

THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MESOPOTAMIA

ASSYRIAN PERIODS VOLUME 3

# Assyrian Rulers

of the Early  
First Millennium BC

II (858–745 BC)



A. KIRK GRAYSON

ASSYRIAN RULERS  
OF THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM BC

II (858–745 BC)

# THE ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS OF MESOPOTAMIA

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The cover illustration is from a panel on the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III.  
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*To*

La Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale

*with gratitude*

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# Contents

Foreword / ix

Preface / xi

Editorial Notes / xiii

Bibliographical Abbreviations / xv

Other Abbreviations / xxi

Object Signatures / xxiii

## INTRODUCTION / 3

**Shalmaneser III** (858–824 BC) A.0.102 / 5

**Šamši-Adad V** (823–811 BC) A.0.103 / 180

**Adad-nārārī III** (810–783 BC) A.0.104 / 200

**Shalmaneser IV** (782–773 BC) A.0.105 / 239

**Aššur-dān III** (772–755 BC) A.0.106 / 245

**Aššur-nārārī V** (754–745 BC) A.0.107 / 246

Unidentified Fragments A.0.0.1027–1101 / 248

Minor Variants and Comments / 253

Index of Museum Numbers / 257

Index of Excavation Numbers / 261

Concordances of Selected Publications / 263

Scores of Inscriptions (microfiches) / 1–130

*(the microfiches are in an envelope at the back of the book)*



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# Foreword

The ancient kings of Mesopotamia ruled one of the two great literate civilizations that set the course of the earliest history of the ancient Near East. Their temples and tombs do not evoke vivid images in the minds of the modern reader or television viewer, as do those of the other great centre of early Near Eastern civilization, Egypt. But their cities, some with such familiar names as Babylon, Nineveh, and Ur, have been excavated over the past century and a half, according to the standards of the time, and have yielded an abundance of records of the boasted accomplishments of these kings. These are the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, mostly telling of building projects and battles, all done *ad maiorem gloriam deorum*.

The inscriptions, in a cuneiform script, are found on objects of various kinds, including tablets, prisms, vases of clay, steles, doorpost sockets, and sculpted wall panels of stone. Inscribed bricks are very common. A tiny cylinder seal, often known only from its impression on a clay tablet, or an engraved gem may give the name and titles of a king. The languages are Sumerian and Akkadian, the latter usually in its Babylonian dialect but with varying admixtures of the Assyrian dialect in documents from the north, in the region around modern Mosul.

The objects on which the inscriptions are found are now for the most part scattered around the world in various museums, although inscriptions cut on the face of rocks or on stone building blocks are often still in situ. The principal museums with collections of these kinds of antiquities are in Baghdad, Istanbul, Berlin, Paris, London, Philadelphia, and Chicago. The dispersal of the inscribed objects around the world makes their systematic study difficult, and the difficulty is compounded by the practical inaccessibility of many of the journals and monographs in which studies of the inscriptions have been published over the past century and more.

The purpose of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project is to make these texts available to layman and specialist alike by publishing standard editions, with English translations, in a series of volumes. To carry out this purpose an international editorial board has been formed and a staff of researchers and support staff assembled. This process began in the late 1970s with funding from the University of Toronto. In 1981 the Project was awarded full funding by the Negotiated Grants Section of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

These editions have a number of unique features:

1. Complete corpora, not just selections, of inscriptions are edited.
2. Every inscription is collated against the original whenever humanly possible.
3. In the case of texts conflated from several exemplars, a full transliteration (in the "score" format) is published on microfiches included with the volume.
4. To ensure accuracy the camera-ready copy is prepared by Project staff.

Toronto  
April 1995

R.F.G. Sweet  
Editor-in-Chief

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# Preface

The preparation of this book has taken far longer than I had expected, for Shalmaneser III, the hero of this volume, is a much larger king than I had realized previously. Vintners long ago appreciated this by naming the largest wine bottle not a Magnum (1.5 litres), not a Jeroboam (3 litres), not even a Mathusalem (6 litres), but a Salmanazar (9 litres). At long last I present to you the reader a nine-litre book with a toast to its prince, Shalmaneser.

The dedication of this volume to *La Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* is in gratitude for the firm support which this body gave to the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project four years ago when suddenly the funding for the Project was withdrawn almost completely and the entire enterprise was on the verge of collapse. Letters to the relevant officials from Assyriological colleagues all over the world sufficiently impressed the powers that be to cause them to relent and to allow RIM to continue, albeit at a much reduced level of funding.

A colleague who has contributed significantly to this volume is Peter Hulin, who devoted most of his professional life to the royal inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. Tragically his death two years ago prevented him from publishing the fruits of his labours. But his widow, Mary Hulin, through the good offices of Jeremy Black, placed at my disposal all of the relevant photographs, copies, and notes among his papers. Heather D. Baker put these papers into a preliminary order before they were sent on to me. The details of Hulin's work are acknowledged throughout this book in the appropriate places, but one inscription must be highlighted. The very first text edited (A.O.102.1) is the earliest version of Shalmaneser's annals and its discovery and decipherment is a major contribution to Neo-Assyrian studies, a worthy memorial to Hulin's scholarship. Hulin's hand copies of this and other Shalmaneser texts included here will be published by Jeremy Black. I am grateful to Mary Hulin and Jeremy Black for their selfless help, which allowed the incorporation of Peter Hulin's material in the present edition. The previously unpublished texts from Nimrud are published by kind permission of Professor Donald J. Wiseman, on behalf of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq Expedition to Nimrud.

As usual with a volume in this series, a large number of people have been involved in its preparation. While I have collated most of the texts myself over the years, more recently many fresh collations were done by Grant Frame, to whom I am immensely grateful. Initial computer entry of most of the editions was done by Linda Wilding. Many years later she did the final formatting, in consultation with Douglas Frayne, and prepared the camera-ready copy. They both deserve my thanks for this labour.

Midway through the preparation of this volume RIM was compelled to change its computer system, a potentially frustrating and lengthy process. For making the transitional phase almost a pleasure rather than a pain, all of us at RIM are grateful to Ronald Sweet. Ronald Westerby did the transfer of previously entered material to the new system.

Graduate student assistants have had an important role to play. Lynne George prepared a preliminary bibliography and Lisa Cooper performed such tedious but important tasks as compiling the indices and list of abbreviations. Jill Ruby thoroughly checked the editions and references in the final stage before going to press. Other members of the staff who deserve credit for their continued support in various ways are Hope Grau and Katherine Glaser.

The staff of the University of Toronto Press, specifically Joan Bulger and Anne Forte, deserve much credit for their advice on style and format.

A penultimate manuscript was read by Wilfred Lambert, who made numerous astute comments, particularly on the transliterations and translations. Mario Fales read the manuscript at the same stage and offered welcome criticisms and improvements. David Hawkins was also a reader who contributed

substantially both to the editions and to their historical interpretation. To all of these scholars I am grateful for the time and care they have taken.

I wish to thank the various museums and authorities who have cooperated in the research for this book. First, I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish various inscriptions in this volume. Specifically I wish to thank the staff of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities in that museum, especially John Curtis, Christopher Walker, Irving Finkel, and Julian Reade, whose continuing cooperation has been invaluable. To the director of the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul I express my thanks for full cooperation, and I thank Veysel Donbaz for the generosity with which he has assisted us in the preparation of this volume. In Berlin, the staff of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, in particular its former director, Liane Jakob-Rost, as well as its present director, Evelyn Klengel-Brandt, and our new board member, Joachim Marzahn, have been extremely helpful and extended to us every courtesy and assistance, for which we are grateful. I am also indebted to the Directorate of Antiquities and Heritage of the Republic of Iraq, its president, Muayad Said Damerji, and his staff, specifically Bahijah Khalil Ismail, Fawzi Rashid, and Rasmiya Rashid Jassim, for their assistance.

For permission to collate texts in their museums we are grateful to the Musée du Louvre in Paris, the Yale Babylonian Collection under William Hallo, the University Museum Tablet Collection in Philadelphia under Erle Leichty, the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (specifically to Roger Moorey), the Birmingham City Museum, and the Tablet Collection of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, under John A. Brinkman.

My appreciation goes out once again to the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Toronto for providing the funding necessary to conduct the research and to publish this volume.

Last, but by no means least, I wish yet again to record my gratitude for the ongoing support and encouragement of my family: Eunice, my wife; Vera and Sally, my two daughters; and both their families, including my sons-in-law and four grandchildren.

Toronto  
February 1995

A.K.G.

# Editorial Notes

A detailed presentation of the principles, policies, and procedures of the Project will be found in the Editorial Manual (2nd ed., Toronto, 1990). However, the following summary should prove sufficient for the immediate needs of most readers of the present volume. The corpus of inscriptions has been divided into three sub-series: Assyrian Periods, Babylonian Periods, and Early Periods. The following description applies to all three. The purpose of the publication is to present complete groups of texts in reliable editions. It is not intended to provide analytical or synthetic studies, but rather to lay the foundation for such studies. Thus the heart of each volume is the edition of the texts; extensive discussions of the contents of the text are excluded. If such studies are developed by individuals in the course of editing the texts, it is intended that they be published elsewhere. Hand copies and photographs are not included; if such are thought necessary by an editor, they will be published outside the main series. To a certain extent the Supplements series of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia may be able to accommodate such publications.

The term "exemplar" is used in these editions to refer to a single inscription found on one object. The term "text" refers to an inscription that existed in antiquity and may be represented in a number of more or less duplicate exemplars. In these editions exemplars of one text are edited together as a "master text," with a single transliteration and translation. Variants and other details about the exemplars are provided in two apparatus critici. Further information about these is given below. When there is difficulty in deciding on the grouping of inscriptions under specific texts, more information is given in the editions. The editorial principle is that, regardless of how inscriptions are arranged and published, the reader must be provided with full information on what each exemplar contains.

The Project employs the resources of modern computer technology. A text is entered on the computer at the earliest stage when the preliminary edition is prepared. Thereafter a series of editing and proofing stages occur until the material is transferred directly onto the photocompositor to produce camera-ready copy for publication. The fact that the material is entered on the computer only once, and is regularly corrected and improved thereafter, greatly reduces the possibility of typographical errors. During the editing process the computer is used for a variety of other purposes, such as preparing concordances of words to assist in the identification of fragments.

The system of numbering the texts throughout the series requires some explanation. The first letter stands for the general period: that is, A = Assyrian Periods, B = Babylonian Periods, and E = Early Periods. The number following this stands for the dynasty. In Assyrian Periods this is always 0 (zero) since the question of dynasty number is inapplicable. Details regarding the dynasty numbers for the other two sub-series will be found in the relevant volumes. In the third position appears the ruler number; once again, the details for each period will be found in the relevant sub-series. In the fourth position is the text number. Texts are arranged and numbered according to principles stated in each volume. In the fifth position is the exemplar number, where applicable. Thus A.0.77.1.13 is to be interpreted as follows: A = Assyrian Periods; 0 = Dynasty Inapplicable; 77 = Shalmaneser I; 1 = Text 1; 13 = Exemplar 13.

Texts which cannot be assigned definitely to a particular ruler are given text numbers beginning at 1001 (thus clearly distinguishing them from identified texts) and placed under a ruler according to the following principles. If at all possible, such a text is placed under the most probable ruler. In cases where a text can only be placed in a general period of several rulers, it is assigned to the ruler who is numerically in the middle. Fragments which cannot be identified at all are placed at the end of the book and given a ruler number of zero. Some private inscriptions which give information relevant for establishing royal names and titles – e.g., "servant seals" – are included and have been given numbers beginning at 2001.

Each text edition is normally supplied with a brief introduction containing general information. This is followed, if there is more than one exemplar, by a catalogue containing basic information about all exemplars. This includes museum and excavation numbers, provenance, dimensions of the object (in the case of broken objects the symbol + is added), lines preserved, and indication of whether or not the inscription has been collated (c = collated with the original, p = collated with a photo, and n = not collated; a column with this information has cpn at its head). The next section is normally a commentary containing further technical information and notes. The bibliography then follows. Items are arranged chronologically, earliest to latest, with notes in parentheses after each item. These notes indicate the exemplars with which the item is concerned and the nature of the publication, using the following key words: provenance, photo, copy, edition, translation, and study. Some standard reference works are not normally cited, although they are fundamental in the collecting and editing of these texts, viz. the bibliographies by R. Caplice et al., entitled *Keilschriftbibliographie* and published in *Orientalia*; the annotated bibliography by Borger, HKL 1–3; the dictionaries von Soden, AHW and CAD; and the study of epithets by Seux, ERAS.

In the editions proper, each page gives all the information the vast majority of readers will need in order to understand the text transliterated on that page. In the left-hand column is the transliteration, in the right-hand column the English translation, and at the bottom of the page an apparatus criticus of major and minor variants, the major variants being placed at the bottom of the page and the minor variants at the back of the book. Major and minor variants are essentially non-orthographic and orthographic variants respectively. An exception is proper nouns, orthographic variants of which can be particularly significant; these are normally included on the page as major variants. In the apparatus criticus, the text line numbers are in bold face, followed after a period by the exemplar number(s) in normal typeface. Complete transliterations of all exemplars, in the style of musical scores, will be found on microfiches accompanying the volume. There the reader who finds the notes on variants insufficient may check the full reading of any exemplar. Such scores are not normally given, however, for bricks and seal inscriptions.

Lines are numbered in succession, and no indication of reverse or column numbers is normally given except (1) in a summary form in a commentary, (2) if a text is broken, or (3) in the case of multi-column inscriptions, if there are several hundreds of lines. If a text is divided into sections by horizontal lines, such lines are drawn across the transliterations and translations.

In the transliterations, lower-case roman is used for Sumerian and lower-case italics for Akkadian. Logograms in Akkadian texts appear in small capitals. Italics in the translation indicate either an uncertain translation or a word in the original language. The system of sign values in Borger, *Zeichenliste*, is followed. Akkadian is usually left in transliteration with logograms uninterpreted. When, however, it is transcribed and logograms are interpreted, the system of von Soden, AHW, is followed. This happens, for example, in restorations. Further technical details about the system of transliteration are given in the Editorial Manual.

Toronto  
April 1995

R.F.G. Sweet  
Editor-in-Chief

# Bibliographical Abbreviations

AAA	Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. Liverpool, 1908–48
Abel and Winckler, Keilschrifttexte	L. Abel and H. Winckler, Keilschrifttexte zum Gebrauch bei Vorlesungen. Berlin, 1890
AfK	Archiv für Keilschriftforschung, vols. 1–2. Berlin, 1923–25
AfO	Archiv für Orientforschung, vol. 3– (vol. 1–2 = AfK). Berlin, Graz, and Horn, 1926–
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch, 3 vols. Wiesbaden, 1965–81
Amiaud and Scheil, Salmanasar	A. Amiaud and V. Scheil, Les inscriptions de Salmanasar II, roi d'Assyrie (860–824). Paris, 1890
Andrae, AAT	W. Andrae, Der Anu-Adad Tempel in Assur (=WVDOG 10). Leipzig, 1909
Andrae, AIT	W. Andrae, Die archaischen Ishtar-Tempel in Assur (=WVDOG 39). Leipzig, 1922
Andrae, Coloured Ceramics	W. Andrae, Coloured Ceramics from Ashur and Earlier Ancient Assyrian Wall-Paintings. London, 1925
Andrae, Festungswerke	W. Andrae, Die Festungswerke von Assur (=WVDOG 23). Leipzig, 1913
Andrae, JIT	R. Andrae, Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur (=WVDOG 58). Leipzig, 1935
Andrae, Stelenreihen	W. Andrae, Die Stelenreihen in Assur (=WVDOG 24). Leipzig, 1913
Andrae, WEA	W. Andrae, Das wiedererstandene Assur, 1. Auflage. Leipzig, 1938
ANEP <sup>2</sup>	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament, 2nd edition. Princeton, 1969
ANET <sup>3</sup>	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, 3rd edition. Princeton, 1969
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia. Rome, 1931–
AnSt	Anatolian Studies, Journal of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. London, 1951–
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament. Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1968–
Arch.	Archaeologia. London, 1888–1966
ArOr	Archiv Orientální. Prague, 1930–
ARRIM	Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project. Toronto, 1983–1991
ATAT <sup>2</sup>	H. Gressmann (ed.), Altorientalische Texte zum Alten Testament, 2. Auflage. Berlin and Leipzig, 1926
BA	Beiträge der Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft, vols. 1–10. Leipzig, 1890–1927
Bagh. For.	Baghdader Forschungen. Mainz am Rhein, 1979–
Bagh. Mitt.	Baghdader Mitteilungen. Berlin, 1960–
Balkan, Letter	K. Balkan, Letter of King Anum-Hirbi of Mama to King Warshama of Kanish (=Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınlarından 7/31a). Ankara, 1957
Barnett, Illustrations	R.D. Barnett, Illustrations of Old Testament History. London, 1966
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research. New Haven, 1919–
Bezold, Cat.	C. Bezold, Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum, 5 vols. London, 1889–99
Bezold, Literatur	C. Bezold, Babylonisch-Assyrische Literatur. Leipzig, 1886
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis. Leiden, 1943–
BM Guide	British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities, 3rd edition. London, 1922
Böhl, Chrestomathy	F.M.T. Böhl, Akkadian Chrestomathy, vol. 1: Selected Cuneiform Texts. Leiden, 1947
Boissier, Notice	A. Boissier, Notice sur quelques monuments assyriens à l'Université de Zurich. Geneva, 1912
Borger, Asarh.	R. Borger, Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien (=AfO Beih. 9). Graz, 1956



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- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*. London, 1917–
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- CAD *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*. Chicago, 1956–
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- CAH I.E.S. Edwards, C.J. Gadd, N.G.L. Hammond, et al. (eds.), *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd and 3rd editions. Cambridge, 1970–
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- CRAIB *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*. Paris, 1857–
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- DLZ *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*. Berlin, 1880–
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- HUCA Hebrew Union College Annual. Cincinnati, 1924–
- IEJ Israel Exploration Journal. Jerusalem, 1951–
- ILN The Illustrated London News. London, 1842–
- JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society. New Haven, 1893–
- JCS Journal of Cuneiform Studies. New Haven and Cambridge, Mass., 1947–
- JNES Journal of Near Eastern Studies. Chicago, 1942–
- JRAS Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. London, 1834–
- KB Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek, Sammlung von assyrischen und babylonischen Texten in Umschrift und Übersetzung, vols. 1–6. Berlin, 1889–1915
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- 1 R H.C. Rawlinson and E. Norris, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. 1: *A Selection from the Historical Inscriptions of Chaldaea, Assyria, and Babylonia*. London, 1861
- 3 R H.C. Rawlinson and G. Smith, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. 3: *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Assyria*. London, 1870
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- RSO *Rivista degli studi orientali*. Rome, 1907–
- RT *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes*, vols. 1–40. Paris, 1870–1923
- SAA *State Archives of Assyria*. Helsinki, 1987–
- SAAB *State Archives of Assyria Bulletin*. Padua, 1987–
- SAAS *State Archives of Assyria Studies*. Helsinki, 1992–
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- VAS Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Königlichen Museen zu Berlin. Leipzig and Berlin, 1907–
- VT Vetus testamentum. Leiden, 1951–
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- WO Die Welt des Orients. Wuppertal, Stuttgart, and Göttingen, 1947–
- WVDOG Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. Leipzig and Berlin, 1901–
- YNER Yale Near Eastern Researches. New Haven and London, 1967–
- YOS Yale Oriental Series, *Babylonian Texts*. New Haven, 1915–
- ZA Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete. Berlin, 1886–
- ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. Giessen, Berlin, etc., 1881–
- ZKM Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Göttingen, 1837–1846

# Other Abbreviations

Adn.	Adad-nārārī
Asb.	Ashurbanipal
Asn.	Ashurnasirpal
c	collated
c.	circa
cm	centimetre(s)
col(s).	column(s)
DN	divine name
dupl.	duplicate
ed(s).	editor(s)
ex(s).	exemplar(s)
fig(s).	figure(s)
frgm.	fragment
GN	geographical name
masc.	masculine
n	not collated
n(n).	note(s)
no(s).	number(s)
NS	New Series
obv.	obverse
p	collated from photo
p(p).	page(s)
pl(s).	plate(s)
PN	personal name
reg.	registration
rev.	reverse
RN	royal name
Sar.	Sargon
Senn.	Sennacherib
Shalm.	Shalmaneser
ŠA.	Šamšī-Adad
Tigl.	Tiglath-pileser
TN.	Tukultī-Ninurta
var(s).	variant(s)
vol(s).	volume(s)

- + 1) Between object numbers indicates physical join
- 2) After dimensions indicates part of object missing
- (+) Indicates fragments from same object but no physical join

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# Object Signatures

When the same signature is used for more than one group, the first group in this list is meant unless otherwise indicated. For example, "A" always means the Istanbul collection unless stated otherwise.

A	1) Aššur collection of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul 2) Asiatic collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago
AO	Collection of Antiquités Orientales of the Musée du Louvre, Paris
Ash	Collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Ass	Prefix of excavation numbers from the German excavations at Aššur
Ass ph	Prefix of excavation photos from the German excavations at Aššur
BCM	Birmingham City Museum
BM	British Museum, London
EŞ	Eski Şark Eserleri Müzeleri of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
HW	Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Tell al-Hawa
IA	Australian Institute of Archaeology, Melbourne
IM	Iraq Museum, Baghdad
K	Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum, London
Ki	L.W. King collection of the British Museum, London
MAH	Musée d'Art d'Histoire, Geneva
MM	Mosul Museum
N	Nabû Temple collection of the British Museum, London
NBC	James B. Nies collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven
ND	Prefix of excavation numbers from the British excavations at Nimrud, Iraq
Rm	H. Rassam collection of the British Museum, London
SF	Museum Studium Biblicum Franciscanum, Jerusalem
SU	Prefix of excavated tablets from Sultantepe/Urfa
UM	University Museum, Philadelphia
VA	Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VA Ass	Aššur collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
VAT	Tablets in the collection of the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
WAG	Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
YBC	Babylonian collection of the Yale University Library, New Haven



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ASSYRIAN RULERS  
OF THE EARLY FIRST MILLENNIUM BC  
II (858–745 BC)

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# Introduction

The might of Assyria continues to be manifested in the texts of the first half of the period with which this volume is concerned.<sup>1</sup> The first king in this era, Shalmaneser III (858–24 BC), like his father, Ashurnasirpal II, continued to build and campaign so that the empire grew larger and wealthier. Intensive activity in the west brought all of Syria, eventually even Damascus in a later reign, under Assyrian control. This led the Assyrians into direct contact with places and figures known from the Bible. Jehu, king of Israel, paid homage and presented tribute to Shalmaneser III as portrayed on the Black Obelisk. It is the age of the legendary Semiramis, who, as we now know from contemporary inscriptions included in this volume, was a real historical figure, an Assyrian queen living in the late ninth century. The entire ninth and eighth centuries are an age of historical consciousness on the part of the Assyrians themselves. The kings bear names of famous ancestors and Šamši-Adad V even had his annals engraved in an archaic script.

Despite the veneer of vigorous vitality at the beginning of this era, by the turn of the century serious cracks had appeared in the Assyrian state. A rebellion broke out towards the end of the reign of Shalmaneser III and, although it was suppressed after a prolonged period, troubles continued. The young kingdom of Urartu to the north became a real rival to Assyrian influence in the region and by the early seventh century, Urartian kings had made major advances in northern Syria. Assyrian kings were unable to meet this challenge, largely because of the machinations of a few powerful Assyrian officials. Men such as Šamši-ilu, the field marshal, were so influential that their names were included in royal inscriptions and some even had their own stelae inscribed, and these inscriptions are edited in these pages. The last three reigns covered by this book were a time of tumult, rebellions breaking out one after another, and it is not surprising that there are very few royal inscriptions for this era. Only with the ascent of Tiglath-pileser III (744–27 BC), whose texts will be the subject of the next volume, was order and might restored to the Assyrian empire.

During the period covered by this volume the relative and absolute chronology of Assyrian kings continues to be well established and the numbers assigned to them follow their order in the Assyrian King List.<sup>2</sup> In addition to the texts edited in this volume, there are other significant sources, including chronicles, king lists, eponym lists, and royal decrees.

A general description of Assyrian royal inscriptions, their literary form and types of objects upon which they were inscribed, has been provided in the first volume of this series.<sup>3</sup> There it was observed that there were three basic types: commemorative texts (including annals), dedicatory texts, and labels. In the period covered within these pages a new and rare type, letters between god and king, appears.<sup>4</sup>

The texts treated in this book have never been edited together in a systematic manner. In fact, several of them have only been discovered in recent times and a few, such as A.0.102.1, are published here for the first time. Schramm has provided an excellent bibliography and study of all the inscriptions known until 1973 (EAK 2).

The editorial procedures for the RIM series are outlined in the Editorial Notes by R.F.G. Sweet, and their special application to the volumes of the Assyrian Periods has been noted in RIMA 1 p. 4 and RIMA 2 p. 4. It should be observed that these texts are usually in Babylonian dialect, the so-called Standard Babylonian dialect, and when logograms are interpreted they are given their Babylonian form. Following RIM practice <sup>d</sup>EN.LÍL is translated as Enlil, not Illil, and <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL as Ninlil, not Mullissu/Mulliltu. As in the preceding volumes, the aim of the bibliographies is to provide complete references to works directly relevant to the inscriptions. I have not attempted to cite the many histories and related studies by various scholars which form the necessary background to a wider understanding of these texts.

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<sup>1</sup> For a history of the period see Grayson, CAH 3/1 pp. 259–81.

<sup>2</sup> See Grayson, RIMA 1 p. 3 and nn. 2–3.

<sup>3</sup> See RIMA 1 pp. 3–4.

<sup>4</sup> A.0.103.4 and A.0.105.3.

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# Shalmaneser III

A.0.102

The reign of Shalmaneser III (858–24 BC) was a fitting sequel to the reign of his father, Ashurnasirpal II. The son carried on with the momentum of his predecessor, sending the Assyrian army farther and farther afield, while at home continuing with old and initiating new building enterprises (see Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 pp. 259–69). The annual campaigns concentrated on the northern frontier, against Urartu, and the western front across the Euphrates. The building projects were largely centred at Aššur and Calah. This intensive activity inspired the writing of a large number of royal inscriptions with a wealth of detail about the reign.

The annals take pride of place among these texts not only because of the abundant information they provide but also because they are arranged with more care chronologically than in previous reigns. Each new year is introduced with its number in the following style: “In my second regnal year (*palû*).” This is a departure from the annals of Ashurnasirpal II and previous kings in which the campaigns were dated by eponyms. Since a complete list of eponyms for Shalmaneser III’s reign is preserved there is no difficulty in correlating his regnal years to the modern calendar. At the end of this introduction will be found a chart of the annals texts, giving their dates and other information. A detailed analysis of the royal inscriptions will be found in Schramm, *EAK* 2 pp. 70–105. Note the special study of the third campaign by H.F. Russell, “Shalmaneser’s Campaign to Urartu in 856 BC” in *AnSt* 34 (1984) pp. 171–201. The relationship between scenes and texts in this king’s monuments was investigated by Marcus, “Geography as an Organizing Principle in the Imperial Art of Shalmaneser III” in *Iraq* 49 (1987) pp. 77–90 and pls. XVI–XXII.

Shalmaneser devoted more energy and time to construction at Aššur than to building at any other city. He did a major reconstruction and expansion of the walls and gates of the city, as attested to by a number of his inscriptions: A.0.102.10–11, 25–27, 40, 42–48, 94, and 99–101. In particular note the details given in A.0.102.25. Repairs and improvements were carried out on some temples: the Aššur temple (A.0.102.13, 18, 53, and 103); the Anu-Adad temple (A.0.102.39, 54, 93, and 102); and the Šarrat-nip̄hi shrine (A.0.102.49–52). At Calah his chief contribution was the erection of the ziqqurat, dedicated to Ninurta, which Ashurnasirpal II did not have time to do (A.0.102.56, 111). He also worked on the Ninurta temple (A.0.102.16 and 19) and the Nabû temple (A.0.102.3). An ambitious undertaking at Calah was the founding of a huge fortress (*ekal māšarti*), called “Fort Shalmaneser” by its excavators, at the southeast corner of the city (A.0.102.1, 28–37 and 114).

Shalmaneser did some building and repair, of course, at Nineveh (A.0.102.38, 95, 106–107, 116, and cf. 1008). Like Ashurnasirpal, he erected at Imgur-Enlil (Balawat) huge gates of cedar with bronze bands incised with scenes and texts (A.0.102.5 and cf. 1009). Building projects of less prominence were at Kurbail (A.0.102.12), Shibaniba (Tell Billa)

(A.0.102.58 and 104), Tarbiṣu (A.0.102.96 and cf. 2001), Tell al-Hawa (A.0.102.41 and cf. 1005–1006), and Til-Barsip (A.0.102.4).

The intervention of Shalmaneser in Babylonia in 851–50 BC is the subject of passages in chronicles: see Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 167–68 iii 22–5' and p. 182 rev. 5–6. He is, of course, included in king lists: see Grayson, *RLA* 6 pp. 86–135. A complete list of the eponymies from his reign is available: see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 pp. 418–21, Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976) pp. 140–43, and Millard, *SAAS* 2.

Some bricks of Shalmaneser III found at Calah by the Polish expedition in 1974 were mentioned in *Iraq* 37 (1975) p. 59. A fragment of an obelisk (VA 7274, Ass 18616 — see Schramm, *EAK* 2 pp. 91–92) has been edited under Ashurnasirpal II (*RIMA* 2 p. 388 A.0.101.1004). The inscribed fragments of a statue published by Hulin, *Iraq* 28 (1966) pp. 84–88 will be included under Sargon II. Some texts which are not royal inscriptions but have been mentioned in relevant secondary literature are a seal on a clay docket from Calah (Wiseman, *Iraq* 15 [1953] pp. 139 and 169 and pl. XI); a clay tablet fragment with a school text (Schroeder, *KAH* 2 no. 111); a royal decree (Ebeling, *SVAT* no. 4); a literary text of his time (Ebeling, *KAR* no. 98); and a fragment of an administrative or legal document, possibly a royal decree (Schroeder, *KAH* 2 no. 140).

#### The Annals of Shalmaneser III

A.0.102	Date	Campaigns/ Regnal Years	Schramm's "Rezension"
1	857–56	Accession, 1–2	—
2	853–52	Accession, 1–4, 6	A
3	?	Accession, 1–?	—
4	?	?	A
5	850	Accession, 1, 3–4, 8–9	B
6	842	Accession, 1–16	C
7	?	Accession, 1, 2–?	—
8	842–41?	3–15, 18	D
9	841 or later	?–18	—
10	839	Accession, 1–20	E
11	839	Accession, 1–20	E
12	839–38	3, 16, 18–20	E
13	838 or later	15–21	—
14	828–27	Accession, 1–31	F
15	?	Accession, 1–4 –?	—
16	828	Accession, 1–31	F
17	856	3	—
18	849	9	—
19	848?	11?	—

For the line numbers in each text of a given campaign see the introduction to that text.

## 1

This text, on a stone slab from Fort Shalmaneser, is the earliest known version of the annals. Since it stops with a narrative of the campaign of 857 BC it must have been written late in that year or early in 856 BC. In comparison with A.O.102.2, the present text has more epithets and more details about the campaigns, although frequently the two texts are duplicates of one another. After the royal name and epithets (lines 1–13) the following military expeditions are described: to the north against Ḫubuškia, Nairi, and Urartu in 859 BC (lines 14–40a, cf. A.O.102.2 i 14–28); to the west against Bīt-Ādini and Tīl-Barsip and across the Euphrates to fight a coalition of states and climb the Amanus range in 858 BC (40b–82'a, cf. A.O.102.2 i 29 – ii 13a); to the west and across the Euphrates again in 857 BC (lines 82'b–95', cf. A.O.102.2 ii 13–18a). In this last passage there is significant variation from A.O.102.2 and since the slab is badly worn here there is much uncertainty in reading. The text ends abruptly, there being no building section or concluding formulae.

## COMMENTARY

The slab is IM 60636 (ND 6237). For the provenance at Fort Shalmaneser see D. Oates, *Iraq* 21 (1959) p. 101 and *Iraq* 23 (1961) p. 14. It measures 57×68.5 cm. This text was to have been published by Peter Hulin (see the Preface). Among his papers there are photos of both the obverse and reverse. The obverse (lines 1–45) could be collated from the legible photos, although much of the first line and all of the right edge were not visible. There is no clear photo of the bottom edge (lines 46ff.). Most of the reverse, which is badly worn, was illegible in the photos. When I could not read the text on the photos, I followed what is obviously the

most recently revised hand copy by Hulin. This copy incorporates changes which are marked on an older copy with handwritten notes in red. There are sometimes discrepancies between the final copy and a rough transliteration by Hulin. It is reasonably apparent that the revised copy is correct in such cases.

An unusual feature of this text is the use of MU = *šattu* (line 41) instead of BALA = *palû*, which is normal in the later texts of Shalm. However, note the same substitution of MU for BALA for the thirty-first year in A.O.102.16 line 320'.

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>f<sup>d</sup>šul-ma-nu-SAG MAN kiš-šat<sup>1</sup> UN.MEŠ  
NUN-<sup>f</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> ŠID aš-šur MAN dan-nu MAN KUR  
aš-šur
- 2) MAN kib-rat 4-i <sup>d</sup>šam-šu<sup>1</sup> kišl-šat UN.MEŠ  
<sup>f</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>-te<sup>9</sup>-du-ú ka-liš KUR.KUR.MEŠ
- 3) MAN ba-<sup>9</sup>i-it DINGIR.MEŠ ni-šit IGI.II  
<sup>a</sup>BAD ĠIR.NÍTA aš-šur pit-qu-du
- 4) NUN na-a-du na-din iš-qi ù nin-da-bé-e ana  
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 5) šah-tu la mu-pár-ku-ú za-nin É.KUR SIPA ke-e-  
nu šá ina šul-me it-nàr-ru-ú
- 6) ba-<sup>9</sup>u-lat KUR aš-šur per-ri-ku ši-i-ru šá a-na  
té-me-et DINGIR.MEŠ ú-pa-qu šá-ru-ri
- 7) šá ina tukul-ti <sup>a</sup>aš-šur u <sup>d</sup>šá-maš DINGIR.MEŠ

1–9) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of Assyria, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands, the king (who is the) *desired object* of the gods, chosen of the god Enlil, trustworthy appointee of Aššur, attentive prince, who gives income and offerings to the great gods, (5) pious one, who ceaselessly provides for the Ekur, faithful shepherd who leads in peace the population of Assyria, exalted overseer who heeds the commands of the gods, the resplendent one who acts with the support of Aššur (and) Šamaš, the gods his allies, and at the beginning of his reign conquered the upper sea and the lower sea, (who) has no rival among the princes



- re-šu-šú DU.DU-ku-ma ina SAG MAN-ti-šú tam-tum
- 8) e-[l]i-tu u tam-tum šú-pá-li-tu ŠU-su ik-šú-du ina mal-ki šá kib-rat 4-i šá-nin-šú NU TUK<sup>1</sup>
- 9) u a-me-ru du-ur-gi u šap-šá-qi mu-kab-bi-is re-še-e-te šá KUR-e ka-liš hur-šá-ni
- 10) A aš-šur-PAB-A GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur A tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur A 10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur-ma
- 11) e-nu-ma aš-šur EN GAL-ú ina ku-un ŠĀ-šú ina IGI.II.MEŠ-šú KŪ.MEŠ ud-da-ni-ma ana SIPA-ut KUR aš-šur ib-ba-a[n-ni]
- 12) GIŠ.TUKUL dan-nu mu-šam-qit la ma-gi-ri ú-šat-me-ḥa-ni-ma a-ga-a MAḤ up-pi-ra EN-ti
- 13) nap-ḥar KUR.KUR.MEŠ la-a ma-gi-ru-ut aš-šur ana pe-li u šuk-nu-še ag-giš ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-ra-an-ni
- 14) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma ina šur-rat MAN-ti-ia ina maḥ-re-e BALA.MEŠ-ia šá ina GIŠ.AŠ.TI MAN-ti GAL-iš ú-ši-bu
- 15) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ ad-ki ina né-re-bi šá KUR si-me-si KU<sub>4</sub>-ub URU a-ri-du URU dan-nu-ti-šú
- 16) šá <sup>m</sup>ni-i-ni ak-ta-šad i-si-tu šá SAG.DU.MEŠ ina pu-ut URU-šú ar-šip 10 URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šú
- 17) ina IZI GÍBIL-up ki-i ina URU a-ri-di-ma us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tu šá KUR ḥar-ga-a-a
- 18) KUR ḥar-ma-sa-a-a KUR si-ri-iš-a-a KUR ul-ma-ni-a-a KUR si-me-ra-a-a ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
- 19) LAL-at GIŠ ni-ri am-ḥur TA URU a-ri-di at-tu-muš ar-ḥi pa-áš-qu-te KUR.MEŠ dan-nu-ti
- 20) šá ki-ma še-lu-ut pat-ri a-na AN-e zi-qip-ta šak-nu ina MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia
- 21) man-ma la-a e-ti-qu qé-reb-šú-nu ina <sup>1</sup>ak-kul-la-ti<sup>1</sup> šá URUDU aq-qur GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ù ÉRIN.ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>.[MEŠ]
- 22) ú-še-tiq a-na URU ḥu-bu-uš-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-a aq-ṭi-rib URU ḥu-<sup>1</sup>bu<sup>1</sup>-uš-ki-a nap-ḥar URU.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>
- 23) <sup>1</sup>šá li-me-tu-šú ina IZI.MEŠ a-sa-rap<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ka-a-ki MAN URU ḥu-bu-uš-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-a si-ta-at
- 24) ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú TA pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ip-láḥ-ḥu-ma ana KUR-e e-lu-ú-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>
- 25) dan-na-tu iṣ-bu-tu ar-ki-šú-nu a-na KUR-e e-li ta-ḥa-za
- 26) dan-nu ina qé-reb KUR-e <sup>1</sup>áš-kun BAD<sub>5</sub>.<sup>1</sup>BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu am-ḥa-<sup>1</sup>aš<sup>1</sup> GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú <ÉRIN>.ḪI.A.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup>
- 27) TA qé-reb KUR-e ú-te-ra pu-<sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-ḥi me-lam-me šá aš-šur EN-ia is-ḥu-pu-
- 28) šú-nu-ti ur-du-ni GĪR.II-a iṣ-bu-tu <sup>1</sup>ANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUR.<sup>1</sup>RA<sup>1</sup>.<MEŠ> LAL-at GIŠ ni-ri
- 29) UGU-šú-nu áš-<sup>1</sup>kun<sup>1</sup> TA URU ḥu-bu-uš-<sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-a at-tu-muš a-na URU su-gu-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>-a
- 30) URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a aq-ṭi-ri-ib

of the four quarters, who indeed has seen remote and rugged regions (and) trodden upon the mountain peaks in all the highlands;  
10) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Adad-nārāri (II) (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur:

11–13) When Aššur, the great lord, chose me in his steadfast heart (and) with his holy eyes and named me for the shepherdship of Assyria, he put in my grasp a strong weapon which fells the insubordinate, he crowned me with a lofty crown, (and) he sternly commanded me to exercise dominion over and to subdue all the lands insubmissive to Aššur.  
14–19a) At that time, in my accession year (and) in my first regnal year, after I nobly ascended the royal throne, (15) I mustered (my) chariots and troops. I entered the pass of the land Simesi (and) captured the city Aridu, the fortified city of Ninnu. I erected a tower of heads in front of the city. I burned ten cities in its environs. While I was residing in the same city Aridu, I received tribute of teams of horses from the people of the lands/mountains Ḫargu, Ḫarmasa, Širišu, Ulmānu, (and) Simerra.

19b–29a) Moving on from the city Aridu, I smashed out with copper picks rough paths in mighty mountains (20) which rose perpendicularly to the sky like the points of daggers (and) into which no one among the kings my fathers had ever passed. I moved (my) chariots (and) troops over (those paths and) approached the city Ḫubuškia. I burned the city Ḫubuškia (and) all the cities in its environs. Kākia (Kāki), king of the city Ḫubuškia, (and) the remainder of his troops became frightened in the face of my weapons and they ascended mountains (25) (where) they fortified themselves (lit. “they took as a fortress”). I climbed up the mountains after them. I waged mighty war in the mountains (and) defeated them. I brought back his chariots (and) troops from the mountains. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, they came down (and) submitted to me. I imposed upon them tribute of teams of horses.

29b–33a) Moving on from the city Ḫubuškia I approached the city Sugunia, the fortified city of Aramu the Urartian. I besieged the city, captured (it), massacred many of its (people), (and) carried

23 In 102.2 i 20–21 Kāki is called “king of the land Nairi.”

- 31) URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-šú HI.A.MEŠ  
*a-duk šal-la-su* <sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-lu-la
- 32) 2 *i-si-ta-te šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina pu-ut* URU-šú  
*ar-šip* 14 URU.MEŠ-ni *šá li-me-te*-šú<sup>1</sup>
- 33) *ina* IZI.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>GÍBIL<sup>1</sup>-up TA URU <sup>1</sup>*su-gu-ni*<sup>1</sup>-a  
*at-tu-muš a-na* A.AB.BA
- 34) *šá* KUR *na-i-ri at-ta-rad* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
*ina* A.AB.BA <sup>1</sup>ú-<sup>1</sup>li<sup>1</sup> UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ
- 35) *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia *aq-qí ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma*  
*ša-lam bu-na-ni-ia* DÜ-uš
- 36) *ta-na-ti aš-šur* EN GAL-*e li-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ina*  
*qé-reb-šú áš-šur*
- 37) *ina* UGU A.AB.BA <sup>1</sup>ú-šá-zi-iz *ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia*  
*šá* A.AB.BA
- 38) *a-na* URU *gíl-za-ni aq-ří-ri-ib ma-da-tu šá* <sup>ma</sup>  
*su-a* KUR *gíl-za-na-a-a*
- 39) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at GIŠ *ni-ri ta-ma-*  
*ra-te šá šu-un-na še-ri-ši-na*
- 40) *am-ħur a-na* URU-ia *aš-šur ub-la* DIŠ ÉRIN SU  
NA NA NA
- 41) *ina* MU 1.KÁM-*ma šu-a-ti a-na* A.AB.BA *šá*  
SILIM-um <sup>d</sup>šam-ši
- 42) <sup>ù</sup> A.AB.BA *šá* KUR <a>-*mur-ri aš-bat ar-ħu*  
*ina me-tâq-ti-ia* URU *la-a-la-tu*
- 43) *šá* <sup>ma</sup>ħu-ni DUMU *a-di-ni ak-ta-šad ma-da-tu*  
*ša* <sup>ma</sup>ħa-bi-ni URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*ab-na-a-a*
- 44) <sup>ma</sup>ga-a<sup>2</sup>-ú-nu URU *sa-ru-ga-a-a* <sup>ma</sup>gi-ri-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
URU *im-me-ri-na-a-a*
- 45) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ  
ZABAR.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ  
GEŠTIN.MEŠ *at-ta-ħa*
- 46) [(x)] [URU] x x x x x <sup>1</sup>ú <sup>1</sup>ÍD *pu-rat(?) -te(?)*  
*ina(?) mi(?) -li-šá e-bir* [(...)]
- 47'–48') Lacuna (c. 2 lines)
- 49') [...] -a-a
- 50') [...]
- 51') [...] x
- 52') [...] x [...]
- 53') [TA URU] <sup>1</sup>gúr-gu<sup>1</sup>-[*me at-tu*]-<sup>1</sup>muš<sup>1</sup> [a]-na  
<sup>1</sup>URU *lu-ti*<sup>1</sup>-bu URU [*dannūišu ša* <sup>ma</sup>ħa]-a-a-ni
- 54') <sup>1</sup>KUR *sa-am- 'a-la-a-a aq-ří-rib*<sup>1</sup> <sup>ma</sup>ħa-[a-a]-nu  
KUR [*sa-am- 'a-la-a-a* <sup>ma</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-[*pa-lu*]-<sup>1</sup>ul-me<sup>1</sup>
- 55') <sup>1</sup>KUR *pa-ti-na-a*<sup>1</sup>-[a <sup>ma</sup>ħuni] <sup>1</sup>DUMU *a*<sup>1</sup>-di-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>ma</sup>sa-an-ga-ra K[UR *gargamišāia*]
- 56') [*a-na re-šu-te a*<sup>1</sup>-[ħa-miš] <sup>1</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-tâk-lu-ma ik-<sup>1</sup>řu-ru  
MĒ *a-na e*<sup>1</sup>-[peš tuq-ma]-ti
- 57') [*a-na*<sup>1</sup> GABA-ia *it-bu-ni ina* Á.MEŠ  
MAĤ.MEŠ-te <sup>1</sup>šá <sup>d</sup>ŪRI.GAL *a-lik IGI-ia*<sup>1</sup> *ina*  
GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>TUKUL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *ez-zu-ter*
- 58') [*šá*] <sup>1</sup>áš-šur<sup>1</sup> EN *iš-<sup>1</sup>ru-ka it-ti-šú-nu am*<sup>1</sup>-da-ħi-  
iř [*a-bi-ik-ta-šú-nu áš*<sup>1</sup>-kun

off booty from them. I erected two towers of heads in front of his city. I burned fourteen cities in its environs.

33b–40a) Moving on from the city Sugunia, I went down to the sea of the land Nairi. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) (35) made sacrifices to my gods. At that time I made an image of myself (and) wrote thereon the praises of Aššur, the great lord, (and) the prowess of my power. I erected (it) by the sea. On my return from the sea I approached the city Gilzānu. I received tribute from Asû (Asua), the Gilzānean: teams of horses (and) camels with two humps. I brought (it) to my city Aššur.

40b–45) ... In *this* first year I took the path to the western sea, also called the sea of the land Amuru. On my way I conquered the city La'la'tu, which belonged to Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. I received the tribute of Ĥabinu, the Tīl-Abnīan, of Ga'unu, the Sarugean, (and) of Giri-Adad, the Immerinaean: silver, gold, tin, bronze, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.

46–52') [*Moving on from*] the city ... I crossed the *Euphrates, which was in flood*. [...]

53'–64'a) Moving on [from the city] Gurgum I approached the city Lutibu, the [fortified] city of Ĥaiiānu, the Sam'alite, Ĥaiiānu, the Sam'alite, Sapalulme, (55') the Patinean, [Aħunu], the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) Sangara, the [Carchemishite], put their trust in each other and prepared for war. They attacked me to do battle. With the exalted might of the divine standard which goes before me (and) with the fierce weapons [which] Aššur my lord gave to me, I fought (and) defeated them. I felled their fighting men with the sword, [rained down] upon them [destruction (lit. "flood")] as the god Adad, (60') piled up their (bodies) in ditches, [filled the

39 *ta-ma-ra-te šá šu-un-na še-ri-ši-na*: The reading is absolutely clear in the photo. Cf. the parallel passage 2 *tam(a)-ra-a-te ša 2 gu-un-gu-li-pi* A.0.102.2 i 28, and note ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *šá šu-na-a-a še-ri-ši-na* A.0.102.87, etc. Jeremy Black is preparing an article on this matter.

40b DIŠ ÉRIN SU NA NA NA: I have no explanation for this.

41 *ina* MU 1.KÁM-*ma šu-a-ti*: Regarding MU see the commentary. What is the meaning of *šu-a-ti*?

46 [(x)] [URU] x x x x x: One expects TA URU *la-a-la-tu at-tu-muš* "Moving on from the city La'la'tu" but the traces in Hulin's copy do not support this. The line is scarcely visible on the photos.



- 89') x [...] x [...] x x [...] x x x x x TA [URU x-x]-x-ra  
 90') [at-tu-muš<sup>1</sup> a-na URU [da-bi-gi<sup>1</sup> [x (x)] x x [x (x)] x x-ti URU dan-<sup>1</sup>nu-ti-šú ša<sup>1</sup> m<sup>a</sup>-<sup>1</sup>hu-ni  
 91') DUMU a-di-ni aq-ti-rib a-si-bi ak-ta-šad  
 GAZ.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>šú-nu<sup>1</sup> a-duk [šal-la-su<sup>1</sup>-[nu] [áš-lu-la<sup>1</sup>  
 92') URU ab-bùl aq-qur a-na DU<sub>6</sub> ù ár-bu-tú-ter ki-i  
 ina URU da-<sup>1</sup>bi-gi<sup>1</sup>-ma us-ba-<sup>1</sup>ku<sup>1</sup>-ni  
 93') ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>qàl-pu-ru-un-da URU un-qa-a-a  
 m<sup>m</sup>mu-tal-li URU gúr-gu-ma-a-a  
 94') [m<sup>h</sup>al-ia-a-ni KUR sa-am- 'a-la-a-a m<sup>a</sup>-ra-me  
 DUMU [m<sup>1</sup>]a-gu-si<sup>1</sup> KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI  
 AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ AN.BAR.MEŠ  
 95') ZABAR.MEŠ SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>3</sub> ZÚ AM.SI  
 GIŠ.TÚG lu-bùl-ti bir-me lu-bùl-ti  
 GIŠ.GADA.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ  
 GEŠTIN.MEŠ MUŠEN.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ am-  
 hur

[the city ...]ra I approached the city Dabigu. [...], the fortified [city] of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. I besieged (and) captured (it). I massacred their (people) (and) carried off booty from them. I razed (and) destroyed the city (and) turned it into a devastated ruin hill.

92'b-95') While I was residing in the same city, Dabigu, I received the tribute of Qalpurunda, the Unqite, (of) Mutallu, the Gurgumite, (of) Ḫaiiānu, the Sam'alite, (and of) Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agūsi: silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron, bronze, red-purple wool, elephant ivory, garments with multi-coloured trim, linen garments, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) ducks (*iššūrū rabātu*).

## 2

This version of the annals of Shalmaneser III is engraved on a large stone stele found at Kurkh by J.E. Taylor in 1861. A similar monument of Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2 pp. 256–62) was found with it and the objects are commonly referred to as the “Kurkh Monoliths.” The stone of Shalmaneser, which is rather worn, has a depiction of the king and divine symbols carved in relief and the cuneiform inscription is engraved in two columns, one each on the obverse and the reverse. The text ends abruptly and does not have the usual concluding passages regarding building, blessings and curses, and date. The absence of such matters is also a feature of the aforementioned text of Ashurnasirpal. The last event narrated in the text is the battle of Qarqar (853 BC), and thus the monument was probably carved either late in 853 or in 852 BC. It was engraved in haste, as some other Assyrian steles (e.g. RIMA 2 pp. 237–54), with the result that there are numerous scribal errors (see, for example, the note to ii 99). No doubt the hurry was caused by the king being anxious to move on.

The text begins with an invocation of the gods (i 1–4) followed by the royal name, epithets, and genealogy (i 5–13). The remainder is a narrative of campaigns in chronological order: in 859 BC (i 14–28) to the north against Ḫubuškia, Nairi, and Urartu; in 858 BC (i 29 – ii 12) to the west against Bīt-Adini and Til-Barsip and across the Upper Euphrates to fight a coalition of states and climb the Amanus range; in 857 BC (ii 13–29) to the west and across the Upper Euphrates again; in 856 BC (ii 30–65) to the west across the Euphrates and then to the north to the “sea of the land Nairi”; and in 855 BC (ii 66–77) across the Upper Euphrates once again. The campaign of 854 BC into Mount Kašiiari is omitted and the text concludes with a description of the battle of Qarqar in 853 BC (ii 78–102).

89' [URU x-x]-x-ra: Could this be Tīl-Bašerē? Cf. A.O.102.2 ii 17.

92' ár-bu-tú-ter: for *arbūtu utēr*. Cf. Grayson, *Studies Tadmor* pp. 265–66.

95' ZABAR.MEŠ: repeated in error.

Another text of Shalmaneser (A.0.102.3) has an introduction and narrative of the early campaigns which is a virtual duplicate of the first part of the present text (i 1 – ii 5a) and, since it fills in broken parts, it has been edited here as “ex. 2.” It is, however, a separate text and the remainder is edited under A.0.102.3. Some fragments of inscribed stone found at Nineveh have duplicate passages, in so far as they are preserved, of A.0.102.2 and are edited as “ex. 3.” But the complete inscription was probably a different text. An inscription on a stone found at Til-Barsip (A.0.102.4) has an introduction which is a duplicate of A.0.102.2 i 1–12a. Some other texts have passages parallel to parts of the present text: A.0.102.6 lines 1–10 // A.0.102.2 i 1–8; and A.0.102.8 lines 1–24 // A.0.102.2 i 5–12a.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum/ RIM number	Publication reference	Provenance	Lines preserved	cpn
1	BM 118884	3 R pls. 7–8	Kurkh	i 1–54; ii 1–102	c
2	A.0.102.3	—	Calah	i 1 – ii 5a ( <i>ikšudu</i> )	c
3	BCM 225 '78(+)Unlocated	AAA 18 nos. 14(+)+19	Nineveh	i 43–45; ii 33–36; ii 42–44	c/n

## COMMENTARY

The master text is ex. 1, the Kurkh Monolith (220 cm high), but some restorations have been made from “ex. 2.” The interested reader can check the scores. After ii 5a “ex. 2” has a different text (see A.0.102.3) and in the scores I have put “—” under “ex. 2” for the remaining lines in the scores. As stated in the introduction, the complete original of ex. 3 probably had a different text and thus for the lines where nothing at all is preserved I have put “—” under ex. 3 in the scores.

Ex. 1 is inscribed on both sides of the stone slab (orpisthographic) and normally the line numbering in these editions would be either consecutive or according to obv. and rev. However, the original copy in 3 R labelled the obv. as col. “i” and the rev. as col. “ii” and this line numbering has been followed in subsequent editions and studies. To avoid confusion, therefore, this method of numbering the lines has been continued in this edition.

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 1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 pp. 70–72 and 87–90 (exs. 1, 3, study)  
 1975 Borger, *HKL* 2 p. 262 (ex. 1, study)  
 1979 Borger, *TGI*<sup>3</sup> pp. 49–50 (ii 90–102, translation)  
 1979 George, *Iraq* 41 p. 123 (ex. 3, study)  
 1982–85 Borger, *TUAT* 1 pp. 360–62 (ii 86–102, translation)

## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) <sup>d</sup>a-šur EN GAL-ú MAN gim-rat DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>a-nu MAN <sup>d</sup>NUN.GAL.MEŠ u <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki EN KUR.KUR <sup>d</sup>BAD a-bu DINGIR.MEŠ mu-šim NAM.MEŠ
- 2) mu-šir e-šu-rat AN-e KI-tim <sup>d</sup>é-a er-šu MAN ABZU ba-nu-ú nik-<sup>l</sup>la<sup>l</sup>-ti <sup>d</sup>30 na-nàr AN-e KI-tim DINGIR e-tel-lu <sup>d</sup>šá-maš
- 3) DI.KUD UB.MEŠ muš-te-šir te-né-še-te <sup>d</sup>INANNA be-lat MURUB, u MĒ šá me-lul-ta-šá GIŠ.LAL DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ÁGA-ut MAN-ti-ia
- 4) šá EN-ti kiš-šu-ti u šá-pi-ru-ti ú-šar-bu šu-mi kab-tu siq-ri ši-i-ra UGU nap-ḥar EN.MEŠ-e ma-a <sup>l</sup>-diš iš-ku-nu-in-ni
- 5) <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kiš-šat UN.MEŠ NUN-ú ŠID aš-šur MAN dan-nu MAN KUR aš-šur MAN kúl-lat kib-rat 4-i <sup>d</sup>šam-šu kiš-šat UN.MEŠ
- 6) mur-te-du-ú ka-liš KUR.KUR MAN ba-<sup>l</sup>i-it DINGIR.MEŠ ni-šit e-ni.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>BAD ĞIR.NÍTA aš-šur pit-qu-du NUN-ú na-a-du a-me-ru
- 7) du-ur-gi ú šap-šá-qi mu-kab-bi-is re-še-te,-e šá KUR-e ka-liš ḥur-šá-a-ni ma-ḥir GUN ú i-gi-se-e
- 8) šá DŪ-ši-na UB.MEŠ mu-pat-tu-ú ḥu-da-ti šá e-liš ú šap-liš šá a-na ti-ib MĒ-šú dan-ni UB.MEŠ ul-ta-nap-šá-qa
- 9) i-ḥi-lu KUR.KUR.MEŠ ina me-ziz qar-du-ti-šú iš-da-ši-na NÍTA dan-nu šá ina GIŠ.tukul-ti aš-šur <sup>d</sup>šá-maš DINGIR.MEŠ re-ši-šu DU.DU-kuma
- 10) ina mal-ki šá kib-rat 4-i šá-nin-šú NU TUK-ú LUGAL KUR.KUR.MEŠ šar-ḥu šá ar-ḥi pa-áš-qu-te DU.DU-ku iš-tam-da-ḥu KUR.MEŠ-e u A.AB.BA.MEŠ
- 11) DUMU <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAB-A GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur šá ŠID-su UGU DINGIR.MEŠ i-té-bu-ma KUR.KUR.MEŠ nap-ḥar-ši-na a-na ĞIR.II-šu ú-šak-ni-šú nab-ni-tu KŪ-tu šá <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ
- 12) ša kul-lat za-i-ri-šu i-né-ru-ma is-pu-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš e-nu-ma aš-šur EN GAL-ú ina ku-un lib-

i 1–4) God Aššur, great lord, king of all the great gods; god Anu, king of the Igiu and Anunnaku gods, lord of the lands; god Enlil, father of the gods, who decrees destinies, who devises the designs of heaven (and) underworld; god Ea, wise one, king of the *apsû*, creator of clever devices; god Šîn, light of heaven (and) underworld, the noble one; god Šamaš, judge of the (four) quarters, who leads aright humankind; goddess Ištar, mistress of war and battle, whose game is fighting; the great gods, who love my sovereignty, who have made great my dominion, power, and leadership, (who) have richly established for me my honourable name (and) my lofty command over all lords;

i 5–10) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of Assyria, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands, the king (who is the) *desired object* of the gods, chosen of the god Enlil, trustworthy appointee of Aššur, attentive prince, who has seen remote and rugged regions, who has trodden upon the mountain peaks in all the highlands, receiver of booty and tax from all the (four) quarters, who opens paths above and below, at whose strong attack for combat the (four) quarters are distressed (and at) whose warlike ferocity the lands are convulsed down to their foundations, strong male who acts with the support of Aššur (and) the god Šamaš, the gods his allies, and has no rival among the princes of the four quarters, magnificent king of lands, who has kept progressing by difficult ways through mountains and seas;

i 11–12a) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (who) subdued all lands at his feet, pure offspring of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood:

i 12b–14a) When Aššur, the great lord, chose me in his steadfast heart (and) with his holy eyes and

i 2 *ba-nu-ú*: this is reasonably clear. The same reading for ex. 2 was given by the editors (Black and Mahmud — photo illegible here).

i 2.2 *kul-la-ti* “everything” for *nik-<sup>l</sup>la<sup>l</sup>-ti* “clever devices.”

i 4.2 omits EN-ti “my dominion.”

i 4.2 omits *ma-a <sup>l</sup>-diš* “abundantly.”

i 6.2 *šur-ru-ḥu* “magnificent” for *pit-qu-du* “reliable.”

i 7.2 omits *ka-liš* “all.”

i 9.2 instead of *i-ḥi-lu ... NÍTA dan-nu* “(at) whose warlike ferocity ... strong male” has *i-ḥi-lu da-ád-mi NÍTA qar-du* “so that the habitations convulsed, virile warrior.”

- bi-šu ina IGI.II.MEŠ-šú KÙ.MEŠ ud-da-ni-ma*
- 13) *a-na re-<sup>3</sup>u-ut KUR aš-šur ib-ba-an-ni GIŠ.TUKUL dan-nu mu-šam-qit la ma-gi-ri ú-šat-me-ḥa-ni-ma a-ga-a MAḤ ú-pi-ra EN-ti nap-ḥar KUR.KUR.MEŠ*
- 14) *la ma-gi-ru-ut aš-šur a-na pe-li ù šuk-nu-še ag-giš ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-ra-an-ni ina UD-šu-ma ina šur-rat MAN-ti-ia ina maḥ-re-e BALA.MEŠ-ia*
- 15) *ina GIŠ.AŠ.TI MAN-ti GAL-iš ú-še-bu GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia ad-ki ina né-re-bi šá KUR si-me-si KU<sub>4</sub>-ub a-na URU a-ri-di URU dan-nu-ti-šú*
- 16) *šá<sup>m</sup>ni-in-ni aq-ṭí-rib URU a-si-bi ak-ta-šad GAZ.MEŠ-šú ḪI.A.MEŠ a-duk šal-la-su áš-lu-la a-si-tu šá SAG.DU.MEŠ ina pu-ut URU ar-šip*
- 17) *LÚ.KAL.TUR.MEŠ-šú-nu MUNUS ba-tu-la-te-šú-nu a-na ma-aq-lu-te GÍBIL ki-i ina URU a-ri-di-ma us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tu šá KUR ḥar-ga-a-a KUR ḥar-ma-sa-a-a*
- 18) *KUR si-me-sa-a-a KUR si-me-ra-a-a KUR si-riš-a-a KUR ul-ma-ni-a-a ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ am-ḥur TA URU a-ri-di*
- 19) *at-tu-muš ar-ḥi pa-áš-qu-te KUR.MEŠ mar-šu-ti šá GIM še-lu-ut GÍR.AN.BAR a-na AN-e zi-qip-ta šak-nu ina NÍG.GUL URUDU aq-qr GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ*
- 20) *ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ ú-še-tiq a-na URU ḥu-bu-uš-ki-a aq-ṭí-rib URU ḥu-bu-uš-ki-a a-di 1 ME URU.DIDLÍ šá li-me-tu-šu ina IZI áš-ru-up<sup>m</sup>ka-ki-a*
- 21) *MAN KUR na-i-ri ù si-te-et ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú TA pa-an na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ip-la-ḥu-ma KUR.MEŠ-e dan-nu-ti iṣ-ba-tu EGIR-šú-nu ana KUR-e e-li*
- 22) *MĒ dan-nu ina qé-reb KUR-e áš-ku-un BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu am-ḥa-aṣ GIŠ.GIGIR ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ TA qé-reb KUR-e ú-te-ra púl-ḥi me-lam-me*
- 23) *šá aš-šur EN-ia is-ḥu-pu-šu-nu-ti ur-du-ni GÌR.II.MEŠ-ia iṣ-ba-tu GUN u ma-da-tu UGU-šú-nu ú-kín TA URU ḥu-bu-uš-ki-a at-tu-muš*
- 24) *a-na URU su-gu-ni-a URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá<sup>ma</sup>ra-me KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a aq-ṭí-rib URU a-si-bi ak-ta-šad GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ma-<sup>2</sup>a-tu a-duk*

named me for the shepherdship of Assyria, he put in my grasp a strong weapon which fells the insubordinate, he crowned me with a lofty crown, (and) he sternly commanded me to exercise dominion over and to subdue all the lands insubmissive to Aššur.

i 14b–18a) At that time, in my accession year (and) in my first regnal year, after I nobly ascended the royal throne, I mustered my chariots and troops. I entered the pass of the land Simesi (and) approached the city Aridu, the fortified city of Ninnu. I besieged the city, captured (it), massacred many of his (people), (and) carried off booty from him. I erected a tower of heads in front of the city (and) burned their adolescent boys (and) girls. While I was residing in the same city, Aridu, I received tribute from the people of the lands/mountains Ḥargu, Ḥarmasa, Simesi, Simerra, Sirišu, (and) Ulmānu: teams of horses, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.

i 18b–23a) Moving on from the city Aridu, I smashed out with copper picks rough paths in rugged mountains which rose perpendicularly to the sky like the points of daggers. I moved (my) chariots (and) troops over (these paths) (and) approached the city Ḥubuškia. I burned the city Ḥubuškia together with 100 cities in its environs. Kakia, king of the land Nairi, and the remainder of his troops became frightened in the face of the flash of my weapons and took to rugged mountains (for refuge). I climbed up the mountains after them. I waged mighty war in the mountains (and) defeated them. I brought back chariots, troops, (and) teams of horses from the mountains. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, they came down (and) submitted to me. I imposed upon them tribute and tax.

i 23b–25a) Moving on from the city Ḥubuškia I approached the city Sugunia, the fortified city of Aramu the Uartian. I besieged the city, captured (it), massacred many of their (people), (and) carried off booty from them. I erected a tower of heads in front of his city. I burned fourteen cities in their environs.

i 12 *ina IGI.II.MEŠ-šú*: both exs. 1 and 2 have this, as does A.0.102.1 line 11, and there is no need to amend (with Schramm) to *ina <níš> IGI.II.MEŠ-šú*.

i 15 There is no *šá* at the beginning of the line (as Schramm suggests for ex. 1) in either ex.

i 18.2 omits KUR *si-me-sa-a-a*.

i 18.2 *ul-me-na-a-a* for *ul-ma-ni-a-a*

i 20.2 <sup>m</sup>ka-a-ki.

i 21.2 URU *ḥu-bu-uš-ki-a* for KUR *na-i-ri*.

i 22.2 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ḪI.A.MEŠ “numerous chariots” but ÉRIN “troops” is probably omitted in error.

- 25) *šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la a-si-tú šá*  
SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina pu-ut URU-šú ar-šip* 14  
URU.MEŠ-*ni ša li-me-tu-šú ina IZI áš-ru-up* TA  
URU *su-gu-ni-a*
- 26) *at-tu-muš a-na tam-di šá KUR na-i-ri at-ta-rad*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ina tam-di ú-lil*  
UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ana DINGIR.MEŠ-ia*  
BAL-*qí ina u<sub>3</sub>-me-šu-ma ša-lam bu-na-ni-ia*
- 27) *DÜ-uš ta-nit-ti aš-šur EN GAL-e EN-ia u li-ti*  
*kiš-šu-ti-ia ina qé-reb-šú al-tùr ina UGU tam-di*  
*ú-še-ziz ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia*
- 28) *šá tam-di ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>a-su-ú KUR gíl-za-na-*  
*aANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ*  
UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ 2 *tam(a)-ra-a-te*  
*ša 2 gu-un-gu-li-pi am-ħur*
- 29) *a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la ina ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD*  
13.KÁM TA URU.NINA *at-tu-muš*  
ÍD.ĪHAL.ĪHAL *e-te-bir KUR ħa-sa-mu KUR*  
*di-iħ-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kàt*
- 30) *ana URU la-a<sup>2</sup>-la-a<sup>2</sup>-te šá<sup>m</sup>a-ħu-ni DUMU*  
*a-di-ni aq-ťi-rib pu-ul-ħi me-lam-me šá aš-šur*  
EN-*ia is-ħu-pu-šú-nu ana šu-zu-ub*  
ZI.MEŠ-*šú-nu*
- 31) *e-lu-ú URU ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up*  
*iš-tu URU la-a<sup>2</sup>-la-a<sup>2</sup>-ti at-tu-muš<sup>1</sup>[na]*  
URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*bar-si-ip URU dan-nu-ti-šú*
- 32) *šá<sup>m</sup>a-ħu-ni DUMU a-di-ni aq-ťi-rib<sup>m</sup>a-ħu-ni*  
DUMU *a-di-ni a-na gi-piš ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-šú*  
*it-ta-kil-ma ana MURUB<sub>4</sub> u MEṬ ĩg-ra-an-*  
*ni i-na GIŠ.tukul-ti aš-šur*
- 33) *u DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia it-te-šú*  
*am-daħ-ħi-iš a-bi-ik-ta-šú áš-kun i-na URU-šú*  
*e-sir-šú TA URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-si-ip at-tu-muš*
- 34) *a-na URU bur-mar-<sup>2</sup>i-na šá<sup>m</sup>a-ħu-ni<sup>1</sup>[DUMU*  
*a<sup>1</sup>]-[di-ni] aq-ťi-rib URU a-si-bi ak-ta-šad 5 šu-š*  
*mun-daħ-ši-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-*  
*qit a-si-tu šá SAG.DU.MEŠ*
- 35) *ina SAG.KI URU-šú ar-šip ina me-tàq-ti-a ma-*  
*da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>ħa-pi-ni URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-ab-na-a-a šá<sup>m</sup>ga-*  
*a<sup>2</sup>-ú-niURU sa-ru-ga-a-a šá<sup>m</sup>gi-ri-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR*
- 36) URU *im-me-ri-na-a-a KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI*  
GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-ħur*  
TA URU *bur-mar-<sup>2</sup>i-na at-tu-muš ina*  
GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUŠ.DUĪ.ŠI-*e ÍD.A.RAD*
- 37) *e-te-bir ma-da-tu ša<sup>m</sup>qa-ta-zi-li KUR ku-mu-*  
*ħa-a-a KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ*

i 25b–29a) Moving on from the city Sugunia, I went down to the sea of the land Nairi. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. At that time I made an image of myself (and) wrote thereon the praises of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and the prowess of my power. I erected (it) by the sea. On my return from the sea I received tribute from Asû, the Gilzānean: horses, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) two camels with two humps, (and) brought (it) to my city Aššur.

i 29b–36a) On the thirteenth day of the month Iyyar I moved out from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, traversed Mounts Ĥasamu and Diħnunu, (and) approached the city La<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>tu, which belonged to Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, they fled upstream/higher to save their lives. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the city. Moving on from the city La<sup>2</sup>la<sup>2</sup>tu I approached the city Tīl-Barsip, the fortified city of Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. Trusting in the strength of his troops Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, advanced aggressively to make war and battle. With the support of Aššur and the great gods, my lords, I fought with him (and) defeated him. I confined him to his city. Moving on from the city Tīl-Barsip I approached the city Burmar<sup>2</sup>ina, which belonged to Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. I besieged the city, captured (it), (and) felled 300 of their fighting men with the sword. I erected a tower of heads in front of his city. In the course of my progress I received tribute from Ĥapinu, the Tīl-abnīan, from Ga<sup>2</sup>unu, the Sarugean, from Giri-Adad, the Immerinaean: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) wine.

i 36b–39) Moving on from the city Burmar<sup>2</sup>ina I crossed the Euphrates in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins. I received tribute from Qatazilu, the Kummuhite: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, (and) wine. I (then) approached the city Paqaraħubunu, one of the cities belonging to Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini,

i 25.2 3 *dī-ma-te* “three towers” for *a-si-tú* “a tower.”

i 25.2 4 instead of 14.

i 28 *gíl-za-na-a-a* is clear in ex. 2 and ex. 1 has <sup>1</sup>*gíl-za<sup>1</sup>-na-a-KUR* (error for *a*). Cf. Forrer, *Provinz*. p. 23; Weidner, *Tell Halaf* p. 1 n. 6; and Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963) p. 58.

i 28.2 omits 2 before *tam(a)-ra-a-te* “camels” which suggests that the numeral is added erroneously in ex. 1 by contamination from the following numeral 2.

i 32.2 *ana e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> u MĒ but the omission of *epēš* in ex. 1 is by ellipsis and not an error: cf. ii 95–96 and RIMA 2 p. 150 line 50.

i 32 *ig-ra-an-ni*: see the note to RIMA 2 p. 150 line 50.

i 33 URU.DU<sub>6</sub> *bar-si-ip*: clear in ex. 2. Ex. 1 has URU.DU<sub>6</sub> *bar-[x-x]*. Thus one can abandon the proposal, by Lemaire and Durand, *Les Inscriptions* pp. 47–49, that a form of KTK was inscribed here.

i 34.2 has <sup>m</sup>*a-ħu-ni-ma* “the same Aħunu” instead of <sup>m</sup>*a-ħu-ni* <sup>1</sup>[DUMU *a<sup>1</sup>]-[di-ni] “Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini.”*

i 35.2 <sup>m</sup>*ga-a<sup>2</sup>-na*.

i 35 *sa-ru-ga-a-a*: See Fales, *Censimenti* p. 95, and Lemaire and Durand, *Les Inscriptions* p. 53.



- UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-ḥur a-na URU pa-qar-ru-uḥ-bu-ni*
- 38) URU.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-ni DUMU a-di-ni šá GĪR.II.MEŠ *am-ma-te šá* ÍD.A.RAD *aq-ṭi-rib a-be-ek-ti* KUR-šú *aš-kun URU.DIDLI-šú na-mu-ta*
- 39) *ú-šá-lik* BAD<sub>3</sub>.BAD<sub>3</sub> *qu-ra-di-šú* EDIN *rap-šu ú-mal-li* 1 LIM 3 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit*
- 40) TA URU *pa-qar-ru-uḥ-bu-ni at-tu-muš a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá* <sup>m</sup>mu-tal-li URU *gúr-gu-ma-a-a aq-ṭi-rib ma-da-tu*
- 41) *šá* <sup>m</sup>mu-tal-li URU *gúr-gu-ma-a-a KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.GI GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ MUNUS.DUMU-su iš-tu nu-du-ni-šá ma-a* <sup>2</sup>-di *am-ḥur TA URU gúr-gu-me at-tu-muš ana URU lu-ti-bu URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>ḥa-a-ni KUR *sa-am-* <sup>2</sup>a-la-a-a *aq-ṭi-rib* <sup>m</sup>ḥa-a-nu KUR *sa-<am>-* <sup>2</sup>a-la-a-a <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-lu-ul-me
- 42) KUR *pa-ti-na-a-a* <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-ni DUMU a-di-ni <sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-ra KUR *gar-ga-miš-a-a a-na re-šu-ti a-ḥa-miš i-tak-lu-ma ik-šu-ru*
- 44) MĒ a-na e-peš *tuq-ma-ti a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ni ina Á.MEŠ* *ši-ra-a-ti šá* <sup>d</sup>URI.GAL a-lik IGI-ia ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ez-zu-te*
- 45) *šá aš-šur EN iš-ru-ka it-te-šú-nu am-daḥ-ḥi-iš a-bi-ik-ta-šú-nu aš-kun mun-daḥ-ḥi-ši-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit GIM* <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR UGU-šú-nu *ri-ḥi-il-ta ú-šá-az-nin ina ḥi-ri-ši at-bu-uk-šú-nu šal-mat*
- 46) *qu-ra-di-šú-nu EDIN rap-šu ú-mal-li UŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu GIM na-pa-si KUR-a aš-ru-up GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ [ma]-a* <sup>2</sup>-tu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
- 48) LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ-šú e-kim-šú a-si-tu šá SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina pu-ut URU-šú ar-šip URU.MEŠ-šú ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina IZI aš-ru-up ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma ad-lu-ul nar-bu-ut DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá aš-šur u* <sup>d</sup>šá-maš *qur-di-šú-nu ú-šá-pa ana ša-a-te ša-lam MAN-ti-ia*
- 50) *šur-ba-a DÜ-uš il-ka-kât qur-di-ia ep-šit taš-nin-ti-ia ina qé-reb-šú al-tūr ina SAG e-ni* ÍD *sa-lu-a-ra*
- 51) *šá* GĪR KUR-e KUR *ḥa-ma-ni ú-še-ziz iš-tu KUR ḥa-ma-ni at-tu-muš* ÍD *a-ra-an-tu e-te-bir a-na URU a-li-ŠIR*
- 52) URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-lu-ul-me KUR *pa-ti-na-a-a aq-ṭi-rib* <sup>m</sup>sa-pa-lu-ul-me KUR *pa-ti-na-a-a a-na šu-zu-ub*
- 53) ZI-šú <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-ni DUMU a-di-ni <sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-ra

which is on the opposite bank of the Euphrates. I defeated his land (and) laid waste his cities. I filled the wide plain with the corpses (lit. “defeat”) of his warriors by felling 1,300 of his combat troops with the sword.

i 40–41a) Moving on from the city Paqaraḥubunu, I approached the cities of Mutallu, the Gurgumite. I received tribute from Mutallu, the Gurgumite: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) his daughter with her rich dowry.

i 41b–51a) Moving on from the city Gurgum I approached the city Lutibu, the fortified city of Ḫaiiānu, the Sam’alite. Ḫaiiānu, the Sam’alite, Sapalulme, the Patinean, Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) Sangara, the Carchemishite, put their trust in each other and prepared for war. They attacked me to do battle. With the exalted might of the divine standard which goes before me (and) with the fierce weapons which Aššur my lord gave to me, I fought (and) defeated them. I felled their fighting men with the sword, rained down upon them destruction (lit. “flood”) as the god Adad would, piled up their (bodies) in ditches, filled the extensive plain with the corpses of their warriors, (and) with their blood I dyed the mountain red like red wool. I took from them (lit. “him”) numerous chariots (and) teams of horses. I erected a tower of heads in front of his city (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned his cities. At that time I praised the greatness of the great gods (and) made manifest the heroism of Aššur and the god Šamaš for posterity, by creating a colossal royal statue of myself (and) writing thereon about my heroic deeds and victorious actions. I erected (it) before the source of the River Saluara, at the foot of the Amanus range.

i 51b – ii 10a) Moving on from the Amanus range I crossed the Orontes River (and) approached the city Ališir (or Alimuš), the fortified city of Sapalulme, the Patinean. To save his life Sapalulmu, the Patinean, received into his armed forces Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, Sangara, the Carchemishite, Haiiānu, the Sam’alite, Katê (Katea), the Quean,

i 42.2 <sup>m</sup>ḥa-a-a-ni *aq-ṭi-rib* <sup>m</sup>ḥa-a-a-nu KUR *sa-am-* <sup>2</sup>a-la-a-a.

i 43.2 *it-ta-kal-lu-ma* for *i-tak-lu-ma*.

i 44.2–3 *dan-nu-ti* “strong” for *ez-zu-te* “fierce.”

i 46.2 *ad-da-bu-uk-šú-nu* for *at-bu-uk-šú-nu*.

i 47.2 omits *[ma]-a* <sup>2</sup>-tu “numerous.”

i 53.2 <sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-ra. Ex. 1 has <sup>m</sup>sa-<an>-ga-ra.

- URU *gar-ga-miš-a-a* <sup>m</sup>*ha-a-a-nu* KUR *sa-ma-’a-la-a-a* <sup>mka-te-a</sup>
- 54) KUR *qu-ú-a-a* <sup>m</sup>*pi-ḫi-ri-im* KUR *ḫi-lu-ka-a-a*  
<sup>m</sup>*bur-a-na-te* KUR *ia-as-bu-qa-a-a* <sup>m</sup>*a-da-a-nu*

Col. ii

- 1) KUR *ia-ḫa-na-a-a* *a-na e-mu-qé-šu il-qa-a ina qí-bit aš-šur* EN-*ia*
- 2) UKKIN-*šú-nu ú-par-ri-ir* URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad šal-la-su-nu* DUGUD-*tu*
- 3) GIŠ.GIGIR<sup>1</sup>[MEŠ]-*šú* <sup>1</sup>ḪI.A<sup>1</sup>  
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ-*šú áš-lu-la* 7 ME *mun-dah-ši-šú-nu*
- 4) *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit ina qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-ti* <sup>m</sup>*bur-a-na-te* KUR *ia-as-bu-qa-a-a*
- 5) *qa-a-ti lu ik-šu-du* URU *ma-ḫa-zi*.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *šá* URU *pa-ti-na-a-a ak-[tašad ālāni ša aḫat tāmdi]*
- 6) *e-li-ni-te šá* KUR *a-mur-ri u tam-di* <SILIM>-*um* <sup>d</sup>*šam-ši* GIM *ti-lu a-bu-be lu áš-ḫu-[upšunūti]*
- 7) *ma-da-tu šá* MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá a-ḫat tam-di am-ḫur ina a-ḫat tam-di ra-pa-áš-te* <sup>1</sup>*me*<sup>1</sup>-*še-riš šal-ti-’iš*<sup>1</sup>
- 8) *lu at-ta-lak ša-lam* EN-*ti-ia mu-kín* MU-*ia a-na da-ra-a-ti* DÜ-*uš ina* UGU *tam-di* <sup>1</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-[*šēziz*]
- 9) *a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *ḫa-ma-ni e-li* GIŠ *ga-šu-ri* GIŠ *e-re-ni* GIŠ *bu-ra-’ší(?)*<sup>1</sup> *a-kis a-na* KUR-*e*
- 10) KUR *a-ta-lu-ura-šar* NU *šá* AN-*ḫi-ir-bi* *zaq-pu a-lik* NU KI NU-*šú ú-še-ziz* TA *tam-di at(?)*-[*tumuš(?)*]
- 11) URU *ta-ia-a* URU *ḫa-za-zu* URU *nu-li-a* URU *bu-ta-a-mu šá* <sup>m</sup>*pa-ti-na-a-a* KUR-*ud* 2 LIM 8 ME GAZ.[MEŠ-*šunu*]
- 12) *a-duk* 14 LIM 6 ME *šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la ma-da-tu šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-me* DUMU *gu-ú-si* KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.GI GU<sub>4</sub>. [MEŠ]
- 13) UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ NÚ KÜ.GI *ka-sap am-ḫur ina li-me* MU MU-*ia-ma ina* ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD 13.KÁM TA URU [ *ninua* ]
- 14) *a-tu-muš* <sup>1</sup>ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL *e-te-bir* KUR *ḫa-sa-mu* KUR *di-iḫ-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kāt a-na* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*bur-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḫu-ni*
- 15) DUMU *a-di-ni aq-tí-rib* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḫu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni a-na gi-piš* ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú it-ta-kil-ma a-na* GABA-*ia it-ba a-bi-ik-ta-šú áš-kun ina* [*ālišu*]

Piḫirim, the Ḫilukean, Bur-Anate, the Iasbuqean, (and) Adānu, the Iaḫanean. By the command of Aššur my lord (ii 1) I scattered their assembled forces. I besieged the city, captured (it), (and) carried off valuable booty from them, (namely) numerous chariots (and) teams of horses. I felled 700 of their fighting men with the sword. In the midst of this battle (ii 5) I captured Bur-Anate, the Iasbuqean. I captured the great cities of the Patinean. I overwhelmed [the cities on the shore of the] upper [sea] of the land Amurru, also called the western sea, (so that they looked) like ruin hills (created by) the deluge. I received tribute from the kings on the seashore. I marched about by right of victory in the extensive area of the seashore. I made an image of my lordship which establishes my fame (lit. “name”) for eternity (and) erected (it) by the sea. I ascended the Amanus range (and) cut down beams of cedar (and) juniper. I marched to Mount Atalur, where the image of Anum-ḫirbe stands, (and) erected my image with his image.

ii 10b–13a) *Moving away* from the sea I captured the cities Taiia, Ḫazazu, Nulia, (and) Butāmu, which belong to the Patinean. I massacred 2,800 of [their] fighting men (and) carried off 14,600 captives. I received tribute from Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agūsi: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) a gold (and) silver bed.

ii 13b–16a) On the thirteenth day of the month Iyyar, in the eponymy of my own name, I moved out from [Nineveh], crossed the Tigris, traversed Mounts Ḫasamu (and) Diḫnunu, (and) approached the city Tīl-Barsip (Bursip), the fortified city of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. Trusting in the strength of his troops Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, attacked me. I defeated him (and) confined him to [his city].

i 54 – ii 5 A full text is found only in ex. 2. Ex. 1 is badly broken but clearly had a different division of lines than ex. 2. In the transliteration I have tried to divide the lines according to what seems to have been the division in ex. 1 but there is much uncertainty.

ii 10 KUR *a-ta-lu-ur*: the same mountain name is used in connection with Anum-ḫirbe in A.O.102.3 line 91. However the mountain is called Lallar in the same context in A.O.102.14 line 31, A.O.102.16 line 11, A.O.102.28 line 23, and A.O.102.34 line 9; and cf. A.O.102.5 ii 3 and A.O.102.29 line 24. See Parpola, *Toponyms* p. 223; Streck, *OLZ* 9 344–45; Balkan, *Letter* pp. 36–38.

ii 10 AN-*ḫi-ir-bi* *zaq-pu*: cf. A.O.102.1008 line 8 and Borger, *BiOr* 22 (1965) p. 166b.

ii 13 *ka-sap*: pseudo-logogram for KÜ.BABBAR = *kaspu*.

ii 13 For the restoration of Nineveh cf. i. 29, ii 30, etc.

ii 15 For the restoration of the end of the line cf. A.O.102.6 i 51; A.O.102.10 i 33; etc.

- 16) *e-sir-šú* TA URU.DU<sub>6</sub>*bur-si-ip at-tu-muš ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ša* KUŠ.DU<sub>6</sub>.SI-e ÍD.A.RAD *ina me-li-šá e-bir* [URU<sup>1</sup> *x-ga-a* URU *ta-gi*-[...]
- 17) URU *su-ú-ru-nu* URU *pa-ri-pa* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>*ba-še-re-e* URU *da-bi-gu* 6 URU.MEŠ-šú *dan-nu-ti šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni* [lu<sup>1</sup> *ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-[šú-nu]
- 18) ḪI.A.MEŠ *a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la* 2 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tu-šú-nu ap-pul aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up* [T]A URU *da-bi-gi at-[tu-muš]*
- 19) *a-na* URU *sa-za-bé-e* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú ša* <sup>m</sup>*sa-an-ga-ra* URU *gar-ga-miš-a-a aq-tí-rib* URU *a-si-bi ak-[ta-šad* G]AZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ḪI.A *a-duk*
- 20) *šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tu-šú ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up* MAN.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR *ḥ[at-ti a]-na si-ḥír-ti-šú-nu*
- 21) TA IGI *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti u* MĒ-*ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḥ-ú-ma* GÌR.II.MEŠ-*ia iṣ-ba-tu* <sup>m</sup>*qāil*-[*pa-ru*]-*un-da* KUR *pa-ti-na-a-a*
- 22) 3 GUN KÙ.GI 1 ME GUN KÙ.BABBAR 3 ME GUN ZABAR 3 ME GUN AN.BAR 1 LIM ÚTUL ZABAR 1 LIM TÚG *lu-búl-ti bir-me* TÚG.GADA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS-*su*
- 23) *it-ti nu-du-ni-šá* ḪI.A 20 GUN SÍK.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>5</sub>, 5 ME GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 5 LIM UDU.MEŠ *am-ḥur-šu* 1 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 2 GUN SÍK.ZA.[GÌN.SA<sub>5</sub>] 1 ME GIŠ.ÚR GIŠ *e-re-ni*
- 24) *ma-da-tu ina* UGU-šú *áš-kun* MU-šàm-*ma ina* URU-*ia aš-šur am-da-ḥar* <sup>m</sup>*ḥa-ia-a-nu* DUMU *gab-ba-ri šá* GÌR KUR *ḥa-ma-ni* [...] GUN KÙ.BABBAR 90 GUN
- 25) ZABAR 90 GUN AN.BAR 3 ME TÚG *lu-búl-ti bir-me* TÚG.GADA 3 ME GU<sub>4</sub> 3 LIM UDU.MEŠ 2 ME GIŠ *ga-šu-ri* GIŠ *e-re-ni* [x]+2 ANŠE ÚŠ.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni*
- 26) DUMU.MUNUS-*su it-ti nu-du-ni-šá am-ḥur-šu* 10 *ma-na* KÙ.BABBAR 1 ME GIŠ.ÚR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni* 1 ANŠE ÚŠ.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-nu ma-da-tu ina* UGU-šú *áš-kun* MU-šàm-*ma*
- 27) *am-da-ḥar* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-mu* DUMU *a-gu-ú-si* 10 *ma-na* KÙ.GI 6 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 5 ME GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 5 LIM UDU.MEŠ *am-ḥur-šu* <sup>m</sup>*sa-an-ga-ra* URU *gar-ga-miš-a-a* 2 GUN
- 28) KÙ.GI 70 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 30 GUN ZABAR 1 ME GUN AN.BAR 20 GUN SÍK.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>5</sub>, 5 ME TÚG.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS-*su it-ti nu-du-ni* ù 1 ME DUMU.MUNUS GAL.MEŠ-šú
- 29) 5 ME GU<sub>4</sub> 5 LIM UDU.MEŠ *am-ḥur-šu* 1 *ma-na* KÙ.GI 1 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 2 GUN

ii 16b–18a) Moving on from Tīl-Barsip (Bursip) I crossed the Euphrates, which was in flood, in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins. I [besieged] the cities [...]gā, Tagi[...], Sūrunu, Paripa, Tīl-Bašerē, (and) Dabigu, six fortified cities belonging to Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) captured (them). I massacred many of their (people) (and) carried off booty from them. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned 200 cities in their environs.

ii 18b–24a) Moving on from the city Dabigu I approached the city Sazabū, a fortified city of Sangara, the Carchemishite. I besieged the city, captured (it), massacred many of their (people), (and) carried off booty from them. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned cities in its environs. All of the kings of the land Ḫ[atti] became afraid in the face of the flash of my strong weapons and my stormy onslaught (and) submitted to me. I received from Qalparunda, the Patinean, three talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 1,000 bronze casseroles, 1,000 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, his daughter with her rich dowry, twenty talents of red purple wool, 500 oxen, (and) 5,000 sheep. I imposed upon him as annual tribute one talent of silver, two talents of red purple wool, (and) 100 cedar beams, (and) I regularly receive (it) in my city, Aššur.

ii 24b–27a) I received from Ḫaiiānu, the man of Bīt-Gabbari, which is at the foot of the Amanus range, [N] talents of silver, ninety talents of bronze, ninety talents of iron, 300 linen garments with multi-coloured trim, 300 oxen, 3,000 sheep, 200 cedar beams, [N] + two homers of cedar resin, (and) his daughter with her rich dowry. I imposed upon him as tribute ten minas of silver, 100 cedar beams, (and) one homer of cedar resin, (and) I receive (it) annually in my city, Aššur.

ii 27b–30a) I received from Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agūsi, ten minas of gold, six talents of silver, 500 oxen, (and) 5,000 sheep. I received from Sangara, the Carchemishite, two talents of gold, seventy talents of silver, thirty talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron, twenty talents of red purple wool, 500 garments, his daughter with (her) dowry, 100 of his nobles' daughters, 500 oxen, (and) 5,000 sheep. I imposed upon him as tribute one mina of gold, one talent of silver, (and) two talents of red purple wool, (and) I receive (it) annually. From Qatazilu, the

ii 16 [URU<sup>1</sup> *x-ga-a* URU *ta-gi*-[...]: the two cities seem to be otherwise unattested.

ii 21 For the reading of the end of the line cf. Hulin, Iraq 25 (1963) p. 65.

ii 24 <sup>m</sup>*ḥa-ia-a-nu* DUMU *gab-ba-ri*: cf. Ungnad, OLZ 9 (1906) 226.

ii 28 GAL.MEŠ instead of LÚ.GAL.MEŠ “nobles, officers” also occurs in ii 53.

