ASHURBANIPAL AND SHAMASH-SHUM-UKIN :
A TALE OF TWO BROTHERS FROM THE ARAMAIC
TEXT IN DEMOTIC SCRIPT [1]

PART 1

This is the third of a series of articles dealing with the Aramaic text in demotic script, [2] and the most ambitious one to date. Our first article [3] (and parts of our second) [4] dealt with a short (8-line), simple passage, relatively free of corruption and almost perfectly preserved. The few philological problems posed by this passage were quickly disposed of with the help of Psalm 20 parallels.

The subject of our second article [5] was longer and more difficult: 18 lines, almost half of them broken. Stanzaic structure and parallelism were the chief aids to decipherment here.

The present article, as noted above, represents an undertaking far more ambitious than the previous ones. It deals with a text extending over ninety-eight lines (almost a quarter of the entire papyrus), the last seventeen of which are severely damaged. The language is grammatically and phonologically corrupt, with frequent interchange of prepositions, of tense, of number (esp. -*kn* for -*k*, and *ḳllw* for *ḳll*) and of gender (esp. -*ky* for -*k*), misdivision of words, and omission of consonants. These difficulties — coming on top of the problems created by the difficult and inadequate script used here — are the reasons that, despite our best efforts, many points remain obscure. What we present here, then, is merely a first approximation, and we invite our colleagues to join us in making it more precise.

The text published here is a tale of two brothers and two cities: Sarbanabal and Sarmuge, *Bnn'w(h)* and Babylon. It was J. C. Greenfield who, at an early stage of our work, provided us with the key to the decipherment of this text by identifying *Bnn'w(h)* as Nineveh, Sarbanabal as Ashurbanipal, and Sarmuge as Shamash-shum-ukin. Before hearing what our papyrus has to say about the two brothers, it may be worthwhile to review what is known about them from other sources, with special emphasis on those aspects of their story which shed light on the tale in the papyrus.

Ashurbanipal and Shamash-shum-ukin were the two sons of Esarhaddon who, at their father's behest, divided his realm between them — the former becoming king of Assyria, and the latter, king of Babylon(ia). Although the two were, in theory, "equal brothers," Ashurbanipal assumed full control of Babylonia's foreign policy and even meddled in Babylonia's internal affairs. [6] It was perhaps to rationalize this usurpation of the authority granted to Shamash-shum-ukin by his father that Ashurbanipal claimed to be the one who had appointed Shamash-shum-ukin to the kingship of Babylon. [7]

After sixteen years of adherence to the oath of loyalty to Ashurbanipal that he had been obliged to take after his father's death, Shamash-shum-ukin decided to rebel. [8] His Babylonian subjects, deeply resentful of Assyrian domination and up in arms over a new tribute *(biltu)* imposed on them by Ashurbanipal,

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[6] J. A. BRINKMAN, *Prelude to Empire*, (Philadelphia, 1984), 87-88 (from proofs).
[7] M. STRECK, *Assurbanipal* (Leipzig, 1916), II, 28, lines 70-72; II, 234, lines 14-15.
[8] BRINKMAN, *Prelude to Empire*, 85-92.

quickly rallied to his side. [9] Informed of these developments by his spies, Ashurbanipal tried, at first, to drive a wedge between Shamash-shum-ukin and his followers. He gave a royal welcome to a delegation of Babylonians sent to Nineveh by his brother, dressing them in embroidered garments of linen and treating them to a sumptuous banquet (a "well-prepared table"), in an attempt to win them over. [10]

Eight months after discovering the plot, Ashurbanipal sent his troops into action. [11] (It has been suggested that one of the reasons for the delay may have been to allow time to settle the matter through negotiation.) [12] After eighteen months of hard fighting, they laid siege to Shamash-shum-ukin in Babylon, his capital. [13] The siege lasted more than two years and caused terrible suffering in the city. [14] When the Assyrians broke in they found the streets choked with the bodies of those who had succumbed to famine and plague. The survivors — "men and women, young and old" — were carried off to Assyria as spoil, and their leaders were mutilated and flayed. [15]

Shamash-shum-ukin was saved from this fate by his *simmagir*, Nabû-ḳātē-ṣabat, who threw him into the conflagration raging in his palace before the Assyrians could reach him. [16] The contemporary cuneiform sources leave open the question of whether or not this was done at the king's request. The Greek historian Ctesias, on the other hand, reports in his *Persicha* [17] (written 250 years after the event) that the fatal fire was ignited at the king's request and that his death was a suicide. According to this account, King Sardanapallos (= Ashurbanipal!) died with his queen and concubines (but not his three sons and two daughters) in a wooden chamber which he had constructed for the occasion atop a huge pyre in his palace and which he had filled with all of his fabulous wealth. This story of the king's glorious — if some-

[9] S. AHMED, *Southern Mesopotamia in the Time of Ashurbanipal* (The Hague, 1968), 90-91. For a different interpretation of *biltu* in ABL 301, see A.L. OPPENHEIM, *Letters from Mesopotamia*, 169.

[10] *Loc. cit.*

[11] BRINKMAN, *Prelude to Empire*, 94.

[12] *Ibid.*, fn. 468.

[13] *Ibid.*, 97.

[14] *Ibid.*, 99.

[15] M. COGAN and H. TADMOR, "Ashurbanipal's Conquest of Babylon: The First Official Report — Prism K," *Orientalia* 50 (1981), 232-33.

[16] W. VON SODEN, "Der neubabylonische Funktionär *simmagir* und der Feuertod des Šamaš-šum-ukîn," *ZA* 62 (1972), 85.

[17] Apud Athenaeus XII, 529 and Diodorus II, 27.

what flamboyant — death was later to capture the imagination of writers from Ovid to Byron.

The papyrus' version of these events is presented in the following synopsis, which attempts to interpret the story in addition to summarizing it.

Prologue (XVII/1-13): While waiting for Baal to come to the sacred cedar-grove of the temple to hear the tragic tale of King Sarbanabal (Ashurbanipal) and his brother, Sarmuge (Shamash-shum-ukin), the priest intones a lament for the ruined city of Nineveh. He introduces the protagonists of the story by describing the conditions surrounding their birth: the year of Sarbanabal's birth was blessed, while that of Sarmuge was cursed (with one of the curses called forth in Esarhaddon's vassal treaties upon those who violate their oath of loyalty to Ashurbanipal!). Baal arrives and stands at the temple gates. The priest urges him to enter, assuring him that the temple is Zephon, Baal's ancient home.

Scene I (XVII/14-18): Sarbanabal sends Sarmuge to Babylonia as governor. His sole responsibility, aside from wining and dining, is to ensure that the king receives his tribute every year. For a time, he discharges his responsibility faithfully.

Scene II (XVIII/1-15): Sarmuge's emissaries arrive in Nineveh. Instead of tribute, they bring an insulting letter. On the advice of his general, the magnanimous Sarbanabal ignores the affront and gives them a royal reception, sending them to the bathhouse, dressing them in embroidered garments, and joining them at their tables in the dining hall.

Scene III (XVIII/15-XIX/8): Sarbanabal summons his sister Saritrah (Sherūa-ēṭerat) and presents his case against their brother, Sarmuge. He reminds her of his generosity towards Sarmuge — how he appointed him governor of Babylonia and, to mark the occasion, showered him with valuable gifts. He succeeds, apparently, in convincing his sister that there is no excuse for their brother's disloyalty, and he sends her to reason with him.

Scene IV (XIX/8-XX/11): Saritrah travels to Babylon, where she is challenged by the sentries and rebuffed by her brother. She protests that she is not stubble to be trampled underfoot. Then, skipping the amenities, she launches into an appeal that he return with her to Nineveh, where, she assures him, Sarbanabal will receive him with open arms. Sarmuge, caught off guard, makes a clumsy attempt to change the subject — or, at least, to buy time — by offering hospitality to Saritrah's horse! Saritrah,

annoyed by this ploy, takes a tougher stance. She blames the quarrel between her two brothers on Sarmuge and again tells him to return to Nineveh. Sarmuge, toughening his stance as well, curses his sister. Saritrah sees that there is no point in continuing the conversation. Before leaving, however, she offers her brother a piece of advice. If he persists in his refusal, she says, he should build a chamber, throw tar and pitch in it (to heighten its flammability) plus incense (customary at royal funerals, but particularly necessary here, due to the stench of the tar and pitch), and bring in his sons and daughters and the physicians who — in their capacity as advisers — made him arrogant enough to defy his suzerain. Then, when he sees how desperate the situation has become, he should set the place on fire and perish with them in the flames.

Scene V (XX/11-18): Saritrah returns to Nineveh and reports that Sarmuge rejected her appeal. The king turns to his general and orders him to lead an army to Babylon. His mission is to bring Sarmuge back alive.

Scene VI (XX/18-XXI/7): The general goes, with his army, to Babylon and appeals to Sarmuge to return with him to Nineveh. Sarmuge's reply ("so it is decreed") is equivocal. The general, believing he has won Sarmuge's assent, tells him to come immediately; otherwise, he boasts, Babylon will fall in three days.

Scene VII (XXI/7-12): Sarmuge does not come immediately. Instead, he builds a chamber, throws tar and pitch and incense in it, and brings in his children and advisers, obviously intending to set the place on fire and perish with them in the flames; but, if our reading of the traces (and our understanding of the author's bias) is correct, he changes his mind, leaves the chamber, and rides off to Nineveh with the general, who displays his joy by embracing "young and old."

Scene VIII (XXI/13-17?): This section is so badly damaged that one can only guess at its contents. Our impression is that Sarmuge is badly injured in an accident on the way to Nineveh, that he is treated with balm and placed in a litter, and that he dies before reaching his destination.

