. D.P. khuratsi na - am - ru u - sa - al - bi - is - va
with shining gold I caused (them) to be covered and

u - na - am - mi - ir ki - ma um - uv
I made them bright like the day

52. E temen sami irtsiti zi - ku - ra - at
The temple of the foundation of heaven and earth the tower

Ba - bi - lav D.A.
of Babylon

53. e - es - si - is e - pu - us
anew I built

1 Var. ﬤ.
The temple of Zida, the established, the beloved

D.P. Na-bi-uv
(temple) of Nebo

within Borsippa,

I built and

COLUMN II.

1. i-na D.P. khuratsi u ni-se-ik-tiv
    with gold and sculptured
    abni stones

2. ki-ma si-be-ir-ti sa-ma-mi
    like the splendour of heaven
    u-ba-an-niv I built (it)

1 This name is written 𒇅𒇏𒆠𒈺, Dur-Si-ab-ba (Trans. Soc. Bib. Arch., vol. vii. p. 106.)

Var. 𒉨

Var. 𒉨
3. e-ri-nuv. darat-tiv D.P. khuratasi
(with) cedar lasting and gold

u sa-al-bi-is-va
I caused to cover and

4. a-na tsu-lu-ul E MAKH TI-LA
for the {overshadowing ceiling} of the great temple of Life,

pa-pa-kha D.P. Nabu
the shrine of Nebo

5. pa-nuv se-lal-ti-su-nu u-sa-at-ri-its
before those three I caused to be erected

6. E MAKH E D.P. NIN-KI-SAK E lib-ba
The great temple, the temple of the lady of the headland,

KA DINGIR-RA D.A.
the temple within Babylon

7. E D.P. khaddhi-kala-ma-idinna-va
The temple "he gives the sceptre of the world,"

E D.P. Na-bi-uv sa Kha-ri-e
the temple of Nebo of Kharie

1 Var. = = = T = = = = .
8. **E NAM - GAN E Rammanu lib - ba**
The temple of Namgan, the temple of wind within

Ku - ma - ri D.A.
Cumari

9. **E KI - KU pa - an E D.P. BELTI**
The temple of the dwelling, before the temple of the lady,

an - na sa tu - up - ga - at duri
of heaven of the regions of the fortress

10. **i - na Ba - bi - lav D.A. e - es - si - is**
within Babylon afresh

ab - ni - va
I built and

11. **u - ul - la - a - av ri - e - sa - si - in**
I raised up their summits (heads)

12. sa ma - na - a - ma sar ma - akhi - ri la i - pu - su
which (temples) never a preceding King had made

---

1 Var. ☸.
13. \(\text{IV} \times 1,000\) ammati ka-ka-ra-av  
Four thousand cubits square

i-ta-a-at  
the walls of the citadel

14. ni-se-is la da-khi-e  
loftily inaccessible

15. duru daru pal-ri D.P. Samas atsu  
The fortress eternal of the ford of the rising sun of

Ba-bi-lav-D.A.  
Babylon

16. u-sa-as-khi-ir  
I caused to surround

17. khi-ri-su akh-ri-e-va su-pu-ul mi-e  
its ditch I dug out and the depth of waters

ak-su-ud  
I took (emptied)

\(^1\) Var. \(\text{<\.>}\).
18. ki-bi-ir-su i-na iddu
   its bed with bitumen

u libittu al-ur-ra ab-ni-va
   and brick I built and

19. it-ti ka-a-ri a-ba-a av ik-zu-ru
   with the quay (my) father had made,

e-se-ni-ik-va
   I cut it out and

20. duru daru i-na iddu
   the lofty fortress with bitumen

u libittu al-ur-ra
   and brick

21. i-na ki-sa-di-sa sa-da-ni-is
   upon its side like a mountain

ab-niv
   I built

1 Var.  $\exists$.  2 Var.  $\exists$.  3 Var.  $\exists$. 
22. dha-a
  bi
  su-bu-ur-su
  dur
  well
  the height of (lit. its height of) the fortress of
  Borsippa

23. e-es-se-is
  e-pu-us
  afresh
  I built (made)

24. ka-a-ri
  khi-ri-ti-su
  i-na
  the quay,
  its ditch
  with

  iddu u libittu AL UR-ra
  bitumen and brick

25. a-na
  ki-da-nuv u-sa-as-khi-ir
  a citadel for a protection I caused to surround

26. a-na D.P. TUR-CIT bilu mu-sa-ab-bi-ir
  For the god TUR-CIT, the lord, the breaker of the

  D.P. KAKKI sa
  na-ki-ri-ya
  weapons of my enemies

1 Var. 1⁴.

N 2
27. bit-su i-na Ba-ar-zi-pav D.A. 
his temple within Borsippa

28. Bit-PAR-RA Bit D.P. Samas SIPAR
The temple of the Sun, the temple of the Sun-god of Sippara.

29. Bit-subat-kinu E D.P. sar gis-a-tu gab-gam
The temple the established seat, the temple of the god .......

30. sa D.P. Ba-atz D.A.
of the city of Bāts

31. E i-dhe D.P. A-nuv E D.P. DAR
The temple of the eyes of the god Anu, the temple of the god Dar

32. sa Dil-bat D.A.
of the city of the planet Venus.