- SÍK.ZA.GÌN.SA<sub>3</sub> ina UGU-šú áš-kun MU-šàm-ma am-da-ḫar-šu<sup>m</sup> qa-ta-zi-lu
- 30) KUR ku-mu-ḫa-a-a 20 ma-na KÛ.BABBAR 3 ME GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni MU-šàm-ma am-da-ḫar ina li-me<sup>m</sup> aš-šur-EN-ka-in ina ITI.G[U<sub>4</sub>] UD 13.KÁM TA URU.NINA at-tu-muš
- 31) ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL e-te-bir KUR ḫa-sa-mu KUR di-iḫ-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kât a-na URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-si-ip URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá<sup>m</sup> a-ḫu-ni DUMU a-di-ni <aqṭirib> ak-ta-šad<sup>m</sup> a-ḫu-ni
- 32) DUMU a-di-ni TA IGI na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ez-zu-te u MÈ-ia šit-mu-ri a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú [ina mēlī]-šá ÍD.A.RAD e-bir
- 33) a-na KUR.KUR.MEŠ šá-ni-a-ti ib-bal-kit ina qí-bít aš-šur EN GAL <EN>-ia URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-si-ip URU a-li-gu URU [nappigu UR]U<sup>1</sup> ru<sup>1</sup>-gu-<sup>1</sup>li-tú<sup>1</sup> a-na URU MAN-ia
- 34) aš-bat LÚ.MEŠ-e LÚ áš-šu-ra-a-a ina lib-bi ú-še-šib É.GAL.MEŠ-te a-na šu-bat MAN-ia ina qé-reb-šú ad-di [MU] URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-si-ip URU kar-<sup>d</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 35) MU URU nap-pi-gi URU li-ta-aš-šur MU URU al-li-gi URU aš-bat-la-ku-nu MU URU ru-gu-li-ti URU qi-bi-it-[aššur(?)] MU-šú-nu ab-bi ina UD-šú-ma
- 36) a-na URU aš-šur-ú-ter-aš-bat ša LÚ.MEŠ-e KUR ḫat-ta-a-a URU pi-it-ru i-qa-bu-šú-ni ša UGU ÍD sa-gu-[ra ša šepē ammâte] ša ÍD.A.RAD
- 37) ù URU mu-ut-ki-i-nu ša GÌR an-na-te ša ÍD.A.RAD ša<sup>m</sup> GIŠ.tukul-ti-A-é-šár-ra AD NUN-ú DU IGI-ia ú-šá-<sup>1</sup>aš-bít-ú-ni<sup>1</sup> ina tar-ṣi<sup>m</sup> aš-šur-GAL-bi
- 38) MAN KUR aš-šur MAN KUR a-ru-mu ina da-na-ni e-ki-mu-ni URU.MEŠ-ni šu-nu-ti a-na áš-ri-šú-nu ú-te-ra DUMU.MEŠ-e LÚ áš-šu-ra-a-a ina lib-bi ú-še-šib
- 39) ki-i ina URU kar-<sup>d</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tú šá MAN.MEŠ-ni šá a-ḫat tam-di ù MAN.MEŠ-ni šá a-ḫat ÍD.A.RAD KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR
- 40) ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ AN.BAR.MEŠ GU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ TÚG lu-búl-ti bir-me u TÚG.GADA.MEŠ am-ḫur TA URU kar-<sup>d</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ at-tu-muš K[UR ḫa(?)]-su-mu at-ta-bal-kât
- 41) a-na KUR.É-za-ma-a-ni at-ta-rad TA URU.É-za-ma-a-ni at-tu-muš KUR na-am-da-a-nu KUR me-er-ḫi-su a-ta-bal-kât ar-ḫi pa-áš-qu-te KUR.MEŠ-e
- 42) mar-ṣu-ti šá GIM še-lu-ut GÍR a-na AN-e zi-qip-ta GAR-nu ina ak-kul-lat URUDU aq-qur

Kummuḫite, I receive annually twenty minas of silver (and) 300 cedar beams.

ii 30b–35a) On the thirteenth day of the month Iyyar, in the eponymy of Aššur-bēla-ka<sup>8</sup>in, I moved out from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, traversed Mounts Ḫasamu (and) Diḫnunu, <approached> the city Tīl-Barsip, the fortified city of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) captured (it). Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, in the face of the flash of my ferocious weapons and stormy onslaught, crossed the Euphrates, which was [in flood], to save his life. He crossed over to strange lands. By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my <lord>, I seized the cities Tīl-Barsip, Alligu, [Nappigu], (and) Rugulitu as my royal cities. I settled therein Assyrians (and) founded inside palaces as my royal residences. I renamed Tīl-Barsip as Kār-Shalmaneser, Nappigu as Līta-Aššur, Alligu as Ašbat-lā-kunu, (and) Rugulitu as Qibīt-[Aššur].

ii 35b–40a) At that time the city (Ana)-Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which the people of the land Ḫatti call Pitru (and) which is on the River Sagura [by the opposite bank] of the Euphrates, and the city Mutkīnu, which is on this bank of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-pileser (I), my ancestor, a prince who preceded me, had established — at the time of Aššur-rabi (II), king of Assyria, the king of the Aramaeans had taken (these two cities) away by force — these cities I restored. I settled therein Assyrians. While I was residing in the city Kār-Shalmaneser, I received tribute from the kings of the seashore and kings on the banks of the Euphrates: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze (and) iron casseroles, oxen, sheep, garments with multi-coloured trim, and linen garments.

ii 40b–44) Moving on from the city Kār-Shalmaneser I crossed over Mount [Ḫa]sumu (and) went down to the land of the Bīt-Zamāni. Moving on from the land of the Bīt-Zamāni I crossed over Mounts Namdānu (and) Merḫisu. I smashed out with copper picks rough paths in rugged mountains which rose perpendicularly to the sky like the points of daggers. I moved (my) chariots (and) troops over (these paths) (and) descended to the land Enzite of the land Išua. I conquered all of the land Enzite, razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities, (and) carried off

ii 30 ITI.G[U<sub>4</sub>]: cf. Lambert, AnSt 11 (1961) p. 154 n. 8.

ii 31 <aqṭirib>: cf. ii 15.

ii 35 qi-bi-it-[aššur(?)]]: cf. Postgate, Royal Grants no. 27 line 5.

ii 36 a-na URU aš-šur-ú-ter-aš-bat: error for URU a-na-aš-šur-.... Note ii 85, where the scribe correctly engraved URU ana-aš-šur-... but erroneously omitted ina (= ana) before URU. Cf. Michel, WO 1 p. 15 n. 15, and Weippert, GGA 224 p. 153.

ii 40 K[UR ḫa(?)]-su-mu: cf. KUR ḫa-sa-mu in i 29, ii 14, and ii 31.

- GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ĪA.MEŠ *ú-še-tiq a-na*  
 KUR *en-zi-te ša* KUR *i-šu-a*
- 43) *at-ta-rad* KUR *en-zi-te a-na si-ĥír-ti-šá ŠU ik-  
 šú-du* URU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ap-púl aq-qur ina*  
 IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up šal-la-su-nu bu-šá-šú-nu*  
 NÍG.GA-šú-nu *a-na la me-ni*
- 44) *áš-lu-la ša-lam* MAN-*ti-ia šur-ba-a DÛ-uš ta-  
 na-ti aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia u li-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia*  
*ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭur ina* URU *sa-lu-ri-a KI.TA*  
*ina qaq-qi-ri e-qi ú-še-ziz*
- 45) TA KUR *en-zi-te at-tu-muš ÍD ar-ša-ni-a e-te-  
 bir a-na* KUR *su-uḫ-me aq-ṭí-rib* URU *ú-áš-ta-  
 al* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú ak-t[á-ša]d* KUR *su-uḫ-me*  
*a-na si-ĥír-ti-šá*
- 46) *ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up* <sup>m</sup>*su-ú-a* EN  
 URU-šú-nu *ina ŠU-ti aš-bat* TA KUR *su-uḫ-me*  
*at-tu-muš ana* KUR *da-ie-e-ni a-ta-rad* URU  
*da-ie-e-ni*
- 47) *a-na si-ĥír-ti-šá ak-šud* URU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ap-púl*  
*aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up šal-la-su-nu*  
 NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu NÍG.GA *ma-ʾa-du al-qa-a* TA  
 KUR *da-ie-e-ni at-tu-muš*
- 48) *a-na* URU *ar-ša-áš-ku* URU MAN-*ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*ar-  
 ra-me* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* <sup>m</sup>*ar-ra-mu*  
 URU *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a* TA *pa-an na-mur-rat*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia* KAL.MEŠ-*te*
- 49) *u MÈ-ia šit-mu-ri ip-laḫ-ma* URU-šú *ú-maš-šir*  
*a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *ad-du-ri e-li* EGIR-šú *a-na*  
 KUR-*e* *e-li* MÈ *dan-nu ina qé-reb* KUR-*e* *áš-  
 kun* 3 LIM 4 ME
- 50) *mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-  
 qit* GIM <sup>q</sup>*ISKUR ina* UGU-šú-nu *ri-ḫ[i-i]l-tu*  
*ú-šá-az-nin* ŪŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu GIM *na-pa-si*  
 [KUR]-[a] *aš-ru-up uš-ma-ṭni-šú* <sup>1</sup>*e-ki-im-šú*
- 51) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú *pit-ḫal-lu-šu*  
 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú ANŠE *pa-ri-šú a-ga-li*  
 NÍG.GA-šú *šal-la-su bu-šá-šú ma-ʾa-du* TA *qé-  
 reb* KUR-*e* *ú-te-ra* <sup>m</sup>*ar-ra-mu a-na šu-zu-ub*
- 52) ZI.MEŠ-šú *a-na* KUR-*e* *mar-ši e-li ina ki-šir*  
 NÍTA-*ti-ia* KUR-*su* GIM GU<sub>4</sub>.AM *a-di-iš*  
 URU.URU.MEŠ-šú *na-mu-ta ú-šá-lik* URU *ar-  
 ša-áš-ku* EN URU.MEŠ-*ni*
- 53) *ša li-me-tu-šu ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ-šú  
 GÍBIL-*up a-si-ta-a-te ša* SAG.DU.MEŠ-šú *ina*  
*pu-ut* KÁ.GAL-šú *ar-šip* [an-nu(?)]-*t* <sup>i</sup>  
 GAL.MEŠ-*te ina lib-bi*
- 54) [asitāte umaggig a]n-nu-te *ina ba-tu-[batti ša]*  
*a-si-ta-a-te ina zi-qi-pi ú-za-qip* TA URU *ar-ša-  
 áš-ku at-tu-muš a-na* KUR-*e*
- 55) [eritia ēli] *ša-lam* MAN-*ti-ia šur-ba-a DÛ-uš ta-  
 na-ti šá aš-šur* EN-*ia u li-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia šá* *ina*  
 KUR *ú-ra-[ar]-ṭí e-tap-pa-šu ina qé-reb-šú*

their incalculable booty, possessions, (and) property. I made a colossal royal statue of myself (and) wrote thereon the praises of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and my victorious conquests. I erected (it) in the lower city Saluria, in the *ēqu* area.

ii 45–47a) Moving on from the land Enzite I crossed the River Aršana (and) approached the land Suḫme. captured the city Uaštal, its fortified city, (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned the entire land Suḫme. I captured their city ruler, Sūa. Moving on from the land Suḫme I descended to the land Daiēnu. I captured all of the land (lit. “city”) Daiēnu (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities. I received their captives, property, (and) rich possessions.

ii 47b–56a) Moving on from the land Daiēnu I approached the city Aršašku, the royal city of Aramu (Arramu) the Urartian. Aramu (Arramu) the Urartian became frightened in the face of the flash of my strong weapons and stormy onslaught, abandoned his city, (and) ascended Mount Adduru. I went up the mountain after him (and) fought a mighty battle in the mountain. (ii 50) I felled 3,400 of his fighting men with the sword, rained down upon them destruction (lit. “flood”) as the god Adad would, (and) with their blood I dyed the mountain red like red wool. I took away his camp (and) brought back from the mountain his chariots, cavalry, horses, mules, beasts of burden, captives, (and) rich possessions. Aramu (Arramu), in order to save his life, ascended a rugged mountain. I trampled his land with my vigorous virility like a wild bull (and) laid waste his cities. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the city Aršašku together with the cities in its environs. I erected towers of heads before his gate; [some] (heads) of nobles [I spread out] within [the piles], others I erected on stakes around the piles. Moving on from the city Aršašku [I ascended] Mount [Eritia]. I made a colossal royal statue of myself (and) [wrote] thereon the praises of Aššur, my lord, and the victorious conquests which I had been achieving in the land Urartu. I erected (it) [on Mount Eri]tia.

ii 44 *ina qaq-qi-ri e-qi*: see the note to RIMA 2 p. 198 i 69.

ii 50 *ri-ḫ[i-i]l-tu*: collated. The reading (cf. Schramm) is preferable to *ri-kil(?)tu* (so Lambert).

ii 50 For the reading of the end of the line see Schramm, EAK 2 p. 72 and cf. Schott, Vergleiche p. 37 n. 2.

ii 53–54 For the restoration cf. RIMA 2 p. 199 i 90–91. Regarding GAL.MEŠ “nobles” see the note to ii 28.

- 56) [a]ltur ina šadê e-ri]-ti-a ú-šá-zi-iz TA KUR e-ri-ti-a at-tu-[muš ana URU] a-ra-ma-le-e aq-tí-rib URU.MEŠ-šú ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up
- 57) TA URU a-ra-ma-le-e at-tu-muš a-na URU za-an-zi-ú-na a[q-tí-rib<sup>m</sup>x-x]-x-ú-<sup>l</sup>te(?)<sup>l</sup> MAN U[RU za]-<sup>l</sup>an-zi<sup>l</sup>-ú-na MĒ e-du-ur GÌR.II-ia iṣ-bat
- 58) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ am-ḥur-šu re-mu-tu áš-ku-na-áš-[šú (...)] ina taiiartī(?)]-ia a-na tam-di
- 59) ša KUR na-i-ri at-ta-rad GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ aš-šur ez-zu-te ina lib-bi tam-di ú-lil UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ [aqqi šalam šarrūtīia šurbâ] DÜ-uš ta-na-ti
- 60) aš-šur EN GAL EN-ia al-ka-kàt qur-di-ia u ep-ši-ti taš-nin-ti-ia ina qé-reb-šú al-tūr [ina muḥḥi tâmdī ušēziz ultu tâmdī at-<sup>l</sup>i]u-muš a-na KUR gíl-za-a-ni
- 61) aq-tí-rib<sup>ma</sup>-sa-a-ú MAN KUR gíl-za-a-ni a-di ŠEŠ.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MEŠ-šú ina GABA-ia ú-ša-ú(?) [šēpēia(?) iṣbatū(?) narkabātī(?)] ḪI.A.M]EŠ(?)]-ti ANŠE.KUR.[RA.MEŠ]
- 62) LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ 7 tam(a)-ra-te šá 2 gu-un-gu-li-pi-ši-na am-ḥur-šu ša-lam MAN-ti-ia šur-ba-a DÜ-uš ta-na-ti aš-šur EN GAL-e EN-ia
- 63) u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ša ina KUR na-<sup>ri</sup>-e-tap-pa-áš ina qé-reb-šú al-tūr ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU-šú ina é-kur-ri-šú ú-še-ziz TA KUR gíl-za-a-ni at-tu-muš
- 64) a-na URU ši-la-ia URU KAL-ti-šu šá<sup>mka</sup>-a-ki MAN URU ḥu-bu-uš-ki-a aq-tí-rib URU a-si-bi ak-ta-šad GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ḪI.A a-duk 3 LIM šal-la-su-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 65) še-ni-šú-nu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE pa-re-e a-ga-li a-na la-me-ni áš-lu-la a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la ina né-re-be šá KUR en-zi-te KU<sub>4</sub>-ub ina né-re-be šá KUR kír-ru-<sup>l</sup>rj<sup>l</sup>
- 66) ina SAG URU.4-DINGIR ú-ši-a<sup>ma</sup>-ḥu-ni DUMU a-di-ni ša TA MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia ši-ip-šu [u] dan-na-ni il-ta-kan-nu ina šur-rat MAN-ti-ia ina li-me
- 67) MU MU-ia-ma TA URU.NINA at-tu-muš URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bur-si-ip URU dan-nu-ti-šú a-si-bi qu-ra-di-ia <sup>l</sup>ú-šá<sup>l</sup>-al-me-šu mit-ḥu-šu ina lib-bi-šú áš-kun
- 68) GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú ak-ki-is nab-li mul-mu-li UGU-šú ú-šá-za-nin TA IGI na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia me-lam-me [šá] EN-ti-ia ip-laḥ-ma URU-šú ú-maš-šir
- 69) a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir ina 2-te MU-te ina li-me<sup>ma</sup>-šur-DÜ-a-a-PAB EGIR-šú ar-te-di KUR ši-i-ta-am-rat ŠU.SI KUR-e šá a-ḥat ÍD.A.RAD

ii 56b–60a) Moving on from Mount Eritia I approached [the city] Aramalū (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned its (surrounding) cities. Moving on from the city Aramalū I [approached] the city Zanziuna. [...]ute, the king of the city [Za]nziuna, being afraid to do battle with me, submitted to me. I received from him teams of horses, oxen, (and) sheep. I had mercy on [him (and spared him)]. On] my [return] I went down to the sea of the land Nairi, washed the fierce weapons of Aššur in the sea, [(and) made] sacrifices. I created [a colossal royal statue of myself], wrote thereon the praises of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, my heroic deeds and victorious actions, [(and) erected (it) by the sea].

ii 60b–63a) Moving on [from the sea] I approached the land Gilzānu. Asāu, king of the land Gilzānu, together with his brothers (and) sons came out to meet me [(and) submitted to me]. I received from him numerous [chariots], teams of horses, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) seven camels with two humps. I made a colossal royal statue of myself (and) wrote thereon the praises of Aššur, the great lord, [my] lord, and the victorious conquests which I had been achieving in the land Nairi. I erected (it) inside his city, in his temple.

ii 63b–66a) Moving on from the land Gilzānu I approached the city Šilaia, a fortified city of Kāki, king of the land Ḫubuškia. I besieged the city, captured (it), (and) massacred many of them. I carried off from them 3,000 captives, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, (and) donkeys without number (and) brought (them) to my city, Aššur. I entered the passes of the land Enzite (and) came out through the passes of Mount Kirru[ri] before Arbail.

ii 66b–75a) Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, who had fought with might [and] main since (the days of) the kings, my fathers: at the beginning of my reign, in the eponymy of my name, I moved out from Nineveh (and) besieged the city Til-Barsip (Bursip), his fortified city. I surrounded him with my warriors (and) did battle against him. I cut down his gardens (and) rained flaming arrows upon him. He became afraid in the face of the flash of my weapons (and) my lordly brilliance, abandoned his city, and crossed the Euphrates to save his life. In a second year, the eponymy of Aššur-būnāiia-ušur, I went after him. (ii 70) He had made as his stronghold Mount Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates which is suspended from heaven like a cloud. By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and the

ii 59 For the restoration of *aqqi* see i 26. For the remainder of the restoration see i 50, ii 44, 62, and cf. ii 8.

ii 66 Cf. Weippert, ZAW 84 (1972) p. 478 n. 84.

ii 69<sup>m</sup> aš-šur-DÜ-a-a-PAB: cf. CAD 2 (B) p. 321b.

- 70) *šá* GIM DUNGU TA AN-*e šu-qàl-lu-la-at a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun ina qí-bit aš-šur* EN GAL EN-*ia u* <sup>d</sup>ÜRIGAL *a-lik IGI-ia a-na KUR ši-ta-am-rat aq-tí-rib*
- 71) *ša ina MAN.MEŠ-ni*AD.MEŠ-*ia mu-um-ma ina qé-reb-šu la i-ḫu-ú ina 3 u<sub>3</sub>-me qar-ra-du KUR-ú i-ḫi-ṭa ga-ap-šu ŠÀ-šu tu-qu-um-ta ub-la e-li ina ĞIR.II.MEŠ-šú KUR-ú*
- 72) *ú-saḫ-ḫi-ip* <sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni *a-na DAGAL ÉRIN.ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú it-ta-kil-ma ina GABA-ia ú-ša-a si-dír-tu lu iš-kun GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ aš-šur* EN-*ia ina ŠÁ-šú-nu ú-tar-ri-ši* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu
- 73) *aš-kun* SAG.DU.MEŠ *muq-tab-li-šu ú-na-kis ÚŠ.MEŠ mun-daḫ-ši-šú KUR-ú aš-ru-up ma-ʾa-du-ti-šú a-na ka-a-pi šá KUR-e i-ta-na-qu-tu-ni MĒ dan-nu ina ŠÁ URU-šú*
- 74) *aš-kun pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*ia iš-ḫu-pu-šú-nu ú-ri-du-ni ĞIR.II.MEŠ-ia iš-bu-ú-tu* <sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni *it-ti ÉRIN.ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ pit-ḫal-lu-šu NÍG.GA É.GAL-li-ši-na ma-ʾa-du*
- 75) *šá KILÁ-šu la šab-ta-at a-na IGI-ia ú-te-ra ÍD.ĤAL.ĤAL ú-še-bir a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la a-na UN.MEŠ KUR-ia am-nu-šú-nu ina MU-ma ši-a-ti a-na KUR ma-za-mu-a al-lik ina né-re-bi*
- 76) *šá KUR bu-na-is lu KU<sub>4</sub>-ub a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá* <sup>m</sup>nik-*de-me* <sup>m</sup>nik-*de-e-ra aq-tí-rib* TA IGI *na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia KAL.MEŠ u MĒ-ia šit-mu-ri ip-la-ḫu-ma*
- 77) *ina GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ GIŠ ur-ba-te a-na tam-di it-tab-ku ina GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUŠ.DUḫ.ŠI-e EGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu lu aš-bat MĒ dan-nu ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-di lu DŪ-uš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu lu aš-kun*
- 78) *tam-di ina ÚŠ-šú-nu GIM na-pa-a-si lu aš-ru-up ina li-me* <sup>md</sup>DI.KUD-*aš-šur ina ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD 14.KÁM TA URU.NINA at-tu-muš*
- 79) *ša* <sup>m</sup>gi-*am-mu* ÍD.KASKAL.KUR.A *aq-tí-rib púl-ḫa-at* EN-*ti-ia na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ez-zu-te ip-la-ḫu-ma ina GIŠ.TUKUL ra-ma-ni-šú-nu* <sup>m</sup>gi-*am-mu* EN-šú-nu
- 80) *i-du-ku a-na URU saḫ-la-la u URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-ša-tur-a-ḫi lu KU<sub>4</sub>-ub DINGIR.MEŠ-ia ana É.GAL.MEŠ-šú lu ú-še-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu ina É.GAL.MEŠ-šú lu aš-kun*
- 81) *na-kam-te-šú lu ap-ti ni-šir-tú-šu lu a-mur NÍG.GA-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú aš-lu-la a-na URU-ia*

divine standard which goes before me, I approached Mount Šītamrat, (a mountain) which none of the kings, my fathers, had penetrated. For three days the hero explored the mountain. His bold heart yearned for battle. He ascended on foot (and) gained control of the mountain. Aḫunu, trusting in the might of his troops, came forth against me (and) drew up (his) battle line. I pointed the weapons of Aššur, my lord, against them (and) defeated them. I cut off the heads of his warriors (and) dyed the mountain red with the blood of his fighting men. Multitudes of his (men) tumbled from mountain cliffs. I waged a mighty battle against his city. Fear of the brilliance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them (and) they came down (and) submitted to me. I took as my own Aḫunu with his troops, chariots, cavalry, (and) rich palace property beyond measure. I transported (it) across the *Euphrates* (text “Tigris”) and brought (it) to my city, Aššur. I regarded them as people of my land.

ii 75b–78a) In this same year I marched to the land Mazamua. I entered the pass of Bunais (and) approached the cities of Nikdēme (and) Nikdēra. They became frightened in the face of the flash of my mighty weapons and my tumultuous onslaught and they swarmed into reed rafts on the sea. I went after them in rafts (made of inflated) goatskins (and) waged a mighty battle in the midst of the sea. I defeated them (and) dyed the sea red like red wool with their blood.

ii 78b–81a) On the fourteenth day of the month Iyyar, in the eponymy of Daiiān-Aššur, I moved out from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, (and) approached the cities of Giammu on the River Baliḫ. They were frightened of my lordly fearfulness (and) the flash of my fierce weapons and with their own weapons they killed Giammu, their master. I entered the cities Saḫlala and Tīl-ša-turaḫi. I took my gods into his palaces and celebrated in his palaces. I opened his storage area (and) saw his treasure. I carried off his possessions (and) property (and) brought (them) to my city, Aššur.

ii 81b–86a) Moving on from the city Saḫlala I approached the city Kār-Shalmaneser. I crossed the

ii 71–72a (to *usahḫip*): this sentence was borrowed from Asn. II. See RIMA 2 p. 197 i 50–51.

ii 71 *mu-um-ma*: Schott, Vorarbeiten p. 101 n. 2 reads *ia<sub>3</sub>-um-ma*. However, the parallel (RIMA 2 p. 197 i 50) has *ma-am-ma*.

ii 72 DAGAL = *rupuš*: cf. Schramm, EAK 2 p. 72.

ii 75 ÍD.ĤAL.ĤAL “Tigris” is an error for ÍD.A.RAD “Euphrates.” Craig realized this and translated “Euphrates.”

ii 76 Regarding Nikdēme and Nikdēra see the note to A.0.102.16 line 25.

ii 77 Cf. Hulin, Iraq 25 (1963) p. 64.

ii 78 <sup>md</sup>DI.KUD-*aš-šur*: the <sup>d</sup> is clear.

ii 80–81 *saḫ-la-la*: for the reading see Goetze, JCS 18 (1964) p. 116 and n. 21; and Weippert, GGA 224 (1972) p. 156.

- aš-šur ub-la TA URU saḫ-la-la at-tu-muš a-na  
URU kar-<sup>d</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 82) aq-ti-rib ina GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUŠ.DUḪ.ŠI-e šá  
2-te-šú <<2-šú>> ÍD.A.RAD ina me-li-šá e-bir  
ma-da-tu ša MAN.MEŠ šá GÌR am-ma-te ša  
ÍD.A.RAD ša <sup>m</sup>sa-an-gar
- 83) URU gar-ga-miš-a-a šá <sup>m</sup>ku-un-da-áš-pi URU  
ku-mu-ḫa-a-a šá <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me DUMU gu-si ša <sup>m</sup>lal-  
li URU me-li-da-a-a ša <sup>m</sup>ḫa-ia-ni DUMU  
ga-ba-ri
- 84) ša <sup>m</sup>qal-pa-ru-da KUR pa-ti-na-a-a ša <sup>m</sup>qal-pa-  
ru-da KUR gúr-gu-ma-a-a KÜ.BABBAR  
KÜ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR.ÚTUL ZABAR
- 85) <ina> URU àna-aš-šur-ut-ter-aš-bat šá GÌR am-  
<ma>-te šá ÍD.A.RAD šá UGU ÍD sa-gu-ri šá  
LÚ.MEŠ-e KUR ḫat-ta-a-a URU pi-it-ru
- 86) i-qa-bu-šú-ni ina lib-bi am-ḫur TA UGU  
ÍD.A.RAD at-tu-muš a-na URU ḫal-man aq-ti-  
rib MÈ e-du-ru GÌR.II iṣ-bu-tú
- 87) KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.GI ma-da-ta-šú-nu am-ḫur  
UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ ana IGI <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ša URU  
ḫal-man DÜ-uš TA URU ḫal-man at-tu-muš a-  
na URU.MEŠ-ni
- 88) ša <sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-e-ni KUR a-mat-a-a aq-ti-rib URU  
a-de-en-nu URU pâr-ga-a URU ar-ga-na-a URU  
MAN-ti-šú KUR-ud šal-la-su NÍG.SU-šú
- 89) NÍG.GA É.GAL.MEŠ-šú ú-še-ša-a a-na  
É.GAL.MEŠ-šú IZI.MEŠ ŠUB-di TA URU ar-  
ga-na-a at-tu-muš a-na URU qar-qa-ra aq-ti-rib
- 90) URU qar-qa-ra URU MAN-ti-šú ap-púl aq-qur  
ina IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up 1 LIM 2 ME  
GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 1 LIM 2 ME pit-ḫal-lu 20  
LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ ša <sup>m</sup>dIŠKUR-<sup>i</sup>-id-ri
- 91) [ša KUR] ANŠE-šú 7 ME GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 7  
ME pit-ḫal-lu 10 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-  
e-ni KUR a-mat-a-a 2 LIM GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 10  
LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>a-ḫa-ab-bu
- 92) KUR sir-<sup>a</sup>-la-a-a 5 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ ša KUR  
gu-<bal>-a-a 1 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ šá KUR mu-  
uṣ-ra-a-a 10 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 10 LIM  
ÉRIN.MEŠ šá KUR ir-qa-na-ta-a-a
- 93) 2 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>ma-ti-nu-ba-<sup>a</sup>-li URU  
ar-ma-da-a-a 2 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ šá KUR ú-sa-  
na-ta-a-a 30 GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ x] LIM  
ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 94) šá <sup>m</sup>a-du-nu-ba-<sup>a</sup>-li KUR ši-a-na-a-a 1 LIM  
ANŠE gam-ma-lu šá <sup>m</sup>gi-in-di-bu-<sup>u</sup> KUR ar-  
ba-a-a [x] ME ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 95) šá <sup>m</sup>ba-<sup>a</sup>-sa DUMU ru-ḫu-bi KUR a-ma-na-a-a  
12 MAN.MEŠ-ni an-nu-ti a-na ÉRIN.TAḪ-ti-šú  
il-qa-a a-<sup>l</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [epēš]
- 96) MURUB<sub>4</sub> u MÈ ana GABA-ia it-bu-ni ina

Euphrates, which was in flood, for a second time in  
rafts (made of inflated) goatskins. In the city Ana-  
Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which is by the opposite bank of  
the Euphrates on the River Sagura (and) which the  
people of the land Ḫatti call the city Pitru, in (this  
city) I received tribute from kings on the opposite  
bank of the Euphrates, from Sangara the  
Carchemishite, from Kundašpu the Kummuhite, from  
Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agūsi, from Lalla the  
Melidite, from Ḫaiiānu the man of Bīt-Gabbari, from  
Qalparuda the Patinean, (and) from Qalparuda the  
Gurgumite: silver, gold, tin, bronze, (and) bronze  
casserole.

ii 86b–89a) Moving on from the Euphrates I  
approached Aleppo (Ḫalman). They were afraid to  
do battle with me (and) submitted to me. I received  
their tribute of silver (and) gold (and) made  
sacrifices before the god Adad of Aleppo (Ḫalman).  
Moving on from Aleppo (Ḫalman) I approached  
cities of Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite. I captured the cities  
Adennu, Pargâ, (and) Arganâ, his royal cities. I  
brought forth his captives, property, (and) palace  
possessions, (and) burned his palaces.

ii 89b–102) Moving on from the city Arganâ I  
approached the city Qarqar. I razed, destroyed, (and)  
burned the city Qarqar, his royal city. An alliance  
had been formed of (lit. “he/it had taken as his  
allies”) these twelve kings: 1,200 chariots, 1,200  
cavalry, (and) 20,000 troops of Hadad-ezer (Adad-  
idri), the Damascene; 700 chariots, 700 cavalry,  
(and) 10,000 troops of Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite; 2,000  
chariots (and) 10,000 troops of Ahab (Aḫabbu) the  
Israelite (Sir<sup>ʾ</sup>alāia); 500 troops of Byblos; 1,000  
troops of Egypt; 10 chariots (and) 10,000 troops of  
the land Irqanatu; 200 troops of Matinu-ba<sup>ʾ</sup>al of the  
city Arvad; 200 troops of the land Usanātu; 30  
chariots (and) [N],000 troops of Adunu-ba<sup>ʾ</sup>al of the  
land Šianu; 1,000 camels of Gindibu of the Arabs;  
[N] hundred troops (ii 95) of Ba<sup>ʾ</sup>asa, the man of Bīt-  
Ruḫubi, the Ammonite. They attacked to [wage] war  
and battle against me. With the supreme forces  
which Aššur, my lord, had given to me (and) with  
the mighty weapons which the divine standard,  
which goes before me, had granted me I fought with  
them. I defeated them from the city Qarqar as far as  
the city Gilzau. I felled with the sword 14,000  
troops, their fighting men, (and) rained down upon  
them destruction (lit. “flood”) as the god Adad  
would. I filled the plain with their spread out (lit. “I

ii 85 <ina> URU àna-aš-šur-ut-ter-aš-bat: see the note to ii 36.

ii 88 pâr-ga-a: for the reading cf. pa-ar-ga-a in A.0.102.74.

ii 90–95 Eleven kings are listed but the scribe erroneously summarizes them as “twelve kings.”

ii 91 10 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-e-ni: the numeral is clearly 10,000, not 20,000.

ii 92 Tadmor, IEJ 11 (1961) pp. 144–45, cogently argues in favour of the emendation gu-<bal>-a-a “Byblos” and for taking mu-uṣ-ra-a-a as “Egypt.”

ii 92 Borger, TUAT 1 p. 361 emends Irqanata to Irqata. Cf. Tadmor, Scripta Hierosolymitana 8 (1961) p. 245 n. 49.

ii 94 <sup>m</sup>gi-in-di-bu-<sup>u</sup> KUR ar-ba-a-a: see Eph<sup>ʾ</sup>al, Arabs pp. 75–76.



- Á.MEŠ MAḪ.MEŠ *ša aš-šur* EN SUM-na ina  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ KAL.MEŠ *šá* ÛRI.GAL a-  
lik IGI-ia
- 97) *iš-ru-ka it-ti-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš* TA URU *qar-  
qa-ra a-di* URU *gíl-za-ú* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu lu  
*áš-kun* 14 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 98) *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit*  
GIM <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR UGU-šú-nu *ri-ḫi-il-ta ú-šá-az-nin*  
*ú-ma-ši šal-mat-šú-nu*
- 99) *pa-an na-me-e ú-šam-li* DAGAL.MEŠ  
ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
<*ušamqit*> *ú-šar-di* ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu ḪAR *pa(?)*  
*lu(?) šá x x*
- 100) *i-mí-iš* EDIN *a-na šum-qut* ZI.MEŠ-šú-<*nu*>  
*nab-ra-ru-ú rap-šu a-na qub-bu-ri-šú-nu iḫ-li-iq*  
*ina* ADDA-šú-nu
- 101) *ÍD a-ra-an-tu* GIM *ti-tur-ri ak-sir ina qé-reb*  
*tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-ti* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *pit-ḫal-  
la-šú-nu*
- 102) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú-nu LAL-at GIŠ *ni-ri-  
šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu*

spread out”) corpses (and) <felled> their extensive troops with the sword. I made their blood flow in the *wadis*. (ii 100) The plain was too small to lay the (incredible number of) their bodies (lit. “lives”) flat; the extensive area was not sufficient (lit. “vanished”) to accommodate burying (all of) them. I dammed up the Orontes River with their bodies like a bridge. In the midst of this battle I took away from them chariots, cavalry, (and) teams of horses.

## 3

This version of the annals is engraved on a large stone slab found in the Nabu temple at Calah. Most of the text duplicates the early portions of the version of the annals engraved on the “Kurkh Monolith” (A.0.102.2). But this text ends abruptly, after the narrative of the first campaign (858 BC), and does not have the usual concluding passages regarding building, blessings and curses, and date. Thus this slab must be the first in a series of slabs inscribed with a version of the annals. Such annals series are also known for Ashurnasirpal II (see RIMA 2 p. 192) and Adad-nārārī III (A.0.104.1). The beginning of an annals series from Aššur is edited as A.0.102.15.

## COMMENTARY

The beginning of this text (lines 1–85a) has been edited with A.0.102.2 (i 1 – ii 5a), where it has been called “ex. 2” for convenience. The stone tablet was found in two pieces in the Nabu temple, in the middle of

NTS 17, during March 1986. It measures 68.5×44 cm and has been collated from photos kindly provided by Jeremy Black.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1985–86 Mahmud and Black, Sumer 44 pp. 135–50 (photo, copy, edition)

ii 97 URU *gíl-za-ú*: cf. URU *di-il-zi-a-ú* in A.0.102.28 line 32 in the same context.

ii 99 The scribe was in haste to finish engraving the text with the result that there are major errors in this line: DAGAL.MEŠ should be after ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu; *ušamqit* has been omitted; and the end of the line is incomprehensible.

ii 100 Cf. CAD 11/1 (N) p. 29b.

ii 100b–101a *ina* ADDA-šú-nu ... *ak-sir*: see Schott, MVAG 30/2 (1925) p. 101 n. 4.

## TEXT

- 1–85a) See A.0.102.2 i 1 – ii 5a “ex. 2”.  
 85b) TA URU *a-li-ŠIR at-tu-muš*  
 86) *a-na tam-ti šá šul-mu<sup>d</sup> šam-ši at-ta-rad*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a ina tam-ti ú-lil*  
 87) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ [*a*]-*na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-a*  
 BAL-*qí ša-lam EN-ti-a šur-ba-a DÜ-uš*  
 88) *ta-na-ti [aš-š]ur EN GAL EN-ia u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-*  
*a šá ina KUR ĥat-ti*  
 89) *e-tap-pa-šú ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭur ina UGU tam-ti*  
*ú-še-ziz ina ta-ia-ar-ti-a*  
 90) *šá tam-ti a-na KUR-e KUR ĥa-ma-ni e-li*  
 GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni GIŠ bu-ra-ši ak-kis*  
 91) *a-na KUR-e KUR a-ta-lu-ur e-li a-šar šal-mu šá*  
<sup>m</sup>AN-*ĥír-be zaq-pu a-lik*  
 92) *šal-mi it-ti šal-mi-šú ú-še-ziz URU ta-ia-a URU*  
*ĥa-za-zu ma-ĥa-zi*  
 93) GAL.MEŠ-*ti ša KUR pa-ti-na-a-a ak-šud*  
 GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ĤI.A a-duk*  
 94) 4 LIM 6 ME *šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la TA URU ĥa-*  
*za-zi at-tu-muš a-na URU ú-ri-me*  
 95) URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá<sup>m</sup>lu-bar-na KUR pa-ti-na-*  
*a-a aq-ṭi-rib URU ap-púl aq-qur ina IZIMEŠ*  
*aš-ru-up*  
 96) *a-kul-šú NA<sub>4</sub> a-su-me-ta al-ṭur ina UGU-šú az-*  
*qu-up ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>a-ra-me*  
 97) DUMU <sup>m</sup>gu-*ú-si KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ*  
 KÜ.GI.MEŠ [GU<sub>4</sub>].MEŠ UDU.MEŠ  
 GEŠTIN.MEŠ GIŠ.NÚ KÜ.GI  
 98) ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.TÚG *am-ĥur* 20 LIM 2 LIM  
 ÉRIN.ĤI.A KUR *ĥat-ti a-su-ĥa*  
 99) *a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la*

1–85a) See A.0.102.2 i 1 – ii 5a.

85b–89a) Moving on from the city Ališir (or Alimuš) I went down to the western sea. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. I made a colossal lordly statue of myself (and) wrote thereon (a description of) the praises of [Ašš]ur, the great lord, my lord, and the mighty conquests which I had been achieving in the land Ĥatti. I erected (the statue) by the sea.

89b–94a) On my return from the sea I ascended the Amanus range (and) cut down beams of cedar (and) juniper. I ascended Mount Atalur (and) proceeded to the place where the image of Anum-ĥirbe stands. I erected my image with his image. I captured Taiia (and) Ĥazazu, great cities which belong to the Patinean. I massacred many of them (and) carried off 4,600 captives.

94b–99) Moving on from the city Ĥazazu I approached Urimu, a fortified city of Lubarna, the Patinean. I razed, destroyed, burned, (and) consumed the city. I inscribed a stele (and) erected (it) therein. I received tribute from Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agūsi: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, (and) a bed of gold, ivory, (and) boxwood. I uprooted 22,000 people of the land Ĥatti (and) brought (them) to my city Aššur.

## 4

This text is engraved on a stone slab found at Tīl-Barsip (Tell Aḥmar). The inscription, on one surface and the left edge, was left unfinished since the text stops abruptly (at L.E. 17), although there is room enough for continuation. It begins (lines 1–30? and L.E. 1–9) with an invocation of gods, royal name, and genealogy, which is a duplicate of the introduction to A.0.102.2 (i 1–12a). It then continues with a geographic survey of Shalmaneser’s conquests. There is no obvious connection between the content of the text and the provincial city in which it was found.

## COMMENTARY

The stone slab is in the Aleppo Museum and measures 177×98 cm. I first collated the inscription in 1969. Then in 1977 Peter Dorrell took excellent photos of it which he kindly allowed me to use. The inscription is more legible in these photos than in those published by Thureau-Dangin, but many uncertainties remain. Frame

collated the inscription in 1988 and discovered that the stone is now very badly worn and even less legible than in the published photos.

Thureau-Dangin said that there were thirty lines on the obverse and seventeen on the left edge.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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## TEXT

## Obverse

- 1) <sup>d</sup>a-šur EN GAL-ú [...]
- 2) <sup>d</sup>a-nu MAN <sup>d</sup>NUN.GAL.MEŠ u <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki
- 3) EN KUR.KUR.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>BAD a-bu [...]
- 4) mu-šir e-šu-rat [...]
- 5) <sup>d</sup>é-a er-šu MAN ABZU [...]
- 6) nik-la-te <sup>d</sup>30 na-[nâr ...]
- 7) <sup>d</sup>e-tel-lu <sup>d</sup>šá-maš [...]
- 8) gim-ri te-né-[še-te ...]
- 9) šá me-lul-ta-šá [...]
- 10) MAN-ti-ia [...]
- 11) ú-šar-bu-ú [...]
- 12) UGU [...]
- 13) [...]
- 14) MAN kul-lat k[ib-rat ...]
- 15) mur-te-du-ú ka-[liš ...]
- 16) ni-šit e-ni <sup>d</sup>BAD ḠIR<sup>1</sup>.[NÍTA ...]
- 17) na-a-<sup>r</sup>du a-me-ru<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 18) u <sup>r</sup>šap-šá-qi mu<sup>1</sup>-[kabbis ...]
- 19) šá KUR-e ka-[liš] ḥur-šá-a-ni ma<sup>1</sup>-[hír ...]
- 20) u i-gi-se-e <sup>r</sup>šá DÚ<sup>1</sup>-[ši-na ...]
- 21) mu-pat-tu-ú <sup>r</sup>tu-da<sup>1</sup>-[ti ...]
- 22) šá a-na <sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>-[ib ...]
- 23) <sup>r</sup>ul-ta-<sup>r</sup>nap-šá-qa<sup>1</sup> [...]

## Lacuna (Obv. 24–30?)

## LEFT EDGE

- 1) a-na ḠIR.II.MEŠ-[šú]
- 2) ú-šak-ni-šu
- 3) nab-ni-tú KÜ-<sup>r</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>
- 4) šá ḠIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>[MAŠ]
- 5) šá kul-lat
- 6) za-i(\*)-ri-šu
- 7) i-né-ru-ma
- 8) is-pu-nu
- 9) a-bu-ba-ni-iš
- 10) ka-šid TA tam-di
- 11) šá KUR na-<sup>r</sup>i-ri<sup>1</sup>
- 12) a-di A.AB.BA
- 13) šá SILIM <sup>d</sup>šam-še
- 14) ŠU ik-<sup>r</sup>šu-du<sup>1</sup>
- 15) e-nu(?) -ma(?)
- 16) um-ta(?) -al(?) -[lu(?)]
- 17) EDIN(?) DAGAL

1–12?) God Aššur, great lord, [king of all the great gods]; god Anu, king of the Iḡigu and Anunnaku gods, lord of the lands; god Enlil, father of [the gods, who decrees destinies], who devises the designs of [heaven (and) underworld]; (5) god Ea, wise one, king of the *apsû*, [creator of] clever devices; god Sîn, light [of heaven (and) underworld], the noble one; god Šamaš, [judge of the (four) quarters, who leads aright] all humankind; [goddess Ištar, mistress of war and battle], whose game [is fighting; the great gods, who love] (10) my sovereignty, [who] have made great [my dominion, power, and leadership, (who) have richly established for me my honourable name (and) my lofty command] over [all lords];

13?–23?) [Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of Assyria], king of all the four quarters, [sun(god) of all people], (15) ruler of all [lands, the king (who is the) *desired object* of the gods], chosen of the god Enlil, [trustworthy] appointee [of Aššur], attentive [prince], who has seen [remote] and rugged regions, who has [trodden upon the] mountain [peaks] in all the highlands, receiver [of booty] (20) and tax from all [the (four) quarters], who opens paths [above and below], at whose [strong] attack [for combat the (four) quarters] are distressed [...]

## Lacuna (Obv. 24–30?)

L.E. 1–9) [son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (who)] subdued [all lands] at his feet, pure offspring of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (L.E. 5) who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood:

L.E. 10–14) Conqueror from the sea of the land Nairi to the western sea; he conquered.

L.E. 15–17) *When he had filled the wide plain*

94 4 LIM 6 ME “4,600”: the relevant part of the photo is illegible but both the copy and transliteration have this reading. The parallel passage in A.0.102.2 ii 12 clearly has 14 LIM 6 ME “14,600.”

4–5 The readings proposed by Michel and Schramm (see EAK 2 p. 71) are incorrect.

12–13 There is not enough room to restore all the text from A.0.102.2.

L.E. 6 -i(\*)-: the shape of the sign is similar to PÚ.

L.E. 15–17 The reading of these lines is very uncertain.

## 5

This text is engraved on gigantic bronze gates found at Imgur-Enlil (modern Balawat), a site not too far from Calah. The gates were made of cedar boards and decorated with a series of bronze bands, which were finely incised with inscriptions and scenes in relief. Remains of similar gates of Ashurnasirpal II were found at the same site and have been included in RIMA 2 pp. 321–23. Further discussion of Assyrian gates and doors made of bronze will be found there. Like the Ashurnasirpal gates, those of Shalmaneser are being prepared for publication by the staff of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum and discussion of the relationship between the texts and scenes must await the complete publication.

As with the gates of Ashurnasirpal, the various texts found on Shalmaneser's gates consist of one long text and a number of brief epigraphs. The long text is engraved twice (two exemplars), once on each of the two bronze coverings fitted to the edges of the two leaves of the gates at the point where they meet. The brief epigraphs are engraved on the bronze bands affixed in horizontal rows on the leaves of the gates. The long text is edited here while the epigraphs appear under A.O.102.63–86.

The present text must date to late in 850 BC or shortly after that year since the last military narrative is of the second Babylonian campaign in the eponymy of Bēl-bunāia. The bands with epigraphs and pictures are two years later than this. The content of the text edited here begins with the royal name, titles, genealogy, and epithets (i 1 – ii 1). It then surveys briefly campaigns to Ḫatti and the Mediterranean in 858 BC (ii 2–4), Urarṭu in 856 BC (ii 5 – iii 2), Bīt-Adini in 855 BC (iii 3–6), and concludes with a more detailed account of the two Babylonian campaigns in 851–50 BC (iv 1 – vi 7). With this the text ends abruptly. There is no description of work at Imgur-Enlil or of the installation of these gates as there was on the similar gates of Ashurnasirpal II. Nor are there any concluding formulae.

## COMMENTARY

The master text is a conflation of the two exs. (ex. 1 = BM 124667 [Rm 1047] + 128156 and ex. 2 = BM 124665 and 124666 [Rm 1046]) since there are a number of lacunae in each. Both exs. have been rather carelessly inscribed, with several errors, omissions, and inconsistent spacing of signs.

The publication history of the gates is sadly erratic. The first British Museum publication, by Pinches, presented the scenes and inscriptions on elaborate plates but the appearance of these spread over twenty-two years (1880–1902) and this resulted in confusion over their arrangement and interpretation. The second official British Museum publication, in 1915 by King, at the instigation of Budge, still failed to do justice to these artifacts although at the time it was claimed to be a major improvement over Pinches's work. Not all of the

bronzes were included and the texts were not edited, only partially translated. In addition, King and Budge questioned the veracity of the excavator, Rassam, in giving the provenance of the bronzes as Balawat. That they really do come from Balawat has subsequently been proved (see J. Oates, 1983). The bibliography below is for all texts on the bronze gates but more specific bibliographic references to individual epigraphs are given under the relevant entries.

The texts have been freshly collated for this edition with the kind permission and cooperation of the staff of the Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities at the British Museum. Preparation of this edition has benefited greatly from the use of a copy and preliminary edition prepared by Hulin and revised by Walker.

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## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-*<ašarēd>* MAN GAL-ú MAN dan-nu MAN ŠU MAN [māt aššur mār aššur-nāšir-apli šar kiššati šar māt aššur mār tukulti-ninurta šar kiššati šar māt aš-šu]r-ma eṭ-lu qar-du šá ina kib-rat 4-te [ittallakūma(?) ...]  
 2) la pa-du-ú mu-né-er LÚ al-tu-[ti ... ša (...)] UB.MEŠ DÜ-ši-na qa-tu-šú paq-da šá-gi-iš [...]  
 3) [l]a kan-šú-ut AŠ e-du-ú gap-šu [...] kip-pat KUR.KUR.MEŠ qa-tú-šú ú-kín-nu LUGAL UB.MEŠ [ mula ʾit(?) ekšūte(?) āpir]  
 4) [šá]lum-ma-te la a-di-ru GIŠ.LAL [... š]a EN-ti-šú MAN.MEŠ-ni ek-du-ti u la-a pa-du-ti [ultu šit šamše]  
 5) [a]-di e-rib <sup>d</sup>UTU-še ik-ta-[ša-du ...]-ta <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ LÚ.SIPA-ú ki-nu iš-šá-ku aš-šur [...]  
 6) <sup>l</sup>šit<sup>l</sup>-ra-ḥu ina u-me-šú-ma AŠ EN GAL-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>l</sup> [šumī ana rē ʾūt(?) ] UN.MEŠ i-bu-ú a-ga-a MAḤ ú-pi-ru EN-ti [...]

## Col. ii

- 1) GIŠ.TUKUL GIŠ.GIDRU GIŠ ši-bir-ru si-mat UN.MEŠ ina ŠU-ia ú-šat-me-ḥu ina GIŠ-tukul-ti aš-šur EN GAL-e EN-ia u <sup>d</sup>MAŠ ÁGA SANGA-ti-ia DU.DU-ku-ma KUR.KUR.MEŠ DÜ-ši-na ḥur-šá-a-ni  
 2) a-na paṭ gim-ri-sú-nu a-na ŠU-ia ú-kín-nu <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN dan-nu <sup>d</sup>šam-šu kiš-šat U[N.MEŠ ultu(?)] A.AB.BA šá KUR na-i-ri u A.AB.BA šá KUR za-mu-a šá be-ta-a-ni u A.AB.BA GAL-te šá KUR.MAR.TU.KI KUR ḥat-te ana paṭ gim-ri-šá GIM DU<sub>6</sub>

i 1–6a) Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of [Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II)], (who was) also [king of the universe (and) king of Assyria], valiant man who [is active] in the four quarters [(...)] merciless [...] who defeats the fierce [... the one (...)] into whose hands are entrusted all the quarters, destroyer of [...] those insubmissive to Aššur, mighty floodtide [which has no opponent, the one] into whose hands [Aššur (and the great gods)] firmly placed the circumference of lands, king of the (four) quarters [controller of the obstinate, crowned] with splendour, fearless in battle, [...] whose lordship has entirely conquered fierce and merciless kings [from east] to west, [...], Shalmaneser, faithful shepherd, vice-regent of Aššur, superb [...]:

i 6b – ii 2a) At that time Aššur, the great lord, called [my name for shepherdship of] the people, he crowned (me) with the exalted crown, [he ...] my dominion, (and) placed in my hands the sword, sceptre, (and) staff appropriate for (rule over) the people. With the support of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and the god Ninurta, who loves my priesthood, I always acted (and) they placed firmly in my hands all lands (and) mountains.

ii 2b–3) Shalmaneser, strong king, sun(god) of all people: I overwhelmed like the Deluge (lit. “tells of the Deluge”) the entire (territory stretching) [from] the sea of the land Nairi, the sea of the interior of the land Zamua and the great western sea of the land Ḫatti. I uprooted 44,400 of their troops (with)

i 1 [ittallakūma(?)]: cf. Michel, WO 2 p. 410 and Seux, ERAS p. 39.

i 3b–4a For the restorations see RIMA 2 p. 195 i 19–20. Note there LUGAL EN.MEŠ-e “king of lords” instead of LUGAL UB.MEŠ “king of the (four) quarters.”

i 5b–6a On analogy with the reconstruction of the other lines, there is almost certainly something missing between the end of line 5 (ex. 2) and the beginning of line 6 (ex. 1) — against Seux, ERAS p. 115 n. 38.

ii 1.1 omits DU.DU-ku-ma “I always acted.”

- 3) *a-bu-be áš-pu-un* 40 LIM 4 LIM 4 ME  
LÚ.ÉRIN.GAL.ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-su-ḥa a-na*  
UN.MEŠ KUR-ia *am-[nu (...)]e-lam-me EN-*  
*ti-ia* UGU KUR *ḥat-te at-bu-uk ina me-táq-ti-ia*  
šá A.AB.BA NU EN-ti-ia *šur-ba-a DÜ-uš KI*  
NU šá <sup>m</sup>AN-ḥi-ir-be *ú-še-zi-zi*
- 4) URU.MEŠ-ni šá ší-di *ḥu-li-ia a-púl a-qur ina*  
IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up m[a(?)dattu(?) ša(?) ...*  
*amḥur(?) ana tãmti]* GAL-te *a-lik*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia *ina* A.AB.BA GAL-te *ú-*  
*lil* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ana* DINGIR.MEŠ-ia  
DAB-bat *ma-da-tú šá* MAN.MEŠ šá ší-di  
A.AB.BA DÜ-šú-nu *am-ḥur*
- 5) NU EN-ti-ia *šur-ba-a DÜ-uš t[a-nãti aššur bêli*  
*rabê bêliia u liti kiššútia ša ina]* <sup>r</sup>A<sup>1</sup>.AB.BA *e-*  
*tap-pa-áš ina qé-reb-šú áš-tu-ur ina* UGU  
A.AB.BA *ú-še-ziz* TA KUR *en-zi-te a-di* KUR  
*da-ie-e-ni* TA KUR *da-ie-e-ni a-di*
- 6) [*ál aršaškun ál šarrútīšu ša* <sup>m</sup>a-r] *a-me* KUR *ú-*  
*ra-ar-ṭa-a-a* KUR-ud *a-púl a-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ  
*áš-ru-up ki-i ina* URU *ar-ša-áš-kun us-ba-ku-ni*  
<sup>m</sup>a-ra-mu KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a ana gi-piš*  
LÚ.ÉRIN.ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú
- Col. iii
- 1) *it-ta-kil-ma* ÉRIN.ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú *DÜ-liš lu id-*  
*ka-a ana e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *u MÊ ana* GABA-ia  
*it-ba-a* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú *aš-kun* LÚ *muq-tab-li-šú*  
*ú-nap-pi-ši* 3 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit* ÚŠ.MEŠ *qu-ra-di-*  
*šú*
- 2) EDIN DAGAL *ú-mal-li ú-nu-ut* MÊ-šú *ni-šir-ti*  
MAN-ti-šú *pit-ḥal-lu* ĦI.A.MEŠ *e-kim-šú ana*  
*šú-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú *ana* KUR-*e mar-ši e-li*  
KUR *qu-ti-e* DAGAL-tú *ki* <sup>d</sup>er-ra *áš-giš* TA  
URU *ar-ša-áš-kun a-di* KUR *gil-za-a-ni*
- 3) TA KUR *gil-za-a-ni a-di* KUR *ḥu-ub-uš-ki-a ki-*  
*ma* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR *ra-ḥi-ši* UGU-šú-nu *aš-gu-um na-*  
*am-ru-rat EN-ti-ia* UGU KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭi ú-šá-*  
*aš-kín* <sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-ni A <sup>m</sup>a-di-ni šá TA MAN.MEŠ-ni  
AD.MEŠ-ia *šip-šu u da-na-nu*
- 4) *il-ta-ka-na ina šur-rat* MAN-ti-ia *ina* URU-šú *e-*  
*sir-šú* BURU<sub>1c</sub>-šú *a-su-ḥu* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú *a-*  
*kis ana šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú <sup>Í</sup>D.A.RAD *e-bir*  
URU *ši-ta-am-rat* ŠU.SI KUR-*e šá ina a-ḥa-at*  
<sup>Í</sup>D *pu-rat-te šá-ki-ni-ma šá ki-ma* DUNGU TA  
AN-*e šú-qa-lu-la-at a-na*
- 5) *dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun ina* 2-te MU EGIR-šú *ar-te-*  
*di* ŠU.SI KUR-*e a-si-bi* LÚ *mu-daḥ-ši-ia ki-ma*

*their officers* (and) regarded (them) as people of my land. I unleashed upon the land Ḥatti my lordly radiance. Upon my passing by the sea I created a colossal image of my lordship (and) erected (it) where the image of Anum-ḥirbe (stands).

ii 4–5a) I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities along my way (and) [received] the tribute of [...]. I went down to the great [sea], washed my weapons in the great sea, (and) offered sacrifices to my gods. I received the tribute of all the kings by the sea. I created a colossal image of my lordship (and) wrote thereon the praises [of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, and the mighty deeds which] I had been accomplishing [by] the sea. I erected (it) by the sea. ii 5b – iii 3a) I conquered, razed, destroyed, (and) burned from the land Enzite to the land Daiēnu, from the land Daiēnu to [the city Aršaškun, the royal city of Ar]amu the Urartian. While I was residing in the city Aršaškun, Aramu the Urartian, trusting in the might of his army, mustered all his troops (and) attacked me to wage war and battle. I defeated him, crushed his soldiers, put to the sword 3,000 of his fighting men, (and) filled the wide plain with the blood of his warriors. I took away from him his military equipment, his royal treasure, (and his) numerous cavalry. To save his life he ascended a rugged mountain. I slaughtered the extensive Gutí like the god Erra. I thundered like the god Adad, the devastator, against (the territory stretching) from the city Aršaškun to the land Gilzānu (and) from the land Gilzānu to the land Ḥubuškia. (Thus) I laid my lordly brilliance over the land Urartu.

iii 3b–6) Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, who had been swaggering about with might and main since (the days of) the kings my fathers: at the beginning of my reign I imprisoned him in his city. I uprooted his harvest (and) cut down his gardens. To save his life he crossed the Euphrates and fortified himself in the city Šitamrat, a mountain peak situated on the bank of the Euphrates which is suspended from heaven like a cloud. In a second year I went after him (and) laid siege to the mountain peak. My soldiers flew up against them like the *anzû*-bird. I uprooted (and transported) 17,500 of his troops. I took for myself Aḥunu together with his troops, gods,

ii 3 LÚ.ÉRIN.GAL.ĦI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu: only preserved in ex. 2. This must be erroneous for something like: LÚ.ÉRIN.ĦI.A/MEŠ-šú-nu LÚ.GAL.ĦI.A/MEŠ-šú-nu.

ii 3.1 <sup>m</sup>AN-ḥi-ir-be: ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>AN-ḥir-be. See the note to A.0.102.2 ii 10.

ii 5 t[a-nãti ...] ... *ēappaš*: cf. A.0.102.2 ii 62–63.

ii 5.2 *da-ia-a-ni* (both occurrences).

ii 6 For the restoration at the beginning see A.0.102.2 ii 47–48.

ii 6.2 *ar-šu-áš-kun*.

iii 2.2 *ar-ši-áš-kun*.

iii 4.1 omits *šá ina a-ḥa-at* <sup>Í</sup>D *pu-rat-te šá-ki-ni-ma* “which is situated on the bank of the Euphrates.”

*an-ze-e* UGU-šú-nu *i-še-’u* 17 LIM 5 ME  
 ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-šú *a-su-ḥa* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-ni a-di*  
 ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú  
 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú

- 6) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú *a-na pa-ni-ia ú-te-ra*  
*a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la a-na* UN.MEŠ  
 KUR-ia *am-nu*

Col. iv

- 1) *ina li-me* <sup>md</sup>UTU-EN-PAB *ina tar-ši*  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU MAN KUR *kar-du-ni-*  
*áš* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-*sa-a-te* ŠEŠ-šú KI-šú  
*ib-bál-kit* KUR *mal-ma-liš i-zu-zu*  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU *ana* ÉRIN.TÁĪ-šú *ana*  
 UGU <sup>md</sup>šúl-*ma-nu-MAŠ ú-ma-’e-ra*
- 2) *rak-ba-šú* <sup>md</sup>šúl-*ma-nu-MAŠ a-li-lu šam-ru šá*  
*tu-kúl-ta-šú* <sup>d</sup>MAŠ *iš-bat ar-ḥu a-na* KUR *ak-*  
*ka-de-e a-la-ka iq-bi ana* URU *za-ban aq-ṭí-rib*  
 UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ina* IGI <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR EN-*ia*
- 3) *lu BÁL-qí TA URU za-ban at-tu-muš ana* URU  
*me-tu-ur-na-at aq-ṭí-rib* URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad*  
 GAZ.MEŠ-šú *a-duk šal-la-su áš-lu-la TA URU*  
*me-tu-ur-na-at a-tu-muš ana* URU *gán-na-na-te*
- 4) *aq-ṭí-rib* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-*sa-te* MAN *ḥa-*  
*ma-’i la mu-de-e a-lak-te ra-ma-ni-šú a-na e-*  
*peš* MURUB<sub>1</sub> *u MĒ a-na GABA-ia ú-ša-a a-bi-*  
*ik-ta-šú aš-kun* GAZ.MEŠ-šú ĪI.A.MEŠ *a-duk*  
*ina* URU-šú *e-sir-šú* BURU<sub>14</sub>-šú
- 5) *a-su-uḥ* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub> MEŠ-šú *ak-ši-iṭ* ÍD-šú *as-ki-*  
*ir ina šá-né-e ta-lu-ki ina li-me* <sup>m</sup>EN-*bu-na-a-a*  
*ina* ITI.BÁR UD 20.KÁM TA URU *ni-nu-a at-*  
*tu-muš* ÍD *za-ba AN.TA*
- 6) *u* KI.TA *e-bir a-na* URU *la-ḥi-ri aq-ṭí-rib* URU  
*a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-šú *a-duk šal-la-su*  
*áš-lu-la TA URU la-ḥi-ri*

Col. v

- 1) *at-tu-muš a-na* URU *gán-na-na-te aq-ṭí-rib*  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-*sa-te ki-ma* KA<sub>5</sub>.A *ina píl-*  
*še ú-ši a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *ia-su-bi il-ta-kan pa-*  
*ni-šú* URU *ar-man*
- 2) *a-na dan-nu-ti-šú lu iš-bat* URU *gán-na-na-te lu*  
*ak-šud* GAZ.MEŠ-šú *a-duk šal-la-su áš-lu-la ar-*  
*ki-šú a-na* KUR-*e e-li ina* URU *ar-man e-sir-šú*  
 URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-šú
- 3) *a-duk šal-la-su áš-lu-la* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-*sa-*  
*te ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit u*  
 ÉRIN.MEŠ *ḥu-up-še šá* KI-šú *a-iu-um-ma ul e-*  
*zib TA* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU *ik-šú-da ga-ri-*  
*šú u* <sup>md</sup>šúl-*ma-nu-MAŠ*
- 4) MAN *dan-nu im-šu-ú mal lib-bu-šú it-ta-’i-id-*  
*ma* KA EN GAL-*e* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
<sup>md</sup>šúl-*ma-nu-MAŠ* MAN KUR AŠ *a-na*  
 URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *iq-ta-bi a-la-ka*  
*ik-šu-dam-ma a-na* URU.GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A  
 URU *qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ

chariots, (and) horses, brought (them) to my city  
 Aššur, (and) regarded (them) as people of my land.

iv 1–5a) In the eponymy of Šamaš-bēla-ušur, at the time of Marduk-zākir-šumi, king of Karduniaš, Marduk-bēl-usāte, his brother, rebelled against him (and) they divided up the land evenly. Marduk-zākir-šumi sent his messenger (with a plea) for help to Shalmaneser. Shalmaneser, the vigorous hero who is supported by the god Ninurta, took the road (and) ordered the march to the land of Akkad. I approached the city Zaban (and) offered sacrifices to the god Adad, my lord. Moving on from the city Zaban I approached the city Mē-turnat. I laid siege to the city, captured (it), slaughtered its (people), and plundered it. Moving on from the city Mē-turnat I approached the city Gannanāte. Marduk-bēl-usāte, the rebel king who did not know what he was doing, came forth to wage war and battle against me. I defeated him, made an extensive massacre, (and) imprisoned him in his city. I uprooted his harvest, cut down his gardens, (and) stopped up his canals.

iv 5b – v 3a) On a second campaign, in the eponymy of Bēl-bunāia, in the month Nisan, the twentieth day, I set out from Nineveh. I crossed the Upper and Lower Zabs (and) approached the city Laḥiru. I laid siege to the city, captured, massacred, (and) plundered it. Moving on from the city Laḥiru I approached the city Gannanāte. Marduk-bēl-usāte escaped like a fox through a hole, set out for Mount Iasubu, (and) fortified himself in the city Arman. I captured, massacred, (and) plundered the city Gannanāte. I ascended the mountain after him and imprisoned him in the city Arman. I laid siege to the city, (and) captured, massacred, (and) plundered it. I put Marduk-bēl-usāte to the sword and did not spare any of his *ḥupšu*-soldiers.

v 3b – vi 1a) After Marduk-zākir-šumi had conquered his enemies and Shalmaneser, the strong king, had achieved his heart's desire, he (Shalmaneser) heeded the command of the great lord, the god Marduk, (and he) Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, ordered the march to Babylon. He reached Cuthah, city of the hero of the gods, the exalted divine Utulu. He bowed down humbly at the gate of the temple and made sacrifices and offerings. He entered Babylon, link between heaven and underworld, the abode of life, (and) ascended to

iii 6.2 omits *a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-ia *am-nu* “(and) I regarded them as people of my land.”

iv 3.2 *gán-na-te*.

iv 4.1 omits ĪI.A.MEŠ “extensive.”

v 1.2 and v 2.2 *gán-na-te*.

- 5) *šá-qé-e* <sup>d</sup>ut-u<sub>9</sub>-lu ina KÁ.É.KUR *áš-riš uš-ken-ma* UDU.SISKUR-šú *ú-šam-ḫi-ra ú-qa-i-šá* NÍG.BA.MEŠ-te KU<sub>4</sub>-ub-ma a-na URU.KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ *mar-kas*, AN-e u KI-te *šu-bat ba-lá-ṭi*
- 6) *e-li-ma ana é-sag-íl* É.GAL DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-bat* MAN *gim-ri ana maḫ-ri* <sup>d</sup>EN u <sup>d</sup>GAŠAN *pal-ḫiš in-na-me-er-ma uš-te-še-ra kib-si-šú-nu* UDU.SISKUR-šú MAḪ NIDBA-šú *el-la ina é-sag-íl*

Col. vi

- 1) *ú-ṭaḫ-ḫi-da ú-paq-qid* É DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-ut é-sag-íl* ù KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ *ú-šam-ḫi-ra ni-qa-šú el-la iṣ-bat-ma* KASKAL a-na
- 2) URU *bár-sípa* URU *qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU <sup>d</sup>EN NUN *ga-áš-ri* KU<sub>4</sub>-ub-ma *ana é-zida* [É] *ši-ma-a* [r]e É EŠ.BAR-šú *ke-ni uš-ken-ma ina ma-ḫar* <sup>d</sup>AG u <sup>d</sup>na-na-a
- 3) DINGIR.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-šú *pal-ḫiš uš-te-še-ra kib-si-šú* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *bit-ru-te* UDU.MEŠ *ma-r*[u-te] *ú-ṭaḫ-ḫi-da ú-paq-qid* É DINGIR.MEŠ *šu-ut* URU *bár-sípa u é-zida ki-ma iṣ-te-niš*
- 4) *ú-šam-ḫi-ra bur-sag-gi ana* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ u [URU] *bár-sípa*.KI ÉRIN.MEŠ BAR *šu-ba-re-e šá* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *qé-re-ti iṣ-kun-ma* NINDA.ḪI.A *ku-ru-na i-din-šú-nu-ti TÚG bir-me-e ú-lab-biṣ* NÍG.BA.MEŠ
- 5) *ú-qa-i-su-nu-ti ul-tú* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>md</sup>šúl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN *dan-nu* MAN KUR AŠ *ḫa-diš ip-pal-su-šu-ma ú-tar-ri-ṣu bu-ni-šú-<nu>* ŠÁ.IGI.GURU<sub>6</sub>(\*)-šú u *ek-du-te im-ḫu-ru iṣ-mu-ú su-pi-šú* TA URU.KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ *a-tu-muš ana* KUR *kal-di*
- 6) *a-ta-rad ana* URU *ba-qa-a-ni bi-ir-ti šá* <sup>ma</sup>a-di-ni A <sup>ma</sup>da-ku-ri *aq-tí-rib* URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-šú *ma-ʾa-tú a-duk šal-la-su-nu ka-bit-tú* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu *še-ni-šú-nu áš-lu-la* URU *ap-púl a-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up* TA URU *ba-qa-ni a-tu-muš* ÍD.A.RAD *ina geš-ri e-bir ana* URU *ḫu-ra-di*
- 7) URU MAN-ti-šú *šá* <sup>ma</sup>a-di-ni-ma *aq-tí-rib* <sup>ma</sup>a-di-nu A <sup>ma</sup>da-ku-ri *púl-ḫi me-lam-me šá* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU EN GAL-e *iṣ-ḫu-pu-šú-ma* GÌR.II.MEŠ-a DAB KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI ZABAR.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ AN.BAR.MEŠ

Esagil, the palace of the gods, abode of the king of all. He reverently appeared in the presence of divine Bēl and Bēlat, properly performed their rites, slaughtered (and) offered up lofty sacrifices (and) holy offerings in Esagil. He (also) presented holy offerings at the shrines of (other) deities in Esagil and Babylon.

vi 1b–5a) He took the road to Borsippa, city of the hero of the gods, son of Bēl, the powerful prince, (and) entered Ezida, temple of destinies, temple of his firm decision. He bowed down in the presence of the deities Nabû and Nanâ, the gods, his lords, and reverently (and) properly performed their (lit. “his”) rites. He slaughtered (and) offered up superb oxen (and) fat sheep. He presented *bursaggû*-offerings at the shrines of (other) deities of Borsippa and Ezida in like fashion. For the people of Babylon and Borsippa, his people, he established protection and freedom under the great gods at a banquet. He gave them bread (and) wine, dressed them in multi-coloured garments, (and) presented them with presents.

vi 5b–7) After the great gods had looked joyfully upon Shalmaneser, strong king, king of Assyria, directed (towards him) *their* faces, accepted his offerings and ..., (and) received his prayers: I moved out of Babylon (and) went down to Chaldea. I approached the city Baqānu, a fortress of Adinu, the man of Bīt-Dakkuri. I laid siege to the city, captured (it), staged an extensive massacre, (and) carried off a valuable booty of oxen and sheep. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the city. Moving on from the city Baqānu, I crossed the Euphrates in flood and approached the city Ḫuradu, a royal city of the same Adinu. The fearful splendour of Marduk, the great lord, overwhelmed Adinu, the man of Bīt-Dakkuri, and he submitted to me. I received from him silver, gold, bronze, tin, iron, [...], *meskannu*-wood, ivory, (and) elephant hides. While I was residing in Ḫuradu, I received tribute from Bīt-Iakin ... from

v 5 <sup>d</sup>ut-u<sub>9</sub>-lu: a name for Ninurta. See the note to RIMA 2 p. 194 i 5.

vi 2.1 omits NUN “prince.”

vi 3.2 *kab-ru-ti* “fat” for *bit-ru-te* “superb.”

vi 4.2 has UBARA instead of BAR.

vi 5 *ú-tar-ri-ṣu bu-ni-šú-<nu>* ŠÁ.IGI.GURU<sub>6</sub>(\*)-šú u *ek-du-te im-ḫu-ru*: ex. 1 has *ú-tar-ri-ṣ[u...]* <sup>d</sup>šú u *ek-du*<sup>1</sup>-te *im-ḫu-ru*. Ex. 2 has *ú-tar-ri-ṣu bu-ni-šú* ŠÁ.IGI.ŠÁ-šú u *ek-du-ti im-ḫu-ru*. The passage is difficult and my suggested readings and translation are very tentative.

vi 6.1 omits *ma-ʾa-tú* “extensive.”

vi 6.1 *šal-la-su*-[...] IZI.MEŠ: there is not enough room to restore all that is preserved in ex. 2. In vi 7 ex. 1 also has a shorter text.

vi 6 URU *ḫu-ra-di*: from ex. 2; ex. 1 URU *ḫu-r*[a-di]. For *ḫurādu* “settlement, village” as a first element in Babylonian geographic names see Brinkman, MSKH 1 p. 392 n. 1 and Nashef, TAVO B/7/5 p. 131. Michel’s reading as Ḫudādu (cf. WO 1 p. 69 n. 6 and Brinkman, PKB 1 p. 197 n. 1207) is to be rejected.

vi 7.1 [iṣ-ḫu-pu<sup>1</sup>-šú-ma x x x [...] x x [...]] <sup>d</sup>ma-da-tú<sup>1</sup>: there is not enough room to restore all that is preserved in ex. 2. The same applies at the end of the line where ex. 1 ends with D[UMU (?) ...] and there is not enough room to fit in all that appears after this in ex. 2.



[...] <sup>1</sup>mes-kan-na<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ZÚ.MEŠ KUŠ AM.SI  
*am-ḥur-šú ki-i* <sup>1</sup>ina(?) *ḥu(?)*-ra<sup>1</sup>-di-ma us-ba-ku-  
 ni ma-<sup>1</sup>da-tú šá DUMU<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ia-ki-ni x x x x šá  
<sup>m</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>m</sup>a-ú-ka-ni  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ  
 ZABAR.M[EŠ ... mes]-<sup>1</sup>kan-na<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
<sup>1</sup>ZÚ<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ KUŠ AM.SI.MEŠ *am-ḥur*

Mušallim-Marduk, a man of Bīt-Amukkāni  
 (Aukānu): silver, gold, tin, bronze, [...], *meskannu*-  
 wood, ivory, (and) elephant hides.

## 6

This edition of the annals, on clay tablets from Aššur, is dated 842 BC and has a description of the military campaigns down to 843 BC. It begins (i 1–27) with an invocation of gods, a passage which is a virtual duplicate of the introduction to A.0.102.2 (i 1–11). Then it has a narration (i 28 – iv 25) of military campaigns in chronological order for the accession year and first sixteen regnal years of Shalmaneser III's reign. The text concludes with a series of short paragraphs describing, in order, the conquests geographically (iv 26–36), the appointment of governors and regulation of tribute (iv 37–39), hunting (iv 40–44), the increase of agricultural production (iv 45–46), and the tremendous growth in the size of the Assyrian army (iv 47–48). These latter themes were introduced to Assyrian annals in the time of Tiglath-pileser I (see RIMA 2 pp. 7–8). The text ends abruptly with the date, there being no building description or blessings and curses.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Excavation number	Ass ph number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines preserved	cpn
1	IM 54669	—	—	Aššur	31×23.5	Complete	p
2	VAT 9568	Ass 21255	—	Aššur	7.7×5+	i 1–19; iv 47	c
3	VAT 9559	Ass 8475	1258–59, 1365–66	Aššur; Pedersén, N18 House 12 (dA6IV)	8.6×7.5+	i 24–37; iv 33–46	c
4	VAT 9651	—	—	Aššur(?)	11.7×13.7+	i 31–58; iii 52 – iv 25	c
5	VAT 9553	Ass 14627	—	Aššur; second work level, wadi debris (cE9I)	12.7×11.4+	i 41–56; ii 21–72 iii 40 – iv 10	c
6	MAH 10827	—	—	—	6.6×5.2+	i 56–72	c
7	K 3106	—	—	—	7×6+	i 66 – ii 13; iii 13–33	c
8	VAT 9625	—	—	Aššur(?)	4.3×9+	i 73 – ii 9	c
9	MAH 10830	—	—	—	10×9+	i 73 – iii 11	c
10	VAT 9536	Ass 12343	3130	Aššur	7×7+	ii 46–72	c
11	A.0.102.7	ND 4369	—	Calah	10×9+	i 30–49	n
12	Private possession	—	—	Aššur	5.3×7+	iii 42–55	c

## COMMENTARY

Only ex. 1, which is the master text, is complete. All the other exs. are mere fragments and the identification of these miscellaneous bits as exs. of one text is mainly to the credit of Schramm. Ex. 1 is inscribed on a large clay tablet which was found, together with the stone tablet included as A.0.102.10, in the outer wall of Aššur. Most of the other exs. also came from Aššur and it seems reasonable to assume that the few for which no

provenance is known came from that site (except ex. 11 — see below). All exs. are on clay tablets, or fragments thereof, and inscribed either in two columns per side (exs. 1, 3–6, and 8), or one column per side (exs. 2, 7, 9, 10, and 12). This distinction was pointed out by Schramm, who observed that exs. 2, 7, 9, and 10 (also 12), although very fragmentary, have in general one line for every two in ex. 1, and therefore their lines

must have stretched right across the tablet. The other exs. (3–6 and 8) have more or less the same line length as ex. 1, and therefore must have had two columns per side. Indeed, traces of two columns on each side are preserved on exs. 4 and 5. None of the fragments seems to join physically. Nevertheless, some probably belong to the same tablet and Schramm has theorized that they may come from as few as three four-column tablets and two two-column tablets; but I suspect there were more.

A few exs. need special comment. On ex. 4 there are scant, illegible traces at scattered points between i 58

and iii 52. There are some illegible traces on the reverse of ex. 8.

The fragment catalogued as “ex. 11” is, in fact, a separate text, A.0.102.7. It has been edited here because all that remains duplicates a few lines in A.0.102.6. But it comes from Calah, not Aššur, and clearly was not as lengthy a text as A.0.102.6 (the rev. of ex. 11 only reaches as far as i 49 before it breaks off). The fragment has not been located or collated. I am grateful to Deller for bringing to my attention ex. 12.

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 1986 Pedersén, Archives 2 p. 106 and n. 2 (ex. 3, provenance)

## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) <sup>d</sup>aš-šur EN GAL-ú MAN *gim-rat*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>a-num MAN <sup>d</sup>í-gì-gì  
 2) <sup>ù</sup> <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki EN KUR.KUR <sup>d</sup>en-líl MAḪ a-bu  
 DINGIR.MEŠ ba-nu-ú DÜ-ma  
 3) <sup>d</sup>é-a LUGAL ABZU EN *né-me-qi ḫa-si-sis*  
 4) <sup>d</sup>30 MAN a-ge-e ša-qu-ú nam-ri-ri  
 5) <sup>d</sup>šá-maš DI.KUD AN-e KI-tim ša-qu-ú EN *gim-ri*  
 6) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ *dan-dan-nu geš-ru* SAG.KAL  
 DINGIR.MEŠ *ši-tar-ḫu*  
 7) <sup>d</sup>INANNA *be-lat* MURUB<sub>4</sub> <sup>ù</sup> MÈ *ša mi-lul-ta-ša* GIŠ.LAL  
 8) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *mu-šim-mu*  
 NAM.MEŠ *mu-šar-bu-ú* MAN-ti-a  
 9) *ša* EN-ti *kiš-šu-ti* <sup>ù</sup> *ša-pi-ru-ti* <sup>ù</sup> *šar-bu-ú*  
 10) MU *kab-tu* <sup>ù</sup> *zík-ri* *ši-ru* UGU *nap-ḫar*  
 EN.MEŠ-e *ma-a* <sup>2</sup>diš GAR-nu-ni  
 11) <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN *kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ NUN-  
 ú ŠID *aš-šur*  
 12) MAN *dan-nu* MAN *kúl-<lat>* *kib-rat* 4-i <sup>d</sup>šam-  
 šu *kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ  
 13) *mur-te-du-ú ka-liš* KUR.KUR.MEŠ MAN  
 ba-<sup>2</sup>i-it DINGIR.DINGIR.MEŠ  
 14) *ni-šit* IGI.II.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>BAD ĜÌR.ARAD *aš-šur pit-  
 qu-du* NUN-ú *na-a-du*  
 15) *a-me-ru du-ur-gi* <sup>ù</sup> *šap-ša-qi mu-kab-bi-si*  
 re-še-e-te  
 16) *ša* KUR-e *ka-liš ḫur-ša-a-ni*  
 17) *ma-ḫír* GUN <sup>ù</sup> *i-gi-se-e* *ša* DÜ-*ši-na kib-ra-a-te*  
 18) *mu-pat-tu-ú tu-da-a-ti* *ša e-liš* <sup>ù</sup> *šap-liš*

i 1–10) God Aššur, great lord, king of all the great gods; god Anu, king of the Igigu and Anunnaku gods, lord of the lands; god Enlil, exalted one, father of the gods, creator of all; god Ea, king of the *apsû*, lord of wisdom and understanding; god Šin, king of the lunar disk, lofty luminary; (i 5) god Šamaš, lofty judge of heaven (and) underworld, lord of all; god Ninurta, strong and mighty one, splendidly pre-eminent of the gods; goddess Ištar, mistress of war and battle, whose game is fighting; great gods, who decree destinies, who aggrandize my sovereignty, who have made great my dominion, power, and leadership, (who) have richly established for me my honourable name (and) my lofty command over (all) lords;

i 11–23) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands, king, *desired object* of the gods, chosen of the god Enlil, trustworthy appointee of Aššur, attentive prince, (i 15) who has seen remote and rugged regions, who has trodden upon the mountain peaks in all the highlands, receiver of booty and tax from all the (four) quarters, who opens paths above and below, at whose strong attack for combat the (four) quarters are distressed (and) (i 20) cities convulsed, strong male who acts with the support of Aššur (and) the god Šamaš, the gods his allies, and has no rival

- 19) *ša a-na ti-ib MÈ-šú dan-ni UB.MEŠ ul-ta-nap-ša-qa*  
 20) *i-ḫi-lu URU.DIDL.MEŠ NÍTA dan-nu ša ina GIŠ.tukul-ti aš-šur ù<sup>d</sup>šá-maš*  
 21) *DINGIR.MEŠ re-ši-šu DU.DU-ku-ma ina mal-ki.MEŠ ša kib-rat 4-i*  
 22) *ša-nin-šu la TUK-ú MAN KUR.KUR šar-ḫu šá ar-ḫi pa-áš-qu-te*  
 23) *DU.DU-ku-ma iš-tam-da-ḫu KUR.MEŠ-e ù ta-ma-a-te*  
 24) *DUMU<sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAB-A NUN-ú MAḪ ša SANGA-su UGU DINGIR.MEŠ i-tí-bu-ma*  
 25) *KUR.KUR.MEŠ nap-ḫar-ši-na a-na GÌR.II.MEŠ-šu ú-šék-ni-šu*  
 26) *nab-ni-tu el-lu-tu ša<sup>m</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ*  
 27) *ša kúl-lat za-i-re-e-šu i-né-ru-ma ís-pu-na a-bu-ba-ni-iš*  
 28) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-mì-šu-ma ina šur-rat MAN-ti-ia ša ina GIŠ.GU.ZA MAN-ti GAL-iš ú-še-bu*  
 29) *GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪLA-ia ad-ki ina KUR né-re-bi ša KUR si-me-si KU<sub>4</sub>-ub*  
 30) *àna URU a-ri-di URU dan-nu-ti-šú ša<sup>m</sup>ni-in-ni aq-tí-rib*  
 31) *URU a-si-bi ak-ta-šad GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ma-<sup>2</sup>a-tu a-duk šal-la-su-nu*  
 32) *áš-lu-la TA URU a-ri-di at-tu-muš a-na URU ḫub-uš-ki-a*  
 33) *aq-tí-rib URU ḫub-uš-ki-a a-di 1 ME URU.MEŠ-ni ša li-me-tu-šú*  
 34) *ina IZI áš-ru-up<sup>m</sup>ka-a-ki MAN URU ḫub-uš-ki-a TA IGI na-mur-rat*  
 35) *GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia dan-nu-ti ip-láḫ-ma KUR-ú a-na dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 36) *iš-kun EGIR-šú a-na KUR-e lu e-li MÈ dan-nu*  
 37) *ina qé-reb KUR-e lu áš-ku-un si-ta-at NÍG.GA.MEŠ-šú TA qé-reb*  
 38) *KUR-e ú-še-ri-da TA URU ḫub-uš-ki-a at-tu-muš*  
 39) *a-na tam-dí ša KUR na-i-ri lu al-lik GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-a ina tam-dí ú-lil*  
 40) *UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia BAL-qí ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia ša tam-dí*  
 41) *ma-da-tu ša<sup>m</sup>a-su-ú KUR gíl-za-na-a-a am-ḫur a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la*  
 42) *ina 1 BALA.MEŠ-ia ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-ša e-bir a-na tam-dí ša šùl-me<sup>d</sup>šam-ši*  
 43) *a-lik GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ina tam-dí ú-lil UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-a aš-bat*  
 44) *a-na KUR-e KUR ḫa-ma-a-ni e-li GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni ŠIM.LI a-kis*  
 45) *a-na KUR-e KUR lal-la-ar e-li ALAM MAN-ti-ia ina ŠÁ áš-qu-up*  
 46) *URU.MEŠ-ni ša KUR pa-ti-na-a-a ša<sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni DUMU<sup>m</sup>a-di-ni*  
 47) *ša URU gar-ga-miš-a-a ša DUMU gu-si ša GÌR.II.MEŠ am-ma-ti*

among the princes of the four quarters, magnificent king of lands, who has kept progressing by difficult ways through mountains and seas;

i 24–27) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), exalted prince, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (who) subdued all lands at his feet, pure offspring of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood:

i 28–41) At that time, in my accession year, after I nobly ascended the royal throne, I mustered my chariots and troops. I entered the pass of the land Simesi (and) (i 30) approached the city Aridu, the fortified city of Ninnu. I besieged the city, captured (it), massacred many of their (people), (and) carried off booty from them. Moving on from the city Aridu, I approached the city Ḫubuškia. I burned the city Ḫubuškia together with 100 cities in its environs. Kāki, king of the city Ḫubuškia (i 35), became frightened in the face of the flash of my mighty weapons and fortified himself on a mountain. I climbed up the mountain after him. I waged mighty war on the mountain (and) brought down from the mountain the remains of his property. Moving on from the city Ḫubuškia I marched to the sea of the land Nairi. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. On my return from the sea I received tribute from Asú the Gilzānean (and) brought (it) to my city Aššur.

i 42–48) In my first regnal year I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) marched to the western sea. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. I climbed up the Amanus range (and) cut beams of cedar (and) juniper. (i 45) I climbed up Mount Lallar (and) erected therein my royal statue. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of the Patineans, of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, of the Carchemishites, (and) of the Bīt-(A)gūsi, which are on the other side of the Euphrates.

i 47.11 <sup>m</sup>a-[gu-si] for gu-si.