Scene XIX (XXII/1?-9): The state of preservation of this section is better than that of the previous one; nevertheless, the following reconstruction is highly conjectural. The general advises the king to send him throughout the land to spread the "truth" about Sarmuge's rebellion. The king likes this advice since it will make
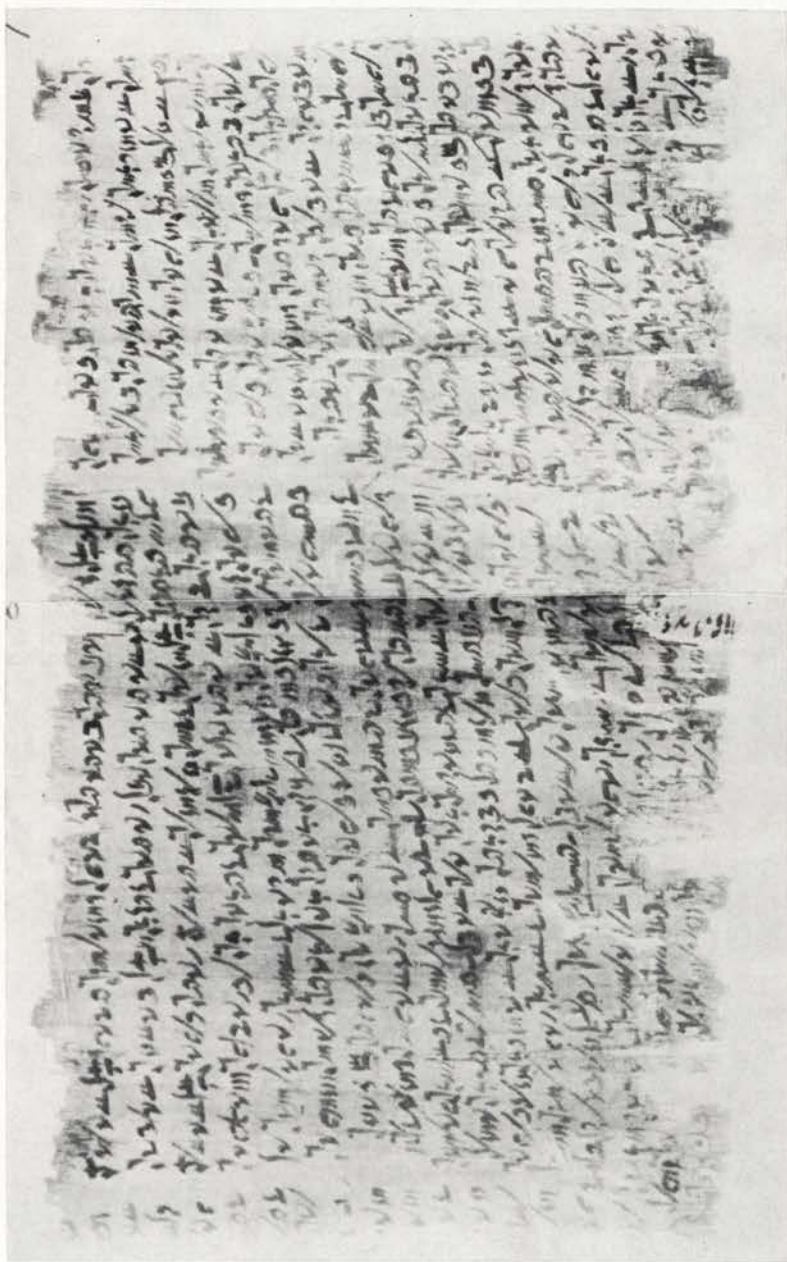
P. Amherst Eg. 63, col. XVII, right part. Original height ca. 30 cm.

↑ P. Amherst Eg. 63, col. XVII, left part; col. XVIII; col. XIX, right part.

(Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)
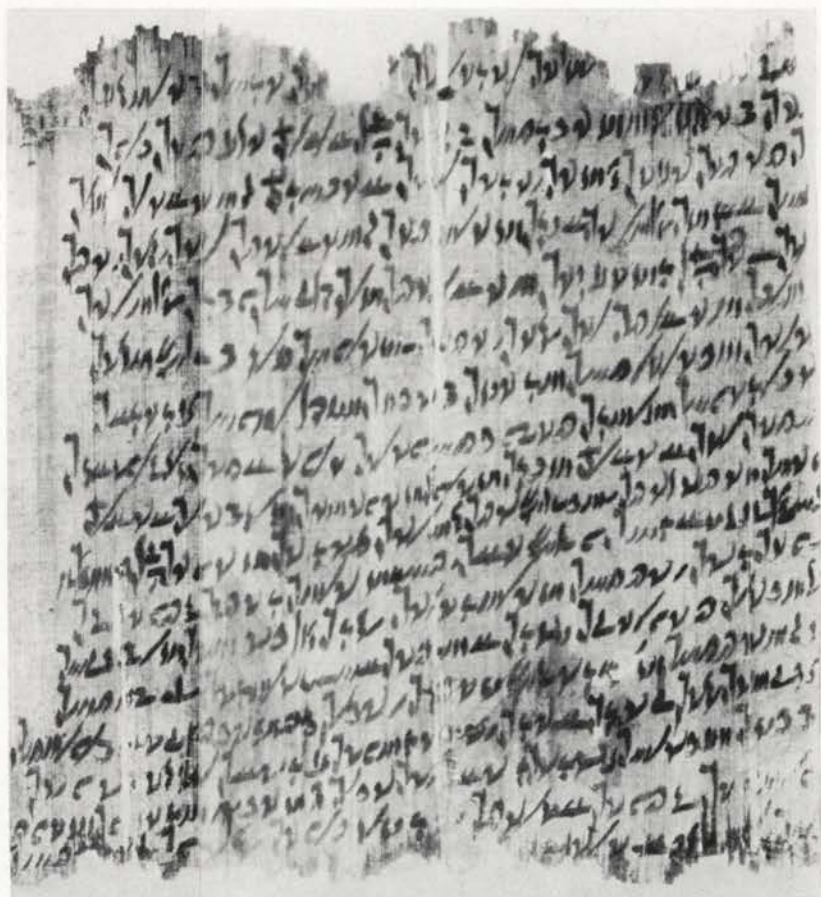
P. Amherst Eg. 63, col. XIX, left part.
(Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)
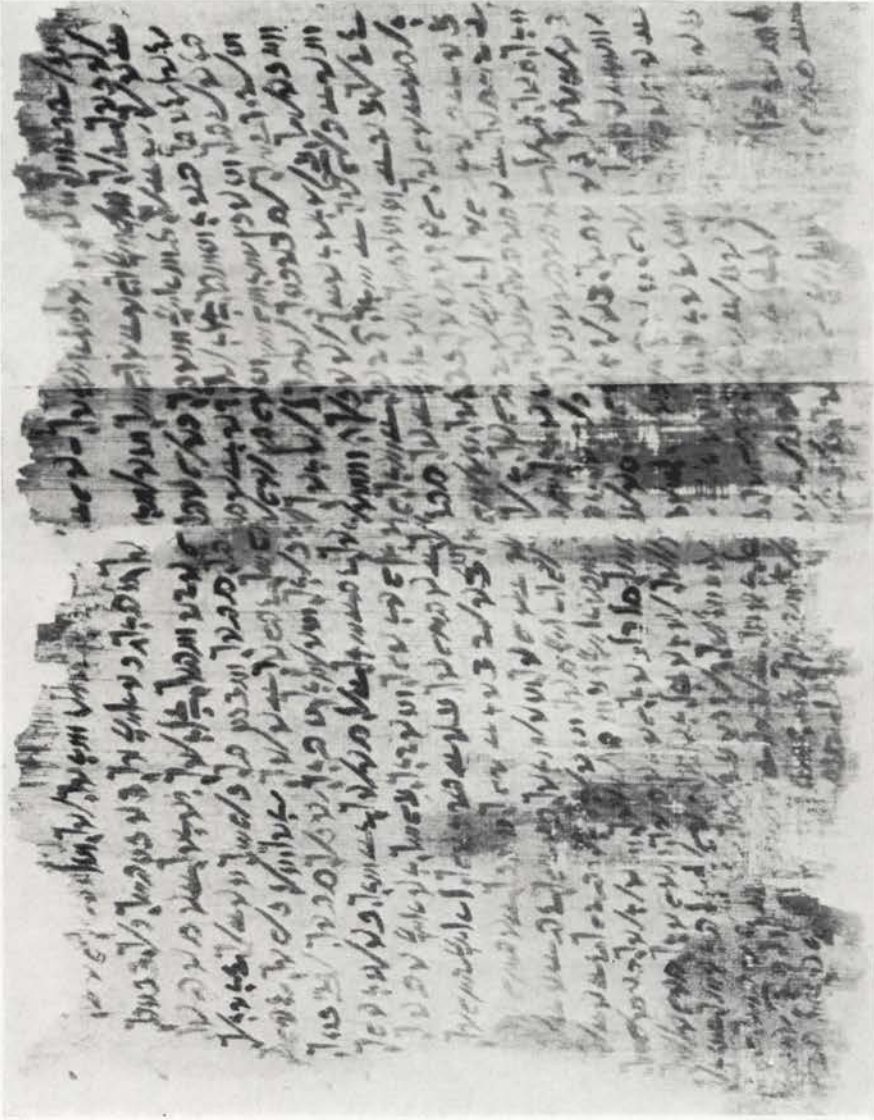
P. Amherst Eg. 63, col. XX.
(Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

P. Amherst Eg. 63, cols XXI-XXII.

(Courtesy Oriental Institute, University of Chicago)

it possible for him to avoid seeing the face of the man who failed to bring back his brother alive.

Even a cursory reading of these two accounts is sufficient to make one see that there are many discrepancies between them. These discrepancies will be discussed later in the article.

NOTES ON OUR TRANSLITERATION OF THE DEMOTIC SCRIPT [18]

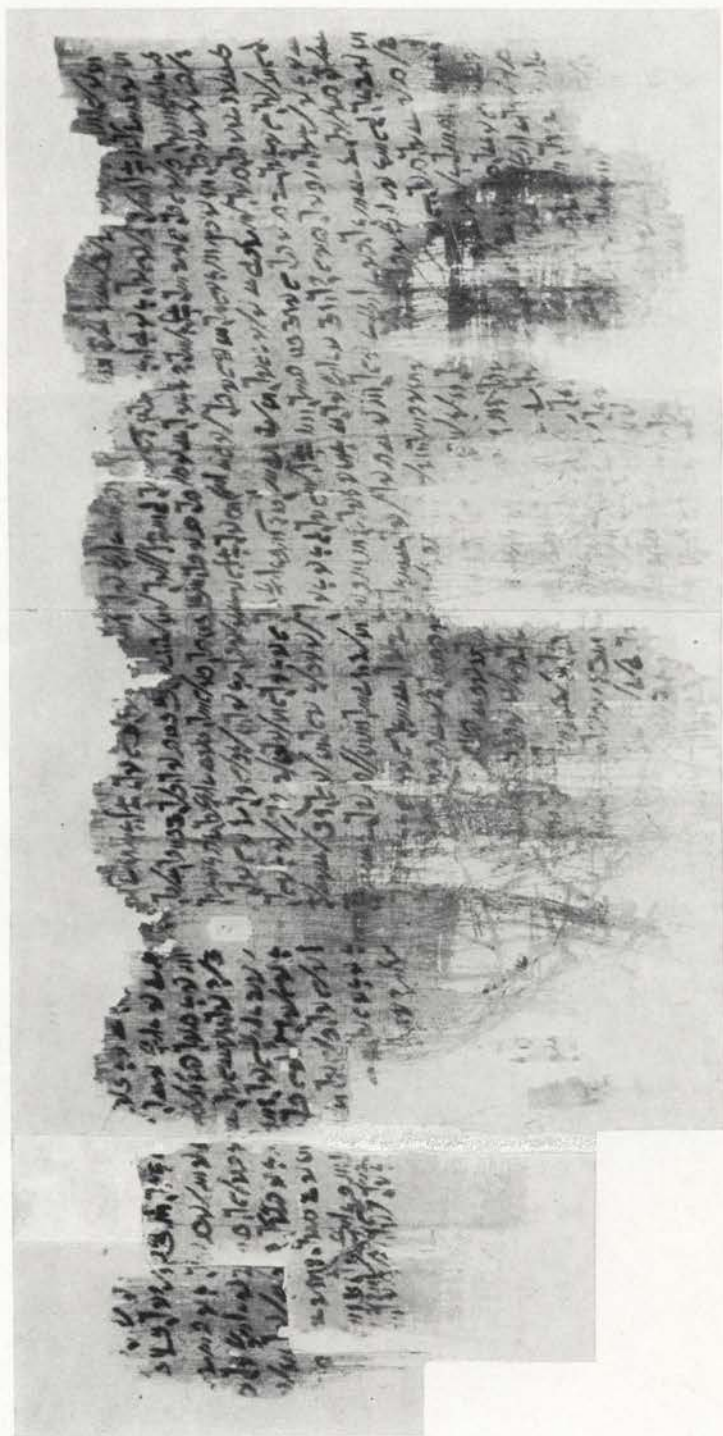*Non-alphabetic signs.* With the exception of determinatives, all signs which are not used alphabetically in normal demotic texts are marked here by an overline, two overlines, or a superior point. The ones in the text published here are:

$\bar{t}$	—	?	$\bar{\bar{t}}$	—	[signs] ṭ	—[signs] $\overline{ty}$ —	[sign] [19]
$\overline{mn}$	—	[sign]	$\overline{\overline{mn}}$	—	[sign] $\overline{Mn}$	— [sign] $\overline{Imn}$ —	[sign]
$\overline{irm}$	—	[sign]	$\overline{mw}$	—	[sign] $\overline{w}$	— [sign] ẇ	— [sign] [20]
$\bar{n}$	—	[sign]	$\bar{\bar{n}}$	—	[sign] ṅ	— — [21] $\overline{nw}$	[sign]
$\overline{in}$	—	[sign]	$\bar{r}$	—	[sign] [22] $\bar{\bar{r}}$	— [sign] $\overline{rn}$	[sign]
$\bar{s}$	—	[sign]	$\overline{sf}$	—	[sign] $\overline{sw}$	— [sign] [23] $[\overline{sp}]$—	[sign]
$\overline{wy}$	— [sign]	$\overline{iwy}$	—	[sign] $\overline{ht}$	— [sign] $\overline{wr}$	— [sign]
$\bar{h}$	—	[sign] [24] $\bar{p}$	—	[sign]			

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[19] We are indebted to Richard Jasnow for this reading. It agrees precisely with the reading proposed independently by RCS based on the context.

[20] In normal demotic texts, the first form is *ꜥ* (the god determinative) and the second is *w* (the plural ending of nouns). In this text, the two signs appear to be completely interchangeable.

[21] See the Addendum to our "Polemical Poem".

[22] Unlike dem. *r*, which renders Aram. *l* as well as Aram. *r*, this sign is used rarely if at all, to render Aram. *l*; see our "Paganized Version," p. 262.

[23] We are indebted to Robert Ritner for this reading.

[24] For the reading *ḥ* instead of *ḥn*, see our "Polemical Poem," pp. 91-2.

Determinatives. Demotic determinatives are transliterated by small raised letters. With few exceptions, [25] they follow every sequence which the scribe believed to be a word. The ones in this article are:

m — "man with his hand to his mouth," used in Middle Egyptian after words indicating speech (as well as thought, emotion, silence, eating, etc.) but in our papyrus after almost *any* word, apparently because the word is the basic unit of speech. [26]

g — "god." [27]

wlg — "walking legs," used after ‘*r* = Aram. ‘*l* "on, to," because that sequence reminded the scribe of the dem. word for "go up."

p — "plant," used after words ending in *sm* (once *smn*, twice adjacent words as well), because that sequence reminded the scribe of the dem. word for "plant."

f — "foreign land," used mainly after *bbr* = Aram. *bbl* "Baby-lon(ia)" and other words ending in *br*.

det — stands for any determinative which we are unable to identify.

Problematic signs. Dem. *aleph* is the most common sign in the papyrus and, at the same time, one of the least understood. The scribe seems to have intended it to indicate the presence of a vowel. If so, we must conclude either that the scribe's ear was not attuned to Aramaic vowels or that our ideas about Egyptian Aramaic vocalization are very far from the mark. Only in initial position, i.e. immediately following a word-divider (determinative), does dem. *aleph* appear to be a reliable indicator of the presence of a vowel; and the *absence* of dem. *aleph* has no meaning in *any* position. Even the relatively rare *aleph-aleph* sequence does not allow for a single Aramaic interpretation. Instances of free variation between ꜣ ꜣ and ꜣᵐ ꜣ give the impression that ꜣ ꜣ was meant to be a rendering of two vowels in hiatus, but there are also

[25] See the section entitled "*Spaces*," below.

[26] See R. A. Bowman, "An Aramaic Religious Text in Demotic Script," *JNES* 3 (1944), p. 220.

[27] See fn. 20, above.

instances of free variation between ꜣꜣ and ꜣ in which ꜣꜣ seems to represent a single long vowel. In view of the ubiquitousness and relative lack of importance of this sign, we transliterate it with a period (.) instead of the overly prominent and distracting ꜣ.

Superlinear and sublinear signs. We have attempted to give a general idea of the position of signs inserted above and below the line. Unfortunately, in the case of super- and sublinear *aleph*, the dot which transliterates it may be taken to be a diacritic. We have tried our best to prevent this confusion by not putting this dot too close to any letter.

Spaces. Spaces the width of one sign do not, in general, appear in the papyrus, but we have inserted them: (1) after determinatives; (2) after signs which when word-final obviate the need for determinatives (either because they have their own internal determinatives, e.g. $\bar{r}$, $\overline{rn}$ and $\overline{Mn}$; or because they come *after* the determinative in normal demotic writing, e.g. *ẘ*). In environment (1), spaces have been left whether our interpretation calls for them or not; in environment (2), they have been left only when our interpretation calls for them, since the signs in question are not restricted to word-final position. We have not inserted spaces in any other environments.

NOTES ON OUR SEMITIC INTERPRETATION AND TRANSLATION

In general, our transliteration of the underlying Aramaic text follows normal Aramaic scribal practice of the period of our text, except where this would lead to loss of information.

The following deviations from normal scribal practice should be noted:

$ḫ$ Like the scribe, we distinguish velar $ḫ$ from pharyngeal $ḥ$.

$ġ$ Like the scribe, we distinguish velar $ġ$ from pharyngeal ꜥ.
It should be borne in mind that Aram. $ġ$ in this period is the reflex both of PS $ġ$ and of PS $ṣ$ *(ḍād)*.

$š$ We distinguish Sem. $š$ (i.e., the Aram. reflex of PS $š$) from Sem. s (i.e., the Aram. reflex of PS s), even though it is not

yet clear whether the two were still distinct in the Aram.
dialect of the papyrus. At first glance, the fact that around
10 percent of the instances of Sem. *š* are rendered by dem. *š*
rather than dem. *s* [28] would seem to show that the distinction
was in fact still maintained; but this proof depends upon
the assumption that Sem. *s* is never rendered by dem. *š* — an
assumption which may not be true.

y, w Whenever the scribe uses these to indicate vowels, we do so
as well, even if the environment is one in which a contempor-
ary Aramaic scribe would not have used a *mater lectionis.*

EDITORIAL SYMBOLS

Symbols used in our Transliteration of the Demotic Script are
marked I; symbols used in our Semitic Interpretation are marked
II; symbols used in our Translation are marked III.

⌐ ¬ enclose signs whose reading is less than certain because of
the damaged condition of the papyrus or the ambiguity of the
writing (I, II, III).

[ ] enclose signs restored by the editors in places where no
traces remain (I, II, III).

[x] indicates a lacuna the width of one medium-sized sign (I).

[indicates a lacuna extending to the end of a line of unknown
length (I, II, III).

<   > enclose signs added by the editors (II, III).

{ } enclose signs deleted by the editors (II, III).

<<   >> enclose signs inserted by the scribe, i.e., signs which
are crowded and/or darker or lighter than the surrounding ones (I).
Super- and sublinear scribal additions are not so indicated since
their position is reproduced (I). It should be noted that the scribe
occasionally inserts signs which belong before the determinative
after it.

{{ }} enclose signs deleted by the scribe through erasure (I).

{{ →}} enclose signs deleted by the scribe by means of a super-
imposed correction, i.e., signs which have other signs written over

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[28] In two instances, the Aram. reflex of PS *š* is rendered with dem. *š* in a word
which has appeared with dem. *s* earlier in the sentence or paragraph.

them (I). The sign which appears to the right of this symbol is the superimposed sign.

( ) enclose an explanatory editorial addition which involves no emendation (II, III), e.g., word-final *matres lectionis*, quiescent *alephs* (except when their presence is signalled indirectly), [29] one of two "shared" consonants, [30] and totally assimilated consonants.

(→) enclose the underlying (deep-structure) representation of the consonant which appears to the right of it, especially in cases of partial assimilation (II).

/ separates alternatives (I, II, III).

... represents sections of the composition which are missing or unintelligible to us (II, III). This symbol may be preceded by [.

(!) follows a translation which implicitly corrects the number, gender, or preposition of the original (III).

italics indicate dubiousness (III).

Transliteration of Demotic Script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation
	Col. XVII	
(1) eyr⌐ty⌐[ᵐ]	(1) ʾy-(ʾ)l⌐ty⌐	"Woe," ⌐I⌐ lament[ed].
[yḥs]⌐.⌐mrk. ᵐ	[yḥz](h)-mlk(ʾ)	[May] the king [see]
wyḥ.m⌐r⌐ᵐ	wyḥm⌐r⌐	and may he have pit⌐y⌐.
etyt. ᵐ t.nᵐ	ʾtyt tn(h)	I came here.
m. ᵐ⌐ṅ⌐[.]⌐s⌐kᵐ	(3) m⌐ns⌐ḳ h⌐n⌐s ⌐ḳ⌐t	*I was brought up*
(3) ḥ⌐n⌐.⌐k⌐ stᵐ		
ʿrʷⁱᵍ k.ntyᵐ	ʿl gnty	to my garden.
b.smtyᵐ rḥyᵐ	bśmty rḥy	I have perfumed my scent
byᵐ <<⌐n⌐>> e.rsnᵐ	by⌐n⌐ ʾrzn	amo⌐ng⌐ cedars.
š.rrtyᵐ (3) ʿrʷⁱᵍ k⌐n⌐ṟ	šrrty (3) ʿl k⌐n⌐r	I have played music on a l⌐y⌐re.
ḥtyᵐ bsmᵖ	(ʾ) <r> ḥty bśm	I have <sm>elled incense.
bʿrᵍ šmynᵍ srk. ᵐ	bʿl šmyn slk	Baal of heaven, come up —
ʿ.r. ᵐ .rs.kyᵐ	ʿl(h) ʾl-sky	come up to my bower.
(4)eyrt⌐y⌐	(4) ʾy-(ʾ)lt⌐y⌐-	"Woe," I lamented.
[e]⌐.⌐yre.ṟb. ᵐ	ʾy-l(y)-ʾrb(h)	"Woe unto me," *I say again and again.*
eye.rtyᵐ yrr.tᵐ	ʾy-ʾlty yllt	"Woe," I lamented, I wailed.