33. E AN-NA E D.P. Is-tar sa URU D.A.
The temple of heaven the temple of Istar of Erech

34. Bit-par-ra E D.P. Samas sa LARSA D.A.
The temple of the sun, the temple of the Sun-god of Larsa

1 Var. 2. 
2 The modern Dailem.
35. The temple of . . . . . . . the temple of the moon-god of Ur

36. (these) temples of the great gods

37. afresh I built and

38. I caused to be completed their beautiful (adornments)

39. furniture of the temple of the lofty head, (and)

40. the new places of Babylon

41. which more than before

---

1 Var.  REPRESENTATION
2 Var.  REPRESENTATION
3 Var.  REPRESENTATION
42. u - sa - ti - ku - va
I have caused to exceed and

43. as ku - nuv a - na ri - e - es - e - tiv
I have established them even to their summits

44. ka - la e - ip - se - e - ti - ya
(an account) of all my costly
su - ku - ra - a - tiv
(and)

45. za- na- an e - es - ri - e - ti ilani rabuti
the restoration of the temples of the great gods

46. sa e - li sarrani ab - bi - e - a
as to which above what the kings my fathers
u - sa - ti - ru
wrote

47. i - na D.P. Na- ra - a as - tu - ur - va
upon a stone tablet I wrote and

48. u - ki - in akh - ra - ta - as
I set up for future (days)

1 Var. $\text{৮}$ instead of $\text{০}$ $\text{১}$. 
2 Var. $\text{৮}$.
49. ka-la e-ip-se-e-ti-ya
(The account) of all my works

50. sa i-na D.P. na-ra-a as tu-ru
which upon the stone tablet I have written

51. mu-da-a-av li-ta-am-ma-ar-va
(with) understanding mayest thou look upon and

52. ta-ni-it-ti ilani
the glory of the gods

53. li-ikh-ta aš-sa-as
may he understand

54. e-bi-su ma-kha-zi ilani u
I built the fortress of the gods and

D.P. Is-tar
the goddess Istar

55. sa bilu ra-be u D.P. Marduk
of the great lord and Marduk

1 Var. 𒈗𒈏. 2 Var. 𒈠𒈣.
COLUMN III.

1. ya - ti u - ma - ra - an - ni - va
   As for me he urged me and

2. u - sa - at - ka - an - ni li - ìb - ba - av
   he caused to gather me in heart

3. pa - al - khi - is la - a ba - adh - dhi - il - su
   reverently. not failing him,

4. u - sa - al - la - av si - bi - ir - su
   I completed his beautiful (works)

Thus far the account on both cylinders is the same, although the spelling of a word here and there is different. But now the accounts differ entirely, and we give the text from the cylinder that contains the third column in the best state of preservation.

5. ni - nu mi - su a - na D.P. SAR AMAR-DA bil - ya
   for the god the king of Marad my lord

6. bit - su sa ki - ri - ìb AMAR - DA - DA
   his temple which is within Marad,

7. sa is - tu yu - um ri - e - ku - u tiv
   which from a time (day) remote
8. te-me-en-su la-be-ri-iv  
   its ancient foundation-stone (which)

9. la-i-mu-ru sar ma-akh-ri-iv  
   a former king had not seen

10. te-me-en-su la-be-ri-iv  
    its ancient foundation-stone,
    a-khi-id ap-ri-e-va  
    I took hold of, I uncovered and

11. e-li te-me-en sa na-ra-am  
    above the foundation-stone which (is) the delight of the
    EN-ZU sar  
    Moon-god, the king

12. a-ba-av la-be-ri u-ki-in  
    my ancient father, I laid down
    us-su-su  
    its foundation

13. si-dhe-er su-mi-ya ab-ni-va  
    the writing of my name I made and
14. \[\text{u-ki-in ki-ir-bu-us-su}\]
\[I \text{placed within it.}\]

15. \[\text{D.P. sar AMAR-DA bil ku-ul-la-at}\]
\[O \text{God the king of Marad, the lord of all}\]
\[\text{ka-ar-dav}\]
\[\text{the warrior (gods)}\]

16. \[\text{li-bi-it ka-ti-ya a-na da-mi-ik-tiv}\]
\[\text{to the brickwork of my lucky hands.}\]

17. \[\text{kha-di-is na-ap-li-is-va}\]
\[\text{joyfully, be favourable and}\]

18. \[\text{ba-la-adh Yu-uv ri-e-ku-u-tiv}\]
\[\text{a life to a day remote}\]

