

Kish was defeated in battle (lit.: was smitten with weapons), its kingship was removed to Eanna (sacred precinct of Uruk).

In Eanna, Mes-kiag-gasher, the son of the (sun) god Utu, became high priest as well as king, and ruled 324 years. Mes-kiag-gasher went (daily) into the (Western) Sea and came forth (again) toward the (Sunrise) Mountains; En-me-kar, son of Mes-kiag-gasher, he who built Uruk, became king and ruled 420 years; the god Lugal-banda, a shepherd, ruled 1,200 years; the god Dumu-zi, a su.PES-fisherman⁷—his (native) city was Ku'a(ra),—ruled 100 years; the divine Gilgamesh, his father was a *///*«,⁸ a high priest of Kullab, ruled 126 years; Ur-Nungal (var.: Ur-lugal), son of Gilgamesh, ruled 30 years; Utul-kamma, son of Ur-nun-gal (var.: Ur-lugal), ruled 15 years; Labafh ... jir ruled 9 years; En-nun-dara-Anna ruled 8 years; MES(?).HE, a smith, ruled 36 years; Melam-Anna ruled 6 years; Lugal-ki-tun(P) ruled 36 years. Twelve kings (thus) ruled it for 2,310 years.

Uruk was defeated in battle, its kingship was removed to Ur.

In Ur, Mes-Anne-pada became king, ruled 80⁹ years; Mes-kiag-Nanna¹⁰ became king, ruled 36 years; [Elulu ruled 25 years; Balulu ruled 36 years. Four kings (thus) ruled it for 177 years. Ur was defeated in battle].

2. THE "SARGON CHRONICLE"

While in the Sumerian King List the references to legendary, pseudo-historical, and historical traditions occur only sporadically and are subordinated to the chronological framework elaborated by the author, here they have overgrown the basically annalistic structure in a type of chronicle to be represented by two tablets of the same series.¹ This literary work centers its attention around the most interesting of the historical figures and reports their outstanding achievements in peace and war with special regard to the unique and the memorable. Important events in neighboring countries as well as foreign invasions are recorded from time to time. For a literary evaluation of this document, cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII (NF VIII), I if.

a

The tablet (British Museum 26,472), written in the Neo-Babylonian Period, has been published by L. W. King in his *Chronicles Concerning Early Babylonian Kings* (London, 1907), II, 113-119. Transliteration and translation: *op.cit.*, pp. 3-14. Latest complete translation: Ebeling in *AOT*, 335-336.

Sargon (Sarru-^{en}), king of Agade, rose (to power) in the era of Ishtar² and had neither rival nor opponent. He spread his terror-inspiring glamor over all the countries. He crossed the Sea in the East and he, himself, conquered the country of the West, in its full extent,

⁷ For this profession, cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 88, n.125.

⁸ For this difficult word, cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 90, n.131; also, my remarks in *Orientalia*, NS xvi (1947), 233, n.3.

⁹ For this figure, cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 93, n.145. From historical inscriptions of his own, we know that the name of the son of this king was A-anne-pada. For unknown reasons, he is not mentioned in the present list.

¹⁰ *Nanna* to be emended to *nunna*; cf. Jacobsen, *op.cit.*, p. 94, n.146.

¹ This tablet belongs to the same literary work as the text translated p. 303. cf. B. Landsberger-Th. Bauer, *ZA*, xxxvn, (NF III), 61 ff.

² For the latest discussion of the enigmatic expression "era of Ishtar," cf. J. Lewy, *HUCA*, xix (1946), 420, 480.

in the nth year (of his rule). He established there a central government (lit.: he made its mouth be one). He erected his stelae in the West. Their booty (i.e. the booty of the countries in the Eastern and Western Seas) he ferried over on rafts. He made his court officials live (around his residence, thus covering an area) of five double-miles, and held sway over the totality of the countries, without exception.

He marched against the country of Kazalla⁸ and turned Kazalla into ruin-hills and heaps (of rubble).^{8*} He (even) destroyed (there every possible) perching place for a bird.

Afterwards, in his old age, all the countries revolted against him and they besieged him in Agade. (But) Sargon made an armed sortie and defeated them, knocked them over, and crushed their vast army.

Later on, Subartu⁴ rose with its multitudes, but it bowed to his military might. Sargon made sedentary this nomadic society.⁵ Their possessions he brought into Agade. He took away earth from the (foundation)-pits⁶ of Babylon and he built upon it a(nother) Babylon beside the town of Agade. On account of the sacrilege he (thus) committed, the great lord Marduk became enraged and destroyed his people by hunger. From the East to the West he alienated⁷ (them) from him and inflicted upon [him] (as punishment) that he could not rest (in his grave).⁸

Naram-Sin, son of Sargon, marched against the town of Apishal⁹ and made a breach (in its wall to conquer it). He personally caught Rish-Adad, king of Apishal, and the su^{al} of Apishal. He (also) marched against the country Magan and personally caught Mannu-dannu, king of Magan.¹⁰

Shulgi,¹¹ son of Ur-Nammu, took very good care of the town of Eridu which is on the seashore (but) he had evil intentions and he removed the property of the

⁸ The British Museum text K 2130, a collection of hepatoscopic omnia referring to historical events and personalities (first published in Rawlinson, Vol. iv, Pl. 34, No. 1), gives the name of the king of Kazalla, to wit: Kashtubila.

* For this translation of the well-known nouns *tillu u |armu* cf. E. F. Weidner in *Melanges syriens*, II, 924, n.5.

⁴ My translation differs from the usual by emending the vertical wedge before *matSu-bir*^{kl}. The use of the verbs *tebu* and *|am&su* fits much better into the thus corrected phrase, and so does the word *gipiu*, which normally describes an unorganized army and therefore seems more likely to refer to the army of Subartu than to that of Sargon. The lines 15-16 (*abikta-iu-nu im-has |a-mar-lu-nu ii-|un um-man-iu-nu rapaltimu-lam-qi-it*) have been omitted as an erroneous repetition of lines 12-13.

⁵ Conjectural translation, text in disorder.

⁶ This passage (and its parallel in the so-called "Weidner-Chronicle," cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII [NF vm], 47 ff., rev. 17) has been lately elucidated by Güterbock, in *AfO*, XIII (1940-41), 50, who connected it with *is(s)& "pit."* The passage seems therefore to suggest that the contents (clean earth and sand) of the well-known deep pits under the emplacements of the images were considered endowed with the very essence of the "holiness" which pervaded the image, its temple, and its sacred city.

⁷ The subject of all three verbs is necessarily Marduk.

⁸ For this punishment, cf. lately E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, xm (1940-41), 236, n.26.

⁹ For this town, cf. I. J. Gelb, *AJSL*, LV (1938), 70 f.

¹⁰ For a recent statement concerning the often discussed problem of the identification of Mannu-dannu (var.: Manium) with Menes, the first king of the list of Manetho, cf. E. Drioton and J. Vandier, *L'Egypte* (Paris, 1946), pp. 162 ff.; and of Magan with Egypt, cf. A. Ungnad, *AfO*, xiv (1941-44), »99 f-

¹¹ For the still uncertain reading of this name of the second king of the Third Dynasty of Ur, formerly often read Dungi, cf. T. Jacobsen, in *BASOR*, 102 (1947), 16 ff., where the transliteration *SAIJ - g i* is proposed.

temple Esagila and of Babylon sacrilegiously. Bel be[came angry] and his corpse (i.e. of Shulgi) he (illegible) him.

Irra-imitti,¹² the king, installed Bel-ibni, the gardener, on his throne as a "substitute king"¹⁸ and he (Irra-imitti) (even) placed his own royal crown on his (Le. Bel-ibni's) head. (During the ceremonial rule of Bel-ibni) Irra-imitti died in his palace while sip [ping]¹⁴ hot porridge, and Bel-ibni who was (still) sitting on the throne did not rise (any more), he (thus) was elevated to (real) kingship.

Catchline:¹⁵ Ilishuma was king of Assyria in the time of Su(mu)abu (king of Babylon)¹⁰

Continuation of the preceding text on tablet British Museum 96,152, published by King, *opxist.*, pp. 121-127; transliteration and translation: *opxist.*, pp. 17 if. and Ebeling, *AOT*, 337.

(obverse 8—reverse 17)

Hammurabi, king of Babylon, called up his army and marched against Rim-Sin, king of Ur. He personally conquered Ur and Larsa, he took their possessions to Babylon. The . . . of . . . he threw down, the [booty of . . .] he carried away.

[Samsuilu]na, king of Babylon, son of Ha[mmura]bi, the king, [did . . . , his army he cal]led up and . . . Rim-Sin . . . he marched. He personally conquered [Ur and Larsa]; [he caught] him alive in the palace. . . . He marched [against . . .] and laid siege . . . its inhabitants.

(end of obverse and beginning of reverse destroyed)
[Ili]ma-ilum . . . water, he built . . . and made an attack against him . . . , their corpses [filled] the sea. For a second time, Samsuiluna rose to [attack] Ilima-ilum and [he inflicted] a defeat [upon his army].

Abishi (= Abieshuh), son of Samsuiluna, did — to defeat Ilima-ilum and he had the idea of damming up the Tigris;¹⁷ he actually dammed up the Tigris, but he did not [catch] Ilima-ilum.

In the time of Samsuditana, the country of Hatti [marched] against Akkad.¹⁸

Ea-gamil, king of the Sea-Country, [marched] against Elam.

After him, Ulamburiash, brother of Kashtiliash, of the country of the Kassites, called up his army and con-

quered the Sea-Country. He held (thus) sway over the (entire) country.

Agum, son of Kashtiliash, called up his army and marched against the Sea-Country. He conquered the town Dur-Ea. He demolished the temple e.e.g.a.r.a. u r u . n a¹⁹ of Ea in Dur-Ea.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

I. SARGON OF AGADE

The tablet is large, with 14 columns on either side, containing copies of inscriptions on votive objects and statues set up in the temple Ekur in Nippur. According to its paleographic features, the tablet was written soon after the rule of the Dynasty of Agade. The inscriptions are those of Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, and of Sargon, Rimush, Manishtusu, kings of Agade. Two fragments of this tablet have been successively published by A. Poebel in *Historical and Grammatical Texts* (Philadelphia, 1914, *UM*, v), Pl. xx, No. 34, and by L. Legrain, *The Museum Journal* (University of Pennsylvania), xiv (1923), 203 ff., Figs. 42-44. Transliterations and translations: Poebel (*UM*, iv), 173 ff., Legrain (*UM*, xiv), 12 ff.; G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 101 ff. (Inscription AB.) Latest translation of v-vi 5-52, Ebeling, *AOT*, 338.

(i-ii 1—iii-iv 44)

Sargon, king of Agade, overseer of Ishtar, king of Kish,¹ anointed priest of Anu, king of the country, great en si² of Enlil; he defeated Uruk and tore down its wall; in the battle with the inhabitants of Uruk he was victorious. Lugalzaggisi, king of Uruk, he captured in (this) battle, he brought him in a (dog) collar to the gate of Enlil. Sargon, king of Agade, was victorious in the battle with the inhabitants of Ur, the(ir) town he defeated and tore down its wall. He defeated (the town) E-Ninmar and tore down its wall and defeated (also) its (entire) territory from Lagash as far as the sea. His weapon (then) he washed in the sea. In the battle with the inhabitants of Umma he was victorious, the(ir) town he defeated and tore down its wall.

Enlil did not let anybody oppose Sargon, the king of the country. Enlil gave him (the region from) the Upper Sea (to) the Lower Sea. From the Lower Sea onwards, natives of Agade are holding the governorships. Mari and Elam are standing (in obedience) before Sargon, king of the country. Sargon, king of the country, restored Kish, he ordered them to take (again) possession of the(ir) city.

May Shamash destroy the potency⁸ and make perish every offspring of whosoever damages this inscription.

Inscription on the pedestal of (a statue of) Sargon, king of the country.

¹⁹ Not in Deimel, *SL*. For the sign a g a r a, cf. R. T. Hallock, *The Chicago Syllabary and the Louvre Syllabary AO 7661* (*AS*, No. 7 [1940]), line 244, = *bit ku-mu-ri-e* "store house." The name e.g.a.g.a.r.a.u.r.i.i.n.a could therefore mean "temple . . . with an *urunak*\u" (cf. Deimel, *SL*, 331/20, for this building [?]).

¹ For this tide and its political implications, cf. T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, pp. 181 f.; also, J. Lewy in *HUCA*, xix (1946), 476. Furthermore, p. 274-275, n.2.

² Formerly read *potest*, the new reading has been proposed by A. Falkenstein in *ZA*, XLII (NF vm), 152 if., and has been generally accepted (cf. F. M. Th. Boehl, *MAOG*, xi [1937], p. 37, n.1, but contrast A. Deimel in *SL*, *Sumerisch-akkadisches Glossar* [Rome, 1934], p. 94a).

⁸ This is the exact meaning of the idiom *iidd nasahu*.

¹² The ninth king of the Dynasty of Isin.

¹⁸ cf. for this incident and its background R. Labat, *Le caractere religieux de la royauté assyro-babylonienne* (Paris, 1939), pp. 103 f., and H. Frankfort, *Kingship and the Gods* (Chicago 1947), pp. 263 f.

¹⁴ According to the very suggestive explanation of A. Ungnad in *Orientalia*, NS xn (1943)» 194 ff., this rite was performed on account of an eclipse of the moon which portended evil for the king. For *sardpu* "to sip," cf. H. G. Guterbock, *ZA*, XLII (NF vJII), 60, n.2.

¹⁶ This "catchline" (colophon) indicates the first line of the next—here the third—tablet of the series.

¹⁶ The founder of the First Dynasty of Babylon ("Hammurabi Dynasty").

¹⁷ For the strategic use made in war of the changing levels of the Mesopotamian rivers, cf. also the damaged evidence contained in the report on the first campaign of Samsuiluna against Ilimailum of the Sea-Country, cf., further, n.12, p. 270. cf. also *CT*, 36, 4:5 f. (Ashduni-Erim, of Kish).

¹⁸ These words are written, in smaller characters, over the line which separates the paragraphs.

(v-vi 5-52)

. . . Sargon, king of Kish, was victorious in 34 campaigns and dismantled (all) the cities, as far as the shore of the sea. At the wharf of Agade he made moor ships from Meluhha,⁴ ships from Magan,⁴ (and) ships from Tilmun.⁵ Sargon, the king, prostrated (himself) in prayer before the god Dagan in Tutul⁶ (and) he gave (him) the Upper Region (i.e.) Mari, Iarmuti (and) Ibla as far as the Cedar Forest and the Silver Mountain. Enlil did not let anybody oppose Sargon, the king. 5,400 soldiers ate daily in his palace (lit.: presence).

May Anu destroy the name and Enlil finish off the offspring, Inanna do . . . to whosoever destroys this inscription.

Inscription on a statue the pedestal of which is not inscribed.

2. NARAM-SIN IN THE CEDAR MOUNTAIN¹

The text, published, transliterated, and translated by C. J. Gadd and L. Legrain in *UET*, as No. 275 (Vol. 1, pp. 74 ff.; Vol. n, Pl. LVI) is taken from a collection of late copies (approximately, Dynasty of Isin or First Babylonian Dynasty) made on a clay tablet from inscriptions of the kings of the dynasty of Agade. The copies are negligently made and offer therefore many difficulties.

(i I—ii 28)

Although since the era of the *si-k|i|-t?* of man(kind) none of the kings has ever destroyed⁸ (the towns) Arman and Ibla, *now** the god Nergal did open up the path for the mighty⁵ Naram-Sin, and gave him Arman and Ibla, and he presented him (also) with the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain and (with) the Upper Sea. And mighty Naram-Sin slew Arman and Ibla with the "weapon" of the god Dagan who aggrandizes his kingdom. And he . . . all the peoples with which Dagan had presented him for the first time,⁷ from the Euphrates frontier as far as Ulisum and . . .⁸ the corvee-basket for his god Amal. And he *overpowered*⁹ the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain.

⁴ At this period, Magan and Meluhha are probably denominations of still unidentified countries on the eastern shores of Arabia. With the expanding geographical horizon, these names shift constantly towards the southeastern peripheral regions of the known *orbis terrarum*. cf. e.g., W. F. Albright, *JAOS*, XLn (1922), 317 ff.

⁵ For this country, its geographical location, and its meaning within a certain type of Mesopotamian literature, cf. S. N. Kramer, *BASOR*, 96 (1944), 18-26; and A. L. Oppenheim, *JAOS*, LXXIV (1954), 6-17.

⁸ cf. for this town I. J. Gelb in *AJSL*, LV (1938), 74.

¹ In the context, the expression "Cedar Mountain" clearly refers to the Amanus, but there are indications that this basically "mytho-geographic" term denotes also a region east of Mesopotamia, cf. S. N. Kramer *BASOR*, 96 (1944), 20 ff.

² Though one expects here a reference to the creation of man or the like, the term *li|ittu* is difficult to interpret in this sense.

⁸ Text: *u-sa-al-bi-tu*.

⁴ For *in Iu(?)*-e in this very dubious meaning, reference has to be made to Landsberger's guess in *OLZ*, xxxiv (1931), 131.

⁵ Translation uncertain; "mighty" is nominative.

⁶ Text: *u-ra-is* which is usually interpreted (cf. von Soden, *ZA*, xui [NF VII], 170) as "he crushed," but the context and the reference to the corvee-basket suggest a verb (expected: *wara'u*) referring to a transfer of the conquered population for forced labor.

⁷ For this translation, cf. Jacobsen in *AJSL*, xvi (1929), 70.

