

[Big cattle he slaughtered with the a]xe,¹⁵ he slaughtered many *aslu*-sheep¹⁶
 [Incense he put] on the censer, the regular offerings for the Lord of Lords he ordered increased,
 [He constantly prayed to] the gods, prostrated on his face,
 [To be/do . . .] is dear to his heart.

[To build up/repair the town of Babylon] he conceived the idea
 [And he himself took up hoe, spade and] earth basket and began to complete the wall of Babylon!
 [The original plan of] Nebuchadnezzar they (the inhabitants) executed with a willing heart,
 [. . .] . . . he built fortifications on the *Imgur-Enlil*-wall.

[The images of Babyl]on(ia), male and female, he returned to their cellas,
 [The . . . who] had abandoned their [cha]pels he returned to their mansions,
 [Their wrath] he appeased, their mind he put at rest,
 [. . . those whose power was] at a low he brought back to life
 [Because] their food is served (to them) [regular]ly.

[. . .] (these) deeds he effaced,
 [. . . which] he has constructed, all the sanctuaries
 [. . .] of his [royal ru]le . . . he has eradicated,
 [. . .] of his [. . .] the wind carried away.

[. . .] his picture/symbol he effaced,
 [. . . in all] the sanctuaries the inscriptions of his name are erased,
 [. . . whatever he (Nabonidus) had cre]ated, he (Cyrus) let fire burn up
 [. . . what he (Nabonidus) had cre]ated, he (Cyrus) fed to the flames!

[To the inhabitants of] Babylon a (joyful) heart is given now
 [They are like prisoners when] the prisons are opened
 [Liberty is restored to] those who were surrounded by oppression
 [All rejoice] to look upon him as king!
 (broken)

¹⁵ Text: [*ú-pal*]-*liq* from *palāqu* "to slaughter with the *pilaqqu*-axe" attested, e.g., in Thureau-Dangin, *Rituels accadiens*, p. 14 (text p. 4) II:16; also, C. Mullo-Weir, in *JRAS* (1929), 554 (*KAR*, 360), line 14 (in parallelism to *šabahu*). For the pertinent tool, cf., e.g. *uradunaplaqum*^{ma} on the Obelisk of Man-ištusu (V. Scheil, *Délégation en Perse, Mém.*, Vol. II, face c VIII:12).

¹⁶ For this animal, cf. L. F. Hartman-A. L. Oppenheim, *The Domestic Animals of Ancient Mesopotamia (JNES, IV [1945])*, 156, line 12.

3. CYRUS (557-529)

Inscription on a clay barrel, published in Rawlinson, v, 35. Transliteration and translation: F. H. Weissbach, in *Die Keilschriften der Achämeniden (VAB, III)*, 2 ff. Translations: Ebeling, in *AOT*, 368 ff., and R. W. Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament* (New York, 1926), pp. 380 ff.

(one line destroyed)

. . . [r]ims (of the world) . . . a weakling has been installed as the *enú*¹ of his country; [the correct images of the gods he removed from their thrones, imi]tations he ordered to place upon them. A replica of the temple Esagila he has² . . . for Ur and the other sacred cities inappropriate rituals . . . daily he did blabber [incorrect prayers]. He (furthermore) interrupted in a fiendish way the regular offerings, he did . . . he established within the sacred cities. The worship of Marduk, the king of the gods, he [chang]ed into abomination, daily he used to do evil against his (i.e. Marduk's) city. . . . He [tormented] its [inhabitant]s with corvée-work (lit.: a yoke) without relief, he ruined them all.