19. \[\text{se-bi-e li-it-tu-u-tiv}\]
\[\text{sufficiency of glory}\]

20. \[\text{ku-un D.P. kuššu u la-ba-ar}\]
\[\text{establishment of throne and a length}\]
\[\text{pa-li-e}\]
\[\text{of reign}\]
21. a-na si-ri-ik-tiv su-ur-kav
to eternity lengthen

22. si-gi-is la ma-gi-ri
Sweep away the disobedient

23. su-ub-bi-ir kakki-su-un
shatter their weapons

24. khu-ul-li-ik na-ap-kha-ar
devastate all

ma-da ai-bi
the enemy's land

25. su-pu-un ku-ul-la-at-su-un
sweep away the whole of them

26. ka-ak-ki-ca e-iz-zu-u-tiv
thy mighty weapons

27. sa la i-ga-am-mi-lu na-ki-ri
which benefit not my enemies

28. lu-u-ti-bu u lu-u-za-ak-tu
may they draw near and may they sting
29. ana na-ari ai-biya
   to the subjugation of my enemies

li-il-li-ku i-da-ai
   may they go by my sides

30. i-na ma-kha-ar DP. Marduk sar
   In the presence of the god Marduk king

sa-mi-e u ir-zitiv
   of heaven and earth

31. e-ip-seti-ya su-um-gi-ir
   my works make blessed

32. ki-bi tu-um-ku-u-a
   command my prosperity
ANALYSIS.

COLUMN I.

   *nādāv*, adj. sing.  Comp. Heb. נָדָא
   *migir*, subs. sing. masc. cons.  Comp. Heb. נִגִּיר
   to fear.

   *naraṃ*, Niphal deriv. with softened guttural.  Comp. Heb. נָרָם

4. **saccanacu**, 1st sing.  Permansive *acu* is a shortened form from *anacu* (Heb. אֲנָאכּ).¹ A whole string of verbs of similar formation occurs in W.A.I., I. 17, 32, thus:—

   ![Verb Forms](image)

   Dr. Delitzsch, however, would prefer to read *saccanacu* as *sāk kanaci*, “prince of the gate,” and refers to W.A.I., IV. 16, 58, where the Akkadian 𒃾𒄖 is equated with the Assyrian 𒃾𒄖 𒄑 D.P. *ca-na-ci*.

   But on both cones the last sign is *cu* not *ci*.

¹ See Sayce, *Assyrian Lectures*, p. 93.  (Bagster & Co.)
8. műstemiku, Itaphal partic. Comp. Heb. סַפַּר arap, subs. sing. masc. cons. Arab. סַפַּר


asaridu. Comp. Chald. מָזוּר and Syr. מָזוּר, "principium."

10. Marduk. Occurs in Heb. under the forms מַרְדּוּק and סֶרֶב Syriac מֶרֶב.

cinis, adverb from cinu. Comp. Heb. סוּר.

lu-bânni, 1st sing. Imperative Pael. Literally "build me." Comp. Heb. בָּנָה.


rēăv, subs. sing. masc. Heb. בָּנָה.


Comp. Chald. מִשְׁרִית, Syr. מִשְׁרִית.

15. seippī, subs. sing. masc. Comp. Heb. סָלָה, Syr. מִשְׁרִית "atrium."

abullī, subs. plu. masc. Chald. מִשְׁרִית.

16. eikdātit, adj. fem. with mimination. Comp. Arab. מִשְׁרִית "potentia."

17. sexuzūtim. Comp. Heb. בָּלִי.

25. \[\text{\ldots}\] id-da. W.A.I., VI. 6, 46.

This occurs in many inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar. See W.A.I., I. 65, 51. Col. 2, 8. W.A.I., I. 52, 17. On a brick lost in the Tigris, but printed by Dr. Oppert in his “Exp. Mésop.,” p. 257, \[\text{\ldots}\] was omitted. (Norris Dict., p. 60.)

libittu. Comp. Heb. לְבִיתָיָה.


alitu, pres. participle, or “nomen agentis.” Heb. לְלוּוֹ.

Comp. Syr. ḥālā, “genitor.”


27. bususi, subs. plu. masc. Heb. בָּעָסִי, “to tread.”

28. istenniti. From Akkadian - as “one” and \[\text{\ldots}\] TA-AN, “a measure.” Heb. בִּשְׁנִיתִי.

sani. Comp. Heb. רָבִּי, “to do the second time.”

31. isīsu, for isid-šu. Comp. Heb. דְּשָׁו.

cer-GAL, i.e., Hades. The Queen of Hades was called Gula (גַּלְּעָה), and she was wife of the God Ea. Another name, Nin-ci-gal, i.e., “Lady of the great Country,” was also borne by her in her especial capacity as “Lady of the House of Death.”