⁸ The text seems to have *na-st-ni/um* (to *nalSu* "to carry?") not *na-ab-num*.

⁸ Text: *i-ikjg-mu-ur*.

3. GUDEA, ENSI OF LAGASH

a

From the "Cylinder A" published by E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884 ff.), Pis. 33-35. Latest translation: G. A. Barton, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sumer and Akkad* (New Haven, 1929), pp. 205 ff.

(xv 1—xvi 24)

. . . from Elam came the Elamite(s), from Susa the Susian(s). Magan and Meluhha collected timber from their mountains, and—in order to build the temple of Ningirsu—Gudea brought (these materials) together in his town Girsu.

After the god Ninzagga had given him a (pertinent) order, they brought copper for Gudea, the temple-builder as if it be *NI. s e. m a h*; after the god Ninsikila had given him a (pertinent) order, they brought great willow-logs, ebony-logs, together with *a b b a*-logs to the *ensi*, the temple-builder. Gudea, the *en*-priest of Ningirsu, made a path in (to) the Cedar Mountain which nobody had entered (before); he cut its cedars with great axes. With axes he fashioned (them) for the *SAR.UR*, the "Right Arm of Lagash," the "Floodstorm-Weapon" of his king. (Like) giant snakes, cedar rafts were floating down the water (of the river) from the Cedar Mountain, pine rafts from the Pine Mountain, *z a b a i u m*-wood rafts from the *z a b a i u m*-wood Mountain, and with them were floating down (stream) large rafts with great logs of *u*-wood, *t u i u b u m*-wood and of *e r a l u m*-wood, in the main quay of Kasurra

[In the quarries which nobody had entered (before), Gudea], the *en*-priest of Ningirsu, *ma[de]* a path and (thus) the stones were delivered in large blocks. Boats (loaded) with *h a i u n a*-stone, boats (loaded) with *n a i u*-stone, they brought to Gudea, *en*-priest of Ningirsu, also bitumen (filled) in buckets, *i g i. e n g u r*-bitumen¹ and gypsum from the mountains of Madga as (if they be) boats bringing in barley from the fields. Many other precious materials were carried to the *ensi*, the builder of the Ninnu-temple: from the copper mountains of Kimash—(after) the soil had been prospected (for copper ore)—its copper was mined in clusters;² gold was delivered from its mine (lit.: mountain) as dust for the *ensi* who wanted to build a house for his king, for Gudea they mined silver from its mine (lit.: mountain), delivered red stone from Meluhha in great amounts. In the *I i r*-quarry, they mined *I i r*-stone (alabaster) for him.

b

From the "Statue B" published by E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey, *Découvertes en Chaldée* (Paris, 1884 ff.), Pis. 16 ff., and p. vii. Latest translation: G. A. Barton, *op.cit.*, pp. 181 ff.

(v 21—40, v 53—vi 63)

When he (Gudea) was building the temple of Nin-

¹ Probably, "bitumen from a well."

² Text: *u l u b. b a* which could refer to copper ore found in globular druses, rather than describe the way in which the ore was transported from the mine. For *u l u b* "nest, basketlike boat," cf. Deimel, *SL*, 85/242.

girsu, Ningirsu, his beloved king, opened up for him (all) the (trade) routes from the Upper to the Lower Sea. In (lit.: from) the Amanus, the Cedar Mountain, he formed into rafts cedar logs 60 cubits long, cedar logs 50 cubits long (and) KU-wood logs 25 cubits long, and brought them (thus) out of the mountain. He fashioned (from this wood) for him (i.e. Ningirsu) the SAR.UR, his Floodstorm-Weapon for the battle, and he made for him the sAR.GAZ-mace with seven copper knobs (lit.: eyes). In the town Ursu¹ in the mountains of Ibla,¹ he formed into rafts the timber of the mountain region: z a b a l u m -logs, great IJ.KU-wood logs and t u i b u m -logs. He made them into roof beams for (lit.: in) the Ninnu-temple. In (lit.: from) Umanum, in the mountains of Menua, he quarried great blocks of stone (and also) in Basalla, in the mountains of Martu (i.e. the Westland). He made stelae of them and set them up in the courtyard of the Ninnu-temple. From Tidanum² in the mountains of Martu (Westland) he brought alabaster in great blocks and fashioned it into u r . p a d . d a -slabs and erected them in the temple as barriers. In KA.GAL.AD, a mountain (region) in Kimash, he mined copper and fashioned it into the Mace-of-the-Relentless-Storm. He imported (lit.: brought out) esi -wood from the mountains of Meluhha and built (. . .). He imported n i r -stone and made it into a mace with three lion-heads; from the Hahhum'-mountains, he imported gold in dust-form and mounted with it the mace with the three lion-heads. From the mountains of Meluhha he imported gold in dust-form and made (out of it) a container (for the mace). He (also) imported a b r i, he imported willow logs from Gubin in the Willow Mountains and fashioned (them) into the bird (-shaped part) of the SAR.UR-mace. From Madga in the mountains of the Luruda river, he imported bitumen⁴ and built (with it) the supporting wall (k i s a) of the Ninnu temple. He imported (also) h a . u m -earth. From the mountains of Barsip he loaded n a l u a -stones on large boats and surrounded (with them) the foundation of the Ninnu temple.

C

"Macehead A," published by E. de Sarzec and L. Heuzey, *opxit.*, Pi. 25 bis, No. 1. Latest translation: G. A. Barton, *opxit.*, p. 261.

For his king Ningirsu, the powerful hero of Enlil, Gudea, the e n s i of Lagash, had quarried and imported (this) I i r . g a 1 -stone (marble) from the Uringiraz-mountains of the Upper Sea (Mediterranean Sea) and fashioned (it) into a macehead with three lion-heads, and dedicated it to him for (the preservation of) his life.

¹cf. for these place names, I. J. Gelb, *AfSL*, LV (1938), 77 and 84.

²For the location of this country, cf. A. Poebel, *JNES*, I (1942), 257 f.

³cf. Gelb, *AJSL*, LV, 75 f.

⁴Text: e s i r . g u . y i KASKAL. For the last sign (not in Deimel, *SL*), cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'origine de l'écriture cunéiforme* (Paris, 1898), No. 214.

Texts from Hammurabi to the Downfall of the Assyrian Empire

The six texts of the first part (Historiographic Documents) illustrate the development of official historiography in Mesopotamia; at the same time, they give the chronological framework (in terms of the sequence of dynasties) and most of the royal names from the First Babylonian Dynasty to the end of the Assyrian domination in Babylonia.

The first text (1) contains the full wording of the names of the forty-three years during which Hammurabi was king of Babylon. The present list is based upon the compilation of A. Ungnad in his article, *Datenlisten*, in the *ReaUexi^pn der Assyriologie*, II, 187 S., in which he collected the names and arranged them in the sequence indicated by the official lists of abbreviated year-names. Such a list, compiled for obvious practical purposes, is given in the next text (2) which covers the thirty-eight years of the rule of Samsuiluna, son of Hammurabi.

The so-called Babylonian King List B, translated here under (3), shows a further step of this development. It contains the names of all the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon with the lengths of their reigns and—as a rule—their relation to their predecessors. The last line sums up the number of kings and indicates the name of the dynasty. The reverse of the same tablet lists the kings of another dynasty in exactly the same way. The unfortunately damaged tablet known as Babylonian King List A (4) lists first the kings of the Hammurabi Dynasty and continues the sequence of dynasties to the domination of Babylon by Assyrian kings, Kandalanu, the Babylonian successor of Shamashshumukin, being the last name before a break. From this "raw material" the historiographers of later periods compiled such lists as are exemplified in the famous Assyrian King List of Khorsabad, for which I refer—provisionally—to the articles of A. Poebel in the *JNES*, I, 247 ff., 460 ff.; and II, 56 ff. (cf., also, E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, xrv [1944], 362 ff.)

The Synchronistic Chronicle (5) deals with the period covered by the preceding text; its author, however, is not interested in dynasties and lengths of rule, but in relating chronologically, or synchronizing, the kings of Assyria (left column) with those of Babylonia (right column). The basic principle of arrangement is to mention within the same paragraph the names of the kings of one country who ascended the throne during the reign of the king of the other country. As an interesting innovation, the name of the vizier is mentioned in certain cases beside that of the ruling king.

The Excerpts from the Lists of Assyrian Eponyms (6) illustrate these Assyrian historiographic documents as a source of historic information.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

I. LIST OF DATE FORMULAE
OF THE REIGN OF HAMMURABI

This list has been compiled by A. Ungnad, in *ReaUexi^pn der Assyriologie*, II, 178-182. For the official lists containing the abbreviated names of the years of the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon, cf. the text material collected by Ungnad, *opxit.*, pp. 164 ff.

1. Hammurabi (became) king.
2. He established justice¹ in the country.

¹This refers to a royal act aiming at the restoration of the social equity whenever economic or other changes created a discrepancy between the social status established and protected by law (termed *kjttu* "correct/normal [status]") and the needs, or claims, of certain groups of the population. Under such circumstances, it is the official duty of the king to "make (Akk.: *iak&nu*, Sum.: *gar*) *miaru* (Sum.: *nig.sis4*)" i.e., to readjust the law to the necessities of an ever changing world. In practice, however, *miaram la'anum* refers probably always to a remission of (certain) debts or to a moratory, cf. also B. Landsberger, *Die baby-*

3. He constructed a throne for the main dais of the god Nanna (var. adds: in the temple e. ki I. li r₅. g a 1) in Babylon.

4. The wall of (the sacred precinct) Gagia was built.

5. He constructed the en ka.a3.bar.ra².

6. He constructed the SIRS of the goddess Laz.

7. Uruk and Isin were conquered.

8. The country Emutbal (var.: the land on the embankment of the Shumundar-canal⁸).

9. The canal (called) Hammurabi-hegal (was dug).

10. Army (var.: City) (and) inhabitants of Malgia were crushed.

11. He conquered Rapiqum and Shalibi (var.: Rapiqum and Ibiq-Adad).

12. He constructed a throne for the goddess Sarpant.

13. A copper stand for a royal statue (and) the pertinent du₈.ma|. ⁴

14. He constructed a throne for the goddess Inanna of Babylon.

15. The seven statues.

16. He constructed the throne of the god Nabium (Nebo).

17. He made the image of the goddess Inanna of Kibalbarru "as high as the sky."

18. He constructed the main dais for Enlil in Babylon.

19. The big wall of Igi-hursag.

20. The year following: "The wall of Igi-hursag." Also: The throne of Meri (i.e., Adad).

21. The wall of the town Bazu⁵ was built

22. The statue of Hammurabi (as) king (granting) justice.

23. The APIN⁶ of the wall of Sippar.

24. He redug the tilida⁷-ca.na\ for (the benefit of the temple of) Enlil, and (also the bed of) the Euphrates.

25. The great wall of Sippar⁸ was built (var.: for the gods Shamash and Shenirda).

26. The great daises of gold.

27. He constructed the main emblem of reddish gold which is carried in front of the army, for the great gods, his helpers.

28. The temple 6.nam.be ("House of Abundance") of Adad in Babylon was built.

29. He constructed the image of the goddess Shala.

30. The year following, "He constructed the image of Shala."

Also: The leader, beloved of Marduk, after having defeated the army which Elam—(counting⁹) from the frontier of Marhashi, also Subartu, Gutium, Eshnunna, and Malgi—had raised in masses, through the mighty power of the great gods, re-established/consolidated the foundations of (the empire of) Sumer and Akkad.

31. (Encouraged) by an oracle (given) by Anu and Enlil who are advancing in front of his army, (and) through the mighty power which the great gods had given to him, he was a match¹⁰ for the country (var.: army) of Emutbal and its king Rim-Sin, and . . . and (thus) forced Sumer and Akkad to (obey) his orders.

32. The hero who proclaims the triumphs of Marduk, overthrew in battle with his powerful weapon the army of Eshnunna, Subartu (and) Gutium and was a match (also) for the country Mankizum and the country along the bank of the Tigris as far as (the frontier of) the country Subartu.

33. He redug the canal (called) "Hammurabi-(spells)-abundance-for-the-people, the Beloved-of-Anu-and-Enlil," (thus) he provided Nippur, Eridu, Ur, Larsa, Uruk (and) Isin with a permanent and plentiful water supply, and reorganized Sumer and Akkad from (its) confusion (lit.: scattering). Mari and Malgi he overthrew in battle and made Mari, and . . . and also several other cities of Subartu, by a friendly agreement, (listen) to his orders.

34. He built the temple e.tur.kalam.ma ("Fold of the Country") for Anu, Inanna and Nana.

35. Upon the command of Anu and Enlil he destroyed the wall(s) of Mari and Malgia.

36. He restored the temple e.me.te.ur.sag ("The Pride of the Hero") and built the temple tower, the mighty abode of Zababa¹¹ (and) Inanna, whose top is sky-high and (thus) he greatly increased the glamor of Zababa as well as of Inanna in a pious manner.

37. Through the great power of Marduk he overthrew the army of (var.: Sutium), Turukku, Kakmu and of the country Subartu.

38. Upon the command of Anu and Enlil—and with the splendid wisdom with which Marduk has endowed him—he . . . Eshnunna which a flood had destroyed¹² . . .

39. With the mighty power which Anu (and) Enlil have given him, he defeated all his enemies as far as the country of Subartu.

⁹ The translation of this year name follows T. Jacobsen, *Philological Notes on Eshnunna and Its Inscriptions* (AS, No. 9 [1934]), p. 7.

¹⁰ The text uses the verb si...s& which, in legal texts, means "to correspond in value."

¹¹ The reading Ilbaba (cf. R. Labat, in *Revue des études sémitiques* 1942-45/1, pp. 1-8) has to be abandoned (cf. E. F. Weidner, *AfK*, 11, 1925, p. 13 n. x, 7. *AfO*, xiii, 1939-40, p. 318).

¹² The reference to the wisdom which inspired this warlike exploit seems to suggest an attack made by Hammurabi upon the stricken city. This would offer an interesting parallel to the incident reported by the Pharaoh Pi-ankhi at the conquest of Memphis.

Ionischen Termini fuer Gesetz und Recht (*Studio et Documenta ad Iura Orientis antiqui pertinentia*, li, pp. 219 ff.) and B. A. Prossdij, *Sar mildrim*, titre des rois babyloniens comme législateurs (*ibid.* vol. in, p. 29 ff.).

² For this obscure term, cf. Deimel, *SL*, 15/35, and 556/310 and 311.

⁸ For the country Sumandar, cf. B. Landsberger, *OLZ*, xix (1916), 33 f.

⁴ cf. A. Schott, *ZA*, XL (NF vi), 20 ff. for this term.

⁵ This town was, later on, the seat of a dynasty, cf. p. 272.

⁶ For this term which corresponds to Akk. *uHu* and refers to the ledge of a wall, cf. my *Mesopotamian Mythology III*, *Orientalia*, NS xix, 138, n.3.

⁷ Meaning: "Flowing Vase Canal" (reading after B. Landsberger, *AfO*, xii [1938], 140). For the pertinent implications and the iconographic material, cf. E. (Douglas) van Buren, *The Flowing Vase and the Cod with Streams* (Berlin, 1933).

⁸ For the wall of Sippar, cf. H. G. Güterbock, *ZA*, XLII (NF VIII), 85. Also, below, n.13.

40. He made the temple e.m.e.s.lam ("Temple of the spreading mes-tree") as high as a mountain.

41. The goddess Tashmetum (who listens) to his supplication.

42. After the year "Tashmetum."

Also: He made the great wall at the embankment of the Tigris high as a mountain, called its name "Pier of Shamash," and built also the wall of Rapiqu at the embankment of the Euphrates.

43. (As to) Sippar, the primeval city of the sun-god Utu, he provided (it) with a wall made of piled-up earth.¹³

2. LIST OF YEAR NAMES:

SAMSUILUNA, KING OF BABYLON

British Museum Bu 91-5-9,284, published in *CT* vi, Pis. 9 f. (rev. iii 45—iv 35) and by L. W. King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi, etc.* (London, 1898 f.), II, Nos. 101, 217 ff. Latest translation: A. Ungnad, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, II, Nos. 146-183, p. 165 f.

Year: Samsuiluna (became) king.

Year: He established freedom (from taxation)¹ for Sumer and Akkad.

Year: Canal Samsuiluna-naqab-nuhsi ("Samsuiluna is a source of prosperity [for the people]").

Year:² Canal Samsuiluna-|t%&| ("Samsuiluna is abundance").

Year: b i ζ e m⁸ -throne.

Year: Statues of adorants.

Year: Emblem weapon.

Year: Copper stand for royal statue.

Year: Kassite army.

Year: Army of Idamaras. (10)

Year: WallofUruk.

Year: All the enemies.

Year: Kisurra as well as Sabu.

Year: The evil usurper-king.

Year: The wall of Isin was demolished.

Year: The sky-reaching wall.

Year: The several great walls.

Year: E.babb ar (the temple of the sun-god) Utu in Sippar.

Year: The two golden thrones for the dais.

Year: The rebellious (lit.: not obedient) foreign countries. (20)

Year: The throne for the great dais.

Year: The temple tower, the mighty abode.

Year: (Through) the terrible power.

Year: The wall of Kish.

¹³ cf. w. F. Albright in *BASOR*, 88 (1942), 33, for this date formula; also, A. Poebel in *AfO*, ix (1933-4), 283 f.

⁸ cf. for this institution, E. F. Weidner, *ZA*, xviii (NF ix), 122.

² Break in the tablet; restored after BrM No. 16,324 published by King, *op.cit.*, No. 102, p. 231.