- 48) *ša* ÍD.A.RAD *ap-pùl aq-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up*  
 49) *ina* 2 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* TA URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-*  
*muš a-na* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*bur-sa-ip*  
 50) *aq-tí-rib* URU.MEŠ-*ni* *ša* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-ni* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*a-*  
*di-ni ap-pùl aq-qur*  
 51) *ina* IZI *áš-ru-up ina* URU-*šu e-sir-šu* ÍD.A.RAD  
*ina mi-li-ša*  
 52) *e-bir a-na* URU *da-bi-gi bi-ir-tu* *ša* KUR *ḥat-ti*  
*a-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni*  
 53) *ša li-me-tu-šú u si-ta-ta* URU.MEŠ-*ni* *ša*  
 KUR.KUR.MEŠ DÜ-*ši-na*  
 54) *ina gi-ri-ia 2-e-ma ak-šud ap-pùl aq-qur ina* IZI  
*áš-ru-up*  
 55) *ma-da-tu* *ša* MAN.MEŠ-*ni* DÜ-*šú-nu* *ša*  
 ĞÌR.II.MEŠ *am-ma-a-te*  
 56) *ša* ÍD.A.RAD *am-ḥur li-i-ti ù da-na-a-ni* UGU  
 KUR.KUR.MEŠ DÜ-*ši-na al-tàk-kan*
- 
- 57) *ina* 3 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḥu-ni* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*a-di-ni*  
 TA IGI ĞIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*  
 58) *ip-láḥ-ma* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*bur-sa-ip* URU MAN-*ti-šú*  
*um-da-šir* ÍD.A.RAD  
 59) *e-te-bir* TA URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-muš* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-  
*bur-sa-ip* URU *pi-ti-ru*  
 60) *ša* ĞÌR.II.MEŠ *am-ma-a-ti* *ša* ÍD.A.RAD *ša*  
 ĞIŠ.tukul-*ti-A-é-šár-ra a-bi*  
 61) DAB-*šú-ni a-na ra-ma-ni-ia aš-bat ina ta-ia-ar-*  
*ti-ia*  
 62) *ina* KUR *né-re-be* *ša* KUR *al-zi* KU<sub>4</sub>-*ub* TA  
 KUR *al-zi*  
 63) *a-di* KUR *su-uḥ-me* TA KUR *su-uḥ-me a-di*  
 KUR *da-ie-e-ni*  
 64) TA KUR *da-ie-e-ni a-di* URU *ar-ša-áš-ku-un*  
 URU MAN-*ti-šú*  
 65) *ša* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-me* KUR *ú-ra-⟨ar⟩-ta-a-a* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-mu*  
 66) *a-na gi-piš* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*šú it-ta-kil-ma pit-ḥal-*  
*lu-šú* ĞI.A.MEŠ  
 67) *a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>2</sub> *u* MÈ *a-na GABA-ia id-*  
*ka-a* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-*šú áš-ku-un*  
 68) *pit-ḥal-lu-šu ú-nu-ut* MÈ-*šú e-kim-šú a-na šu-*  
*zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú*  
 69) *a-na* KUR-*e mar-ši e-li* TA IGI  
 ĞIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*  
 70) *ip-la-ḥu-ma* URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu um-da-šir*  
 KUR-*ú mar-šu*  
 71) *iš-ba-tu-ma* URU *ar-ša-áš-ku-un* URU MAN-*ti-*  
*šú a-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni*  
 72) *ša li-me-tu-šu* KUR-*ud* NÍG.GA.MEŠ-*šú*  
 NÍG.ŠU-*šú a-na la ma-ni ú-še-ši-a*  
 73) URU.MEŠ-*ni ap-pùl aq-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up*

i 49–56) In my second regnal year I moved out from Nineveh (and) approached the city Tīl-Barsip (Barsaip). I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) confined him to his city. I crossed the Euphrates in flood. On (this) my second campaign I captured, razed, destroyed, (and) burned the city Dabigu, fortress of the land Ḥatti, together with cities in its environs and the remaining cities of all their lands. I received (i 55) tribute from all the kings on the other side of the Euphrates (and) accomplished everywhere my mighty victories over all the lands.

i 57 – ii 2) In my third regnal year Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, became frightened in the face of my mighty weapons, abandoned the city Tīl-Barsip (Bursaip), his royal city, (and) crossed the Euphrates. Moving out from Nineveh I took as my own the cities Tīl-Barsip (Bursaip) (and) Pitiru (i 60), (cities) which are on the other side of the Euphrates (and) which Tiglath-pileser (I), my ancestor, had established. On my return I entered the pass of Alzu. (I marched) from Alzu to the land Suḥme, from the land Suḥme to the land Daiēnu, from the land Daiēnu to the city Aršaškun, the royal city (i 65) of Aramu the Urtartian. Aramu trusted in the strength of his army and mustered his numerous cavalry to wage war and battle against me. I defeated him (and) deprived him of his cavalry (and) military equipment. To save his life he climbed up a rugged mountain (i 70). They (his people) became frightened in the face of my mighty weapons, abandoned their cities, and took to a rugged mountain. I captured the city Aršaškun, his royal city, together with cities in its environs. I brought out his incalculable possessions and property (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned the(se) cities. (ii 1) I annihilated like a flood from the land Gilzānu to the city Ḥubuškia. From the pass of Mount Kurruru I emerged before the city Arbail.

i 49.4 URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*bur-sa-ip*

i 52–54 This passage has been inexpertly compiled from two or more sources. First, *ina girriia šanēma akšud* is in a peculiar position. Second, a verb of motion (*aqṭirib* “I approached” or *allik* “I marched”) is needed in i 52 (after Ḥatti) to go with *ana*: “I approached the city Dabigu ... Ḥatti. I destroyed it together with the cities ...” (cf. the note to i 62–65). Third, one expects a numeral before URU.MEŠ-*ni* “cities.” Fourth, what “lands” are these?

i 58.4 [DU<sub>6</sub>]-*bur-sa-ip* <URU>.

i 59.6 *pi-it-na*(?) for *pi-ti-ru*.

i 62–65 Note the tabulated form of this passage from which the verbs (*aqṭirib* or *allik*) have been omitted. Cf. the note to i 52–54. Cf. the note to iv 1.

i 65.6 *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-ṭa*!

Col. ii

- 1) TA KUR *gíl-za-a-ni a-di* URU *hub-uš-ki-a* GIM  
DU<sub>6</sub> *a-bu-bi ás-pu-un*
- 2) *ina* KUR *né-re-bi ša* KUR *kír-ru-ri ina* SAG  
URU.4-DINGIR *ú-ši-a*
- 
- 3) *ina* 4 BALA.MEŠ-*ia ina* ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD 13.KÁM  
TA URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-muš*
- 4) ÍD.A.RAD *ina mi-li-ša e-te-bir* EGIR <sup>m</sup>*a-ħu-ni*  
DUMU *a-di-ni*
- 5) *ar-ti-di* KUR *ši-tam-rat* KUR *ú-ba-an* KUR-*e ša*  
*a-ħat* ÍD.A.RAD
- 6) *ša ki-ma* DUNGU TA AN-*e šu-qa-lu-lat a-na*  
*dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun*
- 7) KUR *ú-ba-na-at* KUR-*e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* <sup>m</sup>*a-ħu-*  
*ni a-di* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-šú*
- 8) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú*  
20 LIM 2 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ-*šú a-su-ħa-šú*
- 9) *a-na* URU-*ia aš-šur ub-la*
- 
- 10) *ina* MU-*ma ši-a-ti* TA URU.ŠÀ-URU *at-tu-muš*  
KUR *kúl-la-ar* BAL-*kit*
- 11) *a-na* KUR *za-mu-a ša É-a-ni at-ta-rad*  
URU.MEŠ-*ni ša* <sup>m</sup>*ni-ik-de-ra*
- 12) KUR *i-da-a-a ak-ta-šad si-ta-at* ÉRIN.MEŠ-*šú-*  
*nu ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ
- 13) GIŠ *ni-a-ri ir-ka-bu ina tam-di ú-ri-du ina*  
GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ
- 14) KUŠ *ki-bar-ri ar-kab* EGIR-*šú-nu ar-ti-di*
- 15) GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ina* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *tam-di a-duk*  
*šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la*
- 
- 16) *ina* 5 BALA.MEŠ-*ia TA* URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-*  
*muš a-na* KUR *kaš-ia-ri e-li*
- 17) 11 URU.MEŠ-*ni dan-nu-ti ak-šud* <sup>m</sup>*an-ħi-it-ti*
- 18) KUR *šub-ri-a-a ina* URU-*šu e-sir-šu ma-da-tu-*  
*šu am-ħur-šú*
- 
- 19) *ina* 6 BALA.MEŠ-*ia TA* URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-*  
*muš a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
- 20) *ša ši-di* ÍD *pa-li-ħi aq-ťi-rib* TA IGI  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti*
- 21) *ip-la-ħu-ma* <sup>m</sup>*gi-am-mu* EN URU-*šú-nu i-du-ku*
- 22) *a-na* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-*tur-a-ħi* KU<sub>4</sub>-*ub* URU *a-na ra-*  
*ma-ni-ia aš-bat*
- 23) TA *ši-di* ÍD *pa-li-ħi at-tu-muš* ÍD.A.RAD *ina*  
*me-li-šá*
- 24) *e-bir ma-da-tu ša* MAN.MEŠ-*ni ša* KUR *ħat-ti*  
*am-ħur* TA KUR *ħat-ti*
- 25) *at-tu-muš a-na* URU *ħal-man aq-ťi-rib*  
UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *a-na* IGI <sup>d</sup>ÍŠKUR
- 26) *ša* URU *ħal-man* DÜ-*uš TA* URU *ħal-man at-*  
*tu-muš a-na* URU *qar-qa-ra*
- 27) *aq-ťi-rib* <sup>m</sup>*dÍŠKUR-*id-ri ša* KUR.ANŠE-*šú* <sup>m</sup>*ir-*  
*ħu-le-na**
- 28) KUR *a-mat-a-a a-di* 12 MAN.MEŠ-*ni ša ši-di*  
*tam-di a-na* Á.MEŠ
- 29) *a-ħa-miš it-tàk-lu-ma a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *ù*  
MĒ *a-na* GABA-*ia*

ii 3–9) In my fourth regnal year, on the thirteenth day of the month Iyyar, I moved out from Nineveh (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood in pursuit of Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. He had made as his stronghold (ii 5) Mount Šītamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates which is suspended from heaven like a cloud. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. Aħunu, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, (and) 22,000 of his troops I uprooted (and) brought to my city, Aššur.

ii 10–15) In this same year I moved out from Inner City (Aššur), crossed Mount Kullar, went down to the interior of the land Zamua, (and) captured the cities of Nikdêra, the Idean. The remnant of their army boarded boats of papyrus and escaped by sea. I boarded boats of *inflated skins* (and) pursued them. I defeated them in the midst of the sea (and) plundered them.

ii 16–18) In my fifth regnal year I moved out from Nineveh and ascended Mount Kašiiari. I captured eleven fortified cities (and) confined Anħitti the Šubraean to his city (and) received his tribute.

ii 19–33) In my sixth regnal year I moved out from Nineveh and approached the cities on the banks of the River Baliħ (Paliħ). They became frightened in the face of my mighty weapons and killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city Tīl-turaħi (and) claimed the city as my own. Moving on from the banks of the River Baliħ (Paliħ) I crossed the Euphrates in flood. I received tribute from the kings of the land Ĥatti. (ii 25) Moving on from the land Ĥatti I approached the city Aleppo (Ĥalman) (and) made sacrifices before the god Adad of Aleppo (Ĥalman). Moving on from Aleppo (Ĥalman) I approached the city Qarqar. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irħulênu, the Ĥamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, (ii 30) attacked me to wage war and battle. I fought with them. I put to the sword 25,000 of their fighting men (and) captured from them their chariotry, cavalry, (and) military equipment. To save their lives they ran away. I boarded boats (and) went out upon the sea.

ii 3 UD 13.KÁM: it is clearly 13 in ex. 7. The photo of ex. 1 is blurred but the numeral looks more like 13 than 14.

ii 11 Nikdêra: see the note to A.0.102.16 line 25.

ii 13 *ir-ka-bu* is clear in both preserved exs., 1 and 9. Cf. Hulin, Iraq 25 (1963) p. 64.

- 30) *it-bu-ni it-ti-šú-nu am-daḥ-ḫi-iṣ* 20 LIM 5 LIM  
ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú-nu*
- 31) *ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit*  
GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu*
- 32) *ú-nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu a-na šu-zu-ub*  
ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu *e-lī-u*
- 33) *ina GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ ar-kab a-di MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-di*  
*al-lik*
- 
- 34) *ina 7 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na URU.MEŠ-ni ša*  
*ḡa-bi-ni URU.DU<sub>6</sub>NA<sub>4</sub>-na-a-a a-lik*
- 35) URU.DU<sub>6</sub>NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ URU *dan-nu-ti-šu a-di*  
URU.MEŠ-ni *ša li-me-tu-šú*
- 36) KUR-ud *ina IZI áš-ru-up*
- 37) TA URU.DU<sub>6</sub>NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *at-tu-muš àna SAG ÍD*  
*e-ni*
- 38) *ša ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL a-šar mu-ša-ú ša A.MEŠ šak-*  
*nu a-lik*
- 39) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ DÛ-uš URU.MEŠ-ni *la*  
*ma-gi-ru-te aš-šur ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ*
- 40) *ú-šam-qit ma-da-tu ša KUR na-i-ri am-ḫur*
- 
- 41) *ina 8 BALA.MEŠ-ia ina tar-ši* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-  
MU-MU MAN KUR *kar-du-ni-áš*
- 42) <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-sa-a-te ŠEŠ-šú *it-ti-šu lu*  
BAL-*kit*
- 43) *a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li lu al-lik*
- 44) URU ÍD.A.MEŠ-túr-na-at URU *la-ḫi-ru ak-šud*
- 
- 45) *ina 9 BALA.MEŠ-ia 2-e gir-ri-ia URU ga-na-*  
*na-a-te KUR-ud*
- 46) <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-sa-a-te *a-na šu-zu-ub*  
ZI.MEŠ-šú *a-na URU ḫal-man e-li*
- 47) EGIR-šú *ar-di* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-sa-a-te *a-di*  
ÉRIN.MEŠ
- 48) EN *ḫi-iṭ-ṭí ša it-ti-šu ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-*  
*šam-qit*
- 49) *a-na URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI a-lik*  
UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ina*  
URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI
- 50) URU *bár-sípa.KI GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.KI DÛ-uš a-na*  
KUR *kal-di ú-ri-di*
- 51) URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu KUR-ud *a-di tam-di ša ÍD*  
*mar-ra-tu i-qa-bu-ši-ni*
- 52) *a-lik ma-da-tu ša ḡa-di-ni DUMU da-ak-ku-ri*  
*ša ḡmu-šal-lim.* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU
- 53) DUMU *ú-ka-a-ni KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI*  
GIŠ.ESI ZÛ AM.SI
- 
- 54) *ina URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI am-ḫur*
- 
- 55) *ina 10 BALA.MEŠ-ia 8-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir*  
URU.MEŠ-ni *ša ḡsa-an-gar*
- 56) URU *gar-ga-miš-a-a ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI áš-*  
*ru-up*
- 57) TA URU.MEŠ-ni *ša URU gar-ga-miš-a-a at-tu-*  
*muš*
- 58) *a-na URU.MEŠ-ni ša ḡa-ra-me aq-ṭí-rib URU*  
*ar-né-e <URU> MAN-ti-šú KUR-ud*
- 59) *a-di 1 ME URU.MEŠ-ni ša li-me-tu-šú ap-púl*  
*aq-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up*
- 60) GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la ina*  
*u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma*

ii 34–40) In my seventh regnal year I marched to the cities of Ḫabinu, the Tīl-abnīan. I captured (and) burned Tīl-abnī, his fortified city, together with the cities in its environs. Moving on from Tīl-abnī I marched to the source of the Tigris, the place where the water comes out, (and) made sacrifices. I put to the sword (the inhabitants of) cities insubmissive to Aššur (and) received tribute from the land Nairi.

ii 41–44) In my eighth regnal year, at the time of Marduk-zākir-šumi (I), king of Karduniaš, Marduk-bēl-usāte, his brother, rebelled against him. I marched out for vengeance (and) captured the cities Mē-turnat and Laḫiru.

ii 45–54) In my ninth regnal year, in my second campaign (to Babylonia), I captured the city Gannanāte. To save his life Marduk-bēl-usāte went up to the city Ḫalman. I pursued him (and) put to the sword Marduk-bēl-usāte together with the treacherous soldiers who were with him. (Then) I marched to Babylon (and) (ii 50) made sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah. I went down to Chaldaea (and) captured their cities. I marched to the sea called the Marratu (“Bitter”) River (and) received tribute in Babylon from Adinu, the man of Bīt-Dakkuri, (and) from Mušallim-Marduk, the man of Bīt-Amukkāni (Ukānu): silver, gold, ebony, (and) elephant ivory.

ii 55–67) In my tenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Sangara, the Carchemishite. Moving on from the cities of the Carchemishite I approached the cities of Aramu (and) captured the city Arnē, his royal city. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned (it) together with one hundred cities in its environs. (ii 60) I massacred them (and) plundered them. At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me

- 61) <sup>m</sup>İSKUR-*id-ri* ša KUR.ANŠE-šú <sup>m</sup>ir-*ḫu-le-na*  
KUR *a-mat-a-a*
- 62) *a-di* 12 MAN.MEŠ-*ni* šá š*i-di tam-di a-na*  
Á.MEŠ *a-ḫa-miš*
- 63) *it-tàk-lu-ma a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *u MÈ a-na*  
GABA-*ia*
- 64) *it-bu-ú-ni it-ti-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš*
- 65) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-*ku-un* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ  
*pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu*
- 66) *ú-nu-ut MÈ-šu-nu e-kim-šú-nu*
- 67) *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu *e-li-ú*
- 
- 68) *ina* 11 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* TA URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-*  
*muš* 9-šú ÍD.A.RAD
- 69) *ina mi-li-ša e-bir* 97 URU.MEŠ-*ni* ša <sup>m</sup>sa-*an-*  
*gar* KUR-*ud*
- 70) 1 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni* ša <sup>m</sup>a-*ra-me ak-šud ap-púl*  
*aq-qur*
- 71) *ina* IZI áš-*ru-up* š*i-di* KUR *ḫa-ma-a-ni aš-bat*
- 72) KUR *ia-ra-qu at-ta-bal-kàt*
- Col. iii
- 1) *a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni* ša KUR *a-mat-a-a at-ta-rad*  
URU *áš-tam-ma-ku*
- 2) *a-di* 89 URU.MEŠ-*ni* KUR-*ud* GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu  
*a-duk šal-la-su-nu*
- 3) *áš-lu-la ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma* <sup>m</sup>İSKUR-*id-ri* ša  
KUR.ANŠE-šú
- 4) <sup>m</sup>ir-*ḫu-le-na* KUR *a-mat-a-a a-di* 12  
MAN.MEŠ-*ni*
- 5) *ša š*i-di tam-di a-na* Á.MEŠ *a-ḫa-miš it-tàk-lu-**  
*ma*
- 6) *a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *u MÈ a-na* GABA-*ia it-*  
*bu-ú-ni*
- 7) *it-ti-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-  
*ku-un*
- 8) 10 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šu-nu ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit*
- 9) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu *pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu ú-nu-ut*  
MÈ-šú-nu
- 10) *e-kim-šú-nu ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia* URU *a-pa-ra-a-zu*
- 11) URU *dan-nu-ti-šú* ša <sup>m</sup>a-*ra-me* KUR-*ud* *ina u<sub>4</sub>-*  
*mi-šu-ma*
- 12) *ma-da-tu* ša <sup>m</sup>qàl-*pa-ru-un-da* KÙ.BABBAR  
KÙ.GI
- 13) AN.NA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.<RA.MEŠ>  
ANŠE.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ  
SÍK.ZA.GÌN.MEŠ
- 14) TÚG *lu-búl-ti* TÚG.GADA *am-ḫur a-na* KUR-*e*
- 15) KUR *ḫa-ma-a-ni e-li* GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni*  
*a-kis*
- 
- 16) *ina* 12 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* TA URU *ni-nu-a at-tu-*  
*muš* 10-šú ÍD.A.RAD
- 17) *e-bir a-na* KUR *pa-qa-ra-ḫu-bu-ni a-lik*  
UN.MEŠ *ig-du-ru*
- 18) KUR-*ú mar-šu iš-ba-tu* KUR *ú-ba-na-at* KUR-*e*
- 19) *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-duk*

to wage war and battle. I fought with them (and) (ii 65) defeated them. I took from them their chariotry, cavalry, and military equipment. To save their lives they ran away.

ii 68 – iii 15) In my eleventh regnal year I moved out from Nineveh (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood for the ninth time. I captured ninety-seven cities of Sangara. (ii 70) I captured, razed, destroyed, (and) burned one hundred cities of Aramu. I took to the slopes of the Amanus range, crossed Mount Iaraq, (and) (iii 1) descended to the cities of the people of Ḥamat. I captured the city Aštammaku, together with eighty-nine (other) cities. I massacred their (inhabitants) (and) plundered them. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḥamatite, together with twelve kings (iii 5) on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. I fought with them (and) defeated them. I put to the sword 10,000 of their fighting men. (iii 10) I took from them their chariotry, cavalry, and military equipment. On my return I captured Aparāzu, the fortified city of Aramu. At that time I received tribute from Qalparunda: silver, gold, tin, horses, donkeys, oxen, sheep, blue-dyed wool, (and) linen garments. I went (back) up the Amanus range (and) cut beams of cedar.

iii 16–20) In my twelfth regnal year I moved out from Nineveh (and) crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time. I marched to the land Paqaraḫubunu, (where) the people became frightened (and) took to a rugged mountain. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. I massacred them (and) (iii 20)

iii 2 89 URU.MEŠ-*ni*: A.0.102.8 line 37' has 99.

iii 4.9 [<sup>m</sup>ir-*ḫu-l*]e-*ni* KUR *a-ma-ta-a-a*.

- šal-la-su-nu  
 20) NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu TA qé-reb KUR-e ú-še-ri-da  
 21) ina 13 BALA.MEŠ-ia ina KUR né-re-be ša  
 𐎠INANNA.MEŠ KU<sub>4</sub>-ub  
 22) a-na mat-ia-a-ti a-lik mat-ia-a-tu a-na si-ḫír-ti-  
 šá KUR-ud  
 23) GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu a-na la ma-  
 né-e áš-lu-la  
 24) ina 14 BALA.MEŠ-ia ma-a-ti DAGAL-tu a-na  
 la ma-né-e  
 25) ad-ki it-ti 1 ME LIM 20 LIM ERÍN.ḪI.A  
 ÍD.A.RAD  
 26) ina mi-li-ša e-bir ina u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šu-ma  
 27) 𐎠IŠKUR-id-ri ša KUR.ANŠE-šú 𐎠ir-ḫu-le-na  
 28) KUR a-mat-a-a a-di 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni ša ši-di  
 tam-di  
 29) AN.TA ù KI.TA ÉRIN.ḪI.A-šú-nu ḪI.A.MEŠ  
 a-na la ma-né-e  
 30) id-ku-ú-ni a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ú-ni it-ti-šú-nu  
 31) am-daḫ-ḫi-iṣ BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-ku-un  
 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 32) pit-ḫal-la-šu-nu a-še-e ʾ ú-nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu  
 33) e-kim-šú-nu a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu e-li-ú  
 34) ina 15 BALA.MEŠ-<ia> a-na KUR na-i-ri a-lik  
 ina SAG ÍD e-ni  
 35) ša ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL ALAM MAN-ti-ia ina ka-a-pi  
 ša KUR-e  
 36) ina ši-it na-ga-bi-šá ab-ni  
 37) ta-na-a-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia al-ka-kàt qur-di-ia  
 38) ina qé-reb-šu al-tūr ina KUR né-re-bi ša KUR  
 tu-ni-bu-ni  
 39) KU<sub>4</sub>-ub URU.MEŠ-ni ša 𐎠a-ra-me KUR u-ra-  
 ar-ṭa-a-a  
 40) a-di SAG ÍD e-ni ša ÍD.A.RAD ap-púl aq-qur  
 41) ina IZI áš-ru-up àna SAG ÍD e-ni ša ÍD.A.RAD  
 a-lik  
 42) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-a  
 aṣ-bat GIŠ.TUKUL aš-šur ina lib-bi ú-lil  
 43) 𐎠a-si-a MAN KUR da-ie-e-ni ĠÌR.II.MEŠ-ia  
 DAB-bat  
 44) GUN ma-da-tu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 am-ḫur-šu  
 45) ša-lam MAN-ti-ia ab-ni ina MURUB<sub>1</sub> URU-šú  
 ú-še-ziz  
 46) ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia ša SAG ÍD e-ni  
 47) ša ÍD.A.RAD a-na KUR su-uḫ-ni a-lik 5  
 URU.MEŠ-ni  
 48) dan-nu-ti a-di URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šu-nu  
 KUR-ud  
 49) GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la  
 50) TA KUR su-uḫ-ni at-tu-muš a-na KUR en-zi  
 51) aq-tí-rib 2 URU.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti a-di  
 URU.MEŠ-ni  
 52) ša li-me-tu-šu-nu KUR-ud GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 a-duk  
 53) šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la TA KUR en-zi  
 54) at-tu-muš a-na UGU ÍD.A.RAD ina pu-ut  
 55) KUR me-li-di aq-ṫi-rib ma-da-tu ša 𐎠lal-li  
 56) KUR mé-li-da-a-a KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI

brought plunder and possessions of theirs down from the mountain.

iii 21–23) In my thirteenth regnal year I entered the Pass of the Goddesses, marched to Matiātu, (and) captured all of Matiātu. I slaughtered their (inhabitants) (and) took countless plunder from them.

iii 24–33) In my fourteenth regnal year I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood with 120,000 troops. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, above and below (iii 30), mustered their troops, which were too numerous to be counted. They attacked me, I fought with them, (and) defeated them. I destroyed their chariotry (and) cavalry (and) took away their military equipment. To save their lives they ran away.

iii 34–45) In my fifteenth regnal year I marched to the land Nairi. I created at the source of the Tigris, on a mountain cliff where its water comes out, my royal statue. I wrote thereon praises of my power (and) my heroic deeds. (Then) I entered the pass of Mount Tunibunu (and) (iii 40) razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Aramu, the Uruartian, as far as the source of the Euphrates. (Thus) I marched to the source of the Euphrates, made sacrifices to my gods, (and) washed the weapons of Aššur therein. Asia, king of the land Daiēnu, submitted to me (and) I received from him tax and tribute of horses. I fashioned my royal statue (and) erected (it) inside his city.

iii 46–57) On my return from the source of the Euphrates I marched to the land Suḫni. I captured five fortified cities together with the cities in their environs, massacred their (inhabitants), (and) plundered them. (iii 50) Moving on from the land Suḫni I approached the land Enzi. I captured two fortified cities together with the cities in their environs, massacred their (inhabitants), (and) plundered them. Moving on from the land Enzi (iii 55) I approached the Euphrates before the land Melid. I received tribute from Lalla, the Melidite: silver, gold, tin, (and) bronze. I fashioned my royal statue (and) erected (it) by the Euphrates.



AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ *am-ḥur*57) *ša-lam* MAN-ti-ia ab-ni ina UGU ÍD.A.RAD  
*ú-še-ziz*58) ina 16 BALA.MEŠ-ia TA URU.4-DINGIR  
*at-tu-muš*59) KUR *kúl-la-ar* BAL-at ina KUR za-mu-a *ša*  
*bit-a-ni*60) *bi-ir-tu a-ša-ba-at* TA KUR za-mu-a *ša bit-a-ni*61) a-di KUR mu-un-na ak-ta-šad TA KUR  
*mu-un-na*62) a-di KUR al-lab-ri-a URU *pad-di-ra*63) URU dan-nu-ti-šu *ša<sup>m</sup>ia-an-zi-bur-ia-áš*

Col. iv

1) KUR al-lab-ri-a-a <akšud> GIŠ.IG KÙ.GI  
MUNUS.ERIM.MEŠ É.GAL.MEŠ-šú2) NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú HĪ.A *áš-lu-la*3) TA URU al-lab-ri-a a-di URU *pár-su-a*4) TA URU *pár-su-a a-di URU ab-da-da-a-ni*5) TA URU *ab-da-da-a-ni a-di URU ḥa-ban*6) *ki-ma* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu mi-lam be-lu-ti-ia*7) UGU-šú-nu at-bu-uk <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-mu-SIG,8) MAN KUR.ZÁLAG a-na gi-piš ÉRIN.MEŠ-ni-  
*šú it-ta-kil-ma*9) *pit-ḥal-lu-šu* HĪ.A.MEŠ a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> u  
MÈ

10) a-na GABA-ia id-ka-a ina UGU ÍD nam-ri-te

11) *ina pu-tú-ia si-dir-tu iš-kun*12) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>3</sub>-šú *áš-ku-un pit-ḥal-lu-šú e-kim-šu*13) <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-mu-SIG, MAN KUR nam-ri TA  
IGI GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-a14) dan-nu-ti ip-láḥ-ma URU *šu-mur-za* URU.É-  
<sup>d</sup>U.GUR15) URU *níq-qu* *ša* KUR *tug-li-ia-áš* URU.MEŠ-  
*ni-šú*16) BĀD.MEŠ-ni-šú dan-nu-ti *ú-maš-šir*17) a-na *šu-zu-ub* ZĪ.MEŠ-šú e-li18) *mi-še-e<sup>2</sup>-ta* ina É.GAL.MEŠ-šú *áš-ku-un*19) DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú NÍG.GA-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú  
MUNUS.ERIM.MEŠ É.GAL.MEŠ-šú20) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ-šu a-na  
*la ma-ni*21) *áš-lu-la ma-da-tu* *ša<sup>m</sup>ba-ru-ú*

iii 58 – iv 6) In my sixteenth regnal year I moved out from Arbail, crossed Mount Kullar, (and) (iii 60) established a fortress in the interior of the land Zamua. I conquered from the interior of the land Zamua to the land Munna (and) from the land Munna to the land Allabria (and) the city Paddirā, the fortified city of Ianziburiaš (iv 1), the Allabriaean. I took booty from him: a door of gold, his palace women, (and) the extensive property of his palace. I set ablaze (the regions stretching) from the city Allabria to the city Parsua, from the city Parsua to the city Abdadānu, (and) (iv 5) from the city Abdadānu to the city Ḥaban, I overwhelmed them with my lordly brilliance.

iv 7–25) Marduk-mudammīq, king of the land Namri, trusting in the might of his troops, (iv 10) mustered his numerous cavalry to wage war and battle against me. He drew up a battle line opposite to me at the River Namritu. I defeated him and took from him his cavalry. Marduk-mudammīq, king of the land Namri, took fright in the face of my mighty weapons and abandoned the cities Šumurza, Bīt-Nergal, (and) (iv 15) Niqqu of the land Tugliaš, his fortified cities (and) garrisons. To save his life he fled (and) I plundered his palaces. I took as plunder his gods, his possessions (and) property, his palace women, (and) (iv 20) his harness-trained horses without number. I received tribute from Barū, the Ellipean, in the pass of the land Tugliaš. (iv 25) I overwhelmed the land Namri with awe of my weapons (and) my lordly brilliance.

iii 62.1 URU “city” for KUR “land” (so ex. 4) before *allabria*.

iii 62 *pad-di-ra*: or *šur-di-ra*? There is disagreement in the ancient texts and in modern scholarship. In all of the references the first sign is always PAD (𒀪) or ŠUR (𒍪), signs which are easily confused. For Asb., Sargon II, and Šamši-Adad V the evidence indicates *pad-*: Piepkorn, Asb. p. 52 line 52; Winckler, Sargon p. 170 line 12; Weidner, AfO 14 p. 43 lines 12, 16, and 22; and A.0.103.1 ii 7.

However, with Shalm. III there is ambiguity (either *pad-* or *šur-* possible) in two references: A.0.102.6 iii 62 and A.0.102.1002 line 4. In the remaining references it is clearly *šur-*: A.0.102.14 lines 171–72 and A.0.102.16 line 316'. In all of these references the same general region (Nairi, Mannaea, etc.) is involved and it is almost certain that the same place-name is meant. Most texts, then, read the name as *pad-*, while in only two texts is it clearly *šur-*. Thus it seems reasonably clear that *pad-* is the correct reading and that these two texts are in error. Weippert, GGA 224 (1972) p. 160 concurs. Others, however, believe that it is *šur-* for Shalm. III but *pad-* everywhere else: Michel, WO 1 (1947–52) p. 472 n. g; Parpola, Toponyms pp. 271 and 340; and cf. Schramm, EAK 2 p. 108 (to ii 7). iv 1 Michel inserts <akšud> before GIŠ.IG and the sense requires it, although neither of the preserved exs. (1 and 4) has such a text. See the note to i 62–65.

iv 3.4 KUR “land” instead of URU “city” before Allabria.

iv 5.4 *ḥa-am*-[*ban*(?)] for *ḥa-ban*.

iv 14 URU.É-<sup>d</sup>U.GUR: the reading is clear in both preserved exs., 1 and 4, and other proposals — cf. Schlobies, MAOG 1/3 (1925) pp. 20–21 — are incorrect.

iv 15.4 *ni-qu* for *níq-qu*.

iv 21.4 <sup>m</sup>pa-<sup>r</sup>ru-ú.

- 22) KUR *e-li-pa-a-a* ina KUR *né-re-bi*  
 23) *ša* KUR *tug-li-ia-áš am-ḥur šu-ri-bat*  
 24) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia mi-lam EN-lu-ti-ia*  
 25) UGU KUR *nam-ri at-bu-uk*
- 
- 26) *ka-šid* TA *tam-di* AN.TA ù KITA *ša* KUR  
*na-i-ri*  
 27) ù *tam-di* GAL-*ti ša šul-me* <sup>d</sup>*šam-ši*  
 28) *a-di* KUR *ḥa-ma-a-ni* KUR *ḥat-ti a-na paṭ gim-*  
*ri-šá a-pél*  
 29) TA SAG ÍD *e-ni ša* ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL *a-di* SAG ÍD  
*e-ni*  
 30) *ša* ÍD.A.RAD ŠU-*ti ik-šud* TA KUR *en-zi*  
 31) *a-di* KUR *su-u* <sup>2</sup>*ni* TA KUR *su-uḥ-ni*  
 32) *a-di* KUR *me-li-i-di* TA KUR *me-li-di*  
 33) *a-di* KUR *da-ie-e-ni* TA KUR *da-ie-e-ni*  
 34) *a-di* URU *ar-ša-áš-ku-un* TA URU *ar-ša-áš-*  
*ku-un*  
 35) *a-di* KUR *gíl-za-a-ni* TA KUR *gíl-za-a-ni*  
 36) *a-di* URU *ḥub-uš-ki-a ki-ma* DU<sub>6</sub> *a-bu-bi*  
*ás-pu-un*
- 
- 37) *ina* KUR.KUR.MEŠ ù *ḥur-ša-a-ni ša a-pe-lu-ši-*  
*na-ni*  
 38) LÚ *šak-nu-ti-ia al-tàk-kan* GUN *ma-da-tu*  
 39) *za-bíl ku-dúr-ri* UGU-šú-*nu áš-ku-un*
- 
- 40) <sup>d</sup>*nin-urta* ù <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU *ša* SANGA-*ti i-ra-am-mu*  
 41) MÁŠ.ANŠE EDIN *ú-šat-li-mu-ni-ma e-peš*  
*ba-ṽu-ri*  
 42) *iq-bu-ni* 3 ME 73 GU<sub>4</sub>.AM.MEŠ 3 ME 99  
 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ  
 43) *ina* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*ia pa-tu-te ina qi-it-ru-ub*  
 44) *meṭ-lu-ti-ia a-duk* 29 AM.SI.MEŠ *ina šub-ti*  
*a-di*
- 
- 45) GIŠ.APIN.MEŠ *ina ši-di* KUR-*ia ar-ku-ús*  
 ŠE.AM.MEŠ  
 46) ù ŠE.IN.NU.MEŠ UGU *ša pa-an ú-ša-tir*  
*at-bu-uk*
- 
- 47) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ 2 LIM  
 2 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ  
 48) 5 LIM 5 ME 42 *pit-ḥal-lu a-na Á.MEŠ* KUR-*ia*  
*ar-ku-us*(\*)  
 49) ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> UD 22.KÁM *lim-mu*  
 50) <sup>m</sup>*tàk-lak-a-na*-MAN  
 51) GAR URU *né-med*-<sup>d</sup>INANNA

iv 26–36) Conqueror from the upper and lower seas to the land Nairi and the great sea of the west as far as the Amanus range: I gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti. (iv 30) I (lit. “he”) conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. I annihilated like a flood from the land Enzi to the land Suḥni (Su’unu), from the land Suḥni to the land Melid, from the land Melid to the land Daiēnu, from the land Daiēnu to the city Aršaškun, from the city Aršaškun (iv 35) to the land Gilzānu, (and) from the land Gilzānu to the city Ḫubuškia.

iv 37–39) In the lands and mountains over which I gained dominion I appointed governors everywhere and imposed upon them tax, tribute, (and) corvée.

iv 40–44) The gods Ninurta and Nergal, who love my priesthood, gave to me the wild beasts and commanded me to hunt. I killed from my ... chariot 373 wild bulls (and) 399 lions with my valorous assault. I drove twenty-nine elephants into ambush.

iv 45–46) I hitched up plows in the (various) districts of my land (and thereby) piled up more grain and straw than ever before.

iv 47–48) I hitched up teams of horses to 2,002 chariots (and equipped) 5,542 cavalry for the forces of my land.

iv 49–51) The month Tashrit, the twenty-second day, eponymy of Taklāk-ana-šarri, governor of the city Nēmed-Ištar.

iv 23 *šu-ri-bat*: cf. A.O.102.16 line 64, A.O.102.14 line 84, A.O.102.24 line 14, and see the note to RIMA 2 p. 208 ii 78.

iv 44 See Grayson, *Studies Oppenheim* p. 93 and TSTS 1 p. 4.

## 7

This is a fragmentary version of the annals on a piece of clay tablet found at Calah (ND 4369). The small portion preserved duplicates the narrative of the early campaigns, down to the second regnal year (857 BC), as found in A.0.102.6 (i 30–49), a text from Aššur. For convenience the fragment has been edited with A.0.102.6 as “exemplar 11” although it is clearly a shorter version of the annals and with a different provenance. The inscription was published by Wiseman, *Iraq* 26 (1964) p. 118 and pl. 26. For further bibliography and comment, see the edition of A.0.102.6.

## 8

This version of the annals is reconstructed from inscriptions on two monumental bulls from Calah, supplemented by two small fragments of inscribed stone, which probably came from the same site. The text begins with Shalmaneser III's name, titles, epithets, genealogy, and a general description of his conquests (lines 1–40). After a lacuna in which the early campaigns were described, a narrative of the third to fifteenth regnal years is given (lines 1'–51'). After another lacuna the text has a description of activities in the eighteenth regnal year (lines 1"–27"). Then the text either ends or is broken. If it ended here, that meant it was written in or after 841 BC.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Publication reference	Lines preserved	cpn
1	—	ICC 12–16 Bull no. 1	See commentary	n
2	—	ICC 13, 46–47 Bull no. 2	See commentary	n
3	—	3 R pl. 5 no. 6	1"–27"	n
4	EŞ 6697	—	46'–48'	p

## COMMENTARY

In general the master text is ex. 1 but with restorations from exs. 2 and 3. It is by no means certain that all the inscriptions edited together here are exs. of the same text. The uncertainty is compounded by the fact that exs. 1–3 are known only from publications based on squeezes in the British Museum which were subsequently destroyed (see Galter, et al., *ARRIM* 4 [1986] p. 27). Exs. 1 and 2 were inscriptions on two colossal bulls while the nature of the stone object upon which ex. 3 was inscribed is unknown. Ex. 4 is on a small stone fragment.

The problem of identifying these various inscriptions with one text requires comment. Ex. 4 is the easiest since it only has a few lines which are clearly duplicates of lines 46'–48' in this edition. Exs. 1 and 2 (Layard's “Bulls 1 and 2”) each have some lines not found on the other, according to Layard (cf. Grayson, *BiOr* 33 [1976] p. 145 n. 92). Ex. 1 omits lines 50'b–51' and ex. 2 omits lines 39'b–45'a. An analogous situation is attested for the inscribed bulls and lions of Asn. II, A.0.101.2 (*RIMA* 2 pp. 223–28), and in the edition of that text there was reason to believe that the missing

passages were inscribed on adjacent objects which were not recovered. With exs. 1 and 2 of the present text, however, there is a further complication. The narrative of the eighteenth regnal year was copied by Layard as following the introduction and preceding the narrative of the earlier years (ICC pl. 13 lines 12–19 and “Bull 2” = lines 1’–13” of this edition).

These factors suggest that the bulls were inscribed on various parts of the body, as was done with colossal animals from other reigns. The sequence of the different sections can only be established from the content. When Layard prepared and published ICC (1851), knowledge of cuneiform was, with all due respect to Layard and his contemporaries, still primitive and the understanding of the content superficial. Thus it was difficult to decide in what order to copy and publish the various inscribed passages.

In conclusion, I believe it best to follow Layard’s lead in regarding the inscriptions on Bulls 1 and 2 as exs. of one text. But, when necessary, the passages must be rearranged to follow a chronological sequence, which means placing the narrative of the eighteenth year at the end of the text. This is what Delitzsch did.

Ex. 3 has only the narrative of the eighteenth year and, after duplicating the relevant passage in Bull 2 (lines 1’–13” in this edition), it goes on with further details (lines 14”–27”). The squeeze from which ex. 3 comes cannot be of Bull 2, both because of these additional lines and because the line division on the two exs. is different where they duplicate one another.

Thus, I have regarded all four inscriptions as exs. of a single text and put that text together according to chronological sequence, generally following Delitzsch’s edition. I have numbered the lines in sequence, allowing for a lacuna after line 40, and another after line 51’. It is unknown if there is a lacuna after line 27” or if the text simply ended here. The lacuna between lines 40 and 1’ must have been large

since the regnal years up to year 4 are omitted. Similarly, the lacuna between lines 51’ and 1” was large since the regnal years 16 and 17 are omitted. For convenience here is a chart of line equivalents in various publications:

RIM	ICC	Delitzsch	3 R 5 no. 6
1–29	pl. 12:1–10, 1–19	1–29	—
30–40	pl. 13:1–11	30–40	—
1’–50’a	pls. 14– 16:1–49; pls. 46– 47:1–31	56–105	—
50’b–51’	pl. 47:32– 33	106–107	—
1’–13”	pl. 13:12– 19 “Bull no. 2”	41–52	1–13a
14”–27”	—	—	13b–26

As to the exactness of what is preserved on each ex., there is a problem with exs. 1 and 2. In ICC Layard implies that the two are duplicates of each other, with some variation. But he does not publish a complete copy of the full inscription on ex. 2; he only copies the equivalent of lines 12’–51’ and 9”–13”. Thus, in the scores I have put “—” for the remainder, except for lines 14”–27”, for which we only have ex. 3. It is unknown if exs. 3 and 4 once had the full text, since they are only small fragments, but I have put “[...]” in the scores for the missing lines.

The description of the campaigns for the third to the fifteenth regnal years is a duplicate of the narrative in A.O.102.6: lines 1’–51’ // A.O.102.6 i 64 – iii 45. This is of great help in reconstructing and restoring the badly preserved early portions: lines 1’–15’ // A.O.102.6 i 64 – ii 26.

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## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>dšul-ma-nu-MAŠ  
 2) MAN kiš-šat UN.MEŠ  
 3) NUN-ú ŠID aš-šur  
 4) MAN dan-nu MAN kúl-lat  
 5) kib-rat 4-i <sup>d</sup>šam-šu  
 6) kiš-šat UN.MEŠ  
 7) mur-te-du-ú ka-liš  
 8) KUR.KUR.MEŠ MAN ba-<sup>ʿ</sup>i-it DINGIR.MEŠ  
 9) ni-šit IGI.II.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>BAD ĠİR.ARAD aš-šur  
 10) pit-qu-du NUN-ú  
 11) na-a-du a-me-ru du-ur-gi u šap-šá-qi mu-kab-bi-is  
 12) re-še-ti šá KUR-e ka-liš ħur-šá-ni ma-ħír GUN  
 13) igi-se<sub>11</sub> šá DÜ-ši-na UB.MEŠ mu-pat-tu-ú tu-da-a-te  
 14) šá e-liš u šap-liš šá a-na ti-ib MĒ-šú dan-ni  
 15) kib-ra-a-te ul-ta-<sup>nap</sup>-šá-qa i-ħi-lu URU.DIDLI NÍTA dan-nu  
 16) šá ina ĠIŠ.tukul-ti aš-šur u <sup>d</sup>šá-maš DINGIR.MEŠ re-ši-šú DU.DU-ku-ma  
 17) ina mal-ki.MEŠ šá kib-rat 4-i šá-nin-šú la TUKU-ú  
 18) MAN KUR.KUR.MEŠ šar-ħu šá ar-ħi pa-áš-qu-te  
 19) DU.DU-ku-ma iš-tam-da-ħu KUR.MEŠ-e u ta-ma-a-te  
 20) DUMU <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAB-A NUN-ú MAĤ šá SANGA-su UGU DINGIR.MEŠ  
 21) i-ti-bu-ma KUR.KUR.MEŠ nap-ħar-ši-na ana ĠİR.II.MEŠ-šú  
 22) ú-šék-ni-šú nab-ni-tu el-lu-tu šá <sup>m</sup>ĠIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 23) šá kúl-lat za-i-ri-šú i-né-ru-ma iš-pu-na  
 24) a-bu-ba-ni-iš ka-šid TA tam-di AN.TA u tam-di  
 25) KI.TA šá KUR na-i-ri u tam-di GAL-te šá šul-mu  
 26) <sup>d</sup>šam-ši a-di KUR ħa-ma-ni KUR ħat-te ana paṭ gim-ri-šá  
 27) a-pél TA SAG e-ni šá ÍD.ĤAL.ĤAL a-di SAG e-ni  
 28) šá ÍD.A.RAD ŠU-ti ik-šud TA KUR en-zi  
 29) a-di KUR súh-ni TA KUR su-uħ-ni  
 30) a-di KUR me-li-di  
 31) TA KUR me-li-di  
 32) a-di KUR da-ia-a-ni  
 33) TA KUR da-ia-a-ni  
 34) a-di KUR ar-ša-áš-kun  
 35) TA KUR ar-ša-áš-kun  
 36) a-di KUR ġil-za-ni TA KUR ġil-za-ni  
 37) a-di URU ħub-uš-ki-a  
 38) <TA> KUR nam-ri a-di tam-di šá KUR kal-di  
 39) šá ÍD mar-ra-tu i-qa-bu-ši-ni  
 40) GIM DU, a-bu-be áš-pu-un

## Lacuna

- 1') URU MAN-[ti-šu] šá [<sup>m</sup>]a-[ra-me urarṭaiia <sup>m</sup>aramu ana ġipiš ummānātišu ittakilma piṭhallušu ma 'dūti ana epēš qabli u tāhāzi]

1–19) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of all (5) the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands, king, *desired object* of the gods, chosen of the god Enlil, (10) trustworthy appointee of Aššur, attentive prince, who has seen remote and rugged regions, who has trodden upon the mountain peaks in all the highlands, receiver of booty (and) tax from all the (four) quarters, who opens paths above and below, at whose strong attack for combat (15) the (four) quarters are distressed (and) cities convulsed, strong male who acts with the support of Aššur (and) the god Šamaš, the gods his allies, and has no rival among the princes of the four quarters, magnificent king of lands, who has kept progressing by difficult ways through mountains and seas;

20–24a) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), exalted prince, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (who) subdued all lands at his feet, pure offspring of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood;

24b–40) conqueror from the upper and lower seas to the land Nairi and the great sea of the west as far as the Amanus range: I gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti. I conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. I annihilated like a flood from the land Enzi to the land Suħni, from the land Suħni (30) to the land Melid, from the land Melid to the land Daiēnu, from the land Daiēnu to the land Aršaškun, (35) from the land Aršaškun to the land Ġilzānu, from the land Ġilzānu to the city Ḫubuškia, <from> the land Namri to the sea of Chaldaea, which is called the Marratu (“Bitter”) River.

## Lacuna

1'–5'a) [In my third regnal year ... to the city Aršaškun], the royal city of A[ramu the Urarṭian. Aramu trusted in the strength of his army and]

- 2') *a-na(?) [irtūia] ʾid(?)-ka(?)<sup>1</sup>-[a dabdāšu aškun piṭhallušu unūt tāhāzīšu ēkimšu ana šuzub napšātišu] a-na(?) KUR-e [marši ēlī]*
- 3') *TA IG[I GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-i]a d[an(?)<sup>2</sup>-nu-ti iplahūma ālānišunu umdaššir šadū maršu išbatūma aršaškun āl] MAN(?)<sup>3</sup>-ti-šú a-di URU.MEŠ-ni(?)*
- 4') *šá li-[mētīšu KUR]-ud(?) [makkūrēšu bušāšu ana lā māni ušēšia ālāni appul aqqur ina išāti áš-ru]-up(?) a-di KUR gíl-za-ni*
- 5') *a-di ʾURU(?)<sup>1</sup> [hub]-ʾuš(?)<sup>1</sup>-[ki-a kīma tīl abūbi aspun ina nērebi ša šadē kurruri ina pūt arba ʾil ú]-ši-a ina 4 BALA.MEŠ-a*
- 6') *ina IT[I(?)<sup>2</sup>.GU<sub>4</sub> UD 13.KAM ultu ninua attumuš puratta ina mīliša ētebir arki maḥuni mār adini] ar-te-di KUR ši-tam-rat*
- 7') *KUR ú-ba(?)<sup>1</sup>-[an šadē ša aḥat puratti ša kīma erpeti ultu šamē šuqallulat ana dannūtišu iškun KUR ú]-ʾba(?)<sup>1</sup>-na-at KUR-e a-si-bi(?)*
- 8') *ak-ta-šad maḥuni adi ilānišu narkabātišu sisēšu 20 LIM 2 LIM ummānātišu assuḥaššu ana āliia aššur ūbla ... ultu URU.ŠĀ]-URU at-tu(?)<sup>2</sup>-muš*
- 9') *KUR kúl-ʾa(?)<sup>1</sup>-ar abbalkit ana māt zamua ša bitāni attarad ālāni ša mnikdēra KUR i-da-a]-a ak-ta-šad si-ta-at*
- 10') *ÉRIN.ḪI.<A>.MEŠ-šú-nu ina(?) [elepēti niari irkabū ina tām̄di ūridū ina eleppēti kibarri arkab] EGIR-šú-nu ar-te-di*
- 11') *GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ina MURU[B<sub>4</sub>(?)<sup>1</sup> tām̄di adūk šallassunu ašlula ina 5 BALA.MEŠ-ia ultu ninua attumuš a]-na KUR kaš-ia-ri e-li*
- 12') *11 URU.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti KUR-ud [manḥitti šubriāiia ina ālišu ēsiršu madattušu am-ḥ]ur-šú ina 6 BALA.[MEŠ]-ia TA URU ni-nu-a [at]-tu(?)<sup>2</sup>-muš a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá ši-di*
- 13') *ÍD ba-li-ḥi aq-tí(?)<sup>1</sup>-[rib ultu] IGI GIŠ(?).TUKUL(?).MEŠ(?)-ia dan-nu-te ip-láḥ-ma mgi-am-mu E[N ālišunu idūkū ana] URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-tur-a-ḥi KU<sub>4</sub>-ub*
- 14') *URU a-na NÍ-ia aš-bat TA ši-di ÍD(?)<sup>1</sup> ba-li-ḥi at-tu-muš ÍD [puratta ina mēliša ēbir madattu] šá MAN.MEŠ-ni*
- 15') *šá KUR ḥat-ti am-ḥur TA KUR ḥat-ti at-tu-muš a-na URU ḥal-man aq-tí-rib UDU.[SISKUR.MEŠ ana pān adad] šá URU ḥal-man DÜ-uš*
- 16') *TA URU ḥal-man at-tu-muš a-na URU qar-qa-ra aq-tí-rib m<sup>d</sup>ISKUR-id-ri šá KUR.ANŠE-šú m<sup>ir</sup>-ḥu-le-ni KUR a-ma-ta-a-a*
- 17') *a-di 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni šá ši-di tam-di a-na Á.MEŠ a-ḥa-miš it-ták-lu-ma a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> u MÈ a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ni*

mustered [his numerous cavalry to wage war and battle against me. I defeated him (and) deprived him of his cavalry (and) military equipment. To save his life he climbed] up a [rugged] mountain. [They (his people) became frightened] in the face of my mighty [weapons, abandoned their cities, and took to a rugged mountain]. I captured [the city Aršaškun], his royal [city], together with the cities in its environs. [I brought out his incalculable possessions and property (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned the(se) cities. I annihilated like a flood] from the land Gilzānu to the city Ḫubuškia. [From the pass of Mount Kurruru I] emerged [before the city Arbail].

5<sup>b</sup>-8<sup>a</sup>) In my fourth regnal year, [on the thirteenth day of the month Iyyar, I moved out from Nineveh (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood] in pursuit [of Aḥunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. He had made as his stronghold] Mount Šitamrat, a mountain peak [on the bank of the Euphrates which is suspended from heaven like a cloud]. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. [Aḥunu, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, (and) 22,000 of his troops I uprooted (and) brought to my city Aššur].

8<sup>b</sup>-11<sup>a</sup>) [In this same year I moved out from Inner] City (Aššur), [crossed] Mount Kullar, [went down to the interior of the land Zamua, (and)] captured [the cities of Nikdēra, the Idjean. The remnant of (10<sup>o</sup>) their army [boarded boats of papyrus and escaped by sea. I boarded boats of inflated skins (and)] pursued them. [I defeated] them in the midst of [the sea (and) plundered them].

11<sup>b</sup>-12<sup>a</sup>) [In my fifth regnal year I moved out from Nineveh] and ascended Mount Kašiiari. I captured eleven fortified cities (and) [confined Anḥitti, the Šubraean, to his city] (and) received [his tribute].

12<sup>b</sup>-19<sup>c</sup>) In my sixth regnal year I moved out from Nineveh and approached the cities on the banks of the River Baliḥ. They became frightened in the face of my mighty weapons and [killed] Giammu, [their city] ruler. I entered the city Tīl-turaḥi (and) claimed the city as my own. Moving on from the banks of the River Baliḥ [I crossed the Euphrates in flood]. (15<sup>o</sup>) I received [tribute] from the kings of the land Ḫatti. Moving on from the land Ḫatti I approached Aleppo (Ḫalman) (and) made sacrifices [before the god Adad] of Aleppo (Ḫalman). Moving on from Aleppo (Ḫalman) I approached the city Qarqar. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. I fought with them. I put to the sword 25,000 of their fighting men (and) captured from them their chariotry, cavalry, (and) military equipment. To save their lives they ran away. I boarded boats (and) went out upon the sea.

<sup>4</sup> a-di: one expects *ultu*, as in A.O.102.6 ii 1.

- 18') *it-ti-šú-nu am-daḥ-ḫi-iṣ* 20 LIM 5 LIM  
ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-  
*šú-nu pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu*
- 19') *ú-nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu a-na šu-zu-ub*  
ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu *e-li-ú ina* GIŠ.MĀ.MEŠ *ar-kab*  
*a-di MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-di a-lik*
- 20') *ina* 7 BALA.MEŠ-*ia a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá*  
*mḫa-bi-ni* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>.NA<sub>4</sub>-*a-a a-lik* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-  
NA<sub>4</sub> URU *dan-nu-ti-šú a-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
- 21') *šá li-me-tu-šú* KUR-*ud ina* IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-*up*  
TA URU.DU<sub>6</sub>.NA<sub>4</sub> *at-tu-muš a-na* SAG ÍD *e-ni*  
*šá* ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL *a-šar mu-ša-ú šá* A.MEŠ
- 22') *šak-nu a-lik* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ DÛ-*uš*  
URU.MEŠ-*ni la ma-gi-ru-ut aš-šur ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit ma-da-tu šá* KUR  
*na-i-ri*
- 23') *am-ḫur ina* 8 BALA.MEŠ-*ia ina tar-ši*  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU MAN KUR *kar-du-ni-*  
*áš* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-*ú-sa-te* ŠEŠ-šú *it-ti-šú*
- 24') *lu ib-bal-kit a-na tur-ri gi-mil-li lu-ú a-lik*  
URU.A.MEŠ-*túr-nat* URU *la-ḫi-ru* KUR-*ud ina*  
9 BALA.MEŠ-*ia*
- 25') *ina* 2-*e gi-ri-ia* URU *ga-na-na-te* KUR-*ud*  
<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-*ú-sa-te a-na šu-zu-ub*  
ZI.MEŠ-šú *a-na* URU *ḫal-man*
- 26') *e-li* EGIR-šú *ar-te-di* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-*ú-sa-te*  
*a-di* ÉRIN.MEŠ EN *ḫi-tí šá it-ti-šú ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit*
- 27') *a-na* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA *a-lik*  
UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ina*  
URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI URU *bar-sípa*.KI  
URU.GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.ÉRIN.KI DÛ-*uš a-na* KUR *kal-di*
- 28') *ú-ri-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu* KUR-*ud a-di tam-di*  
*šá* ÍD *mar-ra-tu i-qa-bu-ši-ni a-lik ma-da-tu šá*  
*ma-di-ni* DUMU <sup>md</sup>*da-ku-ri*
- 29') *šá* <sup>mmu</sup>*šal-lim*-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU <sup>mmu</sup>*ka-ni*  
KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GÌ GIŠ.ESI ZÛ AM.SI *ina*  
URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI *am-ḫur ina* 10  
BALA.MEŠ-*ia*
- 30') 8-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá* <sup>msa</sup>*an-*  
*gar* URU *gar-ga-miš-a-a ap-púl a-qur ina*  
IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-*up* TA URU.MEŠ-*ni*
- 31') *šá* URU *gar-ga-miš-a-a at-tu-muš a-na*  
URU.MEŠ-*ni šá* <sup>ma</sup>*ra-me aq-tí-rib* URU *ar-né-*  
*e* URU MAN-*ti-šú* KUR-*ud a-di* 1 ME  
URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tu-šú*
- 32') *ap-púl a-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-*up* GAZ.MEŠ-  
*šú-nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la ina u-me-šú-*  
*ma* <sup>md</sup>ÍŠKUR-*id-ri šá* KUR.ANŠE-šú <sup>mir</sup>*ḫu-le-*  
*ni*
- 33') KUR *a-ma-ta-a-a a-di* 12 MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá* *ši-di*  
*tam-di a-na* Á.MEŠ *a-ḫa-miš it-tàk-lu-ma a-na*  
*e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *u MĒ a-na* GABA-*ia it-bu-ni*
- 34') *it-ti-šú-nu am-daḥ-ḫi-si* BAD<sub>3</sub>.BAD<sub>3</sub>-šú-*nu áš-*  
*kun* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-*nu pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu ú-*

20'–23'a) In my seventh regnal year I marched to the cities of Ḫabinu, the Tīl-abnīan. I captured (and) burned Tīl-abnī, his fortified city, together with the cities in its environs. Moving on from Tīl-abnī I marched to the source of the Tigris, the place where the water comes out, (and) made sacrifices. I put to the sword (the inhabitants of) cities insubmissive to Aššur (and) received tribute from the land Nairi.

23'b–24'a) In my eighth regnal year, at the time of Marduk-zākīr-šūmi (I), king of Karduniaš, Marduk-bēl-usāte, his brother, rebelled against him. I marched out for vengeance (and) captured the cities Mē-turnat and Laḫiru.

24'b–29'a) In my ninth regnal year, in my second campaign (to Babylonia), I captured the city Gannanāte. To save his life Marduk-bēl-usāte went up to the city Ḫalman. I pursued him (and) put to the sword Marduk-bēl-usāte together with the treacherous soldiers who were with him. (Then) I marched to Babylon (and) made sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah. I went down to Chaldaea (and) captured their cities. I marched to the sea which is called the Marratu (“Bitter”) River (and) received tribute in Babylon from Adinu, the man of Bīt-Dakkuri, (and) from Mušallim-Marduk, the man of Bīt-Amukkāni (Ukānu): silver, gold, ebony, (and) elephant ivory.

29'b–34') In my tenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Sangara, the Carchemishite. Moving on from the cities of the Carchemishite I approached the cities of Aramu (and) captured the city Arnē, his royal city. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned (it) together with one hundred cities in its environs. I massacred them (and) plundered them. At that time, Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. I fought with them (and) defeated them. I took from them their chariotry, cavalry, and military equipment. To save their lives they ran away.

27' URU.GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.ÉRIN.KI = Cuthah: for the orthography see the note to A.O.102.59 line 46.

*nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu a-na šu-zu-ub*  
 ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu e-li-ú

- 35') *ina 11 BALA.MEŠ-ia TA URU ni-nu-a at-tu-muš 9-šú ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-šá e-bir 97*  
 URU.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-ar KUR-ud 1 ME  
 URU.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me
- 36') *KUR-ud ap-púl a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-up ši-di*  
 KUR *ha-ma-ni aš-bat KUR ia-ra-qu at-ta-bal-kát a-na*  
 URU.MEŠ-ni šá KUR *a-ma-ta-a-a at-tar-da*
- 37') *URU áš-ta-ma-ku a-di 99 URU.MEŠ-ni KUR-ud*  
 GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la ina*  
 u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma <sup>m</sup>dÍŠKUR-id-ri šá KUR.ANŠE-šú <sup>m</sup>ir-*hu-le-ni*  
 KUR *a-ma-ta-a-a*
- 38') *a-di 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni šá ši-di tam-di a-na*  
 Á.MEŠ *a-ḥa-miš it-ták-lu-ma a-na e-peš*  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> ù MĒ *àna GABA-ia it-bu-ni it-ti-šú-nu*  
*am-daḥ-ḥi-ši* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu
- 39') *áš-kun 10 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu*  
*pit-ḥal-la-šú-nu ú-nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu*  
*ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia URU ap-pa-ra-zu*
- 40') *URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me KUR-ud ina u<sub>4</sub>-*  
*me-šú-ma ma-da-tu šá <sup>m</sup>qal-pa-ru-un-di KUR*  
*pa-ti-na-a-a KÜ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÜ.GI.MEŠ*  
 AN.NA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ  
 UDU.MEŠ
- 41') *TÚG lu-búl-ti TÚG.GADA.MEŠ am-ḥur a-na*  
 KUR *ḥa-ma-ni e-li GIŠ.UR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni a-*  
*kis ina 12 BALA.MEŠ-ia TA URU ni-nu-a at-*  
*tu-muš 10-šú ÍD.A.RAD*
- 42') *e-bir a-na KUR pa-qa-ra-ḥu-bu-ni a-lik*  
 UN.MEŠ *ig-du-ru KUR-ú mar-šu iṣ-šab-tu*  
 KUR *u-ba-na-at KUR-e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad*  
 GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-duk*
- 43') *šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu TA qé-reb KUR-e ú-*  
*še-ri-da ina 13 BALA.MEŠ-ia ina KUR né-reb*  
 šá URU.<sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ-te KU<sub>4</sub>-ub *a-na mat-ia-*  
*a-ti a-lik mat-ia-a-tu*
- 44') *a-na si-ḥír-ti-šá KUR-ud GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-duk*  
*šal-la-su-nu a-na la ma-ni áš-lu-la ina 14*  
 BALA.MEŠ-ia *ma-a-tu DAGAL-tu a-na la ma-*  
*ni ad-ki it-ti*
- 45') *1 ME LIM 20 LIM ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-ia*  
 ÍD.A.RAD *ina mi-li-šá e-bir ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma*  
<sup>m</sup>dÍŠKUR-id-ri šá KUR.ANŠE-šú <sup>m</sup>ir-*hu-le-ni*  
 KUR *a-ma-ta-a-a a-di*
- 46') *12 MAN.MEŠ-ni šá ši-di tam-di AN.TA u*  
 KI.TA ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu ḪI.A.MEŠ *a-na*  
*la ma-ni id-ku-ni a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ni it-ti-*  
*šú-nu am-daḥ-ḥi-ši*
- 47') *BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-kun GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-*  
*nu pit-ḥal-la-šú-nu a-še-e' ú-nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu e-*  
*kim-šú-nu a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu e-li-ú*  
*ina 15 BALA.MEŠ-ia*
- 48') *a-na KUR na-i-ri al-lik ina SAG ÍD e-ni šá*  
 ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL *ša-lam MAN-ti-ia ina KUR ka-a-*  
 pi šá KUR-e *ina ši-it na-ga-bi-šá ab-ni ta-na-ti*  
 kiš-šú-ti-ia

35'–41'a) In my eleventh regnal year I moved out from Nineveh (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood for the ninth time. I captured ninety-seven cities of Sangara. I captured, razed, destroyed, (and) burned one hundred cities of Aramu. I took to the slopes of the Amanus range, crossed Mount Iaraq, (and) descended to the cities of the people of Ḫamat. I captured the city Aštammaku, together with ninety-nine (other) cities. I massacred their (inhabitants) (and) plundered them. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. I fought with them (and) defeated them. I put to the sword 10,000 of their fighting men. I took from them their chariotry, cavalry, and military equipment. On my return I captured Aparāzu, the fortified city of Aramu. At that time I received tribute from Qalparunda the Patinean: silver, gold, tin, horses, oxen, sheep, (and) linen garments. I went (back) up the Amanus range (and) cut beams of cedar.

41'b–43'a) In my twelfth regnal year I moved out from Nineveh (and) crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time. I marched to the land Paqarahubunu, (where) the people became frightened (and) took to a rugged mountain. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. I massacred them (and) brought plunder and possessions of theirs down from the mountain.

43'b–44'a) In my thirteenth regnal year I entered the Pass of the Goddesses, marched to Matiātu, (and) captured all of Matiātu. I slaughtered their (inhabitants) (and) took countless plunder from them.

44'b–47'a) In my fourteenth regnal year I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood with 120,000 troops. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, above and below, mustered their troops which were too numerous to be counted. They attacked me, I fought with them, (and) defeated them. I destroyed their chariotry (and) cavalry — (and) took away their military equipment. To save their lives they ran away.

47'b–51') In my fifteenth regnal year I marched to the land Nairi. I created at the source of the Tigris, on a mountain cliff where its water comes out, my royal statue. I wrote thereon praises of my power (and) my heroic deeds. (Then) I entered the pass of Mount Ṭunibunu (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities of Aramu, the Urartian, as far as the source of the Euphrates. (Thus) I marched to



- 49') *al-ka-kát qur-di-ia ina qé-reb-šú al-túr ina KUR né-re-bi šá KUR tu-ni-bu-ni KU<sub>4</sub>-ub URU.MEŠ-ni šá<sup>m</sup>a-ra-me KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a a-di SAG ÍD e-ni*  
 50') *šá ÍD.A.RAD ap-púl a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-up ina SAG ÍD e-ni šá ÍD.A.RAD al-lik UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia aš-bat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ aš-šur*  
 51') *ina lib-bi ú-lil<sup>m</sup>a-si-a MAN KUR da-ie-ni GÌR.II.MEŠ-ia iṣ-bat GUN ma-da-tu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ am-ḥur-šú ṣa-lam MAN-ti-ia ab-ni ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU-šú ú-še-zi[z]*

## Lacuna

- 1") *ina 18 BALA.MEŠ-ia 16-šú ÍD.A.RAD*  
 2") *e-bir<sup>m</sup>ḥa-za- 'e-DINGIR šá KUR.ANŠE-šú*  
 3") *a-na gi-piṣ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú*  
 4") *it-ta-kil-ma ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú a-na ma-a 'diš*  
 5") *id-ka-a KUR sa-ni-ru ŠU.SI KUR-e*  
 6") *šá pu-ut KUR lab-na-na a-na dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 7") *iš-kun it-ti-šú am-daḥ-ḫi-iṣ BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú*  
 8") *áš-kun*  
 9") *16 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-du-ki-šú*  
 10") *ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit*  
 11") *1 LIM 1 ME 21 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú*  
 12") *4 ME 70 pit-ḫal-lu-šú it-ti*  
 13") *uš-ma-ni-šú e-kim-šú*  
 14") *a-na šu-zu-ub*  
 15") *ZI.MEŠ-šú e-li EGIR-šú ar-te-di*  
 16") *ina URU di-maš-qi URU MAN-ti-šú e-sir-šú*  
 17") *GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú ak-kis a-di KUR-e*  
 18") *KUR ḥa-ú-ra-ni a-lik URU.MEŠ-ni*  
 19") *a-na la ma-ni a-púl a-qur*  
 20") *ina IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-up šal-la-su-nu*  
 21") *a-na la ma-ni áš-lu-la*  
 22") *a-di KUR-e KUR ba- 'a-li-ra- 'a-si*  
 23") *šá SAG tam-di a-lik ṣa-lam MAN-ti-a*  
 24") *ina lib-bi aš-qup ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma*  
 25") *ma-da-tu šá KUR ṣur-ra-a-a*  
 26") *KUR ṣi-du-na-a-a šá<sup>m</sup>ia-ú-a*  
 27") *DUMU ḫu-um-ri-i am-ḥur*  
 Lacuna(?)

the source of the Euphrates, made sacrifices to my gods, (and) washed the weapons of Aššur therein. Asia, king of the land Daiēnu, submitted to me (and) I received from him tax and tribute of horses. I fashioned my royal statue (and) erected (it) inside his city.

## Lacuna

1"–27") In my eighteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus, trusting in the might of his soldiers, (5") carried out an extensive muster of his troops. He fortified Mount Saniru, the mountain peak, which is before Mount Lebanon. I fought with him (and) defeated him. (10") I put to the sword 16,000 of his fighting men (and) took away from him 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry with his military camp. To save (15") his life he ran away (but) I pursued him. I imprisoned him in Damascus, his royal city, (and) cut down his gardens. I marched to Mount Ḫaurānu (and) razed, destroyed, (and) (20") burned cities without number. I carried off more booty than could be counted. I marched to Mount Ba'alira'asi, which is a cape (jutting out into) the sea, (and) erected my royal statue there. At that time I received (25") tribute from the people of Tyre (and) Sidon (and) from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Ḫumrī).

Lacuna(?)

## 9

This fragmentary text is on a broken stele of dark stone, now in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, which is said to have come from Aššur. The bottom and left side of the stele are missing and while traces of cuneiform signs are visible on the reverse, they are virtually illegible. Thus, only the remains of the text on the front and right side are edited here.

The inscription on the front is the beginning of the text with the royal name and epithets. The inscription on the right side is a fragmentary description of the eighteenth campaign (841 BC). Much of the text can be restored from parallels.

## COMMENTARY

The remains of the stele (41.162) measure 43×30.5×23+ cm and the inscription has been collated. Restorations, apart from those justified in the notes to the lines, are based on the following parallels: Front 1–7 // A.0.102.25 lines 1–7, Front 12–14 // A.0.102.2 i 6 // A.0.102.6 i 13–14 // A.0.102.8 lines 7–10, and Right Side 5'–13' // A.0.102.10 iv 1–4 // A.0.102.40 i 31 – ii 1. With regard to Front 9–10, there are similar phrases in texts of Asn. II and Shalm. III referring to Tn. II as their

predecessor. However, I do not think that the grandfather, Tn. II, could have been introduced at this point since epithets of Shalm. III continue after these lines. The specific references are as follows. For *i-na-ru* [*abūbāniš(?) is-p*]u(?)*-nu-ma* cf. A.0.102.2 i 12, A.0.102.6 i 27, A.0.102.8 lines 23–24, and A.0.102.10 i 17–18. For *pa-gar ge-ri-šú* cf. RIMA 2 p. 195 i 29 and p. 308 line 18.

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1977 Brinkman, JCS 29 p. 61 (study)

## TEXT

## Front

- 1) [šulmānu-ašarēd šarru GA]L(?)*-ú* MAN *dan-nu* MAN KI[Š]
- 2) [šarru lā šanān *ú-šú*]m-gal-lu ka-šu-u[š]
- 3) [kal kibrāte šāpir ma]l-ki.MEŠ šá kúl-la-t[e]
- 4) [... eṭlu(?) qar-d]u šá Ē.KUR ÉNSI aš-š[ur(?)]
- 5) [... ša] kúl-lat na-ki-ri-šú
- 6) [kīma hašbāte] *ú-da-qi-qu* N[ÍTA]
- 7) [dannu lā padū lā] ga-mil tu-qu-un-[te]
- 8) [x x x x x x x] *-ú*[?] GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-šú *dan-nu-te*
- 9) [x x x x x x š] *á-de-e i-na-ru*
- 10) [abūbāniš(?) is-p]u(?)*-nu-ma pa-gar ge-ri-šú*
- 11) [x x x x x x] x DAGAL.MEŠ MAN *dan-nu*
- 12) [x x x x x x x] *-i mur-te-du-ú*
- 13) [kalīš mātāti šarru ba] *-i* DINGIR.MEŠ
- 14) [nišit inē enlil šakkanak aš-š]ur pit-qu-du
- 15) [x x x x x x x] DINGIR.MEŠ šá AN-*e*
- 16) [u eršeti (x x) haṭṭu] *e-šir-tu*
- 17) [x x x qātuššu *ú*]-ma-lu-*ú*
- 18) [...] x x x

## Lacuna

## Right Side

## Lacuna(?)

- 1') [...M]EŠ-*ú*[...]
- 2') [haza ʾel] šá-KUR.AN[ŠE-šú]
- 3') [...-uk *ù* [...]
- 4') [...-di-šú] AŠ [...]
- 5') x [x]-*e* DAGAL.ME[Š (...)] *abiktašu*
- 6') aš-[k]un-ma BĀD [ušmāniššu]
- 7') *e-kim-šú a-na* [šūzub]
- 8') ZI.MEŠ-šú *e*-[li adi]

## Front

1–18) [Shalmaneser, great king], strong king, king of the universe, [unrivalled king], dragon, the weapon which destroys [all quarters, commander of] princes everywhere, [...] valiant [man], appointee of Enlil, vice-regent of Ašš[ur, ... who] has smashed all his enemies [like a pot, strong] male, [merciless (and)] unsparing in battle, [who] slew [... in the] mountains [... with] mighty weapons, annihilated (them) [like a flood], and the corpses of his enemies [...] extensive, strong king, [...], ruler of [all lands, the king (who is the)] desired object of the gods, [chosen of the god Enlil], trustworthy [appointee of Ašš[ur, ... into whose hands] the gods of heaven [and underworld] entrusted the just [sceptre ...] ...

## Lacuna

## Right Side

## Lacuna(?)

1'–15') [In my eighteenth regnal year ...] his [... Hazael] of Damascus [...] and [...] his [...] I [...] ... extensive. I defeated [him] and took away from him [his] walled [camp]. To [save] his life he ran [away (but)] I [pursued (him) as far as] Dam[ascus], his royal city. [I cut down] his gardens (and) burned [his] shocks. [...] of D[amascus ...]

4 [... eṭlu(?) qar-d]u: cf. A.0.102.5. i 1.

4 šá Ē.KUR: one expects GAR <sup>4</sup>*en-ti* before ÉNSI aššur.

8 There is no parallel.

11–12a There is no exact parallel. In 12a Brinkman restores [MAN kúl-lat kib-rat 4]-i.

15–17 There is no exact parallel but the text must have been at least similar to the partial restoration which I have suggested.

1'–5' There are no parallel passages for these lines.

4' Brinkman restores [qu-ra]-di-šú.

- 9') [UR]U [d]i-m[a-áš-qi]  
 10') [U]RU [MAN]¹-ti-šú a[r-te-di]  
 11') GIŠ.KIRI₆(\*).MEŠ-š[ú akkis]  
 12') ku-ri-l[a-šu ina išāti]  
 13') áš-ru¹-up [...]  
 14') [š]a(?) URU d[i-ma-áš-qi(?)]  
 15') x [...]  
 Lacuna

Lacuna

## 10

This lengthy version of the annals is engraved on a large stone tablet found in the wall of Aššur (with ex. 1 of A.O.102.6). It begins (i 1–9) with a brief invocation of the gods followed by the royal name and a few epithets (i 10–18). The text then goes on to narrate the campaigns of the first twenty years (i 19 – iv 33), the narrative being more detailed for the later campaigns. The military section concludes with a summary of the booty won (iv 34–39). Then the text describes work on the wall of the quarter called New City at Aššur and we are told that previous kings who worked on this fortification were Puzur-Aššur III, Adad-nārārī I, Tukultī-Ninurta I, and Tiglath-pileser I. No texts of Puzur-Aššur III regarding such work have been recovered but Adad-nārārī I, in recording his own work on New City's wall (RIMA 1 pp. 143–44 and 147–48), also mentions Puzur-Aššur (III) as a previous builder. Contemporary records of such construction have been preserved for Tukultī-Ninurta I (RIMA 1 pp. 266–67) and Tiglath-pileser I (RIMA 2 pp. 35–38). The text concludes with the date, twentieth regnal year (839 BC), and a statement regarding the number of chariots and cavalry in Shalmaneser's army.

## COMMENTARY

The stone tablet (IM 55644) was found together with the clay tablet edited as A.O.102.6 in the outer wall of Aššur. It measures 80×60 cm and the inscription has been collated from the published photos. A piece of inscribed stone slab (Ass 862 + 873, Ass ph 559) duplicates portions of lines iii 20–36. While this may be the remains of a separate text, it has been included as “ex. 2” for convenience. There are no significant variants and only a little bit of inscription is extant, so no scores have been given. The present location of the

fragment is unknown. It has been collated from the excavation photo. The portions preserved are similar to those on the obverse of the fragment edited as A.O.102.13, but they cannot join.

A copy of a fragmentary inscription in Istanbul (A 659, Ass 8558, Ass ph 1260 and 1362 — numbers uncertain) was found among the Hulin papers. It is a duplicate, with minor vars. (noted under “ex. 3”), of ii 29 – iii 10a.

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## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) *aš-šur* EN GAL-ú<sup>d</sup> *a-num* DINGIR MAḪ  
 2) <sup>d</sup>BAD *šur-bu-ú gít-ma-lu*  
 3) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR *gú-gal AN-e ù KI-ti*  
 4) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ SAG.KAL DINGIR.MEŠ EN MURUB,  
 ù MĒ  
 5) <sup>d</sup>INANNA SAG.KAL AN-e ù KI-ti  
 6) <sup>d</sup>É-a MAN ABZU EN *né-me-qi ḫa-si-su*  
 7) <sup>d</sup>30 MAN *a-ge-e EN nam-ri-ri*  
 8) <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ EN  
*te-ré-ti*  
 9) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *mu-ši-mu*  
<sup>d</sup>NAM.MEŠ  
 10) <sup>m</sup>dšùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN *kiš-šat UN.MEŠ*  
 11) NUN ŠID *aš-šur* MAN *dan-nu* MAN *kúl-lat*  
*kib-rat*  
 12) 4-i <sup>d</sup>šam-šu *kiš-šat UN.MEŠ mur-te-du-ú*  
 13) *ka-liš* KUR.KUR.MEŠ DUMU *aš-šur-PAB-A*  
*SANGA-ú ši-i-ru*  
 14) *šá* SANGA-su UGU DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ṭi-bu-ma*  
 15) KUR.KUR.MEŠ *nap-ḫar-ši-na a-na*  
 GÌR.II.MEŠ-šu  
 16) *ú-šék-ni-šu nab-ni-tu KŪ-tu*  
 17) *ša* <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ *šá kúl-lat za-i-ri-šu*  
 18) *i-né-ru-ma iš-pu-un a-bu-ba-ni-iš*  
 19) *ina šur-rat* MAN-ti-ia *ša ina* GIŠ.AŠ.TE  
 20) MAN-ti *ú-ši-bu* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪĪA-ia  
 21) *ad-ki ina* KUR *né-re-be ša* KUR *si-me-si*  
 KU<sub>4</sub>-ub  
 22) URU *a-ri-du* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>ni-in-ni  
 23) KUR-ud *ina* 1 BALA-ia ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*  
 24) *a-na tam-di šá šùl-me* <sup>d</sup>šam-ši *al-lik*  
 25) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia *ina tam-di ú-lil*  
 UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ  
 26) *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia *aš-bat a-na* KUR-e  
 27) KUR *ḫa-ma-ni e-li* GIŠ *gu-šu-ri*  
 28) GIŠ *e-re-ni* GIŠ.ŠIM.LI *a-ki-is*  
 29) *a-na* KUR *lal-la-ar e-li ša-lam*  
 30) MAN-ti-ia *ina lib-bi ú-še-ziz ina* 2  
 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 31) *a-na* URU DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-sa-ip *aq-ṭi-rib*  
 32) URU.MEŠ-ni *ša* <sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni DUMU *a-di-ni*  
 33) KUR-ud *ina* URU-šu *e-sir-šu* ÍD.A.RAD  
 34) *ina mi-li-šá e-bir a-na* URU *da-bi-gi*  
 35) URU *bi-ir-tu ša* KUR *ḫat-ti a-di*  
 36) URU.MEŠ-ni *ša li-me-tu-šú* KUR-ud *ina* 3  
 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 37) <sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni DUMU *a-di-ni* TA IGI  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
 38) *dan-nu-ti ip-láḫ-ma* URU DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-sa-ip  
 39) URU MAN-ti-šú *um-da-šir* ÍD.A.RAD  
 40) *e-bir* URU *a-na-aš-šur-ú-ter-aš-bat*  
 41) *šá* GÌR.MEŠ *am-ma-te ša* ÍD.A.RAD *ša* UGU  
 42) ÍD *sa-gúr-ri šá* LÚ.MEŠ KUR *ḫat-ta-a-a*

i 1–9) Aššur, great lord; Anu, exalted god; god Enlil, perfectly magnificent; god Adad, canal-inspector of heaven and underworld; god Ninurta, foremost among the gods, lord of battle and strife; (i 5) goddess Ištar, foremost in heaven and underworld; god Ea, king of the *apsû*, lord of wisdom (and) understanding; god Šin, king of the lunar disk, lord of brilliance; god Marduk, sage of the gods (and) lord of omens; great gods who decree destinies:

i 10–18) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands; son of Ashurnasirpal (II), exalted priest whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (who) subdued (i 15) all lands at his feet, pure offspring of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood:

i 19–23a) At the beginning of my reign, after I ascended the royal throne, I mustered my chariots (and) troops. I entered the pass of the land Simesi (and) captured the city Aridu, the fortified city of Ninnu.

i 23b–30a) In my first regnal year I crossed the Euphrates (and) marched to the western sea. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. I climbed up the Amanus range (and) cut beams of cedar (and) juniper. I climbed up Mount Lallar (and) erected therein my royal statue.

i 30b–36a) In my second regnal year I approached the city Til-Barsip (Barsaip), captured the cities of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) confined him to his city. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) captured the city Dabigu, fortress of the land Ḫatti, together with cities in its environs.

i 36b–48a) In my third regnal year Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, became frightened in the face of my mighty weapons and abandoned the city Til-Barsip (Barsaip), his royal city. He crossed the Euphrates. I took as my own (i 40) the city Ana-Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which is on the other side of the Euphrates by the River Sagura, which the people of Ḫatti call the city Pitru. On my return (i 45) I entered the pass of Alzu (and) captured Alzu, the lands Suḫme, Daiēnu,

- 43) *ša URU pi-it-ru i-qa-bu-šu-ni a-na*  
 44) *ra-ma-ni-ia aš-bat ina ta-ia-ar-te-a*  
 45) *àna né-re-be ša KUR al-zi KU<sub>4</sub>-ub*  
 46) *KUR al-zi KUR su-uḫ-me KUR da-ie-e-ni*  
 47) *KUR tum<sub>4</sub>-me URU ar-ša-áš-kun KUR gíl-za-nu*  
 48) *URU ḫu-bu-uš-ki-a KUR-ud ina 4 BALA.MEŠ-ia*  
 49) *ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-ša e-bir EGIR*  
 50) *<sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni DUMU a-di-n[i] ar-te-di*  
 51) *KUR ši-tam-rat ú-ba-an KUR-e ša a-ḫat*  
 Col. ii  
 1) *ÍD.A.RAD a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iš-kun*  
 2) *ú-ba-an KUR-e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad*  
 3) *<sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni DUMU a-di-ni a-di DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šu*  
 4) *GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šu 20 LIM 2 LIM*  
 5) *ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šu a-su-ḫa-šu a-na URU-ia*  
 6) *aš-šur ub-la ina MU-ma ši-a-te KUR kúl-la-ar*  
 7) *at-ta-bal-kát a-na KUR za-mu-a ša bit-a-ni*  
 8) *at-ta-rad URU.MEŠ-ni ša <sup>m</sup>ni-ik-de-ra*  
 9) *<sup>m</sup>ni-ik-de-ma KUR-ud ina 5 BALA.MEŠ-ia*  
 10) *àna KUR kaš-ie-e-ri e-li 11 URU.MEŠ-ni*  
 11) *dan-nu-ti KUR-ud <sup>m</sup>an-ḫi-it-ti KUR šub-ri-a-a*  
 12) *ina URU-šu e-sir-šu ma-da-tú-šu am-ḫur-šu*  
 13) *ina 6 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na URU.MEŠ-ni ša ši-di*  
 14) *ÍD ba-li-ḫi aq-ṭí-rib <sup>m</sup>gi-am-mu*  
 15) *EN URU-šú-nu GAZ a-na URU DU<sub>6</sub>-tur-a-ḫi KU<sub>4</sub>-ub*  
 16) *ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-ša e-bir ma-da-tú*  
 17) *ša MAN.MEŠ-ni ša KUR ḫat-ti am-ḫur <sup>md</sup>ÍŠKUR-id-ri*  
 18) *ša KUR.ANŠE-šu <sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-ni KUR a-ma-ta-a-a*  
 19) *a-di 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni ša ši-di tam-di*  
 20) *a-na Á.MEŠ a-ḫa-miš it-ták-lu-ma*  
 21) *a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> u MĒ àna GABA-ia*  
 22) *it-bu-ni it-te-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu*  
 23) *aš-kun GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu*  
 24) *ú-nu-ut MĒ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu 20 LIM 5 LIM*  
 25) *ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit*  
 26) *ina 7 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na URU.MEŠ-ni ša <sup>m</sup>ḫa-bi-ni*  
 27) *URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-a-a al-lik URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ*  
 28) *URU dan-nu-ti-šú a-di URU.MEŠ-ni ša li-me-tu-šú*  
 29) *KUR-ud a-di SAG ÍD e-ni ša ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL*  
 30) *a-šar mu-ša-ú ša A.MEŠ šak-nu al-lik*  
 31) *ina 8 BALA.MEŠ-ia <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU MAN KUR kar-du-ni-áš*  
 32) *<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-sa-te ŠEŠ-šú it-ti-šú ib-bal-kit*

Tummu, the city Aršaškun, the land Gilzānu, (and) the city Ḫubuškia.

i 48b – ii 6a) In my fourth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates in flood in pursuit of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. (ii 1) He had made as his stronghold Mount Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. Aḫunu, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, (and) 22,000 of his troops I uprooted (and) brought to my city, Aššur.

ii 6b–9a) In this same year I crossed Mount Kullar, went down to the interior of the land Zamua, (and) captured the cities of Nikdêra and Nikdême.

ii 9b–12) In my fifth regnal year I ascended Mount Kašiiari (and) captured eleven fortified cities. I confined Anḫitti, the Šubraean, to his city (and) received his tribute.

ii 13–25) In my sixth regnal year I approached the cities on the banks of the River Baliḫ. They killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city Tīl-turaḫi. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) received tribute from the kings of the land Ḫatti. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, (ii 20) trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. I fought with them (and) defeated them. I captured from them their chariotry, cavalry, (and) military equipment (and) put to the sword 25,000 of their fighting men.

ii 26–30) In my seventh regnal year I marched to the cities of Ḫabinu, the Tīl-abnīan. I captured Tīl-abnī, his fortified city, together with the cities in its environs. I marched to the source of the Tigris, the place where the water comes out.

ii 31–34) In my eighth regnal year (at the time of) Marduk-zākir-šumi (I), king of Karduniaš, Marduk-bēl-usāte, his brother, rebelled against him. I marched out for vengeance (and) captured the cities

i 43 *ša* is redundant.

ii 8–9 <sup>m</sup>ni-ik-de-ra <sup>m</sup>ni-ik-de-ma: the reading is clear and there is no dittography. See Schramm, EAK 2 p. 77. Regarding the names see the note to A.O.102.16 line 25.

ii 15 GAZ = *idūkū* “they killed”: cf. A.O.102.6 ii 21.