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[29] The presence of a word-initial Aram. *aleph* may be signalled indirectly by a word-initial dem. *aleph*, which, as noted above, represents a word-initial Aram. vowel.

[30] For this term, see *Biblica* 50 (1969), 525-33.

Transliteration of Demotic Script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation

(Col. XVII)

b.ts.nᵐ b.n..ẇ.ᵐ	bṣn bn < n > 'w(h)	"Ni < ne > veh is (nothing but) swamps;
⁽⁵⁾ ṫyn˹ᵐ˼ [h]˹ẇ˼	⁽⁵⁾ ṭyn-[h]˹w˼	mud is [sh]˹e˼ (!).
'ṫ.m.ᵐ	'< d > -(')dm(h)	T < o > the ground
m.ᵐ ḳr.ᵐ <<˹t˼>>	mgr˹t˼	she was razed.
šnt.ᵐ ṫyrtᵐ ṅmr̄.nᵐ	šnt(') dyldⁿmr(')n	The year in which was born our lord,
mrk.ᵐ ⁽⁶⁾ srᵐ ˹b˼.n.brᵐ .rkᵐ	mlk(') ⁽⁶⁾ sr˹b˼nbl 'lk	King Sar˹ba˼nabal, to you,
h.ẇtᵐ šrM̄n	hwt šlmn	was prosperous —
k.ṫn.ᵐ ṫs.rᵈᵉᵗ '.b.ᵐ	ḳṭn ṣr 'b(h)	the thin (and) narrow were thick."
⁽⁷⁾ k.brᵐ ṫr̄'.ẇhyᵐ y.š.ḳẖᵐ	⁽⁷⁾ gbr(') tr'why (')yšḳẖ	The hero has found its gates.
b.šrmᵐ ḫ.ynᵐ eẖ.ᵐ ˹e˼.ntᵐ	bšlm ḫyn 'ḫ(y) ˹'˼nt	"You are welcome, my brother.
⁽⁸⁾ ṫr.'˹r̄.˼ṫt.ᵐ ḫ.r.ᵐ rkyᵐ ˹ḫ˼	⁽⁸⁾ tr'(')-d(') ġl lky	Enter this gate.
m̄n̄nbytnᵐ n.ᵐ s.ḃrkyᵐ	mn-bytn nsb-ġrky	From our house take away your enemy.
p.ts.ᵐ ⁽⁹⁾ w̄kry's.ᵐ	pṣ(h) ⁽⁹⁾ wgly-'z(')	Save, and reveal O mighty one
'rʷⁱᵍ ḳ.mᵐ rkyᵐ š.m.k.nᵐ	'l kmrky šmkn	to your priest your name."
y.<<ẇ>>M̄n ṫr.ᵐ h.w.w.ᵐ	ywmn dlhww	(Then came) days which had not been,
⁽¹⁰⁾ š.n..nᵐ ṫrp.kẇ	⁽¹⁰⁾ šnn dl(')pḳ/kw	years which had not been spent/turned.
šnt.ᵐ ṫyyrtᵐ m.r.n.ᵐ	šnt(') dyld mr(')n	The year in which was born our lord,
e.ḫ.n.ᵐ sr.ᵐ ⁽¹¹⁾ m̄n̄ḳyᵐ .rkᵐ	'ḫn sr ⁽¹¹⁾ mgy 'lk	our brother, Sarmuge, to you,
h.wᵐ n.ḫ.š.nᵐ šm.y.ᵐ	hw(h) nḫšn šmy(')	bronze were the heavens,
ṫprs.rnᵐ '.pr̄.ᵐ	dprzln 'pr(')	of iron, the earth;
⁽¹²⁾ ṫ.m.˹m̄˼	⁽¹²⁾ (')dm(h)	(the) ground
b.ᵐ b.š.ᵐ r	bb(')š/(')b < l > (h) < y > bš(h)	in a bad state/desic < cated >, < d > ry,
šmy.ᵍ bnḫ.rᵐ	šmy(') lbn(h) ḫr(h)	the heavens, a fired brick.
k.bṫr̄'.ẇhyᵐ yškẖᵐ	gb < r > (')-tr'why (')yškẖ	The hero has found its gates.
⁽¹³⁾ ẖⁱbḫṫyštnknᵐ ṅt.ᵐ	⁽¹³⁾ {ḫd} bḫdyš(')-tngn (')nt	In the new (temple), our crown, are you.
ṫr'.t.ᵐ hyṫspn	tr'(')-d(') hy-ṣpn-	This gate, it is Zephon;
hyᵐ k.r.rn.ᵐ	hy klln/(')gr-(')ln	it is our crown/the temple of our god.
˹y˼.M̄n⁽¹⁴⁾ ṫrhw.w.nᵐ	˹y˼lmn ⁽¹⁴⁾ dlhwwn	(Then came) ˹da˼ys which had not been,
š.n.nᵐ ṫrp.kẇ	šnn dl(')pḳ/kẇ	years which had not been spent/turned.

Transliteration of Demotic Script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation
	(Col. XVII)	
mrk. ᵐ ‘nwymrᵐ	mlk(’) ‘n(h)-w(’)ymr	The king spoke up and said,
wyⵏ̄m̄n̄rr. ᵐ ⌐r⌐. ᵐ ⁽¹⁵⁾ sr. ᵐ [m̄n̄]ḵyᵐ	wymll ⌐l⌐ ⁽¹⁵⁾ sr[m]gy	addressing Sar[mu]ge:
ysrᵐ r.kẇ	(’)yzl lk{w}	Go
m̄n̄nmtᵐ brbrˁ	mn-mt b{l}bl	to (!) the land of Babylonia.
ekrẇ rḥm⌐nᵐ⌐ ⌐k⌐.⌐ḫ⌐rᵐ	’klw lḥm⌐n⌐ ⌐kḫ⌐l(h)	Eat bread (as good) ⌐as ca⌐ke.
eš⌐t⌐. ᵐ⁽¹⁶⁾ḥmr. ᵐk.y.y⌐n⌐. ᵐ	’š⌐t⌐(h) ⁽¹⁶⁾ ḥmr kyy⌐n⌐	Dr⌐in⌐k wine (as good) as vin de mar⌐que⌐.
ebtᵐ ⌐rᵂⁱᵍ	’(t)bṭ <l> ‘l	*Devo < te > yourself* to
ṫb̄n̄m̄n̄nt. ᵐ tᵐ	(’)tb(t→)n-mndt(’)	the payment of tribute
.r[ᵐ e.]⌐t⌐.rᵐ	’l [’]⌐t⌐r	to [A]⌐ssy⌐ria.
srᵐ ⁽¹⁷⁾ m̄w̄ḵy[ᵐ] s.r⌐.⌐ᵐ	sr ⁽¹⁷⁾ mwgy (’)zl	Sarmuge went
⌐r⌐.mtᵐ b.⌐b⌐rˁ	⌐l⌐mt br⌐b⌐l	⌐to⌐ the land of Ba⌐by⌐lonia.
⌐e⌐krẇ r.ḥm. ᵐ k[.ḫrᵐ]	⌐’⌐klw lḥm k[ḫl](h)	He (!) ⌐a⌐te bread (as good) as [cake]
[e]⌐š⌐t. ᵐ ⁽¹⁸⁾ ḫ.mrᵐ ḵyʸ⌐n⌐[ᵐ]	[’]⌐š⌐t(h) ⁽¹⁸⁾ ḥmr kyy⌐n⌐	He ⌐dr⌐ank wine (as good) as vin de mar⌐que⌐.
[e].btrᵐ ‘r[ᵂⁱᵍ]	[’](t)bṭl ‘l	He *devoted himself* to
t[b]w̄⌐m⌐ ⌐ṫtᵐ⌐ M̄n̄t.⌐t⌐[ᵐ]	(’)t[b]w⌐t⌐ mnd⌐t⌐(’)	the p[ay]me⌐nt⌐ of tribu⌐te⌐
[.rᵐ et.rᵐ]	[’l ’tr]	[to Assyria].
	Col. XVIII	
⁽¹⁾ y <<ẇ>> .M̄n̄ t̄r⌐.⌐[h]⌐ẇ⌐.w.nᵐ	⁽¹⁾ ywmn dl[hw]wn	(Then came) days which had not [be]en,
š.n.nᵐ t̄rp.kẇ	šnn dl(’)pḵ/kw	years which had not *been spent/turned.*
t̄s.ry. ᵐ np.kẇ M̄n̄b.r.ˁ	ṣry(’) npḵw mn-<b>bl	The emissaries went out from <Ba>bylon
⁽²⁾ ‘tᵐ hnḫ.rẇ .b.n.n. ᵐ .w	⁽²⁾ ‘d hnglw bnn’w(h)	until they brought into Nineveh
ẇe.n. ᵐ m̄n̄nḫtᵐ p̄ M̄n̄š.b‘ᵐ b.ršᵐ	w’n<n> <bġyn> mnḫt(’) pmšb‘(’) brš	— <*desiring*>, *first and foremost*, rest and satiation—
⁽³⁾ k̄ȳynthnᵐ	⁽³⁾ kty(b/m →)nthn	their *letter*
M̄n̄sr. ᵐ m̄n̄ḵyᵐ ‘rᵂⁱᵍ srᵐ bn.brˁ	mn-srmgy ‘l srbnbl	from/"From Sarmuge to Sarbanabal.
e.nᵐ mrk. ᵐ M̄n̄b.brˁ	’n(h) mlk(’) mn-bbl	"I am the king of (!) Babylon,
⁽⁴⁾ w.ntᵐ pḫᵐ bn..w. ᵐ	⁽⁴⁾ w(’)nt pḫ bn<n> ’w(h)	and you are the governor of Ni<ne>veh,
⌐w̄ȳr. ᵐ m̄n̄nt. ᵐ tᵐ	‘yr mndt(y)	*my tribut*ary city.
rme.prkᵐ y.krk. ᵐ	lm(h)-’plg yḵr-(l)k	Why should I pay homage to you?"
⁽⁵⁾ mrk. ᵐ ḫ.m̄r. ᵐ ‘rᵂⁱᵍ	⁽⁵⁾ mlk(’) ḥmr ‘l ṣyry(’)	The king sends (!) down