⁸ The sign which appears here is explained in the syllabary Poebel, *UM*, v, 108:7 as *pi-s[a]-an-nu*, Sumerian reading: [bi].ze.em. It recurs in the list of names of gods *CT*, xxv, 27c (K 2117), line 8, with the gloss *bi.zi.em* while the parallel passage (*CT*, xxiv, 48, K 4349B, line 17) has clearly *pi.s.a.tis*. These quotations have been indicated to me by Dr. F. W. Geers. The *bi.ze.m*-throne could etymologically be explained as a "covered throne," because *bi.ze.m* (which through the process of *Rückentlehnung* became *pisantt* "box" in Akkadian) seems to be a loan from a Semitic word (*psn/m* "to cover").

Year: (His) statue brandishing the weapon.

Year: (In) the mountains of Amurru.

Year: A shining votive object.

Year: Upon the command of Enlil.

Year following (the year): Upon the command of Enlil.

Year following (the year): Following (the year): Upon the command of Enlil. (30)

Year: His statue of *n i m*-wood he [fashioned].

Year: He redug the canal Durul and Taban.⁴

Year: The town Kagaratum.

Year: The palace of rulership.

Year: (The countries) Amal (and) Arkum.

Year: The army of (the country of) Amurru.

Year: In the land Akkad.

Year: Ubanuil (name of the mace of Ninurta).

38 year-(names) of king Samsuiluna.

(Written) Aiaru 2nd (of)

the year: Ammi-zaduga (son of Samsuiluna, became) king.

3. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST B

British Museum 80,11-12-3 (now No. 38122), published by H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (1889), p. 145, and P. Rost, *MVAG*, 11/2 (1897), 240. Latest translation: E. Ebeling in *AOT*, 332.

(obverse)

Sumuabi,¹ king, 15² years.

Sumulail,¹ 35 years.

Sabu, his son, same (i.e. king) 14 years.

Apil-Sin, his son, same, 18 years.

Sinmuballit, his son, same, 30 years.

Hammurabi,¹ his son, same, 55 years.

Samsuiluna,¹ his son, same, 35 years.

Ebishum,¹ his son, same, 25 years.

Ammiditana,¹ same, 25 years.

Ammisaduga,¹ same, 22(!) years.

Samsuditana(i),¹ same, 31 years.

Eleven kings, dynasty of Babylon.

(reverse)

Uruku(g): Ilimailum, king.

Ittilinibi.

Damqilishu.

Ishkibal.

Shushshi.

Gulkishar.

Peshgaldaramash, his son, same (i.e. king).

Adarakalama, his son, same.

Akurulanna.

Melamkurkurra.

Eagamfil].

Ten (sic) kings, dynasty of Uruku(g).

* For the names of these canals, cf. the inscription of Samsuiluna published by A. Poebel, *AfO*, ix (1933-4), 241 ff., col. ii 27.

¹ For these names (meaning and language), cf. Th. Bauer, *Die Ost|a-naanaer* (Leipzig, 1926), pp. 10, 13, 19, and 38.

² For the figures of this list, cf. A. Poebel, *The Use of Mathematical Mean Values in Babylonian King List B* (Study v, *Miscellaneous Studies=AS*, No. 14 [1947]).

4. THE BABYLONIAN KING LIST A

BrM No. 33332; published by T. G. Pinches, *PSBA*, vi (1884), pp. 193 f. (*CT*, xxxvi, Pis. 24-25); H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 146-147; P. Rost, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (*MVAG*, 11/2, 1897), 241-242. Latest translation: Ebeling in *AOT*, 332-333.

(i)

(11 lines missing)

[...] (years), 11 kings, dyn[asty of Babylon]

60 (years) Ilima¹

56 Ittili

36 Damqiili

15 Ishki

26 Shushshi, brother

55 Gulki...²

50 Peshgal

28 Aiadara

26 Ekurul

7 Melamma

9 Eaga

368 (sic) (years), 11 kings, dynasty of Uruk(g)

16 Gandash

12 Agum the First, his son

22 Kashtiliashi

8 Ushshi, his son

[...] Abirattash

[...] Tazzigurumash

(ii)

(more than 13 lines missing)

x + 22 (years) [...]

26 [...]

18 [...]

[...] Kadash [_____]

6 Kudur-[Enlil], his [so]n

13 Shagarak[ti], his [so]n

8 Kashtil, his son

i year 6 months Ellilnadinshumi

i year 6 months Kadashman-Harbe

6 Adadnadinshumi

30 Adadshumnasir

15 Melishipak

13 Mardukaplaiddin, his son

i year Zababa [shumiddin]

3 Ellilnadin[ahhe]

576 (years) 9 months, 36 king[s, dynasty of ...]

17 (years) Marduk[shapikzeri]

6 ...

(destroyed)

(iii)

(destroyed)

22 (years) [...]

i year 6 months Marduka[hheriba]

¹ The names of the kings of this dynasty appear here in abbreviated forms; cf. King List B for the full names.

² Follows one horizontal wedge (as between lines 5 and 6) of obscure meaning.

12 Mardukzer [...]

8 Nabushum[libur]

132 (years) 6 months, 11 kings, dynasty of Isin.

18 (years) Simmashshi

5 months Eamukin

3 (years) Kashshunadinahhe

21 (years) 5 months, 3 kings, dynasty of the Sea Country-

17 (years) Eulmashshakinshumi

3 Ninurtakudurra

3 months Shi[riqti]-Shuqamu

20 (years) 3 months, 3 kings, dynasty of Bas[u].

6(?) (years) ! [...]

3,8(?) (years) [...]

8 months 12 [days...]

(destroyed)

(iv)

(destroyed)

[...] Nabushumishkun [his] s[on]

[...] Nabun[asir]

2 (years) Nabunadinzeri, his son,

1 month 12 days Nabushumukin, his son,

22 (years or kings?), dynasty of E.

3 (years) Ukinzer, dynasty of Shashi

2 Pulu⁸5 Ululaia,⁴ dynasty of Bal-til⁵

12 Mardukaplaiddin, dynasty of the Sea Country,

5 Sargon

2 Sennacherib, dynasty of Habigal,

1 month Mardukzakirshumi, son of Ardu,

9 months Mardukaplaiddin, a native of Habi,

3 (years) Belibni, dynasty of E,

6 Ashurnadinshumi, dynasty of Habigal,

1 Nergalushezib

5 Ushezib-Marduk, dynasty of E,

8 Sennacherib

[...] Esarhaddon

[...] Shamashshum⁸[...] Kandal⁷

(destroyed)

5. THE SYNCHRONISTIC CHRONICLE

Istanbul, Assur 14616c; latest publication by E. F. Weidner, *Die grosse Königsliste aus Assur*, *AfO*, III (1926), 66-70 (copy: 70-71). Latest translation: Ebeling, *AOT*, 333-335.

(0)

(destroyed)

Ad[asi, same (i.e., king of [Damiqilishu, same (i.e., Assyria)] king of Babylon)]

⁸ =Tiglath-pileser III of Assyria (744-727).

⁴ =Shalmaneser V of Assyria (726-722).

⁹ The name of this town (BAL.BAD or BAL.TIL) was discussed recently by J. Lewy in *HUCA*, xix (1946), 467 ff. (especially, n.305), who considered it as denoting the "innermost, and, hence, oldest part of the city of Assur."

⁶ Short for Shamashshumukin, son of Esarhaddon and brother of Ashurbanipal.

⁷ Short for Kandalanu (formerly identified with Ashurbanipal), a Babylonian successor of Shamashshumukin ruling in Babylon for 22 years, cf. W. H. Dubberstein, *JNES*, III (1944), 38 ff.

Belbani, same	I[shk]ib[al, same]	Ashurbelkala, same	[Mardukahheriba, same]
Lubaia, same	Shush [i, same]	same same	[Mardukzer-...]
Sharma-Adad, same	Gulkisha[r, same]	same same	[Nabushumlibur, same]
LIK.KUD-Shamash, same	[...]en[— , same]		(iii)
Bazaia, same	Pesh[gal]daramash, same	Eriba Adad, king	
Lulla, same	Aiadarakamma, same	[of Assyr]ia	
Shininua, same	Ekurulanna, same		[NN his vizier ...]
Sharma-Adad, same	Mela[m]kurra, same	Shamshi-Adad, same	Ea[mukinshumi, same]
Erishu ¹	Eagamil, G[and]ush, same	Ashurnasirpal, same	Kashshu [nadinahhe, same]
Shamshi-Adad, same	[Ag]um, the former, his son, same	Shulmanuasharidu, same	Ulmash [shakinshumi, same]
same same	Kashtil[a]shu, same	Ashurnirari, same	Ninurtaku [durrausur, same]
same same	Abirattash, same		Shiriqti [Shuqamuna, same]
same same	Kashtil[ashu, same]	Ashurrabi, same	Marbiti[aplausur, same]
same same	Tazzigurumash, same	Ashurreshishi, same	[Nabumukin]apli, same
same same	Harba[shipa]k, same	Tukultiapilesharra, same	[Ninurtakudurr] ausur, same
same same	Tiptakzi, same	same same	[Marbiti]ahiddin, same
same same	Agu[m], same		... his vizier
[Ishme]-Dagan, same	Burnab[uri]ash, same	Ashurdan, same	Shamashmudammiq, king of Babylon
[Shamshi]-Adad, same		Adad-nirari	same
[Ashurnira]ri, same	Kashtilfashu, same]		Qalia [his vizier]
[Puzur-Ashur], same	Ula[mb]uri[ash, same]	Tukulti-Ninurta, same	Nabushumfukin, same]
[Enli]Inasir, same	same	Gabbiilanieresh	[his] vizier
[Nu]rili, same	same	Ashurnasirpal, same	Nabuaplaiddin
[Ashurshadu]ni, same	same	Gabbiilanieresh	[his] vizi[er]
		Shulmanuasharidu, same	[Nabuzakirshumi, same]
		[Me]luhhaia [his] vi[zier]	
			(destroyed)
			(iv)
		Sennacherib	
		([Sin]ahheriba), king	
		of Assyria	[and of Babylon]
		Nabuaplaiddin [his] vizier	(anepigraph)
			[for two] years Sennacher- ib was king of Akkad; then the inhabitants of Akkad revolted and Ashurnadinshumi, the father [ceded] him the throne, ²
		Sennacherib	Nergalushezib, son of Gahul, Mushezib-Marduk, a native ⁸ of Bit-Dakkuri were the kings of [Ak]kad.
		Sennacherib, king of Assyria	and of Babylon,
		Belupahhir (and)	Kalbu, his viziers;

¹ First of the royal names of the present list to be mentioned (as No. 33) in the Assyrian King List of Khorsabad, cf. A. Poebel in *JNES*, 1 (1942), 282.

² cf. for this passage E. F. Weidner in *AfO*, HI (1926), 75 f.

⁸ cf. below p. 308, n.9 for a possible different interpretation of the phrase *mar Bit Dakyuri*.

Esarhaddon, son of Sennacherib, king of Assyria and of Babylonia

Nabuzerlishir (and) Ishtarshumeresh, his viziers,
Ashurbanipal, same Shamashshumukin, same
Ashurbanipal, same Kandalanu, same
Ishtarshumeresh, his vizier.

82 kings of Assyria from (the time of) Erishu, son of Ilushuma, to Ashurbanipal, son of Esarhaddon (correspond to)

98 kings of Akkad from (the time of) Sumulail to Kandalanu.

6. EXCERPTS FROM THE LISTS OF ASSYRIAN EPONYMS

In contradistinction to the Babylonian custom (attested from the time of the kings of Agade to that of the Kassite rulers) of naming each year after an important event, the Assyrians used the names of certain high officials for the same purpose. The first (full) year of the reign of a king is always named after himself, the following years have originally been named after that official who won when lots were thrown to determine the eponym.¹ Later on, the position of the official within the hierarchy was decisive for the sequence, the highest official (*tartanu*) following the king immediately, while important palace officers (such as, e.g. the *nagir e\alli* "overseer of the royal property," the chief cupbearer, etc.) and the governors of the foremost provinces took their turn in well-established order. After the exhaustion of all eligible candidates for the office of the *limu*, within the rule of one and the same king, the sequence of officials started anew, beginning with the king.

For the throwing of lots (done by means of a "die" called *puru* thrown into a bowl), cf. E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, XIII (1941), 308 f.;² for the sequence of officials, cf. E. Forrer, *Die Provinzeinteilung des assyrischen Reiches* (Leipzig, 1921), after p. 6, with an instructive diagram.

For practical and chronological purposes, the Assyrian scribes made elaborate lists³ of the names of the *limu*-officials which either contain only name and rank (termed by Delitzsch: C[anon]^a) or additional short notices referring to historical events (C^b).⁴ These lists have been studied and edited repeatedly, the most recent studies being those of A. Ungnad in *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, 11, sub Eponym, 412-457, and E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, XIII (1941), 308-318.

The following excerpts utilize A. Ungnad's transliteration and restoration of C^b on pp. 428 if., to the arrangement of which the numbering of lines refers.

(Reign of Adad-nirari II) (obverse)

(15) [In the eponymat of Ashurbaltinishe, (governor) of Arrajpha:

(campaign) against the sea; a plague.

(Reign of Shalmaneser IV)

(43) [In the eponymat of] Pali[erish, (governor) of Ras]appa:

¹ For literature on *puru*, cf. J. Lewy, *Revue Hittite et Asiatique*, v (1939), 117 if. (especially p. 117, n.2); also, A. Ungnad, in *Redlexikpn*, II, 412, n.2; E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, XIII (1941), 308.

² Such a "die" has been preserved—as Weidner has ingeniously established—and is published in F. J. Stephens, *Votive and Historical Texts from Babylonia and Assyria* (YOS, Vol. ix), No. 73, and Pl. XLV.

³ The possibility that the rows of stelae found in Ashur are meant to serve as a sort of monumental "index" of *limu*-officials, has been discussed by A. Ungnad, *op.cit.*, p. 412. These officials would then have had two essentially royal prerogatives: to give their name to the year and to set up stelae.

* Various other types of such lists (rarely attested, however) are mentioned by Ungnad, *op.cit.*, p. 414.

(campaign) against Damascus (*Di-mal-qa*).

(Reign of Tiglath-pileser III)

(reverse)

(40) [In the eponymat of Beldan], (governor) of Kalha:

(campaign) against Palestine *Pi-til-ta*.

(41) [In the eponymat of Ashurdanninanni], (governor) of Mazzamua:

(campaign) against Damascus (*Di-mal-qa*).

(42) [In the eponymat of Nabubelusu]r, (governor) of Si'me:

(campaign) against Damascus (*Di-mal-qa*).

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

This part contains the records which ten kings of Assyria have left us—on stone slabs, clay foundation documents, inscribed stelae, etc.—of their campaigns for the conquest of Syria, Palestine, the island of Cyprus, Arabia, and, eventually, of Egypt.

I. SHAMSHI-ADAD I (ABOUT 1726-1694) I¹

FIRST CONTACT WITH THE WEST

L. Messerschmidt, *KAH*, 1, No. 2. Transliteration and translation: B. Meissner, in *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige*, (*Altorientalische Bibliothek*), 1 (Leipzig, 1926), 24 f.

(iv 4-17)

At that time, I received in my town Ashur the tribute² of the kings of Tukrish and of the kings of the Upper Country.³ I erected a stela (inscribed) with my great name in the country Lab'an (*La-ab-a-an^u*) on the shore of the Great Sea.

2. TIGLATH-PILESER I (1114-1076): EXPEDITIONS TO SYRIA, THE LEBANON, AND THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA

a

Foundation document (clay) of the Anu-Adad temple in Ashur. Published by O. Schroeder, in *KAH*, 11, No. 68. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§300-303. cf. also Schroeder, *JSOR*, x, 29".

(1-29)

Tiglath-pileser, the legitimate¹ king, king of the world,² king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rims (of

¹ The dates given after the names of Assyrian kings are those of A. Poebel in *JNES*, 11 (1943), pp. 85-88.

² For the various terms appearing in the historical texts with the approximate meaning "tribute" or the like—such as *biltu*, *mandattu*, *mihirtu*, etc.—cf. W. J. Martin, *Tribut und Tribudeistungen bei den Assyrern*, *Studia Orientalia*, vin (1936), 20 ff. The hendiadys *biltu mandattu* is, in the present pages, translated by one English term (to wit, "tribute"), because it is not admissible to render literally the well-known stylistic feature of the Akkadian (cf. H. Ehelolf, *Ein Wortfolgeprinzip im Assyrisch-Babylonischen*, *LSS*, vi/3 [1916]) to use two nearly synonymous nouns to express one concept on the level of a solemn and dignified diction. Therefore I translate, e.g., *qablu (u) tãhazu* simply with "battle," *büüu (u) ma\|uru* with "possessions," *hittu (u) milaru* with "justice," etc.

³ cf. B. Maisler, *Untersuchungen zur alten Geschichte und Ethnographie Syriens und Palästinas* (Giessen, 1930), p. 10.

¹ In the title *lugal.kala.ga* (Akk.: *larru dannu*), the adjective *kaia (g)* or *dannu* has a definite meaning which is difficult to render exactly. From such references as e.g. *nalparu dannu* (cf. below p. 309, n.4), *suk_kallu dannu* ("regular *suk.K^a^u*-official"), etc., the meaning "legitimate, orderly, correct" results (cf. also Deimel, *SL*, 322/18 for the Sum. verb *kaia (g)* "to deliver regularly"), while other references point towards *dannu* in the meaning "potent, full-grown, powerful." With regard to the ancient Near Eastern concept of kingship, it seems possible that the title is meant to express both aspects: the legitimacy of the ruler and his full personal vigor, both being equally essential prerequisites for the exercise of kingship.