33. e-bir-ti-nāhr, “the crossing of a river.”

35. arākhtiv, subs. plu. fem. Heb. נַרְגָּחֲו.


40. seittātiv, subs. plu. fem. Comp. Chald. נַכְרְנָשְׁבָּה.

41. yāti. Comp. Heb. יָהָב.

47. īrsitiv, for īrṣītiv. Heb. נַכְּרָא.

51. khuratsi, subs. sing. masc. Heb. יָרַעַש.
COLUMN II.

1. sipirti, subs. fem. sing. gen. case. ־שֶׁפֶרַת.
2. samami, reduplicated form like mami, "waters."
13. kakarav. Dr. Oppert has pointed out that ammat gagari signified the square cubit (360 yards).
17. supul, subs. sing. masc. ־שֻׁפֶל.
40. tedisti, subs. plu. fem. Comp. Heb. שֶׁפֶל "to be new."
   Chald. מַמְמִי.
46. usətiru, for usadhiru, 1st sing. perf. ־שָׁפֵר.
51. mudāv. Comp. Heb. מַדָּאָו. Isai. xii. 5.

COLUMN III.

20. surkav, sigis, subbir, khullik, supun, sumgir, and kibi, are an interesting collection of imperatives.
28. lu, the sign of the precative, and is to be compared with the Hebrew נָל and נָל, O that! would that! let it be! etc. But for a discussion on this point, and a contradiction of the opinions of Prof. Sayce and Dr. Oppert, see Lowe's Fragment of Talmud Babli Pesachim. Critical Notes, pp. 1—3. Cambridge, 1879.
The Chairman (Rev. R. Thornton, D.D., V.P.).—I am sure I only represent the feeling of this meeting when I say that we are all greatly indebted to Mr. Budge for his learned and interesting paper. (Applause.) We shall now be happy to hear the remarks of any present who wish to speak upon the subject with which Mr. Budge has so ably dealt.

The Rev. H. A. Stern, D.D.—I venture to offer one or two observations on the interesting and instructive paper that has just been read. First, as regards the name of Nebuchadnezzar. I am inclined to think that it signifies “Nebo,” “the protector against troubles.” The Hebrew words, רְוִיתָן “trouble,” and נָחַל “to protect,” seem to justify this interpretation. Nebo is represented as the tutelar god of the most distinguished Babylonian kings. Borsippa was under his protection; and the great temple, the modern Birs Nimrod, was dedicated to his service. In the Talmud Borsippa has a very doubtful reputation, a good deal is said about it, but all in language that is far from flattering; it is said that the atmosphere is bad, and weakens the memory. And again, Babel and Bursif are inimical to the study of the Scriptures, because on that spot God confounded the language of the builders of the Tower of Babel. Another remark I would make on the god Ea, one of the children of Zigaru, or Samu, the Hebrew מַעַל. The name reminds one of what God said to Moses, when he asked for the credentials of his mission, אִיְמָנְיָ֔הוּ יְהֹוָ֔ה אלֹהֵ֖י יִשְׂרָאֵֽל—“I AM THAT I AM” “hath sent me unto you.” Ea may be derived from מַעַל, to be, or to exist; from which comes Jehovah, the eternal, unchangeable God. The distinction between Jehovah and Elohim is very questionable. They are synonymous names of the Deity, as any one can convince himself by reading the first three chapters of Genesis. “Then began man to call upon the name of Jehovah.” יִהְוָ֖א יֵשָׁ֣בֵע אֶלֹהִ֑ים יִשְׂרָאֵ֖ל. Jewish commentators interpret this to mean that, after the birth of Enos, men erected idols, which they called by the name Jehovah. This appears to me to be far more consistent than such a theory as is contained even in the remarks made in this interesting paper. But in speaking of Ea, the god of life, I am reminded of a sect who, to this day, dwell in the lower valley of the Euphrates, near its confluence with the Tigris. They are called Mandaens, not Mundaens, and more frequently Christians of John the Baptist. They believe in “Chayah Kadmayah,” the origin of life or first cause, the infinite, eternal energy. Their sacred books are called “Manda Chayah,” “knowledge of life,” and they pretend that they were delivered to their ancestors by Adam. They are written in ancient Syriac, which they read without understanding the meaning of the words. Many of their rites and ceremonies bear traces of Assyrian origin. May they not be descendants of the ancient worshippers of Ea, Hea, or מַעַל, the God of life and knowledge, the offspring of the sky? There is a reference in the paper to the size and splendour of Babylon. From the extent of the ruins which lie buried beneath the mounds that dot the desert plain, it must have been a city worthy of the proud boast of Nebuchadnezzar:
“Is not this great Babylon that I have built for the house of the kingdom by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?” But it was foretold that Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees’ excellency, was to become a desolation and the abode of wild beasts; and no one can visit those vast ruins without feeling that the prophecy has been changed into history, and the inspired denunciations into accomplished facts. (Applause.) I speak here of what I have seen with my own eyes, and I have no doubt that Mr. Rassam, whom I am glad to see here, has also looked upon the same scene. I would say, in conclusion, that the subject of the derivation of the word Ea, or la, is certainly one of very great interest as well as of great importance, particularly at the present day, when theories concerning Jehovah, or Javeh, are so often being disputed and discussed. (Applause.)