Upon their complaints the lord of the gods became terribly angry and [he departed from] their region, (also) the (other) gods living among them left their mansions, wroth that he had brought (them) into Babylon (*Šu.a.n.na*^{kt}). (But) Marduk [who does care for] . . . on account of (the fact that) the sanctuaries of all their settlements were in ruins and the inhabitants of Sumer and Akkad had become like (living) dead, turned back (his countenance) [his] an[ger] [abated] and he had mercy (upon them). He scanned and looked (through) all the countries, searching for a righteous ruler willing to lead him (i.e. Marduk) (in the annual procession).³ (Then) he pronounced the name of Cyrus (*Ku-ra-š*), king of Anshan, declared him (lit.: pronounced [his] name) to be(come) the ruler of all the world. He made the Gutí country and all the Manda-hordes bow in submission to his (i.e. Cyrus') feet. And he (Cyrus) did always endeavour to treat according to justice the black-headed whom he (Marduk) has made him conquer. Marduk, the great lord, a protector of his people/worshipers, beheld with pleasure his (i.e. Cyrus') good deeds and his upright mind (lit.: heart) (and therefore) ordered him to march against his city Babylon (*Ká.dingir.ra*). He made him set out on the road to Babylon (*DIR.TIR*^{kt}) going at his side like a real friend. His widespread troops—their number, like that of the water of a river, could not be established—strolled along, their weapons packed away.⁴ Without any battle, he made him enter his town Babylon (*Šu.a.n.na*), sparing Babylon (*Ká.dingir.ra*^{kt}) any calamity. He delivered into his (i.e. Cyrus') hands Nabonidus, the king who did not

¹ The old Sumerian title appears here in a context which seems to indicate that the primitive concept concerning the intimate connection between the physical vitality of the ruler and the prosperity of the country, was still valid in the political speculations of the Babylonian clergy.

² Text: *i-te*-[. . .] which could also mean "bes[ide . . .]."

³ For this meaning of the idiomatic phrase: *qūē NN šabātu*, cf. my remarks in *JAOIS*, LXII (1941), 270.

⁴ Text: *kaḫḫēpī-šū-nu ša-an-du-ma*.

worship him (i.e. Marduk). All the inhabitants of Babylon (DIN.TIR^{kl}) as well as of the entire country of Sumer and Akkad, princes and governors (included), bowed to him (Cyrus) and kissed his feet, jubilant that he (had received) the kingship, and with shining faces. Happily they greeted him as a master through whose help they had come (again) to life from death (and) had all been spared damage and disaster,⁵ and they worshiped his (very) name.

I am Cyrus, king of the world, great king, legitimate king, king of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims (of the earth), son of Cambyses (*Ka-am-bu-zi-ia*), great king, king of Anshan, grandson of Cyrus, great king, king of Anshan, descendant of Teispes (*Ši-iš-pi-iš*), great king, king of Anshan, of a family (which) always (exercised) kingship; whose rule Bel and Nebo love, whom they want as king to please their hearts.

When I entered Babylon (DIN.TIR^{kl}) as a friend and (when) I established the seat of the government in the palace of the ruler under jubilation and rejoicing, Marduk, the great lord, [induced] the magnanimous inhabitants of Babylon (DIN.TIR^{kl}) [to love me], and I was daily endeavouring to worship him. My numerous troops walked around in Babylon (DIN.TIR^{kl}) in peace, I did not allow anybody to terrorize (any place) of the [country of Sumer] and Akkad. I strove for peace in Babylon (K á . d i n g i r . r a^{kl}) and in all his (other) sacred cities. As to the inhabitants of Babylon (DIN.TIR^{kl}), [who] against the will of the gods [had/were . . . , I abolished] the corvée (lit.: yoke) which was against their (social) standing. I brought relief to their dilapidated housing, putting (thus) an end to their (main) complaints. Marduk, the great lord, was well pleased with my deeds and sent friendly blessings to myself, Cyrus, the king who worships him, to Cambyses, my son, the offspring of [my] loins, as well as to all my troops, and we all [praised] his great [godhead] joyously, standing before him in peace.

All the kings of the entire world from the Upper to the Lower Sea, those who are seated in throne rooms, (those who) live in other [types of buildings as well as] all the kings of the West land living in tents,⁶ brought their heavy tributes and kissed my feet in Babylon (Š u . a n . n a). (As to the region) from . . . as far as Ashur and Susa, Agade, Eshnunna, the towns Zamban, Me-Turnu,⁷ Der as well as the region of the Gutians, I returned to (these) sacred cities on the other side of the Tigris, the sanctuaries of which have been ruins for a long time, the images which (used) to live therein and established for them permanent sanc-

⁵ Text: *pa-ki-e*. Meaning unknown.