² For the history of this age-old royal title, cf. p. 267, n.i. The rendering

the earth), the courageous hero who lives (guided) by the trust-inspiring oracles given (to him) by Ashur and Ninurta, the great gods and his lords, (and who thus) overthrew (all) his enemies; son of Ashurreshishi, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Mutakkil-Nusku, also king of the world, king of Assyria.

At the command of my lord Ashur I was a conqueror (lit.: my hand conquered) from beyond the Lower Zab River to the Upper Sea which (lies towards) the West. Three times I did march against the Nairi countries. The widespread Nairi countries I conquered from the country Tumme as far as Daiaeni, Himua, and even as far as Paiteri and Habhi. I made bow to my feet 30 kings of the Nairi countries, I took hostages from them. I received as their tribute horses, broken to the yoke. I imposed upon them (regular) tribute and *tdmariu-gihs*.

I went to the Lebanon (*Lab-na-a-ni*). I cut (there) timber of cedars for the temple of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, and carried (them to Ashur). I continued (my march) towards the country of Amurru. I conquered the entire country of Amurru. I received tribute from Byblos (*Gu-bcd*), Sidon (*,ši-du-ni*), and Arvad (*Ar-ma-da*). I crossed over in ships (belonging) to Arvad, from Arvad which is on the seashore, to the town Samuri which (lies) in Amurru (a distance of) 3 double-miles overland. I killed a narwhal⁸ which they call "sea horse," on high sea.

And (afterwards) on my return march (towards Ashur) I subjected the entire country of Great-Hatti, I imposed upon Ili-Teshup, king of Great-Hatti a tribute of [. . .] talents [of . . .] and of cedar beams.

b

Two excerpts from a fragmented octagonal prism (perhaps the foundation document of the royal palace). Published by O. Schroeder, in *KAH*, 11, No. 63. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§286 and 287.

...
(u 10-16)

Upon the command of Anu and Adad, the great gods, my lords, I went to the Lebanon mountains (*Jad? Lab-na-ni*), I cut cedar beams for the temple of Anu and Adad.

(iii 3-14 = *KAH*, 11, 71 [tablet] 19-23)

Twenty-eight times (I fought) the Ahlamu peoples and the Arameans, (once) I even crossed the Euphrates twice in one year. I defeated them from Tadmar (Palmyra) which (lies) in the country Amurru, Anat¹ which (lies) in the country Suhu as far as the town Rapiqu which (lies) in Kar-Duniash (i.e. Babylonia). I brought their possessions as spoils to my town Ashur.

c

Rock Inscription from Sebeh-Su. Published first by Rawlinson, Vol. m, Pl. 4, No. 6, and again by F. Lehmann-Haupt, in *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (*Abh. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Göttingen* NF ix/3, 1907),

"king of the world" does not do justice to the complex political and emotional implications involved.

⁸ For *n&hiru* "narwhal," cf. B. Landsberger and I. Krumbiegel, *Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamiens etc.* (Leipzig, 1934), p. 142.

¹For the town Anat, cf. J. Lewy in *HUCA*, xix, 431, n.18.

No. 7 (cf. also King, *AKA*, p. 127, n.i). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §271.

With the help of Ashur (and) Shamash, the great gods, my lords, I, Tukultiapilesarra, king of Assyria, son of Ashurreshishi, king of Assyria, son of Mutakkil-Nusku, likewise king of Assyria, am a conqueror (of the regions) from the Great Sea which is in the country Amurru as far as the Great Sea which is in the Nairi country. I have marched three times against the Nairi country.

3. ASHURNASIRPAL II (883-859) :

EXPEDITION TO CARCHEMISH AND THE LEBANON

From the annals inscribed on the large pavement slabs of the temple of Ninurta in Calah, the new royal residence built by Ashurnasirpal II. Published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pis. 17-26; also, by King, *AKA*, p. 254 ff. (with transliteration and translation) and I. Y. Le Gac, *Les inscriptions de Assur-nasir-aplu III* (Paris, 1907), p. 3 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§475-479.

(iii 64-90)

I departed from the country Bit-Adini and crossed the Euphrates at the peak of its flood by means of (rafts made buoyant with inflated) goatskin (bottle)s. I advanced towards Carchemish. (There) I received from him (self) the tribute of Sangara, the king of the Hittites (amounting to): 20 talents of silver, a *saaru* object of gold, a ring of gold, golden daggers, 100 talents of copper, 250 talents of iron, (furthermore) bull-images¹ of copper, copper basin-and-ewer sets² for washing, a copper brazier—(all) his own furniture,⁸ the weights of which were not taken (separately),—(furthermore) beds of boxwood,⁴ a s t i -chairs⁵ of boxwood, tables of boxwood, (all) inlaid with ivory, also 200 young females (clad in) linen garments with multi-colored trimmings⁶ made of dark and reddish purple-(dyed) wool, (also) alabaster, elephants' tusks (and even) a shining chariot (and) a golden *nimattu* -chair⁷ with panels⁸—his (own) royal insignia. I took over the chariot (-corps), the cavalry (and) the infantry of Carchemish. The kings of all (surrounding) countries came to me, embraced my feet and I took hostages from them and they marched (with me) towards the Lebanon (*Lab-na-na*) forming my vanguard.

¹ This translation is based upon the variants a m "wild bull," and d i n g i r "(image of a) god," describing the very same object, cf. for these variants, L. W. King, *AKA*, 1, 366, n.3.

² The words *harttu* and *narmabfu* refer to the two containers needed in the Orient for washing and taking a bath: a spouted vessel to pour the water and a recipient with wide opening to collect it. cf. the corresponding Egyptian word *hsmn*.

⁸ Literally: "furniture of his palace"; the term *ckallu* denotes in Mesopotamia the personal property of the king.

* The reading *tas|arinnu* (instead of **ur|ar'tnnu*) was indicated to me by Dr. B. Landsberger, who made reference to syllabic spellings in Old-Assyrian and texts from Nuzi as well as to Aram, *'elhrd* "boxwood."

⁵ The Sumerian words a S t i o r a g t e denote a special type of chair, often a royal throne.

⁶ This refers to linen garments decorated with sewn-on narrow woven bands or tresses made of wool thread in various colors (termed *birnu*). This typically Syrian technique is often depicted on Egyptian murals and reliefs. The Assyrian kings mention these garments always in their reports on booty or tribute received from Upper Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine.

⁷ A certain type of easy chair.

⁸ For the technical terms *ihzu* "frame, border, mounting" and *tamtl* "panel, filling," cf. e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin, *Arslan Tosh* (Paris 1931), p. 139.

I departed from Carchemish, taking the road between the mountains Munzigani and the Hamurga, leaving the country Ahanu on my left. I advanced towards the town Hazazu which belongs to Lubarna from Hattina. (There) I received gold and linen garments.

I proceeded and crossed the river Apre⁹ (where) I passed the night. From the banks of the Apre I departed and advanced towards the town Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina. Afraid of the terrible weapons of my ferocious army, he embraced my feet to save his life. Twenty talents of silver (the equivalent¹⁰ of) one talent of gold, 100 talents of tin, 100 talents of iron, 1,000 (heads of big) cattle, 10,000 sheep, 1,000 linen garments with multicolored trimmings, easy chairs of boxwood with insets (and) mountings, beds of boxwood, beds provided with insets, tables with ivory(inlay) (on) boxwood—(all) his own furniture, the weights of which were not taken (separately), also female singers (with) [numerous *kan*\ ...], large *pajitu* -instruments¹¹ (and) great EN-objects I received from him as his tribute, and himself I pardoned. I took over the chariot (-corps), the cavalry (and) the infantry of Hattina and seized hostages from him.

At that time I received (also) the tribute of Gusi from Iahani (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, [iron], large and small cattle, linen garments with multicolored trimmings. From Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina, I departed; I crossed the river Orontes ([*Aran*]tu) and passed the night on the banks of the Orontes. From the banks of the Orontes I departed, taking the road between the mountains Iaraq and Ia'turi, and crossed over the [...] mountain to pass (the night)¹² on the banks of the Sangura river. From the banks of the Sangura river I departed, taking the road between the mountains Saratini and Duppani, and (passed the night)¹² on the banks of the . . . [la]ke. I entered Aribua, the fortress of Lubarna from Hattina, and seized (it) as my own (town). I harvested the grain as well as the straw¹⁸ of the Luhuti country and stored (them) therein. In his own palace I performed the *taliltu* -festival¹⁴ and (then) settled natives of Assyria in it (the town). While I stayed in Aribua, I conquered the (other) towns of Luhuti, defeating their (inhabitants) in many bloody battles. I destroyed (them), tore down (the walls) and burned (the towns) with fire; I caught the survivors and impaled (them) on stakes in front of their towns. At that time I seized the entire extent of the Lebanon mountain and reached the Great Sea of the Amurru country. I

⁹ This is the river Afrin of today, cf., also, Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 5⁶.

¹⁰ This interpretation of the frequent phrase "x silver, y gold" yields additional material for the study of the history of the gold-silver ratio in Mesopotamia.

¹¹ For this musical instrument, cf. C. Frank, *Studien zur babylonischen Religion* (Strassburg, 1911), 1, 70, n.175.

¹² Omission of the scribe.

¹⁸ Since the stalks were cut rather high, it was necessary to cut them again to make use of this product as feed for animals, etc.

¹⁴ This seems to have been a ceremonial banquet of inauguration.

cleaned my weapons in the deep¹⁵ sea and performed sheep-offerings to (all) the gods. The tribute of the seacoast—from the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahallata, Maiza, Kaiza, Amurru, and (of) Arvad which is (an island) in the sea, (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, copper, copper containers, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, large and small monkeys,¹⁶ ebony, boxwood, ivory from walrus tusk¹⁷—(thus ivory) a product of the sea,—(this) their tribute I received and they embraced my feet.

I ascended the mountains of the Amanus (*Hama-niy*⁸ and cut down (there) logs of cedars, stone-pines, cypresses (and) pines, and performed sheep-offerings to my gods. I (had) made a sculptured stela (commemorating) my heroic achievements and erected (it) there. The cedar beams from the Amanus mountain I *destined/sen?** for/to the temple Esarra for (the construction of) a *iasma*\u -sanctuary²⁰ as a building for festivals serving the temples of Sin and Shamash, the light(giving) gods.

4. SHALMANESER III (858-824):

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE ARAMEAN COALITION¹

(a) Texts of a General Nature

(a) From the "Thron-Inschrift": A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character* (London, 1851), p. 76 f.; translation: F. Delitzsch, in *BA*, vi/i, 151 f., Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §674.

(1-20)

(I am) Shalmaneser, the legitimate king, the king of the world, the king without rival, the "Great Dragon,"² the (only) power within the (four) rims (of the earth), overlord of all the princes, who has smashed all his enemies as if (they be) earthenware, the strong man, unsparing, who shows no mercy in battle,—the son of Ashurnasirpal, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Ninurta, likewise king of the world, king of Assyria, a conqueror from the Upper Sea

¹⁵ The adjective *rabü*, when referring to water, means always "deep, navigable."

¹⁶ Monkeys (here: *pagu*) appear rarely in lists of tributes, cf. the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (below, p. 281b, n.4) where *baziäte*- and **udumi* -monkeys are mentioned and depicted as coming from Musru. cf. also [*ba*]zäti-, *pagü*-, and *uqupu*- monkeys taken from Thebes (cf. n.4, p. 297). Note in this context W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1938) and M. F. Ashley Montague, *Knowledge of the Ape in Antiquity*, in *Isis*, xxxii (1947), 87 ff. The spelling **udumi* has to be corrected and read *ü-qup-pu(l)* according to Landsberger, *Fauna* p. 88, n.i.

¹⁷ For this passage, cf. P. Haupt, *Der assyrische Name des Potwals*, in *AfSL*, xxm (1906/7), 253 ff.

¹⁸ For this mountain chain, cf. Julius Lewy, *HUCA*, xviii (1944), 454 ff.

¹⁹ Text unintelligible: *Ja-ku-DV-ka(f)*.

²⁰ Is *iasmatyu* to be connected with *simatyu* (cf. for the latter, von Soden, *ZA*, xli [NF VII], 17)?

¹ For the historical background, cf. E. G. H. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel* (New York, 1918); A. J. P. K. u., *Der Kampf um Syrien-Palästina im orientalischen Altertum* (*AO*, xxv/4 [Leipzig, 1926]); A. T. Olmstead, *History of Palestine and Syria* (New York, 1931); A. Alt, *Völker und Staaten Syriens im frühen Altertum*, *AO*, xxxiv/4 [Leipzig, 1936]. Finally, B. Landsberger, *Sam'al*, Vol. 1 (Ankara, 1948).

² The designation of a ruler as *su sum gal* "Giant Snake" (attested already in the Prologue of the Code of Hammurabi, then taken up by the Assyrian kings) is borrowed from the vocabulary of hymnical religious texts which reserve this title to the most important figures of the pantheon (cf. K. Tallquist, *Arkadische Götterepitheta [Studio Orientalia vn, Helsinki, '938]*, p. 34). The terror-inspiring aspect of kingship is the *tertium comparationis* of this simile which, to a certain extent, can be compared with the function and role of the Egyptian uraeus.

to the Lower Sea (to wit) the countries Hatti, Luhuti, Adri, Lebanon (*Lab-na-na*), Que, Tabali, Militene (*Mc4i-di*); who has visited the sources of (both) the Tigris and the Euphrates.

I marched against Akkad (= Babylonia) to avenge Mardukshumiddin and inflicted a defeat upon [Mar-] dukbelusate, his younger brother. I entered Kutha, Babylon, and Borsippa, offered sacrifices to the gods of the sacred cities of Akkad. I went (further) downstream to Chaldea and received tribute from all kings of Chaldea.

(b) From the inscription on the bronze gates of Balawat. First publication, T. G. Pinches, in *TSBA*, VII (1880-2), 89 f.; translation: F. Delitzsch, in *BA*, VI/I (1908), 133 ff., and Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§616 ff.

(i 6-ii 5)

At that time [Ashur, the great lord . . . gave me scepter, staff] — necessary (to rule) the people, (and) I was acting (only) upon the trust-inspiring oracles given by Ashur, the great lord, my lord, who loves me to be his high priest and . . . all the countries and mountain regions to their full extent. [I (am) Shalmaneser . . . conqueror from] the sea of the Nairi country and the sea of the Zamua country which is nearer (to Assyria) as far (text: and) the Great Sea of Amurru. I swept over Hatti, in its full extent (making it look) like ruin-hills (left) by the flood—(thus) I spread the terror-inspiring glare of my rule over Hatti.

On my (continued) march to the sea, I made a stela (representing) myself as the supreme ruler and set it up beside that of the god Hirbe.¹ . . . I marched [to the Great] Sea, washed my weapons in the Great Sea; I offered sacrifices (there) to my gods. I received the tribute from all the kings of the seacoast. [I made a stela representing myself as king and warrior] and inscribed upon it [the deeds which] I had performed [in the region of the] sea[coast]; I set it up by the sea.

(b) Annalistic Reports

First Year according to the so-called "Monolith Inscriptions" (from Kurkh), published by Rawlinson, Vol. III, Pis. 7-8. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§599-600.

(i 29—ii 13)

In the month Aiaru, the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh; I crossed the Tigris, by-passed the countries Hasamu and Dihnunu and approached the town of La'la'te which (belongs to) Ahuni, man of Adini. The terror and the glamor of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed [them] . . . and they dispersed.¹ I destroyed the town, tore down (its wall) and burnt (it) down. From La'la'ti I departed, I approached the town of Ki[.]qa, the royal residence] of Ahuni, man of Adini. Ahuni, man of Adini, [putting his trust] upon his numerous [army, ro]se for a decisive battle—I fought with him upon a trust(-inspiring) oracle of Ashur and the (other)

¹ cf. E. Unger, *Das Bild des Gottes yirbc auf dem Atalur*, in *MAOG*, iv (1930)» 212 ff.

¹ Technical term: *elu*.

great gods, my lords, (and) inflicted a . . . defeat upon him. I shut him up in his town. From the town Ki[.]qa I departed, the town Bur-mar'ana which (belongs to) Ahuni, man of Adini, [I approached]. I stormed and conquered (it). I slew with the sword 300 of their warriors. Pillars of skulls I erected in front of the town]. I received the tribute of Hapini from the town Til-abna, of Ga'uni from the town Sa[ll]ate, (and) of Giri-Adad (to wit): . . . silver, gold, large and small cattle, wine. From Bur-mar'ana I departed, I crossed the Euphrates on rafts (made buoyant by means) of (inflated) goatskins and received the tribute of Qatazi[l]i from Commagene (*Kummuhi*)² (to wit): silver, gold, large and small cattle, wine. I approached the town of Pakaruhbuni (and) the towns of Ahuni, man of Adini, on the other side of the Euphrates. I defeated (his) country, turning his towns into ruins. I covered the wide plain with the corpses of his warriors: 1,300 of their battle-experienced soldiers I slew with the sword. From Pakaruhbuni I departed, I approached the towns of Mutalli from Gurgume. I received the tribute of Mutalli from Gurgume (to wit): silver, gold, large and small cattle, wine (and) his daughter with her big dowry. From Gurgume I departed and I approached Lutibu, the fortress town of Hani from Sam'al.^{2*} Hani from Sam'al, Sapalulme from Hattina, Ahuni, man of Adini, Sangara from Carchemish put their trust on mutual assistance, prepared for battle and rose against me to resist. I fought with them (assisted) by the mighty power of Nergal, my leader, by the ferocious weapons which Ashur, my lord, has presented to me, (and) I inflicted a defeat upon them. I slew their warriors with the sword, descending upon them like Adad when he makes a rainstorm pour down. In the moat (of the town) I piled them up, I covered the wide plain with the corpses of their fighting men, I dyed the mountains with their blood like red wool. I took away from him many chariots (and) horses broken to the yoke. I erected pillars of skulls in front of his town, destroyed his (other) towns, tore down (their walls) and burnt (them) down.