Mr. W. St. C. BosCAWEN.—I am extremely glad to have been here to-night to hear Mr. Budge’s paper read, because it forms quite an elaborate appendix to that which I had the honour of bringing before this Institute last month. If we take the dry and perhaps unsystematic arrangement of the sentences in the Assyrian as literally translated, the good points of the inscription in Mr. Budge’s paper may not at first appear; and this being so, I will endeavour, in as few words as possible, to put before you some of those points which strike me most forcibly in connexion with this subject. In the first place I would remind you that we know very little of Nebuchadnezzar, from an historical point of view, beyond what appears in the Bible. It is a remarkable fact, that we have in the British Museum some thirty or forty inscriptions belonging to Nebuchadnezzar’s reign, all of which record great works such as the buildings at Babylon. We have dedications of temples and public structures, but only one small fragment of some fifteen or twenty lines or so, which has any relation to his historical career. Nevertheless, there are a number of fragments which constitute indirect pieces of evidence tending to show that the Biblical accounts of Nebuchadnezzar’s campaigns are historically correct. Mr. Budge has referred to the prominent part which Riblah took in the campaigns of Nebuchadnezzar. You may remember seeing a few weeks ago, in the Times, an interesting letter from M. Ganneau, giving an account of an important discovery made in the neighbourhood of Hermul, showing that within a few miles of Riblah the Assyrians had an important station, to which they brought down the cedars cut in the Lebanon, and where those cedars were trimmed and prepared for the purpose of being carried to Babylon. What is now known of Nebuchadnezzar is principally from his boast of having rebuilt Babylon. He might indeed say, “Is not this great Babylon that I have built?” for there is hardly a building or mound throughout the whole of Babylon or Chaldea, or any place in which bricks are discovered, where we do not find the inscribed bricks of Nebuchadnezzar. This brings very vividly before us the works that great king carried on in Babylon; and if I may be allowed, I will refer to one or two interesting points in connexion with these works
For instance, in one of the inscriptions we have, he gives an account of the building of one of his temples. He tells us that the roof and ceiling of that temple were of cedar, and covered with gold. This is an interesting comment on the construction of the Temple at Jerusalem; the lavish use of gold and precious stones in the building of these temples giving us a clear indication of the great wealth which must have been pouring into Babylon at that time. (Hear, hear.) The work of rebuilding Babylon was a work that had become an absolute necessity. The vengeance wreaked on that city by Sennacherib, in the campaign of 694 B.C. had resulted in its almost total destruction. Sennacherib says in the Bavian inscription, he swept the city from end to end; that he destroyed the houses; threw down the walls and the fortifications, and swept the débris into the river. The destruction thus completely carried out was in revenge for the rebellion of the Babylonians, and although he and Assur-bani-pal repaired them in such imperial style, Babylon never regained its title of the Glory of the East until the time of Nebuchadnezzar, who, as we find it recorded, was engaged throughout his reign, which occupies nearly half the period of the later Babylonian empire, in reconstructing the cities and temples of his kingdom. One of the most valuable portions of this inscription is the prayer which comes at the end. Although it is a prayer of an essentially heathen character, yet if you substitute the name of Jehovah for that of Marduk, you will find phrases that are identical with some of those occurring in the Psalms. Again, in the case of the other inscription, which is one of the longest of the inscriptions we have of Nebuchadnezzar, we have a prayer differing from this in its phraseology, but which is, nevertheless, the prayer of a king whose heart and life are given up to the worship of one god—Marduk, the great Bel of Babylon. There is a large number of inscriptions that have come to us lately, which show that from a very early period throughout the whole of the religious development of Babylon there must have been priests who approached very nearly to monotheism in their creed. (Hear, hear.) The belief that sin was an offence which brought punishment and affliction on its perpetrators, and that an act of sin was also a moral offence against God, is actually brought out in those inscriptions. (Applause.) And what is more remarkable is that those who had sinned did not go directly to the god they worshipped, but required a mediator between themselves and their deity. That mediator was the god Marduk, who went to his father,—the god who Sir Henry Rawlinson maintains is that of the monotheistic priesthood,—and obtained the necessary pardon. The Greeks say that Marduk was half-god half-man. It would seem that the Babylonians had worked out at a very early period, probably prior to the Abrahamic migration, a theory which in after time reached a much higher stage of development in the creeds of both India and Chaldea. The importance of these inscriptions leads me again to speak of another matter, of which I should never be tired of talking, and that is the importance of going on with this work of exploration. (Hear, hear.) These inscriptions bring before us a number of stern, dry facts. We do not
speculate upon them as to whether Moses knew the number and character of the bones in the ichthyosaurus or the megatherium, but we have a number of problems presented to us in the Bible the only solutions of which can be found in the bricks brought from the ruins of Babylon. I say, therefore, that it is the duty of all of us at the present time, when so many attacks are being made on the statements of the Old Testament, to endeavour to bring prominently forward those facts, the explanations of which still lie buried beneath the mounds of Chaldea. (Hear, hear.) We have got a great deal already, but we want a great deal more, and until we obtain what we still need we should not rest. Therefore I think that an Institute like this, numbering as it now does over a thousand members, must surely have the power to assert itself and to agitate in regard to this matter; because I am grateful even for the help that a little well-directed agitation is likely to afford. (Applause.) It is easy to sit still and say that this or that ought to be done, but that is not enough. We have had no end of such sympathy, and the promises of aid have been numerous, but I am tired of promises only and want to see our friends really take the matter up, and, if possible, get up an influential deputation to the proper authorities so that the voice of a Society like this may not only be raised but be heard by those officials whose duty it is to undertake the carrying on of the work, so that it may at length be satisfactorily accomplished. (Applause.) If this were the case the "Transactions" of the Victoria Institute might be filled with papers such as that we have just heard, so that questions of a critical character with regard to the matter contained in the Bible,—not the criticisms evolved from the brain of some learned member of the University of Oxford, Leipsic, or Cambridge, but critical matter, written almost before some of the books of the Bible were indited, and which come to us untainted and undamaged by popular or theological prejudice,—may be fully and fairly set forth and discussed. (Applause.)