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(Col. XVIII)

īsyr̄y . ᵐ yḫ.tẇ	yḫtw	wine to the emissaries
m̄nb{{t→}}yt^m e.k.ry.ᵐ	mn-byt 'kly(')	from the dining hall,
.ẇ ⁽⁶⁾ m̄n̄n.y.ⁿᵐ rḥm^det ẇmyn^m	w ⁽⁶⁾ mnyn lḥm wmyn	and portions (of) bread and water.
īnrsīt.nḫᵐ	{'}nr-zw-dnḫ	Nur-ziw-danaḫ,
t. ẇrt.n^m ⌜t⌝r.y^m	twrtn(') (')⌜t⌝ry(')	the A⌜ss⌝yrian general,
syk.ᵐ ⁽⁷⁾ mhyk.rᵐ	s‹1›yk ⁽⁷⁾ mhykl(')	w‹e›nt up to (!) the palace.
m̄nrt^m m.rn̄	mlt (')mrn	*(These) things he (!) says*
'ᵣ^wⁱ˥ mrk.ᵐ	'l mlk(')	to the king:
mr̄.ᵐ mr.kn^m šm.'ᵐ	mr(') mlkn šm'	"Lord of kings, hear!
⁽⁸⁾ m̄ny.mye.eb.k.ᵐ	⁽⁸⁾ mn-ymy-'{'}bk	From the days of your father,
m̄n̄ny.my^m b.hy^m e.b.ky^m	mn-ymy (')bhy 'bky	from the days of your father's fathers,
īs{{r→}}.rn̄ ⁽⁹⁾ īrk.rẇ	ṣrn ⁽⁹⁾ dl(')klw	emissaries who have not eaten,
‹ ? ›	‹ ? ›	‹ ? ›
wm̄n̄nyn^m rḥm^det wmyn^m	wmnyn lḥm wmyn	and portions (of) bread and water.
īnp.kẇ īs.r.y^m	'npkw ṣry(')	Take out the emissaries
m̄n̄nbyt^m ek.r⌜y⌝.ᵐ	mn-byt 'kl⌜y⌝(')	from the dining hall.
¹⁰⁾ yb. rẇ	⁽¹⁰⁾ yblw	Let them be brought
r.ᵐ byt^m m̄n̄ns.ḥy^m t.ᵐ	lbyt mšhyt(')	to the bathhouse.
.r^m b.šẇn̄nyrḳm.t^m (y)	'lbšwnn{y}-rḳmt	Dress them in embroidered garments.
.srẇ ⁽¹¹⁾ 'ᵣ^wⁱ˥ š.rḥẇn̄nwhy^m	'zlw ⁽¹¹⁾ 'l šlḥwnwhy	Go to its *tables*.
'ᵣ^wⁱ˥ ymnẇ mšḥtn^m	'l(y)-ymnw mšḥt(h)n	Let their ointments be entrusted/apportioned to me."
'·t.t^m b.smt.ᵐ	'tt(') bšmt	The advice was pleasing
'ᵣ^wⁱ˥ mrk.ᵐ	'l mlk(')	to the king.
⁽¹²⁾ mrk.ᵐ 'n̄wy.ᵐ mr.ᵐ	⁽¹²⁾ mlk(') 'n(h)-w(')ymr	The king spoke up and said:
īnp.kẇ īsry.ᵐ	'npkw ṣry(')	"Take out the emissaries
m̄nbyt^m e.k.ry.ᵐ	mn-byt 'kly(')	from the dining hall.
y⌜b⌝rẇ ⁽¹³⁾ rbyt^m m̄n̄ns.⌜ḥ⌝yt.ᵐ	y⌜b⌝lw ⁽¹³⁾ lbyt mš⌜ḥ⌝yt(')	Let them be ⌜brou⌝ght to the ba⌜th⌝house.
.rb.šẇn̄nyr̄k⌜m⌝t.ᵐ	'lbšwnn{y} rḳ⌜m⌝t	Dress them in embroi-⌜dered⌝ garments.
eh·kẇ 'ᵣ^wⁱ˥ š.rḥẇn̄nwhy^m	'hk{w} 'l šlḥwnwhy	I shall go to its *tables*."
⁽¹⁴⁾ pkẇ īs.ry.ᵐ	⁽¹⁴⁾ pkw ṣry(')	"Go out, emissaries,
byt^m e.k.ry.ᵐ	‹mn-›byt 'kly(')	‹from› the dining hall.
brẇ	blw	Be brought
.rbyt^m ⌜mn̄⌝.⌜š⌝.ḥyt.ᵐ	'l-byt ⌜mš⌝ḥyt(')	to the ⌜bath⌝house.

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(15) .rb.⌈š⌉ẇnẇ rḳmt ᵐ	(15) {'}lb⌈š⌉w{nw} rḳmt	Pu⌈t⌉ on embroidered garments.
ehkẇ ⌈ʿ⌉r[ʷ¹ᵍ š.rḥẇ] ḥnwhy ᵐ	'hk{w} ⌈ʿ⌉l [šlḥw]nwhy	I shall go ⌈t⌉o its [tabl]es."
mrk ᵐ ⌈ʿ⌉[n̄ym]r. ᵐ	mlk(') ⌈ʿ⌉[n](h)-(')[ym]r	The king ⌈spo⌉[ke up] (and) [sai]⌈d⌉:
ykrẇ	yḳr(')w	"Let them call
(16) r. ᵐ [s.]ryt.⌈m⌉ rᵐ eḫt ᵐ	(16) l[s]ryṭr(h) 'ḫt(y)	[S]aritrah, my sister.
⌈yẇ⌉[br]. ᵐ s.ryt.rᵐ	⌈yw⌉[bl] sryṭr(h)	⌈Let⌉ Saritrah ⌈be⌉ ⌈br⌉[ought].
⌈y⌉.[k]m.m⌈.⌉ᵐ	⌈y⌉[k]mm	⌈Let her (!)⌉ be caused to [st]and
(17) b.b[.ᵐ h.]y⌈r.⌉k⌈r.⌉rᵐ mrk.ᵐ	(17) bb [h]yk⌈l⌉ mlk(')	(in) the gate of the [p]ala[ce] of the king."
[xxx]⌈r.r⌉[xxxᵐ]	. . .	. . .
[mrk. ᵐ ʿn̄ẉym.rᵐ]	[mlk(') ʿn(h)-w(')ymr]	[The king spoke up and said,]

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(1) wymn̄⌈n⌉[r.r. ᵐ] rs. ᵐ r.t.r.ᵐ	(1) wym⌈n⌉[ll] lsrṭr(h)	add[ress]ing Saritrah:
⌈r⌉[.]⌈ḫ⌉sᵐ .tyᵐ	⌈lḥ⌉zty	*Have* you ⌈*not see*⌉n?
šryḫ. ᵐ	š(')ry-(')ḫ(y)	*My flesh,* my brother,
(2) th. ᵐ š.ḥt̄ʿrʷ¹ᵍ y s.mthyᵐ pḥ. ᵐ M̄nbrbrᶠ	(2) dh(w) šḥt-ʿly- śmthy pḥ mn-b{l}bl	who sinned against me — I made him governor of (!) Babylon,
.ẇwn. ᵐ mrk ᵐ (3) b. ᵐ n.n. ᵐ .w. ᵐ	w'n(h) mlk (3) bnn'w(h)	while I am king of Nineveh.
s̄ws. ᵐ e.t. ᵐ r. ᵐ b.mytᶠ	sws 'dr bmdy	A mighty horse from (!) Media —
w̄y.b.rᵐ rsrᵐ (4) Īmn {{y→}}kyᵐ	wybl lsr (4) mgy	it was brought to Sarmuge.
b{{s→}}tsᵐ eẗyr. ᵐ bmtᵐ s.ryn. ᵐ	bṣ {'dr} bmṣryn	{Mighty} linen from (!) Egypt
w̄y.br.nᵐ r. ᵐ eḫ. ᵐ e.nᵐ	wybln l'ḫ'n	we brought to our brother.
(5) k.r. ᵐ b. ⁿᵐ M̄nts.wḫ. ᵐ	(5) glbn mn-ṣwḥ/(')rgwn mn-ṣw{ḥ}<r>	Daggers from.../*Purple (wool)* from *Ty<re>*
y.br.nᵐ srᵐ Īmnḳyᵐ	ybln <l>srmgy	we brought <to> Sarmuge.
kštᵐ eẗyr. ᵐ (6) m̄nnʿyrmᵐ	ḳšt 'dr(h) (6) mn-ʿylm	A mighty bow from Elam
y.brnᵐ r. ᵐ eḫ. ᵐ e.n. ᵐ	ybln l'ḫ'n	we brought to our brother.
ḥs.rkyᵐ	{n}<'>zl-(l)ky	Go
ʿrʷ¹ᵍ šẛyḫ. ᵐ	'l š(')ry-(')ḫ(y)	to *my flesh,* my brother.
(7) m̄nnr.r. ᵐ ym.r.rhyᵐ	(7) mnll(y) (')ymr-lhy	Speak, say it to him.
yt.ʿm š.mʿᵐ īrm Īmnrykyᵐ	yd' <y>šm' lmlyky	Let him know, <let him> listen to your words,