At that time, I paid homage to the greatness of (all) the great gods (and) extolled for posterity the heroic achievements of Ashur and Shamash by fashioning a (sculptured) stela with myself as king (depicted on it). I wrote thereupon my heroic behavior, my deeds in combat⁸ and erected it beside the source of the Saluara river which is at the foot of the mountains of the Amanus. From the mountain Amanus I departed, crossed the Orontes river (*A-ra-an-tu*) and approached Alimush, the fortress town of Sapalulme from Hattina. To save his life, Sapalulme from Hattina [called for] Ahuni, man of Adini, Sangara from Carchemish, Haianu from Sam'al, Kate from Que, Pihirim from Hilukka, Bur-Anate from Iasbuq, A d a [. . .] . . . Assyria....

⁸ For this identification, cf. L. W. King, *Kummu*[^]=Commagene, in *Manchester Egypt, and Oriental Soc.*, 11 (1913)» 47 ®.

^{2*} Ha(i)ani of Sam'al is the father of Kilamua, whose inscription is translated in *AOT*, 442.

⁸ To *talintu*, cf. now von Soden in *Orientalia*, NS xvi (1946), 70 £.

(ii)

[their/his army] I scattered, I stormed and conquered the town . . . I carried away as booty . . . , his horses, broken to the yoke. I slew with the sword. . . . During this battle I personally captured Bur-Anate from [Iasbuk]. I con[quered] the great cities (*mahdzu*) of Hattina. . . . I overthrew the . . . of the Upper [Sea] of Amurru and of the Western Sea (so that they became) like ruin-hills (left by) the flood. I received tribute from the kings of the seashore. I marched straightaway,⁴ unopposed... throughout the wide seashore. I fashioned a stela with an image of myself as overlord in order to make my name/fame lasting forever and e[rected it] near the sea. I ascended the mountains of the Amanus, I cut there cedar and pine timber. I went to the mountain region Atalur, where the statue of the god Hirbe is set up and erected (there) a(nother) statue (of mine) beside his statue. I de[parted] from the sea; I conquered the towns Taia, Hazazu, Nulia (and) Butamu which (belong) to the country Hattina. I killed 2,900 of [their] battle-experienced soldiers; 14,600 I brought away as prisoners of war. I received the tribute of Arame, man of Gusi, (to wit): silver, gold, large [and small] cattle, wine, a couch of *whitish* gold.⁵

First Year according to the Annals inscribed on clay tablets found in Ashur. Published by O. Schroeder, in *KAH*, 11, Nos. 112-114. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §633.

(KAH, 11,113:12-9)

[I]n the first year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates at its flood and marched towards the Western Sea. I washed my weapons in the sea, offered [sacrifices to] the gods. I ascended the mountains of the Amanus and cut (there) timber of cedar and pine. I ascended the Lallar mountain, I erected (there) an image (representing) myself as king.⁶ The towns of the Hattineans, [those of] Ahuni, man of Adini, those (belonging) to the peoples of Carchemish, (and) to the Margus[i...] [(in short) all the to]wns on the other embankment of the Euphrates, I destroyed, tore down (the walls) and burnt (them) down.

First Year according to the Black Obelisk from Calah. Published by Layard, *Inscriptions*, Pis. 87 f. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, § 558.^{6a}

(face B, 26-31)

In the first year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates at its flood; I marched to the Western Sea; my weapons I cleaned (ritually) in the sea; sheep-offerings I performed for my gods. I ascended the mountain Amanus; cedar and pine timber I cut (there). I ascended the

⁴ Read: [i]-le-ril.

⁵ Uncertain; text: *hurasu ha-sap*.

⁶ For the divergent designations of this mountain, cf. M. Streck, *Assyriologische Miscellen* (No. 10, Atalur und Lallar) in *OLZ*, IX (1906), 344 f. cf. also E. F. Weidner *apud* E. Michel in *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947), P. 14. n.10.

«cf. also the lines 15—reverse of 8 of the basalt tablet published by L. Messerschmidt, *KAH*, 1, 77 and transliterated and translated by E. Michel, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III*, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947), p. 11 f.

mountain Lallare (and) there I set up a stela with my image as king.

Sixth Year according to the Monolith-Inscription (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §610.

(ii 78-102)

In the year of (the eponym) Daian-Ashur, in the month Aiaru, the 14th day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris and approached the towns of Giammu on the river Balih. They became afraid of the terror emanating from my position as overlord, as well as of the splendor of my fierce weapons, and killed their master⁷ Giammu with their own weapons. I entered the towns Sahlala and Til-sha-Turahi and brought my gods/images into his palaces. I performed the *talttu* -festival in his (own) palaces. I opened (his) treasury, inspected what he had hidden; I carried away as booty his possessions, bringing (them) to my town Ashur. From Sahlala I departed and approached Kar-Shalmaneser. I crossed the Euphrates another time at its flood on rafts (made buoyant by means) of (inflated) goatskins. In Ina-Ashur-utir-asbat, which the people of Hattina call Pitru, on the other side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur, I received tribute from the kings of the other side of the Euphrates—that is, of Sanagara from Carchemish, Kundashpi from Commagene, of Arame, man of Gusi, of Lalli from Melitene (*Mclid*), of Haiani, son of Gabari, of Kalparuda from Hattina, (and) of Kalparuda of Gurgum—(consisting of): silver, gold, tin, copper (or bronze), copper containers. I departed from the banks of the Euphrates and approached Aleppo (*Hal-man*). They (i.e., the inhabitants of A.) were afraid to fight and seized my feet (in submission). I received silver and gold as their tribute and offered sacrifices before the Adad of Aleppo. I departed from Aleppo and approached the two towns of Irhuleni from Hamath (*Amat*). I captured the towns Adennu, Barga (and) Argana his royal residence. I removed from them his booty (as well as) his personal (lit.: of his palaces) possessions. I set his palaces afire. I departed from Argana and approached Karkara. I destroyed, tore down and burned down Karkara, his (text: my) royal residence. He brought along to help him 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalrymen, 20,000 foot soldiers of Adad'idri (i.e. Hadadezer) of Damascus (*Imerilu*),*

⁷ The use of the Sumerian term *en* in this context is rather puzzling. It might indicate a peculiar social set-up which compelled the Assyrian scribes to use this rare word.

⁸ The problem of the often changing (and apparently interchangeable) Akkadian denominations for Damascus (apart from *Di-ma(-a)l-qi(u)*) is still unsolved; for previous discussions I refer to A. T. Clay in *YOS*, i (1915), 2, n.1; Streck, *Assurbanipal* (= *VAB*, vii), in, 780, where literature is amply quoted. These denominations are *Sa-imeriu*, *Sa-imeri-lu*, *Sa-i-me-ri-iu* (cf., e.g., C. Bezold, *Catalogue*, 1, 21) and *Imerelu* with *imeru* spelled either phonetically or respectively as *a n s e* and *d u r*. I would like to draw attention, on one hand, to the name of a town *Sa-i-me-ri-e* on the stela of Shilhak-Inshushinak (V. Scheil, *Delegation en Perse, Memoires*, xi [1911], 42, No. 14), also attested in texts from Nuzi (cf. R. H. Pfeiffer and E. A. L&chewan, *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi*, *HSS*, xm [1942], No. 433:6 [road leading from Nuzi to *Sa-imeri*]), and, on the other hand, to certain Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian nouns (of the formation *amel la xxx-su*) denoting traders in commodities (salt, wine, pottery, fruit, etc.) or animals (for the latter, cf. C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* [London, 1898 f-1- 1076 11:2 ^{ame}*sa bu-li-lu*). cf. also the name of the town *Sa-biresu* (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 107).

700 chariots, 700 cavalymen, 10,000 foot soldiers of Irhuleni from Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 foot soldiers of Ahab, the Israelite (*A-ha-ab-bu* ""*Sir-i-la-a-a*), 500 soldiers from Que, 1,000 soldiers from Musri,⁹ 10 chariots, 10,000 soldiers from Irqanata, 200 soldiers of Matinu-ba'lu from Arvad, 200 soldiers from Usanata, 30 chariots, i[o?],000 soldiers of Adunu-ba'lu from Shian, 1,000 camel-(rider)s of Gindibu', from Arabia, [. . .],000 soldiers of Ba'sa, son of Ruhubi, from Amnion—(all together) these were twelve kings. They rose against me [for a] decisive battle. I fought with them with (the support of) the mighty forces of Ashur, which Ashur, my lord, has given to me, and the strong weapons which Nergal, my leader, has presented to me, (and) I did inflict a defeat upon them between the towns Karkara and Gilzau. I slew 14,000 of their soldiers with the sword, descending upon them like Adad when he makes a rainstorm pour down. I spread their corpses (everywhere), filling the entire plain with their widely scattered (fleeing) soldiers. During the battle I made their blood flow down the *hur-pa-lu* of the district. The plain was too small to let (all) their (text: his) souls descend¹⁰ (into the nether world), the vast field¹¹ gave out (when it came) to bury them. With their (text: sing.) corpses¹² I spanned the Orontes before there was a bridge. Even during the battle I took from them their chariots, their horses broken to the yoke.

Sixth Year according to the Bull-Inscription from the bull statues found in Calah. Published by A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions in the Cuneiform Character from Assyrian Monuments* (London, 1851), Pis. 12 f. (Bull A), and Pis. 46 f. (Bull B). For transliteration and translation, cf. A. Billerbeck and F. Delitzsch, *Die Palasttore Salmanassars II von Balawat*, in *BA*, vi (1908), 144 ff. English translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§646-647.

(67—74 of the Billerbeck-Delitzsch Edition)

In the sixth year of my rule, I departed from Nineveh and approached the river Balih. [The country] became afraid of my powerful army and [they killed] Giammu [their "master"]. I entered Til-Turahi and seized that town for myself. From the region along the river Balih I departed, the river Euphrates I crossed at its flood. I received tribute from the kings of the Hittite country (*matHat-ti*). From the Hittite country I departed and approached the town Aleppo (*Hal-man*). I made sheep-[offering to the god Adad] of Aleppo. From Aleppo

⁹ Here, the name *Musru* refers probably to a country in southern Asia Minor (cf. H. Winckler, *Arabisches Musri* in *MVAG*, xi [1906], 102-116, and E. F. Weidner [*apud* H. Bauer] in *AfO*, vm [1932-3], 4, n.3, as well as recently in *AfO*, xiv (1941), 45, for three, or even more, countries bearing this name). The basic meaning of *Musru* is always "march" (from *masaru* "to mark, draw a line"), i.e. "border country."

¹⁰ Text: *ana ium-pul u^me*-lu(nu)* (line no). This expression seems to indicate that the "souls" of the numerous dying soldiers were conceived as slipping down to the nether world through holes or cavities in the ground and that the massed corpses actually did cover the battlefield so completely as to make this descent difficult.

¹¹ The word *naprarA* (equated with *seru* in a list of synonymous Akkadian words, (cf. von Soden, *ZA*, XLIII [NF IX], 234, l.25) is to be derived from the stem *pr** which has the same meaning as *spr** (cf. A. Heidel, *AS*, No. 13 [1940]), i.e. "to spread."

¹² Read *a d (d a)*, i.e. *lu + ug*«. For the sign and its reading, cf. A. Goetze, *JAOS*, LXV (1945), 231.

I departed and approached the city of Karkara. Hadadezer (*AAdad-id-ri*) of Damascus (*matIrrnerilu*), Irhuleni of Hamath with 12 kings from the seacoast, trusting their combined power, set out (to march) against me for a decisive battle. I fought with them. I slew in battle 25,000 of their experienced soldiers and took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses and their battle equipment—they (themselves) dispersed to save their lives.

I embarked upon boats and made a journey into the high sea.

Sixth Year according to the Black Obelisk published first by A. H. Layard, *Inscriptions*, Pl. 87 f. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §563.

In the sixth year of my rule, I approached the towns of the region along the Balih river. (Upon this) they (revolted and) killed Giammu, the master of their cities. I entered the town Til-Turahi. I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. I received tribute from [all] the kings of Hatti. At that time Hadadezer [of] Damascus, Irhulina from Hamath, as well as the kings of Hatti and (of) the seashore put their trust on their mutual strength and rose against me to fight a decisive battle. Upon the (oracle-) command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them (and) inflicted a defeat upon them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses and their battle equipment, slaying 20,500 of their battle-experienced soldiers.

Tenth Year according to the text Schroeder, *KAH*, 11, no. Translation: Ernst Michel, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III in Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947), pp. 67 ff.

(6 - 11)

In the tenth year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time . . . [I departed] from the cities (belonging) to the people of Carchemish . . . together with one thousand (smaller) cities in its neighborhood. . . . At that time Hadadezer of Da[mascus] . . . put their trust on their mutual strength . . . I inflicted a defeat upon them. [I took] their chariots....

Eleventh Year according to the Bull Inscription (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §653.

(90—96 of the Billerbeck-Delitzsch Edition)

In the eleventh year of my rule, I departed from Nineveh, I crossed for the ninth time the Euphrates at its flood. I conquered 97 towns of Sangar, I conquered 100 towns of Arame, I destroyed (them), tore (their walls down) and burnt (them) down. I seized the region of the mountain Amanus, crossed over the mountain Iaruqu and descended (then) against the towns of (the inhabitants) of Hamath. I conquered the town Ashtamaku together with 90 (smaller) towns, I made a massacre (among) them and their booty I carried away. At that time, Hadadezer of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath together with 12 kings from the seacoast trusting their combined strength set out (to march) against me for a decisive battle. I fought with them

and inflicted a defeat upon them. I slew in battle 10,000 of their experienced soldiers and took away from them their chariots, cavalry-horses and their equipment.

On my return march I conquered the town Apparazu, the fortress of Arame. At that time I received the tribute of Karparundi, from Hattina, (to wit): silver, gold, tin, wine, large cattle, sheep, garments, linen. I ascended the Amanus (and) cut (there) cedar logs.

Eleventh Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §568.

(face A [base], 87—89)

In the eleventh year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. I conquered countless towns. I descended towards the towns of Hatti (and) of the country of the inhabitants of Hamath; I conquered (there) 89 towns. Hadadezer of Damascus and 12 kings of Hatti stood together (trusting) in their combined strength. I inflicted a defeat upon them.

Fourteenth Year according to the Bull Inscription (Bull B) (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§658-659.

(99—102)

In the fourteenth year of my rule, I called up the innumerable (inhabitants) of my vast country and crossed the Euphrates, at its flood, with my army of 120,000 (men). At the same time, Hadadezer of Damascus, Irhuleni from Hamath as well as 12 (other) kings from the shore of the Upper and Lower Sea, called up the(ir) innumerable large army and rose against me. I fought with them and defeated them. I did destroy¹⁸ their chariots (and) their cavalry-horses, taking away from them their battle equipment. To save their lives they dispersed.

Fourteenth Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §571.

(face A [base], 91—93)

In the fourteenth year of my rule, I called up the country; I crossed the Euphrates. The twelve kings rose against me. I fought (and) defeated them.

Eighteenth Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §575.

(face B [base], 97—99)

In the eighteenth year of my rule, I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael (*Ha-za-'il*) of Damascus rose for battle. I took away from him 1,121 chariots, 470 cavalry-horses as well as his camp.

Eighteenth Year according to the fragment of an annalistic text published in Rawlinson, Vol. III, Pl. 5, No. 6. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §672.

In the eighteenth year of my rule I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus (*Imerihi*) put his trust upon his numerous army and called up his troops in great number, making the moun-

¹⁸ For the verb used here, cf. E. Ebeling, *AfO*, ix (1933-4), 327, n.16 (*ns*), and J. Seidmann, *MAOG*, ix/3 (1935), 18, n.i (*ft'*).

tain Senir (*Sa-ni-ru*), a mountain, facing the Lebanon, to his fortress. I fought with him and inflicted a defeat upon him, killing with the sword 16,000 of his experienced soldiers. I took away from him 1,121 chariots, 470 riding horses as well as his camp. He disappeared to save his life (but) I followed him and besieged him in Damascus (*Di-mai-qi*), his royal residence. (There) I cut down his gardens (outside of the city, and departed). I marched as far as the mountains of Hauran (*ladt motHa-u-ra-ni*),¹⁴ destroying, tearing down and burning innumerable towns, carrying booty away from them which was beyond counting. I (also) marched as far as the mountains of Ba'li-ra'si which is a promontory (lit.: at the side of the sea) and erected there a stela with my image as king. At that time I received the tribute of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and of Jehu, son of Omri (*la-ti-a mär Hu-um-ri-i*).

Twenty-first Year according to the Black Obelisk (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §578.

(face B [base], 102—104)

In my twenty-first year, I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time. I marched against the towns of Hazael of Damascus. Four of his larger urban settlements (*mahdzu*) I conquered. I received tribute from the countries of the inhabitants of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblos.

(c) Various Inscriptions

(a) On a basalt statue; text published by L. Messerschmidt in *KAH*, 1, No. 30. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §681. cf. also Ernst Michel, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III* (858-824), *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947), pp. 57 f.