Rev. W. Wright, D.D., a visitor.—I have had very much pleasure in listening to the paper that has been read to-night. All look forward to great things on this subject from Mr. Budge, and I think may expect to get them. He is, I think, a man whose scholarship no one will question, and who is so zealous as to collect the dry details of recent Assyrian research and put them together in a sufficiently attractive literary form to be placed before the public. There are a good many things stated in this paper that cannot but interest not only those who belong to this Institute, but Christians at large. The passage which I find on the fifth page of the paper is well worth the attentive consideration of all believers in Christianity; here, at any rate, apart from the suggestion made by the last speaker as to the notion of a mediator, we have the Great Father. Then we have Marduk, the son; and we find that son put forth here as a mediator between man and the great God—between sinful humanity and Ea—the penitent sinner coming direct to Ea through Marduk. This, I think, is worth considering. The natural forms common to the Biblical lands are worked
into the whole text of the Bible; even the most spiritual thoughts in the Bible are to a great extent limited by the ideas derived from natural and material things. The most fervent aspirations of our souls towards God only find their due expression in thoughts which had their natural birth in Bible lands. If you take any of these expressions you will see that this is so. For instance,—"Lift on us the light of Thy countenance." Here we have before us the idea of a man who, being dragged before a judge, who, if he is not going to pardon the prisoner, frowns upon him, but, if he means to extend a pardon, lifts on him the light of his countenance. Again, the Saviour said, that the kingdom of heaven was likened to things on earth, meaning that the spiritual and heavenly are pictured in earthly material; and any one who goes to Syria or Palestine is certain to see a complete panorama of Bible pictures, there being scarcely an object in those countries that has not its reflection in some part of the Bible. Just as you see a physical basis for our spiritual nomenclature, so also do you find, as evidenced in the paper this evening, what you may call a community of ideas as the basis of the Semitic thought in the early ages; but I prefer to look on it as a feeling after a higher truth which was developed even in earlier ages. I feel that I have been well repaid for coming here to-night; and I have no doubt that ultimately we may find in some of these things that are brought under our notice, purer and higher thoughts, in which we shall find Divine love and the form of love—love as the substance, and righteousness as its form and expression.