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wt.tbᵐ ⁽⁸⁾ r.ᵐ .mrt.kyᵐ	wttb ⁽⁸⁾ l'mrtky	and let him (!) pay attention to your remarks.
srytᵐ n.pkmhyk.r.ᵐ	sryṭ npḳ-mhykl(')	Sarit went out from the palace.
.rk.bh.ᵐ ⌈rʷˡᵍ⌉ m̄n̄rk.btᵐ	'rkbh 'l mrkbt(')	They helped her mount the chariot.
⁽⁹⁾ ī n̄p⌈y⌉h.ᵐ r.ᵐ b.brᶜ smtᵐ	⁽⁹⁾ 'np⌈y⌉h lbbl śmt	She set her fac⌈e⌉ toward Babylon.
s.rkẇ s.k.y.ᵐ {{y→}}⌈rʷˡᵍ⌉ š.rᵐ b.brᶜ	slḵw śky(š) 'l šr bbl	The look-outs went up on the wall of Babylon.
⁽¹⁰⁾ s.k.yᵐ ᶜ.n.ẇ.nᵐ eymr̄.nᵐ	⁽¹⁰⁾ śky(') 'nwn 'ymrn	The look-outs spoke up (and) said:
ḫyr.ᵐ ṭ.t.ᵐ s.k.ᵐ	ḫyl(') d(')tśk(h)	"The troop which was spotted
M̄n̄ṭsyr̄n̄⁽¹¹⁾ s.ḫyr̄n̄	mn-ṣyrn ⁽¹¹⁾ zġyrn	consists of a few emissaries—
m̄n̄-ᶜbtyᵐ	mn-ᶜbdy <mlk(')>	servants of <the king>."
kr̄.bᵐ eny	ḳrb(w) 'n <š> y(')-	*The me<n> drew near*
⌈ᶜ⌉s.ryᵐ t.n.ᵐ	⌈ᶜ⌉(l-)sryṭ{n}<r>(h)	*⌈to⌉ Sarit<r>ah*
m̄n̄nk.⌈m⌉pᵐ	mn-g⌈m⌉p(')	*from the city gate.*
⁽¹²⁾ m̄n̄.nk.ᵐ	⁽¹²⁾ mn-k(h)	"Who here
t.ᵐ	(')t(h/y)	comes/are you?"
e.nhyᵐ s.ryt.r.ᵐ	'n(h)-hy sryṭr(h)	"I am Saritrah,
eḫtᵐ ī m.y.ᵐ	'ḫt t(')my(')/ 'ḫt(') dm<r><(')y <srmwgy>	sister of the *twins*/ sister of *my lo<rd>*, *<Sarmuge>*.
sr̄m̄ẇkyᵐ ⁽¹³⁾ ᶜ.nẇym.rᵐ	srmwgy ⁽¹³⁾ 'n(h)-w(')ymr	Sarmuge spoke up and said:
n.kr.ḵᵐ ᶜ.tᵐ	nkl-kᶜt	*"Nikkal is now*
byṅn.ᵐ byṅs.ryt.ᵐ	byn(y) <w> byn-sryṭ	between me and Sarit:
ī n̄pyhyᵐ ⁽¹⁴⁾ ryḫ.w̄y.nhyᵐ	'npy-hy ⁽¹⁴⁾ lyḫwynhy	She will not let you (!) see my face."
sryt.r̄ ᶜ.⌈nt⌉ᵐ e.mrᵐ	sryṭr(h) ⌈ᶜnt⌉ 'mr	Saritrah spo⌈ke up⌉ (and) said:
mns.mnᵖ	mn-śmn/śmn(y)	"Who made us/me
ḵ.⌈k⌉šrkryh.ᵐ	k⌈ḵ⌉š-<l>lgryh	like ⌈stub⌉ble <for> her feet?
⁽¹⁵⁾ sr̄m̄ḵy.ᵐ eḫ.ᵐ	⁽¹⁵⁾ srmwgy 'ḫ(y)	Sarmuge, my brother,
ḵ.tᵐ b.tᵐ e.y.tyk.ᵐ	gd-(')bd 'ytyk	*Fortune has destroyed you,*
wt.bᵐ r.ḫ.⌈e⌉.k.ᵐ	wtb l(')ḫ⌈⌉k	so return to your brother.
⁽¹⁶⁾ k.šmᶜm ī r̄m̄m.ryᵐ	⁽¹⁶⁾ k(y)-šmᶜ lmly	Do listen to my words,
w.t.ᵐt.b⌈m⌉⌈r⌉.ᵐ.mrᵐn̄	wttb l'mrn	and pay attention ⌈to⌉ my (!) speech.
s.mᵖ eyt.kᵐ s.knᵖ	{śm 'ytk sgn}	{He made you governor.}
⁽¹⁷⁾ r.kryk.ᵐ m̄n̄nk.ᵐ b.r.nᵐ	⁽¹⁷⁾ lgryk mn-k(h) bln	Lift up your feet from here.
e.tᶜrʷˡᵍ mrk.ᵐ e⌈ḫ⌉.kᵐ	't(h)-'l mlk(') '⌈ḫ⌉k	Come to the king your bro⌈ther⌉.

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⸢.[ꜥn]nyᵐ ⁽¹⁸⁾ h.ᵐ	ṱ[ꜥn]ny ⁽¹⁸⁾ h(w)	He is fo[rebea]ring.
ryeḥmʳbᵔ.r.k.ᵐ	ly'ḥ<r>-m<ḳ>ʳbᵔlk	He will not be sl<ow> to <re>ʳceiᵔve you."

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⁽¹⁾ srm̄w̄ḳyᵐ ꜥ.n̄y.m.r̄.ᵐ	⁽¹⁾ srmwgy ꜥn(h)-(')ymr	Sarmuge spoke up (and) said:
ṅ.kbʳrᵔ[ᵐ]	ngbʳlᵔ	"Let us mix fodʳderᵔ
ʳw.ᵐᵔ [ṅ]ʳnᵔyʳḫᵔyt.ᵐ	ʳwᵔ[n]ʳnᵔyʳḫᵔ {-(')yt}	ʳandᵔ [pro]vide ʳrestᵔ
r.ᵐ sẇʳs.ᵔk.nᵐ	lswʳsᵔkn	for your horʳseᵔ.
⁽²⁾ r.m.ᵐ ḳrᵐy<<r>>r̄ᵐ k.b.ᵐ kyᵐ	⁽²⁾ lm ḳlyl-rkbky	*Indeed swift is/was your mount/riding.*"
s.rytʳ.ᵔ[r].ᵐ ꜥntᵐ em.r̄.ᵐ	sryṱ[r](h) ꜥnt 'mr	Sarit[rah] spoke up (and) said:
š.mꜥnyᵐ mrᵐ šmꜥnᵐ	šmꜥny mr šmꜥn(y)	"Hear me, lord, hear me.
⁽³⁾ b.rᵐ e.brᵐ	⁽³⁾ bl 'bl	Truly, truly —
tẏr̄y.nᵐ m.rk.nᵐ k.p.yn.ᵐ	ṱ{y}ryn mlkn kpyn	two kings are *turned upside-down/our hands*
M̄n̄tr.ᵐ ḥ.t.ᵐ b.h.n.ᵐ	mnṱl/... ḥd bhn	*on account of one of (!) them/(but) one ... is in them.*
⁽⁴⁾ eḥ.ẇeḥ.ʳhᵔᵐ n.tsynᵐ	⁽⁴⁾ 'ḥ-w'ḫʳhᵔ nṣyn	a man (*lit.*, a brother) and ʳhisᵔ brother are quarreling
M̄n̄tr.ᵐ ḥ.tb.hʳ.ᵔnᵐ	mnṱl/... ḥd bhn	*on account of one of (!) them/(but) one ... is in them.*
hn.ᵐ yšmꜥnᵐ mrkyᵐ	hn yšmꜥn mlky/mr(')ky	If my king/my (!) lord will hear me out —
ꜥ.brᵐ	ꜥbr	it was for the sake of
m̄n̄t.trᵐ	mnd<t>-(')tr	the tribu<te> of Assyria,
⁽⁵⁾ nt̄.rḳnᵐ	⁽⁵⁾ nṱrkn	your protector,
s.mᴾ eytyḳyᴾ s.knᴾ	śm 'ytyḳy sgn	that he made you governor.
r.kryḳyᵐ m̄n̄nk.ᵐ b.r.ᵐ	lgryḳy mn-k(h) bl	Lift up your feet from here.
et.ᵐ ʳrᵂˡˢ mrk.ᵐ eḥ.k.ᵐ	't(h) 'l mlk(') 'ḫk	Come to the king, your brother."
⁽⁶⁾ srm̄w̄ḳyᵐ rhš.mꜥᵐ r.hᵐ	⁽⁶⁾ srmwgy l{h}šmꜥ lh	Sarmuge did not listen to her,
ẇr.t.ᵐ r.mrtᵐ s.rytᵐ	wlṱ lmrt sryṱ/wlt<b> l(')mrt sryṱ	and he cursed Lady Sarit./ and did not pay att<ention> to Sarit's remarks.
ꜥntᵐ e.mrᵐ	ꜥnt 'mr	She spoke up (and) said:
hn.ᵐ rt̄šmꜥᵐ ⁽⁷⁾ īr̄m̄m.ryᵐ	hn lṱšmꜥ ⁽⁷⁾ lmly	"If you will not listen to my words,
wr.t.t.bᵐ r..mrᵐ n̄ ṅ	w(')n-lttb l'mrn	and if you will not pay attention to my (!) speech,

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	(Col. XX)	
ys.rk.ᵐ m̄n̄nbytᵐ brᵍ	(')yzl-(l)k mn-byt bl	go from the house of Bel,
h.r.ᵐ m̄n̄bytᵐ m.r.t.kᵐ	(l)hl(') mn-byt mrdk	away from the house of Marduk.
⌜n⌝ẇ		
(⁸) y.bnrk ꞏ ᵐ bytᵐ p.n̄ᵐ	(⁸) ybn(h)-lkw⌜n⌝ byt...	Let there be built for you a house of...
bytᵐ k.tẇk.t.kᵐ	byt ... (t)k<n>	constr<uct> a house of...
s.ptᵐ wkyᵐ t.r̄.n.ᵐ (⁹) m̄n̄k̲rᵐ	zpt wk̲ytrn (⁹) mgr	*Throw down* tar and pitch
w.bss.myᵐ Ꞌ.r̄b.ᵐ	wbś{ś}my ꜥrb	and sweet smelling/Arabian perfumes.
hnḫrᵐ b.nyk.ᵐ w.bn.t.kᵐ	hnǵl bnyk wbntk	Bring in your sons and daughters
ẇr̄pyk.ᵐ (¹⁰) trh.b.k.ᵐ	wrp(')yk (¹⁰) d(')rhbk	and your doctors who have made you arrogant.
kꞏtḥ.s.ᵐ	kd-(t)ḥz(h)	When you see
mšḫ.ᵐ	m(h)-šḫ(w)	how they have wasted away /how (low) they have sunk
Ꞌ.ryk.ᵐ	ꜥlyk	on you (=to your detriment),
y š.rpš.	yśrp-(b)(')š(h)-/(')š(h)-	let be burned with fire/let fire burn
tb.kᵐ	t<r>bk	your f<a>t
Ꞌ.mᵐ b.nyk.ᵐ (¹¹) w.bn.t.k.ᵐ	ꜥm bnyk (¹¹) wbntk	with (that of) your sons and daughters
ẇr̄.pyk.ᵐ trᵐ h.b.k.ᵐ	wrp(')yk d(')rhbk	and your doctors who have made you arrogant."
s.ryt.ᵐ n.pkᵐ m̄n̄b.brꜥ	sryt npk̲ mn-bbl	Sarit went out from Babylon.
(¹²) īn̄pyh.ᵐ b.n.n.ᵐ .w.ᵐ s.mtᵐ ⌜t⌝	(¹²) 'npyh bnn'w(h) śmt	She set her face (toward) Nineveh.
y ⌜nᵐ⌝ rꞏkᵐ r̄h.ᵐ s.rtᵐ	y⌜tn⌝ lgr<y>h srt	Sarit ⌜set⌝s her f<ee>t
M̄n̄npk m̄n̄b.brꜥ	mnpk̲ mn-bbl	to go out from Babylon
(¹³) Ꞌtᵐ h.ᵐ ḫ.rẇ b.n.n..w.ᵐ	(¹³) ꜥd-(d)hy ǵlw bnn'w(h)	until she(!) entered Nineveh.
mrk.ᵐ Ꞌnᵐ eym.r̄	mlk(') ꜥn(h) 'ymr	The king spoke up (and) said,
wyīmn̄r.r.ᵐ s.rtr.ᵐ	wymll (l)srtr(h)	addressing Saritrah:
m.m.rkyᵐ	m(h)-(')mr-(l)ky	"What said to you
(¹⁴) š.ryḫ.ᵐ	(¹⁴) š(')ry-(')ḫ(y)	*my flesh*, my brother,
⌜t̲⌝.[e].n.ᵐ š.rḥt.kyᵐ Ꞌ.rw⌜h⌝yᵐ	⌜d⌝['jn(h) šlḥtky ꜥlw⌜h⌝y	to ⌜whom⌝ I sent you?"
hẇ mẇ⌜Ꞌ⌝.tᵐ k.t.n.ᵐ y.k.tᵐ	hw(h) mw⌜ꜥ⌝d(') k(')tn-yk̲d	"The mee⌜ti⌝ng was stormy (*lit.*, like a fiery furnace).
h.k.rr.ᵐ (¹⁵) eysy.nyᵐ	h(w)-k̲ll (¹⁵) 'y(t→)syny	He cursed me."
mr.kᵐ Ꞌ.n̄ym.r.ᵐ	mlk(') ꜥn(h)-(')ymr	The king spoke up (and) said,