- 33) *a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li lu al-lik*  
 34) URU.A.MEŠ-túr-na-at URU la-ḫi-ru KUR-ud  
 35) *ina* 9 BALA.MEŠ-a *ina* 2-e ger-ri-ia  
 36) URU ga-na-na-te KUR-ud<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-  
 ú-sa-te  
 37) *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú *a-na* KUR-e  
 38) *e-li* EGIR-šú *ar-di* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-sa-te  
 39) *a-di* ÉRIN.MEŠ EN ḫi-at-tí šá it-te-šú  
 40) *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ  
 41) *ina* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI URU bár-sípa.KI  
 42) URU ku-te-e DÛ-uš *a-na* KUR kal-di ú-ri-id  
 43) URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu KUR-ud man-da-tú šá  
 MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 44) šá KUR kal-di *ina* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 am-ḫur  
 45) *ina* 10 BALA.MEŠ-ia 8-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*  
 46) URU.MEŠ-ni ša <sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-ra URU gar-ga-miš-  
 a-a <akšud>  
 47) TA URU.MEŠ-ni ša URU gar-ga-miš-a-a at-tu-  
 muš  
 48) *a-na* URU.MEŠ-ni ša <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me aq-tí-rib  
 49) URU ar-né-e URU MAN-ti-šu *a-di* 1 ME  
 50) URU.MEŠ-ni ša li-me-tu-šú KUR-ud  
 51) *ina* 11 BALA.MEŠ-ia 9-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*  
 52) 97 URU.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-ra  
 53) 1 ME URU.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me KUR-ud  
 54) ší-di KUR ḫa-ma-ni aš-bat KUR ia-ra-qu  
 55) BAL-at *a-na* URU.MEŠ-ni šá KUR a-ma-ta-a-a  
 56) at-ta-rad URU ab-ši-ma-ku  
 57) *a-di* 89 URU.MEŠ-ni KUR-ud *ina* u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma  
 Col. iii  
 1) <sup>md</sup>ÍŠKUR-id-ri šá KUR.ANŠE-šu  
 2) <sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-na KUR a-mat-a-a *a-di* 12  
 MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 3) ša ší-di tam-di ana Á.MEŠ a-ḫa-miš it-tàk-  
 lu-ma  
 4) it-te-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šu-nu  
 áš-kun  
 5) [10] LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-du-ki-šu-nu *ina*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit  
 6) *ina* 12 BALA.MEŠ-ia 10-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*  
 7) *a-na* URU pa-qar-ḫu-bu-ni al-lik UN.MEŠ  
 8) KUR-ú mar-šu iš-šab-tu GAZ-šú-nu *a-duk*  
 9) šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu TA qé-reb  
 10) KUR-e ú-še-ri-da *ina* 13 BALA.MEŠ-ia àna  
 KUR né-re-be  
 11) ša <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ KU<sub>4</sub>-ub *a-na* mat-ti-ia-te(\*)  
 12) al-lik mat-ia-a-tu *a-na* si-ḫír-ti-šá  
 13) KUR-ud šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la  
 14) *ina* 14 BALA.MEŠ-ia ma-a-ti DAGAL-tu  
 15) *a-na* la ma-ni ad-ki it-ti 1 ME LIM  
 16) 20 LIM ÉRIN.ḫi.A.MEŠ-ia ÍD.A.RAD *ina* mi-  
 li-šá  
 17) *e-bir* *ina* u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma <sup>md</sup>ÍŠKUR-id-ri  
 18) ša KUR.ANŠE-šu <sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-ni KUR a-mat-a-a  
 19) *a-di* 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni ša ší-di tam-di

Mê-turnat (and) Laḫiru.

ii 35–44) In my ninth regnal year, in my second campaign (to Babylonia), I captured the city Gannanāte. To save his life Marduk-bēl-usāte ascended a mountain. I pursued him (and) (ii 40) put to the sword Marduk-bēl-usāte, together with the treacherous soldiers who were with him. I made sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah. I went down to Chaldaea (and) captured their cities. I received tribute from the kings of Chaldaea in Babylon.

ii 45–50) In my tenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. <I captured> the cities of Sangara, the Carchemishite. Moving on from the cities of the Carchemishite I approached the cities of Aramu (and) captured Arnê, his royal city, together with one hundred cities in its environs.

ii 51 – iii 5) In my eleventh regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. I captured ninety-seven cities of Sangara (and) one hundred cities of Aramu. I took to the slopes of the Amanus range, (ii 55) crossed Mount Iaraq, (and) descended to the cities of the people of Ḥamat. I captured the city Abšimaku (Aštammaku?), together with eighty-nine cities. At that time (iii 1) Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḥamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, (attacked me) and I fought with them (and) defeated them. I put to the sword [10],000 of their fighting men.

iii 6–10a) In my twelfth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time (and) marched to the city Paqaraḫubunu. The people took to a rugged mountain. I massacred them (and) brought plunder (and) possessions of theirs down from the mountain.

iii 10b–13) In my thirteenth regnal year I entered the Pass of the Goddesses, marched to Matiātu, captured all of Matiātu, (and) plundered it.

iii 14–25) In my fourteenth regnal year I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood with 120,000 of my troops. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḥamatite, together with twelve kings on the shore of the sea, (iii 20) above and below, mustered their

ii 56 URU ab-ši-ma-ku: see the note to A.0.102.16 line 75'.

iii 11 -te(\*): text has -e. Regarding the reading here and in iii 12 see Grayson, BiOr 33 (1976) pp. 144–45.

- 20) AN.TA ù K[I].TA ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 21) ĪI.A.MEŠ a-na la ma-ni id-ku-ni  
 22) a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ni it-te-šú-nu  
 23) am-daḥ-ḥi-iṣ BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-kun  
 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 24) pit-ḥal-la-šú-nu ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu  
 25) a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu e-lu-ú  
 26) ina 15 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na KUR na-i-ri  
 27) al-lik ina SAG e-ni ša ÍD.ĪHAL.ĪHAL  
 28) ša-lam MAN-ti-ia ina ka-a-pi ša KUR-e  
 29) ú-še-ziz àna KUR né-re-be ša KUR tu-bu-ni  
 30) KU<sub>4</sub>-ub URU.MEŠ-ni ša <sup>ma</sup>ra-me(\*)  
 31) KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a a-di <<a-di>>  
 32) SAG e-ni ša ÍD.ĪHAL.ĪHAL a-di SAG e-ni  
 33) ša ÍD.A.RAD KUR-ud ina 16 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 34) KUR kúl-la-ar BAL-at KUR mu-un-na  
 35) KUR al-lab-ri-a KUR pâr-su-a KUR ab-da-da-  
 a-nu  
 36) KUR ḥa-ban KUR na-<sup>mu</sup>mur KUR tug(\*)-li-ia-  
 áš  
 37) ŠU-ti KUR-ud ina 17 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 ÍD.A.RAD  
 38) e-bir ma-da-tú ša MAN.MEŠ-ni ša KUR ḥat-te  
 39) am-ḥur a-na KUR-e KUR ḥa-ma-ni e-li  
 40) GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni a-ki-si a-na  
 41) URU-ia aš-šur ub-la ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia  
 42) ša TA KUR ḥa-ma-ni 1 šu-ši 3 GU<sub>4</sub>.AM.MEŠ  
 43) dan-nu-te šu-ut qar-ni gít-ma-lu-te ina URU zu-  
 qar-ri  
 44) ša ĠIR.II am-ma-a-te ša ÍD.A.RAD a-duk 4  
 TI.LA.MEŠ  
 45) ina qa-te aš-bat ina 18 BALA.MEŠ-ia 16-šú  
 46) ÍD.A.RAD e-bir <sup>m</sup>ḥa-za-<sup>ʿ</sup>e-DINGIR ša  
 KUR.ANŠE-šú  
 47) a-na gi-piṣ ÉRIN.ĪI.<A>.MEŠ-šu it-ta-kil-ma  
 48) ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-šu a-na ma-a <sup>ʿ</sup>diš id-ka-a  
 49) KUR sa-ni-ru KUR ú-ba-an KUR-e ša pu-ut  
 50) KUR lab-na-ni a-na dan-nu-ti-šu iṣ-kun  
 51) 16 LIM 20 ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-du-ki-šu ina  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ  
 52) ú-šam-ḡit 1 LIM 1 ME 21 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú  
 53) 4 ME 70 pit-ḥal-lu-šú it-ti uš-ma-ni-šú  
 Col. iv  
 1) e-kim-šu a-[na] šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú  
 2) e-li EGIR-šu ar-te-di ina URU di-ma-áš-ḡi  
 3) URU MAN-ti-šu e-sir-šu GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šu a-  
 ki-s[i]  
 4) ku-ri-la-šu ina IZI áš-ru-up a-di KUR-e  
 5) KUR ḥa-ú-ra-ni al-lik URU.MEŠ-ni a-na  
 6) la ma-ni ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up  
 7) šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la a-na KUR-e  
 8) KUR ba-<sup>ʿ</sup>a-li-ra-<sup>ʿ</sup>a-si ša SAG tam-di  
 9) ša pu-ut KUR šur-ri al-lik ša-lam MAN-ti-ia  
 10) ina lib-bi ú-še(\*)-ziz ma-da-tu ša <sup>m</sup>ba-<sup>ʿ</sup>a-li-ma-  
 an-NUMUN  
 11) <sup>m</sup>šur-ra-a-a ša <sup>m</sup>ia-a-ú DUMU <sup>m</sup>ḥu-um-ri-i

troops, which were too numerous to be counted. They attacked me, I fought with them, (and) defeated them. I took away their chariotry, cavalry, (and) military equipment. To save their lives they ran away.

iii 26–33a) In my fifteenth regnal year I marched to the land Nairi. I erected my royal statue at the source of the Tigris on a mountain cliff. (iii 30) I entered the pass of Mount Ṭubunu (and) captured the cities of Aramu, the Urartian, as far as the source of the Tigris (and) as far as the source of the Euphrates.

iii 33b–37a) In my sixteenth regnal year I crossed Mount Kullar (and) conquered the lands Munna, Allabria, Parsua, Abdadānu, Ḥaban, Namri, (and) Tugliaš.

iii 37b–45a) In my seventeenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates (and) received tribute from the kings of the land Ḥatti. I ascended the Amanus range, (iii 40) cut down cedar timbers, (and) brought (them) to my city, Aššur. On my return from the Amanus range I slew sixty-three perfect specimens of strong, horned, wild bulls by the city Zuqarru, on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, (and) captured four alive.

iii 45b – iv 15a) In my eighteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus, trusting in the might of his soldiers, carried out an extensive muster of his troops. (iii 50) He fortified Mount Saniru, the mountain peak, which is before Mount Lebanon. I put to the sword 16,020 of his fighting men (and) took away from him 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry with his military camp. (iv 1) To save his life he ran away (but) I pursued him. I imprisoned him in Damascus, his royal city, cut down his gardens, (and) burned his shocks. (iv 5) I marched to Mount Ḥaurānu (and) razed, destroyed, burned, (and) plundered cities without number. I marched to Mount Baʿaliraʿasi, which is a cape (jutting out into) the sea before the land of Tyre, (and) (iv 10) erected my royal statue there. I received tribute from Baʿali-manzēri of Tyre (and) from Jehu (Iāu) of the house of Omri (Ḥumri). On my return I ascended Mount Lebanon (and) erected my royal statue with the statue of Tiglath-pileser, a strong king who preceded me.

iii 29.2 tu-ni-bu instead of tu-bu-ni.

iv 7–15 See Malamat, *Studies Landsberger* pp. 371–72.

iv 10 Baʿali-manzeri: see A.O.102.16 134ʿ.

- 12) *am-ḥur ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia a-na*  
 13) KUR *lab-na-na lu e-li ṣa-lam MAN-ti-ia*  
 14) *it-ti ṣal-me ṣa mGIŠ.tukul-ti-A-é-šár-ra*  
 15) MAN KAL *a-lik pa-ni-ia ú-še-ziz ina 19*  
 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 16) 17-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir ma-da-tú ṣa MAN.MEŠ-*  
*ni*  
 17) *ša KUR ḥat-te am-ḥur a-na KUR ḥa-ma-ni e-li*  
 18) GIŠ.GU.ŠUR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni GIŠ.ŠIM.LI a-*  
*ki-si*  
 19) *a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia*  
 20) *ša TA KUR ḥa-ma-ni 10 GU<sub>4</sub>.AM.MEŠ dan-*  
*nu-te šu-ut*  
 21) *qar-ni gít-ma-lu-te 2 GU<sub>4</sub>.AMAR.MEŠ ina*  
 URU *zu-qar-ri*  
 22) *ša GÌR.II am-ma-a-te ṣa ÍD.A.RAD a-duk ina*  
 20 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 23) 20-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir MAN.MEŠ-ni ṣa KUR*  
*ḥat-ti*  
 24) DÜ-šú-nu *it-ti-ia ad-ki KUR ḥa-ma-nu BAL-kát*  
 25) *ana URU.MEŠ-ni ṣa mka-te-i KUR qa-ú-a-a*  
 26) *at-ta-ra-da URU lu-sa-an-da URU a-bar-na-ni*  
 27) URU *ki-su-at-ni URU.MEŠ-ni KAL.MEŠ a-di*  
 28) URU.MEŠ-*ni a-na la ma-ni TA SAG*  
 URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú*  
 29) *a-di qa-na URU.MEŠ-ni-šú ak-šu-ud GAZ-šú-*  
*nu*  
 30) *a-duk ṣal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la 2 ṣa-lam MAN-ti-ia*  
 31) DÜ-*uš ta-na-ti kiš-šu-ti-a ina ŠĀ al-tu-ur*  
 32) 1-*en ina SAG URU.MEŠ-ni-šú 2-ú ina qa-ni*  
 URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú*  
 33) *ina SAG tam-di áz-qu-up li-i-ti ù da-na-ni*  
 34) UGU URU *qa-ú-e al-ta-ka-an 1 ME LIM 10*  
 LIM  
 35) 6 ME 10 *šal-lu-tu 80 LIM 2 LIM 6 ME di-ik-tu*  
 36) 9 LIM 9 ME 20 ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ ANŠE  
*ku-di-ni*  
 37) 30 LIM 5 LIM 5 ME 65 GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ 19 LIM 6  
 ME  
 38) 90 ANŠE.MEŠ 1 ME LIM 80 LIM 4 LIM 7  
 ME 55  
 39) UDU.MEŠ *ḥu-ub-tu ṣa TA SAG MAN-ti-ia a-di*  
 40) 20 BALA.MEŠ-*ia e-nu-ma BĀD URU-ia aš-*  
*šur.KI*  
 41) *maḥ-ru-ú ṣa URU GIBIL šá ina pa-an*  
 mPUZUR(KA.ŠĀ)-*aš-šur*  
 42) DUMU *aš-šur-né-ra-ri*  
 43) mIŠKUR.ÉRIN.TĀḤ DUMU GÍD-DI-DINGIR  
 mGIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 44) DUMU *šul-ma-nu-SAG mGIŠ.tukul-ti-IBILA-*  
*šár-ra*  
 45) DUMU *aš-šur-SAG-i-ši MAN.MEŠ-ni a-lik pa-*  
*ni-ia*

iv 15b–22a) In my nineteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the seventeenth time (and) received tribute from the kings of the land Ḫatti. I ascended the Amanus range, cut down cedar and juniper timbers, (and) brought (them) to my city Aššur. On my return (iv 20) from the Amanus range I slew ten perfect specimens of strong, horned, wild bulls (and) two calves by the city Zuqarru, on the opposite bank of the Euphrates.

iv 22b–34a) In my twentieth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twentieth time (and) mustered with my (forces) all the kings of the land Ḫatti. I crossed the Amanus range (and) went down (iv 25) to the cities of Katê, the Quean (Qau). I captured the cities Lusanda, Abarnānu, Kisuatnu, fortified cities together with innumerable cities from the nearest of his cities to the farthest of his cities. (iv 30) I massacred (and) plundered them. I fashioned two royal statues of myself, inscribed thereon my mighty praises (and) erected one in the nearest of his cities (and) the second in the farthest of his cities on a cape (jutting) into the sea. (Thus) I prevailed over the land (lit. “city”) Que (Qau) with might and main.

iv 34b–40a) The booty from the beginning of my sovereignty to my twentieth regnal year: 110,610 prisoners, 82,600 killed, 9,920 horses (and) mules, 35,565 oxen, 19,690 donkeys, (and) 184,755 sheep.

iv 40b – Lower edge 3a) At that time the ancient wall of my city, Aššur, of New City, which had been built previously by Puzur-Aššur (III), son of Aššur-nārārī (I), Adad-nārārī (I), son of Arik-dīn-ili, Tukultī-Ninurta (I), son of Shalmaneser (I), (and) Tiglath-pileser (I), (iv 45) son of Aššur-rēša-iši (I), kings who preceded me: this wall had become dilapidated and I removed its damaged (portions), digging down to its foundation in bedrock. I completely rebuilt it from top to bottom (and) (iv 50) decorated (it) more splendidly than before. I

iv 15 KAL is reasonably clear. The sign is neither GAL nor NUN.

iv 15–23 In the nineteenth year there were two crossings of the Euphrates: the seventeenth time (iv 16 and A.0.102.16 line 137') and the eighteenth time (A.0.102.14 line 99). In the following year, the twentieth, there must also have been two crossings: the nineteenth time (unrecorded) and the twentieth time (iv 23; A.0.102.11 rev. 3'; A.0.102.12 line 31; A.0.102.14 line 100).

iv 22–29 See J. Lewy, *Orientalia* NS 21 (1952) pp. 290–92.

iv 27–33 See CAD 13 (Q) p. 82a.



- 46) *e-pu-uš BÀD šu-a-tú e-na-aḥ-ma an-ḥu-su*  
 47) *ú-na-ki-ir dan-na-su ki-šir KUR-e*  
 48) *lu ak-šu-ud TA uš-še-šu a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú*  
 49) *ar-šip ú-šak-lil UGU maḥ-re-e <<ú-si>>*  
 50) *ú-si-im ú-šar-riḥ <...> ti-ib-ki mu-la-šú*  
 51) 13 SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ *ina na-al-ba-ni-ia GAL-e*  
 52) *ú-ka-be-er-šu IM-šu ina LĀL.MEŠ Ī.GIŠ*  
 DÜG.GA  
 53) ÚŠ GIŠ <<ÚŠ>> *e-re-ni KAŠ.MEŠ*  
 GEŠTIN.MEŠ *lu ab-lu-ul*  
 54) SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú *ina GIŠ.MAR.MEŠ*  
 GIŠ.Ū.ŠUB.MEŠ *ša GIŠ e-re-ni*  
 55) *lu x-ni ina ŠÀ uš-še-šu KÛ.BABBAR.MEŠ*  
 KÛ.GI.MEŠ
- Lower edge
- 1) NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÍN.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub>.BABBAR.DILI.MEŠ  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.GUG.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub>.PA.MEŠ ŠIM.MEŠ DÜ-  
 šú-nu *lu at-bu-uk a-gúr-ru.MEŠ*  
 2) *ša ši-pi a-na e-sa-ia-te-šú lu áš-kun*  
 NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÛ.A *ù te-me-ni-ia ina lib-bi*  
 3) *áš-kun NUN EGIR-ú an-ḥu-su lu-ud-diš MU šaḥ-*  
*ra ù MU MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia a-na*

## Left edge

- 1) *áš-ri-šú-nu lu-ter aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR DINGIR.MEŠ  
 GAL.MEŠ *ik-ri-bi-šú i-še-mu-ú ITI ša-ki-na-a-*  
*te ITI.DU<sub>6</sub> UD 1.KÁM li-mu*  
 2) 20 BALA.MEŠ-a 2 LIM 1 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 5  
 LIM 2 ME 42 *pit-ḥal-lu a-na Á.MEŠ KUR-ia*  
*ak-šur*

made it <N> layers of brick high and thirteen bricks wide, using the large brick mould (as standard). I mixed its clay with honey, fine oil, cedar resin, beer, (and) wine. I made its bricks with trowels (and) moulds of cedar. I deposited in its foundation silver, gold, (Lower edge 1) lapis lazuli, *pappardilû*-stone, carnelian, shells, aromatics, all kinds of things. I used baked bricks of ... on its towers. I deposited my monumental and clay inscriptions therein.

Lower edge 3b –Left edge 1a) May a later prince restore its weakened portions (and) return my inscriptions together with the inscriptions of the kings my fathers (Left edge 1) to their places. (Then) Aššur, the god Adad, (and) the great gods will listen to his prayers.

Left edge 1b–2a) (Assyrian) month Ša-kīnāte, (Babylonian) month Tishri, first day, eponymy of my twentieth regnal year.

Left edge 2b) I recruited for the armed forces of my land 2,001 chariots (and) 5,242 cavalry.

## 11

This text is engraved on a stone slab fragment from Aššur. The text begins (obv. 1'–7'a) with an invocation of gods similar, insofar as it is preserved, to that on the Black Obelisk (A.0.102.14 lines 1–14). It then continues with the royal name, epithets, genealogy, and the beginning of a narrative of the accession and first regnal years (obv. 7'b–19'); this portion is parallel to A.0.102.10 i 9–24 and A.0.102.14 lines 15–27. There is then a large gap before the text is again preserved, albeit fragmentarily, on the reverse. This has an account of the nineteenth (rev. 1'–2') and twentieth years (rev. 3'–16'a) which is parallel to A.0.102.10 iv 21–34a. The reverse concludes with a description of the rebuilding of the wall of Aššur and a list of several rulers, beginning with Kikia, who had earlier worked on the wall. A rather similar history is found in a text of Aššur-rēm-nišēšu (RIMA 1 pp. 101–102) and this suggests that Shalmaneser had discovered one or more texts of this type in the course of his rebuilding.

iv 50 <...> *ti-ib-ki*: the engraver left a space for a numeral before *tibki*. Obviously he intended to fill it in later when he had checked what number it should be, but forgot to do so.

iv 55 *lu x-ni*: from the photograph the sign looks like NIN. One expects *lu albin(i)*.

Left edge 1–2 See Brinkman, PKB p. 192 n. 1176.

On the left edge (L.E. ii 1–2a) there is a statement about how large Shalmaneser had made his army; the same statement is also found in A.O.102.10 L.E. 2. Finally, the name of the wall is given (cf. A.O.102.40 iii 10–11, etc.) and the dimensions of one of its features, possibly a protruding summit.

The text is in general very similar to A.O.102.10. In addition to the parallels already recorded, note that both texts concern the rebuilding of the wall of Aššur and that both end the military narrative with the twentieth year. Thus this text probably also dates to 839 BC. Like A.O.102.10, the original of this tablet was probably divided into four columns.

## COMMENTARY

The fragment (Ass 20739, Ass ph 6440–42) was discovered in kA111. Its present location is unknown but the inscription could be collated from the photos.

The inscription on the left edge seems to have been divided into two columns. Only one trace of col. i (left col.) remains.

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## TEXT

## Obverse

## Lacuna

- 1') x [... <sup>d</sup>šamaš daiiān šamē]  
 2') ù KI-te <sup>l</sup>mu-ma-<sup>2</sup>e<sup>l</sup>[er gimri]  
 3') <sup>d</sup>U.GUR <sup>g</sup>it-ma-lu MAN tam-<sup>h</sup>a-r[i <sup>d</sup>nusku]  
 4') na-<sup>š</sup>i GIŠ.GIDRU KÛ-ti DINGIR mu[<sup>l</sup>-ta-lu]  
 5') <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL <sup>h</sup>i-rat <sup>d</sup>BAD<sup>1</sup> [ummi ilāni]  
 6') GAL.MEŠ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ m[u-<sup>š</sup>i-mu  
 šimāti]  
 7') mu-<sup>š</sup>ar-bu-ú MAN-ti-i[<sup>a</sup> šulmānu-ašarēd]  
 8') MAN kiš-<sup>š</sup>at UN.MEŠ NUN ŠID aš-<sup>š</sup>ur [šarru  
 dannu šar kullat]  
 9') kib-rat 4-i <sup>d</sup>šam-š[<sup>u</sup> kiššat nišē murtedū]  
 10') ka-liš KUR.MEŠ DUMU aš-<sup>š</sup>ur-[<sup>n</sup>āšir-apli  
 šangū širu ša šangūssu]  
 11') UGU DINGIR.MEŠ i-<sup>t</sup>i-bu-[<sup>ma</sup> mātāti  
 napharšina ana šēpēšu]  
 12') ú-<sup>l</sup>šék<sup>l</sup>-ni-šu nab-ni-[<sup>tu</sup> ellutu ša tukultī-ninurta]  
 13') ša kúl-lat za-i-ri-šu [inērūma ina šurrat]  
 14') MAN-ti-ia ša [ina kussē šarrūti]  
 15') ú-<sup>š</sup>i-bu GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ ummānāīia]  
 16') <sup>l</sup>ad-ki<sup>1</sup> ana KUR né-r[e-be ša KUR simesi ērub]  
 17') URU a-ri-du [āl dannūtīšu ša ninni]  
 18') KUR-ud ina 1 BA[LA-ia puratta ina mīlīša  
 ēbir]  
 19') a-<sup>l</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [tāmdi ...]

## Lacuna

## Reverse

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

1'–7'a) [... god Šamaš, judge of heaven] and underworld, commander [of all]; god Nergal, perfect one, king of battle; [god Nusku], bearer of the holy sceptre, circumspect god; goddess Ninlil, spouse of the god Enlil, [mother of] the great [gods]; great gods, who [decree destinies], who aggrandize my sovereignty;  
 7'b–13'a) [Shalmaneser], king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, [strong king, king of all] the four quarters, sun(god) of [all people, ruler of] all lands; son of Ashur[nasirpal (II)], exalted priest, whose priesthood] was pleasing to the gods [and] (who) subdued [all lands at his feet, pure] offspring [of Tukultī-Ninurta (II)], who [slew] all his enemies:

13'b–18'a) [At the beginning of] my reign, after I ascended [the royal throne], I mustered [my chariots (and) troops. I entered] the pass of [the land Simesi (and)] captured the city Aridu, [the fortified city of Ninnu].

18'b–19') In [my] first regnal year [I crossed the Euphrates (and) marched] to [the western sea].

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

- 1') 2 GU<sub>4</sub>.A[MAR.MEŠ ina URU zuqarri]  
 2') šá GÌR.II a[m-mâte ša puratti adūk]  
 3') ina 20 BALA.MEŠ-ia [20-šú puratta ēbir  
 šarrāni]  
 4') ša KUR hat-<sup>1</sup>ti DU<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu ittīia adki]  
 5') KUR ha-ma-nu BAL-ká[<sup>t</sup>ana ālāni ša katê]  
 6') KUR qa-ú-a-a [<sup>1</sup>at-ta<sup>1</sup>-[ra-da URU lusanda]  
 7') URU a-bar-na-ni U[RU kisuatni ālāni]  
 8') KAL.MEŠ a-di URU.M[EŠ-ni ana lā māni]  
 9') TA SAG URU.MEŠ-ni-šú [<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-[di qanna  
 ālānišū]  
 10') KUR-ud GAZ-šu-nu a-duk šal-l[<sup>1</sup>a-sunu ašlula]  
 11') 2 ša-lam MAN-ti-a DŪ-uš [tanatti]  
 12') kiš-šu-ti-ia ina ŠĀ al-<sup>1</sup>t[<sup>1</sup>u-ur iltēn ina rēš]  
 13') URU.MEŠ-ni-šú 2-ú ina qa-n[<sup>1</sup>i ālānišū ina rēš]  
 14') tam-di az-qu-up [<sup>1</sup>li(?)<sup>1</sup>-i(?)<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>1</sup>ti]  
 15') ù da-na-ni UGU KUR [<sup>1</sup>qa(?)<sup>1</sup>-ú(?)<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>1</sup>e]  
 16') al-ta-ka-an e-nu-ma BĀ[D ālīia aššur]  
 17') maḥ-ru-ú ša <sup>m</sup>ki-ki-a <sup>m</sup>PUZUR<sup>1</sup>(K[A.ŠA])-  
 aššur(?)  
 18') <sup>m</sup>i-ku-nu DUMU [<sup>1</sup>e(?)<sup>1</sup>-ri-ši <sup>m</sup>n[<sup>1</sup>a-ram-<sup>d</sup>sîn(?)  
 19') DUMU <sup>m</sup><<DIŠ>> MAN-aš-šur (traces)

Lacuna

Left edge

Col. i

(trace)

Col. ii

- 1) 2 LIM 1 GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>GIGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> 5 LIM 2 ME 4<sup>1</sup>2<sup>1</sup>  
 [pithallū]  
 2) a-na Á.MEŠ KUR-ia ak-šur [šum dūri rabê]  
 3) ša me-lam-mu-šu KUR kát-mu 10 SI[G<sub>4</sub>  
 šapassu(?)  
 4) a-ši-a-at 20 SIG<sub>4</sub> rap-šá-at

rev. 1'–2') [... I slew ten perfect specimens of strong,  
 horned, wild bulls (and)] two calves [by the city  
 Zuqarru], on the opposite bank [of the Euphrates].

rev. 3'–16'a) In my twentieth regnal year [I crossed  
 the Euphrates for the twentieth time (and) mustered  
 with my (forces)] all [the kings] of the land Ḫatti. I  
 crossed the Amanus range (and) went down [to the  
 cities of Katê, of the Quean (Qau). I captured the  
 cities [Lusanda], Abarnānu, [Kisuatnu], fortified  
 [cities] together with [innumerable] cities from the  
 nearest of his cities to the [farthest of his cities]. I  
 massacred (and) plundered them. I fashioned two  
 royal statues of myself, inscribed thereon my mighty  
 [praises] (and) erected [one in the nearest of] his  
 cities (and) the second in the farthest of [his cities  
 on a cape (jutting) into] the sea. (Thus) I prevailed  
 over the land Que (Qau) with might and main.

rev. 16'b–19') At that time the ancient wall [of my  
 city Aššur] which [had been built previously by]  
 Kikia, Puzur-[Aššur (I)], Ikūnu, son of Erišu,  
 N[arām-Sîn], son of Puzur-Aššur (II),

Lacuna

Left edge i) (trace)

Left edge ii 1–2a) I recruited for the armed forces of  
 my land 2,001 chariots (and) 5,242 [cavalry].  
 Left edge ii 2b–4) [The name of the great (inner)  
 wall is]: “Whose Brilliance Covers the Land.” [Its  
 summit] protrudes ten bricks and it is twenty bricks  
 wide.

## 12

This text is engraved on a statue of Shalmaneser, with traces of coloured paint, which was dedicated to the god Adad of Kurbail, although the statue was actually found at Fort Shalmaneser. The text begins (lines 1–8) with the dedication to Adad, who is given a number of epithets. There follows (lines 9–10) the royal name and genealogy. Then there are passages (lines 11–36a) describing military campaigns, which conclude with a narrative of the campaign against Que in the twentieth year (839 BC), and the dedication to Adad of Kurbail, tribute brought back from Que. The text ends (lines 36b–40) with reference to the creation of this statue and the king's prayers for blessings as a reward for presenting the statue. The date of the sculpture must, therefore, be in late 839 BC or 838 BC.

rev. 18' N[arām-Sîn]: Meissner and Michel restored instead E[nlil-nāšir] (son of Puzur-Aššur III).  
 Left edge ii 3 For šaptu “summit, crown (of a wall)” cf., for example, A.O.102.44 line 8.

## COMMENTARY

The statue (ND 10000) is in the Iraq Museum (IM 60497). It measures 103 cm high and was discovered in NE 50 leaning against the wall. Despite the break the inscription is virtually undamaged. It has not been collated and the published photos are largely illegible.

Some questions raised by this statue deserve consideration. First, although it was dedicated to Adad of Kurbail, it was discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, Calah. The location of Kurbail is still uncertain but it seems to have lain somewhere northwest of Nineveh. The excavator, David Oates, noted that the statue was broken across the bottom left-hand corner and dowel holes had been bored in the opposed faces of the break in order to repair it. The conclusion he drew from this is that the statue had been brought to Fort Shalmaneser for repair. This raises the question: why take it so far for repair since Nineveh, for example, was much closer; and, in any case, why not repair it in the city where it had been erected? Oates suggested that Kurbail had been captured shortly before 614 BC, the year in which Calah fell, and that the statue was damaged in the process but was rescued and taken to Calah. It seems implausible, however, that a fleeing people would have lugged a heavy stone sculpture that far. I wonder, indeed, if the statue had ever been anywhere but in Calah for, as Oates observed, there might have been a shrine of "Adad of Kurbail" at Calah. There was certainly a shrine of "Adad of Kurbail" at Aššur (see Postgate, RLA 6 p. 368).

The next question is the significance of Kurbail in relation to what the inscription narrates. Since the text tells us that booty from Que was dedicated to Adad of Kurbail, there must be a connection. If Kurbail was really somewhere northwest of Nineveh, it could have been a strategic assembly point for campaigns en route to and from destinations, including Que, in that general direction. Perhaps Adad of Kurbail was regarded as responsible for that part of Assyria's geographical horizon. Certainly, Adad of Kurbail was an important god in the Neo-Assyrian period.

Another question is the significance of the campaigns mentioned. Within the initial general description of Shalmaneser's conquests (lines 11–20), reference to two specific campaigns can be recognized: the third (856 BC) to the northwest (lines 15–18); and the sixteenth (843 BC) to the east (lines 19–20). The dated military narratives are of the following campaigns: eighteenth (841 BC) to the west (lines 21–30a), nineteenth (840 BC) to the west (lines 30b–31a), and twentieth (839 BC) to the northwest, specifically Que (lines 31b–34). Thus, the whole narrative begins with a broad geographical sweep of Shalmaneser's conquests, except for Babylonia, ending with a more explicit narrative of recent campaigns to the west and concluding with the first invasion of Que. This initial campaign against Que was apparently a great success (see CAH 3/1 p. 263) and it is not surprising that a statue would have been sculpted to commemorate it.

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## TEXT

- 1) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR *gú-gal* AN-*e* KI-tim *šá-qé-e* EN *gim-ri*
- 2) *kaš-kaš-šu* DINGIR.MEŠ *ra-šub-bu šá la iš-šá-na-nu dan-nu-su*
- 3) *na-a-ši qí-na-an-zi* KÙ *mu-sa-an-bi-i' ta-ma-a-te*
- 4) *ša-bit kip-pat* IM.MEŠ *mu-kil* A.MEŠ *ĤÉ.NUN*
- 5) *mu-šá-az-nin* ŠEG *mu-šab-ríq* NIM.GÍR *mu-šab-šú-u ur-qé-e-ti*
- 6) *šá ina* KA-šú *hur-šá-a-ni i-nu-šú i-sa-bu- 'a ta-ma-a-te*
- 7) DINGIR *re-mé-nu-ú šá na-as-ĥu-ur-šú* TI.LA
- 8) *a-šib* URU *kur-ba-il ki-iš-ši* KÙ EN GAL EN-šú
- 9) <sup>md</sup>šúl-*ma-nu-MAŠ MAN dan-nu GÍR.ARAD*  
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 10) A <sup>m</sup>AŠ-PAB-A MAN KUR AŠ A <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*
- 11) *ka-šid* TA *tam-di* AN.TA *u tam-di* KI.TA *šá*  
KUR *na-i-ri*

1–8) To the god Adad, canal-inspector of heaven (and) underworld, the lofty, lord of all, almighty among the gods, the awesome (god) whose strength is unrivalled, who bears a holy whip which churns up the seas, who controls all the winds, who provides abundant water, who brings down rain, who makes lightning flash, who creates vegetation, at whose shout the mountains shake (and) the seas are churned up, the compassionate god whose sympathetic concern is life, the one who dwells in the city Kurbail, the holy shrine, the great lord, his lord:

9–20) Shalmaneser, strong king, governor (appointed by) the great gods, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria; conqueror from the upper sea to the lower sea of the land Nairi, and the great sea of the west, from Mount Amanus, as far as

- 12) *u tam-di GAL-te šá šul-mu* <sup>d</sup>šam-ši TA KUR-e  
KUR *ha-ma-ni a-di* KUR
- 13) KUR *lab-na-ni* KUR *hat-te ana paṭ gim-ri-šá a-*  
*pél* TA SAG *e-ni*
- 14) *šá* ÍD.ĤAL.ĤAL *a-di* SAG *e-ni* *šá* ÍD.A.RAD
- 15) *qa-ti ik-šud* TA KUR *en-zi* KUR *súh-ni* KUR  
*me-li-di* KUR *tum<sub>s</sub>-me*
- 16) KUR *da-ie-ni* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭí a-di* URU *ar-ša-*  
*áš-kun* URU MAN-*ti-šú*
- 17) *šá* <sup>m</sup>a-ra-me KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a qa-ti ik-šud*
- 18) KUR *gil-za-nu* KUR *hub-uš-ki-a a-bu-ba-niš ás-*  
*pu-un*
- 19) TA KUR *kúl-la-ar a-di* KUR *mu-un-na* URU  
*pár-su-a* URU *al-la-ab-ri-a*
- 20) KUR *ab-da-da-ni* KUR.ZÁLAG KUR *ha-ban a-*  
*di* KUR *tug-li-áš* GIM <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR *aq-mu*
- 21) *ina* 18 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* 16-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*  
<sup>m</sup>ha-za-<sup>e</sup>-DINGIR *šá*-KUR.ANŠE-šú *a-na gi-*  
*piš*
- 22) ÉRIN.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šú *it-ta-kil-ma*  
ÉRIN.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šú *a-na ma-a* <sup>’</sup>diš *id-ka-a*  
KUR *sa-ni-ru* KUR *ú-ba-an*(\*) KUR-*e šá pu-tu*  
KUR *lab-na-na*
- 23) *a-na* KAL-*ti-šú iš-kun it-ti-šú am-da-ḥi-iš*  
BAD<sub>s</sub>.BAD<sub>s</sub>-šú *aš-kun*(\*) 16 LIM LŪ *mun-daḥ-*  
*ḥi-ši-šú*
- 24) *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit* 1 LIM 1 ME  
21 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú 4 ME 70 *pit-ḥal-lu-šú*  
*it-ti uš-ma-ni-šú*
- 25) *e-kim-šú* [a-n]a *šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú *e-li* EGIR-  
šú *ar-te-di ina* URU *di-ma-áš-qi*
- 26) URU MAN-*ti-šú e-sir-šú* GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú *ak-*  
*kis a-di* KUR-*e* KUR *ha-ú-ra-ni a-lik*
- 27) URU.MEŠ-*ni a-na la ma-ni ap-púl a-qur ina*  
IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-*up*
- 28) *šal-la-su-nu a-na la ma-ni áš-lu-la* EN KUR-*e*  
KUR *ba-’a-li-ra-si šá* SAG *tam-di a-lik*
- 29) *ša-lam* MAN-*ti-ia ina lib-bi áz-qup ina u<sub>s</sub>-me-*  
*šú-ma ma-da-tu šá* KUR *šur-ra-a-a* KUR *ši-du-*  
*na-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>ia-ú-*a*
- 30) DUMU <sup>m</sup>hu-um-ri-*i am-ḥur ina* 19  
BALA(\*) .MEŠ-*ia* 20-<sup><</sup>šú<sup>></sup> ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir a-*  
*na* KUR-*e* KUR *ha-ma-ni e-li*
- 31) GIŠ.GUŠUR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni ak-kis ina* 20(\*)  
BALA.MEŠ-*ia* 20-šú(\*) ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*
- 32) KUR *ha-ma-nu at-ta-bal-kát a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni*  
*šá* <sup>m</sup>ka-ti-*i* KUR *qu-a-ia*
- 33) *at-ta-rad* URU.MEŠ-*ni a-na la ma-ni a-púl a-*  
*qur ina* IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-*up* GAZ.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
- 34) ĤI.A.MEŠ *a-duk šal-la-su-nu a-na la ma-ni a-*  
*sa-la ma-da-ta-šú am-ḥur-šú ana* TI
- 35) ZI.MEŠ-*a* GÍD UD.MEŠ-*ia šúm-ud* MU.MEŠ-  
*ia* PAB GIŠ.GU.ZA ŠID-*ti-ia za-i-ri-ia ana qa-*  
*me-e áš-ṭu-te-ia*

Mount Lebanon, I gained dominion over all of the land Ḥatti. I conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. I conquered from the land Enzi, the lands Suḥni, Melid, Tammu, Daiēnu, Urarṭu, as far as Aršaškun, the royal city of Aramu, the Urarṭian. I overwhelmed like a flood the lands Gilzānu (and) Ḥubuškia. I raged like fire from Mount Kullar as far as the lands Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadānu, Namri, Ḥaban, as far as the land Tugliaš.

21–30a) In my eighteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus, trusting in the might of his soldiers, carried out an extensive muster of his troops. He fortified Mount Saniru, the mountain peak which is before Mount Lebanon. I fought with him (and) defeated him. I put to the sword 16,000 of his fighting men (and) took away from him 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry with his military camp. (25) To save his life he ran away (but) I pursued (him). I imprisoned him in Damascus, his royal city, (and) cut down his gardens. I marched to Mount Ḥaurānu (and) razed, destroyed, burned, (and) plundered cities without number. I marched to Mount Ba’alira’asi, which is a cape (jutting out into) the sea, (and) erected my royal statue there. At that time I received tribute from the people of Tyre, Sidon, (and) from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Ḥumrí).

30b–31a) In my nineteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twentieth time (and) ascended the Amanus range. I cut down cedar timbers.

31b–36a) In my twentieth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time, crossed over the Amanus range, (and) went down to the cities of Katē, the Quean. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities without number. I massacred many of them (and) took countless plunder from them. I received his tribute (and) gave it to the god Adad, my lord, for my life, that my days might be long, my years many, (for) the safekeeping of my vice-regal throne, for the scorching of my enemies, for the destruction of my dangerous foes, (and) to subdue at my feet rulers who oppose me.

30b–31a Cf. A.0.102.10 iv 15–16 and A.0.102.14 lines 99–100. One expects either the “seventeenth” or the “eighteenth” time, not the “twentieth” time. See the note to A.0.102.10 iv 15–23.

31 20(\*): copy has 21.

31 20-šú(\*): Kinnier Wilson’s copy has 21 but his transliteration has 20-šú.

- 36) *ana ZÁḪ mal-ki KÚR.MEŠ-ia a-na GÌR.II-ia  
šuk-nu-še a-na ḏIŠKUR EN-ia a-qiš ša-lam NA,  
GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL*
- 37) *eb-bi nam-ri šu-qu-ri šá ep-še-tu-šú a-na da-ga-  
li lu-ul-la-a šu-tu-ru*
- 38) *bu-un-na-nu-šú ú-še-piš-ma ina IGI ḏIŠKUR  
EN-ia uš-zi-iz e-nu-ma*
- 39) *ḏIŠKUR EN šal-mu šú-a-tú ina IGI.LÁ-šú ki-niš  
lip-pár-da-a GÍD UD.MEŠ-ia*
- 40) *liq-bi šúm-ud MU.MEŠ-ia lit-tas-qar ZI si-li-i ḏ-  
ti šá SU(\*)-ia li-ta-am u<sub>4</sub>-me-šam*

36b–40) I had made a holy, shining, precious statue of alabaster, the workmanship of which was beautiful to look at (and) the appearance of which was excellent. I erected it before the god Adad, my lord. When the god Adad, my lord, looks upon this statue, may he be truly pleased (and) so command the lengthening of my days, proclaim the multiplication of my years, (and) daily decree the removal of illness from my body.

## 13

This fragmentary text is on a piece of stone slab from Aššur. The traces of text on the obverse and reverse are portions of narratives describing campaigns from the fifteenth to twenty-first regnal years (844–38 BC). Thus, the text must date to late 838 BC or later. It was probably prepared to commemorate restoration work on the Aššur temple, since a fragmentary passage preserved on the left edge is a close parallel to a well-known passage in inscriptions of Shalmaneser I (RIMA 1 p. 186 lines 160–62) which commemorated reconstruction of that temple. Even the form of the script for this passage is in the same “archaic” style as the inscriptions of Shalmaneser I, thus indicating that the scribes were copying from one or more slabs of the earlier king which had been found in the course of restoration. The script on the obverse and reverse is in the normal Neo-Assyrian form.

## COMMENTARY

This text (Ass 1120, Ass ph 561–63) has not been published before, but as noted in RIMA 1 p. 186 note to line 161, Weidner seems to have mistakenly used the inscription on the side as a variant of a text of Shalmaneser I. The stone fragment has not been located and this edition is based on the excavation photos. The obverse is reasonably legible and, since it is a duplicate of A.0.102.10 iii 30–45, it can be reconstructed. The reverse is badly worn and parts are

completely illegible. The following parallel passages aid, however, in decipherment and restoration: rev. 1'–4'a // A.0.102.10 iv 31–34 and rev. 4'b–11' // A.0.102.16 lines 152'–59'. The passage on the side is reasonably clear and the parallel in RIMA 1 p. 186 lines 160–62 helps with restoration. The fragment must come from near the bottom of the slab since only the narrative of the nineteenth regnal year is entirely missing in the lacuna.

## TEXT

Obverse

Lacuna

- 1') URU.MEŠ-ni ḏša<sup>m</sup> a-ra]-[*me urarṭāia adi rēš ēni*]
- 2') *ša ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL a-di SA[G ēni ša puratti akšud  
ina 16 palēia KUR kullar atabalkat]*
- 3') KUR mu-un-na KUR al-lab-r[i-a KUR parsua  
KUR abdadānu KUR ḫaban KUR namur]

Lacuna

- 1'–2'a) [I captured] the cities of Ara[*mu*, the U<sup>r</sup>arṭian, as far as the source] of the Tigris (and) as far as the source [of the Euphrates].
- 2'b–4'a) [In my sixteenth regnal year I crossed Mount Kullar (and)] conquered the lands Munna, Allabr[*ia*, Parsua, Abdadānu, Ḫaban, Namri], (and) Tugliaš.

- 4') KUR *tug-li-ia-áš qa-a-ti* [ikšud ina 17 palêia  
puratta ēbir madattu]  
5') ša MAN.MEŠ-ni ša KUR *ḥat-ti a[m-ḥur ana  
šadê KUR ḥamāni ēli gušūrī]*  
6') [GIŠ] *e-re-ni* *ḥa-ki-si a-na URU-ia*<sup>1</sup> [aššur ūbla  
ina taiartīia]  
7') [ša T]A KUR *ḥa-ma-a-ni* 1 *ḥu-ši*<sup>1</sup> [3 rīmī  
dannūte šūt qarnī gitmālūte ina URU zuqarri]  
8') [ša GĪR].<sup>1</sup>II<sup>1</sup> *am-ḥa-ma-a-te* *ḥa*<sup>1</sup> *ḥa*<sup>1</sup> *ḥa*<sup>1</sup> [D.A.RAD *adūk*  
4 balḥūte ina qāte]  
9') [ašbat ina 1]8 BALA.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ-ia<sup>1</sup> [...]  
10') [...] x x x [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

- 1') [x] x x [...]  
2') *kiš-šú-ti-ia* [...]  
3') (traces) [...]

- 4') <sup>1</sup>UGU URU(?) *qa-ú-e al-ta*<sup>1</sup>-[kan ...]  
5') x x x x x x x [...]  
6') <sup>1</sup>at-tu-muš<sup>1</sup> x x x [...]  
7') URU.MEŠ-ni šá *ḥa-<za>*<sup>-</sup>e-DI[NGIR ...]  
8') x x x x x x [...]  
9') <sup>1</sup>URU(?)<sup>1</sup> *da-ḥa-bu URU(?) ma(?) -la(?)*<sup>1</sup>-  
*ḥa(?)* ...]  
10') [n]a-pí-<sup>1</sup>li *ša*<sup>1</sup>-bi-<sup>1</sup>te KUR<sup>1</sup>-[ud ...]  
11') ap-púl <sup>1</sup>aq<sup>1</sup>-[qur ...]

Lacuna

Left edge

Lacuna

- 1') [lu-ul]-ta-[me]  
2') [t]a-na-ti  
3') [li(?) -i]i(?) -i[a]  
4') [l]i-ta-áš-<sup>1</sup>qar<sup>1</sup>  
5') [k]i-ma a-na-ku-m[a]  
6') [n]a-re-e šá LUGAL.M[EŠ]  
7') [m]aḥ-ru-ti  
8') <sup>1</sup>ap-šú-u[š]  
9') [n]i-qa-a aq-qu  
10') <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-na aš-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-š[ú-mu]

Lacuna

4'b-9'a) [In my seventeenth regnal year I crossed  
the Euphrates (and) received tribute] from the kings  
of the land Ḥatti. [I ascended the Amanus range], cut  
down cedar [timbers, (and) brought (them)] to my  
city, [Aššur. On my return] from the Amanus range [I  
slew] sixty-[three perfect specimens of strong,  
horned, wild bulls by the city Zuqarru, on the]  
opposite bank of the Euphrates, (and) [captured four  
alive].

9'b-10') [In] my eighteenth regnal year [...]

Lacuna

Reverse

Lacuna

Rev. 1'-4'a) [I fashioned two royal statues of myself,  
inscribed thereon] my mighty [praises ...] (Thus) I  
prevailed over the land (lit. "city") Que (Qau) [with  
might and main].  
Rev. 4'b-11') [In my twenty-first regnal year ...] ...  
Moving on [from ... I went down to ...] the cities of  
Hazel [of Damascus ...] ... [...] I conquered [by  
means of tunnels], battering-rams, (and) siege  
towers the cities [...] Dababu, Mala[ḥa ...] I razed,  
destroyed, [(and) burned the cities ...]

Lacuna

Left edge

Lacuna

1'-10') [In the future] may [a later prince ...] hear [of  
my heroic deeds (and)] recount my praiseworthy  
power. As I anointed with oil, made sacrifices, (and)  
[returned] the monumental inscriptions of former  
kings to their places,

Lacuna

## 14

This text is on the famous "Black Obelisk" discovered by Layard at Calah in 1846. The obelisk is remarkably free of damage in all but a few minor places, which can easily be restored. It has four sides, on each of which there are five panels of reliefs portraying scenes of the king's exploits and above each panel there is an epigraph describing the scene in words. Above and below the five panels of reliefs, on all four sides, is a continuous text, the text edited here. The epigraphs are edited separately as A.0.102.87-91. The

Rev. 9' *da-ḥa-bu*<sup>1</sup>; cf. *da-na-bu* A.0.102.16 line 157'.

Left edge 3' The reading of this line is very uncertain. There does not seem to be enough room to restore *li*.

text is the fullest and one of the latest accounts of the military campaigns of Shalmaneser, providing a narrative for every regnal year down to and including his thirty-first year (828 BC). The engraver ran out of space at this point and there is neither a description of building nor concluding formulae. The text was, then, composed late in 828 BC, or more probably in 827 BC.

The inscription begins with an invocation of gods (lines 1–14) and the royal name and epithets (lines 15–21). This is followed by the narrative of the campaigns (lines 22–190) and much of this is similar to the narrative in the broken statue inscription from Calah, although there are frequently variations (A.O.102.16). The last few campaigns (lines 141–90) were led not by the king but by his field marshal, Daiiān-Aššur. This unusual circumstance caused some confusion for the scribe, as it did for the scribe of A.O.102.16, who fluctuated between third person (Daiiān-Aššur) and first person (the king) in the narrative. In the translation I have consistently used third person in these passages but put an asterisk after the pronoun where the text actually has first person.

### COMMENTARY

The obelisk (BM 118885 = 48-11-4,1) is about two metres in height and has been collated. There is some uncertainty regarding its exact provenance at Calah (see Gadd). All bibliography, except specific references to individual epigraphs, is included below.

The beginning of this text (lines 1–47) is identical, with minor variants, to A.O.102.15. Therefore this latter text has been edited here as “ex. 2” for the sake of convenience. A few restorations in the master line have been made from “ex. 2.” The interested reader can check the scores for details.

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### TEXT

- 1) <sup>d</sup>aš-šur EN GAL-ú LUGAL *gim-rat*
- 2) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>a-nu LUGAL <sup>d</sup>i-gi-gi
- 3) ù <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki <sup>d</sup>EN KUR.KUR <sup>d</sup>BAD
- 4) *ši-i-ru a-bu* DINGIR.MEŠ *ba-nu-ú*
- 5) DÛ-m[a <sup>d</sup>]é-a LUGAL ABZU *mu-šim*  
NAM.MEŠ
- 6) [<sup>d</sup>]šîn eršû] LUGAL *a-ge-e šá-qu-ú nam-ri-ri*

1–14) God Aššur, great lord, king of all the great gods; god Anu, king of the Igigu and Anunnaku gods, lord of the lands; god Enlil, exalted one, father of the gods, creator of (5) all; god Ea, king of the *apsû*, who decrees destinies; god [Šîn, wise one], king of the lunar disk, lofty luminary; god Adad, the exceptionally strong, lord of abundance; god Šamaš,

6 For the restoration see RIMA 2 p. 12 i 5, p. 238 i 4, and p. 263 line 5.



- 7) [d]ŠKUR<sup>1</sup> geš-ru šu-tu-ru EN hé-gál-li <sup>d</sup>šá-maš  
 8) DI.KUD AN-e ù KI-ti mu-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er gim-ri  
 9) [d]AMAR.UT]U ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ EN te-  
 re-e-te <sup>d</sup>MAŠ qar-rad  
 10) [d]NUN.GAL.MEŠ ù <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki DINGIR dan-  
 dan-nu <sup>d</sup>U.GUR  
 11) [gí]t-ma-lu LUGAL tam-ħa-ri <sup>d</sup>nusku na-ši  
 GIŠ.GIDRU KÛ-te  
 12) DINGIR mul-ta-lu <sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍL ħi-ir-ti <sup>d</sup>BAD AMA  
 DINGIR.MEŠ  
 13) [GAL].MEŠ<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>INANNA SAG-ti AN-e ù KI-te  
 šá GARZA qar-du-te šuk-lu-lat  
 14) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ mu-ši-mu NAM.MEŠ  
 mu-šar-bu-ú LUGAL-ti-ia  
 15) [m<sup>d</sup>]šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ LUGAL kiš-šat UN.MEŠ  
 NUN-ú ŠID aš-šur LUGAL dan-nu  
 16) LUGAL kùl-lat kib-rat 4-ta <sup>d</sup>šam-šu kiš-šat  
 UN.MEŠ mur-te-du-ú  
 17) ka-liš KUR.KUR DUMU <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAB-A  
 SANGA-ú ši-i-ru šá SANGA-su UGU  
 DINGIR.MEŠ  
 18) i-ťi-bu-ma KUR.KUR nap-ħar-ši-na a-na  
 ĞIR.II-šu ú-šék-ni-šu  
 19) nab-ni-tu KÛ-tu šá <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 20) šá kùl-lat za-i-ri-šu i-né-ru-ma  
 21) iš-pu-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš  
 22) i-na šur-rat LUGAL-ti-ia šá ina GIŠ.GU.ZA  
 23) LUGAL-ti GAL-iš ú-ši-bu GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ  
 24) ÉRIN.ĤI.A-ia ad-ki àna KUR né-re-be šá KUR  
 si-me-si  
 25) KU<sub>s</sub>-ub URU a-ri-du URU dan-nu-ti-šu  
 26) šá <sup>m</sup>ni-in-ni KUR-ud i-na 1-en BALA-ia  
 27) ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-šá e-bir a-na tam-di šá šùl-  
 me <sup>d</sup>šam-ši  
 28) al-li-ik GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ina tam-di ú-lil  
 UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ  
 29) a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ia aš-bat a-na KUR-e KUR  
 ħa-ma-a-ni e-li  
 30) GIŠ.GU.ŠUR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni GIŠ.ŠIM.LI a-  
 kis a-na  
 31) KUR lal-la-ar e-li ša-lam LUGAL-ti-ia ina lib-  
 bi ú-še-ziz  
 32) ina 2-e BALA-ia a-na URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-sa-ip aq-  
 ťi-rib URU.MEŠ-ni  
 33) šá <sup>m</sup>a-ħu-ni DUMU <sup>m</sup>a-di-ni KUR-ud ina URU-  
 šu e-sir-šu ÍD.A.RAD  
 34) ina mi-li-šá e-bir URU da-bi-gu URU bi-ir-tu šá  
 KUR ħat-ti  
 35) a-di URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šu KUR-ud ina 3  
 BALA.MEŠ-ia <sup>m</sup>a-ħu-ni  
 36) DUMU <sup>m</sup>a-di-ni TA pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
 dan-nu-te ip-laħ-ma URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-sa-ip  
 37) URU MAN-ti-šu um-da-šir ÍD.A.RAD e-b[ir]  
 38) URU a-na-aš-šur-ú-ter-aš-bat šá ĞIR.II am-ma-  
 [te]  
 39) šá ÍD.A.RAD šá UGU ÍD sa-gúr-ri šá  
 LÚ.MEŠ-[e]<sup>1</sup>

judge of heaven and underworld, commander of all; [god Mardu]k, sage of the gods, lord of omens; god Ninurta, warrior of the (10) Igigu and Anunnaku gods; mighty god Nergal, perfect one, king of battle; god Nusku, bearer of the holy sceptre, circumspect god; goddess Ninlil, spouse of the god Enlil, mother of the [great] gods; goddess Ištar, foremost in heaven and underworld, who is consummate in the canons of battle; great gods, who decree destinies, who aggrandize my sovereignty;

15–21) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of all the four quarters, sun(god) of all people, ruler of all lands; son of Ashurnasirpal (II), exalted priest, whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (who) subdued all lands at his feet, pure offspring of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (20) who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood:

22–26a) At the beginning of my reign, after I nobly ascended the royal throne, I mustered my chariots (and) troops. I entered the pass of the land Simesi (and) captured the city Aridu, the fortified city of Ninnu.

26b–31) In my first regnal year I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) marched to the western sea. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. I climbed up the Amanus range (and) (30) cut beams of cedar (and) juniper. I climbed up Mount Lallar (and) erected therein my royal statue.

32–35a) In my second regnal year I approached the city Tīl-Barsip (Barsaip), captured the cities of Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, (and) confined him to his city. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) captured the city Dabigu, fortress of the land Ĥatti, together with cities in its environs.

35b–44) In my third regnal year Aħunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, became frightened in the face of my mighty weapons and abandoned the city Tīl-Barsip (Barsaip), his royal city. He crossed the Euphrates. I took as my own the city Ana-Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which is on the other side of the Euphrates by the River Sagura, which the people of (40) Ĥatti call the city Pitru. On my return I entered the pass of Alzu (and) captured Alzu, the lands Suħme, Daiēnu, Tummū,

31 KUR lal-la-ar: see the note to A.O.102.2 ii 10.

- 40) KUR *hat-ta-a-a* URU *pi-it-ru i-qa-bu-šu-ni*  
 41) *a-na ra-ma-ni-ia aš-bat ina ta-ia-ar-ti-[ia]*  
 42) *àna* KUR *né-re-be šá* KUR *al-zi* KU<sub>4</sub>-*ub* KUR  
*al-zi* KUR *su-uḫ-me*  
 43) KUR *da-ie-e-ni* KUR *tum<sub>4</sub>-me* URU *ar-ša-áš-*  
*ku-nu* URU MAN-*t[i-šú]*  
 44) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-me* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a* KUR *gíl-za-a-*  
*nu* KUR *ḫub-uš-ki-a* KUR-[*ud*]  
 45) *i-na lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>DI.KUD-*aš-šur* TA URU.NINA.KI  
*at-tu-muš* ÍD.A.RAD  
 46) *ina mi-li-šá e-bir* EGIR <sup>m</sup>*a-ḫu-ni* DUMU *a-di-ni*  
*a-lik ši-tam-r[*a*t]*  
 47) ŠU.SI KUR-*e šá a-ḫat* ÍD.A.RAD *a-na dan-nu-*  
*ti-šú iš-kun* KUR *ú-ba-[*na-at*]*  
 48) KUR-*e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* <sup>m</sup>*a-ḫu-ni a-di*  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú*  
 49) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*  
 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú* ÉRIN.ḪI.A-*šú a-su-*  
*ḫa-šú ana* URU-*ia aš-šur*  
 50) *ub-la ina* MU-*ma ši-a-ti* KUR *kúl-la-ar* BAL-*at*  
*a-na* KUR *za-mu-a*  
 51) *šá É-a-ni at-ta-rad* URU.MES-*ni šá* <sup>m</sup>*ni-ik-di-a-*  
*ra* URU *i-da-a-a*  
 52) <sup>m</sup>*ni-ik-de-ma* KUR-*ud ina* 5 BALA-*ia a-na* KUR  
*kaš-ia-ri e-li* URU.MEŠ  
 53) *dan-nu-te* KUR-*ud* <sup>m</sup>*an-ḫi-it-ti* KUR *šub-ri-a-a*  
*ina* URU-*šú e-sir-šú ma-da-tu-šú*  
 54) *ma-ʾa-tu am-ḫur-šú ina* 6 BALA-*ia a-na*  
 URU.MEŠ-*ni šá ši-di* ÍD *ba-li-ḫi*  
 55) *aq-ṭi-rib* <sup>m</sup>*gi-am-mu* EN URU-*šú-nu* GAZ-*ku*  
 56) *a-na* URU.DU-*tur-a-ḫi* KU<sub>2</sub>-*ub*  
 57) ÍD.A.RAD *ina mi-li-šá e-bir*  
 58) *ma-da-tu šá* MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá* KUR *ḫat-ti*  
 59) [DÜ]-*šú-nu am-ḫur ina* u<sub>5</sub>-*mi-šú-ma* <sup>m</sup>ÍŠKUR-  
*id-ri*  
 60) [*šá*] KUR.ANŠE-*šú* <sup>m</sup>*ir-ḫu-le-na* KUR *a-mat-a-a*  
*a-di* MAN.MEŠ-*ni*  
 61) *šá* KUR *ḫat-ti ù a-ḫat tam-ti a-na* Á.MEŠ *a-ḫa-*  
*miš*  
 62) *it-tàk-lu-ma a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> u ME  
 63) [*a*]-*na* GABA-*ia it-bu-ni ina qí-bit aš-šur* EN  
 GAL EN-*i[*a*]*  
 64) *it-ti-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-*šú-nu áš-*  
*kun*  
 65) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu ú-nu-ut*  
 MĒ-*šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu*  
 66) 20 LIM 5 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit*  
 67) *ina* 7 BALA.MEŠ-*ia a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá*  
<sup>m</sup>*ḫa-ʾbi-ni*<sup>1</sup> URU.DU<sub>6</sub>.NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-*a-a a-[*lik*]*  
 68) URU.DU<sub>6</sub>.NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ URU *dan-nu-ti-šú a-di*  
 URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tu-šú* KUR-*ud*  
 69) *a-di* SAG ÍD *e-ni šá* ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL *a-šar mu-šu-*  
*u šá* A.MEŠ *šak-nu a-lik*

the city Aršaškun, the royal city of Aramu, the Urařian, the land Gilzānu, (and) the city Ḫubuškia.

45–50a) In the eponymy of Daiiān-Aššur, I moved out from Nineveh and crossed the Euphrates in flood in pursuit of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. He had made as his stronghold Mount Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. Aḫunu, together with his gods, his chariots, his horses, his sons, his daughters, (and) his troops I uprooted (and) brought to my city, Aššur.

50b–52a) In this same year I crossed Mount Kullar, went down to the interior of the land Zamua, (and) captured the cities of Nikdēra, the Idean, and Nikdēme.

52b–54a) In my fifth regnal year I ascended Mount Kašiiari (and) captured fortified cities. I confined Anḫitti, the Šubraean, to his city (and) received his rich tribute.

54b–66) In my sixth regnal year I approached the cities on the banks of the River Baliḫ. (55) They killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city Tīl-turaḫi. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) received tribute from all the kings of the land Ḫatti. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), (60) the Damascene, Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with the kings of Ḫatti and (other kings) on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, I fought with them (and) defeated them. (65) I captured from them their chariotry, cavalry, (and) military equipment (and) put to the sword 20,500 of their fighting men.

67–72) In my seventh regnal year I marched to the cities of Ḫabinu, the Tīl-abnīan. I captured Tīl-abnī, his fortified city, together with the cities in its environs. I marched to the source of the Tigris, the place where the water comes out. (70) I washed the weapon of Aššur therein, made sacrifices to my

45 Daiiān-Aššur was the eponymy for the sixth regnal year, not the fourth. Whether or not he was moved up deliberately in this text has been discussed extensively: Olmstead, *Historiography* p. 24; Jastrow, *Hebraica* 5 pp. 234–35; and Michel, *WO* 2 p. 146 n. m and p. 147 n. 34.

46.2 *ar-ti-[*dī*]* for *a-lik*

49 There is an erasure at the end of the line (cf. Michel) which some have read as KI.

51–52 Regarding Nikdēra and Nikdēme see the note for A.O.102.16 line 25.

- 70) GIŠ.TUKUL *aš-šur ina ŠÀ ú-lil*  
UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia*  
*aš-bat nap-tan hu-du-tú*
- 71) *áš-kun ša-lam MAN-ti-ia šur-ba-a e-pu-uš ta-*  
*na-ti aš-šur EN-a al-ka-<sup>l</sup>kát<sup>l</sup>*
- 72) *qur-di-ia mīm-ma šá ina KUR.KUR e-te-pu-šá*  
*ina qer-bi-šá áš-šur ina lib-bi ú-še-ziz*
- 73) *ina 8 BALA.MEŠ-ia<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU*  
*MAN KUR kar-du-ni-áš*
- 74) [<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-sa-a-te ŠEŠ *du-pu-us-su-*  
*ú it-ti-šú ib-bal-kit*
- 75) [*māta*] *ma-al-ma-li-iš i-zu-zu a-na tu-ur gi-mil-*  
*li*
- 76) [<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU *a-lik URU.A.MEŠ-*  
*túr-na-at ak-šu-ud*
- 77) [*ina*] 9 BALA.MEŠ-ia *šá-nu-te-šú a-na KUR*  
*ak-ka-de-e a-lik*
- 78) [U]RU *ga-na-na-te al-mi<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-EN-ú-*  
*sa-te pu-ul-ḫi*
- 79) *me-lam-me šá aš-šur<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU is-ḫu-pu-šú-*  
*ma a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú a-na*
- 80) KUR-*e e-li EGIR-šú ar-te-di<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-*  
*EN-ú-sa-a-te EN ÉRIN.MEŠ*
- 81) [E]N *ḫi-i-ti-šá it-ti-šú ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-*  
*šam-qit a-na ma-ḫa-zi*
- 82) GAL.MEŠ *a-lik UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ ina*  
*KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI bár-sípa.KI ku-ti-e.KI DÙ-*  
*uš*
- 83) NÍG.BA.MEŠ *a-na DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ*  
*aq-qiš a-na KUR kal-di ú-rid URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-*  
*nu KUR-ud*
- 84) *ma-da-tú šá MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR kal-di am-*  
*ḫur šu-ri-bat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia a-di mar-ra-*  
*ti is-ḫu-up*
- 85) *ina 10 BALA.MEŠ-ia 8-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir*  
*URU.MEŠ-ni šá<sup>ma</sup>sa-an-ga-ra URU gar-ga-miš-*  
*a-a KUR-ud*
- 86) *a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá<sup>ma</sup>ra-me aq-ṭi-rib URU*  
*ar-né-e URU MAN-ti-šú EN 1 ME URU.MEŠ-*  
*ni-šú KUR-ud*
- 87) *ina 11 BALA.MEŠ-ia 9-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir*  
*URU.MEŠ-ni a-na la ma-ni KUR-ud a-na*  
*URU.MEŠ-ni*
- 88) *šá KUR a-mat-a-a at-ta-rad 89 URU.MEŠ-ni*  
*KUR-ud<sup>md</sup>ÍŠKUR-id-ri KUR šá-ANŠE-šú 12*  
*MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR ḫat-ti*
- 89) *a-na Á.MEŠ a-ḫa-miš iz-zi-zu BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-*  
*šú-nu áš-kun ina 12 BALA.MEŠ-ia 10-šú*  
*ÍD.A.RAD e-bir*
- 90) *a-na KUR pa-qar-ḫu-bu-na a-lik šal-la-su-nu áš-*  
*lu-la ina 13 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na mat-ie-e-ti e-*  
*li*
- 91) [*ša*] *l-la-su-nu áš-lu-la ina 14 BALA.MEŠ-ia*  
*KUR ad-ki ÍD.A.RAD e-bir 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni*

gods, (and) put on a joyful banquet. I created my colossal royal statue (and) wrote thereon praises of Aššur, my lord, (and) all my heroic deeds which I had accomplished in the lands. I erected it therein.

73–76) In my eighth regnal year (at the time of) Marduk-zākir-šumi (I), king of Karduniaš, Marduk-bēl-usāte, his younger brother, rebelled against him (and) (75) they divided the land equally. I marched out to avenge Marduk-zākir-šumi (and) captured the city Mē-turnat.

77–84) In my ninth regnal year, for a second time, I marched to the land Akkad. I surrounded the city Gannanāte. The fearful splendour of Aššur (and) the god Marduk overwhelmed Marduk-bēl-usāte (and) to save his life he ascended a mountain. I pursued him (and) put to the sword (80) Marduk-bēl-usāte, together with the treacherous soldiers who were with him. I marched to the great cities (and) made sacrifices in Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah, (and) presented offerings to the great gods. I went down to Chaldaea (and) captured their cities. I received tribute from the kings of Chaldaea. Awe of my weapons overwhelmed (them) as far as (the sea) Marratu (“Bitter”).

85–86) In my tenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time. I captured the cities of Sangara, the Carchemishite. I approached the cities of Aramu (and) captured Arnē, his royal city, together with one hundred cities (in its environs).

87–89a) In my eleventh regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time. I captured cities without number (and) descended to the cities of the people of Ḫamat. I captured eighty-nine cities. Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) twelve kings of the land Ḫatti stood together in united strength. I defeated them.

89b–90a) In my twelfth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time, marched to the land Paqarahubunu, and plundered them (the people).

90b–91a) In my thirteenth regnal year I went up to Matiētu (and) plundered it.

91b–92a) In my fourteenth regnal year I mustered (the troops of my) land (and) crossed the Euphrates.

84 *šu-ri-bat*: cf. A.O.102.6 iv 23 and see the note to RIMA 2 p. 208 ii 78.

84 It is unnecessary to read <ÍD> before *mar-ra-ti* (so Schramm). There are other references in which ÍD is omitted before this word, for which see CAD 10/1 (M) p. 285.

- àna GABA-ia it-bu-ni
- 92) <ittišunu> am-daḥ-ḥi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-kun ina 15 BALA.MEŠ-ia àna SAG e-ni šá ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL ÍD.A.RAD a-lik ša-lam
- 93) MAN-ti-ia ina ka-pí-ši-na ul-ziz ina 16 BALA.MEŠ-ia ÍD <<a>>-za-ba e-bir a-na KUR nam-ri
- 94) a-lik<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-mu-SIG<sub>5</sub>-iq MAN KUR nam-ri a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú e-li NÍG.GA-šú
- 95) ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú a-na KUR aš-šur.KI ub-la ia-an-zu-ú DUMU<sup>m</sup>ḫa-an-ban a-na MAN-ti a-na UGU-šú-nu áš-kun
- 96) ina 17 BALA.MEŠ-ia ÍD.A.RAD e-bir a-na KUR ḫa-ma-a-ni e-li GIŠ.GU.ŠUR.MEŠ
- 97) GIŠ.EREN a-kis ina 18 BALA.MEŠ-ia 16-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir<sup>m</sup>ḫa-za-’e-DINGIR
- 98) šá KUR.ANŠE-šú a-na MÈ it-ba-a 1 LIM 1 ME 21 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú 4 ME 70 pit-ḫal-lu-šú it-ti
- 99) uš-ma-ni-šú e-kim-šú ina 19 BALA.MEŠ-ia 18-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir a-na KUR ḫa-ma-ni
- 100) e-li GIŠ.GU.ŠUR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni a-kis ina 20 BALA.MEŠ-ia 20-šú ÍD.A.RAD
- 101) e-bir a-na KUR qa-a-ú-e at-ta-rad URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu KUR-ud šal-la-su-nu
- 102) áš-lu-la ina 21 BALA.MEŠ-ia 21-<šú> ÍD.A.RAD e-bir a-na URU.MEŠ-ni
- 103) šá<sup>m</sup>ḫa-za-’e-DINGIR šá KUR.ANŠE-šú a-lik 4 ma-ḫa-zi-šú KUR-ud ma-da-tu šá KUR šur-ra-a
- 104) KUR ši-du-na-a-a KUR gu-bal-a-a am-ḫur ina 22 BALA.MEŠ-ia 22-<šú> ÍD.A.RAD
- 105) e-bir a-na KUR ta-ba-li at-ta-rad ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma šá 24
- 106) MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR ta-ba-li i-gi-si-šú-nu am-daḥ-ḫar a-na KUR tu-<sup>l</sup>un<sup>l</sup>-[ni]
- 107) KUR KÙ.BABBAR KUR mu-li-i KUR NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL a-lik ina 23 BALA.MEŠ-ia
- 108) ÍD.A.RAD e-bir URU ú-e-ta-áš URU dan-nu-ti-šú
- 109) šá<sup>m</sup>la-al-la KUR mi-li-da-a-a KUR-ud MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR ta-ba-li
- 110) DU-ku-ni ma-da-ta-šú-nu am-ḫur ina 24 BALA.MEŠ-ia ÍD za-ba
- 111) KI.TA-ú e-te-bir KUR ḫa-ši-mur BAL-at a-na KUR nam-ri
- 112) at-ta-rad<sup>m</sup>ia-an-zu-ú MAN KUR nam-ri TA pa-an

Twelve kings attacked me, I fought <with them>, (and) defeated them.

92b–93a) In my fifteenth regnal year I marched to the source of the Tigris (and) Euphrates (and) erected my royal statue on mountain cliffs there.

93b–95) In my sixteenth regnal year I crossed the River Zab (and) marched to the land Namri. Marduk-mudammiq, king of the land Namri, ran away to save his life. I brought back to Assyria his property, troops, (and) gods. I appointed to the sovereignty over them Ianzû, a man of Bît-Ḫanban.

96–97a) In my seventeenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates (and) ascended the Amanus range. I cut down cedar timbers.

97b–99a) In my eighteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus attacked to do battle. I captured from him 1,121 of his chariots (and) 470 of his cavalry, together with his camp.

99b–100a) In my nineteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the eighteenth time (and) ascended the Amanus range. I cut down cedar timbers.

100b–102a) In my twentieth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twentieth time (and) went down to the land Que (Qau). I captured their cities (and) plundered them.

102b–104a) In my twenty-first regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-first time (and) marched to the cities of Hazael of Damascus. I captured four cities (and) received tribute from the people of the lands Tyre, Sidon, (and) Byblos.

104b–107a) In my twenty-second regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-second time (and) went down to the land Tabal. At that time I received gifts from twenty-four kings of the land Tabal. I marched to Mount Tunni, the mountain of silver, (and) Mount Muḷû, the mountain of alabaster.

107b–110a) In my twenty-third regnal year I crossed the Euphrates (and) captured Uetaš, the fortified city of Lalla, the Melidite. The kings of the land Tabal came to me (and) I received their tribute.

110b–126a) In my twenty-fourth regnal year I crossed the Lower Zab, crossed Mount Hašimur, (and) went down to the land Namri. Ianzû, king of the land Namri, took fright in face of my mighty weapons and ran away to save his life. I captured Siḫišalah, Bît-Tamul, Bît-Šakki, (and) (115) Bît-

93 «a»-za-ba: or emend to za-a-ba — see Schramm, EAK 2 p. 79.

95 DINGIR.MEŠ-šú: not DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú as in Michel.

99 “eighteenth time”: see the note to A.O.102.10 iv 15–23.

104 22-<šú>: not 22-šú as in Schramm.

105 24: the numeral is quite clear, contrary to what Michel says.

- 113) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti ip-láh-ma a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú  
 114) *e-li* URU *si-ḫi-šá-la-aḫ* URU.É-*ta-mul* URU.É-*šak-ki*  
 115) URU.É-*še-e-di* URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú dan-nu-ti* KUR-*ud* GAZ-šú *a-duk*  
 116) *šal-la-su áš-lu-la* URU.MEŠ-*ni a-pùl a-qur ina* IZI GÍBIL-*up*  
 117) *si-ta-te-šú-nu a-na* KUR-*e e-li-ú* KUR *ú-ba-an* KUR-*e*  
 118) *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ-šú-*nu a-du-ak šal-la-su-nu* NÍG.ŠU-šú-*nu*  
 119) *ú-še-ri-da* TA KUR *nam-ri at-tu-muš ma-da-tú* šá 27 MAN.MEŠ-*ni*  
 120) šá KUR *pár-su-a at-ta-ḫar* TA KUR *pár-su-a at-tu-muš a-na*  
 121) [KUR]<sup>1</sup> *me-es-si* KUR *a-ma-da-a-a* KUR *a-ra-zi-áš* KUR *ḫar-ḫa-ar at-ta-rad*  
 122) URU *ku-a-ki-in-da* URU *ḫaz-za-na-bi* URU *e-sa-mul*  
 123) URU *ki-in-ab-li-la a-di* URU.MEŠ šá *li-me-tu-šú-nu* KUR-*ud* GAZ-šú-*nu*  
 124) *a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la* URU.MEŠ-*ni ap-pùl aq-qur ina* IZI *áš-ru-up ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia*  
 125) *ina* URU *ḫar-ḫa-a-ra áz-qu-up* <sup>m</sup>*ia-an-zu-ú* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*ḫa-ba-an a-di* NÍG.GA-šú *ma-a* <sup>2</sup>*di*  
 126) DINGIR.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú ÉRIN.MEŠ-šú *ma-a* <sup>2</sup>*du a-su-ḫa a-na* KUR *aš-šur ub-la ina* 25 BALA.MEŠ-*ia*  
 127) ÍD.A.RAD *ina mi-li-šá e-bir ma-da-tú* šá MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá* KUR *ḫat-ti DÜ-šú-nu am-ḫur* KUR *ḫa-ma-a-nu*  
 128) BAL-*at a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá* <sup>m</sup>*ka-te-i* KUR *qa-ú-a-a at-ta-rad* URU *ti-mu-ur* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*  
 129) *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ-šú *a-duk šal-la-su a-sa-la* URU.MEŠ-*ni a-na la ma-ni ap-pùl a-qur*  
 130) *ina* IZI *áš-ru-up ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia* URU *mu-ú-ru* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-me A* <sup>m</sup>*a-gu-si*  
 131) *bi-ir-tu a-na ra-ma-ni-ia aṣ-bat si-pi-šá ak-šur* É.GAL *šu-bat* MAN-*ti-ia ina lib-bi ad-di*  
 132) *ina* 26 BALA.MEŠ-*ia 7-šú* KUR *ḫa-ma-a-nu at-ta-bal-kát* 4-šú *a-na* URU.MEŠ šá <sup>m</sup>*ka-ti-i*  
 133) KUR *qa-ú-a-a a-lik* URU *ta-na-ku-un* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*tu-ul-li al-me pu-ul-ḫi*  
 134) *me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḫu-pu-šu-ma ú-šu-ni* GÌR.II-*ia iṣ-bu-tú li-tí*.MEŠ-*šu aṣ-bat* KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.GI  
 135) AN.BAR GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ *ma-da-tu-šu am-ḫur-šu* TA URU *ta-na-ku-un at-tu-muš a-na* KUR *la-me-na*  
 136) *al-lik* UN.MEŠ *ig-du-ur-ru* KUR-*ú mar-šu iṣ-šab-tu* KUR *ú-ba-an* KUR-*e a-si-bi*  
 137) *ak-ta-šad*<sup>1</sup> GAZ-šú-*nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu* GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-*nu* UDU *še-ni-šu-nu* TA *qé-reb* KUR-*e ú-še-ri-d[a]*

Šēdi, his fortified cities. I massacred them, plundered them, razed, destroyed, (and) burned (those) cities. The survivors fled up a mountain. I laid siege to the mountain peak, captured (it), slaughtered them, plundered them, (and) brought their property down. Moving on from the land Namri (120) I received tribute from twenty-seven kings of the land Parsua. Moving on from the land Parsua I went down to the lands Mēsu, Media (Amadāiia), Araziaš, (and) Ḫarḫār, (and) captured the cities Kuakinda, Ḫazzanabi, Esamul, (and) Kinablila, together with the cities in their environs. I massacred them, plundered them, (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned (those) cities. (125) I erected my royal statue in the city Ḫarḫār. I uprooted Ianzû, the man of Bīt-Ḫaban, together with his rich property, his gods, his sons, his daughters, (and) his numerous soldiers, (and) brought (them) to Assyria.

126b–131) In my twenty-fifth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) received tribute from all the kings of the land Ḫatti. I crossed the Amanus range (and) went down to the cities of Katê, the Quean (Qau). I besieged (and) captured Timur, his fortified city. I massacred them (its inhabitants), plundered them, (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned cities without number. (130) Upon my return I took over as a fortress for myself Mûru, the fortified city of Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agûsi. I rebuilt its gateways (and) founded therein a palace as my royal residence.

132–141a) In my twenty-sixth regnal year I crossed the Amanus range for the seventh time. I marched for a fourth time to the cities of Katê, the Quean (Qau). I surrounded Tanakun, the fortified city of Tullu. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, he came out (and) submitted to me. I took hostages from him (and) (135) received from him tribute of silver, gold, iron, oxen, (and) sheep. Moving on from the city Tanakun I marched to Mount Lamena. The people became frightened (and) took to a rugged mountain. I laid siege to the mountain peak (and) captured (it). I massacred them (and) brought down from the mountain plunder consisting of their oxen (and) sheep. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities. I marched to the

121 *me-es-si*: the reading is clear. Cf. Weidner, AfO 7 (1931–32) pp. 1–2 n. 3.

124 MAN-*ti-ia*: the *a* of *ia* is actually incised around the corner of the stele so that it appears to be at the beginning of line 153. Cf. Layard's copy.

- 138) URU.MEŠ-ni-šu-nu ap-pùl a-qur ina IZI GÍBIL-up a-na URU tar-zi a-lik GĪR.II.MEŠ-ia iṣ-ṣab-tu KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI
- 139) ma-da-ta-šú-nu am-ḥur <sup>m</sup>ki-ir-ri-i ŠEŠ-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ka-ti-i a-na MAN-ti ina muḥ-ḥi-šú-nu
- 140) áš-kun ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia a-na KUR ḥa-ma-ni e-li GIŠ.GU.ŠUR GIŠ e-re-ni a-kis
- 141) áš-šá-a a-na URU-ia aš-šur.KI ub-la ina 27 BALA.MEŠ-ia GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A-ia ad-ki <sup>m</sup>DI.KUD-aš-šur
- 142) LÚ tur-ta-a-nu GAL ÉRIN.ḪI.A DAGAL ina pa-na-at ÉRIN.ḪI.A-ia a-na KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭí ú-ma-<sup>ʿ</sup>e-er
- 143) áš-pur a-na É KUR za-ma-a-ni it-ta-rad ina né-re-bi šá URU am-maš KU<sub>1</sub>-ub ÍD ar-ša-ni-a e-bi[r]
- 144) <sup>m</sup>se-e-du-ri KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a iṣ-me-ma a-na gi-piš um-ma-ni-šú ma-a-<sup>ʿ</sup>di
- 145) it-ta-kil-ma a-na DÜ-eš MURUB<sub>4</sub> MÈ a-na GABA-ia it-ba-a it-ti-šú am-daḥ-ḥi-iṣ
- 146) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú áš-kun ADDA qu-ra-di-šú EDIN DAGAL-šú ú-mal-li ina 28 BALA.MEŠ-ia
- 147) ki-i ina URU kal-ḥi us-ba-ku-ni ṭe-mu ut-te-ru-ni LÚ.MEŠ-e KUR pa-ti-na-a-a
- 148) <sup>m</sup>lu-bar-ni EN-šú-nu GAZ <sup>m</sup>su-ur-ri la EN GIŠ.GU.ZA a-na MAN-ti ina UGU-šú-nu iṣ-šú-ú
- 149) <sup>m</sup>DI.KUD-aš-šur LÚ tur-ta-nu GAL ÉRIN.ḪI.A DAGAL ina pa-na-at um-ma-ni-ia KARAŠ-ia ú-ma-<sup>ʿ</sup>e-er áš-pur ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-šá e-bir ina URU ki-na-lu-a URU MAN-ti-šú
- 151) ma-da-ak-tú iṣ-kun <sup>m</sup>su-ur-ri la EN GIŠ.GU.ZA pu-ul-ḥi me-lam-me šá aš-šur EN-ia
- 152) iṣ-ḥu-pu-šú-ma mu-ut NAM-šú il-lik LÚ.MEŠ-e KUR pa-ti-na-a-a TA pa-an na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia dan-nu-te
- 153) ip-laḥ-ma DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>su-ur-ri a-di ÉRIN.MEŠ EN ḥi-i-ṭí uṣ-ša-bi-tu it-tan-nu-ni
- 154) ÉRIN.MEŠ šú-nu-ti ina ga-ši-ši ú-rat-ti <sup>m</sup>sa-a-si DUMU kur-uṣ-ša-a GĪR.II-ia iṣ-bat a-na MAN-ti
- 155) ina UGU-šú-nu áš-kun KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI AN.NA ZABAR AN.BAR ZÚ AM.SI a-na la ma-ni am-ḥur-šú-nu-ti
- 156) ṣa-lam MAN-ti-ia šur-ba-a DÜ-uš ina URU ku(\*)-na-lu-a URU MAN-ti-šú ina É DINGIR.MEŠ-šú ú-še-<<ši>>-ziz ina 29
- 157) BALA.MEŠ-ia ÉRIN.ḪI.A KARAŠ ú-ma-<sup>ʿ</sup>e-er áš-pur a-na KUR ḥab-ḥi e-li URU.MEŠ-šú-nu at-ta-pa[l]
- 158) at-ta-qar ina IZI a-sa-rap KUR-su-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš áš-pu-un pu-ul-ḥi
- 159) me-lam-me UGU-šú-nu at-bu-uk ina 30 BALA.MEŠ-ia ki-i ina URU kal-ḥi us-ba-ku-ni <sup>m</sup>DI.KUD-aš-šur<sup>1</sup>

city Tarsus. (The people) submitted to me (and) I received tribute from them of silver (and) gold. I appointed Kirrī, the brother of Katê, as sovereign over them. Upon my return I ascended the Amanus range, cut down cedar timbers, (and) carried them back to my city, Aššur.