(14—ii 1)

I defeated Hadadezer of Damascus (*Imcr[z]*) together with twelve princes, his allies (lit.: helpers). I stretched upon the ground 20,900 of his strong warriors like *Su-bi*, the remnants of his troops I pushed into the Orontes (*Arantu*) river and they dispersed to save their lives; Hadadezer (himself) perished. Hazael, a commoner (lit.: son of nobody), seized the throne, called up a numerous army and rose against me. I fought with him and defeated him, taking the *chariots*² of his camp. He disappeared to save his life. I marched as far as Damascus (*Di-ma-as-qi*), his royal residence [and cut down his] gardens.

(b) Two inscriptions from C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (*Abh. Kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. Goettingen NF*, ix/3 [1907]), No. 20 (Pl. III and pp. 31 ff.), and No. 22 (Pl. III and pp. 38 f.). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §691.

(i 21—27)

Hadadezer, king of Damascus (*Sa-imcrisu*), Irhulini from Hamath, together with 150) kings from the

¹⁴ cf. for this region, J. Lewy, in *HUCA*, xvm, 449, n.107.

¹ For this comparison, cf. Michel, *Die Welt des Orients*, 1 (1947) p. 60, n.12. Furthermore, Nassouhi, *AfO*, III, 65 f. and K. Fr. Mueller, *MVAG*, XLI/3, p. 69, n.5.

² For this reading cf. B. Meissner, *OLZ*, xv (1912), p. 146, n.i.

towns of the region along [the sea], rose [against me]. I fought with them for the fourth time and inflicted a defeat upon them. [I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses and] their battle equipment, they dispersed to save their lives.

(ii 14—17)

Hadadezer, king of Damascus (*\$a-imeri\$u*), together with 12 kings of Hatti-land, rose against me. For the fourth time I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. I took away from them their chariots, their cavalry-horses³ and their battle equipment. To save their lives they dispersed.

(c) Inscription from a marble bead published by O. Schroeder, in *AfK*, n (1924), 70. Translation: Ebeling in *AOT*, 344.

Booty (fyHtt?*) of the temple of Sheru from the town of Mallaha, the royal residence of Hazael of Damascus (*Imerilu*) which Shalmaneser, son of Ashurnasirpal, has brought into the walls of Libbiali.⁴

(d) Epigraphs

From the rich iconographic documentation left by Shalmaneser III, five representations fall into the orbit of this book. They are provided with epigraphs which are given below in translation.

(a) From the Bronze Gates of Balawat (cf. L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser* (London, 1915), also E. Unger, *Zim Bronzetur von Balawat* (Diss.), (Leipzig, 1912). For publications, cf. King, *op.cit.*, and for translation, Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §614.

(Band HI—Phoenicia, Tyre, Sidon, Gaza)

I received the tribute (brought) on ships from the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon.

(Band XIII—Syria)

I conquered Ashtamaku,¹ the royal residence of Irhuleni of Hatti, together with 86 (other towns).

(b) From the Black Obelisk. Epigraphs published in Layard, *Inscriptions*, Pi. 98. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§590, 591, 593 •

II

The tribute of Jehu (*Ia-u-a*), son of Omri (*Hu-um-ri*); I received from him silver, gold, a golden *saplu*-bowl, a golden vase with pointed bottom, golden tumblers, golden buckets, tin, a staff for a king, (and) wooden *puruhtu*

III

The tribute of the country Musri; I received from him camels whose backs were doubled,⁸ a river ox (*hippo-*

⁵The meaning "cavalry-horse" for *pit-hallu* is well attested; only rarely this word denotes the chariot-horse, such as, e.g. in Thureau-Dangin, *VIII⁹ Campagne* line 403 "one statue (representing king) Ursa with his two *slse^{mc}* pit-hal-li-tu*, his (chariot)-driver, together with its socle, made of cast bronze."

⁴The name *Libbi-dli* denotes the central section of the town Ashur, cf. E. Unger in *Reallexihpn der Assyriologie*, 1, 173.

¹ For this town, cf. R. R. Boudou, *Liste de noms géographiques (Orient-alia* No. 36-38, Rome, 1929 f.), p. 27.

² Text: *blpu-rui-ha-ti*. Meaning unknown.

³ This reference to the Bactrian camel—especially in connection with the

potamus), a *sakea*-animal (*rhinoceros*), a *susu*-antelope, elephants, *bazitu*- (and) *uqupu*- monkeys.⁴

V

The tribute of Karparunda from Hattina; I received from him silver, gold, tin, bronze, copper⁵ *lirihu*-pots, ivory, (and) ebony-wood.

5. ADAD-NIRARI HI (810-783) : EXPEDITION TO PALESTINE

(a) Stone Slab. From a broken stone slab found at Calah. Published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pl. 35, No. 1. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§739-740.

(I - 2 I)

Property of Adad-nirari, great king, legitimate king, king of the world, king of Assyria—a king whom Ashur, the king of the Igigi (i.e. the dei superi) had chosen (already) when he was a youngster, entrusting him with the position of a prince without rival, (a king) whose shepherding they made as agreeable to the people of Assyria as (is the smell of) the Plant of Life, (a king) whose throne they established firmly; the holy high priest (and) tireless caretaker of the temple e. s a r. r a , who keeps up the rites of the sanctuary, who acts (only) upon the trust-inspiring oracles (given) by Ashur, his lord; who has made submit to his feet the princes within the four rims of the earth; conquering from the Siluna mountain of the Rising Sun, the countries Saban, Ellipi, Harhar, Araziash, Mesu, the (country of the) Medians, Gizilbunda in its (full) extent, the countries Munna, Persia (*Farsua*), Allabria, Apdadana, Na'iri with all its regions, Andiu which lies far away in the *pithu* of the mountains¹ with all its regions, as far as the Great Sea of the Rising Sun (and) from the banks of the Euphrates, the country of the Hittites, Amurru-country in its full extent, Tyre, Sidon, Israel (*maiHu-um-ri*), Edom, Palestine (*Paqa-as-tu*), as far as the shore of the Great Sea of the Setting Sun, I made them submit all to my feet, imposing upon them tribute.

I marched against the country *Sa-imerilu*: I shut up Mari,² king of Damascus (*Imeriu*) in Damascus (*Di-ma-al-qi*), his royal residence. The terror-inspiring glamor of Ashur, my (text: his) lord, overwhelmed him and he seized my feet, assuming the position of a slave (of mine). (Then) I received in his (own) palace in Damascus (*Di-ma-aZ-qi*), his royal residence, 2,300

alap nari "river ox" and with monkeys—is rather disturbing, cf. in this connection, E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 23, and Landsberger-Bauer, in *ZA*, xxxvn (NF 111), p. 76. Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 143.

⁴cf. above n.16, p. 276 and below n.4, p. 297.

⁵The word *siparru* (usually "bronze") has to be translated here with "copper," because it refers to a container. The learned scribes in Mesopotamia were always rather careless in the use of the terms *urudu* ("copper") and *zabar* ("bronze"), while those of the temple and fiscal administration differentiate very exactly.

¹ Text: *pit hu ladu*, cf. E. Ebeling, *MAOG*, vii/1-2 (1933), 64, n.h. for this expression.

² The Assyrians have taken Aram, *mart'* "my lord" to be the name of the king and not his title, cf. my article, *Une glose hurrite dans les Annates de Teglat-Phalasar I*, *RHA*, v (1939), 112, for this and similar cases of such misunderstandings.

talents of silver (corresponding to) 20 talents of gold, 5,000 talents of iron, garments of linen with multicolored trimmings, a bed (inlaid) with ivory, a *nimattu*-couch mounted and inlaid with ivory, (and) countless (other objects being) his possessions.

(b) Saba'a Stela. Report on a campaign against Palestine from the Saba'a Stela. Published by E. Unger, *Relief Stele Adadniraris 111 aus Saba'a und Semiramis (Publicationen der Kaiserlichen osmanischen Museen, No. 12, Konstantinopel, 1916)*. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR, 1, §§734-735*.

(11—20)

In the fifth year (of my official rule) I sat down solemnly on my royal throne and called up the country (for war). I ordered the numerous army of Assyria to march against Palestine (*Pa-la-äs-tü*). I crossed the Euphrates at its flood. As to the numerous hostile kings who had rebelled in the time of my father Shamshi-Adad (i.e., Shamshi-Adad V) and had withheld] their regular (tributes), [the terror-inspiring glam]or overwhelmed them (and) upon the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad (and) Ishtar, my trust (-inspiring) gods, they seized my feet (in submission). I received all the tributes [. . .] which they brought to Assyria. I (then) ordered [to march] against the country Damascus (*Sa-imerilu*). I invested Mari' in Damascus (*Dim-al-qi*) [and he surrendered]. One hundred talents of gold (corresponding to) one thousand talents of [silver], 60 talents of . . . [I received as his tribute].

6. TIGLATH-PILESER III (744-727):
CAMPAIGNS AGAINST SYRIA AND PALESTINE¹

(a) Building Inscription

From a building inscription on clay preserved in various copies, published by Rawlinson, in Vol. II, Pi. 67. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR, 1, §§800-801, 803*.

(56-63)

I installed Idi-bi'li as a Warden of Marches² on the border of Musur. In all the countries which . . . [I received] the tribute of Kushtashpi of Commagene³ (*Kummuhu*), Urik of Qu'e, Sibitti-be'l of Byblos, . . . Enil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gungum, Sulumal of Militene, . . . Uassurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, . . . [Ma]tan-be'l of Arvad, Sanipu of Bit-Ammon, Salamanu of Moab, . . . Mitinti of Ashkelon, Jehoahaz (*la-ü-ha-zi*) of Judah (*la-ü-da-a-a*), Kaushmalaku of Edom (*Ü-du-mu-a-a*), Muzr[i . . .], Hanno

¹cf. for the historical background—apart from the books listed in n.i, p. 276—also: A. Alt, *Das System der assyrischen Provinzen auf dem Boden des Reiches Israel*, in *ZDPV, LH* (1929), 220 ff.; *Neue assyrische Nachrichten über Palästina und Syrien*, in *ZDPV, LXVII* (1945), 178 ff.; K. Galling, *Assyrische und persische Präfekten in Geser*, in *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxxi (1935), 75 ff.; A. Jepsen, *Israel und Damaskus*, in *AFO*, xiv (1941-44), 153 ff.; A. Jirku, *Der angebliche assyrische Bezirk Gile'ad*, in *ZDPV, li* (1928), 249 ff.; and R. de Vaux, *La Chronologie de Hazael et de Benhadad III, rois de Damas*, *RB* (1932), 512 ff.

²Text: *a-na amelat-tu-tu j_a muhhi mat-Mu-us-ri*.

³For the local names mentioned in this text, cf. P. Naster, *L'Asie Mineure et l'Assyrie aux VIII^e et VII^e siècles av. J.-C. d'après les annales des rois assyriens* (Louvain, 1938), index s.v.; and B. Landsberger, *Sam'al*, I, pp. 8 ff.

(*Ha-a-nu-ti-nu*) of Gaza (*Ha-za-at-a-a*) (consisting of) gold, silver, tin, iron, antimony,⁴ linen garments with multicolored trimmings, garments of their native (industries) (being made of) dark purple wool . . . all kinds of costly objects be they products of the sea or of the continent, the (choice) products of their regions, the treasures of (their) kings, horses, mules (trained for) the yoke.

(66)

I sent an officer of mine, the *rabsaq?* to Tyre [and received] from Metenna of Tyre 150 talents of gold

(b) Annalistic Records

From the so-called "Annals" engraved upon slabs found in Calah. Published by P. Rost, *Die Keilschrifttexte Tiglat-Pileasers III nach den Papierabtyatschen und Originalen des Britischen Museums* (Leipzig, 1893).

Third Year, Rost, opcit., Pis. xx-xxi, text, pp. 19-23. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR, 1, §770*.

(103—133)

[In] the (subsequent) course of my campaign [I received] the tribute of the kin[gs . . . A]zriau from Iuda¹ (*la-ti-da-a-a*), like a [. . . Azr]iau from Iuda in . . . countless, (reaching) sky high . . . eyes, like from heaven . . . by means of an attack with foot soldiers. . . . He heard [about the approach of the] massed [armies of] Ashur and was afraid. . . . I tore down, destroyed and burnt [down . . . for Azri]au they had annexed, they (thus) had reinforced him . . . like vine/trunks . . . was very difficult . . . was barred and high . . . was situated and its exit . . . I made deep . . . I surrounded his garrisons [with earthwork], against . . . I made them carry [the corvee-basket] and . . . his great . . . like a pot [I did crush . . .] (lacuna of three lines) . . . Azriau . . . a royal palace of my own [I built in his city . . .] tribute like that [for Assyrian citizens I imposed upon them . . .] the city Kul[Iani . . .] his ally . . . the cities² Usnu, Siannu, Si[mirra], Ra[sh]puna which are on the se[acoa]st as well as the cities up to the mountain³ Saue, the mountain which abuts on the Lebanon proper; the mountain Ba'li-Sapuna as far as the Amanus, the Boxwood-tree Mountain (in short) the entire Sau-country; the provinces of Kar-Adad, Hatarikka,⁴ the province of Nuqudina, the mountain Hasu as well as the (smaller) cities in its vicinity, the town Ara (and) the cities on

⁴The term *abaru* (Sumerogram: A.BAK) denotes a rarely used metal, probably magnesite (cf. R. C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* [Oxford, 1936], p. 116; and J. R. Partington, *Origin and Development of Applied Chemistry* [London, 1935], index s.v.). For unknown reasons, it has mostly been used for small objects and tools (spoon, axe, etc.) prescribed for ritual purposes. For a foundation inscription on *abaru*, cf. Luckenbill, *AR, 1, §106 f*.

⁵For this official, cf. e.g. W. Manitius, in *ZA*, xxrv (1910), 199 f., and B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1920), I, p. 103.

¹For this country, cf. J. Lewy, in *HUCA*, xvni, 479 L cf. furthermore, P. Naster, *L'Asie Mineure*, etc., p. 19, n.33.

²For identification of these place names, cf. E. Forrer, *Provingeinteilung*, pp. 57 ff.

³cf. L. Koehler, *Lexikologisch-Geographisches* (No. 3, *Der Berg als Grenze*), in *ZDPV, LXII* (1939), 115 f.

⁴cf. J. Lewy, in *HUCA*, xvni, 449, n.108.

both sides of them as well as the cities in their Vicinity, the mountain Sarbua—the entire mountain,—the towns Ashhani (and) Iadabi, the mountain Iaraqu—the entire mountain,—the towns . . . Illitarbi, Zitanu as far as Atinni, . . . Bumami—(together) 19 districts belonging to Hamath and the cities in their vicinity which are (situated) at the coast of the Western Sea and which they had (unlawfully) taken away for Azriau, I restored to the territory of Assyria. An officer of mine I installed as governor over them. [I deported] 30,300 inhabitants from their cities and settled them in the province of the town Ku[. . .]; 1,223 inhabitants I settled in the province of the Ullaba country.

Year Unknown, Rost, opxit., Pl. xv, xvi, text, pp. 26-27. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §772.

(150—157)

I received tribute from Kushtashpi of Commagene (*Kummuhu*), Rezon (*Ra-hi-a-nu*)** of Damascus (*Sa-imerilu*), Menahem of Samaria (*Me-ni-hi-im-me* ^{al}*Some-ri-na-a-a*), Hiram (*Hi-ru-um-mu*) of Tyre, Sibitti-bi'li of Byblos, Urikki of Qu'e, Pisiris of Carchemish, I'nil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarhulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Militene, Dadilu of Kaska, Uasurme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urimme of Hubishna (and) Zabibe, the queen of Arabia,⁵ (to wit) gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant-hides, ivory, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, blue-dyed wool, purple-dyed⁶ wool, ebony-wood, boxwood-wood, whatever was precious (enough for a) royal treasure; also lambs whose stretched hides were dyed purple, (and) wild birds whose spread-out wings were dyed blue,⁷ (furthermore) horses, mules, large and small cattle, (male) camels, female camels with their foals.

After the 9th Year, Rost, opxit., Pis. xxn, xxm, text pp. 35-41. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §§777-779.

(205—240)

I laid siege to and conquered the town Hadara, the inherited property of Rezon of Damascus (*Sa-imeriiu*), [the place where] he was born. I brought away as prisoners 800 (of its) inhabitants with their possessions, . . . their large (and) small catde. 750 prisoners from Kurussa [. . . prisoners] from Irma, 550 prisoners from Metuna I brought (also) away. 592 towns . . . of the 16 districts of the country of Damascus (*Sa-imeriiu*) I destroyed (making them look) like hills of (mined cities over which) the flood (had swept).

** The much-damaged stone tablet published by E. Nassouhi in *MAOG*, N1/1-2, as No. VII contains the names *Ra-hi-a-nu* and *Su-lu-ma-al*. The reading *Ra-hi-a-nu* instead of *Ra-sun-nu* has been shown by B. Landsberger in *Sam'al (Veroeffentlichungen der Tuer\ischen historischen Gesellschaft, Series VII, No. 16 [Ankara, 1948])*, p. 66, n.169.

⁵ For the female rulers of Arab tribes (attested in cuneiform documents from Tiglath-pileser III to Ashurbanipal, and perhaps [cf. o.7, p. 312] Nabonidus), cf. N. Abbot, *Pre-Islamic Arab Queens*, in *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 1-22.

⁶ The terms used in this context are *takiltu* and *argamannu*; die first denoting a darker, the second a reddish shade of blue purple, cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Un comptoir de laine pourpre 4 Ras Shamra, etc.*, in *Syria*, xv (1934). »41.