Mr. Hormuzd Rassam.—What I have to say will be mainly superficial, while it will be special as regards that branch of knowledge which I have pursued in the course of my travels, and also to the acquaintance I have with the different languages of the East. With respect to Nebuchadnezzar, my friend Mr. Budge has given us a different meaning of the name to that which is rendered by other Assyrian scholars, and I have no doubt that my friend Dr. Stern, who is present here, has also his own interpretation of it. What I have always understood, and what I believe the name to mean, is, Nebo-chod-nazar. Nebo signifies the idol of the Assyrians, chod is the name of God in Kurdish, and nazar means victory, i.e., "the God Nebo give me victory." This, at least, is what I always understood to be the meaning. I trust that Assyrian scholars will apply themselves to the Kurdish in studying these inscriptions, as I believe they will derive great help from it. In page 4 of the paper is a passage to which I must take exception. Mr. Budge merely quotes it, and therefore is not responsible for it. I have had the honour of being associated with this Institute for many years, and I should not like it to be passed without making a remark thereon. I allude to the passage which has reference to Elohim. The author, speaking of Ea, says, "He was the husband of Bahu or Chaos (the הֵד of Genesis i. 2), and made father of Bel-Merodach." Sir Henry Rawlinson thinks the monotheistic Hebrews of Ur belonged to the followers of Hea. He says, "He was the 'Creator of mankind,' 'the God of life and knowledge,' 'the Lord of
Thib (the blessed city) or Paradise, and exhibits many other traces of identity, with the Elohim of the Jews." This is the first time I ever understood the Elohim not to be the Elohim of the Christians, and indeed of the whole universe. The phrase, "the Elohim of the Jews," and, therefore, not ours, seems to me a very extraordinary one. I, for one, would be very sorry not to understand that Elohim is my God, the same as the Elohim of the Jews. (Hear.) I suppose most of you have read in many travellers' books the mention of the name of "Allah," and regarded most probably by some as if He is a mere idol of the heathen tribes. I can well understand that an English soldier who hears the word "Allah" in India, and not knowing that the Moslems are not heathen, would misunderstand the word to mean the name of an idol. If I were to go to the East and use the word God in Arabic, and not translate it into the word "Allah," it would be considered that the English did not worship the same God. Then with regard to the word Babylon, which is a corruption of Babel, its meaning is in every language identical with the word given in Genesis xi. 9: "Therefore is the name of it called Babel, because the Lord did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did the Lord scatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth." Whether in Hebrew, Arabic, or Syriac, it has the same meaning. In all these languages they call it "Babil"; and what proves my theory with regard to this word more than anything else is the Septuagint, which does not mention Babylon at all, but only says that on account of the confusion of languages which took place at the building of the tower, it was called so. In the Greek it is called Συγγύμων, which means confusion. As to what the Gentile kings chose to call it, you will find the word Nazareth explained by different nationalities by different meanings: some say it means separation, or a place set aside for a certain purpose; whereas the Mahommedans say it means "the victorious." We cannot at all account for the way in which the different nationalities in those countries have changed one word into a number of meanings. Referring to what Mr. Budge has said about the word "ganith," which, according to his theory, may mean "garden," I would point out that in Arabic the word for garden is genna, and the same word is applied to the kingdom of Heaven. The letter g in Arabic being pronounced soft, like the g in George. With reference to the bricks of Nebuchadnezzar, I must add my testimony to what Mr. Boscawen has said, namely, that there is not a place in Babylonia where I have made excavations, without a single exception, where I have not found the name of Nebuchadnezzar on the bricks discovered. Of course, it is understood that there were three kings of that name, and I thought at one time that the marks on the bricks might refer to different kings, because I could hardly suppose that one man would have built so many places as were found in the mounds explored. But I found that the name applied to the one king only, i.e., the Nebuchadnezzar of Mr. Budge's paper, and of the Bible; for they mention the father of that potentate, and therefore he must be the person
alluded to, as we can scarcely believe that the fathers of the other Nebuchadnezzars had also the same name. Referring to what has been said by Dr. Stern, I would add this, that there is one thing which has struck me as much as anything I have met with in the course of my explorations, as to the fulfilment of prophecy, where it is said in Jeremiah (l. 2),—"Bel is confounded, Merodach is broken in pieces; her idols are confounded, her images are broken in pieces." We have found some entire idols and images in Assyria, but in Babylon we have only met with trunks or fragments. When we get a trunk, we find no head, we find heads without hands, and trunks without either. I am sorry to say I cannot give an opinion about the Assyrian language, which can hardly be left in better hands than those of Mr. Budge, and I only hope that through his knowledge of Syriac he will be able to surpass all the other Assyrian scholars in explaining certain mysteries in connexion with the ancient languages of those countries. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN.—It now becomes my duty to say a few words upon the paper before us. It is the custom for the Chairman on these occasions to gather up the threads of the various replies and comments on the paper read to us, and to give his own opinion upon the subject. I am quite sure that all present will agree with me that on the present occasion the Chairman can hardly be expected to add anything. It appears to me as a philologist that in the case before us we have exceedingly fertile ground. We know in agriculture that where three kinds of soil meet—clay, sand, and chalk—the land is fertile. Now, we have here the three great families of human language meeting together: Akkadian, which is Turanian, Semitic, and the Babylonian of the later inscriptions, a tongue towards the understanding of which Mr. Rassam has told us the Aryan Kurdish will be of great value. So we have here a very fertile philological soil to deal with. The learned writer of this paper has dug into this soil with great success, and I trust that the result of his trenching will be that it will continue to produce such fruit as may amply repay his labour. I should like to say one word in favour of my old friend Babel. It was new to me to hear Babel spoken of as the "Gate of the Gods." In the Hebrew it is not "Bab-el," but "Ba-bel," and I was under the impression that the word was derived simply from "bah-bah," which means confusion or chattering. Our "babble" is simply "ba-b," with the frequentative termination "le." With regard to Nebuchadnezzar, I suppose the correct form of the name was Nabu-kudur-uzur, but the Hebrews preferred to call him Nebuchadnezzar. So the literal translation of Chushan-rish'athaim is "dark one of double wickedness." I have always thought this to be a corruption, probably intentional, of the real Mesopotamian name: some such corruption may have taken place in the name of the King of Babylon. Just so, Beelzebub (Syr. B'el-debobo) means "lord of hatred"; the Hebrews chose to call him Beelzebul, "lord of dirt." I merely give these as specimens of the way in which names may be corrupted, and as a suggestion that there may well have
been two readings of the name. You will now be anxious to hear what further you may get out of Mr. Budge on some of the points that have been raised. With apologies for not having been able to gather up the various points of the discussion better than I have done, I now call on him to reply.