141b–146a) In my twenty-seventh regnal year I mustered my chariots (and) troops. I issued orders (and) sent Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of my extensive army, to lead my army to Urarṭu. He went down to Bīt-Zamāni, entered the pass of the city Ammaš, and crossed the River Aršana. When Sēduru, the Urarṭian, heard (of this), relying on the might of his mighty army he attacked to wage war and battle. He\* fought with him, defeated him, (and) filled the wide plain with the corpses of his warriors.

146b–156a) In my twenty-eighth regnal year, while I was residing in Calah, a report was sent back to me that the people of the land Patinu had killed Lubarna, their lord, (and) appointed Surri, a non-royal person (lit. “a non-lord of a throne”), as sovereign over them. (150) I issued orders and sent out Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of my extensive army, at the head of my army (and) camp. He crossed the Euphrates in flood and pitched camp at Kinalua, his royal city. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, Surri, a non-royal person, departed this life. The people of the land Patinu took fright in face of the flash of my strong weapons, and laying hold of the sons of Surri, together with the guilty soldiers, they handed (them) over to him.\* He hung those soldiers on stakes. Sāsi, a man of the land Kuruššā, submitted to him\* (and) he\* appointed (him) to sovereignty over them. (155) He\* received from them silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron, (and) elephant ivory without measure. He created my colossal royal statue (and) erected (it) in Kinalua (Kunalua), his royal city, in the temple of his gods.

156b–159a) In my twenty-ninth regnal year I gave orders (and) sent out (my) army (and) camp. He went up to the land Ḥabḥu, razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities, (and) annihilated their land like a flood (thus) spreading my radiant fearfulness over them.

159b–174a) In my thirtieth regnal year, while I was residing in Calah, I gave orders (and) sent out Daiiān-Aššur, (160) the field marshal, chief of my

143 URU am-maš KU<sub>1</sub>-ub: the reading is clear. Cf. A.0.102.16 line 231'. A name Ammaštubu does not exist.

153 The *a* at the beginning of the line (see Layard's copy) is actually the end of line 124 (see the note to that line).

156 ku(\*)-: the sign is badly formed, but looks more like KU (so Schramm) than KI. Cf. *ki-na-lu-a* in line 150 and in the parallel passage in A.0.102.16 line 285'. In Asn. II texts the city name is spelt Kunulua: RIMA 2 p. 217 iii 72, p. 218 iii 78, and p. 227 line 48.

- 160) LÚ *tur-ta-nu* GAL ÉRIN.ĤI.A DAGAL *ina pa-na-at ÉRIN.ĤI.A-ia ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er áš-pur ÍD za-ba*  
 161) *e-bir àna ŠA URU.MEŠ-ni šá URU ĥu-bu-uš-ka-a iq-tí-rib ma-da-tú šá<sup>m</sup>da-ta-na*  
 162) URU ĥu-bu-uš-ka-a-a at-ta-ĥar TA ŠA URU.MEŠ-ni šá URU ĥu-bu-uš-ka-a-a  
 163) *at-tu-muš a-na ŠA URU.MEŠ-ni šá<sup>m</sup>ma-ag-du-bi KUR ma-da-ĥi-sa-a-a iq-tí-rib ma-da-tú*  
 164) *am-ĥur TA ŠA URU.MEŠ šá KUR ma-da-ĥi-sa-a-a it-tu-muš a-na ŠA URU.MEŠ šá<sup>m</sup>ú-da-ki*  
 165) KUR *man-na-a-a iq-tí-rib<sup>m</sup>ú-da-ki KUR man-na-a-a TA pa-na na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia*  
 166) *dan-nu-te ip-laĥ-ma URU zi-ir-ta URU MAN-ti-šú ú-maš-šir a-na šú-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú e-li*  
 167) EGIR-šú *ar-te-di GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú UDU še-ni-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú a-na la ma-ni ú-ter-ra URU.MEŠ-šú*  
 168) *ap-pùl a-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up TA KUR man-na-áš it-tu-muš a-na URU.MEŠ šá<sup>m</sup>šú(\*)-lu-su-nu KUR ĤAR-n[a]*  
 169) *iq-tí-rib URU ma-sa-šu-ru URU MAN-ti-šú a-di URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šú KUR-ud<sup>m</sup>šú-lu-su-nu*  
 170) *a-di DUMU.MEŠ-šú re-mu-tú áš-ku-na-šú a-na KUR-šú ú-ter-šú GUN ma-da-tú ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at*  
 171) GIŠ *ni-ri UGU-šú áš-kun a-na URU pad(\*)-di-ra iq-tí-rib ma-da-tú šá<sup>m</sup>ar-ta-sa-ri*  
 172) URU *pad(\*)-di-ra-a-a at-ta-ĥar a-na KUR pársu-a at-ta-rad ma-da-tú šá MAN.MEŠ-ni*  
 173) *šá KUR pársu-a at-ta-ĥar si-ta-at KUR pársu-a la ma-gi-ru-ut aš-šur URU.MEŠ-šú-[nu]*  
 174) KUR-ud *šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu a-na KUR aš-šur ub-la ina 31 BALA.MEŠ-ia šá-nu-te-šú pu-ú-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>*  
 175) *ina IGI aš-šur d<sup>1</sup>ISKUR ak-ru-ru ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma ki-i ina URU kal-ĥi us-ba-ku-ni<sup>m</sup>DI.KUD-aš-šur*  
 176) LÚ *tur-ta-nu* GAL ÉRIN.ĤI.A-ia DAGAL [*ina*] *pa-na-at ÉRIN.ĤI.A-ia KARÁŠ-ia ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er áš-pur*  
 177) *a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá<sup>m</sup>da-ta-a KUR ĥu-bu-uš-ka-a-a iq-tí-rib ma-da-tú-šú am-ĥur-šú*  
 178) *a-na URU zap-pa-ri-a URU dan-nu-ti-šú šá KUR mu-ša-ši-ra a-lik URU zap-pa-ri-a a-di*  
 179) 46 URU.MEŠ-ni šá URU *mu-ša-ši-ra-a-a KUR-ud a-di* <sup>1</sup>*bi-ra-a*-te šá KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a*  
 180) *al-lik 50 URU.MEŠ-šú-nu ap-pùl a-qur ina* <sup>1</sup>*IZI* [*GÍBI*]*L-up a-na KUR gíl-za-a-ni at-ta-rad ma-da-tú*

extensive army, at the head of my army. Crossing the River Zab he approached the cities belonging to the city Ĥubuškia. He\* received tribute from Datana, the Ĥubuškaean. Moving on from the cities belonging to the city Ĥubuškia he approached the cities of Magdubu, the Madaĥisaeen, (and) received tribute. Moving on from the cities of the land Madaĥisâ he approached the cities of Udaku, (165) the Mannaean. Udaku the Mannaean took fright in the face of the flash of my strong weapons and abandoned Zirtu, his royal city, (and) ran away to save his life. He\* went after him (and) brought away his oxen, sheep, (and) property without measure. He\* razed, destroyed, (and) burned his cities. Moving on from the land Mannaš he approached the cities of Šulusunu of the land Ĥarna (or Ĥir/Kin/Murna). He captured Masašuru, his royal city, together with the cities in its environs. (170) He\* spared Šulusunu, together with his sons, (and) brought him back to his land. He\* imposed upon him a tax (and) tribute of teams of horses. He approached the city Paddirra (and) received tribute from Artasari, the Paddirraean. He\* went down to the land Parsua (and) received tribute from the kings of the land Parsua. He conquered the cities of the rest of the land Parsua, which was insubmissive to Aššur, (and) brought their captives (and) property to Assyria.

174b–190) In my thirty-first regnal year, (175) (when) I threw the die for a second time before Aššur (and) the god Adad: at that time, while I remained residing in Calah, I gave orders (and) sent out Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of my extensive army, at the head of my army (and) camp. He approached the cities of Datâ, the Ĥubuškaean, (and) received tribute from him. He\* marched to Zapparia, the fortified city of the land Mušašir. He captured Zapparia, together with forty-six cities belonging to the people of Mušašir. (180) He\* marched as far as the fortresses of the land of the Uartians (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned fifty of their cities. He\* went down to the land Gilzānu (and) received tribute from Upû, the Gilzānean, the Mannaean, the people of the city Gaburisu and of the lands Ĥarrānia, Šašgānu, Andia, ...ru: oxen, sheep, (and) harness-trained horses. He\* went down

168 *man-na-áš*: The parallel passage in A.O.102.16 line 307' also has *man-na-áš*.

168–69 <sup>m</sup>šú-lu-su-nu: the šú is clear in 169 and reasonably clear (there seems to be part of an extra wedge) in 168. Michel proposed *šal* in 168 but this is highly unlikely. In A.O.102.16 lines 308' and 311' it is clearly <sup>m</sup>šú-lu-su-nu.

168 ĤAR-n[a]: note [Ĥ]AR-na in A.O.102.16 line 309'. In A.O.102.14 the reading n[a] is reasonably clear. There is certainly no sign after it.

171–72 *pad(\*)*:- text *šur-*. See the note to A.O.102.6 iii 62.

174–75 "(when) I threw the die for a second time ...": this means the second time Shalmaneser held the office of eponym.

180 50 URU.MEŠ-šú-nu: Michel's reading 55 URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu is incorrect.

- 181) *šá<sup>m</sup>ú-pu-ú KUR gíl-za-na-a-a KUR man-[na]-  
[a]l-[a UR]U <ga>-bu-ri-sa-a-a KUR ḥar-ra-na-  
a-a*
- 182) *KUR šá-áš-ga-na-a-a KUR an-di-a-a KUR x-  
[x]-ra-a-a GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ  
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ*
- 183) *LAL-at GIŠ ni-ri am-ḥur a-na URU.MEŠ šá  
KUR x-[x-x a]t-ta-rad URU pi-ir<sub>4</sub>-ri-a*
- 184) *URU ši-ti-ú-ar-ia URU.MEŠ-ni-šú dan-I<sub>nu</sub>-te<sup>1</sup>  
a-di 22 URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šú ap-pùl a-  
qur*
- 185) *ina IZI áš-ru-up pu-ul-ḥi me-lam-me ina UGU-  
[šú-nu]<sup>1</sup> at-bu-uk a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá KUR  
pár-su-a-a il-lik*
- 186) *URU pu-uš-tu URU šá-la-ḥa-ma-nu URU ki-ni-  
ḥa-ma-nu URU.MEŠ-šú dan-nu-te a-di 23  
URU.MEŠ-ni*
- 187) *šá li-me-tu-šú-nu KUR-ud GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-  
duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la a-na KUR nam-ri at-  
ta-rad*
- 188) *pu-ul-ḥi me-lam-me šá aš-šur<sup>d</sup> AMAR.UTU is-  
ḥu-pu-šú-nu URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu ú-maš-ši-ru a-  
na*
- 189) *KUR-e mur-ši e-li-ú 2 ME 50 URU.MEŠ-šú-nu  
at-ta-pal at-ta-qar ina IZI a-sa-rap*
- 190) *ina né-re-be šá si-me-si ina SAG KUR ḥal-ma-  
an ú-ri-da*

to the cities of the land [...] (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities Pirria (and) Šitiuaria, his fortified cities, together with twenty-two cities in the environs. (185) (Thus) he\* spread my radiant fearfulness over [them]. He marched to the cities of the land Parsua (and) captured the cities Puštu, Šalaḥamānu, Kiniḥamānu, fortified cities, together with twenty-three cities in their environs. He\* massacred them (and) plundered them. He\* went down to the land Namri. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur (and) the god Marduk they abandoned their cities and ascended a rugged mountain. He\* razed, destroyed, (and) burned 250 of their cities. He went down through the pass of Simesi before the land Ḥalman.

## 15

This text is on fragments of a large stone slab found at Aššur. It is a duplicate of the beginning of the text on the Black Obelisk (A.0.102.14 lines 1–47), ending abruptly in the midst of the campaign of 855 BC (fourth regnal year) against Bīt-Adini. This slab must thus be the first in a series of slabs inscribed with a version of the annals. The beginning of an annals series from Calah is edited as A.0.102.3. Annals series are known for Ashurnasirpal II (see RIMA 2 p. 192). Unfortunately none of the remaining inscribed slabs in this series has yet been recovered. Since the text is a duplicate of A.0.102.14, it too must be a late version of the annals. The text has been edited for convenience with A.0.102.14 (“ex. 2”).

181 [UR]U <ga>-bu-ri-sa-a-a: A.0.102.16 line 329' has [KUR(?)]<sup>1</sup> ga-bu-ri-[sa]l-a-[a]l.

182 x-[x]-ra-a-a: the first two signs are illegible. Michel's reading la[l-la]-ra-a-a is very improbable. It could not be Mount Lallar which is in the Amanus range. The parallel passage in A.0.102.16 line 330' has [KUR(?)]<sup>1</sup> x-bi-ra-a.

183 KUR x-[x-x]: the traces could be read, with Michel, KUR tab-x-[x-x].

186 URU.MEŠ-šú: clear, not URU.MEŠ-ni.



## COMMENTARY

Two large pieces of the slab and several small fragments have been identified as belonging together by Unger, RLA. One of the large pieces is EŞ 6872 (Ass 2919, Ass ph 361–62) and it was found in the area of the old palace right under the surface, hE4I. This is the only piece published and the bibliography is for it. The inscription on this piece has been collated from the published photos. Unger identified from Aššur excavation photos the further large piece, on Ass ph 5058, which is in fact the top half of the slab. I have

been able to collate this inscription from the photo. Further tiny fragments, identified by Unger and collated from photos, are on Ass ph 4952 (portions of lines 11–15) and Ass ph 5055 (from upper-left corner, beginning of lines 1–3 and 43–47). Unger also lists as joins fragments on Ass ph 4958 (Ass 16812), 5001, and 5056. I have had no access to these photos but the fragments must have been very small.

The slab is convex and inscribed with one column per side.

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- 1947 Michel, WO 1 pp. 11–15 no. 3 and pls. 3–4 (photos, edition)  
 1954–59 Michel, WO 2 p. 146 n. i (study)  
 1968 Ellis, Foundation Deposits p. 193 no. 74 (study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 81 and 87–90 (study)

## 16

This text is on a badly damaged stone statue found by accident in a field within the ancient walls of Calah. It is apparent that the statue had been dragged from its original location and smashed by invading troops, probably at the time Calah was captured, around 614 BC. While the statue may have originally stood in the Ninurta temple as Laessøe suggested, there is no proof of this. The pieces of the statue have been put back together but large portions of the text are still missing. Fortunately, much of the text has parallels in other inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, in particular the Black Obelisk (A.O.102.14), and extensive restorations are possible.

The text begins with the king's name, epithets, and genealogy (lines 1–5). This is followed by the narrative of the campaigns down to the thirty-first regnal year (lines 6–341'a). Much of this is similar to the narrative in the Black Obelisk (A.O.102.14), although there are frequent departures and some additions. The inscription concludes with a description of hunting (lines 341'b–347') and equipping the army (line 348'). The last few campaigns (lines 228'–341'a) were led not by the king but by his field marshal, Daiiān-Aššur. This unusual circumstance caused some confusion for the scribe, as it did for the scribe of A.O.102.14, who fluctuated between third person (Daiiān-Aššur) and first person (the king) in the narrative. In the translation, as in that of A.O.102.14, I have consistently used third person in these passages but put an asterisk after the pronoun where the text actually has first person. Since the last year described is the thirty-first, the text must date late in 828 or 827 BC.

## COMMENTARY

The reconstructed statue (IM 60496, ND 5500) is 140 cm high and 35 cm wide at its base. It was found at the foot of the acropolis on the southeast side. As to its original location, Laessøe (Iraq 24 p. 147 and n. 1)

suggested that it had stood in Room I of the Ninurta temple since a fragment of a statue (ND 5571) which he thought was similar was found there. However, Hulin (Iraq 28 [1966] pp. 84–88) has demonstrated that this

fragment could not physically belong to the Shalmaneser statue and, in fact, probably has remains of a text of Sargon II.

The inscription was studied thoroughly by Hulin, both with the original and with photos, who prepared a copy and draft transliteration. Hulin successfully deciphered much more than appeared in Laessøe's publication. I have not been able to examine the original in the Iraq Museum. The text as it appears in the published photos

and the photos with additional views in the Hulin papers is largely illegible. Thus the present edition is based upon Hulin's copy and draft transliteration, and comparison with parallel texts.

An unusual feature of this text is the use of MU = *šattu* in line 320' for the usual BALA = *palû*. The same substitution takes place in A.0.102.1 line 41 for the first year.

#### PARALLELS FROM WHICH RESTORATIONS ARE MADE

A.0.102.16 LINES	A.0.102	COMMENTS
6-44a	14 lines 22-72	accession and 1st to 7th campaigns.
44b-50a	—	8th campaign. See the note to these lines.
50b-65'	—	9th campaign. See the notes to lines 60'-65'.
66'-71'a	14 lines 85-86	10th campaign.
71'b-81'	6 ii 68 - iii 8 10 ii 51 - iii 5	11th campaign.
82'-84'	10 iii 6-10	12th campaign.
85'-87'a	6 iii 21-23 10 iii 10b - 13	13th campaign.
87'b-95'	—	14th campaign. There is no parallel for lines 90'-92'. For lines 87'-88' and 93'-95' cf. A.0.102.6 iii 24-33, A.0.102.8 lines 44'b-47'a, and A.0.102.10 iii 14-25.
96'-115'	—	15th and 16th campaigns. The passages are too broken to suggest parallels.
116'-122'a	10 iii 37b-45a	17th campaign.
122'b-137'a	10 iii 45b - iv 15a	18th campaign.
137'b-143'a	10 iv 15b - 22a	19th campaign.
143'b-151'	10 iv 22b - 34a	20th campaign.
152'-162'a	—	21st campaign. There are no close parallels but note the badly broken passage in A.0.102.13 rev. 4'b-11', which was probably a close parallel. Also see the summary in A.0.102.14 lines 102b-104a.
162'b-181'a	—	22nd campaign. There are no close parallels, but note A.0.102.14 lines 104b-107a and A.0.102.40 iii 2b-5a.
181'b-194'	—	23rd campaign. There are no close parallels, but note A.0.102.14 lines 107b-110a.
195'-?	14 lines 110b-126a	24th campaign.
?-216'a	14 lines 126b-131	25th campaign.
216'b-227'	14 lines 132-141a	26th campaign.
228'-267'	14 lines 141b-146a	27th campaign. There is new text in A.0.102.16.
268'-286'a	14 lines 146b-156a	28th campaign.
286'b-290'	14 lines 156b-159a	29th campaign.
291'-320'a	14 lines 159b-174a	30th campaign.
320'b-341'a	14 lines 174b-190	31st campaign.
341'b-347'	6 iv 40-44	Hunting.
348'	6 iv 47-48	Equipping the army.

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1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 79-81 and 87-90 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ ma-al-ku dan-nu it-pe-šu ni-  
[šit <sup>d</sup>enlil u <sup>d</sup>ninurta(?)]
- 2) x x x x-<sup>u</sup>-ú-du mu-du-ú [...]
- 3) LÚ.SIPA(\*) ki-nu MAN kib-rat 4-ti pa-liḫ  
DINGIR.[MEŠ rabûti ...]
- 4) DUMU <sup>maš</sup>-šur-PAB-A LÚ.SANGA MAḪ šá  
si-kip-ti la ma-g[i-ri-šu iltakkanuma]
- 5) nab-ni-tum KÚ-tu šá GISKIM-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ šá za-<sup>ri</sup>-  
ri-šú i-né-ru-[ma išpunu abūbāniš]
- 6) i-na šur-rat LUGAL-ti-ia šá i-na GIŠ.GU.ZA  
LUGAL-ti GAL-[iš ūšibu narkabāti]
- 7) ÉRIN.ḪI.A-ia ad-ki àna KUR né-re-be šá  
KUR si-me-si KÚ<sub>2</sub>-ub [URU aridu āl  
dannūtišu]
- 8) šá <sup>ni</sup>-in-ni KUR-ud i-na 1-en BALA-ia  
ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-[i-ša ēbir ana tâmdī]
- 9) šá šùl-me <sup>d</sup>šam-ši al-li-ik GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
ina tam-di [lil niqê ana ilānīia]
- 10) aš-bat a-na KUR-e KUR ḫa-ma-ni e-li  
GIŠ.GU.ŠUR.MEŠ GIŠ [erēni burāši akkis]
- 11) ana KUR lal-la-ar e-li ša-lam MAN-ti-ia ina  
lib-bi [ú<sup>l</sup>-[še-ziz ina 2-e palēia idiqlat]
- 12) e-te-bir a-na URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-sa-ip aq-ti-rib  
URU.ME[Š-ni ša aḫuni mār adini akšud]
- 13) ina URU-šú e-sir-šú ÍD.A.RAD ina mi-li-šá e-  
bir [URU dabigu birtu ša māt ḫatti]
- 14) a-di URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šú KUR-ud ina 3  
BALA.M[ÉŠ-ia aḫuni mār adini ultu pān]
- 15) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-a dan-nu-ti ip-laḫ-ma  
URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-bar-[sa-ip āl šarrūtišu umdaššir  
puratta]
- 16) e-bir URU <ana>-aš-šur-ú-ter-aš-bat šá GÌR.[II  
ammâte ša ÍD.A.RA]D šá UGU [sagurri]
- 17) šá LÚ.MEŠ-e KUR ḫat-ta-a URU pi-[it-ru  
iqabbû-š]u-ni a-na ra-ma-ni-[ia ašbat]
- 18) ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia àna KUR n[é-re-be šá] KUR  
al-zi KÚ<sub>4</sub>-ub KUR al-zi KUR s[u-uh-me]
- 19) KUR da-ie-e-ni KUR tum<sub>6</sub>-me [URU ar-ša-ás]-  
ku-un URU MAN-ti-šú šá <sup>ma</sup>-ra-me
- 20) KUR ú-ra-ar-ḫ[a-a-a KUR gilzānu KUR]  
ḫu-<sup>bu</sup>l-uš-ki-a KUR-ud ina 4 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
ÍD.A.R[AD]
- 21) ina mi-[li-šá] [e<sup>l</sup>-[bir] ]EGIR <sup>ma</sup>-ḫu<sup>l</sup>-ni A <sup>ma</sup>-di-  
ni a-lik ši-tam-rat ú-ban KUR-e šá a-ḫat
- 22) ÍD.A.RAD a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun KUR  
ú-ban KUR-e a-si-bi KUR-ad <sup>ma</sup>-ḫu-ni
- 23) a-di DINGIR.MEŠ-šú GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-[šú]  
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú 20 LIM 2 LIM  
ÉRIN.ḪI.A-šú a-su-ḫa-šú

1–5) Shalmaneser, strong (and) wise prince, *chosen* [of the gods Enlil and Ninurta], ..., expert, [...], faithful shepherd, king of the four (quarters), worshipper of the [great] gods, [...] son of Ashurnasirpal (II), exalted priest, who [always achieved] the defeat of those insubmissive [to him], pure offspring of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), who slew his enemies [and annihilated (them) like a flood]:

6–8a) At the beginning of my reign, after [I nobly ascended] the royal throne, I mustered [my chariots] (and) troops. I entered the pass of the land Simesi (and) captured [the city Aridu, the fortified city] of Ninnu.

8b–11a) In my first regnal year [I crossed] the Euphrates in flood (and) marched to the western [sea. I washed] my weapons in the sea (and) made [sacrifices to my gods]. I climbed up the Amanus range (and) [cut] beams of [cedar (and) juniper]. I climbed up Mount Lallar (and) [erected] therein my royal statue.

11b–14a) [In my second regnal year] I crossed [the Tigris] (and) approached the city Tīl-Barsip (Barsaip), [captured] the cities [of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini], (and) confined him to his city. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) captured [the city Dabigu, fortress of the land Ḫatti], together with cities in its environs.

14b–20a) In my third regnal year [Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini], became frightened [in the face of] my mighty weapons and [abandoned] the city Tīl-Bar[sip, his royal city]. He crossed [the Euphrates. I took] as my own the city (Ana)-Aššur-utēr-ašbat, which is [on the other side of the Euphrates] by the [River Sagura], which the people of Ḫatti [call] the city Pi[tru]. On my return I entered the pass of Alzu (and) captured Alzu, the lands S[uḫme], Daiēnu, Tammu, [the city Aršaš]kun, the royal city of Aramu, the Urartian, [the lands Gilzānu (and)] Ḫubuškia.

20b–24a) In my fourth regnal year I [crossed] the Euphrates in flood (and) marched in pursuit of Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini. He had made as his stronghold Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates. I besieged (and) captured the mountain peak. Aḫunu, together with his gods, [his] chariots, his horses, his sons, his daughters, (and) 22,000 of his troops I uprooted (and) brought to my city, Aššur.

2 The beginning of the line is badly damaged and illegible in the available photos.

3 SIPA(\*): copy has ŠAB.

4 šá si-kip-ti la ma-g[i-ri-šu iltakkanuma]: Cf. RIMA 2 p. 195 i 30 (Asn. II).

5 For the restoration see A.0.102.2 i 12; A.0.102.8 lines 23–24; etc.

16 URU <ana>-aš-šur-ú-ter-aš-bat: is the omission of *ana* an ancient or modern error? Cf. the note to A.0.102.2 ii 36.

- 24) *a-na URU-ia aš-šur.KI ub-la ina MU-ma šī-a-ti KUR kúl-la-ar BAL-at a-na KUR za-mu-a*
- 25) *šá É-a-ni at-ta-rad URU.MEŠ-ni šá<sup>m</sup>ni-ik-de-ra URU i-da-a-a<sup>m</sup>ni-ik-de-ra-ma*
- 26) *ak-šu-ud i-na 5 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na KUR kaš-ia-ri e-li 11 URU.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-ti*
- 27) *KUR-ud<sup>m</sup>an-ḫi-it-ti KUR šub-ri-a-a ina URU-šú e-sir-šú ma-da-tú-šú am-ḫur-šú*
- 28) *i-na 6 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na URU.MEŠ-ni šá ši-di ÍD ba-li-ḫi aq-ṭí-rib*
- 29) *<sup>m</sup>gi-am-mu EN URU-šú-nu GAZ-ku a-na URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-tur-a-ḫi KU<sub>4</sub>-ub NÍG.GA-šú ma-a<sup>ʿ</sup>-du*
- 30) *a-di MUNUS.ÉRIN.MEŠ É.GAL-šú áš-šá-a URU a-na ra-ma-ni-ia aš-bat ÍD.A.RAD*
- 31) *ina mi-li-šá e-bir ma-da-tú šá MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR ḫat-ti DÜ-šú-nu am-ḫur ina u<sub>3</sub>-me-šú-[ma]*
- 32) *<sup>md</sup>ÍŠKUR-id-ri šá-KUR.ANŠE-šú<sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-na KUR a-ma-ta-a-a a-di MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR ḫa[t-ti]*
- 33) *ù a-ḫat tam-ti a-na Á.MEŠ a-ḫa-miš it-tàk-lu-ma a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> u M[É]*
- 34) *a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ú-ni ina qí-bit aš-šur EN GAL EN-ia<sup>d</sup>MAŠ ÁG[A]*
- 35) *SANGA-ti-ia it-ti-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-kun GIŠ.GIGIR.ME[Š-šú-nu]*
- 36) *pít-ḫal-la-šu-nu ú-nu-ut MÈ-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu 20 LIM 9 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-[du-ki-šú-nu]*
- 37) *ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qit si-ta-at ÉRIN.MEŠ šá ina IGI GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ i[p(?)-paršidu]*
- 38) *ina ID a-ra-an-te at-bu-uk ina 7 BALA.MEŠ-ia a-na U[RU.MEŠ-ni ša<sup>m</sup>ḫabini]*
- 39) *URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-a-a al-lik URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ URU dan-nu-ti-[šú adi álāni]*
- 40) *šá li-me-tú-šú KUR-ud a-di SAG ÍD e-ni šá ÍD.ḪAL.[ḪAL allik kakki aššur]*
- 41) *ina lib-bi ú-lil UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni aš-bat [naptān ḫudūtu]*
- 42) *áš-kun ṣa-lam MAN-ti-ia šur-ba-a DÜ ta-na-t[i aššur bēliia alkakat]*
- 43) *qur-di-ia mi-im-ma šá ina KUR.KUR e-ta-pa-[ša ina qerbiša aštur]*
- 44) *ina lib-bi ul-ziz ina 8 [B]ALA.MEŠ-a<sup>md</sup>PA-A-AŠ MAN K[UR karduniaš šadāšu]*
- 45) *e-miā<sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU DUMU-šú GIŠ.AŠ.TE DAB-bat [marduk-bēl-usāte]*
- 46) *ŠEŠ-šú du-pu-<sup>l</sup>us<sup>l</sup>-su<sup>l</sup>-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>l</sup> it-ti-šú<sup>l</sup> lu<sup>l</sup> [ibbalkit māta malmališ]*
- 47) *i-zu-zu<sup>m</sup>[<sup>d</sup>marduk-zākir]-MU a-na UGU*

24b–26a) In this same year I crossed Mount Kullar, went down to the interior of the land Zamua, (and) captured the cities of Nikdēra, the Idean, and the other Nikdēra.

26b–27) In my fifth regnal year I ascended Mount Kašiiari (and) captured eleven fortified cities. I confined Anḫitti, the Šubraean, to his city (and) received his tribute.

28–38a) In my sixth regnal year I approached the cities on the banks of the River Baliḫ. They killed Giammu, their city ruler. I entered the city Tilturaḫi. I carried off his numerous possessions, (30) together with his palace women (and) took the city as my own. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) received tribute from all the kings of the land Ḫatti. At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with the kings of Ḫatti and on the shore of the sea, trusting in their united forces, attacked me to wage war and battle. By the command of Aššur, the great lord, my lord, (and) the god Ninurta, who love (35) my priesthood, I fought with them (and) defeated them. I captured from them their chariotry, cavalry, (and) military equipment, (and) put to the sword 29,000 of their [fighting] men. I threw the remnant of their troops, who had [fled] in the face of my weapons, into the Orontes.

38b–44a) In my seventh regnal year I marched to the cities [of Ḫabinu], the Tīl-abnīan. I captured Tīl-abnī, [his] fortified city, [together with the cities] (40) in its environs. [I marched] to the source of the Tigris. I washed [the weapon of Aššur] therein, made sacrifices to my gods, (and) put on [a joyful banquet]. I created my colossal royal statue [(and) wrote thereon] praises of [Aššur, my lord, (and)] my heroic [deeds] which I had accomplished in the lands. I erected it therein.

44b–50a) In my eighth regnal year, Nabû-aplaidina, king of [Karduniaš], (45) passed away (and) Marduk-zākir-šumi, his son, took the throne. [Marduk-bēl-usāte], his younger brother, [rebelled] against him (and) they divided [the land equally]. Marduk-zākir-šumi [sent his messenger (with a plea for help)] to [Shalmaneser. Shalmaneser], the

25 The earliest text, A.0.102.2 ii 76, has Nikdēma as a distinct name from Nikdēra. This is followed, with vars., by all the later texts except the present inscription. The scribe of this text misunderstood whatever source or sources he had, and thought that there were two men with the same names: "Nikdēra, the man of the city Idu, and the other Nikdēra." The references to the names are A.0.102.2 ii 76; A.0.102.6 ii 11; A.0.102.10 ii 8–9; A.0.102.14 lines 51–52; and A.0.102.28 line 42. 37–38 Cf. A.0.102.40 i 19–21.

40 There is not enough room to restore *a-šar mu-šu-u šá A.MEŠ šak-nu* from A.0.102.14 line 69.

44b–50a There is no preserved parallel passage to this account of the eighth campaign. The closest parallels, on which the restorations are based, are A.0.102.5 iv 1–5a, and Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 167 iii 26–32 (cf. pp. 240–42).

- [šulmānu-ašarēd uma<sup>»</sup>era  
 48) [rakbašu]<sup>m[d]</sup>[šulmānu-ašarēd] a-li-lu š[am-ru  
 ša tukultašu]  
 49) [<sup>d</sup>Ninurta iš]-bat [arḫu] a-na KUR.URL.K[I  
 alāka aqbi ...]  
 50) [URU mē]-[tūr-na]-at ak-šu-ud [... ina 9  
 palēia]  
 51) [šanūtē]-šú a-na KUR ak-[ka-de-e allik ...]

Lacuna (c. 8 lines)

- 60') [bár-sípa].KI [GÚ].DU<sub>8</sub>.KI [allik  
 UDU.SISKUR].MEŠ [ina bābili]  
 61') bár-sípa.KI G[Ú].DU<sub>8</sub>.KI [ēpu]-uš  
 NÍG.BA.MEŠ a-[na ilāni rabūti aqqiš]  
 62') a-na ÉRIN.MEŠ ki-di-[ni] [qé-re-ti áš-kun-  
 ma] TÚG lu-bùl-tú ú-[lab]-[biš]  
 63') a-na KUR kal-di ú-[ri-di U]RU.MEŠ-ni-šú-  
 nu KUR-ud ma-da-[tu]  
 64') ša MAN.MEŠ-ni KUR [kal-di] am-ḫur šu-ri-  
 bat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
 65') a-di tam-di šá ÍD m[ar-r]a-tu i-qa-bu-ši-ni is-  
 ḫu-up  
 66') i-na 10 BALA.[MEŠ]-ia [8-šú] ÍD.A.RAD  
 [e]-bir URU.MEŠ-ni  
 67') ša<sup>m</sup>sa-an-[g]a-ra [UR]U gar-ga-miš-[a]-a  
 KUR-ud TA URU.MEŠ-ni  
 68') šá URU gar-ga-miš-a-a at-[tu]-[muš] [a-na  
 UR]U.[MEŠ]-ni  
 69') šá<sup>m</sup>a-ra-me aq-ṭ[í-rib] URU ar-né-e URU  
 MAN-ti-šú  
 70') a-di 1 ME URU.MEŠ-ni-[šú ša li-me-ṭ]e-šú  
 ak-šu-ud ap-pùl  
 71') a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-[up] ina 11  
 BALA.MEŠ-a 9-šú ÍD.A.RAD  
 72') e-bir 97 URU.M[EŠ]-[ni] šá<sup>m</sup>sa-an-ga-[ra]1  
 ME [ša]l<sup>m</sup>a-ra-me  
 73') KUR-ud [a]p-pùl a-qur ina IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-  
 [up] ši-di KUR ḫa-ma-a-ni  
 74') aš-bat KUR ia-ra-qu BAL-at a-na  
 URU.MEŠ-ni  
 75') šá KUR [a]l-mat-a-[a a]t-ta-rad URU ab-[ta]l-  
 ma-ku a-di  
 76') 89 URU.MEŠ-ni KUR-[u]d [ap]-pùl a-qur  
 ina IZI.MEŠ  
 77') GÍBIL-up ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-[šu]l-ma<sup>m</sup>[adad]-id-ri šá  
 KUR.ANŠE-šú  
 78')<sup>m</sup>ir-ḫu-le-[na] KUR a-mat-a-a a-di 12  
 MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 79') šá KUR ḫat-ti [šá ši]-di tam-di a-na Á.MEŠ  
 a-ḫa-miš  
 80') it-tàk-lu-ma it-ti-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš  
 BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu

vigorous hero [whose support is the god Ninurta],  
 took [the road (and) ordered the march] to the land  
 of Akkad. I captured the [city Mē]-turnat [...]

50b–65') [In my ninth regnal year, for a second]  
 time, [I marched] to the land Ak[kad. ... I marched  
 to Babylon], (60') Borsippa, (and) Cuthah (and)  
 [made sacrifices in Babylon], Borsippa, (and)  
 Cuthah (and) [presented] offerings to [the great  
 gods. I established] protection for the people [at a  
 banquet and] dressed them in garments. I [went  
 down] to Chaldaea (and) captured their cities. I  
 received tribute from the kings of [Chaldaea]. Awe of  
 my weapons overwhelmed (them) as far as the sea  
 which is called Marratu ("Bitter").

66'–71'a) In my tenth regnal year I crossed the  
 Euphrates [for the eighth time]. I captured the cities  
 of Sangara, the Carchemishite. Moving on from the  
 cities of the Carchemishite I approached the cities of  
 Aramu (and) captured Arnê, his royal city, together  
 with one hundred cities [in] its [environs]. I razed,  
 destroyed, (and) burned (those cities).

71'b–81') In my eleventh regnal year I crossed the  
 Euphrates for the ninth time. I captured ninety-seven  
 cities of Sangara. I captured, razed, destroyed, (and)  
 burned one hundred (cities) of Aramu. I took to the  
 slopes of the Amanus range, crossed Mount Iaraqu,  
 (and) descended to the cities (75') of the people of  
 Ḫamat. I captured, razed, destroyed, (and) burned  
 the city Aštammaku (Abtammaku), together with  
 eighty-nine (other) cities. At that time [Hadad]-ezer  
 (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the  
 Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings of the land  
 Ḫatti on the shore of the sea, (80') trusted in their  
 united forces (and) I fought with them (and)  
 defeated them. I put to the sword their fighting men.

60'–65' There are no exact parallels to this passage.

60'–61' For the restorations see A.0.102.14 lines 82–83.

62' Cf. A.0.102.5 vi 4.

64' šu-ri-bat: cf. A.0.102.6 iv 23 and see the note to RIMA 2 p. 208 ii 78.

75' URU ab-[ta]l-ma-ku: note URU ab-ši-ma-ku in A.0.102.10 ii 56. It has long been suspected that the latter was a variant of URU áš-ta/tam-ma-ku (A.0.102.6 iii 1; A.0.102.8 line 37'; A.0.102.82), which occurs in the same context for the eleventh regnal year. Should one read the AB as éš?

- 81') *áš-kun ÉRIN.MEŠ ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina*  
GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit*
- 82') *ina 12 BALA.MEŠ-a 10-[šú] ÍD.A.RAD e-*  
*bir a-na URU pa-qar-ḥu-bu-ni*
- 83') *a-[l]ik UN.MEŠ KUR-ú mar-šu iṣ-[š]ab-<sup>1</sup>tu<sup>1</sup>*  
GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *a-duk*
- 84') *šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu [T]A qé-reb KUR-e*  
*ú-še-ri-da*
- 85') *ina 13 BALA.MEŠ-a àna KUR né-[r]e-be šá*  
<sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ [KU<sub>4</sub>]-*ub a-na*
- 86') *mat-ia-a-ti al-lik mat-ia-a-ti a-na si-ḥír-ti-*  
*šá*
- 87') *KUR-ud šal-la-su-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu áš-lu-la*  
*ina 14 BALA.MEŠ-a*
- 88') *ma-a-ti DAGAL-tu a-na la ma-ni ad-ki it-ti 1*  
ME LIM
- 89') [...]
- 90') [...]-*ti*
- 91') [... *it*]-*tàk-lu-<sup>1</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>*
- 92') [... *lu-bù*]-[*l*]-*ti(?)<sup>1</sup>*
- 93') [... *ittēšunu amdaḥḥi-i*]<sub>ṣ</sub> BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu
- 94') [*aškun narkabātišunu piṭhallašunu aṣē 'ú*]-*nu-*  
*ut MĒ-šú-nu*
- 95') [*ēkimšunu ana šūzub napšātišunu e*]-*li-ú*
- 96') [... x x x
- 97') [... x a x
- 98') [...].MEŠ x
- 99') [...]
- 100') [...]-*ni*
- 101') [...]
- 102') [...]
- 103') [...]
- 104') [...]-*ri*
- 105'-114') [...]
- 115') <sup>m</sup>*ia-an-zu-ú* [...]
- 116') *ina 17 BALA.MEŠ-a ÍD.[A.RAD ēbir*  
*maddattu ša šarrāni]*
- 117') *šá KUR ḥat-ti am-ḥur a-n[a šadē KUR*  
*ḥamāni ēli gušūrī]*
- 118') GIŠ *e-re-ni a-ki-is-ma [ana ālīia aššur ūbla]*
- 119') [*i-na l*]*a-ia-ar-ti-ia* [...]
- 120') [x x x] x [x] x x [...]
- 121') [... x [...]
- 122') [x x *ina* ]<sup>1</sup>18 BALA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-*a* [16-šú *puratta*  
*ēbir mḥaza 'el]*
- 123') [*ša-imērišu a-n*]*a gi-[piš] ÉRIN.[ḪI.A.MEŠ-*  
*šú ittakilma ÉRIN].ḪI.A.-šú*
- 124') [*ana ma-a-<sup>2</sup>di-iš id-k[a-a KUR saniru KUR]*  
*ú-ba-an KUR-e*
- 125') [*ša pūt KUR lab-n*]*a-ni àna d[an-nu-ti-šu]*  
*iš-kun*
- 126') [... *im(?) qa(?)* [... ÉRIN].MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šu*
- 127') [*ina kakkī ušamqit*] 1 LIM <sup>1</sup>11 [ME 21  
*narkabātišu 4 M]E 70 pit-ḥal-lu-šu*

82'-84') In my twelfth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time (and) marched to the city Paqaraḥubunu. The people took to a rugged mountain. I massacred them (and) brought plunder (and) possessions of theirs down from the mountain.

85'-87'a) In my thirteenth regnal year I entered the Pass of the Goddesses, marched to Matiātu, (and) captured all of Matiātu. I plundered their holdings (and) possessions.

87'b-95') In my fourteenth regnal year I mustered (the troops of my) extensive land in countless numbers (and) [crossed the Euphrates in flood] with 1[20,000(?) troops. ...]. (91') They trusted [in their united forces] and [...] garments [... I fought with them] (and) defeated them. [I destroyed their chariotry (and) cavalry (and) took away] their military equipment. [To save their lives] they ran away.

96'-101') [In my fifteenth regnal year ...]

102'?-115') [In my sixteenth regnal year ...] Ianzū, [a man of Bīt-Ḫanban, ...]

116'-122'a) In my seventeenth regnal year [I crossed the Euphrates] (and) received [tribute from the kings] of the land Ḫatti. [I ascended the Amanus range], cut down cedar [timbers, (and) brought (them) to my city, Aššur. On] my return [from the Amanus range ...].

122'b-137'a) [In] my eighteenth regnal year [I crossed the Euphrates for the sixteenth time. Hazael of Damascus, trusting in the] might of [his] soldiers, carried out an [extensive] muster of his troops. He fortified [Mount Saniru], the mountain peak, (125') [which is before Mount Leban]on. [...] ... [I put to the sword 16,020(?) of] his fighting men (and) [took away from him] 1,1[21 of his chariots (and) 4]70 of his cavalry [with his military camp. To] save his life he ran away [(but) I pursued him]. I imprisoned him [in Damascus], his royal [city, (130') cut down his

86' Regarding the reading here and in A.O.102.10 iii 12 see Grayson, BiOr 33 (1976) pp. 144-45.

96'-115' The tentative division of the line numbers for the fifteenth and sixteenth campaigns is based on a comparison of the number of lines for each campaign in A.O.102.10, which uses slightly shorter lines.

115' Cf. A.O.102.14 line 95.

- 128') [itti ušmānīšū ēkimšu ana šu-zu]-ub ZI.MEŠ-  
šū e-li  
129') [arkīšu artedi ina URU dimašqi āl šarrū]-ti-  
šū e-sir-šū  
130') [kirātīšu akkisi kurilašu ina išāti āš]-ru-  
up a-di KUR-e  
131') [KUR ḥaurāni allik ālāni ana] la ma-ni ap-  
pūl a-qur  
132') [ina išāti ašrup šallassunu ašlu]-la a-na  
KUR-e  
133') [KUR ba'alira'asi ša pūt tām̄di] šá pu-ut  
URU šur-ri al-lik  
134') [šalam šarrūtīia ina libbi ušēziz ma-da-t]u šá  
m̄ba-'a-il-ma-an-zi  
135') [m̄šurrāiia ša m̄iāu mār m̄ḥu-um]-ri-i am-ḥur  
a-[n]a KUR lab-na-na  
136') [lu ēli šalam šarrūtīia itti šalme ša  
m̄GIŠ].tukul-ti-IBILA-é-šár-ra [NUN(?)]-ú  
137') [ālik pānīia ušēziz ina 19 palēia 1]7-šu  
ID.A.[RAD ēbir]  
138') [maddattu ša šarrāni ša māt ḥatte am]-ḥur-  
ma a-na KUR ḥa-<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-[ni] e-[li]  
139') [gušūrī erēni GIŠ.ŠIM.L]I a-[ki]-<sup>f</sup>is<sup>l</sup> [...]  
140') [...] x [...]  
141') [...] x [...]  
142') [...] x [...]
- 143') [... a]-duk ina 20 B[ALA].MEŠ<sup>l</sup>-[a 20-šú]  
144') [puratta ēbir šarrāni] šá KUR ḥat-ti  
kalīšunu] 'it-ti<sup>l</sup>-ia ad-ki KUR ḥa-<<DIŠ>>-  
<sup>f</sup>ma<sup>l</sup>-a-nu  
145') [attabalkat ana ālāni] šá m̄k[a-te]-<sup>f</sup>i<sup>l</sup> KUR qa-  
ú-a-a at-ta-rad URU 'lu<sup>l</sup>-sa-an-da  
146') [URU abarnāni] URU 'ki<sup>l</sup>-su-at-[ni  
URU].MEŠ-ni-šú dan-nu-te a-di URU.MEŠ-  
ni  
147') [ana la māni] TA SAG URU.M[EŠ-ni-šú a-  
d]i qa-ni URU.MEŠ-ni-šú KUR-ud  
148') [dīktašunu adūk] šal-la-s[u-nu āš-lu]-la 2 ša-  
lam MAN-ti-ia DŪ-uš  
149') [tanatti] 'kiš-šū<sup>l</sup>-ti-[a ina libbi] al-ḥu-ur 1-en  
ina SAG  
150') [ālāni-š]ú 2-ú ina [qanni ālāni]-šú ina SAG  
tam-di āz-qu-up  
151') [li-i]-ti ù da-[na-ni eli URU qa]-ú-e al-tàk-kan  
152') [ina 21 BALA].MEŠ-ia 21-[šú Í]D.A.RAD  
<sup>f</sup>e<sup>l</sup>-[bir ma-da]-tu šá MAN.MEŠ ni  
153') [ša māt ḥat]-ti DŪ-šú-nu am-ḥur TA [māt  
ḥatti(?) at]-tu-muš ši-di  
154') [KUR lab]-na-ni aš-ba[t] KUR sa-ni-ru  
BA[L-a]t a-[na] URU.ME[Š-ni]  
155') [ša m̄]ḥa-za-'e-DINGIR šá-K[UR].<sup>f</sup>ANŠE<sup>l</sup>-šú

gardens, (and)] burned [his shocks. I marched] to Mount [Ḥaurānu] (and) razed, destroyed, [burned, (and) plundered cities] without number. I marched to Mount [Ba'alira'asi, which is a cape (jutting out into) the sea] before the land of Tyre, (and) [erected my royal statue there]. I received tribute from Ba'ali-manzēri (Ba'ail-manzi) (135') [of Tyre (and) from Jehu (Iāu) of the house of Om]ri (Ḥumrī). [I ascended] Mount Lebanon (and) [erected my royal statue with the statue of] Tiglath-pileser, a [prince who preceded me].

137'b-143'a) [In my nineteenth regnal year I crossed] the Euphrates for the seventeenth time (and) received [tribute from the kings of the land Ḥatti]. I [ascended] the Amanus range, cut down [cedar and] juniper [timbers, (and) brought (them) to my city, Aššur. On my return from the Amanus range] I slew [ten perfect specimens of strong, horned, wild bulls (and) two calves by the city Zuqarru, on the opposite bank of the Euphrates].

143'b-151'a) In my twentieth regnal year [I crossed the Euphrates for the twentieth time] (and) mustered with my (forces) [all the kings] of the land Ḥatti. (145') [I crossed] the Amanus range (and) went down [to the cities] of Katē, the Quean (Qau). I captured the cities Lusanda, [Abarnānu], Kisuatnu, fortified cities together with [innumerable] cities from the nearest of his cities to the farthest of his cities. [I massacred (and)] plundered them. I created two royal statues of me, inscribed [thereon my] mighty [praises (and)] erected one in the nearest (150') of his [cities] (and) the second in the [farthest of his cities] on a cape (jutting) into the sea. (Thus) I prevailed over the land (lit. "city") Que (Qau) with might and main.

152'-162'a) [In] my [twenty-first regnal year] I [crossed] the Euphrates for the twenty-first time (and) received tribute from all the kings [of the land Ḥat]ti. Moving on from [the land Ḥatti] I took to the slopes of Mount Lebanon. I crossed Mount Saniru (and) went down to the cities (155') [of] Hazael of Damascus. [All] of the cities became frightened

130' See Brinkman, JNES 32 (1973) pp. 40-44 (lines 12'-13'), and Schramm, EAK 2 p. 77.

132' After KUR-e the line seems to be uninscribed.

134' Ba'ail-manzi: in A.0.102.10 iv 10 his name is spelled Ba'ali-manzēri.

137' Regarding the number of crossings of the Euphrates see the note to A.0.102.10 iv 15-23.

139'-142' The edition, including the number of lines, follows Hulin's draft transliteration. In his copy it appears that there is one less line in this passage.

143'-147' See J. Lewy, Orientalia NS 21 (1952) pp. 290-92.

146'-150' See CAD 13 (Q) p. 82a.

- at-ta-r[ad] URU.MEŠ-<sup>1</sup>ni<sup>1</sup> [kalīšunu(?)]  
 156') ig-du-ru [KUR]-<sup>1</sup>e a<sup>1</sup>-[na] dan-nu-te iṣ-ṣab-tu  
 URU ia-x-x [x x x]  
 157') URU [x x x (x)] URU da-na-bu URU ma-la-  
 ḥa URU.MEŠ-ni dan-nu-te  
 158') ina [pilše na-p]í-li ṣa-bi-te KUR-ud GAZ-šú-  
 nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu  
 159') ṛáš<sup>1</sup>-[lu-la URU.MEŠ]-ni ap-púl a-qur ina  
 IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up <sup>m</sup>ba-a<sup>1</sup>-il  
 160') šá<sup>1</sup> KUR<sup>1</sup> x-[x x-r]a(?)<sup>1</sup>-a-a(\*) GÌR.II-ia iṣ-  
 bat ma-da-tu-šú am-ḥur ṣa-lam MAN-ti-ia  
 161') ina URU la-ru-ba [UR]U dan-nu-ti-šú ina  
 É.KUR-šú ú-še-ziz u ma-da-tu šá KUR ṣur-  
 ra-a-a KUR ṣi-du-na-a-a  
 162') KUR gu-bal-a-a am-ḥu[r] a-di KUR mu-ṣu-  
 ru-na a-lik ina 22 BALA.MEŠ-ia 22-<šú>  
 ÍD.A.RAD  
 163') e-bir ma-da-tu [šá] MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR  
 ḥat-ti DŪ-šú-nu am-ḥur TA KUR ḥat-ti  
 164') at-tu-muš KUR [x]-in-zi-ni BAL-at ma-da-tu  
 šá KUR me-li-da-a-a  
 165') am-ḥur KUR ti-mu-u[r] BAL-at a-na  
 URU.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>tu-at-ti  
 166') KUR ta-ba-la-a-a at-ta-rad [UR]U.MEŠ-ni-  
 šú-nu ap-púl a-qur ina IZI áš-ru-up  
 167') <sup>m</sup>tu-at-ti pu-ul-ḥi me-lam-me šá aš-šur EN-ia  
 iṣ-ḥu-pu-šu-ma a-na ṣu-zu-ub  
 168') ZI.MEŠ-šú ina URU-šu in-ni-sir URU ar-tu-lu  
 URU MAN-ti-šú al-ti-me  
 169') <sup>m</sup>ki-ik-ki DUMU-šú MĒ e-dúr-ma GÌR.II-ia  
 iṣ-bat  
 170') ma-da-tu-šú am-ḥur ša 20 LUGAL.MEŠ-ni  
 171') šá KUR ta-ba-li i-gi-su-šú-nu  
 172') am-da-ḥar a-na KUR tu-un-ni  
 173') KUR-e KŪ.BABBAR e-li  
 174') TA KUR tu-un-ni  
 175') at-tu-muš  
 176') a-na URU.MEŠ-ni <sup>m</sup>pu-ḥa-me KUR ḥu-bu-  
 uš-ka-a-a at-ta-rad a-na URU ḥu-bu-uš-ni  
 177') URU MAN-ti-šú aq-ṭí-r[ib x x K]UR ia-ú-  
 ṣa-[x x x x] BAD  
 178') [m]a-da-tu-šú am-ḥ[ur-ma KUR m]u-li-[i šadē  
 gišnugalli]  
 179') e-li NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.N[U<sub>11</sub>.GAL ...]  
 180') ma-a<sup>1</sup>-du DŪ [...]  
 181') MAN-ti-ia ina KU[R mulí(?) ušēziz ina 23  
 palēia (23-šú)]  
 182') ÍD.A.RAD e-<sup>1</sup>bir<sup>1</sup> [maddattu ša <sup>m</sup>lalla(?)  
 KUR melidāia(?)]

(and) took to the mountain for their protection. I conquered by means of [tunnels], battering-rams, (and) siege towers the cities Ia... [..., ...], Danabu, Malaḥu, fortified cities. I massacred (and) plundered them. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the [cities]. Ba'al, (160') the man of [Tyr]e, submitted to me (and) I received tribute from him. I erected my royal statue in the temple of the city Laruba, his fortified city. Now the tribute of the inhabitants of the lands Tyre, Sidon, (and) Byblos I received. I marched as far as the land Mušuruna.

162'b–172'a) In my twenty-second regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twenty-second time (and) received tribute from all the kings of the land Ḥatti. Moving on from the land Ḥatti I crossed Mount [...].inzini (and) (165') received tribute from the people of the land Melid. I crossed Mount Timur (and) went down to the cities of Tuatti, the Tabalite. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities. The fearful radiance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed Tuatti and he remained confined in his city to save his life. I surrounded Artulu, his royal city. Kikki, his son, was afraid to fight and submitted to me. (170') I received tribute from him. I received gifts from twenty kings of the land Tabal.

172'b–181'a) I ascended Mount Tunni, the mountain of silver. Moving on from Mount Tunni, I went down to the cities of Puḥame, the Ḥubušnean (Ḥubuškaean), (and) approached the city Ḥubušnu, his royal [city]. I received the tribute of [...] the land Iauša[...]. I ascended [Mount M]ulū, [the mountain of alabaster]. [...] alabaster [...] (180') much, I made. [I erected] my royal [statue] on Mount [Mulū].

181'b–194') [In my twenty-third regnal year] I crossed the Euphrates [for a twenty-third time (and)] received [tribute from Lalla, the Melidite. Moving on] from the city Me[lid ...] I crossed Mount Pala[...]

157' Cf. Hulin in Mallowan, Nimrud 1 p. 323 n. 3 (to p. 86).

158' For the restoration cf. RIMA 2 p. 216 iii 53, and Schramm, EAK 2 p. 80.

159' Although one is tempted to equate this Ba'al with the ruler of Tyre called Ba'ali-manzeri in A.0.102.10 iv 10, it is difficult to see how one can read ṣurrāia at the beginning of line 160'.

160' -a(\*) : text has 2.

161' la-ru-ba: The reading is clear in Hulin's copy and draft transliteration. Tadmor, IEJ 11 (1961) p. 148 n. 30 wished to read la-r[i]-s[a]. Schramm, EAK 2 p. 80 proposed reading la-r[u]-s[u].

162' mu-ṣu-ru-na: see Tadmor, IEJ 11 (1961) p. 148 n. 30.

170' 20: the figure is clear in Hulin's copy and draft transliteration. The parallel in A.0.102.14 lines 105–106 has 24.

176' ḥu-bu-uš-ka-a-a: This must be a mistake for ḥu-bu-uš-na-a-a. Cf. Hulin, Iraq 25 (1963) p. 66.

177' Cf. Hulin, Iraq 25 (1963) p. 66.

178'–79' For the restorations cf. A.0.102.40 iii 3 and also note A.0.102.14 line 107.



- 183') *at-ta-ḥar* TA URU *me-[li-di(?) attumuš ...]*  
 184') [KU]R *pa-la-[x B]AL-at a-[na ...]*  
 185') *at-t[a-r]ad* URU *ú-e-[ta-áš ...]*  
 186') *[ak-t]a-šad šal-la-su-[nu ašlula ...]*  
 187') *a-na* URU *ta-ga-ri [...]*  
 188') *a-na* GABA-ia *il-li-k[u ...]*  
 189') *at-ta-ḥar* GUN *ma-da-[tu ...]*  
 190') *at-tu-muš a-na* URU [...]  
 191') *aq-ṭí-rib pu-ul-ḫi me-[lam-me ša aššur bēliia isḫupūšunuma āla]*  
 192') *ú-maš-še-ru a-na š[u-zu-ub napšātišunu ...]*  
 193') URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu *ap-pū[l aqur ina išāti ašrup]*  
 194') *šá 20 LUGAL.MEŠ-ni šá KUR [tabali(?) igisúšunu(?) amdaḥar(?)]*  
 195') *ina 24 BALA.MEŠ-ia Í[D zāba šaplú ētebir KUR ḥašimur attabalkat]*  
 196') *a-na KUR nam-ri at-[ta-rad ianzû šar KUR namri ultu pān kakkīia]*  
 197') *dan-nu-ti ip-láḫ-ma [ana šuzub napšātišu ēli URU siḫišalaḫ]*  
 198') URU.É-ta-mul URU *[bīt-šakki URU bīt-šēdi ālānišu dannūti]*  
 199') KUR-ud GAZ-šú-nu *a-d[uk šallassu ašlula ālāni appul aqur]*  
 200') *[ina I]ZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-up [...]*  
 201') *[x x] x ur ri [...]*  
 Lacuna  
 215') *a-na [ra-ma]-[ni<sup>1</sup>-[ia a]š-bat si-pi-[ša akšur ekal šubat šarrūtiia]*
- 216') *ina lib-[bi a]d-di [ina 26] BALA.MEŠ-ia [7-šú] KUR ḥa-ma-a-n[u attabalkat 4-šú]*  
 217') *[ana UR]U.MEŠ-ni šá <sup>m</sup>ka-ti-i KUR qa-ú-a-a a-lik UR[U tanakun]*  
 218') *[āl dan]-nu-ti-šú šá <sup>m</sup>tu-ul-li al-<sup>l</sup>me<sup>1</sup> pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me [ša aššur bēliia]*  
 219') *[is-ḫu-p]u-šú ú-šu-ni GÌR.II-ia iṣ-bu-tu li-ṭí.MEŠ-šú aš-bat [KÛ.BABBAR]*  
 220') [KÛ.G]I AN.BAR GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ *ma-da-tu-šú am-ḫur-šú TA URU <sup>r</sup>al-na-[ku-u]n*  
 221') *[at]-tu-muš a-na KUR-e KUR la-me-na-<sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup> al-lik UN.MEŠ ig-du-ur-ru KUR-ú [maršu]*  
 222') *[iṣ]-šab-tu KUR ú-ba-an KUR-e a-si-bi ak-ta-šad <sup>r</sup>GAZ<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu a-[duk]*  
 223') *[š]al-la-su-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu UDU še-ni-šú-nu TA qé-reb KUR-e ú-še-ri-d[a ālānišunu]*  
 224') *ap-pūl a-qur ina IZI GÍBIL-up a-<sup>r</sup>na URU tar<sup>1</sup>-zi <sup>r</sup>al-lik<sup>1</sup> GÌR.II-ia iṣ-šab-tu KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI*  
 225') *ma-da-ta-šú-nu am-<sup>r</sup>ḫur<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>ki-[ir-ri]-<sup>l</sup>i<sup>1</sup> ŠEŠ-šú šá <sup>m</sup>ka-ti-i a-n[a MAN-<sup>r</sup>ṭi]*  
 226') *<sup>r</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu áš-kun ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia a-na KUR ḥa-ma-a-ni*

(and) (185') went down to [...]. I captured (and) plundered the city Ue[taš ...]. To the city Tagaru [...]. They came to me [...]. I received booty (and) tribute. (190') Moving on from [...] I approached the city [...]. The fearful radiance [of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them (and)] they abandoned [the city] to save [their lives. ...] I razed, [destroyed (and) burned] their cities. [I received gifts] from twenty kings of the land [Tabal].

195'–?) In my twenty-fourth regnal year [I crossed the Lower Zab, crossed Mount Ḥašimur], (and) went down to the land Namri. [Ianzû, king of the land Namri], took fright [in face of my] mighty [weapons and ran away to save his life]. I captured [Siḫišalaḫ], Bīt-Tamul, [Bīt-Šakki, (and) Bīt-Šēdi, his fortified cities]. I massacred them, [plundered them, razed, destroyed, (and)] (200') burned [(those) cities. ...]

Lacuna

?–216'a) [In my twenty-fifth regnal year ... Upon my return] I took over [as a fortress] (215') for myself [Mūru, the fortified city of Aramu, the man of Bīt-Agūsi. I rebuilt its] gateways (and) founded therein [a palace as my royal residence].

216'b–227') [In] my [twenty-sixth] regnal year [I crossed] the Amanus range [for the seventh time]. I marched [for a fourth time to the] cities of Katê, the Qeau (Qau). I surrounded [Tanakun], the fortified [city] of Tullu. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance [of Aššur, my lord], he came out (and) submitted to me. I took hostages from him (and) received from him tribute of [silver], (220') gold, iron, oxen, (and) sheep. Moving on from the city Tanakun I marched to Mount Lamenaš. The people became frightened (and) took to the [rugged] mountain. I laid siege to the mountain peak (and) captured (it). I massacred them (and) brought down from the mountain plunder consisting of oxen (and) sheep. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned [their cities]. I marched to the city Tarsus. (The people) submitted to me (and) (225') I received tribute from them of silver (and) gold. I appointed Kirrî, the brother of Katê, as sovereign over them. Upon my return I ascended the Amanus range, cut down cedar timbers, (and) carried them back to my city, Aššur.

194' For the restoration see lines 170'–72'.

221' *la-me-na-<sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>*: The *áš* is reasonably clear in the copy and Hulin reads this without question in his draft transliteration. There is no legible photo for this line.

- 227') [e]-li GIŠ.GU.ŠUR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni a-ki-si  
 áš-šá-a a-na URU-ia aš-šur.†KI ub<sup>1</sup>-la
- 228') [ina] †27† BALA.MEŠ-ia GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ  
 ÉRIN.ĤI.A-ia ad-ki †DI.KUD-aš-šur  
 †tur-ta-nu<sup>1</sup> GAL ÉRIN.ĤI.A.M[ÉŠ]
- 229') DAGAL ina pa-na-at ÉRIN.ĤI.A-ia a-na  
 K[UR] ú-ra-ar-tí
- 230') †ú-ma<sup>1</sup>-<sup>2</sup>e-er áš-pur a-na É [KUR za]-ma-a-ni  
 †it-ta-rad<sup>1</sup>
- 231') ina †né<sup>1</sup>-re-be šá URU am-maš KU<sub>4</sub>-†ub ÍD<sup>1</sup>  
 <ar>-ša-ni-a †e-bir<sup>1</sup>
- 232') †se<sup>1</sup>-e-du-ri KUR ú-ra-a[†r-†]a-a-iš-†me-ma<sup>1</sup>
- 233') a-na gi-piš um-ma-ni-†šú<sup>1</sup> ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di it-ta-[kil]-  
 ma
- 234') a-na DÜ-eš MURUB<sub>4</sub> MÈ a-na GABA-ia it-  
 †ba-a<sup>1</sup> it-[ti-š]ú
- 235') am-dah-†hi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú †áš-kun<sup>1</sup> ADDA  
 †qu<sup>1</sup>-ra-†di<sup>1</sup>-šú †EDIN<sup>1</sup>
- 236') DAGAL-šú ú-ma[-al-li pi]t-†hal-lu-†šú ma<sup>1</sup>-a<sup>2</sup>-  
 †du<sup>1</sup> [ú-nu]-ut MÈ-šú
- 237') e-kim-šú a-na šu-zu-ub †ZI<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú [ana  
 šadē] †mar<sup>1</sup>-šī
- 238') †e<sup>1</sup>-li URU un-zu-†mu(?)<sup>1</sup>-ni(?)<sup>1</sup>-x [x š]u-bat  
 [...]
- 239') a-di URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-m[e]-tu-[šú]
- 240') ap-†pù<sup>1</sup> a-qur ina [I]ZI áš-ru-up
- 241') pu-[ul-†hi m]e-[lam]-me [šarrūtīia]
- 242') UGU-[(...)]-šú-nu
- 243') at-b[†u-uk]
- 244') ina me-[†taqīia(?) (...)] URU ú(?)<sup>1</sup>-r]a-áš  
 [†al MA]N-ti-†šú šá †al-si-an-n[†a(?)<sup>1</sup>] KUR-ud
- 245'-54') (traces)
- 255') [x (x)].MEŠ [...]
- 256') KUR x x ri x [...]
- 257') URU.†MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú ap-p[†ul ...]
- 258') [a(?)<sup>1</sup>]-na [...] x x x x
- 259') a-n[a ...]
- 260') a-na [... GIŠ].†GIGIR(?)<sup>1</sup>[...] x-šú
- 261') NÍG.GA-šú [x].MEŠ-šú [x x (x).M]EŠ-šú
- 262') x [x] šá a-[...] x
- 263') ma-da-tú šá [...]
- 264') KUR †pad(?)<sup>1</sup>-ma(?)<sup>1</sup>-[x] x x [...]
- 265') x [...] †al<sup>1</sup>-[†lik(?) ...]
- 266') ina [KUR] né-re-be [...]
- 267') ina [x] URU x [...]
- 268') [ina 28 palēia k]i-i ina URU kal-†h[i u]s-ba-  
 ku-ni
- 269') [†tēmu utte]-ru-ni ša LÚ.MEŠ-†e KUR<sup>1</sup> pa-ti-  
 na-a-a
- 270') [†lubarni bēlšunu] i-du-ku †su-ur-ri la E[N  
 GIŠ].GU.ZA
- 271') [ana šarrūtī ina] muḥ-†hi-šú-nu iš-šú-ú  
 †DI.KUD-aš-šur [†tur]-ta-nu
- 272') [GAL ÉRIN.ĤI.A].MEŠ DAGAL ina pa-na-  
 at [É]RIN.ĤI.A.MEŠ-i[a]
- 273') [KA]RAŠ-ia ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-er áš-pur ÍD.A.RAD

228'-244') [In] my twenty-seventh regnal year I mustered my chariots (and) troops. (230') I issued orders (and) sent Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of my extensive army, to lead my army to Urartu. He went down to Bīt-Zamāni (and) entered the pass of the city Ammaš. He crossed the River (Ar)šana. When Sēduru the Urartian heard (of this), relying on the might of his mighty army he attacked to wage war and battle. (235') He\* fought with him, defeated him, (and) filled the wide plain with the corpses of his warriors. He took away from him (Sēduru) his numerous cavalry (and) his fighting equipment. To save his life he (Sēduru) ascended a rugged [mountain]. The city Unzumuni ..., abode of [...], together with the cities in its environs, (240') he\* razed, destroyed, (and) burned. He\* poured out upon them fear of the radiance of [my sovereignty]. In the course of [his\* campaign] he captured [Ur]aš, the royal [city] of Alsianna.

245'-267') No translation warranted.

268'-286'a) [In my twenty-eighth regnal year], while I was residing in Calah, [a report was sent] back to me that the people of the land Patinu had killed (270') [Lubarna, their lord], (and) appointed Surri, a non-royal person (lit. "a non-lord of a throne"), [as sovereign] over them. I issued orders and sent out Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of my extensive army, at the head of my army (and) camp. He crossed the Euphrates in flood and (275') pitched camp at Kinalua, his royal city. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of Aššur, my lord, Surri, a non-

231' URU am-maš KU<sub>4</sub>-†ub<sup>1</sup>; see the note to A.O.102.14 line 143.

238' URU un-zu-†mu(?)<sup>1</sup>-ni(?)<sup>1</sup>-x: this reading is based on Hulin's draft transliteration.

244' [URU ú(?)<sup>1</sup>-†r]a-áš: Cf. URU ú-ra-áš in A.O.103.1 iii 10.

- 274') [i]na mi-li-[-šá] e-bir ina URU ki-na-lu-a  
URU MAN-ti-šú  
275') ma-dàk-tú áš-kun <sup>m</sup>su-ur-ri la EN  
GIŠ.GU.ZA  
276') pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-mi šá aš-šur EN-ia is-ḫu-pu-  
šú-ma  
277') mu-ut NAM-šú il-lik LÚ.MEŠ-e KUR pa-ti-  
na-a-a  
278') TA pa-an na-mur-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia  
dan-nu-ti  
279') ip-la-ḫu-ma DUMU.MEŠ <sup>m</sup>su-ur-ri [a]l-di  
ÉRIN.MEŠ EN ḫi-i-tí  
280') uš-šab-bi-tu it-tan-nu-ni ÉRIN.MEŠ šú-nu-ti  
ina ga-ši-ši  
281') ú-rat-ti <sup>m</sup>[sa]-a-si DUMU kur-u[š-š]a-a  
[GÌR].II-ia iṣ-bat  
282') ana MAN-ti a-na muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu áš-kun  
283') KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI AN.NA ZABAR  
AN.BAR ZÚ AM.SI  
284') a-na la ma-ni am-ḫur-šú-[nu-ti] ṣa-[lam]  
MAN-ti-a  
285') šur-ba-a DÙ-uš ina URU ki-na-lu-a URU  
MAN-ti-šú  
286') ina É DINGIR.ME[Š-šú ú-še]-ziz ina  
29 BAL[A].MEŠ-ia  
287') [E]RIN.ḪI.A KARÁŠ ú-[ma]- 'e-er áš-pur a-  
na KUR ḫab-ḫi  
288') e-li URU.MEŠ-[-šú]-nu at-ta-pal at-ta-qar  
289') ina IZI a-sa-rap KUR-[su-nu] a-bu-ba-ni-[i]š  
290') áš-pu-un pu-ul-ḫi me-[am-me U]GU-šú-[nu]  
at-bu-uk  
291') [ina 30 BA]LA.MEŠ-ia ki-i ina URU k[al]-ḫi  
us-ba-ku-ni  
292') <sup>m</sup>D[I.KU]D-aš-šur LÚ tur-ta-nu GAL  
ÉRIN.ḪI.A DAGAL  
293') [ina] pa-na-at um-ma-ni-ia ú-ma- 'e-er áš-pur  
294') Í[D] za-[ba] e-[b]ir ána ŠÁ URU.MEŠ-ni  
295') šá URU ḫu-bu-uš-ka-a [iq]-[tí]-rib  
296') [ma-d]a-tu šá <sup>m</sup>da-ta-[na URU ḫu-bu-u]š-ka-  
a-a  
297') [at-t]a-ḫar TA ŠÁ URU.MEŠ-ni [šá URU  
ḫu]-bu-uš-ka-a-a  
298') [at-t]u-muš a-na [libbi] URU.MEŠ-ni [šá]  
<sup>m</sup>ma-ag-du-bi  
299') [KUR ma]-al-ḫi-s[a-a]-[a]l iq-ḫi-[rib] ma-da-  
tu-šú am-ḫur  
300') [ultu libbi] URU.[MEŠ] šá URU [malḫis]-a-a  
it-[u]-muš  
301') [ana libbi] URU.[MEŠ]-ni ša <sup>m</sup>ú-[da-ki KUR  
man-n]a-a-a iq-[tí]-rib  
302') [<sup>m</sup>ú-da]-ki KUR <man>-na-a-[a TA p]a-a[n  
na-mu]r-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.[MEŠ]-ia  
303') [dannúte] ip-laḫ-ma URU [zi]-ir-ta [URU  
MAN-t]i-šú ú-maš-šir  
304') [ana šú-z]u-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú e-li ar-ki-šú  
305') [artedi] GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú UDU ṣe-ni-šú  
NÍG.ŠU-šú  
306') [ana lā māni] ú-ter-ra URU.MEŠ-ni ap-púl

royal person, departed this life. The people of the land Patinu took fright in face of the flash of my strong weapons and laying hold of the sons of Surri, together with the guilty soldiers, (280') they handed (them) over to him.\* He hung those soldiers on stakes. Sāsi, a man of the land Kuruššā, submitted to him\* (and) he\* appointed (him) to sovereignty over them. He\* received from them silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron, (and) elephant ivory without measure. (285') He created my colossal royal statue (and) erected (it) in Kinalua, his royal city, in the temple of his gods.

286' b–290') In my twenty-ninth regnal year I gave orders (and) sent out (my) army (and) camp. He went up to the land Ḫabḫu, razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities, (and) annihilated their land like a flood, (thus) (290') spreading my radiant fearfulness over them.

291'–320' a) [In my thirtieth] regnal year, while I was residing in Calah, I gave orders (and) sent out Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of my extensive army, at the head of my army. Crossing the River Zab he approached the cities (295') belonging to the city Ḫubuškia. He\* received tribute from Datana, the Ḫubuškaean. Moving on from the cities belonging to the city Ḫubuškia he approached the cities of Magdubu, the Malḫisaeen, (and) received tribute. (300') Moving on from the cities of the city Malḫisā he approached the cities of Udaku the Mannaean. Udaku the Mannaean took fright in face of the flash of my [strong] weapons and abandoned Zirtu, his royal city, (and) ran away to save his life. (305') [He\* went] after him (and) brought away his oxen, sheep, (and) property [without measure]. He\* razed, [destroyed], (and) burned his cities. Moving on from the land of Mannaš he approached the cities of Šulusunu of the land Ḫarna (or Ḫir/Kin/Murna). He captured Masašuru, (310') his royal city, together with the cities in its environs. He\* spared Šulusunu, together with his sons, (and) brought him back to his land. He\* imposed upon him a tax (and) tribute of (315') teams of horses. He approached the city Paddira (and) received tribute from Artasari, the Paddiraeen. He\* went down to the land Parsua (and) received

299' [KUR ma]-al-ḫi-s[a-a]-[a]l: The parallel passage in A.O.102.14 line 163 (and cf. line 164) has KUR ma-da-ḫi-sa-a-a.

- 307') [aqqur ina išāti áš]-ru-up TA KUR man-na-áš  
 308') [it]-tu-[muš ana] URU.MEŠ-ni ša mšu-lu-su-nu  
 309') [KUR H]AR-na i[q-tí]-rib URU ma-sa-šu-ru  
 310') [URU MA]N-ti-šú a-di [URU.M]EŠ-ni ša li-mi-tú-šú  
 311') [KUR]-ud mšu-lu-su-nu a-[di] DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 312') [r]e-mu-tu áš-ku-na-šú  
 313') [a-n]a [KUR-šú<sup>1</sup> ú-ti[r-šú<sup>1</sup>]  
 314') [bilta ma-d]a-tú  
 315') [ANŠE].KUR.RA.[MEŠ LAL]-at GIŠ ni-r[i]  
 316') [UGU<sup>1</sup>-šú áš-kun a-na [URU<sup>1</sup> pad(\*)-di-ra iq-tí-rib ma-da-tu ša m<sup>a</sup>ra-ta-sa-ri  
 317') URU pad(\*)-di-ra-a-a at-ta-ḫar a-na KUR pár-su-a at-ta-rad  
 318') ma-da-tu ša MAN.MEŠ-ni ša KUR pár-su-a i-ta-ḫar si-ta-at  
 319') KUR pár-su-a la ma-gi-ru-te aš-šur URU.MEŠ-šú-nu KUR-ud šal-la-su-nu  
 320') NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu a-na<sup>1</sup> KUR aš-šur [u]b-<la> ina 31 MU.ME[Š]-ia ša-nu-te-šu pu-ru(\*)  
 321') ina IGI aš-šur [IŠKUR ak-ru-ru ina u<sub>3</sub>-m[i-šú-m]a ki-i ina URU kal-ḫi us-ba-ku-ni  
 322') [DI.KUD-aš-šur [LÚ tur<sup>1</sup>-ta-nu GAL ÉRIN.ḪI.A-[ia rapšūti ina pānāt ummānīia]  
 323') KARAŠ-ia ú-ma-'e-er áš-pur a-na [ālāni ša mdatā]  
 324') [KUR] ḫu-[bu-u]š-[ka<sup>1</sup>-a-a iq-tí-rib ma-d[a-tú-šú amḫuršú]  
 325') [a]-na URU zap-pa-ri-a UR[U] dan-nu-ti-[šú ša KUR mušasira allik]  
 326') [KUR<sup>1</sup> zap-[pa-ri<sup>1</sup>-a a-di 146 URU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-1 ni ša<sup>1</sup> [URU] mu-[šasirāiia akšud adi birāte]  
 327') ša KUR [ú<sup>1</sup>-[ra-ar-ta]-a-a [al-lik<sup>1</sup> URU.MEŠ-ni-[šú-nu appul aqqur]  
 328') ina IZI áš-r[u-up a]-na KUR gí[l-za-a-n]i at-ta-rad [maddattu ša mupū]  
 329') KUR gíl-[za]-na-a-a [KUR] man-na-a-a [KUR(?)<sup>1</sup> ga-bu-ri-1 sa<sup>1</sup>-a-1 a<sup>1</sup> [KUR ḫarrānāiia]  
 330') KU[R šá-áš]-ga-[na-a-a] KUR an-dí-a-a [KUR(?)<sup>1</sup> x-bi-ra-a-a GU<sub>2</sub>.ME[Š] UDU.MEŠ]  
 331') [ANŠE.KUR.RA<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ LAL]-at ni-ri [am-ḫur<sup>1</sup> [a]-na [UR]U.MEŠ-ni ša [KUR x-x-x]  
 332') at-ta-rad URU pi-ir<sub>2</sub>-ri-a [URU š]i-ti-1 ú<sup>1</sup>-ar-[i]a [ālānišú]  
 333') dan-nu-ti a-di 22 URU.MEŠ-ni [ša li]-me-tu-šú [appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup]  
 334') pu-ul-1 ḫi<sup>1</sup> me-lam-me UGU-š[ú-nu atbuk ana ālāni]

tribute from the kings of the land Parsua. He conquered the cities of the rest of the land Parsua, which was insubmissive to Aššur, (and) brought their captives (and) property to Assyria.

320<sup>b</sup>-341<sup>a</sup>) In my thirty-first regnal year, (when) I threw the die for a second time before Aššur (and) the god Adad: at that time, while I remained residing in Calah, I gave orders (and) sent out Daiiān-Aššur, the field marshal, chief of [my extensive army, at the head of my army] (and) camp. He approached [the cities of Datā], the Ḫubuškaean, (and) [received] tribute from him. (325') [He\* marched] to Zapparia, the fortified city [of the land Mušasir]. He captured Zapparia, together with forty-six cities belonging to the people of Mu[šasir]. He\* marched [as far as the fortresses] of the land of the Urartians (and) [razed, destroyed], (and) burned their cities. He\* went down to the land Gilzānu (and) received [tribute from Upū], the Gilzānean, the Mannaeans, the inhabitants of the city Gaburisu, and of the lands [Ḫarrānia, (330') Šašgānu, Andia, ...biru: oxen, [sheep], (and) harness-trained horses. He\* went down to the cities of [the land ... (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned] the cities Pirria (and) Šitiuaria, fortified [cities], together with twenty-two cities in the environs. [(Thus) he\* spread] my radiant fearfulness over them. He marched [to the cities] (335') of the land Parsua (and) captured the cities P[uštu, Šalaḫamānu, Ki]niḫamānu, [fortified] cities, [together with twenty-three] cities in their environs. [He\* massacred them (and)] plundered them. He\* went down to the land Namri. Overwhelmed by fear of the radiance of [Aššur (and) the god Marduk they] abandoned their cities and ascended a [rugged]

307' man-na-áš: the parallel passage in A.0.102.14 line 168 also has man-na-áš.

309' [H]AR-na: see the note to A.0.102.14 line 168.

316'-317' pad(\*)-: text šur-. See the note to A.0.102.6 iii 62.

320' ru(\*)-: text has -NA. Cf. A.0.102.14 line 174. "(when) I threw the die for a second time ...": this means the second time Shalmaneser held the office of eponym.

329' [KUR(?)<sup>1</sup> ga-bu-ri-1 sa<sup>1</sup>-a-1 a<sup>1</sup>]: cf. [UR]U <ga>-bu-ri-sa-a-a in A.0.102.14 line 181.

- 335') ʿša<sup>1</sup> [KUR *pār*]-su-a-a ʿil-lik<sup>1</sup> URU p[u-uš-tu  
URU *šalaḥamānu*]  
336') [URU *ki*]-ni-ḥa-ma-nu URU.MEŠ-[šú  
*dannūte adi 23 URU.MEŠ*]-ni  
337') ʿšá<sup>1</sup> li-mi-tu-šú-nu ʿKUR<sup>1</sup>-ud [dīktašunu adūk  
*šallassunu*] áš-lu-[la]  
338') [a]-na KUR *nam-ri at-ta-rad pu-ul-ḥi me-  
lam-me ša [aššur marduk is-ḥu-pu]-šú-nu*  
339') URU.MEŠ-[ni-šú]-nu [ú-maš-ši-r]u a-na  
ʿKUR<sup>1</sup>-e [mur-ši] e-ʿli<sup>1</sup>-ú [2 M]E ʿ50<sup>1</sup>  
[ālánišunu]  
340') at-ʿta-pal<sup>1</sup> [attaqar ina] IZI a-ʿsa-rap<sup>1</sup> [ina  
*ne-r*]e-be ša KUR s[i-me]-si ina SAG  
341') [KUR *ḥal-ma*]-an [ūrida <sup>d</sup>ninurta u] <sup>d</sup>IG[I.DU  
*ša*] SANGA-ti ʿi<sup>1</sup>-ram-mu  
342') [bu]-ʿul<sup>1</sup> [šēri ušatlimūnima] ʿe<sup>1</sup>-pi-iš ba-ʿu-ú-  
ri  
343') ʿiq-bu-ú<sup>1</sup>-ni x [x x].ME[Š] 6 ME 40  
UR.MAḤ.MEŠ ʿ40(?)<sup>1</sup> AM.SI.MEŠ  
344') [x].ʿANŠE.TUR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ [ina]  
GI[Š.GIGIR.MEŠ-ia] ʿpa-tu-ti<sup>1</sup> ina ʿqi<sup>1</sup>-it-ru-  
ub EN-ia a-duk  
345') ʿ28(?)<sup>1</sup> AZ.MEŠ-te [...] ʿa<sup>1</sup>-di 5  
DĀRA.MAŠ.MEŠ [x x (x)]  
346') x ME 12 [...].MEŠ 51 ŠAḤ GIŠ.GI.MEŠ  
347') [x] ME 22 [... ni]-im-me-ra-a-ni 1 se-en-  
ʿku-ru<sup>1</sup> [(...)]  
348') ʿ2 LIM<sup>1</sup> [2 GIŠ.GIGIR].ME[Š] ʿ5 LIM 5(?)  
ME<sup>1</sup> 42 pit-ḥal-lu a-na Á.MEŠ KUR-i[a a]k-  
sur

mountain. (340') He\* razed, [destroyed], (and)  
burned 250 of [their cities. He went down through  
the] pass of Mount Simesi before the land [Ḥalm]an.

341'b-347') The gods [Ninurta and] Nergal, who  
love my priesthood, [gave to me the wild] beasts  
and commanded me to hunt. I killed from my ...  
chariot [N *wild bulls*], 640 lions, 40(?) elephants,  
(and) [N] ... with my lordly assault. (345') [(I  
*captured*)] 28(?) female bears, [...] together with five  
*aiialu*-deer, [...], N hundred and twelve [...], 51  
marsh pigs, [N] hundred and twenty-two [...],  
panthers, (and) one *senkurru*.

348') I hitched up 2,00[2] chariots (and equipped)  
5,542 cavalry for the forces of my land.

## 17

This unusual text is as much poetic literature as it is a royal inscription, but since it narrates a military campaign in some detail, it has been included here. It is inscribed on a clay tablet found at Ḥuzirina (modern Sultantepe), on the Upper Baliḥ River, among a large number of library tablets excavated there in 1951. It begins (lines 1–9) with an invocation of gods, followed by the name of the king and epithets, largely restored, and a brief statement regarding the defeat of Tīl-Barsip and the land Ḥatti. The text continues (lines 10–15) with the king's commands to Aššur-bēl-ka''in, his field marshal, to keep the region secure while the king leads a campaign against Urartu. Then (lines 16–30) the king exhorts his officers to mobilize their soldiers and take up arms for the noble venture against Urartu. The troops march out and details are given (lines 31–57) of the conquests en route, the booty taken, the massive destruction, and the capture and looting of the Urartian capital, ʿTurušpā. The text concludes (lines 58–65) with a description of the king celebrating the festival of Ištar at Arbail and his ceremonial entrance into Baltil, the oldest quarter of the city Aššur.

347' [ni]-im-me-ra-a-ni: a plural form of *nimru*. Cf. RIMA 2 p. 226 line 37: *ni-im-ri.MEŠ se-en-kur-ri.MEŠ*.

347' Is there a verb missing at the end of the line? If not, then the sentence continues with line 348', but this is odd. In his draft transliteration Hulin says that possibly nothing is missing.

Because of the broken state of the text, there is uncertainty as to which king is involved. The original editor, Lambert, and most subsequent commentators, including myself, have identified the king as Shalmaneser III. The role played by Aššur-bēl-ka<sup>1</sup> in, field marshal and eponym for 856 BC, is a major clue pointing to the third regnal year of Shalmaneser III as the year in which these events took place. But Reade has argued that Ashurnasirpal II is a possibility. It is beyond the limits of this series of editions to discuss this in detail.

This is not a normal royal inscription for it is in poetry and there is extensive use of direct speech. These are characteristics of epics, but this text is not an epic of a type otherwise known in Assyria. Nor is it like the “Heroic Poem” (see Hurowitz and Westenholz, JCS 42 (1990) pp. 1–49), which lacks the specific details of our text. Apart from the poetry and direct speech, it has the general form of a royal inscription: invocation of the gods, royal name and epithets, narrative of a campaign, and offerings to the gods. There is even some fluctuation between third and first person (in line 39 there is a sudden switch to first person and then back to third person in line 59 or 61), a common phenomenon in Assyrian royal inscriptions.

The text may well have been composed to be read out in the city Aššur during the formal celebration, mentioned at the end of the text, of the successful completion of the campaign. The letter to the god of Sargon II was read out on a similar occasion, celebrating the completion of that king’s eighth campaign.

In the translation I have given a line-by-line rendition in order to reflect the poetic nature of the text, but I have not attempted to turn the Akkadian into English poetry.

## COMMENTARY

The tablet (S.U. 51/110) is in the Archaeological Museum in Ankara and since the inscription was copied by Gurney and edited by Lambert, and later

Livingstone (with photos), further collation was unnecessary. The tablet measures 12.8×7.3 cm.