⁷ This unique reference seems to mention stuffed and decorated animals.

Samsi, the queen of Arabia who had acted against the oath (sworn) by Shamash and had ___town . . . to the town I'zasi . . . Arabia in the country of Sa[ba' . . .] in her camp . . . she became afraid [of my mighty army] and [sent] to [me camels, camel-mares], . . . [I p]ut [an official/regent over her] and made (also) [the Bir'aians] bow to my feet. The inhabitants of Mas'a, of Tema (and) the inhabitants of Saba', Haiappa, Badana, Hatti, the tribe of the Idiba'ileans . . . whose countries [(are) far away], towards West, [heard] the fame of my rule [. . . and brought]—without exception (lit.: like one man)—as their tribute: gold, silver, [male and female ca]mels and all kinds of spices to [me and kis]sed my feet. . . . I established] a palace as be[fitting for my position as their king in . . .] and appointed Idibi'lu as governor over [the country Musru]. In my former campaigns I had considered all the cities [which . . . as . . .] and I had carried away as booty and . . . the town Samaria only I did le[ave/except. . .] their king [. . . like a] fog/snow-storm . . . districts of the country Bit-[. . . prisoners] of the town [. . .]bara, 625 prisoners of the town . . . of the town Hinatuna, 650 prisoners of the town Qana[. . . of the town . . . jatbiti, 650 prisoners of the town Ir[. . . all these] people together with their possessions [I brought away. . .] the town Aruma, the town Marum [. . . (as to) Mitinti from] Ashkelon (who) had [violated] the oath sworn to me [and had revolted], (when) he learned about [the defeat inflicted upon] Rezon he [perished] in in[sanity]. [Rukibtu, son of Mitinti] sat (himself) on his throne. To . . . and he implored me 500 . . . I entered his town. Fifteen towns ___Idibi'lu of Arabia. . . .

Year Unknown. From a fragmentary annalistic text published by Rawlinson, Vol. III, Pl. 10, No. 2,1-45; also, Rost, Pis. xxv-xxvi, text, pp. 79-83. Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 1, §§815-819; cf. also E. Forrer, Provinzeinteilung, pp. 59 f.

(1-34)

. . . the town Hatarikka as far as the mountain Saua, [. . . the towns:] Byb[los], ___Simirra, Arqa, Zimarra, . . . Uznu, [Siannu], Ri'-raba, Ri'-sisu, . . . the towns . . . of the Upper Sea, I brought under my rule. Six officers of mine I installed as governors over them. [. . . the town R]ashpuna which is (situated) at the coast of the Upper Sea, [the towns . . .]nite, Gal'za, Abilakka which are adjacent to Israel (*Bit Hu-um-ri-a*) [and the] wide (land of) [Naphta]li,⁸ in its entire extent, I united with Assyria. Officers of mine I installed as governors upon them.

As to Hanno of Gaza (*Ha-a-nu-ti-nu* ^*Ha-az-za-at-a-a*) who had fled before my army and run away to Egypt, [I conquered] the town of Gaza, . . . his personal property, his images. . . [aijd I placed (?)] (the images of) my [. . . gods] and my royal image in his own palace . . . and declared (them) to be (thenceforward) the gods of their country. I imposed upon th[em tribute]. [As for Menahem I overwhelmed him [like a

⁸The text has only: [. . .

snowstorm] and he . . . fled like a bird, alone, [and bowed to my feet(?)]. I returned him to his place [and imposed tribute upon him, to wit:] gold, silver, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, . . . great . . . [I re]ceived from him. Israel (lit.: "Omri-Land" *Bit Humria*) . . . all its inhabitants (and) their possessions I led to Assyria. They overthrew their king Pekah (*Pa-qa-ha*) and I placed Hoshea (*A-4-st'*) as king over them. I received from them 10 talents of gold, 1,000 (?) talents of silver as their [tri]bute and brought them to Assyria.

As for Samsi, queen of Arabia, . . . I killed, 1,100 inhabitants, 30,000 camels, 20,000 (heads of) cattle [. . .] 5,000 (containers with all kinds of spices, 11 *tulu*⁹ -bowls, the property of her gods, . . . her (own) possessions, I took away from her and she herself [fled] to save her life to the town Bazu, a waterless region (lit.: a place of thirst) like a wild donkey-mare. . . . forced by hunger, the people which were in her camp [did]. . . . (Then) she became apprehensive [of the power of] my strong [army] and brought to me male and female camels, . . . her. . . . [I put a regent over her. I made the Bir'ai bow to my feet.] The inhabitants of Mas'ai, Tema, the Sabaeans, the inhabitants of Haiappa, Badana, Hattia, the Idiba'leans, . . . from the region of the West [whose far] away countries [nobody knows, heard] of the fame of my rule [and] . . . they bowed to the yoke of my rule. [They brought to me]—without exception—as their tribute male and female camels and all kinds of spices and kissed my feet. . . . I appointed Idibi'lu to the office of Warden of Marches on (the frontier of) Musur (*Mu-su-ri*).

7. SARGON II (721-705) : THE FALL OF SAMARIA

(a) Inscriptions of a General Nature

(1) "Pave des Portes," No. IV, lines 31-44. Published by H. Winckler, *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons* (Leipzig, 1889), 1, 147 f., 11, Pl. 38. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §99.

(Property of Sargon, etc., king of Assyria, etc.) conqueror of Samaria (*Sa-mir-i-na*) and of the entire (country of) Israel (*Bit-Hu-um-ri-a*) who despoiled Ashdod (and) Shihuhti, who caught the Greeks who (live on islands) in the sea, like fish, who exterminated Kasku, all Tabali and Cilicia (*Hilakjtu*), who chased away Midas (*Mi-ta-a*) king of Musku, who defeated Musur (*Mu-su-ri*) in Rapihu, who declared Hanno, king of Gaza, as booty, who subdued the seven kings of the country Ia', a district on Cyprus (*la-ad-na-na*), (who) dwell (on an island) in the sea, at (a distance of) a seven-day journey.

(2) From the so-called Cyprus Stela, published by A. Ungnad, in *VS*, 1, 71; cf. also H. Winckler, *opxit.*, 1, 174 if., 11, Pis. 46-47. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§183, 186.

(51—65, right face)

I smash [ed] like a flood-storm the country of Hamath

⁹In Rawlinson: *tu-du-ni*, according to Rost: *tu-la(?)-ni*. The latter seems to be the better reading, *tulu* being a well-known word for a bowl shaped like the female breast.

(*A-ma-at-tu*) in its entire [extent]. I br[ought its] ki[ng] Iaubi'di as well as his family, (and) [his] warriors in fett[ers], as the prisoner (contingent) of his country, to Assyria. From these (prisoners) I set [up a troop] of 300 chariots (and) 600 mourt[ted men] equipped with leather shields and lan[ces], and ad[ded them] to my royal corps. I se[t]tled 6,300 Assyrians of reliable [disposition]¹ in the country of Hamath and installed an officer of mine as go[vernor] over them, imposing upon th[em] (the payment) of tri[bute].

(28—42, left face)

[and the seven ki]ngs of Ia', a district on [Cy]prus (*[Ad]nana*) which [lies a]midst the Western Sea at a distance of 7 days, their location being (so) far off (that) none of my royal forefathers [had ever he]ard the names of their countries (mentioned) [since the] far-off days of the *si-bit mat* ²*AIs[ur]*² [lea]rned, far away in the midst of the sea, [the feats which I have achie]ved in Chaldea and in Hatti, and their hearts began to pound, [terror] fell upon them. They sent me, [to] Babylon, gold, silver, objects made of ebony and boxwood (which are the) treasures of their country, and kissed my feet.

(b) From Annalistic Reports

So-called Annals and their parallels taken from the Display Inscriptions. The Annals are quoted here according to A. G. Lie, *The Inscriptions of Sargon II, King of Assyria*, Part 1. The Annals (Paris, 1929). Their text, taken from stone slabs and wall inscriptions in Khorsabad (Dur-Sharrukin) has been published (latest publication) by H. Winckler (cf. above).¹ The latest English translation of the Annals is that of Lie (cf. above); that of the Display Inscriptions: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§53 ff.

(1) *First Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *opxit.* (H. Winckler, No. 63). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, n, §4.

(10—17)

At the beginning of my royal rule, I . . . the town of the Sama[r]ians [I besieged, conquered] (2 lines destroyed) [for the god . . . who le]t me achieve (this) my triumph. . . . I led away as prisoners [27,290 inhabitants of it (and) [equipped] from among [them (soldiers to man)] 50 chariots for my royal corps. . . . [The town I] re[built] better than (it was) before and [settled] therein people from countries which [I] myself [had con]quered. I placed an officer of mine as governor over them and imposed upon them tribute as (is customary) for Assyrian citizens.

According to the Display Inscriptions; text: H. Winckler, 11, Pis. 30 f., 1, 101. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §55.

(23-26)

1 besieged and conquered Samaria (*Sa-me-ri-na*), led

¹Text: *be-el [temi]*. This term refers here obviously to the political reliability of the Assyrian subjects settled in Hamath.

²This enigmatic phrase has been discussed recently by J. Lewy, in *HUCA*, xix, 466, and taken as referring to the "landnama" of Assyria by the Assyrians.

¹For the textual and historical problems involved, cf. A. T. Olmstead, *The Text of Sargon's Annals*, in *A/SL*, XLVIII (1931), 259 ff.

away as booty 27,290 inhabitants of it. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots and made remaining (inhabitants) assume their (social) positions.² I installed over them an officer of mine and imposed upon them the tribute of the former king. Hanno, king of Gaza and also Sib'e,⁸ the *turtan*⁴ of Egypt (*Mu-su-ri*), set out from Rapihu against me to deliver a decisive battle. I defeated them; Sib'e ran away, afraid when he (only) heard the noise of my (approaching) army, and has not been seen again. Hanno, I captured personally. I received the tribute from Pir'u of Musuru,⁵ from Samsi, queen of Arabia (and) It'amar the Sabaeen, gold in dust-form, horses (and) camels.

According to the Annals of the Room XIV, published by H. Winckler, *opxit.*, 11, Pis. 26 ff.; transliterated and translated by F. H. Weissbach, in *ZDMG*, LXXII, 176 ff., and Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§79-80.

(H-15)

Iamani from Ashdod, afraid of my armed force (lit.: weapons), left his wife and children and fled to the frontier of M[usru] which belongs to Meluhha (i.e., Ethiopia) and hid (lit.: stayed) there like a thief. I installed an officer of mine as governor over his entire large country and its prosperous inhabitants, (thus) aggrandizing (again) the territory belonging to Ashur, the king of the gods. The terror(-inspiring) glamor of Ashur, my lord, overpowered (however) the king of Meluhha and he threw him (i.e. Iamani) in fetters on hands and feet, and sent him to me, to Assyria. I conquered and sacked the towns Shihuhtu (and) Samaria, and all Israel (lit: "Omri-Land" *Bit Hu-um-ri-ia*). I caught, like a fish, the Greek (Ionians) who live (on islands) amidst the Western Sea.

(2) *Second Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *opxit.*, H. Winckler, *Annals*, 1, 23-31. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §5.

(23-57)

In the second year of my rule, Ilubi'[di, from Hamath] . . . a large [army] he brought together at the town Qarqar and, [forgetting] the oaths [which they had sworn . . .] the [cities of Arpad, Simirra], Damascus (*Di-mal-lqcf*) and Samaria [revolted against me] (lacuna of uncertain length) he (i.e. Hanno of Gaza) made [an agreement with him (i.e. the Pharaoh)] and he (i.e. the Pharaoh) called up Sib'e his *turtan* to

² To this meaning of *enü*, cf. *tenä* discussed below, n.i, p. 289

⁸ For this Egyptian name (mentioned also in II Kings 17:4) and the historical problems involved, cf. G. Steindorff, *Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe. aegyptischer Eigennamen* (*BA*, 1, 339 ff.); also, Kees, *GGA*, 1926, p. 426; H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altaegyptischen Vokflüsterung*, p. 38; and Helene von Zeissl, *Aethiopen und Assyrer in Aegypten, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ägyptischen "Spätzeit"* (*Aegyptologische Forschungen*, Heft 14, 1944), p. 18 ff. Further, A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), p. 204.

⁴ The Assyrian word (attested since Shalmaneser III, but *tertenätu* already in Bogazköi-Akkadian, *KBo*, 1, 3:29 and Ebeling, *KAf*, 245:17 ^{amē}*tar-te-ni-ju-nu*) refers to a high military and administrative official, second in rank only to the king (cf. E. Unger's translation *Vizekönig* in *ZATW*, 1923, 204CF.). Etymology uncertain; beside *turtanu*, also *tartanu* is attested.

⁵ To the thorny problem of the identification of both, name of king and name of country, cf. E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, xiv (1941), 45 f. Also Helene von Zeissl, *op.cit.*, pp. 21 ff.

assist him (i.e. Hanno) and he (Le. Sib'e) set out against me to deliver a decisive battle. I inflicted a defeat upon them (i.e. Hanno and Sib'e) upon an (oracle-)order⁶ (given) by my lord Ashur, and Sib'e, like a *sipa* (i.e. shepherd)⁷ whose flock has been stolen, fled alone and disappeared. Hanno (however), I captured personally and brought him (with me) in fetters to my city Ashur. I destroyed Rapihu, tore down (its walls) and burned (it). I led away as prisoners 9,033 inhabitants with their numerous possessions.

According to the Display Inscriptions; text: H. Winckler, 1, 103-105, 11, Pi. 31. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §55.

(33-37)

Ia'ubidi from Hamath, a commoner* without claim to the throne, a cursed Hittite, schemed to become king of Hamath, induced the cities Arvad, Simirra, Damascus (*Di-maf-qtP*) and Samaria to desert me, made them collaborate and fitted out an army. I called up the masses of the soldiers of Ashur and besieged him and his warriors in Qarqar, his favorite city. I conquered (it) and burnt (it). Himself I flyped; the rebels I killed in their cities and established (again) peace and harmony. A contingent of 200 chariots and 600 men on horseback I formed from among the inhabitants of Hamath and added them to my royal corps.

(3) *Fifth Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *opxit.*, (H. Winckler, *Annals*, 1, 46-50). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, n, §8.

(72-76)

In the fifth year of my rule, Pisiri of Carchemish broke the oath sworn by the great gods and wrote messages to Midas (*Mi-ta-a*), king of Muski, (full) of hostile plans against Assyria. I lifted my hands (in prayer) to my lord Ashur (with the result that) I (quickly) made him, and also his family, surrender (lit.: come out) (of Carchemish), (all) in fetters and with the gold, silver and his personal possessions. And the rebellious inhabitants of Carchemish who (had sided) with him, I led away as prisoners and brought (them) to Assyria. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots, 200 men on horseback (and) 3,000 foot soldiers and added (it) to my royal corps. In the city of Carchemish I (then) settled inhabitants of Assyria and imposed upon their (neck) the yoke of Ashur, my lord."

(4) *Seventh Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *opxit.*, (H. Winckler, *Annals*, 1, 94-99). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§17-18.

⁶ The text has *siqru* "order," cf. von Soden, *ZA*, XLI (NF VII), 168.

⁷ This is meant to be a pun.

⁸ For the meaning of the term *hublu* denoting in Akkadian (as well as Ugaritic) texts a special social class, cf. G. R. Driver and J. C. Miles, *The Assyrian Laws* (Oxford, 1935), p. 485 (with references); further, W. F. Albright, *BASOR*, 63 (1934), 29 f.; I. Mendelsohn, *BASOR*, 83 (1941), 36 ff.; and R. Lacheman, *BASOR*, 86 (1942), 36 f.

⁹ Usually, the yoke of the king is mentioned in connection with the status of newly subjugated peoples. The present reference to the "Yoke of Ashur" could therefore indicate a special status of the Assyrians forcibly settled in Carchemish.

(120-125)

Upon a trust(-inspiring oracle given by) my lord Ashur, I crushed the tribes of Tamud, Ibadidi, Marsimanu, and Haiapa, the Arabs who live, far away, in the desert (and) who know neither overseers nor official(s) and who had not (yet) brought their tribute to any king. I deported their survivors and settled (them) in Samaria.

From Pir'u, the king of Musru, Samsi, the queen of Arabia, It'amra, the Sabaeans,—the(se) are the kings of the seashore and from the desert—I received as their presents, gold in the form of dust, precious stones, ivory, ebony-seeds,¹⁰ all kinds of aromatic substances, horses (and) camels.

(5) *Eleventh Year. According to A. G. Lie, opxit.; (H. Winckler, Annals, 1, 215-228). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 11, §30.*

(249-262)

Azuri, king of Ashdod, had schemed not to deliver tribute (any more) and sent messages (full) of hostilities against Assyria to the kings (living) in his neighborhood. On account of the misdeed which he (thus) committed, I abolished his rule over the inhabitants of his country and made Ahimiti, his younger¹¹ brother, king over them. But the(se) Hittites, (always) planning treachery, hated his (i.e. Ahimiti's) reign and elevated to rule over them a Greek¹² who, without claim to the throne, knew, just as they (themselves), no respect for authority. [In a sudden rage] I marched quickly—(even) in my state-chariot¹³ and (only) with my cavalry which never, even in friendly territory,¹⁴ leaves my side—against Ashdod, his royal residence, and I besieged and conquered the cities Ashdod, Gath (*Gi-im-tu*) (and) Asdudimmu. I declared the gods residing therein, himself, as well as the inhabitants of his country, the gold, silver (and) his personal possessions as booty. I reorganized (the administration of) these cities¹⁵ and placed an officer of mine as governor over them and declared them Assyrian citizens and they bore (as such) my yoke.¹⁶

According to the Display Inscription (H. Winckler, *op.cit.*, 1, 115-116; 11, 33-34). Translation: Luckenbill, AR, 11, §62.