Transliteration of Demotic Script	*Semitic Interpretation*	*Translation*

(Col. XX)

w̄y.mnrr.ᵐ r.t.w̄r̄t.n.ᵐ	wymnll ltwrtn(')	addressing the general:
e.kr^{det}	'ḳr(')/'gl(h)	"Call up/Take from home
w̄nt.yᵐ	w(')nyd	and cause to depart
bstrᵐ	bsdr/bstr	in formation/from (!) shelter
⁽¹⁶⁾ b.n.n.ᵐ īwȳ	⁽¹⁶⁾ bnn'wy(')	the Ninevites.
m̄n.t.ᵐ	mn{t}(h)	{You/I did} appoint
ṭp̄s.r̄ᶜk⌐	ṭpsr⌐k⌐-	⌐your⌐ scribe
rṭp̄sr.ᵐ ṭrḥm^{det}	lṭpsr dlḥm	war-scribe
wmrk.ᵐ kr⌐b⌐ᵐ	wmlk ḳr⌐b⌐	and batt⌐le⌐-adviser
⌐t⌐ᶜ.nyᵐ k⌐.nᵐ⌐	<d>⌐ṭ⌐ᶜnyk⌐n⌐	<for> your ⌐swo⌐rdsmen
⁽¹⁷⁾ w.ḥn⌐ky⌐kᵐ	⁽¹⁷⁾ wḥn⌐ky⌐k	and your soldi⌐ers⌐.
.p̄rb.brᶜ	'p-l-bbl	Furthermore, to Babylon
ṭhk.ᵐ ṭw̄r̄t.nᵐ	thk twrtn	you shall go, general,
brš.ᵐ ḳ.⌐ys⌐ᵐ	br(')š g⌐yš⌐	at the head of an ar-⌐my⌐."
⌐m⌐r[k].ᵐ ᶜn̄eymrᵐ	⌐m⌐l[k](') ᶜn(h)-'ymr	The ⌐k⌐in[g] spoke up (and) said,
⁽¹⁸⁾ w̄y.M̄n⌐rr⌐[.]ᵐ rṭw̄r̄t.nᵐ	⁽¹⁸⁾ wym⌐ll⌐ ltwrtn(')	add⌐ress⌐ing the general:
.p̄rb.brᶜ	'p-l-bbl	Furthermore, from (!) Babylon
yḥ⌐t⌐ḫ.ᵐ	yḥ⌐t⌐-(')ḫ(y)	my brother shall be brought ⌐down⌐
eḥyḥynᵐ	{'ḫy}-ḥyn	{my brother} alive.
⌐t.w̄r⌐t.n̄w npkᵐ	⌐twr⌐tn(') npḳ	The ⌐gene⌐ral went out
⁽¹⁹⁾ bhyk.rᵐ	⁽¹⁹⁾ bhykl(')	from (!) the palace.
.r̄kb.ᵐ ᶜrᵂⁱˢ m̄nr[.k.b.]tᵐ	'rkb <hy> 'l mr[kb]t(')	They helped <him> mount the cha[ri]ot.
īnpwh⌐y⌐[ᵐ rb.]⌐brᶜ⌐ [s].⌐m⌐[ᵐ]	'npwh⌐y⌐ [lb]⌐bl⌐ [š]⌐m⌐	He [se]⌐t⌐ h⌐is⌐ face toward [Ba]⌐bylon⌐.

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⁽¹⁾ s.rk⌐x⌐ᵐ s⌐.k.m⌐ y.[ᵐ] .ršrb.brᶜ	¹⁾ slḳ(w) š⌐k⌐y(') 'l-šr-bbl	The look-⌐out⌐s went up to the wall of Babylon.
s[.ky]⌐.ᵐ ᶜ.⌐nym.r̄.ᵐ	š[ky](') ⌐⌐n(h)-(')ymr(w)	The lo[ok-outs] ⌐spo⌐ke up (and) said:
ḫyr[.ᵐ ṭ.t].ᵐ šk.ᵐ	ḫyl(') [d(')t]šk(h)	"The troop [which was] spot[ted]
M̄ntysr̄n ⁽¹⁾ s.ḫyr̄n	{mn-ṣyrn ⁽¹⁾ zġyrn}	{consists of a few emissaries}
M̄nḫyrᵐ mr.k.ᵐ	mn-ḫyl mlk(')	is from the army of the king."
t.w̄r̄t.nᵐ ᶜn̄⌐e⌐y⌐mr⌐ᵐ	twrtn(') ᶜn(h)-⌐'⌐y⌐mr⌐	The general spoke up (and) ⌐s⌐a⌐id⌐,
w̄yM̄nrr.ᵐ rsrm̄wḳyᵐ	wymll lsrmwgy	addressing Sarmuge:

Transliteration of Demotic Script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation
	(Col. XXI)	
šmʿn. ᵐ mrᵐ šmʿnᵐ	šmʿn(y) mr šmʿn(y)	"Hear me, lord, hear me!
brmᵐ (³) tr̄y. ᵐ mr.knᵐ	brm (³) try mlkn	Truly — two kings
k.pyᵐ	kpy	are turned upside-down/my hands
M̄n̄tryᵐ ḫ.t. ᵐ b.ḫ.nᵐ	mnṭl{y}/... ḥd bhn	on account of (!) one of them/(but) one ... is in them.
h.nᵐ yšmʿnᵐ m.rkyᵐ	hn yšmʿn mlky/mr(ʾ)ky	If my king/my (!) lord will hear me out —
ʿ.br̄. ᵐ	ʿbr	it was for the sake of
m̄n̄nt.t. ᵐ	mndt	the tribute of
(⁴) t̄rn̄t̄.rḳ.nᵐ	(⁴) (ʾ)tr-nṭrkn	Assyria, your protector
s.mᵖ eyt.kyᵐ s.k.nᵐ	śm ʾytky sgn	that he made you governor.
r.kr̄yk. ᵐ M̄n̄k.b.r.nᵐ	lgryk mn-k(h)-bln	Lift up your feet from here.
et. ᵐ ʿrʷˡᵍ mrk. ᵐ eḫ.k. ᵐ	ʾt(h) ʾl mlk(ʾ) ʾḫk	Come to the king, your brother.
(⁵) t̄ʿn..nᵐ h. ᵐ	(⁵) ṭʿnn h(w)	He is forebearing.
ryeḥmḳb.r.ek. ᵐ	lyʾḫ <r>-mḳblʾk	He will not be sl<ow> to receive you."
srm̄w̄ḳyᵐ ʿn̄ymr̄. ᵐ	srmwgy ʿn(h)-(ʾ)ymr	Sarmuge spoke up (and) said:
k.t. ᵐ ksr. ᵐ <<ʿ>>rpḥ er.t.kᵐ	kd(ʾ) gzr ʿl-pḥ <m>{ʾ}rdk	"So he decreed upon the governor of <M>arduk
(⁶) w̄ksr. ᵐ k.t. ᵐ	(⁶) wgzr kd(ʾ)	and so it is decreed."
ph.nᵐ k.t̄šmʿnyᵐ	phn k(y)-tšmʿny	"Then if you will, indeed, listen to me,
ir̄m̄ M̄n̄ryk. ᵐ	lmlyk	to my (!) words,
w̄t.t. ᵐ r..mrt.kᵐ	wtt<b> lʾmrtk	and you will pay att<en­tion> to my (!) remarks,
sr.kᵐ	(ʾ)zl-(l)k	begone,
t̄šrb.brʿ	dšr-bbl	for the wall of Babylon
(⁷) b.t.rt. ᵐ ym. ᵐ	(⁷) btlt ym(n)/btr{t} ym	in three days/after a day
n.kḥᵐ	nḳḥ	we shall capture;
t̄š.r̄. ᵐ bts.ḫ. ᵐ	dšr(ʾ) (ʾ)bṣḫ	for the wall I shall breach
eḫyym. ᵐ	ʾḫ<r>-y-ym	aft<e>r a day."
srm̄w̄ḳyᵐ ysrrh. ᵐ	srmwgy (ʾ)yzl-lh	Sarmuge went
m̄n̄bytᵐ (⁸) brʿ	mn-byt (⁸) bl	from the house of Bel,
h.r. ᵐ m̄n̄bytᵐ m.r̄t.kᵐ	(l)hl(ʾ) mn-byt mrdk	away from the house of Marduk.
y.bn. ᵐ r. ᵐ bytᵐ n̄p. ᵐ	{y}bn(h) l<h> byt ...	He {will have} built for <himself> a house of...
bytᵐ k.tẅktt̄ʳk.ꜣnᵐ	byt ... -tʳḳꜣn	He conʳstruꜣcted a house of...
(⁹) s.ptᵐ w̄kyt.r̄.nᵐ m̄n̄ḳrᵐ	(⁹) zpt wḳyṭrn mgr	He threw down tar and pitch
[wb].s.myᵐ ʿ.rʳbꜣ[. ᵐ]	[wb]śmy ʿrʳbꜣ	[and] sweet-smelʳlingꜣ/ Araʳbianꜣ [pe]rfumes.