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## TEXT

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>1) [ḏaššur(?) bēlu rabû(?) bēl K]UR.KUR.MEŠ<br/>[re<sup>1</sup>-u-u ša DŪ ma-li-ki<sup>1</sup></p> <p>2) [x x x x x-]i(?) ša-qu-u-te be-let<br/>URU.NINA.KI</p> <p>3) [x x x x x] x x x x-i mi-šá-ri</p> <p>4) [...]x kiš-šá-<sup>1</sup>tú<sup>1</sup></p> <p>5) [x x x x] x [a<sup>1</sup>] x [x] x x [x x x g]a-<sup>1</sup>mil<sup>1</sup></p> <p>6) [ip]-taq-du-ka<sup>4</sup>be-lum<sup>4</sup>a-ni K[UR.MEŠ-e(?)<br/>ru]-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-qu-te</p> | <p>1) [God Aššur, great lord, lord of] the lands,<br/>shepherd of all princes;</p> <p>2) [Goddess Ištar ...] lofty, mistress of Nineveh;</p> <p>3) [God Šamaš ...] ... justice;</p> <p>4) [Shalmaneser ...] the universe,</p> <p>5) [...] ... [...] ...</p> <p>6) The gods Bēl (and) Anu entrusted to you the<br/>distant [mountains].</p> |
|--|--|

1 Almost certainly the list of gods invoked began with Aššur followed by *bēlu rabû* “great lord” (see A.O.102.2 line 1; A.O.102.6 i 1; A.O.102.14 line 1; also note RIMA 2 p. 12 i 1, p. 238 i 1, p. 263 line 1, and p. 316 obv. 1). The next epithet obviously is [EN K]UR.KUR.MEŠ although *bēl mātāti* “lord of the lands” is normally an epithet of Enlil in NA royal invocations; see the note to RIMA 2 p. 164 line 3. The third epithet *rē ū ša kal mālikī* is otherwise unknown.

4 Any restoration is speculative before *kiš-šá-<sup>1</sup>tú<sup>1</sup>*. Lambert has [... *muš-te-šī*]r “who directs” and Livingstone has [...-k]a “[gave] you.”

5 Livingstone reads [... *ta-g*]a-<sup>1</sup>mil<sup>1</sup> “[you] spare.” Schramm reads [... DŪG].GA-iš “well, kindly.”

- 7) [ARA]D *ek-šu* DUMU <sup>m</sup>*a-di-ni ib-ri-šú* x [x x x x x x]
- 8) [UR]U.DU<sub>6</sub>*bar-si-pí ma-ḫa-zu dan-nu ina* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR x x [x x]
- 9) LUGAL.MEŠ *šá KUR ḫat-ti ú-šaḫ-ri-ru šu-bat-šú-nu*
- 10) <*ana*> <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-EN-GIN LÚ tur-ta-nu ka-a ši-li-te iq-bi*
- 11) URU.ḪAL.ŠU.MEŠ *lu pa-aq-dan-nik-ka lu dan-nat* EN.NUN-*ka*
- 12) *lu-u* KAL-*an ri-kis-ka mu-ḫur bi-lat-su-nu*
- 13) *mal-ku šá KUR ḫat-ti ina* GÌR.II-*ia, ú-šak-ni-su-<nu>*
- 14) *lul-lik šá KUR ur-ar-ṭa-a-a lu-u-mur qa-rab-šú-nu*
- 15) *ša qá-aq(\*)-qar me-e la* A.MEŠ *lu-rid* LUḪ x x-*ni* MU-*ra*
- 16) *i-ši-mi-di* <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-PAB-AŠ KUR na-’i-ru* x [x x]-*de-ki*
- 17) *i-ta-na-am-mar a-na* LÚ.GAL.MEŠ-*šú šip-tu ana* LÚ(?).[ÉRIN.MEŠ-*šú*] SUM-*nu*
- 18) *šam-ru-te qu-ra-du-ú-a ina* KIŠ-*ri* [x x] AN
- 19) *gi-ir-ri* <sup>d</sup>*a-šur ana šal-la-li al-lak* [x x x Š]Ā(?)*-ku-nu*
- 20) *lu-še-la-a* GÍR.MEŠ AN.BAR ŠU-*uk-nu*-[x x x] x
- 21) GIŠ.GAG.U<sub>4</sub>.TAG.GA-*e še-lu-u-ti ina lib-bi* x [x x x x] x
- 22) *si-ri* AN.BAR *ina* UGU ANŠE.KUR.RA *lul-...*
- 23) *gap-šá-a-te e-mu-qe-ku-nu la ta-x-...*
- 24) *ša ur-di* KUR *ur-ár-ṭa-a-a* MURUB<sub>4</sub> x [...]
- 25) <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur ú-tak-kil-an-ni ú-r*[*u-uh* ...]
- 26) *is-sa-’a* UN.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur.KI zik-<sup>1</sup>[ru-ti(?) ...]*
- 27) <sup>1</sup>*de-eq<sup>1</sup>-tú DÜG.GA <<LA>> a-dan-niš a-na be-lu*[*m* ...]
- 28) <sup>1</sup>*a-lik<sup>1</sup> be-lum* <sup>1</sup>LUGAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-*ni da-ás* x [...]
- 29) <sup>1</sup>*MAŠ.MAŠ ina* IGI-*ka lil-lik* <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.B[AR ...]
- 30) [x x] x *ina qí-bit pi-i-ka ni-im-la* [...]
- 31) [*it-ti*]*a-šu-u-nu i-ša-an-du ša ḫa-an-ti*[*iš* x x] x-*ki*
- 32) [x x *t*]*a-ḫa-zi-šú ki-ma na-aḫ-x* x x KAL
- 33) [x x x] <sup>1</sup>*ak(\*)-kul(\*)<sup>1</sup>-lat* AN.BAR *mul-mul-lum* [x x x x]
- 34) [*šadê(?)*] *dan-nu-ti ḫur-šá-ni b*[*i(?)*]-*r*[*u-ti(?)*] x x x x]
- 35) [x x x x x] x GUR GUR <sup>1</sup>*su<sup>1</sup> u nu na uk-ta-a*-[x x x x x]
- 36) [x x x x x]-*x a-di* KUR *su-ub-ri* GIM x [...]
- 7) The obstinate slave of Bīt-Adini (and) his allies, [they (the gods) *defeated*],
- 8) The city Tīl-Barsip, the fortified town, they (the gods) burned,
- 9) The kings of the land Ḫatti, they (the gods) destroyed their abodes.
- 10) He (*Shalmaneser*) spoke ... to Aššur-bēl-ka<sup>2</sup> in, the field marshal:
- 11) “The forts are entrusted to you, make your guard strong
- 12) “Keep your companies secure in order to take their tribute
- 13) “The princes of the land Ḫatti I have subdued,
- 14) “So I will go to experience warfare with the Urartians,
- 15) “I will go down to see whether it is a region with or without water.” Thus he spoke.
- 16) (As) Ashurnasirpal harnessed up for the land Nairi, he (*Shalmaneser*) mustered [*the troops*].
- 17) He kept meeting with his officers so that they would bring discipline to [*his troops*].
- 18) “[*Divide*] my furious warriors into *companies*,
- 19) “For I am going to plunder on a campaign of the god Aššur. *Have courage* (lit. ‘[...] your hearts’)
- 20) “Let the swords be sharp [which I put] into your hands,
- 21) “[*I put*] sharp arrows into [*your quivers*],
- 22) “I [*fasten*] iron armour upon the horses,
- 23) “Do not [*mislead*] your massive forces
- 24) “[*Do not fear*] the warfare of the Urartian slave
- 25) “The god Aššur has encouraged me [*to march*] on the road [to Urartu],
- 26) “The people of Assyria have shouted, [*they have praised my*] *heroism*:
- 27) “ “[*Upon you be*] the best of blessings to gain dominion [*over your foes*]
- 28) “ ‘March, O lord of kings, *crush* [*the enemies of Aššur*]
- 29) “ ‘Let the god Nergal march before you, let the god Girra [*come behind*]
- 30) “ ‘At your command [...]!’ ”
- 31) They went forth in formation, *quickly marching on*,
- 32) [The ... of] his battle was *mighty* like ...
- 33) [*They were equipped with*] iron picks (and) [...] arrows,
- 34) [*They traversed*] *mighty* [*mountains*] (and) *remote* highlands.
- 35) [...] ... [...]
- 36) [...] as far as the land Subru [...]

8 After <sup>d</sup>GIŠ.BAR Lambert restores <sup>1</sup>*tul<sup>1</sup>-t[a-pit]* (<sup>1</sup>*tul<sup>1</sup>-t[a-alpit]* cf. Schramm) “you have *burnt*” and Livingstone has <sup>1</sup>*ki-i ú<sup>1</sup>-[x x]* “having [put] to fire.”

9 *ú-šaḫ-ri-ru*: cf. Borger, BiOr 14 (1957) p. 119b (to “S. 87f”).

15 *-aq(\*)*:- text ZI.

22 *si-ri* for *si-ri-am*: cf. Lambert.

33 <sup>1</sup>*ak(\*)-kul(\*)<sup>1</sup>-lat*: text has <sup>1</sup>*kul(?)<sup>1</sup>-ak<sup>1</sup>-lat*.

- 37) [*ina huršāni(?)*] <sup>1</sup>*bi*-ru-ti <sup>1</sup>*it-ti*<sup>1</sup>-kil(\*) *ina* U[GU ...]
- 38) [*šadê(?)*]-e KUR *ur-ár*-[*ta*<sup>1</sup>-*a-a ha-an-tiš* x [...]
- 39) [*ālī da*]n-nu-te *ak-ta-šad dan-na-at us*-[*saḥ-ri-i*]b
- 40) [*x-z*]u-uz-zu <sup>md</sup>*aš-šur*-PAB-AŠ *us*-[*sa(?)*]<sup>1</sup>-x-x-x-šú-nu
- 41) [*ina* UD] 1.KAM šá ITI.<sup>1</sup>KIN<sup>1</sup> *ina* URU LUGAL-ti-[*šú a*](?)<sup>1</sup>-*sa-ni-qí*
- 42) LUGAL.<sup>1</sup>ME *ti*<sup>1</sup>-*iš-re-e it-ta*-[x x x]-*bi-šú-nu*
- 43) *me-lam-me šá* EN *kib-rat i-x-x* UGU-šú-nu
- 44) *e-ta-az-bu* URU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ina* [*šadê*]-e u GIŠ.<sup>1</sup>TIR<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *e-tar-bu*
- 45) LÚ *a*-[*a*<sup>1</sup>-*um-ma ana na-piš*-[*ti*<sup>1</sup> *ana* KUR-e *nan-an-du-ru*-[*ti* KU<sub>4</sub>](?)<sup>1</sup>]-[*bu*](?)
- 46) *aš-bat* EGIR-šú-nu KUR-e *nam-ra-ši aṭ-ru-su-nu*
- 47) 18 LIM LÚ.KÚR *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL *ta-ḥa-zi uš-ta-mit*
- 48) *ki-i ri-ta-te* *ina* EDIN *at-ta-di na-áš-ma-su-nu*
- 49) ANŠE *pa-re-e* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ *aḥ-ta-bat ina la ma-né-e* <sup>1</sup>ANŠE *a-ga*<sup>1</sup>-*la*
- 50) NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú UD 9.KÁM *am-ta-ši-i* <sup>2</sup>
- 51) *ma-du-te da-ad-me-šú* *ina* ŠÀ IZI *as-sa-rap*
- 52) GÉME KUR-šú *ina* IGI-*at um-ma-ni-ia*(\*) *ár-di*
- 53) *e-ši ni-iz-mat* URU LUGAL-*u-ti-šú* *ina* ŠÀ IZI *as-sa-rap*
- 54) ALAM.MEŠ-*ni kiš-šú-ti-ia* *ina* KUR-e *u ta-ma-te u-ki-in*
- 55) *a-di IŠ* KA BAR KUR *na-ri-ri* *ana* <sup>1</sup>KUR *gíl-za-a*<sup>1</sup>-*ni at-ta-rad*
- 56) ANŠE.KUR.RA *ma-da-at-ti am-ḥur* URU *ti-ik-ki* URU *ḥu-bu-uš-ki-a*
- 57) <sup>1</sup>*re-eḥ*<sup>1</sup>-*te ma-da-na-ti at-ta-ḥar* URU *tu-ru*-[*uš*<sup>1</sup>-*pe-e*
- 58) x x x [x] x x x *x-a-ni* *ana* <sup>1</sup>*aš-šur*<sup>1</sup> DINGIR-*ia it-ta-x*
- 59) *ina ri-kis lib-bi* <sup>1</sup>*ana*<sup>1</sup> *é-ga*[*šan-kalam-m*]*a*(?) *e-ta-ra*[*b*]
- 60) *i-sin-nu šá be-let* URU.4-DINGIR x x [x] x KI x x x [...]
- 61) LUGAL *it-ti re-šá-a-te* *ina* URU *bal-til* <sup>1</sup>[*šú*](?)<sup>1</sup>-*bat* UR.MAḤ [...]
- 62) [x] x *ú-šam-qit it-ti nap-ḥar* [*b*]*i-lat-šú* *ana* [I]GI<sup>d</sup>INANNA [*e-ta-r*]*ab*
- 63) [x x] *x-su-qa* IGI.II-šú *ana u*[*l-x x x i*]*k-lta-rab*<sup>1</sup>
- 64) [x x x x] *x-a* *ana ra ši lu še* [x] *iq-ti-áš*
- 65) [...] x *x-ti ma-x* [x x] x x x KUR-[*k*]*a*
- 37) *He trusted* in the remote [*highlands*] ...
- 38) [*The mountains*] of the Urartians quickly [...]
- 39) I conquered the strong cities, I destroyed the fortresses.
- 40) ... Ashurnasirpal ...
- 41) [On the] first day of the month Elul I approached his royal city.
- 42) Kings ...
- 43) The brilliance of the lord of the (four) quarters overwhelmed them,
- 44) They abandoned their cities and fled into the mountains and forests,
- 45) Everyone ran for (their) lives into the terrible mountains.
- 46) I went after them, I pursued them in the rugged mountains,
- 47) I killed 18,000 enemies with the sword of battle,
- 48) I threw their teams onto the plain like ...
- 49) I plundered the mules, horses, (and) agaludonkeys without number,
- 50) For nine days I looted his palace possessions.
- 51) I burned his many settlements,
- 52) I drove the servant women of his land before my army.
- 53) The trees (which were) the attraction of his royal city, I burned,
- 54) Statues (proclaiming) my might I erected by mountains and seas.
- 55) As far as the ... of the land Nairi, to the land Gilzānu, I went down,
- 56) Horses as tribute I received in the cities Tikku (and) Ḥubuškia,
- 57) The rest of the tribute I received in the city Turušpā.
- 58) ... to Aššur my god ...
- 59) With the steadfast heart I entered *Ega*[*šankalam*]*a*,
- 60) The festival of the mistress of Arbail ... I celebrated.
- 61) The king [*sat down*] with joy upon the lion's seat in the city Baltil (Aššur),
- 62) He made [*his subjects*] fall flat, he entered into the presence of the goddess Ištar with all his booty.
- 63) [...] ... his eyes ... he blessed.
- 64) [...] ... he gave.
- 65) [...] ...

37 -kil(\*): text has PÚ.

43 i-x-x: Lambert reads *at-puk* "I poured out" and Livingstone reads *i-[t]ú(?)*-[*qut*](?)<sup>1</sup> "fell," but neither reading seems to fit the traces.

52 -ia(\*): the -a part of the sign is incomplete.

59 *é-ga*[*šan-kalam-m*]*a*(?): reading suggested by Lambert. Livingstone has É.GA[L(?)] x x x.60 After URU.4-DINGIR Livingstone restores <sup>1</sup>*ina* U[RU(?)] *mi-i*l(\*)<sup>1</sup>-*qí*-[*a*](?)<sup>1</sup>.



## 18

This text is on clay cones found at Aššur (cf. A.O.102.42) and, although the text is badly broken, the military narrative clearly concerns Shalmaneser's intervention in Babylonia in his ninth regnal year (850 BC). In particular note the references to Akkad (line 5'), Gann[anāte] (line 6'), Borsippa (line 11'), Baqānu (line 13'), and Bīt-Dakkuri (line 14'). Also note the abbreviated form Usātu (lines 7' and 9') for Marduk-bēl-usāti. The text is dated in 849 BC and records work on the walls of the Aššur temple. There seem to be no concluding blessings or curses.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines preserved	cpn
1	VA Ass 2102	11429	2468	Stone casing of inner wall of well, bD8III	13×9+	1'-22'	c
2	VA Ass 2103	5657	662	Centre of temple court, hEIV1	6×9+	13'-22'	c
3	A 3397	3975	—	—	—	16'-21'	c
4	A 3472	9490	1418	—	—	17'-21'	c

## COMMENTARY

The master text is a conflation of exs. 1 and 2. In Schramm, EAK 2 p. 98 correct "Ass 9460" to "Ass 9490" (ex. 4).

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| 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 84 and 98 (exs. 1-2, study)   |   |

## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') *a*-[...]  
 2') *šá* [...]  
 3') *ta-ni*-[*itti*(?) ...]  
 4') *ù u<sub>4</sub>-m*[*i*(?) ...]  
 5') *a-na* KUR.URI [...]  
 6') URU *ga-n*[*a-na-te* ...]  
 7') *mú-sa-t*[*u* ...]  
 8') KI-*šú* LU LU x [...]  
 9') *mú-sa-tu* x [...]  
 10') *ša* KI-*šú a-duk-šú* [...]

## Lacuna

1'-4') No translation warranted.

5'-15'a) [I marched] to the land Akkad [... (and surrounded) the city Gann[anāte ...] (Marduk-bēl)-usāti [...] with him ... [...] I killed/defeated (Marduk-bēl)-usāti [as well as the traitorous troops] who were with him. [I marched to Babylon] and Borsippa [and made sacrifices] before my gods. [I went down to

5'-7' Cf. A.O.102.14 lines 77-79.

9'-12' Cf. A.O.102.6 ii 47-50 and A.O.102.8 lines 26'-27'.

11') ù URU *bár-sipa*.<sup>1</sup>KI(?)<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 12') *a-na* IGI DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-ia* [...]  
 13') URU *ba-qa-a-nu* [*bi*]r-ti-šú šá<sup>m</sup>a-[*di-ni*]  
 14') A *da-ku-ú-ri* [...]-x-nu  
 15') *da-áš-nu e-me-s*[u ...]  
 16') É *aš-šur* EN-*ia* É.SIG<sub>4</sub>M[EŠ(?) ...]  
 17') *a-na si-ḥír-ti-šú-nu i-na si*-[...]  
 18') ù *te-me-ni-ia aš-kun*  
 19') ITLNE  
 20') UD 20.KÁM *li-mu*  
 21') <sup>m</sup>ih-ta-di-li-bu-šu GAR KUR *na-i-ri* [*āl andi*]  
 22') URU *si*-[*na-bu* ...]

Chaldaeia and approached] the city Baqānu, a fortress of A[dinu], the man of Bīt-Dakkuri. I imposed upon him [...] ...

15'b–18') [At that time] the temple of Aššur, my lord — [its] walls [had become dilapidated. I rebuilt them] entirely *with* ... and deposited my clay inscription.

19'–22') Month Ab (ex. 1 Bēl[at-ekalli]), twentieth day, eponymy of Iḥtadī-libbušu, governor of the land Nairi, [the city Andi], the city Si[nabu, the city Suḥna, the city Mallānu, (and) the land Alzu].

## 19

This text is on a fragment of a stone tablet which had the shape of an amulet. Tablets of this type were hung up on display and this particular object must have been displayed in the Ninurta temple at Calah since it begins with a dedication to this god. It continues with the name, title, and genealogy of Shalmaneser before breaking off. On the reverse is preserved part of a campaign narrative, possibly the eleventh campaign (848 BC). The remainder of the extant text describes an ascent of the Amanus mountains, possibly to cut cedar beams for work on the Ninurta temple.

### COMMENTARY

The fragment (BM 104410 = 55-12-5,460) is actually the tab which protruded from the top of the stone “amulet.” It measures c. 7×9 cm. The inscription has been collated.

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13'–15' Cf. A.O.102.5 vi 6 and A.O.102.85. The text clearly has -qa- not -na- in *ba-qa-a-nu*, as do the parallels.

15' *da-áš-nu*: exs. 1 and 2. What is it?

18' Regarding ex. 3 see Deller, JAOS 108 (1988) p. 516.

19'.1 ITL.<sup>9</sup>NI[N ...], ex. 2 has ITLNE. *Bēlat*(NIN)-*ekalli* is the Assyrian equivalent of the Babylonian Ab(NE), the fifth month.

21' Iḥtadī-libbušu: this must be identical with the eponymy for 849 BC, whose name is otherwise known in the form Ḥadī-libbušu. In Stamm, Namengebung p. 195, and CAD 6 (Ḥ) p. 28a the name is interpreted as Ḥādē-lipūšu “Let the Ill Wishers Do (What They Want).” But the form in the present text (in all exs.) suggests that the older interpretation is correct: “His (Father's) Heart Has Become/Is Glad.” Cf. Tallqvist, APN p. 83a.

21'–22' The full title of this office is preserved for the eponymies of 838 and 799 BC (see Ungnad, RLA 2 p. 439 nos. 47 and 39). There is a slight variation in the order of the place names.

## TEXT

## Obverse

- 1) *ana* <sup>d</sup>MAŠ *geš-ri*
- 2) *dan-dan-ni* MAḤ SAG.KAL
- 3) DINGIR.MEŠ *qar-[di<sup>l</sup> šar-ḥu gít-ma-lu*
- 4) [šá<sup>l</sup> *ina* MÈ *la iš-šá-na-nu*(\*)
- 5) *ti-bu-šú* [*a-šib*] URU *kal-ḥi*
- 6) EN GAL EN-[*ia*<sup>m</sup>]<sup>d</sup>šùl-*ma-nu*-MAŠ
- 7) ŠID *aš-šur* [*apil aššur-nāšir*]-A ŠID *aš-[šur<sup>l</sup>*

- 8) *A tukul*-[*ti-ninurta* ...] x x [x].MEŠ
- 9) x x x [...] A x
- 10) x [...]

## Lacuna

## Reverse

- 1) [BAD<sub>3</sub>].BAD<sub>3</sub>-šú-[*nu áš*]-*ku*[*n*]
- 2) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-*nu*
- 3) *pit-ḥal-la-šú-nu*
- 4) *e-kim-šú-nu*
- 5) *ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia*
- 6) *a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *ḥa-ma-n*[*i*]
- 7) *e-l*[*i* x].MEŠ(?) x x x
- 8) x x [...] x
- 9) x x [...] x
- 10) KUR x [...] x x

## Lacuna

1–6a) To the god Ninurta, the strong, the almighty, the exalted, foremost among the gods, the splendid (and) perfect warrior whose attack in battle is unequalled, [who resides in] Calah, the great lord, [my] lord:

6b–8a) Shalmaneser, vice-regent of Aššur, [son of Ashurnasir]pal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukul[tī-Ninurta (II) (*who was*) also vice-regent of Aššur]:

8b–10) No translation.

## Lacuna

rev. 1–10) [I] brought about their defeat (and) deprived them of their chariots (and) cavalry. Upon my return I ascended Mount Amanus. [...] ... [...] ...

## Lacuna

## 20

This text is engraved on a rock face along the upper Euphrates near the Kenk Gorge, about sixty kilometres northeast of Gaziantep. In the midst of the flat surface upon which the inscription appears there is a representation of the king carved in relief. The text begins with the name, titles, and genealogy of Shalmaneser III and then appear descriptions of military achievements. The focus of attention in these narratives is the conquest of Tīl-Barsip and Šitamrat on the Euphrates and this is in general accord with the location of the relief; indeed this may have been the point where the Assyrian army crossed back over the Euphrates on its triumphal march home. The latest incident described (lines 15b–19) took place in the fourth regnal year (855 BC) and thus the relief and inscription were probably created in that year.

**Obv. 4** The *-nu* at the end of the line looks more like PAP (or even MAŠ). Also note that the shape of the *-na-*, immediately preceding, is different from the shape of the same sign in rev. 6.

**Obv. 5b** [*a-šib*]; for the restoration see RIMA 2 p. 194 i 9.

**Obv. 8b–10** Since it is unknown how this text continued and the traces are very scanty, any restoration would be highly hypothetical. If it continued as a dedication, then one might restore on analogy with either the long formula (A.O.102.12 lines 34–36; A.O.102.95 lines 5–7, etc.) or the short formula (A.O.102.96–97). But it is equally possible that some other theme, such as military narrative, appeared here.

**Rev. 1–10** There were several campaigns upon which the king ascended (*ēli*) the Amanus range (1, 11, 17, 19, and 26), and even more during which he crossed (*atabalkat*) over the Amanus, but the narrative most similar to that found here is in the eleventh year (848 BC) as described in A.O.102.6 iii 7–15: BAD<sub>3</sub>.BAD<sub>3</sub>-šú-*nu* *áš-ku-un* ... GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-*nu* *pit-ḥal-la-šú-nu* ... *e-kim-šú-nu* *ina ta-ia-ar-ti-ia* ... *a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *ḥa-ma-ni* *e-li*. This same text continues with a description of cutting down cedar beams; the scant traces in our text do not exactly match that passage although it may have continued with a variant version of the same event.

The identification of the site of the relief with a place name known from Shalmaneser's texts raises problems which cannot be gone into here. It is highly unlikely that it is Šitamrat itself, as Taşyürek has pointed out. As to the date of the events described, that is not so problematic. The first portion of the military description is of the "display" type — that is, a general geographic survey — and the places conquered match with those given elsewhere (e.g. A.O.102.2 ii 30–66) for the third year (856 BC). Only the inclusion of Muşaşir is new for this campaign. The second and longest portion is a narrative of two campaigns against Aḫunu of Bīt-Adini and the conquest of Tīl-Barsip (lines 7b–15a) in the second year (857 BC) and of Šitamrat (lines 15b–19) in the fourth year (855 BC).

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1979 Taşyürek, Iraq 41 pp. 47–53 and pls. XV–XVI (photo, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1) [m]<sup>d</sup>šül-[ma]-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL-ú MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN KIŠ MAN KUR <i>aš-šur</i></p> <p>2) 'DUMU <i>aš-šur</i>-l-[PAB-A] MAN GAL MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR <i>aš-šur</i> DUMU TUKUL-MAŠ MAN 'GAL(?)<sup>1</sup></p> <p>3) MAN KAL MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR <i>aš-šur-ma ka-šid</i> TA <i>tam-di ša</i> KUR.KUR <i>na-l 'i</i><sup>1</sup>-ri</p> <p>4) <i>a-di tam-di ša šül-mu</i> <sup>q</sup><i>šam-ši</i> KUR <i>en-zi</i></p> <p>5) KUR <i>su-uḫ-me</i> KUR <i>da-ie-e-ni</i> KUR <i>ú-ra-ar-tu</i></p> <p>6) URU <i>mu-ša-ši-ru</i> URU <i>gil-za-a-nu</i> URU <i>ḫu-bu-uš-ke-e a-na paṭ</i></p> <p>7) <i>gim-ri-šá</i> <sup>m</sup><i>a-ḫu-ni</i> DUMU <i>a-di-ni ša</i> TA MAN.MEŠ-<i>ni</i> AD.MEŠ-<i>ia</i></p> <p>8) <i>šip-šu u da-na-a-nu il-ta-ka-nu</i> GUN <i>u ma-da-tú</i></p> <p>9) <i>ša aš-šur</i> EN-<i>ia ik-lu-ú ina šur-rat</i> MAN-<i>ti-ia</i> URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-<i>bar-si-[ip]</i></p> <p>10) URU MAN-<i>ti-šú a-si-bi mit-ḫu-šu ina ŠÀ</i> URU-<i>šú áš-kun</i> T[A]</p> <p>11) <i>pa-an na-mur-rat</i> GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-<i>ia</i> KAL.MEŠ</p> <p>12) <i>ip-láḫ-ma</i> URU-<i>šú ú-maš-šir a-na šú-zu-ub</i> ZI-[<i>šú</i>]</p> <p>13) <i>ÍD pu-rat-tú e-bir</i> KUR <i>ši-it-am-rat ú-ba-na-at</i></p> <p>14) KUR-<i>e ša ina a-ḫat</i> <i>ÍD pu-rat-te</i> GIM DUNGU</p> <p>15) TA AN-<i>e šu-qa-lu-lat a-na dan-nu-ti-šú iš-kun</i> [<i>ina</i>] 2-<i>te</i></p> <p>16) MU.AN.NA EGIR.MEŠ-<i>šú ar-ti-di ú-ba-na-at</i> KUR-<i>e a-si-bi</i></p> <p>17) <i>MĒ ina lib-l</i><sup>1</sup><i>bi(?)</i>-<i>šú áš-kun pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me ša aš-š[ur]</i> EN-<i>ia</i></p> <p>18) <i>is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu a-su-uḫ-šú-nu</i> <i>ÍD pu-rat-tú ú-še-bir-šú-nu a-na</i></p> <p>19) UN.MEŠ KUR-<i>ti-ia am-nu-šú-nu</i></p> | <p>1–3a) Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashur[nasirpal (II)], great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also great king, strong king, king of the universe, and king of Assyria:</p> <p>3b–7a) Conqueror from the sea of the lands Nairi to the western sea — all of the lands Enzi, Suḫme, Daiēnu, Urartu, the cities Muşaşir, Gilzānu, (and) Ḫubuškia.</p> <p>7b–19) Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, who had been swaggering about with might and main since (the days of) the kings, my fathers, (and) who had withheld the tribute and tax due to Aššur, my lord: at the beginning of my reign (10) I surrounded Tīl-Barsip, his royal city, (and) fought my way inside his city (lit. "I did battle in his city"). He became afraid in the face of the flash of my mighty weapons, abandoned his city, and crossed the Euphrates to save [his] life. (15) He made as his stronghold Mount Šitamrat, a mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates, (which) is suspended from heaven like a cloud. [In] a second year I went after him. I surrounded the mountain peak (and) fought my way into his midst. Fear of the brilliance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them. I removed them, brought them across the Euphrates, and regarded them as people of my land.</p> |
|---|---|

13 *ši-it-am-rat*: in the photo the space between *-it* and *-am* appears to be an old flaw in the stone which was left unscrubbed, as in several other cases on this relief. Hawkins (apud Taşyürek), however, read *ši-it-l*<sup>1</sup>*ta-am-rat*.

17 *lib-l*<sup>1</sup>*bi(?)*-*šú*: this is fairly clear in the photo. Hawkins (apud Taşyürek) read *ŠÀ* 'URU-*šú*<sup>1</sup>.

## 21

Four texts of Shalmaneser III (A.0.102.21–24) are inscribed on rock faces near the source of the Tigris, where the river (Sebeneh-Su) goes through a tunnel. A text of Tiglath-pileser I (RIMA 2 p. 61) is also to be found here. At least two of the inscriptions (A.0.102.23 and 24) were accompanied by a portrait of the king carved in relief. The four texts really form two pairs of very similar inscriptions, A.0.102.21 and 22 being one pair and A.0.102.23 and 24 the other. The earliest in date are A.0.102.21 and 22, in which the third campaign to Nairi in 852 BC (seventh regnal year) is described. In the other pair, A.0.102.23 and 24, events of the years 850 BC (ninth year) and 845 BC (fourteenth year) are described.

The present text forms a pair with A.0.102.22 since, although distinct texts, they are very similar. In the older literature (A.0.102.21 = “Tigr. 3” or “Tigr. 21”; A.0.102.22 = “Tigr. 5” or “Tigr. 23”), these two texts have sometimes been regarded as duplicates. Both texts begin with an invocation of gods followed by the name, epithets, and genealogy of the king. Then there is a description of an expedition to Gilzānu and the “third” campaign to Nairi, which is a clear reference to the seventh regnal year (852 BC).

## COMMENTARY

None of the four texts, A.0.102.21–24, has been collated. In the bibliography for A.0.102.21–24 note that the four inscriptions are described altogether in Börker-Klähn under her nos. 149–50.

For A.0.102.21 there is neither a satisfactory photo nor copy. Thus the transliteration is an attempt to “modernize” Lehmann-Haupt’s transliteration using,

wherever possible, readings that can be deciphered from the photo he published and the sign forms shown in Schrader’s incomplete copy. The reliability of the present edition is uncertain, therefore, in detail. In cases where I could not discover which logogram was inscribed on the original, I have followed the transcription given by Lehmann-Haupt.

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|  | 1982 Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen nos. 149–50 (study)   |

## TEXT

- 1) *aš-šur* <sup>d30</sup> *dšá-maš*
- 2) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>INANNA DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 3) *ra-’i-mu-ut MAN-ti-ia mu-šar-bu-u*
- 4) *MU-ia* <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-[*ašarēd*]
- 5) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur A* <sup>m</sup>*aš-šur-PAB-A*  
[*šar māt aššur*]
- 6) A <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR *aš-šur ka-šid*  
[*ultu*]

- 1–4a) (Gods) Aššur, Šîn, Šamaš, Adad, (and) Ištar, the great gods who love my sovereignty (and) who make great my name;  
4b–8a) Shalman[eser], king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), [king of Aššyria], son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was also) king of Assyria; conqueror [from] the sea of the land Nairi to [the sea of] the west:

1 Schrader has EN “lord” after Aššur and Schramm thinks that this is correct. But Lehmann-Haupt does not have it.

- 7) A.AB.BA šá KUR na-i-ri a-d[i tâmdi]  
 8) šá SILIM <sup>d</sup>šam-ši KUR ħat-ti  
 9) a-na si-ĥír-te-šá IŠU<sup>1</sup> KUR-ud(?) [(x)]  
 10) ina né-re-bi šá KUR en-[z]i-t[e ěrub]  
 11) KUR su-uh-m[e] KUR da-ie-ni  
 12) KUR ú-ra-ar-tu  
 13) a-na si-ĥír-te-šá  
 14) ŠU KUR-ud  
 15) a-na KUR gíl-za-ni e-tiq ma-da-tú  
 16) šá KUR gíl-za-na-a-a am-ĥur 3-šú(?) ana  
 17) KUR na-i-ri a-lik ina SAG IGI šá ÍD idiqlat  
 MU al-tu-ur

8b–17) I conquered the entire land Ĥatti. [I entered] the passes of the land Enzite (and) conquered all of the lands Suĥme, Daiěnu, (and) Urartu. I passed on to the land Gilzānu (and) received tribute from the Gilzāneans. For a third time I marched to the land Nairi (and) wrote my name at the source of the Tigris.

## 22

Regarding this text on a stone face at the source of the Tigris, see the introduction to A.0.102.21.

### COMMENTARY

There is no photo available for this text and only an incomplete copy was published by Schrader. Thus, in preparing this edition, I have followed the same

procedure as with A.0.102.21, although this re-established text is even more uncertain than that of A.0.102.21 since the problems here are more serious.

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### TEXT

- 1) aš-šur <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>šá-maš  
 2) <sup>d</sup>ištar(?) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ÁGA-ut  
 3) MAN-ti-ia šá EN-ut kiš-šu-ti u  
 4) šá-[p]i-ru-ti MU kab-tu  
 5) ú-šar-bu-ú <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ(?)  
 6) MAN kiš-šat UN.MEŠ NUN ŠID aš-šur  
 7) MAN dan-nu MAN KUR aš-šur A <sup>maš</sup>aš-šur-  
 PAB-A MAN KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur  
 8) apil tukultī-ninurta MAN KIŠ MAN KUR aš-  
 šur-ma ka-šid TA tam-di  
 9) šá KUR na-i-ri a-di tam-di šá SILIM <sup>d</sup>šam-[ši]  
 KUR ħat-te  
 10) ana si-ĥír-ti-šá KUR-ud ina né-ri-bi šá [māt e]n-  
 z[i-te e-ru]-ub

1–5a) (Gods) Aššur, Adad, Šin, Šamaš, (and) Ištar, the great gods who love my sovereignty (and) who have made great my dominion, power, leadership, and honourable name;

5b–9a) Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, the prince, vice-regent of Aššur, strong king, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria; conqueror from the sea of the land Nairi to the sea of the west:

9b–13) I conquered the entire land Ĥatti. I entered the passes of the land Enzite (and) conquered the lands Suĥme, Daiěnu, (and) Urartu. For a second time I received tribute from the land Gilzānu. For a

- 11) KUR *su-uh-me* KUR *da-ie-ni* KUR *ú-ra-ar-tu* third time I marched to the land Nairi (and) wrote  
KUR my name at the source of the Tigris.
- 12) 2-šú *ma-da-tú šá* KUR *gíl-za-ni am-ḥur* 3-šú  
*ana* KUR *na-i-[ri]*
- 13) *al-lik ina* SAG <*ēni*> ÍD *idiqlat* MU *al-tu-ur*

## 23

This is one of four inscriptions of Shalmaneser found on a rock face at the source of the Tigris and discussed in the introduction to A.0.102.21. This text forms a pair with A.0.102.24. The description of the campaign to Babylonia and Chaldaea (A.0.102.23 lines 19–20 and A.0.102.24 lines 11–14) is the major event of the ninth regnal year (850 BC). The description of the “fourth” battle with the Damascus coalition (A.0.102.23 lines 21–27 and A.0.102.24 lines 14–17) refers to the fourteenth year (845 BC). These texts are actually referred to in Shalmaneser’s annals, where it is said that they were inscribed at the source of the Tigris in his fifteenth (844 BC) year (A.0.102.6 iii 35–38; A.0.102.8 lines 48’–49’; A.0.102.10 iii 27–29; A.0.102.14 lines 92–93; and cf. A.0.102.78). In the older literature (A.0.102.23 = “Tigr. 2” or “Tigr. 20”; A.0.102.24 = “Tigr. 4” or “Tigr. 22”) these two texts have sometimes been regarded as duplicates but, although similar, they have major differences. Each begins with the royal name, epithets, and brief description of conquests. This is followed by a passage describing the campaign against Babylonia and Chaldaea and then a final passage describing the fourth conflict with the Damascus coalition.

## COMMENTARY

Schrader thought that this was a text of Tukulti-Ninurta II and this is why it was edited in Scheil, Tn. For details of the physical appearance of the inscription and the sign forms see the remarks in Lehmann-Haupt,

Materialien pp. 33–34. The published photo is not very legible and this edition is based mainly on the copy of Lehmann-Haupt.

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- 1982 Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* nos. 149–50 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>nd</sup>f šùl[-*ma-nu-ašarēd*]
- 2) MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu*
- 3) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur* MAN
- 4) *kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ <*šarru*> GAL *šá*
- 5) *ina re-šu-te šá* <sup>a</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR
- 1–13a) Shal[maneser], great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of all peoples; the great <king> who has always acted mightily with the support of Šamaš (and) Adad, the gods who support him, and they have put under [his control]

- 6) DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-li-šú le-iš*  
 7) DU.DU-*ma* KUR-*e* KAL.MEŠ TA  
 8) *ši-it* <sup>d</sup>UTU *a-di e-rib*  
 9) <sup>d</sup>*šam-ši ú-šat-me-ḥa ana* [*qātēšu*] MAN  
 10) *ek-du la pa-du-u šá* EGIR [*za*]-*i*-[*ri-šu*]  
 11) DU.DU-*ma* GIM <sup>1</sup>DU<sub>6</sub> *a-bu-bi*  
 12) ÍD.MEŠ KUR.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>GIG<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ  
 13) *u-kab-bi-sa* <sup>1</sup>šal<sup>1</sup>-*tiš* A AŠ-PAB-A  
 14) MAN KUR AŠ A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR  
 AŠ *ka-šid*  
 15) TA *tam-di šá* KUR [*na*]-*i-r*[*i*] EN(?) *tam-di*  
 GAL-*te šá* SILIM [*šamši*]  
 16) KUR *ḥat-te ana paṭ gim-ri-šá* [*māt melidi*(?)]  
 KUR *da-ie-ni* KUR *su-uḥ-me* URU *ar-ša-áš-ku-*  
*u*  
 17) URU MAN-*ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra*-[*me*] KUR *ú-ra-ar-*  
<sup>1</sup>*ta*<sup>1</sup>-*a-a* KUR *gíl-za-ni* KUR *ḥub-uš-ki-a* TA  
 SAG *e-ni*  
 18) *šá* ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL EN <sup>1</sup>SAG<sup>1</sup> *e-ni šá* [ÍD  
 UD].KIB.[NUN.K]I TA *tam*-<sup>1</sup>*di*<sup>1</sup> *šá* KUR *za-mu-*  
*a šá be-ta-ni* EN *tam-di*  
 19) *šá* KUR *kal-di ana* [*šēpēia*] <sup>1</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-*šak-niš ana*  
 [*bābili*] <sup>1</sup>*a*<sup>1</sup>-*lik* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ [*e*]-*pu-uš*  
*ana* KUR *kal-di ú-ri-di*  
 20) URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu* KUR-*ud ma-da-tú-šú-nu am-*  
*ḥu-ur*  
 21) [<sup>m</sup>10-*id-ri* KUR ANŠE-*šú mir-ḥu-le-ni* KUR *a-*  
*ma-ta-a-a it-ti* 15 URU.MEŠ *šá ši-di* [*tāmdī ana*  
*irtīia*]  
 22) ZI-*ni 4-šú* KI-*šú-nu* <sup>1</sup>*am*<sup>1</sup>-*daḥ-ḥi-iš* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-  
<sup>1</sup>*šú-nu*<sup>1</sup> [*aškun narkabātīšunu*]  
 23) [*piḥallišunu a-š*]*e*-[*e* ?] <sup>1</sup>*ú*<sup>1</sup>-[*nu*]-*ut* M[È]-*šú-nu*  
 24) [*ēkimšunu*]  
 25) [*ana šūzub*]  
 26) [*napšātīšunu*]  
 27) [*ēli*]-*ú*

the mighty mountains from east to west; the fierce (and) merciless king who has gone after [his] enemies and victoriously swept over rivers and difficult mountains (leaving them) like ruin hills left by a deluge;

13b–19a) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), king of Assyria; conqueror from the sea of the land [Na]iri to the great sea of the west, the entire land Ḫatti, the lands [Melid], Daiēnu, Suḥme, the city Aršaškun, (which is) a royal city of Ara[mu], the Urartian, (and) the lands Gilzānu (and) Ḫubuškia. I subdued (the territory stretching) from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates, from the sea of the interior of the land Zamua to the sea of Chaldaea.

19b–20) I marched to [Babylon] (and) made sacrifices. Then I went down to Chaldaea, conquered their cities, (and) received their tribute.

21–27) Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with fifteen cities on the shore of the [sea], attacked [me] (and) I fought with them for a fourth time. I defeated them. [I] destroyed [their chariotry (and) cavalry (and) took away] their military equipment. [To save their lives] they [ran away].

## 24

Regarding this text on a rock face at the source of the Tigris see the introduction to A.0.102.23.

### COMMENTARY

The published photo is not very legible and this edition is based mainly on the copy of Lehmann-Haupt.

16 For the restoration of Melid see A.0.102.6 iv 31–34 and A.0.102.8 lines 29–34. Lehmann-Haupt said he saw traces of signs which might be read *me-li-di*.

21 The numeral 15 is clear, according to Lehmann-Haupt, although one expects 12.

21–27 For the restorations cf. A.0.102.6 iii 24–33.



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 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 84–86 and 90 (study)  
 1982 Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen nos. 149–50 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL MAN d[an-nu šar kiššati šar māt aššur šar kiššat]  
 2) ʾUN(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ(?) šá ina re-šu-te šá <sup>4</sup>UTU ʾIŠKUR DINGIR.M[EŠ tiklišu le ʾiš ittanallakūma]  
 3) KUR.MEŠ-e KAL.MEŠ TA ši-it <sup>[d]</sup>[šamši adi erib šamši ušatmeḫa ana qātēšu šarru ekdu]  
 4) la pa-du-ú šá ina [x(?)] SAG(?) i-du-ku-ma EG[IR(?) za ʾirišu(?) ittanallakūma(?) nārāti(?) šadē(?) marsūti(?)]  
 5) ki-ma DU<sub>6</sub> a-bu-bi [ukabbi]-sa [šalṭiš(?) k]a-[š]id [ultu tâmdi ša māt na ʾiri adi tâmdi rabīte ša]  
 6) SILIM [šamšī]-ma(?) šá(?) KUR ḫat-te EN paṭ gim-[riša ...]  
 7) URU ar-ša-aš-ku-u[n U]RU MAN-ti-šú šá [arame urartāia māt gilzāni]  
 8) URU ḫub-uš-k[i-a KUR] ʾú-ra-ar<sup>1</sup>-[ṭi ultu rēš ēni ša idiqlat]  
 9) ʾEN<sup>1</sup> SAG e-ni šá ʾID.U[D.KIB.NUN].KI [TA tam]-d[i šá] KUR [za-mu-a<sup>1</sup>  
 10) šá bit-a-ni EN tam-di šá KUR k[al-d]i ana G[IR].II-ia ú-šak-niš  
 11) ana URU.DIN.[TIR.KI] a-lik UDU.SISKUR.ME[Š ina bābili URU] b[ár]-si[pa.KI]  
 12) URU ku-te<sub>3</sub>-e DŪ-uš [ana] KUR kal-d[i ūridi] URU.ME[Š]-šú-[nu]  
 13) KUR-ud ma-da-tú šá LUGAL(\*)MEŠ-ni šá <<TA>> KUR kal-d[i amḫur]  
 14) šu-ur-ri-bat [GIŠ.TUKUL.M]EŠ-a <a>-di [marrati iḫupšunu adad-idri]  
 15) MAN KUR.ANŠE-šú EN 12 MAN.MEŠ šá [KUR] ḫat-[r]e [ana irṭia itbūni]  
 16) 4-šú it-te-šú-nu am-daḫ-ḫi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu [á]š-kun GIŠ.[GIGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu piḫallišunu ašē ʾe]  
 17) ú-n[u-ut] ʾMĒ<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu ana [šūzub napšātīšunu ēli ʾū]
- 1–5a) Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, [king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of all] peoples, who [has always acted mightily] with the support of Šamaš (and) Adad, the gods [who support him, and they have put under his control] the mighty mountains from east [to west; the fierce (and)] merciless [king] who has defeated ... and [gone] after [his enemies and victoriously] swept over [rivers and difficult mountains] (leaving them) like ruin hills left by a deluge;  
 5b–10) conqueror [from the sea of the land Nairi to the great sea of] the west, the entire land Ḫatti, [the lands Melid, Daiēnu, Suḫme], the city Aršaškun, (which is) a royal city of [Aramu, the Urartian, (and) the lands Gilzānu] (and) Ḫubuškia. I subdued Urartu [from the source of the Tigris] to the source of the Euphrates, [from] the sea of the interior of the land Zamua to the sea of Chaldaea.  
 11–14a) I marched to [Babylon] (and) made sacrifices [in Babylon], Borsippa, (and) Cuthah. Then [I went down to] Chaldaea, conquered their cities, (and) [received] tribute from the kings of Chaldaea. Awe of my weapons [overwhelmed them] as far as [(the sea) Marratu (“Bitter”)].  
 14b–17) [Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri)], the king of Damascus, together with twelve kings of [the land] Ḫatti, [attacked me (and)] I fought with them for a fourth time. I defeated them. I [destroyed their chariotry (and) cavalry (and)] took away their military equipment. To [save their lives they ran away].

2 ʾUN(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ(?) šá: this matches the parallel A.0.102.23 line 4. It is, nevertheless, a bold correction to the copy of Lehmann-Haupt which is curious: ʾR SANGA aš-šur.

4 The readings after la pa-du-ú are uncertain. The phrase ending with i-du-ku-ma seems to be otherwise unattested among royal epithets. Corrections to make the line conform to A.0.102.23 lines 10–11 seem implausible because of the length of the line.

6 Presumably one should restore at the end of the line the same place names as in A.0.102.23 line 16, but one cannot be certain.

11–12 Cf. A.0.102.6 ii 49–50, etc.

13 LUGAL(\*): the form of the sign is anomalous.

13–14 Cf. A.0.102.14 line 84. The TA is erroneous and Lehmann-Haupt suggested that the engraver had mistakenly begun the KAL sign, then realized he had omitted KUR, and so turned the sign into TA to cover his error.

14 šu-ur-ri-bar: cf. A.0.102.6 iv 23 and see the note to RIMA 2 p. 208 ii 78.

## 25

This text is on a stone statue of the king discovered by Layard at Aššur in the spring of 1847. The statue's head is broken off. The king is shown seated and the text is inscribed on the two sides and the back of his throne. From Layard's description of the location in which the statue was found, Andrae concluded that it had originally been erected inside the Tabira Gate and this is corroborated by the inscription's interest in that gate (lines 40–41).

The text begins (lines 1–8) with the royal name, epithets, and genealogy. It then (lines 9–20) describes briefly the king's conquests, first in the east and northeast, and then in Babylonia. The latter is a clear reference to the ninth regnal year and thus the text must date in or shortly after 850 BC. The main concern of the inscription, however, is the walls and gates of Aššur (lines 21–31), which Shalmaneser extensively rebuilt. From the text it appears that the inner and outer walls were joined in some way to form a single fortification. Andrae (*Festungswerke* p. 99) concluded from his excavations on the northwest frontier of the city that Shalmaneser had rebuilt the inner and outer walls here in such a way as to enclose fully the terrace of Tukultī-Ninurta I's New Palace. This created a unified barricade at the northwest corner. Similar operations were probably carried out on other parts of the walls.

The inscription continues (lines 32–33) with the statement that the statue of Kidudu, guardian of the wall, was refashioned. Then (lines 34–36) come blessings on a later prince who restores the walls. The text concludes (lines 37–47) with the epithets of the two walls and the eight gates, presumably gates which were renovated in the course of rebuilding the walls. This same passage appears, with some variation, in the so-called Address Book of the Gods (Frankena, *Tākultu* pp. 124–25; Menzel, *Tempel* 2 pp. T 146–56; and George, *Topographical Texts* pp. 176–77) lines 120–27 and 134–39. Regarding this passage, and the gates in general, see Unger, *RLA* 1 pp. 175–78 §§14–22 and Miglus, *ZA* 72 (1982) pp. 266–79.

## COMMENTARY

The stone (BM 118886 = 49-5-2,17) is 135 cm high. It had some flaws before the text was inscribed as is clear from the breaks in the following lines, where obviously

no signs are missing: 2, 3, 15, 24, and 28. There are several engraving errors: lines 3, 4, 19, 20, 22, 25, and 29. The text has been collated.

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## TEXT

- 1) [<sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu<sup>l</sup>]-[MAŠ] [MAN GAL] MAN dan-nu  
MAN KIŠ
- 2) MAN la šá-na-an ú-šúm-gal-lu
- 3) ka-šu-uš DÜ(\*) kib-ra-a-te šá-pir
- 4) mal-ki.MEŠ šá(\*) kúl-la-te šá kúl-la-at
- 5) na-ki-ri-šú ki-ma ha-aš-ba-te
- 6) ú-da-qi-qu NÍTA dan-nu la pa-du-ú
- 7) la ga-mil tu-qu-un-te A aš-šur-PAB-IBILA
- 8) MAN KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur A GIŠ.tukul-ti-  
<sup>d</sup>nin-urta
- 9) MAN KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur-ma ka-šid TA  
tam-di AN.TA
- 10) a-di tam-di KI.TA KUR hat-ti KUR lu-ḥu-te
- 11) KUR i-me-ri KUR lab-na-na KUR qu-i
- 12) KUR ta-ba-li KUR me-li-di a-mir
- 13) e-na-a-te šá ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL u ÍD [pu-rat<sup>l</sup>-te
- 14) a-na tu-ur gi-mil-li šá <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-MU-MU
- 15) a-na KUR ak-ka-di-i [a<sup>l</sup>-lik
- 16) [<sup>md</sup>AMA]R.UTU-EN-ú-sa-[a]-te [d]u(?)-[pu-su  
dáb(?) -da(?) -šu(?)<sup>l</sup>
- 17) [am-ḥ]a-aš a-na GŪ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A.KI  
KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI bār-sípa.KI
- 18) KU<sub>8</sub>-ub UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ-ia a-na  
DINGIR.MEŠ ma-ḥa-zi
- 19) šá KUR ak-ka-di-i aq-qi(\*) a-na KUR kal-di ú-  
rid ma-da-tu
- 20) šá MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR kal-di DÜ(\*)-šú-nu  
am-ḥur
- 21) e-nu-ma BÀD GAL-a šá URU-ia aš-šur ù BÀD  
šal-ḥu-šu
- 22) šá MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia <<AD.MEŠ-ia>>  
a-lik maḥ-ri-ia
- 23) ina pa-ni e-pu-šu BÀD.MEŠ-ni šu-nu-ti e-na-  
ḥu-ma
- 24) la-bi-ru-ta DU-ku TA KÁ.GAL.TIBIRA a-di
- 25) UGU ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL ki-lal(\*)-le-šú-nu a-na 1-en
- 26) pil-ki-ia aš-bat a-šar-šú-nu lu-ma-si
- 27) dan-na-su-nu lu ak-šú-da ina UGU ki-šir
- 28) KUR-i dan-ni uš-ši-šú-nu a-di
- 29) gaba-dib-bi-šú-nu ar-šip ú-šak-lil  
NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RŪ.A <aškun(?)>
- 30) NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RŪ.A šá MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia a-  
na áš-ri-šú-nu
- 31) ú-ter
- 32) ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma <sup>d</sup>ki-du-du ma-šar BÀD
- 33) it-ti BÀD-ma šu-a-tum i<sup>2</sup>-a-bit a-na

1–9a) Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, unrivalled king, dragon, the weapon which destroys all quarters, commander of princes everywhere, who has smashed all (5) his enemies like a pot, strong male, merciless (and) unsparing in battle; son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria:

9b–20) Conqueror from the upper sea to the lower sea, the lands Ḫatti, Luḫutu, Damascus, Lebanon, Que, Tabal, (and) Melid; the one who has seen the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates. To avenge Marduk-zākir-šumi (15) I marched to Akkad. [I] defeated Marduk-bēl-usāte, (his) younger brother. I entered Cuthah, Babylon, (and) Borsippa, (and) presented my sacrifices to the gods of the towns of Akkad. I went down to Chaldaea (and) received tribute from all the kings of Chaldaea.

21–31) When the great (inner) wall of my city, Aššur, and its outer wall, which the kings, my fathers, who preceded me, had previously built — (when) these walls became dilapidated and fell into ruin, I took (25) both of them, as a single work assignment, from the Tabira Gate to the Tigris. I delineated their area, dug out their foundation pit, (and) completely rebuilt them on bedrock from bottom to top. <I deposited> my monumental inscription (and) returned the monumental inscriptions of the kings, my fathers, to their places.

32–34a) At that time (the image of) the god Kidudu, guardian of the wall, as well as this same wall had become dilapidated (and) I fashioned it anew.

9–12 Cf. J. Lewy, *Orientalia* NS 21 (1952) pp. 397–98.

11 KUR *i-me-ri* “Damascus”: see Borger, ZA 66 (1976) pp. 277–78 and Hawkins, RLA 7 p. 159.

16–17 Cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 196 n. 1196.

24 The interpretation “Tabira Gate” is preferable to “Craftsman’s Gate,” which was used in RIMA 1 and 2. See George, JNES 52 (1993) p. 298.

29 <aškun(?)>: one expects reference to the king’s own inscriptions before mention is made of those of his predecessors. Such an interpretation is preferable to regarding the second NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RŪ.A as a dittography.

32 and 39 <sup>d</sup>ki-du-du: the parallel in Menzel, SPM 10/2 p. T 155 line 135 has <sup>d</sup>en-gi<sub>6</sub>-du-du. Concerning the deity see Cagni, Erra p. 149.

- 34) *iš-šu-te DÛ-uš NUN-ú EGIR-ú an-ḫu-ut*  
 35) BĀD.MEŠ-ni *lu-ud-diš MU šaṭ-ra a-na áš-ri-šu*  
 36) *lu-ter aš-šur ik-ri-bi-šu i-še-em-me*  
 37) MU BĀD GAL-e *ša me-lam-mu-šu KUR kát-mu*  
 38) MU BĀD *šal-ḫi-šu mu-nār-ri-ṭi kib-ra-a-te*  
 39) <sup>d</sup>ú-la-a ma-šar URU-šú <sup>d</sup>ki-du-du ma-šar BĀD-šú  
 40) MU KÁ.GAL.TIBIRA *ša BĀD dan-ni né-rab DÛ KUR.KUR*  
 41) *sa-ni-qa-at mal-ki.MEŠ KÁ.GAL.TIBIRA DÛG.GA-at*  
 42) UGU *um-ma-ni-ša KÁ.GAL né-rab MAN muš-la-li*  
 43) *mu-šar-ši-da-at a-rat-te-e KÁ.GAL si-qur-ra-a-te aš-šur*  
 44) *mu-kan-niš šap-šu-te KÁ.GAL aš-šur ba-na-at*  
<sup>d</sup>LAMMA [MAN]  
 45) KÁ.GAL *šal-me* <sup>d</sup>UTU *né-er mul-tar-ḫi*  
 KÁ.GAL [<sup>d</sup>UTU]  
 46) *ra-si-nat ku-ru-nu DINGIR.MEŠ KÁ.GAL ma-gal* [ÍD]  
 47) *ik-kib-ša la ma-ga-ri KÁ.GAL ti-ser-[ri]*

- 34b–36) May a later prince restore the damaged (portions) of the walls (and) return my inscription to its place. Then Aššur will listen to his prayers.  
 37–40) The name of the great (inner) wall is: “Whose Brilliance Covers the Land.” The name of its outer wall is: “Who Convulses the Regions.” The god Ulāi is the guardian of his city (and) the god Kidudu is the guardian of his wall. The name of the Tabira Gate is: “Entrance for All Lands through the Strong Wall.”  
 41–47) “Controller of Princes” is the Tabira Gate. “Favourable (for the passage) of Its Troops” (and) “The King’s Entrance” is the Step Gate. “Founder of the Excellent (Throne)” is the Ziqqurat Gate. “Aššur Subdues the Perverse” is the Aššur Gate. “Noble Is the King’s Bull Colossus” is the Statue Gate. “The God Šamaš Defeats the Rebellious” is the [Šamaš] Gate. (45) “Provider of Best Beer for the Gods” is the ... River Gate. “It Is Taboo to the Insubmissive” is the Tiserry Gate.

## 26

This text is engraved on a gold tablet which, although not scientifically excavated, must have come from the wall of the city Aššur. In fact, as Andrae suggests, it probably was once deposited in an alabaster box similar to, if not identical with, that listed as A.0.102.27. The inscriptions on both the alabaster box and the gold tablet are very similar, including both being clumsy in style. They both refer to Tukultī-Ninurta I as an earlier builder (see RIMA 1 pp. 266–67). The present text describes briefly the rebuilding of the wall and the reference to the Babylonian campaign indicates that it dates in, or shortly after, 850 BC.

## COMMENTARY

The gold tablet is in the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago (A 2529) and measures 2.9×4.1 cm. The inscription has been collated from the published photo.

The style of the text is clumsy. In line 6 one expects

*adi*, not *u* (see the translation); this seems to be a garbled version of parallels such as A.0.102.8 lines 24–25. The *u* in line 7 appears to be a mistake. In line 10 one expects *ana KUR ḫatti allik(ma)* “I marched to the and Ḫatti.”

37–47 See the introduction.

39 <sup>d</sup>ú-la-a: see George, JNES 52 (1993) p. 298.

45 KÁ.GAL *šal-me*: this reading seems certain (it is broken in the parallel) and is preferable to the old reading KAK.ME, since there is an obvious connection with the epithet.

46 *ma-gal* ÍD: the parallel in Menzel, SPM 10/2 p. T 154 line 126 has *ma-ga-rat* ÍD. Unger, RLA 1 p. 177 §21 and Miglus, ZA 72 (1982) p. 272 identify this with the Tigris Gate. Cf. George, Topographical Texts pp. 176–77.

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 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 84 and 87–90 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 2) GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur
- 3) A aš-šur-PAB-A ŠID AŠ
- 4) A TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID AŠ-ma
- 5) ka-šid TA tam-di
- 6) AN.TA u KI.TA
- 7) u tam-di šá KUR kal-di
- 8) šá ÍD mar-ra-tú
- 9) i-qa-bu-ši-ni
- 10) a-lik KUR hat-ti ana paṭat
- 11) gim-ri-šá a-pél
- 12) ana URU.KÁ.DINGIR.KI
- 13) URU bār-sípa.KI
- 14) URU ku-te-e a-lik
- 15) UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ-ia
- 16) aq-qi e-nu-ma
- 17) BĀD URU-ia aš-šur.KI
- 18) maḥ-ru-ú
- 19) šá ina IGI TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ
- 20) A <sup>d</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 21) MAN a-lik IGI-ia
- 22) ina IGI DÛ-uš
- 23) e-na-aḥ-ma
- 24) ana iš-šu-ti DÛ-uš

1–16a) Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II) (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur; conqueror from the upper sea to the lower (sea), the sea of Chaldaea, which is called the Marratu (“Bitter”) River. Marching to the land Ḫatti I gained dominion over all of it. I marched to Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah (and) made my sacrifices.

16b–24) At that time the old wall of my city, Aššur, which Tukultī-Ninurta (I), son of Shalmaneser (I), a king who preceded me, had previously built, (this wall) had become dilapidated and I built it anew.

## 27

This text is engraved on a stone box found at Aššur in ruins by the outer wall. Andrae said that the box had rolled down from a previous position and that it was resting on some agate beads which may have once been inside it. The box, which has a lid, no doubt also once contained one or more inscribed tablets and the gold tablet of Shalmaneser (text edited as A.O.102.26) may have been one such tablet. Both the text on the gold tablet and this inscription are rather clumsy and in this text note the redundant “I gained dominion” (*lū apēl*) at the end of the phrase beginning “conqueror” (*kāšid*). This inscription, as A.O.102.26, also describes briefly the rebuilding of the outer wall and refers to Tukultī-Ninurta I as an earlier builder (see RIMA 1 pp. 266–67). There is no indication of a date.

## COMMENTARY

The stone box (VA 8836, Ass 12167, Ass ph 2814–17) measures 25×22.5×14 cm and was found in ruins by the

outer wall (dD10II). The inscription has been collated from excellent photos and from the original.

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 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 90 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-šur  
 DUMU aš-šur-PAB-A  
 2) MAN KUR aš-šur DUMU GISKIM-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 MAN KUR aš-šur-ma  
 3) ka-šid TA tam-di GAL-ti ša KUR a-mur-ri  
 4) ša šùl-me <sup>d</sup>šam-ši a-di tam-di  
 5) ša KUR kal-di ša ÍD mar-ra-tú  
 6) i-qa-bu-ši-ni lu a-pél e-nu-ma BÂD.KI  
 7) URU-ia aš-šur maḥ-ru-ú ša <sup>m</sup>GISKIM-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
 DUMU <sup>d</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ  
 8) ina IGI DÛ-uš an-ḥu-su ú-na-kir<sub>6</sub>  
 9) dan-na-su ak-šud TA uš-še-šu a-di  
 10) gaba-dib-bi-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil  
 11) UGU maḥ-ri-i ú-si-im [ú]-šar-riḥ  
 12) NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÛ-ia ù te-me-ni-ia  
 13) aš-kun NUN EGIR-ú an-ḥu-su  
 14) lu-ud-diš MU šat-ra a-na áš-ri-šú  
 15) lu-te-er aš-šur-ik-ri-be-šú i-še-me  
 16) šu-mu šal-ḥe-e  
 17) mu-nâr-riṭ UB.MEŠ

1–6a) Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria; conqueror from the great sea of the land Amurru in the west to the sea of Chaldea, which is called the Marratu (“Bitter”) River, I gained dominion:

6b–13a) At that time, with regard to the old wall of my city, Aššur, which Tukultī-Ninurta (I), son of Shalmaneser (I), had previously built, I cleared away its ruined (portions) (and) dug out its foundation pit. I completely rebuilt it from top to bottom (and) decorated (it) more splendidly than ever before. I deposited my stone and clay inscriptions.

13b–15) May a later prince restore its ruined (portions) (and) return my inscription to its place. (Then) Aššur will listen to his prayers.

16–17) The name of the outer wall is: “Who Convulses the Regions.”

## 28

This text is engraved on a stone throne base discovered in the course of excavations in the throne room (T1) at Fort Shalmaneser. The throne base consists of two blocks. The east block is rectangular and has a number of round recesses on its surface, which were obviously there to hold the legs of a throne and footstool in place. The west block is T-shaped and about half of it is stepped down to approximately 9 cm lower than the rest of the surface. There are scenes carved in relief on all the sides except the east side, which was covered by the wall of the room. Inscribed lines appear on all the visible surfaces as well as on the underside of the east block. More than one text is represented in these inscriptions but in this edition I have followed the sequential line numbering assigned by Hulin for convenience of reference. Lines 1–44, the text edited here, is engraved on the surface of the east block, lines 1–20 on the north side running east to west, lines 21–40 on the south side running west to east, and lines 41–44 on the edges of the step in the west block. Lines 45–47 represent a separate text, edited as A.O.102.59, which is a label to the scene on the front (west) side of the base showing Shalmaneser and Marduk-zākir-šumi clasping hands. This is clear both from the content of the text and from the fact that it is inscribed parallel to the scene only at the very back of the surface of the east block; thus the scene and text in effect embrace the whole throne base. Lines 48 and 49, edited as

A.O.102.60 and 61, are labels engraved over the carved scenes, which portray tribute being brought by Qalparunda and Mušallim-Marduk, respectively. Line 50, edited as A.O.102.62, is engraved on the south side and is a label identifying the throne base. The inscription on the under surface of the east block is yet another text and is edited as A.O.102.57.

As to the text edited here (lines 1–44), the sequence of the narrative is not chronologically oriented, although superficially it might appear so since two dates are mentioned, the accession and first year (859–58 BC) in line 10, and the thirteenth year (846 BC) in line 34. Following Schramm's analysis, campaigns of the following years are mentioned: accession and first year (859–58 BC) in lines 10–26 and 42?, third year (856 BC) in lines 37–42, fourth year (855 BC) in lines 26–28 and 42–44, fifth year (854 BC) in line 44, sixth year (853 BC) in lines 29–34, and thirteenth year (846 BC) in lines 34–36. These are trans-Euphratean expeditions and include the king's earliest and most ambitious campaigns in that direction. One sentence has been expressly composed for engraving on this object and that is: "valiant man who with the support of Aššur, his lord, has put all lands under his feet like a footstool" (line 10; cf. A.O.102.30 line 11 and A.O.103 ii 15–16). The simile is appropriate for a throne base. Since the thirteenth year is mentioned, the base was probably made in that year (846 BC) or shortly thereafter.

### COMMENTARY

The throne base (ND 11000 = IM 65574) consists of two blocks made of yellowish-brown limestone and the total dimensions are 382×228 cm. It was not necessary to collate the inscriptions although it was possible to

collate lines 48–50 (A.O.102.60–62) from the published photos. The text is in the first person except for the introduction (lines 1–9) and a short passage in lines 43–44, both of which are in third person.

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### TEXT

- 1) 𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊𒂗𒂊<sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kiš-šat  
UN.MEŠ NUN ŠID aš-šur A aš-šur-PAB-A
- 2) LÚ.GAR 𒂗BAD ŠID aš-šur A tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ  
LÚ.GAR 𒂗BAD ŠID aš-šur-ma MAN ba-<sup>2</sup>i-it
- 3) DINGIR.MEŠ ni-šit IGI.II.MEŠ 𒂗BAD iš-šá-ku  
aš-šur šur-ru-ḫu NUN na-a <sup>2</sup>du
- 4) muš-te-<sup>2</sup>u-ú áš-rat DINGIR.MEŠ šá qé-reb é-  
šár-ra a-me-ru du-ur-gi
- 5) ù šap-šá-qí mu-kab-bi-is SAG.MEŠ šá KUR-e  
ḫur-šá-ni ma-<sup>1</sup>ḫír<sup>1</sup> GUN
- 6) igi-se<sub>11</sub>-e šá ka-liš UB.MEŠ mu-pat-tu-ú tu-da-  
te šá e-liš ù šap-liš
- 7) šá ina zi-kir be-lu-ti-šú UB.MEŠ ul-ta-<sup>2</sup>nap-šá-  
qa i-ḫi-lu URU.URU NÍTA dan-nu
- 8) mu-kab-bi-is GÚ a-a-bi-šú mu-pa-ri-ir ki-iš-ri  
mul-tar-ḫi da-iš

1–10a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur; *desired one* of the gods, chosen of the god Enlil, splendid vice-regent of Aššur, attentive prince, who frequents the shrines of the gods within Ešarra, who has seen remote (5) and rugged regions, who has trodden upon the mountain peaks in the highlands, receiver of booty (and) tax from all the (four) quarters, who opens paths above and below, at whose lordly command the (four) quarters are distressed (and) cities convulsed, strong male who treads upon the necks of his foes, who breaks up the forces of the rebellious, trampler of all his enemies,

- 9) *kul-lat na-ki-ri-šú eṭ-lu qar-du šá ina* GIŠ.tukul-ti aš-šur EN-šú KUR.KUR.MEŠ  
 10) DÜ-ši-na GIM GIŠ.GİR.GUB a-na GİR.II.MEŠ-šú ik-bu-su ina šur-rat MAN-ti-a  
 11) ina maḥ-re-e BALA-ia a-na A.AB.BA šá KUR na-ḫi-ri a-lik  
 12) GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ina tam-ti ú-lil UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ia  
 13) aq-qí ša-lam MAN-ti-ia mu-kín MU-ia ina UGU tam-ti ú-še-ziz  
 14) URU a-ri-du URU ḫub-uš-ki-a URU su-gu-ni-a a-di nap-ḫar URU.MEŠ  
 15) šá li-me-tu-šú-nu KUR-ud ina IZI.MEŠ áš-ru-up šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la  
 16) ma-da-tu šá URU ḫar-ga-a-a URU ḫar-ma-sa-a-a URU ul-ma-ni-a-a  
 17) URU si-me-ra-a-a URU si-ri-iš-a-a URU gíl-za-na-a-a ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ GIŠ.LAL  
 18) GIŠ.GIŠ ú-du-ri.MEŠ šá šu-un-na gu-ga-li-pe-ši-na am-ḫur a-na tam-ti  
 19) šá KUR a-mur-ri a-lik GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia ina tam-ti ú-lil ša-lam MAN-ti-ia ina UGU tam-ti ú-še-ziz ma-da-tu šá MAN.MEŠ-ni šá a-ḫat tam-ti DÜ-šú-nu am-ḫur  
 21) a-na KUR-e KUR ḫa-ma-ni e-li [GIŠ].ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni GIŠ bu-ra-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 22) a-kis ša-lam MAN-ti-ia ina UGU KUR ḫa-ma-ni ú-še-ziz a-na KUR-e  
 23) KUR lal-la-ar a-šar šal-mu šá <sup>m</sup>AN-ḫi-ir-be zaq-pu a-lik šal-mi  
 24) it-ti šal-mi-šú ú-še-ziz KUR ḫat-ti DAGAL-tu a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá a-pél  
 25) 80 LIM 7 LIM 5 ME ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ KUR ḫat-ti a-su-ḫa a-na UN.MEŠ KUR-ia am-nu <sup>m</sup>a-ḫu-ni DUMU a-di-ni šá TA MAN.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-ia še-ep-šu  
 27) u da-na-nu il-ta-ka-nu a-di ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú  
 28) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú a-su-ḫa-šú a-na UN.MEŠ-še-ia am-nu-šú  
 29) ina u<sub>c</sub>-me-šú-ma <sup>md</sup>ŠKUR-id-ri šá-i-ma-ri-šú <sup>mir</sup>ḫu-le-na KUR <ḫa>-ma-ta-a-a  
 30) ù 12 MAN.MEŠ-ni šá a-ḫat A.AB.BA a-na Á.MEŠ a-ḫa-miš it-tak-lu-ma  
 31) a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>1</sub> ù MĒ a-na GABA-ia it-bu-ni ina qí-bit aš-šur EN-a  
 32) it-ti-šú-nu am-da-ḫi-iš TA URU qar-qa-ra a-di URU di-il-zi-a-ú  
 33) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-kun ADDA.MEŠ qu-ra-di-šú-nu EDIN DAGAL-šú ú-mal-li  
 34) si-ta-at ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú-nu ina ri-iḫ-ši at-bu-uk ina 13 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 35) 10-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir nam-ru-rat EN-ti-ia UGU KUR ḫat-ti  
 36) KUR me-eš-ri KUR šu-ri KUR ši-du-ni ù KUR ḫa-ni-gal-bat at-bu-uk

valiant man who with the support of Aššur, his lord, has put all lands under his feet like a footstool: 10b–18a) At the beginning of my sovereignty (and) in my first regnal year I marched to the sea of the land Nairi. I washed my weapons in the sea (and) made sacrifices to my gods. I erected my royal stele proclaiming my name by the sea. I conquered the cities Aridu, Ḫubuškia, (and) Sugunia together with all the towns (15) in their environs. I burned (them) and carried off their booty. I received tribute from the people of the cities Ḫargu, Ḫarmasa, Ulmānu, Simerra, Sirišu, (and) Gilzānu: teams of horses (and) camels with two humps.

18b–28) I marched to the sea of the land Amurru, washed my weapons in the sea, (and) erected my royal stele by the sea. (20) I received tribute from all the kings along the seashore. I ascended the Amanus range (and) cut down beams of cedar (and) juniper. I erected my royal stele upon the Amanus range. (Then) I marched to Mount Lallar, where the stele of Anum-ḫirbe stands, (and) erected my stele beside his stele. (Thus) did I gain dominion over all the wide land of Ḫatti. (25) I deported 87,500 troops of the land Ḫatti (and) included (them) among the people of my land. I deported Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini, who had fought with might and main against the kings my fathers; I deported him together with his troops, his gods, his chariots, (and) his horses, (and) included them among my people.

29–34a) At that time Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, (and) Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, together with twelve kings along the seashore, trusting in their combined forces, attacked me to wage war and strife. By the command of Aššur, my lord, I fought with them (and) defeated them from the city Qarqar to the city Dilziau. I filled the wide plain with the corpses of their warriors, piling up the remains of their army (as though) by a flood.

34b–42a) In my thirteen regnal years I crossed the Euphrates ten times. I poured out my lordly brilliance over the lands Ḫatti, Mešru, Tyre, Sidon, and Ḫanigalbat. I conquered (and) burned from the land Enzi to the land Daiēnu (and) Suḫni. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the city Aršaškun, the

10 Hulin's copy shows two verticals between -rat and MAN-. Erasure?

16 URU ul-ma-ni-a-a: regarding the form of -ni- see Hulin's note.

32 URU di-il-zi-a-ú: cf. URU gíl-za-ú in the same context in A.O.102.2 ii 97.



- 37) TA KUR *en-zi a-di* KUR *da-ie-ni* KUR *su-uh-ni*  
KUR-*ud ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up*
- 38) URU *ar-ša-áš-kun* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-*  
*me* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a*
- 39) *a-di nap-ḥar* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tu-šú a-pùl*  
*a-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up*
- 40) <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-mu a-na šú-zu-bu* ZI.MEŠ-*šú ana* KUR-*e*  
*mar-ši e-li* EGIR-*šú ar-te-di*
- 41) MĒ *dan-nu ina qé-reb* KUR-*e áš-kun* 13 LIM 5  
MĒ *mun-daḥ-ši-šú ina* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit*  
GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú pit-ḥal-lu*.MEŠ-*šú*  
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú pa-re-e a-ga-li ú-nu-ut*  
MĒ-*šú ni-šir-ti* MAN-*ti-šú u uš-ma-nu-šú e-kim-*  
*šú na-mur-rat* EN-*ti-a* UGU KUR *qu-te-e*  
DAGAL-*ti at-bu-uk*
- 42) *ina né-re-bi šá* KUR *en-zi e-ru-ub ina* SAG  
URU.4-DINGIR *ú-ša-a a-na tam-ti šá šul-me*  
*šam-ši a-lik* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ina tam-ti ú-*  
*lil* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ia*  
*aš-bat* <sup>m</sup>*a-na-re-e* KUR *bu-ni-sa-a-a* <sup>m</sup>*ni-ik-di-a-*  
*ra* KUR *i-da-a-a pu-ul-ḥi me-lam-me*
- 43) *šá aš-šur* EN-*ia is-ḥu-pu-šú-nu a-na šu-zu-ub*  
ZI.MEŠ-*šú-nu a-na* KUR-*e e-lu-ú ar-ki-šú-nu a-*  
*na* KUR-*e e-li* LÚ *muq-tab-li-šú-nu ú-na-pi-iš*  
*šal-la-su-nu* TA *qé-reb* KUR-*e ú-te-ra si-ta-at*  
ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú-nu ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ur-*  
*ba-ni ir-ka-bu-ma a-na tam-ti ú-ri-du* LUGAL  
*ar-ka-a ul ú-qa-a* ? *ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ
- 44) *ḥi-im-ti ar-ki-šú-nu ú-šá-aš-ri-iḥ ú-na-ki-is* LÚ  
*muq-tab-li-šú* ADDA.MEŠ-*šú-nu pa-an ta-ma-ti*  
*ú-mal-li šal-la-su-nu* TA *qé-reb ta-ma-ti ú-še-la-*  
*a a-na* KUR *šub-re-e a-lik* <sup>m</sup>*an-ḥi-ti* KUR *šub-*  
*re-a-a ana šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú* URU *ḥas-me-tu*  
URU MAN-*ti-šú ú-maš-šir ana* URU *i-bu-me*  
KU<sub>4</sub>-*ub ina* URU-*šú e-sir<sub>4</sub>-šú* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú*  
DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú it-ti ma-da-ti-šú*  
<*amḥur*>

fortified city of Aramu, the Urartian, together with all the towns in its environs. (40) Aramu ascended a rugged mountain to save his life. I pursued him (and) fought a fierce battle on the mountain. I felled with the sword 13,500 of his warriors (and) took away from him his chariots, cavalry, horses, mules, donkeys, military equipment, his royal treasury, and his camp. I poured out my lordly splendour over the land of the extensive Guti. I entered the pass of the land Enzi and came out before Arbail.

42b–44a) I marched to the sea in the west, washed my weapons in the sea, (and) made sacrifices to my gods. The fearful brilliance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed Anarê, of the land Bunisu, and Nikdêra, of the land Idu, (and) they ascended a mountain to save their lives. I pursued them up the mountain. I smashed their soldiers (and) brought back booty from them from the mountain. The remnant of their army boarded boats of papyrus and went down (the river) to the sea. The king (Shalmaneser), without waiting for the rear guard, took after them aboard *swift* boats in *hot pursuit*. He cut down their soldiers (and) covered the surface of the sea with their corpses. He brought up their booty from the sea.

44b) I marched to the land Šubrû. Anḥitti, the Šubraean, abandoned Ḥasmetu, his royal city, in order to save his life (and) entered the city Ibumu. I confined him to his city. <I received> his sons (and) daughters with his tribute.

## 29

This text is engraved on a stone slab found at Fort Shalmaneser in a courtyard. It is a stepped dais which was probably used as a platform for the royal throne, possibly during parade reviews. The text includes, out of chronological order, events of various years: first year (858 BC) in lines 24–26, fourth year (855 BC) in lines 8b–12a, eighth and ninth years (851–850 BC) in lines 42b–48, eleventh year (848 BC) in lines 10b–20, and fifteenth year (844 BC) in lines 30b–34a. Thus the text was written no earlier than 844 BC. Similar texts are engraved on a number of door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser and edited here as A.O.102.30–37.

42 Nikdêra: see the note to A.O.102.16 line 25.

44 URU *ḥas-me-tu*: the reading of the ḪAS sign, which is not certain, follows Hulin's suggestion.

44 <*amḥur*>: Hulin says there are no "traces of an attempt to cut" a verb in the scant space left.

## COMMENTARY

The object (291×170 cm), to which no excavation number was assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265), was left in situ by the excavators and therefore the inscription could not be collated. Laessøe gave only a partial transliteration with neither photos nor copy. Laessøe said that the inscription was engraved in two panels. The left panel was badly damaged while the right was much better preserved. He estimated that each panel had about 24 lines, giving a total of about 48 lines for the whole text. The transliteration given here is based upon a draft transliteration in the Hulin papers; Hulin referred to this transliteration in Iraq 25. Although Hulin noted in his transliteration “copied,” no copy of this text could be found among his papers.

While it may be that this dais had been moved from some previous location it could not have been the throne room as the subsequent discovery of the elaborate throne base (A.0.102.28) in the throne room proved. Nor could this have been an earlier throne base removed therefrom since it was written no earlier than 844 BC whereas A.0.102.28 was written in 846 BC.

Laessøe mentioned a second inscribed stone slab found next to the present object. He said that the two were “possibly identical versions” and that all that was preserved on the second stone were traces of: A *aš-šur-PAB-A* in the first line. But if the genealogy had already begun in the first line, either this inscription had longer lines or it was not a duplicate.

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1963 Hulin, *Iraq* 25 p. 58 (study)  
1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 pp. 86–90 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-[MAŠ] MAN *kiš-šat*  
[UN].MEŠ
- 2) [NUN]-ú LÚ.ŠID <sup>r</sup>aš-šur A<sup>1</sup> [*aššur-nāšir-apli*]
- 3) LÚ.GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD] LÚ.ŠID *aš-šur* A <sup>m</sup>tukul-[ti]-  
MAŠ
- 4) GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD <sup>r</sup>ŠID<sup>1</sup> [*aššurma kāšid*] A.AB.BA
- 5) *ša* KUR *na-ri-ri* [A.AB.BA]
- 6) *ša šùl-me* <sup>d</sup>šam-ši [u A.AB].BA
- 7) *ša* KUR *a-mur-ri* KUR *hat-ti a-[na pāf]*
- 8) [*gim*]-ri-ša *a-bél* <sup>m</sup>a-*hu-nu*
- 9) [*mār*] *a-di-ni a-di* ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-šú
- 10) DINGIR.[MEŠ-šú] NÍG.GA É.GAL-šú
- 11) *a-su-*ha* a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia*
- 12) *am-nu-šú ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma* <sup>m</sup>ir-*hu-le-na*
- 13) KUR *ma-ta-a-a* <sup>md</sup>IŠKUR-*id-ri*
- 14) [*ša*] *i-me-ri-šú* ù 12 MAN.MEŠ
- 15) *ša a-*hat** A.AB.BA *u a-*hat** ÍD.A.RAD
- 16) *a-na* Á.MEŠ *a-*ha-iš* it-tak-lu-ma*
- 17) *a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *u MĒ a-na*
- 18) GAB-*ia it-bu-ni ina qí-bit*
- 19) [*aššur bēli*]-<sup>r</sup>ia<sup>1</sup> 3-šú *it-ti-šú-nu*
- 20) [*amda<sup>hi</sup>*]-*iš* BAD<sub>5</sub>.[BAD<sub>5</sub>]-šú-nu *áš-kun*
- 21) [2-šú *ana tam*]-*ti* GAL-*ti a-lik*
- 22) [3-šú *ana* KUR] *ha-ma-ni e-li*
- 23) [GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ] *e-re-ni a-kis*
- 24) [*ana* KUR-*e* KUR] *lal-la-ar a-šar*
- 25) *šal-mu ša* <sup>m</sup>AN-*hi-ir-be zaq-pu*
- 26) *a-lik šal-me it-ti šal-me-šú ú-še-ziz*
- 27) TA SAG *e-ni ša* ÍD.ĪI.A.ĪI.A.
- 28) *a-di* SAG *e-ni ša* ÍD.A.RAD
- 29) *qa-ti* KUR-*ud ma-da-tú ša* KUR *me-li-da-a-<sup>r</sup>a<sup>1</sup>*

1–4a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of [the god Enlil] (and) vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) [also] appointee of the god Enlil [and] vice-regent of [Aššur]:

4b–12a) [conqueror] of the sea of the land Nairi (and) the western [sea] [*also called* (lit. “and”)] the sea of the land Amurru: I gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti. I deported Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini together with his troops, (10) his gods, (and) the possessions of his palace, (and) regarded them as people of my land.

12b–20) At that time Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, (and) Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, together with twelve kings (15) along the seashore and the banks of the Euphrates, trusting in their combined forces, attacked me to wage war and strife. By the command of [Aššur], my [lord], I fought with them for a third time (and) defeated them.

21–26) [For a second time] I marched to the great sea. [For a third time] I ascended [Mount] Amanus (and) cut down [beams of] cedar. (Then) I marched to [Mount] Lallar, where (25) the stele of Anum-ḫirbe stands, (and) erected my stele beside his stele.

27–34a) I conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. I received tribute from the man of the land Melid (30) at the Euphrates

- 30) *ina* UGU ÍD.A.RAD *ina pu-ut* URU-šú  
 31) *am-ḥur* 3-šú *a-na* KUR *na-’i-ri*  
 32) *a-lik* <sup>m</sup>*a-si-a* MAN KUR *da-ie-ni*  
 33) GÌR.MEŠ-*a iṣ-bat ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia ina*  
 MURUB<sub>4</sub> URU-šú  
 34) *ú-še-ziz* TA KUR *en-zi a-di* KUR *da-ie-ni*  
 35) KUR *su-uḥ-me a-di* URU *ar-ṣa-āš-kun*  
 36) ʾURUʾ [šarrūtišu ša <sup>m</sup>] *a-ra-me*  
 37) KUR *ú-ʾraʾ-[ar-ṭa]-a-a* KUR *gíl-za-ni*  
 38) *a-di* KUR [ḥubuškia] ʾGIMʾ DU<sub>6</sub> *a-[bu-bi]*  
 39) *āš-pu-nu* TA *tam-[ti ša* KUR *zamuā*]  
 40) *šá bi-ta-ni a-di tam-[ti ša* KUR *kaldí*]  
 41) *šá* ÍD *mar-ʾraʾ-tú ʾiʾ-[qabbūšini]*
- 42) *a-na* GÌR.MEŠ-*a ú-šék-niš* [*ana* KUR  
*karduniaš*]  
 43) *a-lik ina* KUR *kar-du-ni-āš* DAGAL-*[ti] me-še-*  
*[ri-iš]*  
 44) *at-tal-lak ana* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
 URU.*bár-[sípa.KI]*  
 45) *u* URU.GÚ.DU<sub>8</sub>.ÉRIN.KI *a-lik*  
 UDU.SIZKUR.MEŠ *ana* DINGIR.ʾMEŠʾ  
 46) BAL-*qí ana* KUR *kal-di a-ta-rad* KUR *kal-du*  
 47) *ana pāṭ gim-ri-šú a-bél šá* MAN.MEŠ *šá* KUR  
*kal-di*  
 48) *ma-da-ta-šú-nu ina* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI  
*am-ḥur*

before his city. For a third time I marched to the land Nairi. Asia, king of the land Daiēnu, submitted to me (and) I erected my royal image within his city.

34b–39a) I overwhelmed like a flood the land Enzi as far as the lands Daiēnu (and) (35) Suḥme, as far as the city Aršaškun, the [royal] city of Aramu, the Urtian, (and) the land Gilzānu as far as the land [Ḥubuškia].

39b–42a) I subdued (the territory stretching) from the sea of the interior of [the land Zamua] to the sea of [Chaldaeā], which [is called] the Marratu (“Bitter”) river.

42b–48) I marched [to the land Karduniaš]. I marched about justly in the extensive land Karduniaš. I marched to Babylon, Borsippa, (45) and Cuthah. (and) made sacrifices to the gods. I went down to Chaldaeā (and) gained dominion over Chaldaeā in its entirety. I received tribute from the kings of Chaldaeā in Babylon.

## 30

This text is engraved on a door sill found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on a number of door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, which are edited as A.0.102.30–37. The present text has a lengthy passage with epithets which, to a large extent, duplicates a passage in A.0.102.28 (A.0.102.32 lines 3b–12a // A.0.102.28 lines 2b–10a). The inscription subsequently includes events of the fourth regnal year (855 BC) in lines 20a–21, the eighth and ninth regnal years (851–850 BC) in lines 28b–32a, the eleventh regnal year (848 BC) in lines 22–28a, and the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in lines 18b–20a. Thus the text was written no earlier than 844 BC. The object was donated by Šamaš-bēla-ušur (governor of Calah c. 864–844 BC) as was A.0.102.31 and A.0.102.62.