(90-112)

Azuri, king of Ashdod, had schemed not to deliver tribute any more and sent messages (full) of hostilities

¹⁰ These seeds are part of the Mesopotamian pharmacopoeia.

¹¹ For *talimu* "younger brother," cf. in extenso P. Koschaker, *Fratriarchat, Hausgemeinschaft und Mutterrecht in Keilschriftrechten*, in ZA, XLI (NF VII), 64 ff. In RA, xvi (1919), p. 193, and JAOS, XLVIII (1928), p. 182, W. F. Albright suggested the translation "uterine brother."

¹² The pertinent texts interchange the expressions *lamani* (i.e. Ionian) and *ladna*; cf. D. D. Luckenbill, ZA, xxvni (1913), 92 ff.

¹³ According to this passage, the vehicle termed *narkflbat sepe* was not destined for speedy transportation nor for warlike purposes.

¹⁴ This translation is suggested by the context (differendy Landsberger, ZA, xxxvii [NF 111], 86 f. for *salimu*).

¹⁵ For the meaning of the administrative terminus technicus *ana ess&ti sabdtu*, cf. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1920), 1, p. 141.

¹⁶ A very similar version of this report is contained in the fragment BrM 81-7-23,3 published by E. F. Weidner, in *AfO*, xiv (1941), 40, with transliteration and translation on p. 50.

against Assyria, to the kings (living) in his neighborhood. On account of the(se) act(s) which he committed, I abolished his rule over the people of his country and made Ahimiti, his younger brother, king over them. But the(se) Hittites, always planning evil deeds, hated his reign and elevated to rule over them a Greek (*Ja-ma-ni*) who, without any claim to the throne, had no respect for authority—just as they themselves. In a sudden rage, I did not (wait to) assemble the full might of my army (or to) prepare the camp(ing equipment), but started out towards Ashdod (only) with those of my warriors who, even in friendly areas, never leave my side. But this Greek heard about the advance of my expedition, from afar, and he fled into the territory of Musru—which belongs (now) to Ethiopia—and his (hiding) place could not be detected. I besieged (and) conquered the cities Ashdod, Gath, Asdudimmu; I declared his images, his wife, his children, all the possessions and treasures of his palace as well as the inhabitants of his country as booty. I reorganized (the administration of) these cities (and) settled therein people from the [regions] of the East which I had conquered personally. I installed an officer of mine over them and declared them Assyrian citizens and they pulled (as such) the straps (of my yoke). The king of Ethiopia who [lives] in [a distant country], in an inapproachable region, the road [to which is . . .], whose fathers never—from remote days until now"—had sent messengers to inquire after the health of my royal forefathers, he did hear, even (that) far away, of the might of Ashur, Nebo (and) Marduk. The awe-inspiring glamor of my kingship blinded him and terror overcame him. He threw him (i.e. the Greek) in fetters, shackles and iron bands, and they brought him to Assyria, a long journey.

(c) From Broken Prisms

(1) *The fragmentary prism Assur 16587 (= VA 8412), published by E. F. Weidner, in AfO, xiv (1941), 40 ff. (text: p. 43), reports in col. B, lines 5-11, on these events as follows:*

... in the region of the town *Nahal-m[usur] (x) ...* I made [my army] march [the road] towards sunset... the sheik² of the town Laban . . . Shilkanni (or: Shilheni),⁸ king of Musri, who . . . the terror-inspiring glamor of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him and he brought as *tdmartu* -present 12 fine (lit.: big) horses from Musri which have not their equals in this country.

¹⁷ *Sic*, against J. Lewy, in *HUCA*, xix, 461.

¹ Lit: "town (of the) Brook-of-Egypt." The location of this "brook" is still uncertain; it has been identified with the isthmus between Egypt and Palestine (cf. E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, xiv [1941], 43 f.). with the Wadi el-'Arish (Weissbach, in ZA, xxxvni [NF iv], 110), and with a wadi near the town of Raphia (H. Winckler, in *MVAG*, III/I [1898], 10 f.). cf. also A. Alt in *ZDPV*, LXVII (1945), 130 S.

² For this meaning of *amelnasiku*, cf., e.g. B. Meissner, in *MAOG*, 111/3 (1929), 31, and the frequent occurrences in the letters of the Harper Collection (cf. L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* [Ann Arbor, 1936], iv, p. 144, for references).

⁸ W. von Bissing (*apud* Weidner, *AfO*, xiv [1941], 44 f.) discusses the possibility that this name renders that of an Egyptian king of the 22nd or 23rd dynasty, while G. Ryckmans (*Si-il-kan-ni*, *Si-il-fee-ni*=arabe (pre-islamique) *Slhn*, in *AfO*, xiv [1941], 54 f.) attempts to link it to Old Arabic names.

(2) According to the broken Prism A published by H. Winckler, *opxist.*, 1, 186-189, 11, 44. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§193-195. Fragment D:

[Aziru, king] of Ashdod (lacuna) on account of [this crime . . .] *from* . . . Ahimiti* . . . his younger brother over [them . . .] I made (him) ruler... tribute . . . like (those of) the [former] kings, I imposed upon him. [But these] accursed [Hittites] conceived [the idea] of not delivering the tribute and [started] a rebellion against their ruler; they expelled him . . . (*la-ma-ni*) a Greek, comm[oner without claim to the throne] to be king over them, they made sit down [on the very throne] of his (former) master and [they . . .] their city of (or: for) the at[tack] (lacuna of 3 lines) . . . its neighborhood, a moat [they prepared] of a depth of 20 -f- x cubits . . . it (even) reached the underground water, in order to . . . Then [to] the rulers of Palestine (*Pi-lii-te*), Judah (*la-u-di*), Ed[om], Moab (and) those who live (on islands) and bring tribute [and] *tdmartu* -gifts to my lord Ashur—[he spread] countless evil lies to alienate (them) from me, and (also) sent bribes to Pir'u, king of Musru—a potentate, incapable to save them—and asked him to be an ally. But I, Sargon, the rightful ruler, devoted to the pronouncements (uttered by) Nebo and Marduk, (carefully) observing the orders of Ashur, led my army over the Tigris and the Euphrates, at the peak of the(ir) flood, the spring flood, as (if it be) dry ground. This Greek, however, their king who had put his trust in his own power and (therefore) did not bow to my (divinely ordained) rulership, heard about the approach of my expedition (while I was still) far away, and the splendor of my lord Ashur overwhelmed him and . . . he fled....

(3) Nimrud Inscription; published by H. Winckler, *opxist.*, 1, 169-170; Vol. 11, Pl. 48. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, n, §137.

(8)

(Property of Sargon, etc.) the subduer of the country Judah (*la-u-du*) which is far away, the uprooter of Hamath, the ruler of which—Iau' bidi—he captured personally.¹

8. SENNACHERIB (704-681)

(a) The Siege of Jerusalem¹

(1) From the Oriental Institute Prism of Sennacherib, which contains—as does the so-called Taylor Prism (cf. Rawlinson, Vol.

* Instead of A^himiti, the parallel version has the name Ajjimilki.

¹ After his victory over Iau-bi'di at Qarqar, Sargon erected various stelae commemorating this event. One, found near Hama on the Orontes, is extant and has been published by F. Thureau-Dangin, *La Stele d'Acharne*, in *RA*, xxx (1933), 53 ff. The text is badly preserved and of little interest.

¹ For the problems involved, cf. the following bibliography: A. Alt, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxv (1929), 80-88; G. Boufflower, *Journal of the Transactions, Victoria Institute*, LX, 214-220; P. R. Dougherty, *JBL*, XLIX (1930), 160-171; O. Eissfeldt, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxvn (1931), 58-65; S. I. Feigin, *Missitrei Heavar* (New York, 1943), pp. 88-117, 202-209 (in Hebrew); K. Fullerton, *AJSL*, xui (1925), 1-25; L. L. Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine, A Critical Source Study* (New York, 1926); I. Lewy, *OLZ*, xxxi (1928), 150-163; Th. Reinach, *Revue des études grecques*, 172, 257-260; R. W. Rogers, *Wellhausen-Festschrift* (Glessen, 1914), p. 322; W. Rudolph, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxv (1929), 59-80; A. Ungnad, *Die Zahl der von Sannherib deportierten Judäer*, *ZAW*, LIX, 199-202.

1, Pis. 37-42)—the final edition of the Annals of Sennacherib. Publication: D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib (OIP, 11, Chicago, 1924)*. Translation: *ibid.*, and Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§233 ff.

(ii 37—iii 49)

In my third campaign I marched against Hatti. Luli, king of Sidon, whom the terror-inspiring glamor of my lordship had overwhelmed, fled far overseas and perished.² The awe-inspiring splendor of the "Weapon" of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed his strong cities (such as) Great Sidon, Little Sidon, Bit-Zitti, Zaribtu, Mahaliba, Ushu (i.e. the mainland settlement of Tyre), Akzib (and) Akko, (all) his fortress cities, walled (and well) provided with feed and water for his garrisons, and they bowed in submission to my feet. I installed Ethba'al (*Tuba'lu*) upon the throne to be their king and imposed upon him tribute (due) to me (as his) overlord (to be paid) annually without interruption.

As to all the kings of Amurru—Menahem (*Mi-in-hi-im-mu*) from Samsimuruna, Tuba'lu from Sidon, Abdili'ti from Arvad, Urumilki from Byblos, Mitinti from Ashdod, Buduili from Beth-Ammon, Kammusunadbi from Moab (and) Aiarammu from Edom, they brought sumptuous gifts (*igisA*) and—fourfold—their heavy *tdmartu* -presents to me and kissed my feet. Sidqia, however, king of Ashkelon, who did not bow to my yoke, I deported and sent to Assyria, his family-gods, himself, his wife, his children, his brothers, all the male descendants of his family. I set Sharruludari, son of Rukibtu, their former king, over the inhabitants of Ashkelon and imposed upon him the payment of tribute (and of) *katrii* -presents (due) to me (as) overlord—and he (now) pulls the straps (of my yoke)!

In the continuation of my campaign I besieged Beth-Dagon, Joppa, Banai-Barqa, Azuru, cities belonging to Sidqia who did not bow to my feet quickly (enough); I conquered (them) and carried their spoils away. The officials, the patricians and the (common) people of Ekron³—who had thrown Padi, their king, into fetters (because he was) loyal to (his) solemn oath (sworn) by the god Ashur, and had handed him over to Hezekiah, the Jew (*Ha-za-qi-(i)a-u^{amel} Ia-4-da-ai*)—(and) he (Hezekiah) held him in prison, unlawfully, as if he (Padi) be an enemy—had become afraid and had called (for help) upon the kings of Egypt (*Mus(u)ri*) (and) the bowmen, the chariot(-corps) and the cavalry of the king of Ethiopia (*Meluhha*), an army beyond counting—and they (actually) had come to their assistance. In the plain of Eltekeh (*Al-ta-qu-4*), their battle lines were drawn up against me and they sharpened their weapons. Upon a trust(-inspiring) oracle (given) by Ashur, my lord, I fought with them and inflicted a defeat upon them. In the melee of the battle, I personally captured alive the Egyptian charioteers with the(ir) princes and (also) the charioteers of the king of

² For the enigmatic idiom *lada(lu) emidu*, cf. lately E. F. Weidner, *AfO*, xin (1940), 233 f. with the proposed translation "to die an infamous death."

³ Note the social stratification indicated in this passage.

Ethiopia. I besieged Eltekeh (and) Timnah (*Ta-am-na-a*), conquered (them) and carried their spoils away. I assaulted Ekron and killed the officials and patricians who had committed the crime and hung their bodies on poles surrounding the city. The (common) citizens who were guilty of minor crimes, I considered prisoners of war. The rest of them, those who were not accused of crimes and misbehavior, I released. I made Padi, their king, come from Jerusalem (*Ur-sa₄i-im-mu*) and set him as their lord on the throne, imposing upon him the tribute (due) to me (as) overlord.

As to Hezekiah, the Jew, he did not submit to my yoke, I laid siege to 46 of his strong cities, walled forts and to the countless small villages in their vicinity, and conquered (them) by means of well-stamped (earth-)ramps, and battering-rams brought (thus) near (to the walls) (combined with) the attack by foot soldiers, (using) mines, breeches as well as sapper work. I drove out (of them) 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, big and small cattle beyond counting, and considered (them) booty. Himself I made a prisoner in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage. I surrounded him with earthwork in order to molest those who were leaving his city's gate. His towns which I had plundered, I took away from his country and gave them (over) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza. Thus I reduced his country, but I still increased the tribute and the *\atr&*-presents (due) to me (as his) overlord which I imposed (later) upon him beyond the former tribute, to be delivered annually. Hezekiah himself, whom the terror-inspiring splendor of my lordship had overwhelmed and whose irregular* and elite troops which he had brought into Jerusalem, his royal residence, in order to strengthen (it), had deserted him, did send me, later, to Nineveh, my lordly city, together with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, antimony,⁵ large cuts of red stone, couches (inlaid) with ivory, *nimedu*-chairs (inlaid) with ivory, elephant-hides, ebony-wood, box-wood (and) all kinds of valuable treasures, his (own) daughters, concubines, male and female musicians. In order to deliver the tribute and to do obeisance as a slave he sent his (personal) messenger.

(2) From the Bull Inscription published by George Smith, *History of Sennacherib* (London, 1878), as Nos. 1, 2, and 3. Translation: cf. Luckenbill, *op.cit.*, pp. 76 f.

(17—21)

And Luli, king of Sidon, was afraid to fight me and fled to the country Cyprus (*ladnana*) which is (an is-

⁴ For *amelurbu*, cf. H. Winckler, in *OLZ*, ix (1906), 334, and, recendy, Th. Bauer, *Assurbanipal*, 11, 1.

⁵ This refers probably to stibnite, a native sulphide of antimony (cf. J. R. Partington, *Origin and Development of Applied Chemistry* [London, 1935], p. 256; also R. C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* [Oxford, 1936], p. 49), which might have been used as an eye paint (beside the cheaper and efficient substitute, burnt shells of almond and soot). Stibium is easily reduced and the metal is sporadically attested in Mesopotamia since the Neo-Sumerian period. For the provenience of the stibnite, cf. B. Meissner, *OLZ*, xvii (1915), 52 ff.

land) in the midst of the sea, and sought refuge (there). But even in this land, he met infamous death before the awe-inspiring splendor of the "Weapon" of my lord Ashur. I installed Ethba'al (*Tuba'lu*) upon his royal throne and imposed upon him the tribute (due to) me (as his) overlord. I laid waste the large district of Judah (*Ia-ü-dt*) and made the overbearing and proud Hezekiah (*Ha-za-qi-a-a-a*), its king, bow in submission.

(3) From the Nebi Yunus Slab, published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pl. 43. Translation: Luckenbill, *op.cit.*, p. 86, and *AR*, 11, §347.

(I3—I5)

I deprived Luli, king of Sidon, of his kingdom. I installed Ethba'al (*Tuba'lu*) upon his throne and I imposed upon him the tribute (due to) me (as his) overlord. I laid waste the large district of Judah and put the straps (*absäni*) of my (yoke) upon Hezekiah, its king.

(4) Epigraph from a relief showing the conquest of Lachish. cf. A. Paterson, *Assyrian Sculptures: The Palace of Sennacherib* (The Hague, 1912-13), Pis. 74-76. Translation: Luckenbill, *op.cit.*, p. 156.

Sennacherib, king of the world, king of Assyria, sat upon a *nimedu*-throne and passed in review the booty (taken) from Lachish (*La-\i-su*).

(b) The Death of Sennacherib¹

To illustrate the still mysterious circumstances of the death of Sennacherib, a passage of the annals of Ashurbanipal (Rassam Cylinder, published by Rawlinson, v, Pis. 1-10) is translated here. Translation: Luckenbill, *op.cit.*; *AR*, 11, §§795, 796.

(iv 65—82)

I tore out the tongues of those whose slanderous mouths had uttered blasphemies against my god Ashur and had plotted against me, his god-fearing prince; I defeated them (completely). The others, I smashed alive with the very same statues of protective deities with which they had smashed my own grandfather Sennacherib—now (finally) as a (belated) burial sacrifice for his soul. I fed their corpses, cut into small pieces, to dogs, pigs, *ztbu*-birds, vultures, the birds of the sky and (also) to the fish of the ocean. After I had performed this and (thus) made quiet (again) the hearts of the great gods, my lords, I removed the corpses of those whom the pestilence had felled, whose leftovers (after) the dogs and pigs had fed on them were obstructing the streets, filling the places (of Babylon), (and) of those who had lost their lives through the terrible famine.

¹ For discussions dealing with the mysterious events connected with the death of Sennacherib and the accession of Esarhaddon, cf. H. Hirschberg, *Studien zur Geschichte Esarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien (681-669)* (Ohlau, 1932), and the pertinent book reviews of J. Schawe, in *AfO*, ix 0933-34» 55-60; Th. Bauer, in *ZA*, XLII (NF VIII), 170-184; as well as the remarks of A. Boissier, in *RA*, xxx (1933), 73 ff. cf. also, B. Meissner, *Neue Nachrichten über die Ermordung Sennacheribs*, in *Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss. Sitz.-Ber. Phil. Hist. Kl.* (1932), pp. 250 ff.; and *Wo befand sich Asarhaddon zur Zeit der Ermordung Sennacheribs?* in *Analecta Orientalia*, xu (1936), 232 ff.