Mr. BUDGE.—With regard to what has been said as to Bible names, every one who reads the Jewish names in the Talmud, or even in the commentaries thereon, will at once see how they have been corrupted, so that even the most familiar words have been made into rubbish. In the case of the name Nebuchadnezzar it is spelt out fully in the inscription, and there is no doubt about its meaning. I need hardly mention that the form Nebuchadrezzar is the more correct. Nebuchadnezzar was a noble enemy, and, although the Jews treated him in a most shameful way, he gave Jeremiah his freedom and sent him out of the way of harm. It must not be forgotten that Abraham came from Ur, and when the subject of mono­theism is alluded to we should remember that God said to him, “I will be your God and give you the land.” Moreover, God said to him, “I was known to your fathers under the name of El Shaddai, but you did not know Me by the name of Adoni.” So that El Shaddai was one of the names of Abraham’s great God. Another form is Ea. The Babylonians had not only a form for God in the shape of matter, but they personified Him as the sea and in other ways. The followers of Ea were evidently monotheists, and there can be no doubt but that the great Greek, Plato, came near the true light, while those who followed Ea were, after all, not very far out. The Jews, when they were brought to Assyria, would have recognised the kindred form of their own worship. The Babylonians started by worshipping everything in nature which could be deemed worthy of worship; but by-and-by came the conclusion that some of their gods were not so worthy of worship as the others. Hence they came to have chief gods, until at length the monotheists carried their ideas so much further that they probably got a very near approach to the Jewish idea of God. I have always held that in the Syriac and Chaldee there remains a great deal of the actual speech of the population of Babylon. Mr. Boscawen has mentioned the literal character of the translation given of the inscription at the end of the paper. It is a rugged translation, no doubt. The first thing in the case of all these inscriptions is to say what the words mean. When you have got the true meaning of a word it is easy to dress it up into polished English. Assyrian has not yet been brought to such perfection that a man like the late Lord Derby can sit down and write a translation of it as he did in the case of Homer, expressing in elegant phraseology the meaning of the author; in that case he would be sharply criticised, for Assyriologists do not always speak in the kindest way of each other. A difference of expression in the case of the Assyrian would frequently alter the whole meaning. As to what Mr. Rassam has said, I feel that on one point he has raised what is somewhat of a personal character. I read a tablet, five or six inches long and three or so broad, which recorded the fight between
the great god Marduk, the Son of the Earth, or Damkina. It is, in fact, only the old story of the fight which went on through all the Aryan mythology—the contest between light and darkness, and, metaphorically, between good and evil. We have only one part of the tablet; the other is still under Babylon, waiting to be dug out by Mr. Rassam. In another case a piece of a tablet came over. It was only a few inches long and a few inches broad. Mr. George Smith made out part of a story from the inscription upon it, and shortly afterwards Mr. Rassam brought over another piece which fitted the first and turned out to belong to the very same inscription. In 1881, Mr. Rassam sent over some more materials, one of which proved to be the bottom of the tablet, and from these fragments was built up a complete history. Such is the fate of some of the tablets. With regard to the word Babel, it is written בֶּבֵל in the Hebrew. If it meant confusion, there is a root for it in the Hebrew, which is בָּבָל, which means to "confuse." If Baal, or Balbel is to come to Ba-bel, one "l" must be assimilated, and you must have Bab-bel for Bal-bel. The inscriptions, however, spell it Ba-bi-lu, so there is no doubt whatever about it meaning "Gate of God," or Bab-el, and the word has nothing to do with "confusion." I have treated this matter at some length in my forthcoming little book on "Babylonian Life and History." As to Nineveh, it is not the fish city which some people say it is. The name is made up of signs which mean city, couch, and Nana respectively, all of which means the resting-place of the chief god Nana. I have now only to thank the meeting for the manner in which my paper has been received.

The meeting was then adjourned.