## COMMENTARY

The stone, which measures 139×243 cm, was found in situ in the doorway into room T 25 and the inscription is enclosed in a ruled panel. No excavation number was assigned to the door sill (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265). It was left in situ by the

excavators and therefore the inscription could not be collated. The text is only known from a draft transliteration found among the Hulin papers. Although Hulin recorded in his notes that this text had been “copied,” the copy could not be found.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1963 D. Oates, Iraq 25 pp. 27–28 (provenance)

## TEXT

- 1) [*ekal šulmānu-ašarēd šar kiš*]-[šat<sup>1</sup> UN.MEŠ NUN-ú LÚ.ŠID *aš-šur*
- 2) [*apil aššur-nāšir-apli šakin enlil iššak*] [aš-šur<sup>1</sup> A tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ LÚ.GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD
- 3) [*iššak aššurma šarru ba ʾit* DINGIR].MEŠ *ni-šit* IGI.II.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>BAD
- 4) [*iššaku aššur šurruḫu*] NUN-ú *na-a ʾ-du muš-te-<sup>2</sup>u-ú*
- 5) [*ašrat ilāni ša qé*]-[reb<sup>1</sup> *é-šár-ra a-me-ru du-ur-gi*
- 6) [*u šapšaqi mu*]-[kab<sup>1</sup>-bi-is SAG.MEŠ *šá* KUR-*e ḫur-šá-ni*
- 7) [*māḫir bilti igi*]-[se<sub>11</sub>-*e šá ka-liš* UB.MEŠ *mu-pat-tu-ú*
- 8) [*tūdāte ša*] [e<sup>1</sup>-liš *u šap-liš* NÍTA *dan-nu mu-kab-bi-is*
- 9) [GÚ *a-a*]-[bi<sup>1</sup>-šú *mu-pa-ri-ir ki-iš-ri mul-tar-ḫi*
- 10) [*da-iš kul*]-[lat *na-ki-ri-šú eṭ-lu qar-du šá ina tukul-ti aš-šur*
- 11) [*bēlišu mātāti* DÚ].MEŠ-*ši-na* GIM GIŠ.GĪR.GUB *ana* GĪR.II.MEŠ-*šú*
- 12) [*ik-bu*]-*su ka-šid* A.AB.BA *šá* KUR *na-ʾi-ri*
- 13) [A.AB].BA *šá šul-me* <sup>d</sup>šam-*ši u* A.AB.BA *šá* KUR *a-mur-ri*
- 14) [TA KUR *en*]-[zi<sup>1</sup> *a-di* KUR *da-ie-ni* KUR *su-uḫ-me*
- 15) [*a-di* URU] *ar-ša-áš-kun* URU MAN-*ti-šú šá* <sup>m</sup>a-*ra-me*
- 16) [KUR *ú-ra*]-[ar<sup>1</sup>-*ṭa-a-a* KUR *gil-za-ni* KUR *ḫub-uš-ki-a*
- 17) [...] DAGAL-*tu qa-ti* KUR-*ud* GUN *ma-da-tu*
- 18) [...] *e-me-su-nu-ti ina* 15 BALA.MEŠ-*a*
- 19) [12-šú ID.A.RAD] *e-bir* KUR *ḫat-ti a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá*
- 20) [*a-bél* <sup>m</sup>a]-*ḫu-nu* DUMU *a-di-ni a-di* ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-*šú* DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú*
- 21) [NÍG.GA] [E<sup>1</sup>.GAL-šú *a-su-ḫa a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia am-nu-šú*
- 22) [*ina u,-me-šú*]-*ma* <sup>m</sup>ir-*ḫu-le-na* KUR *ma-ta-a-a* <sup>m</sup>IŠKUR-*id-ri*
- 23) [*šá*] [i<sup>1</sup>-*me-ri-šú* *ù* 12 MAN.MEŠ *šá a-ḫat tam-ti*
- 24) [*u a-ḫat*] [ID<sup>1</sup>.A.RAD *ana* Á.MEŠ *a-ḫa-miš it-tak-lu-ma*
- 25) [*a-na e*]-[peš<sup>1</sup> MURUB<sub>4</sub> *u* MÊ *a-na* GAB-*ia it-bu-ni*
- 26) [*ina qí-bit aš*]-šur EN-*ia it-ti-šú-nu am-da-ḫi-iš*
- 27) [TA URU *qar*]-*qa-ra a-di* URU *di-il-zi-a-ú* BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-*nu*
- 28) [*áš-kun*] [a<sup>1</sup>-*na* KUR *kar-du-ni-áš a-lik ana* URU.KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI

1–3a) [Palace of Shalmaneser, king of] all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, [son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil (and) vice-regent of] Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) [also] appointee of the god Enlil [and vice-regent of Aššur]; 3b–12a) [*desired one* of the gods], chosen of the god Enlil, [splendid vice-regent of Aššur], attentive prince, who frequents (5) [the shrines of the gods] within Ešarra, who has seen remote [and rugged] regions, who has trodden upon the mountain peaks in the highlands, [receiver of booty (and)] tax from all the (four) quarters, who opens [paths] above and below, strong male who treads upon [the necks of] his foes, who breaks up the forces of the rebellious, (10) [trampler of] all his enemies, valiant man who with the support of Aššur, [his lord, has] put all [lands] under his feet like a footstool:

12b–13) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi (and) the western sea *also called* (lit. “and”) the sea of the land Amurru:

14–18a) I conquered [from the land En]zi as far as the lands Daiēnu (and) Suḫme, (15) [as far as the city] Aršaškun, the royal city of Aramu, the Urartian, (and) the land Gilzānu, the land Ḫubuškia, (and) the extensive [*land ...*]. I imposed upon them tribute, tax, [(and) *gifts*].

18b–21) In my fifteenth regnal year I crossed [the Euphrates for the twelfth time. I gained dominion] over the entire land Ḫatti. I deported (20) Aḫunu, the man of Bīt-Adini together with his troops, his gods, (and) [the possessions of] his palace, (and) included them among my people.

22–28a) [At that time] Irḫulēnu, the Ḫamatite, (and) Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, together with twelve kings along the seashore [and the banks of] the Euphrates, trusting in their combined forces, (25) attacked me to wage war and strife. [By the command of Aššur, my lord, I fought with them (and) defeated them [from the city Qar]qar as far as the city Dilziau.

28b–32a) I marched to the land Karduniaš. I marched to Babylon, [Bor]sippa, and Cuthah, (and)

- 29) [URU.bár]-[sipa<sup>1</sup>.KI] u URU.GÚ.DU<sub>g</sub>.ÉRIN.KI  
a-lik UDU.SIZKUR.MEŠ-a  
30) [BAL-qí ana] KUR kal-di a-ta-rad KUR kal-du  
ana paṭ gim-ri-šú  
31) [a-bél] Ṡá MAN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ šá KUR kal-di a-di tam-  
ti ma-da-ta-šú-nur  
32) [ina URU].KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI am-ḥur  
NA<sub>4</sub>.KUN<sub>4</sub> šú-a-tú<sup>md</sup>UTU-EN-PAB  
33) [šá-kín URU] kal-ḥi ina É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-  
MAŠ MAN KUR aš-šur  
34) [EN-šú] Ṡa<sup>1</sup>-na a-ša-at u<sub>4</sub>-me ú-kín

(30) [made] sacrifices. I went down to Chaldaea (and) [gained dominion] over Chaldaea in its entirety. I received tribute in Babylon from the kings of Chaldaea as far as the sea.

32b–34) Šamaš-bēla-ušur, [governor of] Calah, has installed forever this threshold in the palace of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, [his lord].

## 31

This text is engraved on door sills found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on other door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.0.102.30. The present text includes events of the first regnal year (858 BC) in lines 8–9 and of the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in lines 6–7 and 11b–17a. Thus the text was written no earlier than 844 BC. The object was donated by Šamaš-bēla-ušur (governor of Calah c. 864–844 BC) as was A.0.102.30 and A.0.102.62.

### COMMENTARY

Ex. 1 (111×121 cm) was found in situ in the doorway between rooms T 26 and T 25. Exs. 2 and 3 (dimensions unknown) formed respectively the western and eastern parts of the threshold into room T 3. All these door sills, to which no excavation numbers were assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265), were left in situ by the excavators and therefore the

inscriptions could not be collated. The text is only known from draft transliterations found among the Hulin papers.

The master text follows ex. 1 with a few restorations from exs. 2 and 3. The interested reader can check the scores. Ex. 3 omits lines 12b–17a and therefore, technically, is a separate text.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1963 D. Oates, *Iraq* 25 pp. 27–28 (provenance)

### TEXT

- 1) É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kiš-šat  
UN.MEŠ  
2) NUN-ú ŠID aš-šur A aš-šur-PAB-A GAR<sup>d</sup>BAD  
ŠID aš-šur  
3) A tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ GAR<sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur-ma ka-  
šid  
4) A.AB.BA šá KUR na-<sup>’i</sup>-ri A.AB.BA šá šùl-mu  
5) <sup>d</sup>šam-ši u A.AB.BA šá KUR a-mur-ri

1–3a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil (and) vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur: 3b–7a) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi (and) the western sea (5) *also called* (lit. “and”) the sea of the land Amurru: In my fifteenth regnal year I

A.0.102.30 line 29 URU.GU.DU<sub>g</sub>.ÉRIN.KI = Cuthah: for the orthography see the note to A.0.102.59 line 46.

A.0.102.31 line 4-5.2 A.AB.BA šá KUR na-<sup>’i</sup>-ri a-di tam-di šá KUR a-mur-ri: “(conqueror of) the sea of the land Nairi to the sea of the land Amurru.”

- 6) *ina* 15 BALA.MEŠ-a 12-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*  
KUR *ḫat-ti* crossed the Euphrates for the twelfth time. I gained  
dominion over the entire land Ḫatti.
- 7) *ana paṭ gim-ri-šá a-bél* 2-šú *ana tam-ti* GAL-ti 7b–9a) For a second time I marched to the great sea.  
8) *a-lik* 3-šú *a-na* KUR *ḫa-ma-ni e-li* For a third time I ascended Mount Amanus (and) cut  
down beams of cedar.
- 9) GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni a-kis* TA SAG 9b–17a) I conquered from the source of the Tigris to  
10) *e-ni šá* ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL *a-di* SAG *e-ni* the source of the Euphrates. For a third time I  
11) *šá* ÍD.A.RAD *qa-ti* KUR-*ud* 3-šú *a-na* I marched to the land Nairi. I overwhelmed like a  
12) KUR *na-’i-ri a-lik* TA KUR *en-zi a-di* flood the (territory stretching) from the land Enzi as  
13) KUR *da-ie-ni* KUR *su-uḫ-me a-di* far as the lands Daiēnu (and) Suḫme, as far as the  
14) URU *ar-ša-aš-kun* URU MAN-ti-šú *šá* city Aršaškun, the royal city of (15) Aramu, the  
15) <sup>m</sup>*a-ra-me* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a* Uraṭian, (and) the lands Gilzānu (and) Ḫubuškia.
- 16) KUR *gíl-za-ni* KUR *ḫub-uš-ki-a* GIM DU<sub>6</sub> *a-bu-  
be* 17b–19) Šamaš-bēla-ušur, governor of Calah, has  
17) *aš-pu-nu* NA<sub>4</sub>.KUN<sub>4</sub> *šú-a-tú* <sup>md</sup>UTU-EN-PAB installed forever this threshold in the palace of  
18) *šá-kín* URU *kal-ḫi ina* É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-*ma-nu-MAŠ* Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, his lord.  
19) MAN KUR *aš-šur* EN-šú *ana a-ša-at u<sub>4</sub>-me  
ú-kín*

## 32

This text is engraved on a door sill found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on other door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.0.102.30. The present text includes events of the first regnal year (858 BC) in line 5 and of the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in lines 3b–4a and 6b–7a. Thus this text was written no earlier than 844 BC.

## COMMENTARY

The inscription is enclosed in a ruled panel measuring 167×56 cm. The stone was found in situ in the doorway between rooms T 27 and T 28. The door sill, to which no excavation number was assigned (see Dalley and

Postgate, Fort Shalmaneser p. 265), was left in situ by the excavators and therefore the inscription could not be collated. The text is only known from a draft transliteration found among the Hulin papers.

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-*ma-nu-MAŠ* MAN *kiš-šat*  
UN.MEŠ NUN-ú ŠID *aš-šur A aš-šur-PAB-A* 1–2a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all people,  
prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal  
(II), appointee of the god Enlil (and) vice-regent of  
Aššur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also  
appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur:
- 2) GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur A tukul-ti-dMAŠ GAR 2b–4a) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi (and)  
<sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur-ma ka-šid* A.AB.BA *šá* KUR the western sea, *also called* (lit. “and”) the sea of  
*na-’i-ri* the land Amurru: In my fifteenth regnal year I  
crossed the Euphrates for the twelfth time. I gained  
dominion over the entire land Ḫatti.*
- 3) A.AB.BA *šá šùl-mu d*šam-š*i u* A.AB.BA *šá*  
KUR *a-mur-ri ina* 15 BALA.MEŠ-a 12-šú

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>4) ÍD.A.RAD <i>e-bir</i> KUR <i>ḫat-ti ana paṭ gim-ri-ša a-bél 2-šú a-na tam-ti</i></p> <p>5) GAL-ti <i>a-lik 3-šú a-na</i> KUR <i>ḫa-ma-ni e-li</i> GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ <i>e-re-ni a-kis</i></p> <p>6) TA SAG <i>e-ni šá</i> ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL <i>a-di</i> SAG <i>e-ni šá</i> ÍD.A.RAD <i>qa-ti</i> KUR-ud <i>3-šú</i></p> <p>7) <i>a-na</i> KUR <i>na-ʾi-ri a-lik</i> TA KUR <i>en-zi a-di</i> KUR <i>da-ie-ni</i> KUR <i>su-uḫ-me</i></p> <p>8) <i>a-di</i> URU <i>ar-ša-áš-kun</i> URU MAN-ti-šú <i>ša ma-ra-me</i> KUR <i>ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a</i></p> <p>9) KUR <i>gil-za-ni</i> KUR <i>ḫub-uš-ki-a</i> GIM DU<sub>6</sub> <i>a-bu-be áš-pu-nu</i> TA <i>tam-ti</i></p> <p>10) KUR <i>za-mu-a šá bi-ta-ni a-di tam-ti šá</i> KUR <i>kal-di a-na</i> GÌR.MEŠ-a <i>ú-šek-niš</i></p> | <p>4b–9a) For a second time I marched to the great sea. For a third time I ascended Mount Amanus (and) cut down beams of cedar. I conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. For a third time I marched to the land Nairi. I overwhelmed like a flood the (territory stretching) from the land Enzi as far as the lands Daiēnu (and) Suḫme, as far as the city Aršaškun, the royal city of Aramu, the Urartian, (and) the lands Gilzānu (and) Ḫubuškia.</p> <p>9b–10) I subdued (the territory stretching) from the sea of the interior of the land Zamua to the sea of Chaldaea.</p> |
|---|--|

## 33

This text is engraved on a door sill found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on other door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.0.102.30. The present text, which is a duplicate of A.0.102.32 except that it omits the last episode in that inscription, includes events of the first regnal year (858 BC) in lines 7b–8a and of the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in lines 5–6a and 9b–10a. Thus this text too was written no earlier than 844 BC.

## COMMENTARY

The inscription is enclosed in a ruled panel measuring 123×78 cm. The stone was found in situ in the doorway leading from the east into room T 27. The door sill, to which no excavation number was assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, Fort Shalmaneser p. 265), was left in situ

by the excavators and therefore the inscription could not be collated. The text is only known from a draft transliteration found among the Hulin papers. Although Hulin recorded in his notes that this text had been “copied,” the copy could not be found.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1963 D. Oates, Iraq 25 pp. 27–28 (provenience)

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN <i>kiš-šat</i> UN.MEŠ NUN-ú</p> <p>2) ŠID <i>aš-šur</i> A <i>aš-šur</i>-PAB-A GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID <i>aš-šur</i> A <i>tukul-ti</i>-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD</p> <p>3) ŠID <i>aš-šur-ma ka-šid</i> A.AB.BA <i>ša</i> KUR <i>na-ʾi-ri</i> A.AB.BA</p> <p>4) <i>ša šùl-mu</i> <sup>d</sup>šam-ši u A.AB.BA <i>ša</i> KUR <i>a-mur-ri</i></p> <p>5) <i>ina 15</i> BALA.MEŠ-a <i>12-šú</i> ÍD.A.RAD <i>e-bir</i> KUR <i>ḫat-ti</i></p> | <p>1–3a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil (and) vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur: 3b–6a) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi (and) the western sea, <i>also called</i> (lit. “and”) the sea of the land Amurru: In my fifteenth regnal year I crossed the Euphrates for the twelfth time. I gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti.</p> |
|--|---|

- 6) *ana paṭ gim-ri-šá a-bél 2-šú a-na tam-ti GAL-ti*  
 7) *a-lik 3-šú a-na KUR ḥa-ma-ni e-li GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ*  
 8) *GIŠ e-re-ni a-kis TA SAG e-ni šá ÍD.ḪAL.ḪAL*  
*a-di*  
 9) *SAG e-ni šá ÍD.A.RAD qa-ti KUR-ud 3-šú a-na*  
 10) *KUR na-’i-ri a-lik TA KUR en-zi a-di KUR da-*  
*ie-ni*  
 11) *KUR su-uḫ-me a-di URU ar-ša-áš-kun URU*  
*MAN-ti-šú šá*  
 12) *ma-ra-me KUR ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a KUR gíl-za-ni*  
 13) *KUR ḥub-uš-ki-a GIM DU<sub>6</sub> a-bu-be áš-pu-nu*

6b–13) For a second time I marched to the great sea. For a third time I ascended Mount Amanus (and) cut down beams of cedar. I conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. For a third time I marched to the land Nairi. I overwhelmed like a flood the (territory stretching) from the land Enzi as far as the lands Daiēnu (and) Suḫme, as far as the city Aršaškun, the royal city of Aramu, the Urartian, (and) the lands Gilzānu (and) Ḫubuškia.

## 34

This text is engraved on a door sill found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on other door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.0.102.30. The present text includes events of the first regnal year (858 BC) in lines 8b–10a, the fourth regnal year (855 BC) in lines 6–7a, and the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in lines 4b–5. Thus this text was written no earlier than 844 BC.

### COMMENTARY

The stone threshold measures 146x62 cm while the panel in which the inscription appears measures 141x53 cm. The object, to which no excavation number was assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265), was left in situ by the excavators,

in a doorway leading to room S4, and therefore the inscription could not be collated. A draft transliteration of the text was found among the Hulin papers. Although Hulin recorded in his notes that this text had been “copied,” the copy could not be found.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1958 Mallowan, *Iraq* 20/2 p. ii (provenience)  
 1959 Laessøe, *Iraq* 21 pp. 38–40 and pl. 12 (copy, edition)

1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 pp. 86–90 (study)  
 1984 Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265 (study)

### TEXT

- 1) *É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kiš-šat*  
*UN.MEŠ NUN-ú ŠID aš-šur*  
 2) *A aš-šur-PAB-A GAR<sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur A*  
*tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ GAR<sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur-ma*  
 3) *ka-šid A.AB.BA šá KUR na-’i-ri A.AB.BA šá*  
*šul-mu*  
 4) *šam-ši u A.AB.BA šá KUR a-mur-ri ina 15*  
*BALA.MEŠ-a 12-šú*  
 5) *ÍD.A.RAD e-bir KUR ḥat-ti a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá*  
*a-pél*  
 6) *ma-ḥu-nu A ma-di-ni a-di ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú*  
*DINGIR.MEŠ-šú a-su-ḥa*

1–2) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur; 3–5) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi, the sea of the west, *also called* (lit. “and”) the sea of the land Amurru: In my fifteenth year I crossed the Euphrates for the twelfth time (and) gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti.

6–7a) Aḫunu, a man of Bīt-Adini, I deported together with his troops (and) his gods, (and) included them among the people of my land.



- 7) *a-na UN.MEŠ KUR-ia am-nu-šú 2-šú ana tam-ti GAL-ti a-lik 3-šú*  
 8) *ana KUR ḥa-ma-ni e-li GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni a-kis ana KUR-e*  
 9) *KUR lal-la-ar a-šar šal-mu šá mAN-ḥi-ir-be zaq-pu a-lik*  
 10) *šal-me it-ti šal-me-šú ú-še-ziz TA SAG e-ni šá ÍD.ḤAL.ḤAL*  
 11) *a-di SAG e-ni šá ÍD.A.RAD qa-ti KUR-ud*

7b–11) For a second time I marched to the great sea. For a third time I ascended Mount Amanus (and) cut down cedar beams. I marched to Mount Lallar, where the image of Anum-ḥirbe stands, (and) (10) erected my image with his. I conquered from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates.

## 35

This text is engraved on a door sill found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on other door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.O.102.30. The present text includes events of the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in line 4 and thus was written no earlier than 844 BC.

### COMMENTARY

The stone threshold measures 184×49 cm, while the panel in which the inscription appears measures 172×27.5 cm. The object, to which no excavation number was assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265), was left in situ by the excavators,

in a doorway between rooms T 27 and T 21. The inscription could therefore not be collated. A draft transliteration of the text was found among the Hulin papers.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1963 D. Oates, *Iraq* 25 pp. 27–28 (provenance)

### TEXT

- 1) *É.GAL mdšūl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kiš-šat UN.MEŠ NUN-ú ŠID aš-šur A aš-šur-PAB-A*  
 2) *GAR dBAD ŠID aš-šur A tukul-ti-dMAŠ GAR dBAD ŠID aš-šur-ma ka-šid A.AB.BA*  
 3) *šá KUR na-ri-ri A.AB.BA šá šūl-mu dšam-ši u A.AB.BA šá KUR a-mur-ri*  
 4) *ina 15 BALA.MEŠ-a 12-šú ÍD.A.RAD e-bir KUR ḥat-ti ana paṭ gim-ri-šá*  
 5) *a-pél 2-šú a-na tam-ti GAL-ti a-lik 3-šú a-na KUR ḥa-ma-ni e-li*

1–2a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur; 2b–5a) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi, the sea of the west, *also called* (lit. “and”) the sea of the land Amurru: In my fifteenth year I crossed the Euphrates for the twelfth time (and) gained dominion over the entire land Ḥatti.

5b) For a second time I marched to the great sea. For a third time I ascended Mount Amanus.

## 36

This text is engraved on stones found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.0.102.30. The present text includes events of the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in lines 6–7 and thus was written no earlier than 844 BC.

## COMMENTARY

Ex. 1 is a door sill which was found in the doorway between rooms T 23 and T 26. It measures 109×147 cm and the inscription is enclosed in a ruled panel. Ex. 2 is a stone which measures 106×52 cm, while the panel in which the inscription appears measures 102×12.5 cm. This stone, according to Hulin's notes, provided "the bolt socket for the door at the inside edge of the doorway into T 24 from the east." Both objects, to which

no excavation numbers were assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265), were left in situ by the excavators and therefore the inscriptions could not be collated. A draft transliteration of them was found among the Hulin papers.

The only var. in ex. 2 is that it omits, doubtless for lack of space, the end of the text beginning with *e-bir*. Thus there is no need to provide scores.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1963 D. Oates, *Iraq* 25 pp. 27–28 (provenance)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN *kiš-šat*  
UN.MEŠ
- 2) NUN-ú ŠID *aš-šur* A *aš-šur*-PAB-A GAR  
<sup>d</sup>BAD
- 3) ŠID *aš-šur* A *tukul-ti*-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID  
*aš-šur-ma*
- 4) *ka-šid* A.AB.BA *šá* KUR *na-<sup>ri</sup>* A.AB.BA
- 5) *šá šùl-mu* <sup>d</sup>*šam-ši* u A.AB.BA *šá* KUR  
*a-mur-ri*
- 6) *ina* 15 BALA.MEŠ-a 12-šú ÍD.A.RAD *e-bir*
- 7) KUR *ḫat-ti ana paṭ gim-ri-šá a-bél*

1–3) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur;

4–7) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi, the sea of the west, *also called* (lit. "and") the sea of the land Amurru: In my fifteenth year I crossed the Euphrates for the twelfth time (and) gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti.

## 37

This text is engraved on a stone found at Fort Shalmaneser. Similar texts are engraved on door sills discovered at Fort Shalmaneser, concerning which see the introduction to A.0.102.30. The present text alludes to events of the fifteenth regnal year (844 BC) in line 5 and thus was written no earlier than 844 BC.

## COMMENTARY

The stone (no dimensions available), to which no excavation number was assigned (see Dalley and Postgate, *Fort Shalmaneser* p. 265), was left in situ by the excavators. According to Hulin's notes, it provided "the bolt socket at the side of the door at the south end" in the doorway leading from room T 23 to T 26. Since

the object was left in situ the inscription could not be collated. A draft transliteration of the text was found among the Hulin papers. Although Hulin recorded in his notes that this text had been "copied," the copy could not be found.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1963 D. Oates, *Iraq* 25 pp. 27–28 (provenance)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN *kiš-šat*  
UN.MEŠ
- 2) NUN-ú ŠID *aš-šur*<sup>1</sup> [A *aš-šur*-PAB]-[A<sup>1</sup> GAR  
<sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur*
- 3) A TUKUL-MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD [ŠID *aš-šur*-ma  
*ka<sup>1</sup>-šid* A.AB.BA
- 4) šá KUR *na-ri tam-ti šá šul-mu<sup>d</sup>šam-ši*
- 5) *u tam-ti šá* KUR *a-mur-ri* KUR *hat-ti ana pa<sup>t</sup>*  
*gim-ri-šá a-bé<sup>1</sup>*

1–3a) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of all peoples, prince, vice-regent of Aššur, [son of Ashurnasir]pal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur; 3b–5a) conqueror of the sea of the land Nairi, the sea of the west, *also called* (lit. "and") the sea of the land Amurru: I gained dominion over the entire land Ḫatti.

## 38

This fragmentary inscription is engraved on two pieces of a stone statue found at Nineveh. From the phrases and the place names it is clear that this is part of a text of Shalmaneser III. The text begins with a dedication to Ištar followed by numerous epithets. After a break the text provides part of the genealogy and royal epithets, including a brief geographical description of the king's conquests; it then narrates succinctly the sixteenth campaign (843 BC) (lines 10<sup>b</sup>–13<sup>a</sup>) and the campaign to Babylonia in the ninth year (850 BC) (lines 13<sup>b</sup>–16<sup>c</sup>).

## COMMENTARY

The stones are badly encrusted and the inscription, which has been collated, is very difficult to decipher. Much of the second part of the text is similar to other inscriptions of Shalmaneser and restorations can be made on that basis. The genealogy and epithets (lines 1<sup>c</sup>–10<sup>a</sup>) have several parallels, and in particular note A.0.102.8 lines 20–37. Lines 10<sup>b</sup>–13<sup>a</sup> have a description of the sixteenth campaign generally similar to that of A.0.102.10 iii 33–36. The campaign to Babylonia in the ninth regnal year is the subject of the last preserved portion (lines 13<sup>b</sup>–16<sup>c</sup>); cf. especially A.0.102.25 lines 17–19 and A.0.102.59 lines 46–47.

The two pieces of stone are numbered 1932-12-10,9

(c. 13 cm high) and 1932-12-10,10 (c. 14 cm high). Thompson published 1932-12-10,9, while 1932-12-10,10 is published (apparently for the first time) with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I am grateful to Christopher Walker for drawing this piece to my attention. The two fragments certainly come from the same object and based upon the content and shape they almost join, with 1932-12-10,10 being the top half. At the most there can be only about three lines missing between them. Below line 16<sup>c</sup> there is a space and then the remains of the top of a design which looks like the fringe of a garment. Thus the text seems to end with line 16<sup>c</sup>.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1932 Thompson, AAA 19 pl. LXXXIX no. 302 and p. 113 (copy, edition)

1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 96 (study)  
1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 p. 18 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na*<sup>d</sup>INANNA NIN GAL-ti [...]
  - 2) NIN-at MURUB<sub>4</sub> MĒ e-pi-[š<sub>a</sub>-at (?) ...]
  - 3) <sup>1</sup>sa<sup>1</sup>-aḫ-ma-šá-ti na-x-[...]
  - 4) AN a-x x x u[z(?) - ...]
  - 5) <sup>1</sup>ad-ma-a<sup>1</sup>-ni pu-u[z-ri(?) ...]
  - 6) x x <sup>1</sup>in-ni<sup>1</sup> AN [...]
  - 7) li-it-bu-šat x [...]
  - 8) AN <sup>1</sup>na(?) ta(?)<sup>1</sup> š<sub>i</sub> id nu [...]
  - 9) [x x (x)] x di x [...]
  - 10) [x x (x)] x MAŠ x [...]
- Lacuna (2–3 lines)
- 1') <sup>1</sup>sur-<sup>1</sup>ru-ḫu(?) NUN(?)<sup>1</sup>-ú n[a-<sup>2</sup>i-du ...]
  - 2') šá SANGA-<sup>1</sup>su UGU<sup>1</sup> [<sup>1</sup>ilāni iṭbūma mātāti napharšina ana šēpēšu]
  - 3') <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-šék-ni-[š<sub>u</sub>] <sup>1</sup>nab<sup>1</sup>-n[i-tu ellutu ša tukultī-ninurta ša kullat zāirišu]
  - 4') i-né-<sup>1</sup>ru-ma iš<sup>1</sup>-[puna abūbāniš kāšid ištu tām<sub>di</sub> elīti u]
  - 5') <sup>1</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-di <sup>1</sup>KI.TA<sup>1</sup> šá K[UR ...]
  - 6') <sup>1</sup>ū(?)<sup>1</sup> tam-di šá KUR x [...]
  - 7') <sup>1</sup>TA SAG e<sup>1</sup>-ni šá <sup>1</sup>I[D idiqlat adi rēš ēni ša nār puratte qātī ikšud ištu māt enzi]
  - 8') <sup>1</sup>a-di<sup>1</sup> KUR su-uḫ-n[a ...]
  - 9') [māt] <sup>1</sup>gi<sup>1</sup>-za-nu KUR ḫu-bu-u[š-ki-a ...]
  - 10') <sup>1</sup>lu(?)<sup>1</sup> áš<sup>1</sup>-gi-iš TA [...]
  - 11') <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> pár-su-a KUR ab-d[a-na ...]
  - 12') KUR tug-li-ia-áš KUR [...]
  - 13') <sup>1</sup>šu-a-ti<sup>1</sup> KUR-ud a-n[a ...]
  - 14') <sup>1</sup>URU bár-sípa<sup>1</sup>.KI [...]
  - 15') <sup>1</sup>UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ a-na<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>[...]
  - 16') <sup>1</sup>BAL-qí<sup>1</sup>

1–10) To the goddess Ištar, great mistress, [...], mistress of battle (and) strife, *who performs* [...] turmoil ... [...] ... [...] (5) secret shrine [...] ... [...] clothed in [...] ... [...] ... [...] (10) [*Shalma*]neser king [...]

Lacuna (2–3 lines)

1'–4'a) [... son of Ashurnasirpal (II), exalted prince] whose priesthood [was pleasing] to [the gods and (who)] subdued [all lands at his feet, pure] offspring [of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), who] slew [all his enemies] and annihilated (them) like a flood;  
4'b–10'a) [conqueror from the upper sea and] the lower sea of the land [...] *and* the sea of the land [...]. [I conquered] from the source of the [Tigris to the source of the Euphrates. From the land Enzi] to the land Suḫni [...] the land] Gilzānu, the land Ḫubu[škia ...] I slew.

10'b–13'a) From [...] the land Parsua, the land Abd[adānu ...] the land Tugliaš, the land [...] this I conquered.

13'b–16') To [...] Borsippa [...] I made sacrifices to the god(s) [...]

## 39

This text is on clay cones and fragments of clay cones from the Anu-Adad temple at Aššur (cf. A.0.102.42) and concerns the reconstruction of that temple in 839 BC.

3 na-x-[...]: A reading *na-d[i-na-at ...]* does not look possible.

10 One might read [<sup>m(d)</sup>šūl-ma-n]u-MAŠ L[UGAL ...].

1' Cf. A.0.102.28 line 3.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines preserved	cpn
1	Unlocated	5999	711, 3067	Anu-Adad temple, eE5V	15x12.5	1-15	p
2	VA Ass 2051	13215a-d	3624	East of great stone foundation, southern trial trench, eE7I	14 cm diam.	1-4, 8-15	c
3	A 3441	6240	874	—	2.6x4.3+	1-4	c
4	A 3437	6173	—	—	3.5x4.4+	13-15	c
5	A 3434	5958	—	—	—	1-2	c
6	VA Ass 2114	5748	—	City area	—	2-7	c
7	VA Ass 2121	9029	—	City area	2x4.8+	9-11	c

## COMMENTARY

The master text is a conflation of exs. 1 and 2. Ex. 1 has been collated from the excavation photos, but parts of some lines are not legible on these photos. Some

improvements of reading have been made in exs. 2, 3, and 5 since they were edited in RICCA.

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 1968 Brinkman, PKB pp. 191–92 n. 1176 (ex. 1, study)  
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 1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA nos. 215–17 and 221 (exs. 1–5, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN dan-nu MAN KIŠ ʾMAN KUR aš-šur<sup>1</sup> DUMU aš-šur-PAB-A MAN KUR aš-šur  
 2) DUMU TUKUL-<sup>a</sup>MAŠ M[AN māt aššurma] ka-šid TA tam-di ša KUR na-i-ri  
 3) [adi tâmdi ša māt kaldî] ša(?) ÍD mar-ra-te i-qa-bu-ši-ni  
 4) [adi t]am-di ša šùl-me <sup>d</sup>šam-ši ŠU-ti ik-šud  
 5) [ana] ʾURU<sup>1</sup> KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI URU bár-sípa al-lik UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ  
 6) aq-qi ina u<sub>6</sub>-me-šu-ma É <sup>a</sup>a-nim <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
 7) <EN>.MEŠ-ia ša ina pa-an <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-IBILA-é-šár-ra  
 8) [D]UMU <sup>m</sup>mu-tàk-kil-<sup>d</sup>nusku <ēpušu> e-na-aḥ-ma  
 9) [a]-na si-ḥír-ti-šu a-na iš-šu-ti DÜ-uš  
 10) [GIŠ] gu-šur.MEŠ GIŠ e-re-ni aš-šá-a a-na muḥ-ḥi ú-kín  
 11) NUN-ú EGIR-ú an-ḥu-su lu-ud-ʾdiš<sup>1</sup>  
 12) MU šaṭ-ra a-na aš-ri-šu lu-ter<sup>er</sup>  
 13) aš-šur <sup>a</sup>a-num <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ik-ri-bi-šu i-še-mu-ú  
 14) NA<sub>4</sub> zi-qa-ti a-na aš-ri-ša lu-ter<sup>er</sup>  
 15) ITI mu-ḥur-DINGIR.MEŠ UD 15.KÁM MU 1.KÁM 20 BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 1–6a) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) [also king of Assyria]; conqueror from the sea of the land Nairi [to the sea of Chaldaea], which is called the Marratu (“Bitter”) River. I (lit. “He”) conquered [as far as] the western sea. I marched to Babylon (and) Borsippa (and) made sacrifices.  
 6b–10) At that time the temple of the gods Anu (and) Adad, my lords, which previously Tiglath-pileser (I), son of Mutakkil-Nusku, <had built>, had become dilapidated (and) I entirely rebuilt it. I brought cedar beams (and) installed (them) over (it).  
 11–14) May a later prince restore its weakened (portions) and return my inscription to its place. (Then) Aššur, the god Anu, and the god Adad will listen to his prayers. May he return my clay cone to its place.  
 15) The month Muḥur-ilāni, fifteenth day, the twentieth year of my reign.

2–3 For the restoration cf. A.O.102.27 lines 3–6.

6–7 Ex. 6 seems to have [... <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ [EN.MEŠ-ia ...].

15.2 The year number is 20, not 10 (so Weidner). The two Winkelhaken are impressed very closely together.

## 40

This text is engraved on a broken statue of Shalmaneser discovered at Aššur by the German expedition in 1903. It was found at the entrance to a Parthian building, where it had been moved from its original location at the Tabira Gate (iii 10). The statue was broken into two large and many small pieces, and its head was missing. The monument has been repaired and is now on display in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul.

The text begins (i 1–9) with the royal name, epithets, and a general overview of conquests. This is followed by descriptions of several campaigns, not in strict chronological order. Specifically, campaigns of the following years are mentioned: fourth in 855 BC (i 10–13), sixth in 853 BC (i 14–24), eighteenth in 841 BC (i 25 – ii 1), unknown (ii 2–6), twenty-fourth in 835 BC (iii 1), twenty-second in 837 BC (iii 2–4), and twenty-sixth in 833 BC (iii 5–8). Thus the text must date to 833 BC or shortly thereafter.

The statue and inscription were created to commemorate the restoration of the inner and outer walls of Aššur (iii 9–11). There are no concluding blessings or curses.

## COMMENTARY

The statue (EŞ 4650, Ass 742, Ass ph 438–45, 461–69, 482–83, and 489–92), when complete with the head, must have stood about 250 cm high. It was found at the entrance to the inner Parthian Peribolos on the east level, iA5I. The inscription has been collated from numerous photos.

The text is engraved on three surfaces, the front (“i”), the left hip (“ii”), and the back (“iii”). For convenience I have followed Messerschmidt’s designation as “i,” “ii,” and “iii.”

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| 1926 Ebeling in Gressman, ATAT <sup>2</sup> p. 344 (i 14 – ii 1, translation)   | 1982 Miglus, ZA 72 pp. 266–79 “Le” (study)  |
| 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§679–83 (translation)                                  | 1988 Cogan and Tadmor, The Anchor Bible: II Kings p. 334 (i 14 – ii 1, translation) |

## TEXT

Col. i

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL-ú MAN dan-nu
- 2) MAN kùl-lat kib-rat 4-i ek-du
- 3) le-’u-ú šá-nin mal-ki.MEŠ
- 4) šá kiš-šá-ti GAL.MEŠ MAN.MEŠ-ni
- 5) DUMU aš-šur-PAB-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-šur
- 6) A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-šur-ma ka-šid
- 7) KUR en-zi KUR gíl-za-a-nu KUR hu-bu-lušl-

i 1–10a) Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of all the four quarters, ferocious, capable, rival of the great princes of the universe (and) kings; son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria; conqueror of the lands Enzi, Gilzānu, Ḫubuškia, (and) U...: I brought about [their] destruction and swept over them like fire.

- [*ki-a*]  
 8) KUR <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-x-x [*n*]a-<sup>1</sup>áš-pan-ta<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu]  
 9) áš-<sup>1</sup>kun-ma<sup>1</sup> ki-ma <sup>d</sup>GIB[<sup>6</sup>IL<sub>6</sub>](NE.[GI])  
 10) UGU-šú-nu a-ba-<sup>2</sup>i <sup>m</sup>a-<sup>2</sup>hu-n[<sup>i</sup>]  
 11) DUMU a-di-ni a-di <sup>1</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ni-[šú]  
 12) ÉRIN.ĪI.<A>-šú KUR-šú NÍG.GA É.G[AL-šú  
 a]-su-<sup>2</sup>h[a]  
 13) a-na UN.MEŠ KUR-ia a[m]-nu-šú  
 14) <sup>m</sup>dIŠKUR-id-ri ša-KUR.ANŠE-[šú]  
 15) a-di 12 mal-ki.MEŠ re-ši-šú  
 16) BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú-nu áš-kun-ma 20 LIM 9 LI[M]  
 17) a-li-li mun-daḥ-<sup>2</sup>hi-ši-šú  
 18) ú-né-li ki-ma šu-bi  
 19) <sup>1</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-ta-at ÉRIN.ĪI.A-šú-nu a-na  
 20) [Í]D a-ra-an-te  
 21) [a]t-bu-uk  
 22) a-na  
 23) šu-zu-ub  
 24) ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu e-li-ú  
 25) <sup>m</sup>dIŠKUR-id-ri KUR-šú e-mi-id  
 26) <sup>m</sup>ha-za-a-<sup>2</sup>DINGIR DUMU la ma-ma-na  
 27) GIŠ.GU.ZA iṣ-bat ÉRIN.ĪI.A-šú ma-a-<sup>2</sup>du  
 28) id-ka-a a-na e-peš  
 29) MURUB<sub>4</sub> u MÈ a-na GABA-a it-ba-a  
 30) it-ti-šú am-daḥ-<sup>2</sup>hi-iṣ BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú  
 31) áš-kun BĀD uš-ma-ni-šú e-kim-šú  
 32) a-na šu-zu-ub ZI.MEŠ-šú  
 33) e-li a-di  
 34) URU di-ma-áš-qi  
 35) URU MAN-ti-šú ar-di

Col. ii

- 1) GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-[šú ak-kis]  
 2) <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 3) [...] <sup>1</sup>a-nu u <sup>d</sup>I[ŠKUR(?)]  
 4) [...] tap-šú-uḥ-t[<sup>i</sup> ...]  
 5) [... IGI].SĀ(?)-e [...]  
 6) [...] <sup>1</sup>am-<sup>2</sup>hur<sup>1</sup> [(...)]

Col. iii

- 1) 2-šú a-na KUR nam-ri a-lik <sup>m</sup>ia-an-zu-ú MAN  
 KUR nam-ri a-di DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-šú šal-lat  
 KUR-šú  
 2) [NÍG<sup>1</sup>.GA É.GAL-šú a-na URU-ia aš-šur ub-la  
 a-na KUR tu-un-ni KUR-e KÛ.BABBAR  
 3) KUR mu-li-i KUR-e NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL e-li  
 šal-mu geš-ru-ti-a  
 4) ina qer-bi-šú-nu ul-ziz NA<sub>4</sub>.GIŠ.NU<sub>11</sub>.GAL ma-  
 a-<sup>2</sup>du a-na la ma-ni

i 10b–13) I uprooted Aḥunu, a man of Bīt-Adini, together with his gods, his troops, his horses, (and) his palace property (and) reckoned them (the troops) as people of my land.

i 14–24) I defeated Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri), the Damascene, together with twelve princes who were his allies. I laid low like sheep 29,000 of his brave warriors (and) threw the remnant of his troops into the Orontes. They fled to save their lives.

i 25 – ii 6) Hadad-ezer (Adad-idri) passed away (and) Haza'el, son of a nobody, took the throne. He mustered his numerous troops (and) moved against me to wage war and battle. I fought with him (and) defeated him. I took away from him his walled camp. He fled to save his life (and) I pursued (him) as far as Damascus, his royal city. (ii 1) [I cut down his] gardens. [...] The gods Anu and A[*dad* ...] peace [...] I received tax [...]

iii 1–2a) I marched for a second time to the land Namri. I carried off Ianzû, king of the land Namri, together with his gods, booty from his land, (and) his palace property to my city Aššur.

iii 2b–5a) I went up to Mount Tunni, the silver mountain, (and) Mount Muḫû, the alabaster mountain, (and) erected my mighty steles on them. I carried away alabaster in quantities so large it could not be reckoned.

i 8 KUR <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-x-x: there is not enough room to restore ú-ra-ar-<sup>2</sup>tu

i 12 ÉRIN.ĪI.<A>-šú KUR-šú: as Meissner and Schramm have noted, there is something wrong here. The signs are clear on the statue but the phrase as it stands is unparalleled in texts of this king. Schramm emended to ÉRIN.ĪI.A(text ŠÚ) KUR-šú “the troops of his land.” But from parallel passages (e.g., A.0.102.5 iii 5–6; A.0.102.6 ii 8; A.0.102.10 ii 4; A.0.102.14 line 49; etc.) one expects chariots or horses. Should one emend to ÉRIN.ĪI.<A>-šú <ANŠE>.KUR.<RA.MEŠ>-šú “his troops, his horses”? In administrative texts KUR alone can stand for *sisû* “horse(s).”

i 13 KUR-ia: the KUR is clear, not ŠE (so Schramm).

i 18 šu-bi: see the note to RIMA 2 p. 15 ii 20.

i 31 BĀD uš-ma-ni-šú: also in A.0.102.9 right side 6'. Cf. BĀD *karaši*, Thureau-Dangin, TCL 3 lines 129 and 349. The BĀD is not, therefore, an error as suggested by Meissner, OLZ 15 146 n. 1, and Michel, WO 1 p. 61 n. 16.

iii 1 <sup>m</sup>ia-an-zu-ú: the ia- is clear.

iii 3 e-li: the sign is e, not GIŠ (so Michel).

iii 4 ul-ziz: the ul- is clear.

- 5) *áš-šá-a a-na KUR qu-ú-e KUR ta-ba-li a-lik*  
KUR.KUR.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 6) *a-né-er-ma a-na DU<sub>6</sub> u kar-me ú-ter<sup>m</sup>ka-ti-i*  
LÚ.KUR.MEŠ šap-šu
- 7) *ina URU pa-aḥ-ri <URU> MAN-ti-šú e-sir-šú*  
*me-lam-me EN-ti-a is-ḥu-pu-šú-ma*  
DUMU.MUNUS-su
- 8) *it-ti nu-du-ni-šá ana URU kal-ḥi ub-la GÌR.II-ia*  
*iš-bat*
- 9) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma BÂD.MEŠ-ni URU-ia aš-šur*  
TA uš-še-šu-nu a-di gaba-dib-bi-šu-nu DÛ-uš
- 10) *ša-lam MAN-ti-a DÛ-uš ina KÁ.GAL.TIBIRA*  
*ul-ziz MU BÂD GAL-e šá me-lam-mu-šú KUR*  
*kát-mu*
- 11) MU šal-ḥi-šú mu-nàr-ri-ṭi kib-ra-a-te

iii 5b–8) I marched to the lands Que (and) Tabal, I conquered those lands (and) turned (them) into ruin hills. I confined Katê, the perverse enemy, to Paḥru, his royal city. My lordly brilliance overwhelmed him. I carried off his daughter with her dowry to Calah (and thus) he submitted to me.

iii 9–11) At that time I rebuilt the walls of my city Aššur from top to bottom. I made my royal statue (and) erected (it) at the Tabira Gate. The name of the great (inner) wall is: “Whose Brilliance Covers the Land.” The name of its outer wall is: “Who Convulses the Regions.”

## 41

This text is inscribed on a number of clay cone fragments discovered at Tell al-Hawa (ancient name unknown), a large mound northwest of Nineveh and not too far from the Iraq-Syria border. It commemorates work at this city on the Adad temple, a structure which had been built by a predecessor of Shalmaneser III. For other clay cone fragments from this site see A.O.102.1005–1006.

### CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Excavation number	Provenance	Lines preserved	cpn
1	IM —	HW 44	AB surface	1–5	c
2	IM 132847	HW 119	AB surface	1–3	c
3	IM 132848	HW 194	AC 5	1–4	c
4	IM 132849	HW 222	AB 18	1–2	c
5	IM 132850	HW 204	AB 67	1–3	c
6	IM 132851	HW 195	AB 66	1–5	c
7	IM 112566+	HW 262+	AB 207	1–5	c
	113629	353	AB 247		
8	IM 112567	HW 263	AB 207	5	c
9	IM 113620	HW 354	AB 261	2–5	c
10	IM 113626	HW 364	AB 265	1–5	c
11	IM 113631	HW 356	AB 235	4–5	c

### COMMENTARY

Only small parts of the text have been preserved on any single fragment and the reconstruction, as well as the line numbering, is slightly uncertain. The interested

reader can check the scores. George said that the eleven fragments represented at least five different clay cones.



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## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1) <sup>m</sup>dšùl-ma-nu-MAŠ ni-ši[t īnē enlil ... kul]-lat<br/>       KÜR.MEŠ mu-še-ek-ni-šú [lā kan-š]u-ú-te</p>   | <p>1–2a) Shalmaneser, chosen of [the god Enlil, <i>vanquisher</i> of] all enemies, subduer of the insubmissive, strong [king], king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashur[nasirpal (II), king of] the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), [(who was) also] king of the universe [and] king of [Assyria]:</p> |
| <p>2) [šarru da]n-nu MAN ṽŠÚ MAN KUR<sup>1</sup> A[Š] ṽA<sup>1</sup><br/> <sup>m</sup>AŠ-[nāšir-apli šar] ṽŠÚ<sup>1</sup> MAN KUR AŠ A<br/> <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ ṽMAN<sup>1</sup> [māt aššurma]<br/> <sup>1</sup>e-nu<sup>1</sup>-ma É ṽIŠKUR ša ina pa-ni [...]</p> | <p>2b–4a) At that time the temple of the god Adad, which [...], my (fore)father who preceded me had previously built — this temple had become dilapidated. I delineated its site (and) dug out its foundation pit. I [completely] rebuilt it [from top to bottom] (and) decorated (it) more splendidly than before.</p>                   |
| <p>3) a-bi a-l[ik pāni-i]a DŪ-uš-ma É BI e-na-aḥ-ma<br/>       a-šar-šú ú-ma-si dan-[n]a-[s]u ṽak-šú<sup>1</sup>-[ud]</p>  | <p>4b–5) May [a later] prince restore its [weakened (parts)] (and) return my inscription [to] its place. (Then) the god Adad will listen to his prayers.</p>  |
| <p>4) [ištu uššēšu adi gabadibbīšu(?)] ar-šip [ušeklil]<br/> <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-si-[i]m ú-šar-riḥ UGU maḥ-re-e ut-tir r[u-bû<br/>       arkû]</p>   |   |
| <p>5) [anḥu-s]u lu-ud-ṽdiš<sup>1</sup> MU.S[AR ana K]I-šú lu-<br/>       ter ṽIŠKUR ŠŪD-šú i-še[m-mi]</p>  |   |

## 42

Among the numerous inscribed clay cones and fragments discovered at Aššur, the largest portion that can be identified belong to the reign of Shalmaneser III. These clay cones contain various types of inscriptions, and many duplicates thereof. The cataloguing and identification of the objects in Berlin by Rost (FuB 22) and in Istanbul by Donbaz and Grayson (RICCA) lie behind the present edition and more detailed analyses will be found in those publications. The clay cones from Aššur which can be identified as of Shalmaneser III are edited as A.0.102.18, 39, 42–46, and 52. Further, note the large number of unidentified fragments listed at the end of this volume (A.0.0.1027–93).

The major “text types” (“Types A–F” in Donbaz and Grayson) concern different building enterprises and have different dates. Types A–C (A.0.102.42–45) all concern work on the walls and gates of the city Aššur in the years 836 BC (Type C), 834 BC (Type B), and 833 BC (Type A). Reconstruction of the Anu-Adad temple is the subject of Type D (A.0.102.39), dated in 839 BC. The Aššur temple is the concern of Type E (A.0.102.18), which is dated in 849 BC; and the Tabira Gate is the subject of Type F (A.0.102.46), dated in 842 BC.

<sup>1</sup> ni-ši[t īnē enlil]: cf. A.0.102.2 i 6, A.0.102.6 i 14, A.0.102.8 line 9, and A.0.102.28 line 3. This well-attested epithet of Shalm. III is a more plausible reading than ni-ša[k(?) -ki aššur]. See George, NABU 1991 no. 100.

3 – Cf. A.0.102.46 lines 6–16.

The present text ("Type A"), begins with royal titles and genealogy and goes on to a dedication. It records the restoration of the wall and gates of Aššur. After the concluding blessing it gives its date as the eponymy of Iaḥalu (833 BC).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	FuB 22 number	RICCA number	Lines preserved	cpn
1	EŠ 6750	1377	323	West corner of tower C on south rampart, kA15II	—	137	1–16	c
2	A 3352 + 3354	1379h + m	—	—	—	138	10–13	c
3	VA Ass 2117	8435a	1329	City area	82	—	7–12	c
4	A 3576	15475	—	—	—	206	12–16	c

## COMMENTARY

There are several fragments of inscribed clay cones which could be of Types A, B, or C (see Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA) and these are listed for convenience

under Type C (A.0.102.44). Note that Rost, FuB 22 no. 96 (VA Ass 2133 = Ass 10837) is a duplicate of a text of Adad-nārārī I, RIMA 1 p. 144 lines 42–48.

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 1982 Rost, FuB 22 no. 82 (ex. 3, copy)  
 1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA pp. 27–31, 45, and pls. 15 and 29 nos. 137–38 and 206 (exs. 1–4, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-SAG MA[N ...]  
 2) DUMU <sup>maš</sup>-šur-PAB-IBILA MAN [...]  
 3) DUMU <sup>ma</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>maš</sup>MAN [... aš-š]ur-[ma]  
 4) a-na ba-lá-ti-šu ù ša-lá-a[m ālī]-šu  
 5) BĀD.KI KĀ.GAL.MEŠ-šu ša ina pa-an MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 6) a-lik pa-ni-ia e-pu-uš  
 7) [e<sup>1</sup>-na-aḥ-ma a-na si-ḥír-ti-šu  
 8) TA uš-še-šu a-di gaba-d[ib-b]i-šu  
 9) e-pu-uš NA<sub>4</sub> zi-qa-t[i aš]-[kun(?)]<sup>1</sup>  
 10) ru-bu-ú ar-ku-ú an-ḥ[u-su l]u-ud-  
 11) diš MU šaṭ-ra a-na áš-ri-šá [lu-t]er  
 12) <sup>daš</sup>-šur(\*) <sup>diš</sup>KUR DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ik-ri-bi-šu  
 13) i-šam-me-ú NA<sub>4</sub> zi-qa-ti ana aš-ri-šá lu-t[er]

1–3) Shalmaneser, [strong] king, [king of the universe, king of Assyria], son of Ashurnasirpal (II), [strong] king, [king of the universe, king of Assyria], son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) [also strong] king, [king of the universe, and king of Ass]yria:

4–9) For his life and the well-being of his [city], its wall and gates which previously (other) kings who preceded me had built — it (the wall) had become dilapidated and I completely rebuilt it from top to bottom. I deposited my clay cones.

10–13) May a later prince restore its ruined (portions) (and) return my inscription to its place. (Then) the gods Aššur (and) Adad, the great gods, will listen to his prayers. May he return my clay cone to its place.

1–3 The titles were probably the same as those in A.0.102.46.  
 12 <sup>daš</sup>-šur(\*): ex. 1 (all other exs. broken) has <sup>di</sup>INANNA.

- 14) ITI *ša-ki-na-te* UD 28.KÁM  
 15) *li-mu*<sup>m</sup>*ia-ḫa-lum*  
 16) LÚ.AGRIG GAL-ú

14–16) Month of Šakināte, twenty-eighth day,  
 eponymy of Iaḫalu, the chief steward (*abarakku*).

## 43

This is another text inscribed on clay cones and fragments found at Aššur and it too (cf. A.0.102.42) describes the restoration of the walls, inner and outer, and gates of the city (“Type B”). After the concluding blessing it gives its date as the eponymy of Nergal-mudammiq (834 BC).

### CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	FuB 22 number	RICCA number	Lines preserved	cpn
1	A 3633	19355a + b + c + d	—	—	—	139	1–11	c
2	VA Ass 2026	9287	1417	Wall, bD4V	56	—	1–14	c
3	A 3498	10238b + 1 0248a + c + d + e + g	1555–56	—	—	140	1–10	c
4	A 3348	1377b	—	—	—	141	1–5	c
5	A 3359	1379(a)	—	—	—	142	7–11	c
6	A 3349	1379a	—	—	—	143	3–7	c
7	A 3589	16567	—	—	—	144	10–14	c
8	A 3655	(?)	—	—	—	145	8–12	c
9	Unlocated	1378	—	West corner of tower C on south rampart, kA15II	—	—	1–10	n
10	A 3358	1379(b) + 1379(c)	—	—	—	207	12–14	c
11	A 3345	1351	—	—	—	225	13–14	c
12	A 3502	10248f	—	—	—	224	14	c

### COMMENTARY

The master text is a conflation of exs. 1 and 2 with some restorations from other exs. The interested reader can check the scores.

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 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 11, 142, and 173 (exs. 2, 9, provenance, edition)  
 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§699–700 (ex. 9, translation)  
 1948 Michel, WO 1 pp. 207–208, 221 (ex. 9, copy, edition), and 209–14 (exs. 2, 5–6?, edition)  
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 1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA pp. 27–34, 45, 52–53, and pls. 15–17 and 29–31 nos. 139–45, 207, and 224–25 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *mšùl-ma-nu-MAŠ ÉNSI* <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur*  
 2) DUMU *m*aš-šur-PAB-A ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur*  
 3) DUMU *m*GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur*-[*ma*]
- 4) *a-na ba-lá-tí-šu ù ša-lá-am a-li-š[u]*  
 5) BĀD.KI *ki-la-le ù KÁ.GAL-šú-nu ša ina pa-an MAN.MEŠ-ni*  
 6) *a-lik pa-ni-ia e-pu-uš e-na-ḫu-ma*  
 7) *a-na si-ḫír-ti-šú TA uš-še-šú a-di šap-ti-šu e-pu-u[š]*  
 8) *ù NA<sub>4</sub> zi-qa-a-te áš-ku-un*  
 9) NUN-ú *ar-ku-u e-nu-ma* BĀD.KI ù KÁ.GAL.MEŠ  
 10) *e-na-ḫu-ma e-pu-uš aš-šur* [<sup>d</sup>]IŠKUR DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <sup>d</sup>INANNA *áš-šu-ri-[tu] ik-ri-bi-š[u]*  
 11) *i-šá-me-íú<sup>1</sup>*  
 12) *zi-qa-ti ana áš-ri-šú-í<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>* [lutēr]  
 13) ITI *ša-ki-na-te UD 1.íKÁM(?)<sup>1</sup>*  
 14) *lim-mu* <sup>m</sup>dMAŠ.MAŠ(\*)-*mu*-SIG<sub>5</sub> LÚ.EN.NAM [(...)]
- 1–3) Shalmaneser, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) [also] vice-regent of the god Aššur:  
 4–8) For his life and the well-being of his city, both walls and their gates which previously (other) kings who preceded me had built — they (the walls and gates) had become dilapidated and I completely rebuilt them (lit. “it”) from top to bottom. My clay cones I deposited.  
 9–12) A later prince, when the walls and gates become dilapidated, must rebuild them. (Then) Aššur (and) Adad, the great gods, (and) the Assyrian Ištar will listen to [his] prayers. [May he return] my clay cones to their places.  
 13–14) Month of Šakināte, first day, eponymy of Nergal-mudammīq, governor [(of ...)].

## 44

This is another text inscribed on clay cones and fragments found at Aššur and it too (cf. A.O.102.42) describes the restoration of the wall and gates of the city (“Type C”). This text is characterized by a number of Assyrian dialectical forms, details of which are in the commentary. After the concluding blessing two exemplars (6 and 27) give the date as the twenty-third regnal year (836 BC). Of the remaining twenty-five exemplars, eight (1, 3–5, 8–10, and 12) clearly have no date, while the others are too broken to know.

## CATALOGUE

## 1. Identified Exemplars

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	FuB 22 number	RICCA number	Lines preserved	cpn
1	VA Ass 2020	10322	1551–52	At foot of gate, aE6V	48	—	1–15	c
2	VA 8444	9976	1421–22	NW face, bC5II	—	—	1–15	p
3	VA Ass 2019	9969	1415, 1422	As ex. 2	49	—	1–15	c
4	VA Ass 2021	10237	1512–13	Outer side of fortification wall, aE6V	50	—	1–15	c
5	VA Ass 2023	11583	2545	Outer rampart, cD9III	51	—	1–15	c
6	VA Ass 2024	11556	2519	Fortification trench, bB8I	54	—	1–18	c
7	VA Ass 2029	10327	1551–52	As ex. 1	58	—	1–15	c
8	VA 8443	19344	—	South rampart of tower, lB16I	47	—	1–15	c
9	VA Ass 2022	11391	2467	bB7IV, SE	52	—	1–15	c

<sup>4</sup> The entire line in ex. 1 reads *a-na TILA šùl-mu KUR.MEŠ-šú* “for the life (and) well-being of his lands.” Is this an error? All other exs. follow the master line.

<sup>10.7</sup> *aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>10 <sup>d</sup>INANNA *áš-šu-í<sup>1</sup>rītu ...*]: DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ “great gods” is either omitted or appeared in the break after the Assyrian Ištar.

<sup>14</sup> Ex. 7 has <sup>m</sup>dMAŠ.AŠ-*mu*-SIG<sub>5</sub>[IG, ...]. Ex. 2 has <sup>m</sup>dÜRl.[GAL ...]. Ex. 12 has [... -S]IG<sub>5</sub>. The name is missing in the other exs.

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	FuB 22 number	RICCA number	Lines preserved	cpn
10	VA Ass 2025	10049	1417	NW face, bB5III	53	—	1–15	c
11	VA Ass 2027	11446c	2490	Tower of the inner rampart, north corner, bC8I	55	—	1–15	c
12	VA Ass 2030	10112 + 10093d	1554	Outer face SW, at corner of inner rampart, bA5IV	59	—	1–15	c
13	VA Ass 2031	19358 + 19416	—	City area, eD16III	60	—	1–15	c
14	A 3517 + 3518	10335b	1555	Outer rampart, aE6V	—	157a	1–13	c
15	A 3497	10238a	1555	As ex. 14	—	147	1–12	c
16	A 3527	11569	2684	—	—	148	1–12	c
17	A 3510	10319b + f	1555	—	—	149	1–12	c
18	A 3368	2026	—	—	—	150	3–11	c
19	VA Ass 2036	10699	1980	Private house, bB5V	65	—	2–9	c
20	A 3513	10319g + 10327g	1555	—	—	151	1–6	c
21	A 3511	10319c + d	1555	—	—	152	5–14	c
22	A 3512	10319e	1555	—	—	153	9–15	c
23	A 3509	10319a	1555	—	—	154	11–15	c
24	A 3485	10093a	1556	—	—	155	6–14	c
25	A 3519	10381	1689	—	—	156	11–15	c
26	A 3463	7526	—	—	—	157	2–5	c
27	A 3577	15552	—	—	—	223	16–18	c

## 2. Uncertain Fragments

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Aššur provenance	FuB 22 number	RICCA number	cpn
101	A 3347	1376	—	—	180	c
102	A 3350	1379c	—	—	212	c
103	A 3357	1379(d)	—	—	208	c
104	A 3351	1379g	—	—	210	c
105	A 3360	1425	South rampart, iB15II	—	162	c
106	A 3393	3828	—	—	188	c
107	A 3404	4478	—	—	184	c
108	A 3408	4656a + b + c	—	—	203	c
109	A 3409	4705	—	—	199	c
110	A 3410	4734b	—	—	211	c
111	VA Ass 2108	5357b	South rampart(?)	98	—	c
112	VA Ass 2109	5357b	As ex. 111	73	—	c
113	VA Ass 2112	5595	d5	100	—	c
114	VA Ass 2113	5631	As ex. 113	86	—	c
115	A 3428	5821	—	—	183	c
116	A 3432	5926	—	—	195	c
117	A 3443	6357	—	—	167	c
118	A 3445	6445	—	—	204	c
119	A 3459	7282	—	—	194	c
120	A 3464	7557	—	—	197	c
121	A 3466	7597	—	—	182	c
122	VA Ass 2115	7938	eA5II, SW	89	—	c
123	VA Ass 2028	7980	dC6II	57	—	c
124	A 3470	8101	—	—	174	c
125	VA Ass 2044	8389	—	79	—	c
126	VA Ass 2039	8509	dD6I	68	—	c
127	VA Ass 2050	9017	Southern city area	99	—	c
128	VA Ass 2124	9326	City area	74	—	c
129	A 3478	10036	—	—	213	c
130	A 3479	10063	—	—	190	c
131	VA Ass 2038	10069	bB5IV, East	67	—	c
132	A 3481 + 3482	10084b + c + d	—	—	168	c
133	A 3484	10084f	—	—	201	c
134	A 3486	10093b	—	—	205	c
135	A 3487	10093c	—	—	170	c
136	VA Ass 2037	10093e	Corner of inner wall, bB5IV, SW	66	—	c
137	VA Ass 2035	10093f	As ex. 136	64	—	c
138	VA Ass 2042	10093h	As ex. 136	71	—	c
139	A 3488	10093i	—	—	181	c
140	VA Ass 2034	10099a	Corner of inner wall, bA5V	63	—	c
141	A 3489	10099b	—	—	166	c
142	A 3490	10101 + 10116m	—	—	187	c
143	VA Ass 2041	10112c + f	Corner of inner wall, bA5IV	70	—	c
144	VA Ass 2040	10112p	As ex. 143	69	—	c
145	A 3491	10119a	—	—	178	c
146	VA Ass 2033	10119b + 10099c	As ex. 143	62	—	c
147	VA Ass 2046	10130	City area	81	—	c
148	VA Ass 2045	10140b	As ex. 136	80	—	c
149	A 3499	10238c	—	—	161	c

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Aššur provenance	FuB 22 number	RICCA number	cpn
150	A 3500	10238d	—	—	209	c
151	A 3501	10248b	—	—	196	c
152	A 3504	10255a + b	—	—	177	c
153	A 3506	10307	—	—	185	c
154	A 3507	10313	—	—	191	c
155	A 3508	10318	—	—	193	c
156	VA Ass 2126	10496	—	85	—	c
157	VA Ass 2127	10587	City area	75	—	c
158	VA Ass 2131	10794	bC5IV	102	—	c
159	VA Ass 2136	11077b	City area	101	—	c
160	VA Ass 2043	11132a	City area	72	—	c
161	VA Ass 2047	11132b	City area	93	—	c
162	VA Ass 2137	11136b	City area	103	—	c
163	VA Ass 2032	11394	b8	61	—	c
164	A 3530	11606	—	—	169	c
165	A 3534	11699	—	—	163	c
166	A 3535	11768	—	—	214	c
167	A 3537	11912	dD10I	—	165	c
168	A 3538	11913	—	—	200	c
169	A 3540	12154	—	—	192	c
170	A 3541	12155	As ex. 167	—	198	c
171	A 3545	12244	—	—	173	c
172	A 3546	12399	—	—	172	c
173	A 3551	12761b + g	—	—	189	c
174	A 3553	12914	—	—	175	c
175	A 3568	13916	—	—	179	c
176	A 3570	15178	—	—	186	c
177	A 3603	18024	—	—	171	c
178	VA Ass 2099	19416a	City area	78	—	c
179	VA Ass 2100	19416b	City area	76	—	c
180	VA Ass 2101	20959a + b	City area	77	—	c
181	VA Ass 2268	22340	City area	92	—	c
182	A 3656	S 209 BIS	—	—	202	c

## COMMENTARY

The master text is, in general, based on ex. 1 with a few minor restorations from ex. 2. However, the date (lines 16–18) is based entirely on exs. 6 and 27. There are several distinctive dialectical forms, mainly Assyrian, in this text: *išdu/ušdu* for *ištu* (line 8); *ussēšu* for *uššēšu* (line 8); *rubāu urkū* for *rubū arkū* (line 10); *ennuḫūma* for *ennaḫūma* (line 12); *išammeū* for *išemḡū* (line 14). For further details see Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA.

There are a number of inscribed clay cone fragments which should belong to one of the three texts (“Types A–C” = A.O.102.42–44) describing Shalmaneser’s work on the city wall and gates, but it is uncertain to which text they belong. These have been listed in Catalogue 2. “Uncertain Fragments,” with ex. numbers beginning at 101 in order to distinguish them from the identified pieces. For suggestions on possible identifications see Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA.

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## 2. Uncertain Fragments

- 1904 Andrae, MDOG 22 pp. 36 and 77 (ex. 105, provenance)  
 1906 Andrae, MDOG 32 pp. 25–27 (ex. 105, provenance)  
 1911 Messerschmidt, KAH 1 no. 27 (ex. 105, copy)  
 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 132 (exs. 167, 170, provenance), 142 (ex. 105, provenance), 173 (exs. 105, 123, 167–68, 170, edition), and pl. CI (exs. 123–24, 167–68, photos)  
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 1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA nos. 161–63, 165–75, 177–205, and 208–14 (exs. 101–10, 115–21, 124, 129–30, 132–35, 139, 141–42, 145, 149–55, 164–77, 182, copy)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-SAG ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>a-šur  
 2) DUMU <sup>maš</sup>-šur-PAB-IBILA ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>a-šur  
 3) DUMU GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>a-šur-ma  
 4) a-na ba-lá-tí-šu ù ša-lá-am a-li-šu  
 5) BĀD.KI ù KÁ.GAL.MEŠ-šu šá ina pa-an  
 MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 6) a-lik pa-ni-ia e-pu-uš  
 7) e-na-aḥ-ma a-na si-ḥi-ir-ti-šu  
 8) iš-du ús-si-šu a-dí ša-ap-ti e-pu-uš  
 9) ù NA<sub>4</sub> zi-iq-qa-ti áš-ku-un  
 10) ru-ba-ú ur-ku-ú  
 11) e-nu-me BĀD.KI ù KÁ.GAL.MEŠ-šu  
 12) e-nu-ḥu-ú e-pu-uš  
 13) aš-šur ù <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ik-ri-bi-šu  
 14) i-ša-me-ú NA<sub>4</sub> zi-iq-qa-te  
 15) a-na áš-ri-šu lu-ter<sup>er</sup>  
 16) ITI ša-ki-na-a-te UD 14.KÁM.MEŠ  
 17) li-mu MU 23.KÁM BALA.MEŠ-ia  
 18) šá <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN KUR a[š-šur]

1–3) Shalmaneser, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of the god Aššur:

4–9) For his life and the well-being of his city, the wall and its gates which previously (other) kings who preceded me had built — they (the wall and gates) had become dilapidated and I completely rebuilt them (lit. “it”) from top to bottom. My clay cones I deposited.

10–15) A later prince, when the wall and its gates become dilapidated, must rebuild (them). (Then) Aššur and the god Adad will listen to his prayers. May he return my clay cone to its place.

16–18) Month of Šakināte, fourteenth day, eponymy of the twenty-third year of my reign, of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria.

## 45

This is a senselessly garbled version of A.0.102.44 and not really a different text. It was obviously copied by a scribe who either did not understand what he was doing or did not care. In either case, the fact that there are three exemplars with exactly the same major blunders indicates that a royal scribe did not always copy from a master text. In this instance probably the same scribe copied all of these exemplars, repeating his errors over and over again while adding numerous minor mistakes. There is no point publishing a master text and translation but the interested reader will find scores for the three exemplars on microfiche at the back of the book.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Lines preserved	cpn
1	A 3630	19345a + b + c	1–14	c
2	A 3631 + 3632	19346 + 19346a	1–12	c
3	A 3631a	19346c	9–14	c

## COMMENTARY

Comment on the major errors is necessary (see the scores). Lines 6 and 7 should be in reverse order. Line 11 should come immediately after line 5 and at the end

*ēpušūma ēnaḥū* has been omitted (the same verbs are also required at the end of line 10). Line 12 is a garbled repeat of line 7.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA nos. 158–60 (exs. 1–3, copy, edition)

## 46

This text, on clay cones and a clay hand from Aššur (see A.O.102.42), describes restoration work on the Tabira Gate. It records the fact that Aššur-dān II had previously worked on this gate (see RIMA 2 pp. 137–38 and 140 and cf. A.O.102.47). The text is dated 842 BC (seventeenth regnal year). Since the inscription on the clay hand (ex. 3) may have omitted Adad-nārārī II from the genealogy, and also part of the building inscription, it might represent a slightly condensed version of this text.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	Lines preserved	cpn
1	VA Ass 2018	10295	1510–11	Fill over private house, east of gate, bB7I	1–18	c
2	VA Ass 2058	10495	1980	Rock slope at the outer face, south corner, at gate, bA7II	1–14	c
3	BM 116399 (1922-8-12,54)	9464	1418, 1420	—	1–18	c
4	A 3353	13791	—	—	11–12(?)	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1906 Andrae, MDOG 32 p. 8 (ex. 3, provenance)  
 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 7, 11, 43, 170, and pl. CII (exs. 1–3, provenance, photo, copy, edition)  
 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 255–59 and pl. 12 (exs. 1–2, photo, edition)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 93–94 (exs. 1–3, study)  
 1982 Miglus, ZA 72 pp. 266–79 (study)  
 1982 Rost, FuB 22 nos. 83–84 (exs. 1–2, copy)  
 1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA pp. 49–50 (exs. 1–2, 4, copy, edition)  
 1991 Frame, Bagh. Mitt. 22 pp. 352–54 (ex. 3, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šūl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN dan-nu MAN KIŠ  
 MAN KUR aš-šur  
 2) DUMU <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAB-A MAN dan-nu MAN KIŠ  
 MAN KUR aš-šur

1–4) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also strong king, king



- 3) DUMU GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ MAN dan-nu MAN  
KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur-ma
- 4) DUMU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN dan-nu MAN  
KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur-ma
- 5) e-nu-ma KÁ.GAL.TIBIRA mah-ri-tu ša ina pa-  
an <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-KAL-an
- 6) DUMU <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-IBILA-é-šár-ra  
MAN.MEŠ-ni a-lik pa-ni-ia
- 7) e-pu-uš e-na-aḫ-ma an-ḫu-sa ú-na-ki-ri
- 8) a-šar-ša ú-ma-si dan-na-sa ak-šud<sup>ud</sup> iš-tu
- 9) uš-še-ša a-di gaba-dib-bi-ša ar-šip ú-šék-lil
- 10) UGU mah-ri-i ú-si-im ú-šar-ri-ḫi ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-  
ma
- 11) DUG te-me-ni aš-kun a-na EGIR u<sub>4</sub>-me
- 12) a-na u<sub>4</sub>-um ša-a-te e-nu-ma KÁ.GAL BI ú-šal-  
ba-ru-ma
- 13) e-na-ḫa-ma NUN-ú EGIR-ú an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš
- 14) MU šaṭ-ra a-na áš-ri-šú lu-te-er aš-šur <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR  
<sup>d</sup>30
- 15) ú <sup>d</sup>šá-maš <sup>d</sup>iš-tar ú <sup>d</sup>U.GUR DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ
- 16) ik-ri-bi-šu i-še-mu-ú ITI.ŠU UD 28.KÁM
- 17) li-mu <sup>m</sup>tāk-lak-MAN LÚ.GAR.KUR
- 18) URU né-med-<sup>d</sup>INANNA

of the universe, and king of Assyria, son of Adad-nārārī (II), (who was) also strong king, king of the universe, and king of Assyria:

5–11a) At that time the ancient Tabira Gate, which Aššur-dān (II), son of Tiglath-pileser (II), kings who preceded me, had previously built — (that gate) had become dilapidated. I removed its weakened (parts), delineated its site, and dug out its foundation pit. I completely rebuilt it from top to bottom (and) decorated (it) more splendidly than before. At that time I deposited my clay inscriptions.

11b–16a) In the future, in days to come, when this gate becomes old and dilapidated, may a later prince restore its weakened (parts) (and) return my inscription to its place. (Then) the deities Aššur, Adad, Sin and Šamaš, Ištar and Nergal, the great gods, will listen to his prayers.

16b–18) The month Tammuz, twenty-eighth day, eponymy of Taklāk-šarri, governor of the city Nēmed-Ištar.

## 47

This text is engraved on two pairs of stone door sockets discovered at the Tabira Gate in Aššur. The text reminds us that Aššur-dān II had earlier worked on this gate (see A.0.102.46). By placing Nergal's name immediately after Aššur, it provides evidence that Nergal was the protective deity of this gate (cf. A.0.102.94).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	cpn
1	VA Ass 1852	10235	1494, 1496, 2193, 2255	c
2	Unlocated	10236	1494, 1495, 1545, 2194, 2254	p
3	VA Ass 1855	10328	1546, 2191, 2255	c
4	VA Ass 1853	10329	1621, 2192, 2254	c

4.3 May have omitted this line.

5 "Tabira Gate" rather than "Craftsman's Gate": see the note to A.0.102.25 line 24.

10–11a.3 Seems to omit.

## COMMENTARY

The inscriptions on the four door sockets are exact duplicates of one another (therefore no scores are given) with some exceptions: 2.3–4 <sup>m</sup>AŠ; 5.3 <sup>m</sup>AŠ for

<sup>m</sup>aš-šur; 7.4 an-ḫu-su; 12.3 AŠ for aš-šur; 12.3 ik-ri-be-šú; 13.4 i-šá-mu-u.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1906 Andrae, MDOG 32 pp. 14–18 (exs. 1–4, provenance, photo)  
 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 26–27, 171–72, and pl. XCVIII (exs. 1–4, photo, copy, edition)

- 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 215–17 (exs. 1–4, edition)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 91 (exs. 1–4, study)  
 1982 Miglus, ZA 72 pp. 266–79 (exs. 1–4, study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ  
 2) MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR AŠ A AŠ-PAB-A  
 3) MAN KUR AŠ A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ-ma  
 4) e-nu-ma KÁ.GAL.TIBIRA  
 5) maḫ-ri-tú šá <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-KAL-an a-bi  
 6) ina IGI DŪ-uš e-na-aḫ-ma  
 7) an-ḫu-sa ud-diš  
 8) TA uš-še-šá a-di  
 9) gaba-dib-bi-šá DŪ-uš  
 10) NUN EGIR-ú an-ḫu-sa  
 11) lu-diš MU šaṭ-ra ana KI-šú lu-ter  
 12) aš-šur u <sup>d</sup>U.GUR ik-ri-bi-šú  
 13) i-še-mu-u

1–3) Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria:

4–9) At that time the ancient Tabira Gate, which Aššur-dān (II), my forefather, had previously built, had become dilapidated and I restored its weakened (parts). I rebuilt it from top to bottom.

10–13) May a later prince restore its weakened (parts) (and) return my inscription to its place. (Then) Aššur and the god Nergal will listen to his prayers.

## 48

This text is engraved on a pair of stone door sockets discovered at the Tabira Gate in Aššur.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Ass number	Ass ph number	cpn
1	10217	1485, 1487, 2189, 2255	p
2	10221	1485, 1487–88, 2190, 2254	p

## COMMENTARY

The two inscriptions are exact duplicates of one another (and therefore no scores are given) except that in line 2 ex. 2 has <aš>-šur-ma.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1906 Andrae, MDOG 32 pp. 14–15 (exs. 1–2, provenance)  | 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 p. 215 (edition)           |
| 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 11, 27, 170–71, and pl. XCVIII (exs. 1–2, photo, copy, edition) | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 91 (exs. 1–2, study)     |
|  | 1982 Miglus, ZA 72 pp. 266–79 (exs. 1–2, study) |

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) <sup>m</sup> dšul-ma-nu-MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup> BAD ŠID <sup>d</sup> aš-šur A<br><sup>d</sup> aš-šur-PAB-A GAR <sup>d</sup> BAD | 1–4) Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur: the Tabira Gate, together with the doors (and) walls of my city Aššur, I built anew. |
| 2) ŠID <sup>d</sup> aš-šur A TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID <sup>aš-šur-ma</sup><br>KÁ.GAL.TIBIRAA-di GIŠ.IG.MEŠ-šá                              |   |
| 3) BÂD.MEŠ URU-ia <sup>d</sup> aš-šur.KI a-na iš-šu-ut-ti   |   |
| 4) e-pu-uš  |   |

## 49

This text is inscribed on large stone blocks found in the region of the Ištar temple at Aššur. The inscription concerns the rebuilding of the temple of the goddess Šarrat-nip̄hi (for the reading see Grayson, ARI 2 p. 168 n. 757), which, we are told, was built earlier by Tukulti-Ninurta I (cf. A.O.102.50–51).

## COMMENTARY

Andrae says that four stone blocks with this text were discovered, but details (photos and excavation numbers) for only two are given. Thus a catalogue of exs. is impractical. None of the objects could be located

but exs. 1 and 2 could be collated from photos. Ex. 1 = Ass 8726 = Ass ph 1102 and was found in cB6IV. Ex. 2 = Ass 19743 = Ass ph 6311.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1906 Andrae, MDOG 31 p. 15 (ex. 1, provenance)        | provenance, photo)  |
| 1908 Andrae, MDOG 38 p. 34 (ex. 1, provenance)        | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 90–91 (exs. 1–4, study; ex. 1, transliteration) |
| 1935 Andrae, JIT pp. 113–14 and pls. 32b–c (exs. 1–4, |   |

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) <sup>md</sup> šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ ŠID AŠ A aš-šur-PAB-A ŠID AŠ                              | 1–2a) Shalmaneser, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur:   |
| 2) A TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID AŠ-ma e-nu-ma É   | 2b–5) At that time the temple of Šarrat-nip̄hi, the great mistress, my mistress, which Tukultī-Ninurta (I), son of Shalmaneser (I), my forefather, vice-regent of Aššur, had previously built — (this temple) had become dilapidated and I completely rebuilt it from top to bottom. I deposited my stone inscriptions. |
| 3) <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN-KUR- <i>ha</i> NIN-ti GAL-ti                                       |   |
| 4) NIN-ti-ia šá GISKIM- <sup>d</sup> MAŠ DUMU <sup>d</sup> šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ a-bi ŠID aš-šur |   |
| 5) <i>ina pa-na DÜ-uš e-na-aḥ-ma TA uš-še-šu a-[di] gaba-dib-[bi-šu]</i>                 |   |
| 6) <i>ar-šip ú-šék-lil NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.MEŠ.A-a aš-kun</i>                           |   |

## 50

This text, on a brick from Aššur, commemorates the restoration of the temple of Šarrat-nip̄hi. Another text on Aššur bricks, edited as A.0.102.51, is a duplicate except for the royal titles. Regarding this deity see A.0.102.49. Tukultī-Ninurta I is said to have been an earlier builder (cf. A.0.102.49).

## COMMENTARY

The brick (Ass 13745, Ass ph 3763) was found in eB6V. Its present location is unknown but the inscription could be collated from the photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 98 (copy)        | 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 270–71 no. 25 (edition)  |
| 1923 Schroeder, AfK 1 pp. 39–41 (edition)  | 1959 Weidner, Tn. pp. XIII and 44 no. 38f (study) |
| 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §708 (translation) | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 94 (study)                 |

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup> šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ                                      | 1–3a) Palace of Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II) (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur:  |
| 2) GAR <sup>d</sup> BAD ŠID aš-šur A <sup>m</sup> aš-šur-PAB-A ŠID aš-šur | 3b–7) At that time the temple of the goddess Šarrat-nip̄hi, my mistress, which Tukultī-Ninurta (I), my ancestor, vice-regent of Aššur, had previously built — (this temple) had become dilapidated and I, Shalmaneser, built (it) anew. |
| 3) A <sup>m</sup> TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID aš-šur-ma e-nu-ma                         |   |
| 4) É <sup>d</sup> GAŠAN-KUR- <i>ha</i> NIN-a ša <sup>m</sup> TUKUL-MAŠ    |   |
| 5) a-bi ŠID aš-šur <i>ina pa-an DÜ-uš</i>                                 |   |
| 6) <i>e-na-aḥ-ma <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ</i>                           |   |
| 7) <i>a-na eš-šú-te ú-[di]l-[iš]</i>                                      |   |

*7 ana eššute uddiš*: the reading is clear in line 6 of A.0.102.51 and, although the idiom seems to be previously unattested, it fits the pattern of cognate accusatives and adverbs.

## 51

This is another text (cf. A.O.102.50), inscribed on bricks from Aššur, which concerns the reconstruction of the temple of Šarrat-nip̄i and mentions Tukultī-Ninurta I as a previous builder (cf. A.O.102.49).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	cpn
1	VA Ass 3269	14046 or 14348 (see commentary)	4178	c
2	VA Ass 4310a	13744	4178	c
3	Unlocated	12913	3244	p
4	VA Ass 4301a	6647	993	c

## COMMENTARY

The master text is a conflation of all exs. and therefore scores have been given. There is a problem with the Ass number of ex. 1: is it Ass 14046 or Ass 14348? Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 112 is the same inscription as that called "B" in Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 98 and which appears in Ass ph 4178. However, Schroeder gives the number as Ass 14046 while Rost and Marzahn give it as Ass 14348. In Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 no. 325 and

n. 38 it is remarked that the Ass number does not match the information in the Excavation Catalogue.

As to the identification of ex. 4, collation (including from the excavation photo) indicates that it belongs to this text. The traces copied in VAS 23 no. 119 as "line 1" are just scratches, not wedges; the line does not exist. From the spacing it is possible that this ex. began with É.GAL "palace of."

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 98 (exs. 1–2, study)  
 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 270–71 no. 25 (exs. 1–2, study)  
 1959 Weidner, Tn. pp. XIII and 44 no. 38f (exs. 1–3, study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 94 (study)  
 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 325, 333, and 416 (exs. 1–2, 4, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 nos. 112, 119, and 165 (exs. 1–2, 4, copy)  
 1986 Galter, ZA 76 p. 304 (ex. 2, study)

## TEXT

- 1) [m<sup>1</sup>dšùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN ŠŪ MAN [KUR AŠ]  
 2) A [d<sup>1</sup>a-šur-PAB-A MAN ŠŪ A TUKUL-MAŠ  
 MAN KUR AŠ-m[a]  
 3) [e<sup>1</sup>-[nu]-ma É<sup>4</sup>GAŠAN-KUR-[ha<sup>1</sup>] [N]IN-a ša  
 4) m<sup>1</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ a-bi ina [pa-an]  
 5) [e<sup>1</sup>-pu-šú e-na-aḫ-m[a (...)]  
 6) [šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ ana eš-šú-ti  
 ú-diš

1–2) Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria:

3–6) At that time the temple of Šarrat-nip̄i, my mistress, which Tukultī-Ninurta (I), my ancestor, had previously built — (this temple) had become dilapidated and I, Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, built (it) anew.

6.4 omits šar māt aššur "king of Assyria."

6 ana eššūti uddiš: see the note to A.O.102.50 line 7.

## 52

This fragmentary text (A 3476 = Ass 10012) is on a piece of clay cone from Aššur and is almost certainly of Shalmaneser III (cf. A.O.102.42). It concerns work on the Šarrat-nip̄hi shrine (see A.O.102.49) and is similar to A.O.102.51. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA no. 219 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

Lacuna

1') [...] TUKUL-MAŠ LUGAL *d[an-nu ...]*

2') [... *e*]-*nu-ma* É<sup>d</sup>GAŠAN-[*nip̄hi ...*]

3') [(...) *ēnaḥma*<sup>m</sup>]<sup>f</sup>d<sup>l</sup>šūl-*ma-nu-SA*[G ...]

4') [...] x É *š**u*-[*a-tu ...*]

Lacuna

Lacuna

1'–4') No translation warranted.

Lacuna

## 53

This text, inscribed on two brick fragments from Aššur, concerns work on the forecourt of the temple of Aššur. It agrees word for word, with the exception of the royal name and genealogy, with brick inscriptions of Adad-nārārī I (RIMA 1 p. 167) and this shows that Shalmaneser had discovered Adad-nārārī's bricks in the course of the reconstruction.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	cpn
1	VA Ass 4301c	17086	5169	iB3IV	c
2	Unlocated	17169	5555	—	p

## COMMENTARY

It is not entirely certain that the two fragmentary inscriptions are the same text. In line 2' of ex. 2 a reading is very difficult, as remarked by von Soden (apud Michel and see the photo published by Michel).