Transliteration of Demotic Script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation
	(Col. XXI)	
hnᵀẖᵀrᵀbᵀ.nhyᵐ	hnᵀġᵀl-ᵀbᵀn<w>hy	He brouᵀghtᵀ in his ᵀsoᵀn<s>
w̄.bnt.ᵀhᵐᵀ	wbntᵀhᵀ	and ᵀhisᵀ daughters
ᵀw̄ᵀr[p]ᵀmᵀ [h]ᵀyᵀm	ᵀwᵀr[p](')<w>[h]ᵀyᵀ	[and hi]ᵀsᵀ doc[tor]<s>
(10) ᵀtᵀrh.b.ᵐ h.ᵐ	(10) ᵀdᵀ(')rhbh(y)	ᵀwhoᵀ had made him arrogant.
k.ᵀtᵀ[ᵐ ḥ.]s	kᵀdᵀ [ḥ]z(h)-	Whᵀenᵀ he [s]aw
ᵀmšᵀ[.ḥ]ᵀ.ᵀm	ᵀmᵀ(h)-ᵀšᵀ[ḫ](w)	ᵀhowᵀ they had ᵀwastedᵀ [away]/[how] (low) they had ᵀsuᵀ[nk]
'rʷˡᵍ rwᵀhᵀ	'l{l}wᵀhᵀ(y)	on hᵀimᵀ (=to his detriment),
ᵀenpkᵐ n̄ p̄ᵀ[š.h]yᵐ	ᵀ'npk̲ᵀ ᵀnpᵀ[šh]y	ᵀhe tookᵀ [hi]mᵀselᵀ[f] ᵀoutᵀ
'.mbnwh[yᵐ w.bn.thyᵐ]	'm-bnwh[y] [wbnthy]	with hi[s] sons [and his daughters]
(11) w̄ r̄[p]ẇhyᵐ	(11) wr[p](')why	and his doc[tor]s
trᵀhᵀ.b.ᵀhyᵐᵀ	d(')rᵀhᵀbᵀhyᵀ	who had made ᵀhimᵀ arrᵀogᵀant.
tᵀ.ᵀ[w̄r̄t].nᵐ yẖᵀbᵀ[.]ᵀkᵐᵀ	t[wrt]n(') yẖᵀbk̲ᵀ	The ge[ner]al emᵀbracᵀes
s.ᵀᵐ ẖᵀ[y]r̄n̄ .rb.nᵐ	zᵀġᵀ[y]rn <w>rbn	young <and> old.
ᵀnᵀ[p]ᵀk̲ᵀ[ᵐ mhykrᵐ]	ᵀnᵀ[p]ᵀk̲ᵀ [mhykl](')	He ᵀweᵀ[nt] ᵀoutᵀ [from the palace].
(12) .r̄k̲.bᵐ hᵐ 'rʷˡᵍ m̄n̄rk.b.[t].ᵐ	(12) 'rkbh 'l mrkb[t](')	They helped him mount the chari[ot].
īn̄ᵀpᵀ[w]ᵀhᵀ[y]ᵀmᵀ [r]ᵀ.brᵀ[brᵗ] ᵀsᵀmᵀẇᵀm	'nᵀpᵀ[w]ᵀhᵀ[y] [l]ᵀblᵀ[bl] ᵀsᵀmᵀwᵀ	He (!) ᵀseᵀt ᵀhiᵀ[s] faᵀcᵀ[e] toward ᵀBaᵀ[bylon] (sic!?)
sr̄m̄wk̲yᵐ [sr.]ᵐ ᵀ'mᵀ[h.ᵐ]	srmwgy (')[zl] ᵀ'mᵀ[hy]	Sarmuge [went] ᵀwithᵀ [him].
(13) h.r.ᵐ r̄ᵀ.ᵀ[k̲]b.ᵐ	(13) hl(') r[k]b(w)	Away they ro[d]e,
ᵀw̄tᵀwnᵐ ᵀbᵀ[.]ᵀmᵀtᵐ eᵀtrᵐᵀ	ᵀwᵀ(')ᵀtᵀwn ᵀbmᵀt 'ᵀtrᵀ	and they [ca]me ᵀtoᵀ(!) the [la]nd of Asᵀsyriaᵀ,
[.r]ᵀbyᵀtᵀ.nᵀ[.]ᵀmᵀ	[']l]-ᵀbyᵀtᵀrᵀn	[to] the ᵀpaᵀlaᵀceᵀ
ᵀyᵀšᵀḥᵀe.nᵐ	...	...
[xxxxxxxxᵐ]	...	...
(14) r̄p.ᵐ yk̲t̄ȳᵀšᵀ.ᵐ	(14) rp('') ykty'ᵀšᵀ	The doctor pounᵀdᵀs
k.tpᵀ.ᵀ[xxx].tᵐ	k̲tp	balm ...
r.[xx]ᵀᵐᵀ wr[xxx].ᵐ	...	...
k̲rk̲rᵀ.m̄n̄ᵐᵀ	...	...
[y]sᵀt[hyᵐ]	[y]sᵀd[hy]	He support[s] [him]
(15) 'rᵀwˡᵍᵀ[xxxx]ᵐ	(15) 'l ...	on ...
'.rᵀsᵀm	'rᵀsᵀ	a beᵀdᵀ.
ᵀn̄ntᵀ.n.ᵀmᵀ	ᵀntᵀn	He gave
[xxx]ᵀ'ᵀ	...	...
wᵀ.rᵀ[.]ᵀkbᵐᵀ	wᵀrkbᵀ(w)	and they ᵀrodeᵀ

Transliteration of Demotic Script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation

(Col. XXI)

. ⌐r ͫ⌐ [xxx].tšr.⌐m⌐	'[l] ...t-šr/dšr	t[o] the ... of the wall of
[b.n.n..w. ͫ]	[bnn'w(h)]	[Nineveh],
⁽¹⁶⁾ [r]⌐. ͫ m⌐[.rk]. ͫ	⁽¹⁶⁾ [l]⌐m⌐[lk]('):	[to] the ⌐k⌐ [ing].
b.⌐nte.b⌐[r ͫ]	b⌐nt⌐(') ⌐'b⌐[l](w/h)	*The gi⌐rls⌐ ⌐mou⌐[rned]*
[w̄b.]⌐k⌐t ͫ	[wb]⌐k⌐t	[*and we*]⌐*p*⌐*t.*
⌐e.b⌐[r]⌐m⌐ ⌐m.y⌐	⌐'b⌐[l](w/h) ...	*They* ⌐*mou*⌐[*rned*] ...
[xxxxxx].m⌐n.⌐	...	...
[xxxxx]⌐b⌐[xxxxx ͫ]	...	...
⁽¹⁷⁾ [xxxxxxxx]	⁽¹⁷⁾ ...	...
⌐r⌐.br⌐r⌐	⌐l⌐ <b> bl	⌐to⌐ <Ba> bylon
[xxxxxxx]	...	...
⌐mb⌐[x]⌐t⌐	...	...
[xxxxxxxxxx]⌐p̄ʿr⌐	... ⌐pʿl⌐	... ⌐and on⌐
[xxxxxxxxx ͫ]	...	...

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⁽¹⁾ [xx]⌐.n̄⌐b.tm.	⁽¹⁾ ...	...
[xxxxxxxxxx] ͫ	...	...
r. ͫ ⌐e⌐[	l-[...	to [...
⁽²⁾ h̄tk̄.r̄.b ͫ	⁽²⁾ ḥd-ḳrb	one ... bring near
⌐r⌐[x]⌐t⌐t. ͫ	⌐l⌐...	⌐to⌐ ...
yš.rḥ. ͫ	yšlḥ	let him be sent
⌐w⌐s̄mr[	⌐w⌐[...	⌐and⌐ [...
⁽³⁾ y.th. ͫ ns̄w̄ʿr ͫⁱˢ y	⁽³⁾ ydh nś(')w-ʿly	He rebelled against me (*lit.*, his hand he (!) raised against me),
⌐⌐.yr.h. ͫ t.ny⌐m̄n̄⌐[	⌐⌐(l)-(')lh(y) (')dny- [...	⌐against⌐ my god, my lord/ Adonay [...
⁽⁴⁾ šrḥ. ͫ ʿ.bk. ͫ	⁽⁴⁾ šlḥ ʿb <d> k	"Send your serv < ant >,
b.m.rk ͫ	(')b(')-mlk(')	O *father*, king,
m⌐s⌐p.r̄. ͫ m[	m⌐s⌐pr m(h) [...	to ⌐t⌐*ell what* [...
⁽⁵⁾ e.pr̄k. ͫ	⁽⁵⁾ ' <s> pr-(l)k	I shall < *t* > *ell on your behalf*
tset.n.ʸ ͫ	ṣ <r> -'dny	emiss <ary> of my lord/ Adonay
⌐t⌐.br. ͫ sr.[ͫ m̄n̄k ͫ] [	⌐d⌐br sr[mgy] [...	the ⌐*st*⌐*ory* of Sar[muge] [...
⁽⁶⁾ t.kr. ͫ r.kn ͫ	⁽⁶⁾ dkr(w) lkn	Remember
⌐m⌐s.ph. ͫ	⌐m⌐sp <r> h	his ⌐*t*⌐*al* <e>.
t̄s.b⌐r⌐[.]n[ͫ] [	tsb⌐l⌐n [...	You shall bea⌐r⌐ [...
⁽⁷⁾ h̄.rk. ͫ	⁽⁷⁾ ġlk/ġrk	your yoke/enemy."
mrk. ͫ ⌐ʿ.⌐ [n̄]wymr̄. ͫ	mlk(') ⌐⌐[n](h)-w(')ymr	The king ⌐*spo*⌐[*ke up*] *and said,*
wy⌐M̄n⌐[r.r ͫ r.t.w̄r̄t.n ͫ][	wy⌐m⌐[ll] [ltwrtn(')] [...	⌐*add*⌐[*ress*]*ing* [*the general*]: [...
[ʿ.] ⁽⁸⁾ t.t.k. ͫ	[ʿ] ⁽⁸⁾ ttk	"Your [ad]vice

Transliteration of Demotic script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation

<div align="center">(Col. XXII)</div>

Transliteration of Demotic script	Semitic Interpretation	Translation
[ī̄n]py{{k}}ky ᵐ		
⌐b⌐[.s.m.]t.ᵐ r.ᵐ	⌐b⌐[śm]t l(y)	is ⌐p⌐[leas]ing to me.
ry⌐ḥ⌐.⌐s⌐[.ny][		
.rh.ᵐ y[	'lh(y) y[...	My god will [...
	['n]pyky ly⌐ḥz⌐[ny][...	Your [fa]ce he will not ⌐show⌐ [me][...
⁽ᵃ⁾ eḥyḥ.⌐yᵐ⌐	⁽ᵃ⁾ 'ḥy-ḥ⌐y⌐	my brother ali⌐ve⌐
⌐y⌐[xxxᵐ]	⌐y⌐...	⌐he will⌐ ...
[s̄p̄]	[sp]	[End]

<div align="center">TO BE CONTINUED</div>

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