⁶ This phrase refers either to the way of life of a nomadic or a primitive society in contradistinction to that of an urban. cf. A. Poebel, in *JNES*, 1 (1942), 252 f., and also the passage *Ah-la-me-i lu-ut kuš-ta-ri* "Ahlamû peoples (living) in tents" (Craig, *Ass. and Babyl. Religious Texts*, 1, 81 f., text K 8608 + 2623 + 3016 + 3435, obv. line 4).

⁷ *Me-sur-nu* (instead of the usual *Me-sur-nai*) appears also as *Me-e-sur-ni* (cf. Deimel, *ŠL*, 381/197). For this name of a river, the literature quoted by A. Falkenstein and L. Matous, *ZA*, xlii (NF viii), 151, and A. Falkenstein, *ZA*, xlv (NF xi), 69 f.

tuaries. I (also) gathered all their (former) inhabitants and returned (to them) their habitations. Furthermore, I resettled upon the command of Marduk, the great lord, all the gods of Sumer and Akkad whom Nabonidus has brought into Babylon (Š u . a n . n a^{kl}) to the anger of the lord of the gods, unharmed, in their (former) chapels, the places which make them happy.

May all the gods whom I have resettled in their sacred cities ask daily Bel and Nebo for a long life for me and may they recommend me (to him); to Marduk, my lord, they may say this: "Cyrus, the king who worships you, and Cambyses, his son, . . ." . . . all of them I settled in a peaceful place . . . ducks and doves, . . . I endeavoured to fortify/repair their dwelling places. . . . (six lines destroyed)

4. XERXES (485-465)

Akkadian version of a foundation tablet from Persepolis; SE corner of the *terrace*. Text: E. Herzfeld, *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus dem Iran*, viii (1937), 56 ff.; transliteration and translation with extensive annotations by E. Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften* (Berlin, 1938), No. 14, pp. 27 ff.¹

Ahuramazda is the great god who gave (us) this earth, who gave (us) that sky, who gave (us) mankind, who gave to his worshipers² prosperity,³ who made Xerxes, the king, (rule) the multitudes (as) only king, give alone orders to the other (kings).⁴

I am Xerxes, the great king, the only king (lit.: king of kings), the king of (all) countries (which speak) all kinds of languages, the king of this (entire) big and far(-reaching) earth,—the son of king Darius, the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan (*ar-ri-i*) of Aryan descent (lit.: seed).⁵

Thus speaks king Xerxes: These are the countries—in addition to Persia—over which I am king under the "shadow" of Ahuramazda, over which I hold sway, which are bringing their tribute to me—whatever is commanded them by me, that they do and they abide by my law(s)—: Media, Elam, Arachosia, Urartu (Pers. version: Armenia), Drangiana, Parthia, (H)aria, Bactria, Sogdia, Chorasmia, Babylonia, Assyria, Satagydia, Sardis, Egypt (*Mi-šir*), the Ionians who live on the salty sea and (those) who live beyond (lit.: on the other shore of) the salty sea, Maka, Arabia, Gandara, India, Cappadocia, Da'an, the Amyrgian Cimmerians (Pers. and Elam. versions: Sakans), the Cimmerians (wearing) pointed caps, the Skudra, the Akupish, Libya,⁶ Banneshu (Carians) (and) Kush.

¹ Dr. G. G. Cameron is to be thanked for his expert assistance in translating certain difficult passages of this text.

² The Persian and Elamite versions do not differentiate between the term which the Akkadian version renders respectively as "mankind" (*amēlūru*) and "worshippers" (*nišē*).

³ The Persian word is connected etymologically with Latin *quies* (cf. also, Herzfeld, *Altpersische Inschriften*, pp. 318 ff.), but refers there—as Dr. Cameron pointed out to me—to "earthly affairs."

⁴ This renders the Akk. *mā'dūtu*, the Persian text means literally: one of many kings or *fratatars*.

⁵ The Akk. text—unable to render the foreign concept—uses here a transliteration of the Old Persian original: *ar-ri-i-si-šir* for *ar'yachish'a*.

⁶ cf. for this translation (of Akk. *Ṣu-ū-tu*), G. G. Cameron, in *JNES*, ii (1943), 308 f.