Can one read: [... *tukultī-n*]*in(?)*-*urta* Š[ID *aššurma*]? Despite Galter, ZA 76 (1986) p. 304, the reading in ex. 1 line 6, as given in this edition, is clear from the photo. The master text is a conflation of the two exs.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1926 Weidner, IAK p. 107 n. 6 (ex. 1, study)  
 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 395–96 no. 30 and pl. 21 (exs. 1–2,  
 photo, edition)
- 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 95 (exs. 1–2, study)  
 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 no. 335 (ex. 1, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 121 (ex. 1, copy)

## TEXT

- 1) [ᵐ(?)<sup>d</sup>(?)][šulmānu-ašarēd iššak aššur]  
 2) A aš-šur-P[AB-apli iššak aššur]  
 3) A TUKUL-MAŠ Š[ID aššurma]  
 4) *mu-ta-li[k-t]a*  
 5) *šá ki-sa-a[l]*  
 6) *a-ba-[ri]*  
 7) [š]á É aš-šur  
 8) [bēliia a]k-si-ir

- 1–3) [Shalmaneser, vice-regent of Aššur], son of Ashurna[sirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur], son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) [also] vice-[regent of Aššur]:  
 4–8) I (Shalmaneser) applied a facing to the processional avenue of the *Abaru*-Forecourt of the temple of Aššur, [my lord].

## 54

This text is engraved on two pairs of stone door sockets discovered at each side of the doorways to two different rooms in the Anu-Adad temple at Aššur.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	cpn
1	VA Ass 1854	12687	3056, 3073	Anu-Adad temple, doorway to room C	c
2	VA Ass 1856	12688	3056, 3074, 3188	As ex. 1	c
3	Unlocated	12689	3077–78	Anu-Adad temple, doorway to room F	n
4	Unlocated	12690	3077	As ex. 3	n

## COMMENTARY

Exs. 1–3 are exact duplicates of one another, according to Andrae's copies; he gives no copy for ex. 4. The only variant is in line 1, where ex. 2 has, in error, *bit* for *dan*

in *dan-nu*. Since the inscriptions are quite straightforward no scores are necessary.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1909 Andrae, AAT pp. 42–45 and pls. XXIII and XXVI (exs. 1–4, photo, copy, edition)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 91 (exs. 1–4, study)

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) <sup>md</sup> šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN dan-nu<br>2) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A AŠ-PAB-A<br>3) MAN KUR AŠ A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR<br>AŠ-ma<br>4) ba-ni É <sup>d</sup> a-nim<br>5) É <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR | 1–5) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of the universe,<br>king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of<br>Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also<br>king of Assyria: builder of the temple of the god Anu<br>(and) the temple of the god Adad. |
|--|---|

## 55

This text, inscribed on two bricks from Aššur, records the creation of a gold statue of the god Armada. Presumably this was the patron deity of the Phoenician city Arwad (see the bibliography given by Michel).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	cpn
1	Unlocated	18544	5650, 6452	iC5I	p
2	VA Ass 4308a	4778	—	City area	c

## COMMENTARY

Ex. 2 has only the ends of lines preserved and shows one minor variant in line 3:  
 ŠID aš-šur-ma.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 103 (ex. 1, copy)<br>1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §709 (ex. 1, translation)<br>1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 268–69 no. 23 (ex. 1, edition)<br>1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 94 (ex. 1, study) | 1984 Marzahn and Rost, ZiegelN 1 no. 406 (ex. 2, study)<br>1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 156 (ex. 2, copy)<br>1986 Galter, ZA 76 p. 304 (ex. 2, study) |
|---|--|

## TEXT

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1) <sup>md</sup> šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup> BAD<br>2) ŠID aš-šur DUMU aš-šur-PAB-A ŠID aš-šur<br>3) DUMU TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID <sup>d</sup> a-šur-ma<br>4) <sup>d</sup> ar-ma-da ša É aš-šur EN-ia<br>5) šá ina pa-na la ep-šu<br>6) ina ši-sa-at ŠÀ-ia ša KÙ.GI e-pu-šu | 1–3) Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-<br>regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-<br>regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who<br>was) also vice-regent of the god Aššur:<br>4–6) I made with skill a gold (statue of) the god<br>Armada of the temple of Aššur, my lord, which had<br>never been previously made. |
|--|--|



## 56

This text is inscribed on two bricks found at Calah and concerns the building of the ziqqurrat of Ninurta. Shalmaneser claims to have erected this ziqqurrat for the first time and there certainly is no reference to such a ziqqurrat in the texts of his predecessor, Ashurnasirpal II.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	cpn
1	BM 90534	1979-12-20,278	—	c
2	BM 132265	1958-2-8,8	ND 1128	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1922 BM Guide p. 72 (ex. 1, study)  
 1952 Wiseman, Iraq 14 p. 67 (ex. 2, provenance, transliteration)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 97 (ex. 2, study)  
 1981 Walker, CBI no. 160 (exs. 1–2, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A  
 AŠ-PAB-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A  
 TUKUL-MAŠ
- 2) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ-ma ŠAPRA <sup>d</sup>aš-šur  
 šur-ru-ḫu NUN na-du muš-te-e ʔ-u
- 3) áš-rat DINGIR.MEŠ šá qé-reb é-šár-ra e-nu-ma  
 U<sub>6</sub>.NIR
- 4) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ EN GAL-e EN-ia šá ina MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 AD.MEŠ-a-a
- 5) a-šar-šá la kul-lu-mu-ma la-a ŠUB-at  
 SIG<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ
- 6) [ina] ḫi-sa-at lib-bi-a šá <sup>d</sup>é-a EN uz-nu DAGAL
- 7) i-qí-šú-ú-ni U<sub>6</sub>.NIR šu-a-tú ina URU kal-ḫi lu  
 DÚ-uš
- 8) e-nu-ma <sup>d</sup>MAŠ U<sub>6</sub>.NIR
- 9) šu-a-tú e-ma-ru ki-ni-šéš
- 10) li[ḫ]ḫ-du-ni GÍD UD.MEŠ-a liq-bi
- 11) šúm-ud MU.MEŠ-a li-tas-qar
- 12) NUN-ú EGIR-ú
- 13) an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-di-iš
- 14) MU.SAR a-na áš-ri-šú lu-ter
- 1–3a) Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria; splendid priest of the god Aššur, attentive prince who frequents the shrines of the gods within Ešarra:  
 3b–7) At that time the ziqqurrat of the god Ninurta, the great lord, my lord, the site of which no one among the kings, my fathers, had ever designated nor, had the bricks been laid — with my skill, which the god Ea, lord of wide understanding, gave me, I built this ziqqurrat in Calah.
- 8–11) When the god Ninurta sees this ziqqurrat, may he rightly rejoice and command that my days be long, may he ordain that my years be many.
- 12–14) May a later prince restore its ruined (portions) (and) return my inscription to its place.

2 ŠAPRA: see Seux, ERAS p. 267 and n. 5.  
 5 Cf. Schramm, AfO 29–30 (1983–84) p. 109.

## 57

This is one of a few texts engraved on the throne base of Shalmaneser found at Fort Shalmaneser. This particular text was inscribed on the under surface of the east block. For full details about the throne base, including bibliography, see A.O.102.28. This text is a duplicate of A.O.102.28 lines 1–6 and then adds the name of the official who had the throne base made.

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR  
*aš-šur A aš-šur-PAB-A*
- 2) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur A TUKUL-MAŠ*  
MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur-ma MAN ba-’i-it*  
DINGIR.MEŠ
- 3) *ni-šit IGI.II.MEŠ* <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur šur-ru-ḫu*  
NUN *na-a-du*
- 4) *muš-te-’u-ú áš-rat* DINGIR.MEŠ *šá qé-reb é-*  
*šár-ra a-mi-ru*
- 5) *du-ur-gi ù šap-šá-qi mu-kab-bi-si* SAG.MEŠ-*ti*  
*šá KUR-e ḫur-šá-ni*
- 6) *ma-ḫir GÚ igi-se<sub>11</sub>-e šá ka-liš* UB.MEŠ *mu-pa-*  
*tu-ú ḫu-da-ti*
- 7) *šá e-liš u šap-liš* <sup>md</sup>UTU-EN-PAB LÚ *šá-kin*  
URU *kal-ḫi DÜ-uš*

1–7) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria; *desired one* of the gods, chosen of the god Enlil, splendid vice-regent of Aššur, attentive prince, who frequents the shrines of the gods within Ešarra, who has seen (5) remote and rugged regions, who has trodden upon the mountain peaks in the highlands, receiver of booty (and) tax from all the (four) quarters, who opens paths above and below; Šamaš-bēla-ušur, governor of Calah, has made (this).

## 58

This fragmentary text is on a brick from Shibaniya (Tell Billa) and refers to the goddess Ištar.

## COMMENTARY

The brick is in the University Museum, Philadelphia (UM 84-26-30) and the inscription has been collated. There can be little doubt that it is the brick found by Speiser at Tell Billa since in BASOR 45 p. 32 he says he found a brick of Shalmaneser III which “tells us of

having restored the shrine of Ištar, his lady.” Other bricks discovered by this expedition have not been located. Regarding a brick discovered at Shibaniya by Layard see A.O.102.104.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1930 Speiser, BASOR 40 p. 12 (provenance)  
1931 Speiser, BASOR 41 p. 19 (study)  
1931–32 Weidner, AFO 7 p. 64a (study)  
1932 Speiser, BASOR 45 p. 32 (study)

- 1953 Finkelstein, JCS 7 p. 114 (study)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 98 (study)  
1985 Behrens, JCS 37 p. 243 (study)

## TEXT

- |    |  |  |
|----|--|--|
| 1) | [ <sup>md</sup> šùl]- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ    | 1–3) Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria: |
| 2) | [A <sup>ma</sup> AŠ-P]AB-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ                 | 4–5) I built [the temple of the goddess] Ištar, my mistress, and [...] ...   |
| 3) | [A <sup>m</sup> TUKUL-M]AŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ- <i>ma</i>      |  |
| 4) | [ <i>bīt</i> <sup>d</sup> ]INANNA NIN-ti-ia DÛ-uš- <i>ma</i> |  |
| 5) | [x x] x ú (x)  |  |

## 59

This is one of a few texts engraved on the throne base of Shalmaneser found at Fort Shalmaneser. This particular text is really a label to a scene carved on the front of the base in which Shalmaneser and Marduk-zākir-šumi are portrayed clasping hands. The text describes Shalmaneser's intervention on Marduk-zākir-šumi's behalf when rebellion threatened the latter's position on the throne. For full details about the throne base, including bibliography, see A.0.102.28. The lines are numbered 45–47 as explained there. The abrupt change from third to first person in the middle of the text is noteworthy.

## TEXT

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 45) | <i>ina tar-ši</i> <sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-MU-MU MAN KUR <i>kar-du-ni-áš</i> <sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-EN-ú- <i>sa-te</i> ŠEŠ-šú <i>it-ti-šú ib-bal-kit</i> <sup>md</sup> šùl- <i>ma-[nu]</i> -MAŠ MAN KUR <i>aš-šur ana</i> ÉRIN.TAḤ-te šá <sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-MU-MU <i>a-lik</i> <sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-EN-ú- <i>sa-te</i>                           | 45–47) At the time of Marduk-zākir-šumi, king of Karduniaš, Marduk-bēl-usāte, his brother, rebelled against him. Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, marched to the aid of Marduk-zākir-šumi. He felled Marduk-bēl-usāte with the sword (and) confirmed Marduk-zākir-šumi on his father's throne. I marched about justly in the extensive land Karduniaš. I marched to Babylon, Borsippa, and Cuthah. I made sacrifices to the gods in the shrines of the towns of Karduniaš. I went down to Chaldea (and) gained dominion over Chaldea in its entirety. I received tribute from the kings of Chaldea as far as the sea (and) imposed my powerful might upon the Sealand. |
| 46) | <i>ina</i> GIŠ.TUKUL <i>ú-šam-qit</i> <sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-MU-MU <i>ina</i> GIŠ.AŠ.TI AD-šú <i>ú-kín ina</i> KUR [ <i>ka</i> ] <i>r-du-ni-áš</i> DAGAL-ti <i>me-še-ri-iš lu at-tal-lak ana</i> URU [KÁ.DIN]GIR.RA.KI URU <i>bár-sípa</i> .KI <i>u</i> URU.GÚ.DU <sub>6</sub> .ÉRIN.KI <i>a-lik ana</i> DINGIR.MEŠ BÁRA.MEŠ <i>ma(*)-ḥa-zi</i> .MEŠ |   |
| 47) | šá KUR <i>kar-du-ni-áš</i> UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ- <i>ia aq-qí a-na</i> KUR <i>kal-dí ú-ri-d[i</i> KUR] <i>kal-du ana paṭ gim-ri-šú a-pél šá</i> LUGAL.MEŠ <i>šá</i> KUR <i>kal-dí a-dí tam-ti</i> GUN-šú- <i>nu am-ḥur li-ti dan-na-ni ina</i> KUR <i>tam-ti áš-kun</i>   |   |

46 URU.GÚ.DU<sub>6</sub>.ÉRIN.KI = Cuthah. The unusual orthography (one might also read URU.GÚ.EDIN.KI), instead of URU.GÚ.DU<sub>6</sub>.A.KI, also occurs in A.0.102.8 line 27' (both exs.). Cf. Hulin's note to this line and Borger, Zeichenliste no. 106.

46 *ma(\*)-ḥa-zi*.MEŠ: for *ma*- the text has GIŠ-

## 60

This is an epigraph engraved on the throne base of Shalmaneser found at Fort Shalmaneser. It describes the scene carved below in which Qalparunda is portrayed bringing tribute to Shalmaneser. For full details about the throne base, including bibliography, see A.0.102.28 (called “line 48” there).

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú šá<sup>m</sup>qàl-pa-ru-un-da* KUR *un-qa-a-a*  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ  
 ZABAR.MEŠ ÚTUL ZABAR.MEŠ ZÚ AM.SI.MEŠ  
 GIŠ.ESI.MEŠ GIŠ.ÛR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni lu-bùl-ti bir-*  
*me u* GIŠ.GADA.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 GIŠ.LAL-at GIŠ.GIŠ *am-ḥur-šu*

I received tribute from Qalparunda, the Unqite: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze casseroles, elephant ivory, ebony, cedar beams, garments with multi-coloured trim and of linen, (and) harness-trained horses.

## 61

This is another epigraph engraved on the throne base of Shalmaneser found at Fort Shalmaneser. It describes the scene carved below in which Mušallim-Marduk and Adinu are portrayed bringing tribute to Shalmaneser (cf. A.0.102.5 vi 6–7). For full details about the throne base, including bibliography, see A.0.102.28 (called “line 49” there).

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú šá<sup>m</sup>mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU DUMU ú-ka-ni*  
*šá<sup>m</sup>a-di-ni* DUMU *da-ku-ri* KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ  
 KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ ZÚ  
 AM.SI.MEŠ KUŠ AM.SI.MEŠ GIŠ.ESI.MEŠ GIŠ  
*mes-kan-nu.MEŠ am-ḥur*

I received tribute from Mušallim-Marduk, the man of Bīt-Amukkāni (Ukānu), and Adinu, the man of Bīt-Dakkuri: silver, gold, tin, bronze, elephant ivory, elephant hides, ebony, (and) *meskannu*-wood.

## 62

This is yet another epigraph on Shalmaneser’s throne base from Fort Shalmaneser. This particular label identifies the material from which the throne base was made, whom it was made for (Shalmaneser), and who had it made. For full details about the throne base, including bibliography, see A.0.102.28 (called “line 50” there). Regarding other inscribed objects installed by Šamaš-bēla-ušur see A.0.102.30.

## TEXT

NA<sub>4</sub> KUR *tu-nu* NA<sub>4</sub> *pa-ru-te šú-a-tú* <sup>1</sup>*[a-na]* *šu-bat*  
<sup>md</sup>*šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ* MAN KUR AŠ EN-šú <sup>md</sup>UTU-EN-  
 PAB *šá-kìn* URU *kal-ḫi* <sup>1</sup>*[a-na]* *a-ša-at u<sub>4</sub>-me ú-kín*

For the throne of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, his lord, has Šamaš-bēla-ušur, governor of Calah, installed forever this stone from Mount Tunni, *parūtu*-alabaster.

## 63

The epigraphs on the bronze bands of the gates found at Imgur-Enlil (Balawat) are edited here as A.0.102.63–86. For details and a bibliography see the edition of the main text, A.0.102.5. Only bibliography pertinent to a specific epigraph is given below. Unfortunately the epigraphs have never been published properly (they will be included in the definitive publication being prepared in the British Museum) and I have been forced to follow essentially the editions given by Delitzsch and Michel, checking this where possible against the published photos.

The erection of a statue and making sacrifices by the sea of Nairi are noted in the annals for the following years: one (858 BC) — A.0.102.2 i 62–63 and A.0.102.28 lines 11–13; three (856 BC) — A.0.102.2 ii 59–60 and A.0.102.17 line 55; and fifteen (844 BC) — A.0.102.6 iii 39–40.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1908 Delitzsch, BA 6/1 pp. 4–83 (edition)  
 1967–68 Michel, WO 4 pp. 34–37 (edition)

## TEXT

ALAM *ina* UGU A.AB.BA *šá* KUR *na-i-ri ú-šá-zi-iz*  
 UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ BAL-*qi*

I erected my statue by the sea of the land Nairi (and) made sacrifices to the gods.

## 64

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of the city Sugunia in the accession year (859 BC), concerning which see A.0.102.2 i 24 and A.0.102.28 line 14. The capture of other cities of Aramu, the Urartian, is recorded in the epigraphs edited as A.0.102.71 and 80. The general defeat of Urartu is noted in A.0.102.65.

## TEXT

URU *su-gu-ni-[a]* *šá a-ra-me* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a*  
 KUR-*ud*

I captured the city Sugunia, which belonged to Aramu, the Urartian.

## 65

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63). On the defeat of Urartu and the capture of its cities as recorded in the epigraphs see A.0.102.64.

## TEXT

*ti-du-ku [(x x)] šá KUR ú-ra-ar-tí [(...)]*

Battle against the land Urartu [(...)].

## 66

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and is one of two such epigraphs, the other being A.0.102.84, recording receipt of tribute from Tyre and Sidon. In the annals two occasions of receiving tribute from these cities are recorded, once in the eighteenth year (841 BC) — A.0.102.8 lines 24''–25'' and A.0.102.12 lines 29–30 — and again in the twenty-first year (838 BC) — A.0.102.14 lines 103–104 and A.0.102.16 line 161'.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú šá GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ šá URU šu-ra-a-a URU  
ši-du-na-a-a am-ḫu-ur*

I received tribute from the boats of the people of Tyre and Sidon.

## 67

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of Ḫazazu in the first year (858 BC), a fact recorded in A.0.102.2 ii 11.

## TEXT

*ti-du-ku šá URU ḫa-za-zi*

Battle against the city Ḫazazu.

## 68

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of Dabigu in the second year (857 BC), a fact recorded in: A.0.102.2 ii 17–18, A.0.102.6 i 52, A.0.102.10 i 34–36, and A.0.102.14 lines 34–35.

## TEXT

*ti-du-ku šá URU da-bi-gi šá ma-ḥu-ni A ma-di-ni*

Battle against the city Dabigu, which belonged to Aḥunu of Bit-Adini.

## 69

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns receipt of tribute from Unqu, a fact also recorded in A.0.102.1 line 93 and A.0.102.60.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú šá KUR u[n-qa(?)]-a-a*

Tribute from the land of the people of *Unqu*.

## 70

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns receipt of tribute from Sangara of Carchemish. Carchemish was plundered in the following years: one (858 BC) — A.0.102.2 i 43–53 and A.0.102.6 i 46–47; two (857 BC) — A.0.102.2 ii 19–27; six (853 BC) — A.0.102.2 ii 83; ten (849 BC) — A.0.102.6 ii 56, A.0.102.10 ii 46, and A.0.102.14 line 85; and eleven (848 BC) — A.0.102.8 line 35'.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú šá ma-sa-an-ga-ra URU gar-ga-miš-a-a*

Tribute of Sangara, the Carchemishite.

## 71

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of an unnamed Urartian city. Regarding Urartu as it appears in these epigraphs see A.0.102.64.

## TEXT

URU šá<sup>m</sup>*a-ra-me* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a* KUR-ud

I captured a city of Aramu, the Urartian.

## 72

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns receipt of tribute from Gilzānu. This is surely the event recorded for the accession year (859 BC) in the annals (A.0.102.6 i 41 and A.0.102.28 lines 16–18) and in an epigraph on the Black Obelisk (A.0.102.87). It is not the campaign of the thirty-first year (828 BC), which is noted in the main text of the Black Obelisk (A.0.102.14 lines 180–81). Nor is it likely that this refers to the conquest of Gilzānu in the third year (856 BC): A.0.102.2 ii 60–62; A.0.102.5 iii 2–3; A.0.102.6 ii 1; A.0.102.8 lines 4'–5'; A.0.102.10 i 47–48; and A.0.102.14 line 44.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú* šá KUR *gíl-za-na-a-a*

Tribute of the Gilzāneans.

## 73

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of a city belonging to Anḫitti in Šubrû. The city is here called Ubume while in A.0.102.28 line 44 it is called Ibume. The event took place in the fifth year (854 BC) as recorded in the annals: A.0.102.6 ii 17–18, A.0.102.10 ii 11–12, and A.0.102.14 lines 53–54.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1907 Streck, ZA 20 pp. 456–60 (study)



## TEXT

URU *ú-bu-m[e] šá<sup>m</sup>an-ḫi-ti* KUR *šub-ri-a-a* KUR-*ud*

I conquered the city Ubume, which belonged to Anḫittu, the Šubraean.

## 74

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of the city Pargâ, an event which took place in the sixth year (853 BC) according to A.0.102.2 ii 88.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1969 Astour, *Orientalia* NS 38 pp. 412–14 (study)

## TEXT

URU *pa-ar-ga-a* KUR-*ud*

I captured the city Pargâ.

## 75

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of the city Adâ. Perhaps this is the same place as the city Adennu (A.0.102.2 ii 88), which was captured in the sixth year (853 BC).

## TEXT

URU *a-da-a šá<sup>m</sup>ur-ḫi-le-ni* KUR *ḫa-ma-ta-a-a* KUR-*ud*

I conquered the city Adâ, which belonged to Urḫilēnu, the Ḫamatite.

## 76

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and refers to the famous battle of Qarqar in the sixth year (853 BC).

## TEXT

URU *qa-ar-qa-ra* šá <sup>m</sup>ur-*hi-le-e-ni* KUR *ha-ma-ta-a-a*  
KUR-ud

I captured the city Qarqar, which belonged to  
Urḫilēnu, the Ḫamatite.

## 77

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63). Neither the city nor royal name are otherwise known.

## TEXT

URU *ku-li-si* URU MAN-*ti-šú* šá <sup>m</sup>gi-*zu-a-ta* KUR-ud  
*ina* IZI <sup>l</sup>lu(?)<sup>1</sup> *áš-ru-up*

I captured (and) burned the city Kulisi, the royal city  
of Gizuata.

## 78

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and describes the making of sacrifices and the erection of a royal statue at “the mouth of the river.” The river in question must be the Tigris since Shalmaneser was so proud of having reached its source, a fact he commemorated in four inscriptions and reliefs found there (A.0.102.21–24). The texts and reliefs were created in the fifteenth year (844 BC); for the sources see the introduction to A.0.102.23.

## TEXT

*ina pi-a-te* šá ÍD KU-*ub* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *a-na*  
DINGIR.MEŠ *a-qí* NU MAN-*ti-ia* *ú-šá-zi-iz*

I entered (the region of) the mouth of the river,  
made sacrifices to the gods, (and) erected my royal  
statue.

## 79

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the receipt of tribute from Adinu of the Bīt-Dakkuri, an event recorded for the ninth year (850 BC) in A.0.102.8 line 28’.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tú šá<sup>m</sup>a-di-ni A<sup>m</sup>da-ku-ri KUR [kal]-da-a-a*

Tribute of Adinu, the man of Bīt-Dakkuri, the Chaldean.

## 80

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of the city Arnê from Aramu, an event which took place in the tenth year (849 BC): A.0.102.6 ii 58–60, A.0.102.8 lines 31'–32', A.0.102.10 ii 48–50, and A.0.102.14 line 86. Regarding other epigraphs referring to Aramu and Urartu see A.0.102.64.

## TEXT

URU *ar-né-e šá<sup>m</sup>a-ra-me KUR-ud*

I captured the city Arnê, which belonged to Aramu.

## 81

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of a city, the name of which is unknown in any other inscription.

## TEXT

URU [...] *ag-da-a šá<sup>m</sup>a-ra-me DUMU<sup>m</sup>gu-si KUR-ud*

I captured the city [...] agdâ which belonged to Aramu, the man of Bīt-(A)gūsi.

## 82

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the capture of the city Aštammaku, along with other cities under the control of Ḥamat. This event took place in the eleventh year (848 BC), as recorded in the annals: A.0.102.6 iii 1–2, A.0.102.8 lines 36'–37', and A.0.102.10 ii 55–57.

## TEXT

URU *áš-ta-ma-ku* URU MAN-*ti-šú šá* *mir-ḫu-le-e-ni*  
 KUR <*ḫa*>-*ma-ta-a-a a-di* 86 URU.MEŠ KUR-*ud*

I captured Aštammaku, a royal city of Irḫulēnu, the  
 Ḥamatite, together with eighty-six (other) cities.

## 83

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and is now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (54.2335B).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1974 Canby, Walters Art Gallery no. 18B (photo)

## TEXT

NU MAN-*ti-ia* [...]

[I erected] my royal statue.

## 84

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and is one of two such epigraphs recording receipt of tribute from Tyre and Sidon. The other is edited as A.0.102.66, where discussion will be found regarding their relation to the annals. Part of the band is now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (54.2335A).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1974 Canby, Walters Art Gallery no. 18A (photo)

## TEXT

[*ma-da*]-*tú šá* URU *šu-ra-a-a* URU *ši-du-na-a-a*  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ  
 ZABAR.MEŠ SÍK.MEŠ NA<sub>4</sub>.ZA.GÌN NA<sub>4</sub>.GUG *am-ḫur*

I received tribute from the cities of the people of Tyre and Sidon: silver, gold, tin, bronze, wool, lapis lazuli, (and) carnelian.

## 85

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and concerns the battle against the Chaldean city Baqānu, which took place in the ninth year (850 BC) — see A.0.102.5 vi 6.

## TEXT

*ti-du-ku šá URU ba-qa-ni šá KUR kal-[di]*

Battle against the city Baqānu of Chaldaea.

## 86

This epigraph is on a bronze band from Imgur-Enlil (see A.0.102.63) and the record of the defeat of the land of Ḥamat could refer to any of the numerous campaigns against the Damascus coalition, led by Ḥamat, but the earlier encounters (853, 849, 848, or 845) are most probable.

## TEXT

*ti-du-ku šá KUR(?) ḥa-m[a-t]a-a-a*

Battle against the land of the people of Ḥamat.

## 87

This is the first of five epigraphs (A.0.102.87–91) on the Black Obelisk, the main text of which has been edited as A.0.102.14, where all bibliography will be found. Only bibliography of special significance for a particular epigraph is given in these editions. Each of the epigraphs appears above scenes carved in relief depicting the tribute being presented. The present epigraph records receipt of tribute from Gilzānu, clearly a reference to the event of the accession year since the king of Gilzānu is called Sūa here and Asû in the annals (A.0.102.6 i 41), two different versions of the same name. See the introduction to A.0.102.72 for further details. For a discussion of the “staffs of the king’s hand” (also in A.0.102.88) see Elat, IEJ 25 (1975) pp. 33–34.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>su-ú-a* KUR *gíl-za-na-a-a*  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ  
 ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR GIŠ *ħu-ṭar-a-te*.MEŠ šá ŠU  
 LUGAL ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
 ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ šá *šū-na-a-a* *še-ri-ši-na am-*  
*ħur-šū*

I received tribute from Sūa, the Gilzānean: silver, gold, tin, bronze casseroles, the staffs of the king's hand, horses, (and) two-humped camels.

## 88

This epigraph on the Black Obelisk (see A.0.102.87) concerns the receipt of tribute from Jehu, king of Israel (“house of Omri”), in 841 BC (eighteenth regnal year), as recorded in the annals: A.0.102.8 lines 26’–27’, A.0.102.10 iv 10–12, and A.0.102.12 lines 29–30. Regarding “the staffs of the king’s hand” see the introduction to A.0.102.87.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1906 Ungnad, OLZ 9 224–26 (study)  
 1988 Cogan and Tadmor, The Anchor Bible: II Kings p. 335 (translation)

## TEXT

*ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>ia-ú-a* DUMU *ħu-um-ri-i*  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ *sap-lu* KÙ.GI *zu-*  
*qu-ut* KÙ.GI *qa-bu-a-te*.MEŠ KÙ.GI *da-la-ni*.MEŠ  
 KÙ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ GIŠ *ħu-ṭar-tú* šá ŠU MAN GIŠ  
*pu-aš-ħa-ti am-ħur-šū*

I received tribute from Jehu (Iaua) of the house of Omri (Ḫumrī): silver, gold, a gold bowl, a gold tureen, gold vessels, gold pails, tin, the staffs of the king’s hand, (and) spears.

## 89

This epigraph on the Black Obelisk (see A.0.102.87) concerns the receipt of tribute from Egypt. The date of this event is unknown since the only reference to Egypt in the annals is to its participation in the Battle of Qarqar in 853 BC (A.0.102.2 ii 92), and the receipt of this exotic tribute would hardly fit in those circumstances. The tribute includes some interesting animals, portrayed in relief, and the last two pairs look respectively like monkeys and apes. Thus I have slightly emended the text (*gi*(\*) is actually ZI and *pu*(\*) is actually MI) and assumed that *bagiāti* = *pagiāti*. Deller did the same but after it he read *ú-qup* GE<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ “black apes.”

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1961 Tadmor, IEJ 11 p. 147 (study)  
 1983 Deller, Assur 3 pp. 167–68 (study)

## TEXT

*ma-da-tu šá KUR mu-uš-ri ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ šá  
 šu-na-a-a še-ri-ši-na al-ap ÍD sa-de-e-ia su-ú-su pi-ra-  
 a-ti.MEŠ ba-gi(\*)-a-ti ú-qup-pu(\*) .MEŠ am-ḥur-šu*

I received tribute from Egypt: two-humped camels, a water buffalo (lit. “a river ox”), a *rhinoceros*, an antelope, female elephants, female monkeys, (and) apes.

## 90

This epigraph on the Black Obelisk (see A.0.102.87) concerns receipt of tribute from Marduk-apla-ušur, a ruler of Suḫi. The event is otherwise unrecorded in the preserved texts of Shalmaneser III. The scribe has mistakenly engraved *bu-ú-IA* for *bu-ú-ši*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1968 Brinkman, PKB p. 201 (study)  
 1990 Cavigneaux and Bahija, Bagh. Mitt. 21 pp. 321–32 (study)  
 1990 Parpola, Hama II/2 pp. 260–61 (study)

## TEXT

*ma-da-tu šá<sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-A-PAB KUR su-ḥa-a-a  
 KÛ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÛ.GI.MEŠ da-la-ni KÛ.GI  
 ZÛ.MEŠ AM.SI GIŠ pu-aš-ḥa-a-ti.MEŠ bu-ú-ši(\*)  
 TÛG lu-bul-ti bir-me u GADA.MEŠ am-ḥur-šu*

I received tribute from Marduk-apla-ušur, the Suḫean: silver, gold, gold pails, ivory, spears, byssus, garments with multi-coloured trim, and linen (garments).

## 91

This epigraph on the Black Obelisk (see A.0.102.87) concerns receipt of tribute from Qarparunda of the land Patinu. In the annals, receipt of tribute from the ruler of Patinu, whose name is spelt Qalparunda, is recorded for three different years: 857 (A.0.102.2 ii 21–24), 853 (A.0.102.2 ii 82–86), and 848 (A.0.102.8 lines 40'–41'). Of these three, the passage which has a tribute list most similar to that of the epigraph is the entry for 853.

## TEXT

*ma-da-tu šá<sup>m</sup>qar-pa-ru-un-da* KUR *pa-ti-na-a-a*  
 KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ AN.NA.MEŠ  
 ZABAR *ar-ḥu* ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR ZÚ.MEŠ  
 AM.SI.MEŠ GIŠ.ESI.MEŠ *am-ḥur-šu*

I received tribute from Qarparunda, the Patinean: silver, gold, tin, bronze compound (lit. "fast bronze"), bronze casseroles, ivory, (and) ebony.

## 92

This text is engraved on a small cylinder (bored through the centre) of black stone with white veins, discovered at Aššur. According to the inscription, the object is booty from the city Malaḥa, which was under the control of Hazael of Damascus.

## COMMENTARY

The cylinder has no excavation number but is labelled "Vora 22." It measures 1.5 cm in diameter and is 4.1 cm long. It was discovered on the northeast side of the

small ziqqurat. The object could not be located or collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1905 Delitzsch, MDOG 29 p. 45 (provenance, translation)  
 1924–25 Schroeder, AfK 2 pp. 70–71 (copy, edition)  
 1926 Gressmann, ATAT<sup>2</sup> p. 344 (translation)  
 1949 Michel, WO 1 pp. 269–70 (edition)  
 1953 Ebeling, ArOr 21 p. 401 (study)

1969 Oppenheim, ANET<sup>3</sup> p. 281 (translation)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 92 (study)  
 1982–85 Borger, TUAT 1 p. 367 (translation)  
 1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11–30 no. 8 (copy, edition),

## TEXT

- 1) KUR-ti É<sup>d</sup>še-e-ri
- 2) šá URU *ma-la-ḥa*
- 3) URU MAN-ti-šú šá<sup>m</sup>ḥa-za-DINGIR
- 4) šá KUR ANŠE-šú
- 5) šá<sup>m</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 6) A AŠ-PAB-A MAN KUR AŠ
- 7) *na-šú-ni ana ŠĀ BĀD*
- 8) šá URU.ŠĀ-URU

1–8) Booty from the temple of the deity Šēru of the city Malaḥa, a royal city of Hazael of Damascus, (5) which Shalmaneser, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, brought back inside the wall of Inner City (Aššur).

## 93

This text is engraved on a pair of stone door sockets discovered at Aššur in a doorway of the Anu-Adad temple.



## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	cpn
1	6437	712, 2256	Anu-Adad temple, doorway to room A	n
2	12822	3313	As ex. 1	n

## COMMENTARY

The inscriptions on each door socket are exact duplicates of each other and therefore no scores are

needed. The door sockets have not been located nor their inscriptions collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1905 Andrae, MDOG 28 p. 30 (ex. 1, provenance, translation)  
 1909 Andrae, AAT pp. 42–43 and pl. XXIII (exs. 1–2,

provenance, photo, copy, edition)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 91 (exs. 1–2, study)

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR EN-šú <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 2) GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur* A *aš-šur*-PAB-A ŠID  
*aš-šur*
- 3) DUMU <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID AŠ-*ma ana* TI-*a*  
SILIM NUMUN-*a* KUR-*a*
- 4) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>*a-nim* <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR EN.MEŠ-*a a-qiš*

1–3a) To the god Adad, his lord: Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur:  
 3b–4) I dedicated (this) for my life, (for) the well-being of my seed (and) land, for the gods Anu (and) Adad, my lords.

## 94

This text is engraved on a stone mace head found with a number of other mace heads at the Tabira Gate in Aššur. The note at the end indicates that it was deliberately deposited there and the dedication to Nergal, patron deity of this gate (see A.O.102.47), confirms this. The inscription also tells us that it was booty captured from Marduk-mudammīq, king of Namri, in the sixteenth regnal year (843 BC).

## COMMENTARY

The mace head (EŞ 7052 = Ass 10265) measures 11 cm in diameter and 8 cm high. The inscription did not require collation.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 34–35 and Blatt 12 no. 19  
(provenance, photo)  
 1927 Nassouhi, MAOG 3/1–2 pp. 12–14 and 17 (photo,  
 edition)

1951 Cocquerillat, RA 45 p. 23 no. 25 (study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 92 (study)

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) <i>ana</i> <sup>d</sup> U.GUR UMUN-šú <sup>md</sup> šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ GAR<br><sup>d</sup> BAD ŠID AŠ | 1-3) To the god Nergal, his lord, Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur, has dedicated (this) for his life, the well-being of his seed, (and) the well-being of his land. Booty from Marduk-mudammiq, king of the land Namri. |
| 2) A AŠ-PAB-A ŠID AŠ A TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID<br>AŠ-ma ana TI-šú SILIM NUMUN-šú                              |  |
| 3) SILIM KUR-šú BA KUR-ti <sup>md</sup> AMAR.UTU-<br>SIG, MAN KUR.ZÁLAG                             |  |
| 4) <i>ina</i> KÁ.GAL.TIB[I]RA šá ŠĀ-URU   | 4) At the Tabira Gate in Inner City (Aššur).   |

## 95

This dedicatory text is engraved on a stone altar found at Nineveh. Besides the cuneiform inscription, edited here, there are two Greek inscriptions, added later, naming an official (Apollonios) and dedication of the altar to the city. The cuneiform text records dedication of the altar to the divine Sibitti and gives a number of their epithets.

## COMMENTARY

The altar was found within the walls in the plain or "chol" of Nineveh, but a more precise provenance is not given. It is now in the Mosul Museum (MM 2) and

measures 68 cm high, 103 cm long, and 74 cm wide. It has been collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1970 Postgate, *Sumer* 26 pp. 133-36 and plate (photo, copy, edition)

1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 141 (study)

1975 von Soden apud Borger, *HKL* 2 p. 235 (study)

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) [ <i>ana</i> <sup>d</sup> IMIN].BI DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ <i>a-li-li</i><br><i>gít-ma-lu-tú ra-’i-mu-ut šu-še-e mu-’tal’-li-ku</i><br><i>sa-an-ga-ni ha-i-tu</i> | 1-4a) [To the divine] Sibitti, the great gods, noble warriors, lovers of marshes, who march about on <i>mountain paths</i> , who survey heaven (and) underworld, who maintain shrines, who heed prayers, accept petitions, (and) receive requests, [who] fulfil desires, who lay low enemies, the compassionate (gods) to whom it is good to pray, who dwell in [ <i>Nineveh</i> ], <i>my [city]</i> , the great lords, my lords: |
| 2) [A]N-e KI-ti mu-ki-nu eš-re-ti še-mu-ú ik-ri-bi<br>TI-ú un-ni-ni ma-’hi-ru tés-li-ti   |   |
| 3) [ <i>mu-šam-š</i> ]u-ú mal lib-bi mu-šam-qi-tú za-a-a-ri<br><i>re-me-nu-tú šá su-pu-šú-nu DÜG.GA a-ši-bu-ut</i>  |   |

A.0.102.94 line 4 "Tabira Gate" rather than "Craftsman's Gate": see the note to A.0.102.25 line 24.

A.0.102.95 line 2 At the beginning of the line Postgate read: [x (x) A]N-e. But from the photo it appears that there was probably nothing missing before [A]N-e and nothing is required for the sense.

- 4) [NINA.KI URU(?)]-a EN.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
EN.MEŠ-a <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-SAG.KAL GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD  
ŠID<sup>1</sup> aš-šur<sup>1</sup> DUMU<sup>1</sup> aš-šur-PAB-IBILA
- 5) [šakin enlil] ŠID aš-šur DUMU tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ<sup>1</sup>  
GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur ana TI ZI.MEŠ-a  
GÍD.DA UD.MEŠ-a<sup>1</sup> šúm<sup>1</sup>-ud M[U].MEŠ-a
- 6) [SILIM NUM]UN-a KUR-a PAB GIŠ.AŠ.TI  
ŠID-[t]i-a za-i-ri-ia ana qa-me-e kúl-lat ge-ri-a  
ana hu-lu-qi
- 7) [mal-ki KUR].MEŠ-a ana GÌR.II.MEŠ-a šuk-nu-  
še ana<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>IMIN.BI EN.MEŠ-a NÍG.BA

4b–5a) Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), [appointee of the god Enlil], vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur:

5b–7) I dedicated (this) to the divine Sibitti, my lords, for my life, that my days might be long, my years many, (for) [the well-being of] my seed (and) land, (for) the safekeeping of my vice-regal throne, for the scorching of my enemies, for the destruction of all my foes, to subdue at my feet [rulers who oppose] me.

## 96

This dedicatory text is engraved on two stone mace heads from Tarbišu and the broken portions can be restored from A.O.102.97.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Dimensions (cm)	Lines preserved	cpn
1	BM 131128	55-12-5,24	4.75 diam.	1-4	c
2	—	55-12-5,25	4.6×2.8+	1-2	c

## COMMENTARY

It is not clear if ex. 2 had lines 3–4, although for sense one would expect it would have had them.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1952 Cocquerillat, RA 46 p. 130 n. 5 (ex. 1, study)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 98 (ex. 1, study)

- 1983 Curtis and Grayson, Iraq 44 pp. 88–94 and pl. IIIa–b  
(exs. 1–2, photo, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) a-na <sup>d</sup>U.GUR a-šib URU tar-bi-ši<sup>1</sup> EN<sup>1</sup>-šú  
2) <sup>md</sup>šùl-man-MAŠ MAN GAL MAN KAL MAN  
ŠÚ MAN KUR<sup>1</sup> aš-šur<sup>1</sup>.KI  
3) [a-na] TI [Z]I.ME-šú GÍD<sup>1</sup> u<sup>1</sup>-me-šú  
4) šú[m-u]d [šānātīšu šulum] NUMUN(?)<sup>1</sup>-[šú  
mātīšu] BA

- 1–2) To the god Nergal, who dwells in the city Tarbišu, his lord: Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria:  
3–4) He dedicated (this) [for] his life, that his days might be long, [his years] many, [(for) the well-being of his] seed [(and) land].

A.O.102.95 line 4 [NINA.KI URU(?)]-a or possibly, as Schramm suggests, [URU ni-nu]-a. Either reading is preferable to Postgate's [qé-reb(?) KUR]-a.

A.O.102.95 lines 5–7 Cf. RIMA 2 pp. 231–32 lines 2'–3', pp. 352–53, and the further parallels cited there.

## 97

This dedicatory text is engraved on a stone mace head, the provenance of which is unknown.

## COMMENTARY

The mace head (YBC 2295) is about 6.1 cm in diameter and since the inscription presents no problems, it has not been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1937 Stephens, YOS 9 no. 75 (copy)  
1949 Michel, WO 1 p. 264 no. 21 (edition)

1952 Cocquerillat, RA 46 p. 130 n. 5 (edition)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 97 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <ana> <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU EN-šú <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ  
GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD [*iššak aššur*]
- 2) A *aš-šur*-PAB-A ŠID AŠ A TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID  
AŠ-ma ana TI Z[I].MEŠ-a <sup>r</sup>GÍD<sup>1</sup> [*ūmīia*]
- 3) *šúm-ud* MU.MEŠ-ia SILIM <sup>r</sup>NUMUN<sup>1</sup>-a KUR-  
<sup>r</sup>a ana<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>MAR.TU EN-[*ia a*]-qiš

1–2a) <To> the god Amurru, his lord: Shalmaneser, appointee of the god Enlil, [vice-regent of Aššur], son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur:  
2b–3) [I] dedicated (this) to the god Amurru, [my] lord, for my life, that my days might be long, my years many, (for) the well-being of my seed (and) land.

## 98

This text has been deleted.

## 99

This text is inscribed on bricks from Aššur and records work on the wall of Inner City.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	cpn
1	Unlocated	12139	2795	Tower 19 of inner wall, dB9IV	p
2	VA Ass 3264d	10364	1560	Private house at city wall, bB7II	c
3	Unlocated	11317	2421	—	p
4	VA Ass 3262g	—	—	—	c
5	VA Ass 3267	13425(?)	—	—	c
6	VA Ass 3264b	5751	—	eC6I	c
7	VA Ass 3264c	5862	—	dE5V	c
8	VA Ass 4307b	—	—	—	c
9	VA Ass 3264a	2892(?)	—	—	c
10	Unlocated	10741	1863	bE5V	p
11	VA Ass 3271	20843(?)	—	—	c
12	VA Ass 3273c	—	—	Tell Huweisch B.	c
13	Unlocated	10425	1687	—	p
14	Unlocated	—	4733	—	p

## COMMENTARY

There is one major variant in some exemplars, exs. 3–4 and 9, which have *šá* “belonging to” instead of DÜ “builder of” in line 4. They are, then, similar to A.O.102.100 except for the royal epithets.

The numerous minor vars. in sundry exs. are:

Line 1: MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ  
omit MAN KAL

Line 2: A for DUMU  
omit <sup>m</sup>  
*aš-šur*-PAB-A  
MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ  
omit MAN KAL  
ŠÚ for KIŠ

Line 3: A for DUMU

omit <sup>m</sup>

<sup>m</sup>TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ

ex. 9 has, in error, TUKUL-MAŠ-*šú*

add MAN KIŠ after <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ

omit *-ma*

Line 4: *šá* instead of DÜ

There is uncertainty about the correct Ass numbers of exs. 5, 9, and 11, concerning which see Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 p. 186 nn. 32–34. As to ex. 10 = KAH 2 no. 101, the old reading at the end as [DÜ *bi-ti*] has been corrected by collation to: DÜ BÄD [URU.ŠÄ-URU].

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 133, 174, and pls. IC–C (exs. 1, 3, provenance, photo, copy)  
1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 nos. 101–102 (exs. 2, 10, copy)  
1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§695 and 698 (ex. 2, translation)  
1948 Michel, WO 1 pp. 218–19 nos. 15–16 (exs. 1–3, 10, edition)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 94 (exs. 1–3, 10, study)  
1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 292–98, 332, and 405 (exs. 2, 4–12, study)  
1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 nos. 103–107, 118, and 155 (exs. 4–8, 11–12, copy)  
1986 Galter, ZA 76 p. 304 (ex. 8, study)  
1988 Kessler, BiOr 45 627 (ex. 12, provenance)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šül-*ma-nu*-MAŠ MAN KAL MAN KIŠ  
2) MAN KUR AŠ DUMU <sup>m</sup>AŠ-PAB-A MAN KAL MAN KIŠ  
3) MAN KUR AŠ DUMU <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*  
4) DÜ BÄD URU.ŠÄ-URU

1–4) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria: builder of the wall of Inner City (Aššur).

## 100

This text is inscribed on bricks from Aššur and describes work on the wall of Inner City. It is very similar to A.0.102.99.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	cpn
1	Unlocated	12138	2797	eD10V	p
2	VA Ass 3262a	963	158	Temple A, trench 3, east end	c
3	Unlocated	1284li	—	—	n
4	Unlocated	3934	—	—	n
5	VA Ass 3262f	—	—	—	c
6	Unlocated	978	—	Temple A, iC51	n
7	VA Ass 3262b	5672	884	eA5V	c
8	VA Ass 3262c	7436	—	2B51V	c
9	VA Ass 3262d	9505(?)	—	—	c
10	VA Ass 3262e	—	—	—	c
11	Unlocated	10055	1442	—	p
12	EŞ 9482	5305	623	—	p

## COMMENTARY

Exs. 1, 6, and 11 are glazed bricks. The Ass number of ex. 9 is uncertain; see Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 p. 186 n. 31.

Minor variants in some exs. are: line 2, omit, in error, -A; line 3, <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1904 Andrae, MDOG 22 p. 13 (exs. 2, 6, provenance)  | 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §697 (exs. 2, 4, 6, translation)                           |
| 1905 Andrae, MDOG 27 p. 8 (exs. 2, 4, 6, study)   | 1948 Michel, WO 1 pp. 214–15 no. 11 and p. 222 fig. 5 (exs. 1–4, 6, copy, edition) |
| 1911 Messerschmidt, KAH 1 no. 29 (exs. 2, 6, copy)  | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 94 (exs. 1–4, 6, study)                                     |
| 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 12, 133, 174, and pl. IC (exs. 1–3, 6, provenance, photo, copy, edition) | 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 286–91 (exs. 2, 5, 7–10, study)              |
| 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 96 (ex. 4?, copy)   |  |

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ
- 2) A AŠ-PAB-A MAN ŠÚ
- 3) A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ-ma
- 4) šá BĀD URU.ŠĀ-URU

1–4) Shalmaneser, king of the universe, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe: belonging to the wall of Inner City (Aššur).

## 101

This text, inscribed on a brick fragment from Aššur, records work on the Tabira Gate.

## COMMENTARY

The brick fragment (Ass 10239, Ass ph 1526) was discovered in the inner gate room. Its present location is unknown and it has been collated from the excavation photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1913 Andrae, *Festungswerke* pp. 36, 172, and pl. IC  
(provenance, photo, edition)  
1948 Michel, *WO* 1 pp. 217–18 no. 14 (edition)

1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 95 (study)  
1982 Miglus, *ZA* 72 pp. 266–77 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šùl-[*mānu-ašarēd*]
- 2) MAN KIŠ MA[N *māt aššur*]
- 3) A AŠ-PAB-A MA[N *māt aššur*]
- 4) A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR A[Š-*ma*]
- 5) DÙ KÁ.GAL.TIB[IRA]

1–5) Shal[maneser], king of the universe, king [of Assyria], son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king [of Assyria], son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), [(who was) also] king of Assyria: builder of the Tabira Gate.

## 102

This text is stamped on bricks from Aššur and indicates that the bricks were used as facing for the Anu-Adad temple.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Provenance	cpn
1	VA Ass 3272a	6658a	—	Ziqqurrat, eASIV	c
2	VA Ass 3272b	6658b	—	As ex. 1	c
3	EŞ 9193(?)	6658c	2263	As ex. 1	p
4	VA Ass 3272c	6658d	2262	As ex. 1	c
5	VA Ass 3268 and 3272d	6658e	2261	As ex. 1	c
6	VA Ass 3272e	6830	—	eB5IV	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1905 Andrae, MDOG 28 p. 33 (provenance)  
 1909 Andrae, AAT pp. 45, 57, and pl. XX (photo, copy, edition)  
 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 106 (exs. 3–5, copy)  
 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §710 (translation)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 94 (study)  
 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 303–307 (exs. 1–2, 4–6, study)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ  
 2) MAN KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur  
 3) A <sup>maš</sup>šur-PAB-A MAN KUR aš-šur  
 4) A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR aš-šur-ma  
 5) ki-sir-tú šá É <sup>da</sup>a-nim u <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR
- 1–5) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria: facing of the temple of the gods Anu and Adad.

## 103

This text is stamped on bricks from Aššur and indicates that Shalmaneser worked on the courtyard of the Aššur temple. Cf. A.0.102.53.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	cpn
1	VA Ass 3273a	c
2	VA Ass 3273b	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 329–30 (exs. 1–2, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 116 (ex. 2, copy)

## TEXT

- 1) [<sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ]  
 2) ŠID AŠ aš-šur  
 3) ba-nu KISAL AŠ aš-šur
- 1–3) Shalmaneser, vice-regent of Aššur: builder of the Aššur courtyard.



## 104

This text is on bricks found at Aššur and Šibaniba (Tell Billa). The text is sometimes written and other times stamped on the bricks.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Provenance	cpn
1	Unlocated	—	10325	1561	Aššur, aE6V	p
2	Unlocated	—	10343	1560	As ex. 1	p
3	Unlocated	—	10271	1561	Aššur, bB7I	p
4	VA Ass 3260a	—	1746	—	Aššur, hB4V	c
5	VA Ass 3260b	—	2542	—	Aššur, gC4IV	c
6	VA Ass 3260c	—	9362	1241	Aššur	c
7	VA Ass 3260d	—	—	—	Aššur	c
8	VA Ass 3274c	—	...8	—	Aššur	c
9	VA Ass 4301b	—	13997a	—	Aššur, hA8I	c
10	VA Ass 3270b	—	—	—	Aššur	c
11	VA Ass 4307a	—	5849	—	Aššur	c
12	BM 90360	48-11-4,32	—	—	Šibaniba (Tell Billa)	c
13	Unlocated	—	10383	1560	Aššur	p

## COMMENTARY

Small fragments which seem to have the same titulary as this text have been included in the catalogue and bibliography although they may be exs. of other texts. The fragment published as Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 114 in fact (according to Pedersén) joins a text of Shalmaneser I. The fragment listed in Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 no. 428 is uninscribed but in the excavation catalogue it is ascribed to Shalmaneser III.

The brick found at Šibaniba by Layard (ex. 12) is broken after the titles of Shalmaneser. Regarding other Shalmaneser bricks from that site see A.0.102.58.

The following variants appear on sundry exs.:

Line 2: GAL-*u*

Line 3: AŠ for *aš-šur*

Line 4: <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur*-PAB-IBILA/A

Line 5: insert at beginning MAN ŠÚ/KIŠ  
omit <sup>d</sup>

AŠ for <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur*

Line 7: omit <sup>d</sup>

AŠ for <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur-ma*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pl. IC (ex. 1, photo)  
 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 no. 104 (exs. 1–3, copy)  
 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §693 (exs. 1–3, study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 95 (exs. 1–3, study)  
 1981 Walker, CBI no. 156 (ex. 12, edition)

- 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 299–302, 328, 334, 336, and 404 (exs. 4–11, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 nos. 115, 120, 122, and 154 (exs. 8–11, copy)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šùl-*ma-nu*-MAŠ
- 2) MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu*
- 3) MAN KIŠ MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 4) A *aš-šur*-PAB-IBILA
- 5) MAN KUR <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur*
- 6) A GIŠ.TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ
- 7) MAN KUR <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur-ma*

1–7) Palace of Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria.

## 105

This text is inscribed on some bricks in the British Museum. Their provenance is unknown.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	cpn
1	BM 90221	1979-12-20,133	c
2	BM 90223	1979-12-20,135	c
3	BM 90747	1979-12-20,334	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1922 BM Guide p. 72 (exs. 1–3, study)  
1981 Walker, CBI no. 157 (exs. 1–3, edition)

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) É.GAL <sup>m</sup> šùl- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ MAN GAL MAN<br><i>dan-nu</i> | 1–3) Palace of Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria. |
| 2) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A AŠ-PAB-A MAN<br>ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ                      |  |
| 3) A TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ- <i>ma</i>                                      |  |

## 106

This text appears on bricks found at Aššur and on bricks and clay cones from Nineveh. It is a slightly shorter version of A.0.102.105. An even shorter version is A.0.102.107.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Provenance	Publication reference	Comments	cpn
1	VA Ass 3261a	—	1271	—	Aššur	Ziegeln I no. 308	Inscribed brick	c
2	VA Ass 4300	—	2415	—	Aššur, ziqurrat, hB4IV	Ziegeln I no. 324	Inscribed brick	c
3	Unlocated	—	11738	2797	Aššur, cE9III	—	Inscribed brick	p

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Provenance	Publication reference	Comments	cpn
4	VA Ass 3261c	—	17570	—	Aššur, iB3IV	Ziegeln 1 no. 310	Inscribed brick	c
5	VA Ass 3261d	—	17576	—	Aššur	Ziegeln 1 no. 311	Inscribed brick	c
6	VA Ass 3270a	—	—	—	Aššur	Ziegeln 1 no. 331	Inscribed brick	c
7	EŠ 6661	—	—	—	Aššur(?)	—	Inscribed brick	p
8	EŠ 6663	—	—	—	Aššur(?)	—	Inscribed brick	p
9	EŠ 9307	—	—	—	Aššur(?)	—	Inscribed brick	p
10	VA Ass 3265b	—	9341	—	Aššur, bE4V	Ziegeln 1 no. 320	Stamp 1 brick	c
11	VA Ass 3265a	—	9342	1241	As ex. 10	Ziegeln 1 no. 319	Stamp 1 brick	c
12	VA Ass 3265c	—	—	—	Aššur	Ziegeln 1 no. 321	Stamp 1 brick	c
13	VA Ass 3265d	—	—	—	Aššur	Ziegeln 1 no. 322	Stamp 1(?) brick	c
14	VA Ass 3265e	—	—	—	Aššur	Ziegeln 1 no. 323	Stamp 1(?) brick	c
15	Unlocated	—	18539	5695	Aššur, iB5I	KAH 2 no. 105	Stamp 1 brick	p
16	EŠ 6652	—	—	—	Aššur(?)	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
17	EŠ 6669	—	—	—	Aššur(?)	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
18	EŠ 920-	—	9733	—	As ex. 10	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
19	EŠ ----	—	—	—	—	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
20	VA Ass 3261b	—	9353	1240	Aššur, hD4V	Ziegeln 1 no. 309	Stamp 2 brick	c
21	—	—	17659	—	Aššur, iB3IV	KAH 2 no. 107	Stamp 2 brick	n
22	VA Ass 3266	—	22585	—	Aššur	Ziegeln 1 no. 312	Stamp 2 brick	c
23	BM 90298	48-11-4,33	—	—	Aššur	CBI no. 155	Stamp 2 brick	c
24	BM 90354	1979-12-20,211	—	—	Aššur(?)	CBI no. 155	Stamp 2 brick	c
25	BM 137455	1929-10-12,165	—	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 155	Inscribed brick	c
26	BM 137462	1929-10-12,172 + 174	—	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 155	Inscribed brick	c
27	BCM A56 '87	—	—	—	Nineveh	—	Inscribed brick	c
28	BCM A68 '87	—	—	—	Nineveh	AAA 18 no. 35(?)	Inscribed brick	c
29	Unlocated	—	—	—	Nineveh	AAA 18 no. 41	Inscribed brick	n
30	Unlocated	—	—	—	Nineveh	AAA 19 p. 115	Inscribed(?) brick	n
31	IM	—	—	—	Old Makhmur	Sumer 5 p. 151	Inscribed brick	p
32	St. Louis	—	—	—	—	—	Stone frgm.	n
33	—	56-9-9,142	—	—	Nineveh	—	Clay cone	c
34	BM 99097	Ki 1904-10-9,126	—	—	Nineveh	—	Clay cone	c
35	BM 99098	Ki 1904-10-9,127	—	—	Nineveh	—	Clay cone	c
36	BM 139276	1932-12-10,730	—	—	Nineveh	AAA 19 no. 68	Clay cone	c
37	Cracow, No number	—	—	—	—	Šliwa	Stamp 1 brick	n
38	Istanbul, No number	—	—	—	—	—	Stone disk	p
39	Unlocated	—	10210	1527	Aššur	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
40	Unlocated	—	10234	1527	Aššur	—	Inscribed brick	p
41	Unlocated	—	5917	998	Aššur	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
42	Unlocated	—	5507	661	Aššur	—	Stamp 1 brick	p
43	Unlocated	—	6401	995	Aššur	—	Stamp 1 brick	p

## COMMENTARY

Some of the bricks are inscribed and others stamped, as indicated in the catalogue. "Stamp 1" has the text in three lines while "Stamp 2" has it in four lines. Several small fragments which might be of either A.0.102.106 or 99 have been included here. Ex. 32 is not a brick but a fragment of stone. Exs. 33–36 are clay cone fragments. Ex. 38 is a stone disk, 64 cm in diameter.

The following vars. appear on sundry exs.:

Line 1: omits E.GAL (ex. 36)  
-SAG for -MAŠ (ex. 32)

Line 2: *aš-šur* for AŠ (all occurrences)  
𐎠AŠ-PAB-A  
KIŠ for ŠÚ (both occurrences)  
MAN ŠÚ (second occurrence) omitted  
Line 3: 𐎠TUKUL/GISKIM-MAŠ  
KIŠ for ŠÚ  
MAN ŠÚ omitted  
*aš-šur-ma*  
*-ma* omitted (ex. 32)

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1851 Layard, ICC pl. 77B (ex. 23, copy)  
1890 Amiaud and Scheil, Salmanasar pp. 78–79 (ex. 23, edition)  
1896 Bezold, Cat. 4 p. 1692 (ex. 33, study)  
1897 Rasmussen, Salmanassar pp. 88–89 and pl. XLI (ex. 23, copy, edition)  
1905 Andrae, MDOG 27 p. 18 (ex. 1, study)  
1908 Bezold, ZA 21 p. 397 (ex. 23, study)  
1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pp. 100, 118, 133, 174, and pls. IC and C (exs. 3, 10–11, 18, 20, provenance, photo)  
1914 King, Cat. p. 27 (exs. 34–35, study)  
1922 Schroeder, ZA 34 pp. 159–60 (ex. 15, study)  
1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 nos. 105 and 107 (exs. 15, 21, copy)  
1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§693–94 (translation)  
1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 p. 123 and pl. XLIV no. 64 (exs. 25–26, copy, edition)

- 1931 Thompson, AAA 18 p. 99 and pl. XIX nos. 35 and 41 (exs. 28–29, copy)  
 1932 Thompson, AAA 19 p. 115 X. and pl. LXX no. 68 (exs. 30, 36, copy)  
 1949 El Amin, Sumer 5 p. 151 pl. xvii (ex. 31, photo)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 94–96 and 98 (study)  
 1975 Freedman, R.D., The Cuneiform Tablets in St. Louis pp. 28 and 39 (ex. 32, copy, edition)
- 1981 Walker, CBI no. 155 (exs. 23–26, edition)  
 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 308–12, 319–24, and 331 (exs. 1–2, 4–6, 10–14, 20, 22, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 nos. 110–11 and 117 (exs. 2, 6, 11, copy)  
 1988 Śliwa and Kluwe, From the Archaeological Collections of Cracow and Jena p. 18 (ex. 37, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šùl-*ma-nu*-MAŠ  
 2) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ A AŠ-PAB-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ  
 3) A TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*
- 1–3) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria.

## 107

This text, inscribed on bricks from Nineveh, includes only the name of Shalmaneser's father in the genealogy and is a shortened version of A.O.102.106.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Publication reference	cpn
1	BM 137465	1929-10-12,176	Arch. 79 no. 65	c
2	BCM 363 '79	—	—	c
3–4	Unlocated	—	Arch. 79 no. 62	n
5	BCM 101 '33	—	AAA 18 no. 31	c

## COMMENTARY

Since only the ends of the lines are preserved on exs. 3–4, it is not entirely certain that these broken inscriptions belong to this text. More uncertain is the identity of ex. 5. It is inscribed in three lines; in line 1

the king's name is written <sup>d</sup>šùl-SAG; in line 2 Ashurnasirpal's name is erroneously written *aš-šur-PAB-MEŠ*; and at the end AŠ is written *aš-šur*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 p. 123 and pl. XLIV nos. 62 and 65 (exs. 1, 3–4, copy)  
 1931 Thompson, AAA 18 p. 99 and pl. XIX no. 31 (ex. 5, copy)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 96 (study)  
 1981 Walker, CBI nos. 154 and 158 (exs. 1–2, 5, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šùl-*ma-nu*-MAŠ MA[N *kiššati šar māt*] AŠ  
 2) A AŠ-PAB-A MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ
- 1–2) Palace of Shalmaneser, king [of the universe, king of] Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe (and) king of Assyria.

## 108

This text is on bricks found at Aššur. Some scholars have ascribed some exemplars to Shalmaneser II, but this seems unlikely (see RIMA 2 p. 124).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Aššur provenance	Comments	cpn
1	Unlocated	18828	5692	—	Stamped	p
2	VA Ass 3263a	17573	—	iB3IV	Stamped	c
3	VA Ass 3263b	18253a + b	—	iC3IV	Inscribed	c
4	VA Ass 3263c	—	—	—	Stamped	c
5	EŞ 4600	—	—	—	Stamped	p
6	Unlocated	18252	—	iB4I	?	n
7	VA Ass 4311d	—	—	—	Inscribed	c

## COMMENTARY

In ex. 1 there is a flaw in the brick at the beginning of line 2, but I do not think that any text is missing.

The following variants appear in sundry exs.: line 1, -SAG for -MAŠ; line 2, <sup>a</sup>BAD; line 3, -IBILA for -A.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1922 Schroeder, KAH 2 nos. 81 and 108 (exs. 1, 6, copy)           | 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 313–15 and 423 (exs. 2–4, 7, study) |
| 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§345–46 and 696 (exs. 1, 6, translation) | 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 171 (ex. 7, copy)                       |
| 1948 Michel, WO 1 pp. 219–20 no. 17 (ex. 1, edition)              | 1986 Galter, ZA 76 p. 304 (ex. 7, study)                                  |
| 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 95 (ex. 1, study)                          | 1991 Grayson, RIMA 2 p. 124 (exs. 6–7, study)                             |
| 1976 Grayson, ARI 2 p. 69 n. 276 (ex. 6, study)                   |   |

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>šūl-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 2) GAR BAD ŠID aš-šur
- 3) A aš-šur-PAB-A ŠID aš-šur
- 4) A TUKUL-MAŠ ŠID aš-šur-ma

1–4) Shalmaneser, appointee of Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur.

## 109

This text is inscribed on bricks, at least two of which (exs. 4–5) were found at Aššur, while the provenance of the others is unknown.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Ass number	Ass ph number	Publication reference	cpn
1	Unlocated	—	—	—	Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien p. 31 no. 18	p
2	BM 90222	1979-12-20,134	—	—	CBI no. 153	c
3	Leiden 1952/2.4	—	—	—	—	c
4	VA Ass 3274a	—	17565	—	Ziegeln 1 no. 326	c
5	—	—	12104	2796	—	p

## COMMENTARY

Ex. 5 is known only from a photo in which the inscription is largely illegible and its identity is therefore uncertain. Note the brick fragment with no inscription preserved, but ascribed to this king in the Aššur excavation catalogue: Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 no. 428. The following vars. appear in some exs.:

Line 1: ex. 3 omits É.GAL  
omit KUR  
Line 2: omit <sup>m</sup>  
Line 3: omit <sup>m</sup>  
ex. 3 inserts MAN ŠŪ after <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1904 Scheil, RT 26 p. 26 no. 2 (ex. 3, photo, study)                 | 1981 Walker, CBI no. 153 (ex. 2, edition)  |
| 1907 Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien p. 31 no. 18 (ex. 1, photo, edition) | 1982 Van Soldt, Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden 63 pp. 49–50 and 59 (ex. 3, photo, copy, edition) |
| 1913 Andrae, Festungswerke pl. C (ex. 5, photo)                      | 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 no. 326 (ex. 4, study)  |
| 1922 BM Guide p. 72 (ex. 2, study)                                   | 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 113 (ex. 4, copy)  |
| 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB §693 (ex. 1, study)                            |  |
| 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 95 and 98 (ex. 1, 3, 5, study)               |  |

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>šūl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ
- 2) A <sup>m</sup>AŠ-PAB-A MAN KUR AŠ
- 3) A <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ-ma

1–3) Palace of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of Assyria.

## 110

This text is inscribed on two lead plates found at Aššur. The diameter of ex. 2 is 65 cm.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	Ass ph number	cpn
1	Unlocated	13495	3562	p
2	VA Ass 2293	13496	3561	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1913 Andrae, Festungswerke p. 172 (exs. 1–2, copy, edition)

## TEXT

É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šūl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR AŠ  
A aš-šur-PAB-A MAN ŠŪ MAN KUR AŠ

Palace of Shalmaneser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), king of the universe, king of Assyria.

## 111

This text is inscribed on numerous bricks from Calah and records construction of the ziqqurat.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	Comments	Calah provenance	cpt
1	BM 90224	48-11-4,28	—	—	—	c
2	BM 90225	1979-12-20,136	—	—	—	c
3	BM 90226	R 10	—	—	—	c
4	BM 90227	R 25	—	—	—	c
5	BM 90355	R 15	—	—	—	c
6	BM 90705	R 58	—	—	—	c
7	BM 90744	R 16	—	—	—	c
8	BM 90751	R 20	—	—	—	c
9	BM 98068	1903-10-12,6	—	—	—	c
10	IM 55349	—	ND 281	—	GP room K	n
11	BSAI	—	ND 282	—	As ex. 10	n
12	IM 55350	—	ND 283A	—	GP room I	n
13	Unlocated	—	ND 283B	—	As ex. 12	n
14	IM 55353	—	ND 286A	—	Parthian grave, G2, over GP	n
15	Unlocated	—	ND 286B	—	As ex. 14	n
16–21	Unlocated	—	ND 823	Six bricks	NWP/GP	n
22–23	IM 55759	—	ND 824	Two bricks	NWP/GP	n
24	IM	—	ND 824	—	—	n
25–26	Mosul	—	ND 824	Two bricks	—	n
27	IM 56167	—	ND 825	—	NWP/GP	n
28	Unlocated	—	ND 826	—	NWP/GP	n
29–35	Unlocated	—	ND 829	Seven bricks	NWP	n
36–37	IM 55760a–b	—	ND 830	Two bricks	NWP	n
38	IM 55764	—	ND 830	—	—	n
39–41	Mosul	—	ND 830	Three bricks	—	n
42	IM 56283	—	ND 1127	—	NWP, room SS	n
43	Gulbenkian Museum, Durham	—	ND 1131A	—	NWP	n
44–47	IM 56281	—	ND 1131B	Four(?) bricks	NWP	n
48–49	Unlocated	—	ND 3495A–B	Two(?) bricks	—	n
50	Ash 1957.184	—	ND 3496	—	ZTE	c
51–52	Unlocated	—	ND 3497A–B	Two(?) bricks	—	n
53	IA 5.031	—	ND 3498A1	—	—	p
54	IA 5.032	—	ND 3498A2	—	—	p
55	IA 5.032a	—	ND ?	—	—	p
56	Ash 1922.199	—	—	—	—	c
57	Ash 1922.200	—	—	—	—	c
58	BCM 225 '63	—	—	—	—	c
59	VA 8987	—	—	—	—	p
60	VA Ass 3268a	—	—	—	—	c
61	VA Ass 3268b (VA 3214)	—	—	—	—	c

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	Comments	Calah provenance	cpn
62	Unlocated	—	—	Scheil, RT 26 pp. 25–26 “many exs.”	—	p
63–65	Unlocated	—	—	Lehmann-Haupt, Mat. pp. 26–29 nos. 13, 14, 17	—	p
66	Unlocated	—	—	Le Gac, Asn. p. 202 E 395	—	n
67–69	Zürich	—	—	Boissier, Notice pp. 14–15 nos. 97–99	—	p
70	YBC 2021	—	—	—	—	n
71	YBC 2022	—	—	—	—	n
72	—	—	—	Hulin, OLP 2 pp. 103–104	—	p
73	New York	—	—	Foxvog, Assur 1/4 p. 114	—	c
74	—	—	—	Fales, Prima dell 'alfabeto p. 229 no. 71	—	p
75	UM 84-26-31	—	—	JCS 37 p. 243	—	c
76	—	—	—	Ede, Writing no. 9	—	p
77	SF 3970	—	—	Sigrist, Franciscanum no. VII	—	p

## COMMENTARY

There are large numbers of bricks with this text in museums, private possession, and still at Calah itself. The catalogue of exs. is by no means exhaustive, although I have tried to include all bricks known from publication. There is a possibility of duplication in the catalogue, since bricks appearing in old publications may have later passed into different hands. In the catalogue, abbreviations under “Calah provenance” are: GP = Governor’s Palace; NWP = North West Palace.

The following vars. appear on sundry exs.:

Line 1: GAL-*u*

Line 3: omit <sup>m</sup>

GAL-*u* or GAL-*e*

Line 5: In ex. 73 the grandfather is mistakenly given as Ashurnasirpal (repeat of line 3)  
omit <sup>m</sup>

Line 6: *ri-šip-tu šá U<sub>6</sub>.NIR*

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1836 Rich, Koordistan 2 pl. before p. 131 (exs. 3, 4, 6, 8, copy)  
 1850 Grotefeld, ZKM 7 pp. 63–70 (exs. 3, 4, 6, 8, study)  
 1851 Layard, ICC pl. 78B (copy)  
 1890 Amiaud and Scheil, Salmanasar pp. 78–79 (edition)  
 1897 Rasmussen, Salmanasser pp. 88–89 and pl. xli (copy, edition)  
 1904 Scheil, RT 26 pp. 25–26 (ex. 62, photo)  
 1907 Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien pp. 26–30 nos. 13, 14, 17 (exs. 63–65, photo, edition)  
 1907 Messerschmidt-Ugnad, VAS 1 no. 68 (ex. 61, copy)  
 1907 Le Gac, Asn. p. 202 E. 395 (ex. 66, copy)  
 1908 Bezold, ZA 21 p. 397 (ex. 1, study)  
 1912 Boissier, Notice pp. 14–15 nos. 97–99 (exs. 67–69, photo, study)  
 1922 BM Guide p. 72 and pl. XXVII (exs. 1–4, 9, photo)  
 1923 Langdon, OECT 1 pl. 29 W.-B. 199 (ex. 56, copy)  
 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§534 and 711–12 (translation)  
 1937 Stephens, YOS 9 p. 32 nos. 134–35 (exs. 70–71, study)  
 1947–52 Michel, WO 1 pp. 385–86 (edition)  
 1950 Wiseman, Iraq 12 p. 197 (exs. 10–15, study)  
 1951 Wiseman, Iraq 13 p. 119 (exs. 16–41, study)  
 1952 Wiseman, Iraq 14 p. 67 (exs. 42–47, study)  
 1953 Wiseman, Iraq 15 p. 149 (exs. 48–52, study)  
 1957–58 Gadd, AfO 18 p. 313 (ex. 66, study)  
 1971 Hulin, OLP 2 pp. 103–104 (ex. 72, photo, copy, edition)  
 1973 Postgate, Governor’s Palace pp. 255–64 (exs. 1–47, study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 96–97 (study)  
 1975 Foxvog, Assur 1/4 p. 114 (ex. 73, transliteration)  
 1981 Walker, CBI no. 159 (exs. 1–9, 50, 56–58, edition)  
 1983 Ede, Writing and Lettering in Antiquity (Auction Catalogue, London) no. 9 (ex. 76, photo, study)  
 1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 316–18 (exs. 59–61, study)  
 1985 Behrens, JCS 37 p. 243 (ex. 75, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 nos. 108–109 (exs. 59–60, copy)  
 1987 Reade apud Fales, Layard pl. III (copy)  
 1987 Sigrist and Vuk, Franciscanum pp. 60–61 and pl. 15 (ex. 77, photo, copy, edition)  
 1988 Beckman, ARRIM 6 pp. 1–2 (exs. 70–71, study)  
 1988 Kessler, BiOr 45 627 (exs. 59–60, provenance)  
 n.d. Fales, Alfabeto p. 229 no. 71 (ex. 74, photo, edition)



## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>1) <sup>m</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL-ú<br/> 2) MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ<br/> 3) A <sup>m</sup>AŠ-PAB-A MAN GAL-ú<br/> 4) MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ<br/> 5) A <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ-<i>ma</i><br/> 6) <i>ri-šip-tú</i> U<sub>6</sub>.NIR<br/> 7) <i>šá</i> URU <i>kal-ḫi</i></p> | <p>1–7) Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria: construction of the ziqqurat of Calah.</p> |
|---|--|

## 112

Remains of a panel of glazed bricks (cf. A.0.102.114), found in a building at Calah by G. Smith, had traces of a text: “[... I] massacred [...]” [...] GAZ.MEŠ [...]. In the drains which went round the palace bricks were found inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, thus indicating the date of the building.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1875 G. Smith, *Assyrian Disc.* p. 79 and plate after p. 80 (provenance, photo)  
1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 97 (study)

## 113

This fragmentary text is engraved on a small fragment of polished red stone found at Fort Shalmaneser. The piece is somewhat concave and might be the remains of the bowl of a spoon.

## COMMENTARY

The piece of stone (IM 75763, ND 7056) was found at the west end of Corridor E in Fort Shalmaneser. It measures 3.6×0.55+ cm and the inscription has been collated from the published photo.

Dalley and Postgate suggested reading the sign LIŠ as DÍLIM = *itqūru* = “spoon,” in view of the context and the concave shape of the stone. Or should one read *e-te<sub>6</sub>-liš* “nobly”?

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <p>1959 Oates, <i>Iraq</i> 21 p. 122 (provenance)<br/> 1966 Mallowan, <i>Nimrud</i> 2 p. 438 (provenance)<br/> 1977 Brinkman, <i>JCS</i> 29 p. 61 (study)</p> | <p>1984 Dalley and Postgate, <i>Fort Shalmaneser</i> no. 151 (photo, copy, edition)</p> |
|---|---|

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1) É.GAL (?)<sup>I<sup>d1</sup></sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ<br/> 2) [MAN KUR AŠ A]<sup>I<sup>d1</sup></sup>AŠ-PAB-A MAN KUR<br/> AŠ<br/> 3) [A TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ MAN] KUR AŠ-ma<br/> 4) [...] x KÚ LÁ E TI LIŠ x [...]</p> | <p>1–4) [<i>Palace of</i>] Shalmaneser, [king of Assyria, son of] Ashurnasirpal (II), king of Assyria, [son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II)], (who was) also [king of] Assyria: [...] eating, ... [...]</p> |
|--|---|

## 114

This text is painted on two separate panels of glazed bricks from Fort Shalmaneser. On the one panel which was fully recovered the inscription appears approximately in the middle of the ornate scenes portrayed on the bricks.

## COMMENTARY

The fully recovered panel (ex. 1) was found in Room T 3 while fragmentary bricks of the other panel (ex. 2) were discovered scattered in Room T 20. Ex. 2 has some

variants: ŠÚ instead KIŠ (every occurrence); omits MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu* “great king, strong king” after Ashurnasirpal and Tukultī-Ninurta.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1963 Reade, Iraq 25 pp. 38–47 and pl. IX (ex. 1, copy, translation, study)  
1966 Mallowan, Nimrud pp. 454–55 (ex. 1, study)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 97 (ex. 1, study)

- 1992 Curtis, JRAS p. 161 (ex. 2, provenance)  
1993 Curtis and Walker, Iraq 55 pp. 21–27 and fig. 23 (ex. 2, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>1) É.GAL<sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL MAN<br/><i>dan-nu</i> MAN KIŠ<br/> 2) MAN KUR <i>aš-šur</i> A <i>aš-šur</i>-PAB-A<br/> 3) MAN GAL MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN KIŠ MAN KUR<br/><i>aš-šur</i> A TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ<br/> 4) MAN GAL MAN <i>dan-nu</i> MAN KIŠ MAN KUR<br/><i>aš-šur-ma</i></p> | <p>1–4) Palace of Shalmaneser, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukultī-Ninurta (II), (who was) also great king, strong king, king of the universe, and king of Assyria.</p> |
|--|---|

## 115

At Fort Shalmaneser, in a room (SE 11) which appears to have been a kitchen, there was discovered a broken stone lion-weight, ND 7879 [IM 61867], inscribed with the name of Shalmaneser III.

## COMMENTARY

A draft transliteration of the inscription and some preliminary notes were found among the Hulin papers. According to these notes the object was 10.2 cm long.

The transliteration given here is based on that of Hulin. The inscription could not be collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1966 Mallowan, *Nimrud* 2 pp. 384 and 420 (provenance)  
1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 97 (study)

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) [ekal šulmānu]-MAŠ MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR<br>AŠ A AŠ-PAB-A   | 1-3) [Palace of Shalman]eser, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), [king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), (who was) also king of the universe and king of Assyria: [...]] stone ... . |
| 2) [šar kiššati šar māt aššur apil tukultī]- <sup>d</sup> MAŠ<br>MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ- <i>ma</i> |  |
| 3) [...] DIŠ NA <sub>4</sub> x x  |  |

## 116

This broken text is on a brick fragment from Nineveh and concerns work on the Ištar temple there.

## COMMENTARY

The brick has not been located and the inscription could not be collated. Thompson's copy of the

DINGIR sign in line 4 lacks a horizontal wedge and the sign appears as MAŠ.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1932 Thompson, *AAA* 19 p. 115 and pl. LXXXIX no. 295 (copy)  
1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 96 (study)

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) [É].GAL <sup>md</sup> šùl-[mānu-ašarēd ...]    | 1-4) Palace of Shal[maneser ...], son of               |
| 2) A <sup>m</sup> AŠ-PAB-A MAN GAL-ú [...]        | Ashurnasirpal (II), great king, [...], son of Tukulti- |
| 3) A <sup>m</sup> TUKUL-MAŠ MAN GAL-ú [...]       | Ninurta (II), great king, [...]: temple of the goddess |
| 4) É <sup>d</sup> (*)INANNA ša N[INA(?).KI (...)] | Ištar of N[ineveh (...)]                               |

## 1001

This fragment of Neo-Assyrian annals is on a piece of clay tablet, the provenance of which is unknown. The date of the text is certainly ninth century, as evidenced by the format, script, literary style, and content, but there is no clear indication of which king. Either Ashurnasirpal II or Shalmaneser III are prime candidates, although Šamši-Adad V cannot be ruled out. On the obverse, events of the first two years of the reign are described while on the reverse there are remains of a building inscription and a curse section.

## COMMENTARY

For detailed arguments regarding the problem of identification see Grayson, ARRIM. The fragment (BM 90817) measures c. 8.5×6.5+ cm and is from the left side

near the top of a very thick (c. 4 cm), presumably large, tablet. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1991 Grayson, ARRIM 9 pp. 23-25 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

## Obverse

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x [...]  
 2') [...] AŠ-PAB-IBILA [...]  
 3') [*ina* NAM.SA]G LUGAL-*ti-ia* [*ina maḥrê palêia*]  
 4') [*ša ina* GIŠ.G]U.ZA LUGAL-*t[e rabīš ūšibū ...]*  
 5') [x x x] x *ú* x [...] x x [...]  
 6') [URU *si-me-r*]*a*(?) URU *ul-[mānia*(?) U]RU.MEŠ-*n*[*i ...*]  
 7') [*šal-la-su*(?)-*n*]*u* NÍG.ŠU.MEŠ-*šu-n*[*u* NÍG.G]A.MEŠ-*šu-n*[*u ...*]  
 8') [*ina 2 palêia*(?) *ina tukulti aššur*(?)] EN GAL-*i* [EN]-*ia* GIŠ.GI[GIR.MEŠ *ummānātīia adki*]  
 9') [...] x *al-li-ki* URU x [...]  
 10') [... *pit*(?)-*ḥa*]*l*(?)-*le-e*.MEŠ *ú*-[...]  
 11') [...] *šu-nu* GU<sub>4</sub>.M[EŠ-*šu-nu ...*]  
 12') [...] *š*á x [...]  
 Lacuna

## Obverse

## Lacuna

- obv. 1'-2') [...] Ashurnasirpal [...]  
 obv. 3'-7') [In] my accession year (and) [in my first regnal year, after I nobly ascended] the royal throne, [... *Simer*]*ra*, UI[*mānu*], cities [... I carried off] from them [booty], property, (and) possessions. [(...)]  
 obv. 8'-12') [*In my second regnal year, with the support of Aššur*], the great lord, my [lord, I mustered my] chariotry (and) [army (and)] marched [to ... I (besieged and) captured] the city [... I carried off ...] *cavalry*, [...] their [..., their] oxen [...]  
 Lacuna

**Obv. 8'** At the beginning of the line, the apparent discrepancy with the number of signs missing in previous lines is not a problem. It was not uncommon on annals tablets of this period for the date of a new paragraph to start in the margin. See, for example, A.0.102.6.  
**Obv. 9'** *al-li-ki*: I doubt that this is the end of a place name. But one should note URU *a-li-gu*, which Shalm. III conquered in his second year: A.0.102.2 ii 33.

## Reverse

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x ša ṣšùl(?)<sup>1</sup>l-ma-nu-[ašarēd(?) ...]  
 2') [... ālik] pa-ni-ia e-pu-šū [...]  
 3') [... a-šar-šu ú-me-si [...]  
 4') [... ištu u]š-še-šu ṣa-di<sup>1</sup> gaba-dib-be-š[u ...]  
 5') [... a-g]u(?)<sup>2</sup>-re-e x [(x)] il-mi [...]  
 6') [... NA.R]U.A.MEŠ á[š(?)<sup>3</sup>-tu-u]r i-na qé-  
 [rebīšu aškun]

7') [(...) mannu ša ši]-ṭir š[u-mi-ia] ú-n[a-kkiru  
 ...]

8') [... š]á i-na MAN.MEŠ A[D(?).MEŠ...]

9') [... l]u-ú [...]

## Lacuna

## Reverse

## Lacuna

rev. 1'–6') [...] which *Shalman[eser, ... who]* preceded me, had built, [*had become old and dilapidated*]. I delineated its area [... I (completely) rebuilt it from] top to bottom. [...] baked bricks ... surrounded [...]. *I inscribed* monumental inscriptions (and) [deposited them] therein.

rev. 7'–9') [(...) Whoever] removes [my] inscriptions, [...] which among the kings, the *fathers* [...], may [...]

## Lacuna

## 1002

This piece of royal annals, preserved on a clay tablet fragment found at Calah, might be of Shalmaneser III. The place names and their orthography fit best with such an identification. In fact, the place names given in lines 3'–4' are similar to those mentioned in a version of Shalmaneser III's sixteenth regnal year (843 BC) (A.0.102.6 iii 58 – iv 25).

## COMMENTARY

The tentative identification rests upon the place names mentioned in this fragment. All of the names given occur in texts of Shalmaneser III (but not all appear in texts of any other individual king), with the exception of Sunbu (line 3'). The orthography of the names is

identical with the orthography in Shalmaneser III's texts (but not always with that in texts of other kings), with the exception of Gutû — Shalmaneser has Qutû. The fragment (ND 5417) is in the Iraq Museum and the inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1964 Wiseman, Iraq 26 p. 119 and pl. XXVI (copy, edition)

1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 640 (study)

1972 Grayson, JNES 31 p. 217 and n. 6 (study)

1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 118 (study)

1973 Tadmor, Iraq 35 p. 141 n. 1 (study)

1976 Borger, HKL 3 p. 27 (study)

## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') URU.MEŠ-šú-nu ú-ḥap-pi-ma ILLAT.MEŠ-šú-nu [...]  
 2') UN.MEŠ-šú-nu áš-lu-lam-ma a-na KUR-ia ṣú<sup>1</sup>-[bil ...]  
 3') KUR su-un-ba-a-a KUR ḥu-bu-uš-ka-a-a u KUR x-[...]  
 4') KUR al-lab-ri-a-a KUR.ZÁLAG-a-a KUR pad-di-ra-a-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [...]

## Lacuna

- 1') I smashed their cities and [...] their forces [...]  
 2') I carried off their people and brought (them) to my land [...]  
 3') The people of the lands Sunbu, Ḥubuškia, [...],  
 4') Allabria, Namri, Paddira, [...],

<sup>1</sup> KUR.ZÁLAG-a-a: see Schramm, *Orientalia* NS 38 (1969) pp. 126–27.

<sup>2</sup> pad-di-ra-a-a or šur-di-ra-a-a? See the note to A.0.102.6 iii 62.

5') [KU]R *gu-tu-ú ÉRIN.MEŠ KUR-i šá* x [...]6') [KU]R.MEŠ-*e né-su-ú-ti šá* [...]7') [x x] *x-i a-ḫa-meš it-ta-šū-ni* x [...]8') [...] x *KUR a-mat-a-a KUR šá*-[...]9') [...] x *i ḫi* [...]

Lacuna

5') The land of the Guti, warriors of the mountains who [...]

6') Distant mountains which [...]

7') [...] together they took away [...]

8') [...] people of the lands Ḫamat, Ša[...]

9') [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

## 1003

This dedication is engraved on the reverse of a dark green (onyx) "eye-stone," the provenance of which is unknown. The deity Ḫallasua is otherwise unattested although Deller has suggested that there is a relationship with the Hurrian name of the source of the Tigris, a place which Shalmaneser proudly proclaimed he reached. There may be traces of an erased inscription on the "pupil" on the obverse of the stone. The inscription could, of course, be of Shalmaneser I.

## COMMENTARY

The stone (BM 89907 = 46-5-23,459) measures 1.8×.6 cm and was purchased. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1922 BM Guide, p. 167 (study)

1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11-20 no. 9 (copy, edition)

1987 Deller, NABU pp. 56-57 no. 101 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) *ana ḫal-la-*
- 2) *su-a UMUN-šú*
- 3) <sup>me</sup>*SILIM-MAŠ*
- 4) *ŠID aš-šur BA*

1-4) To the god Ḫallasua, his lord, has Shalmaneser, vice-regent of Aššur, dedicated (this).

## 1004

This text is engraved on a small, dark-green gem, the provenance of which is unknown. It could, of course, be ascribed to the first king of this name.

## COMMENTARY

The stone (BM 89281) measures 1.6×1.6×.5 cm and the inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11–20 no. 10 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

- |    |                          |  |
|----|--------------------------|--|
| 1) | É.GAL                    | 1–4) (Property of) the palace of Shalmaneser, king |
| 2) | <sup>md</sup> šùl-ma-nu- | of Assyria.  |
| 3) | SAG                      |  |
| 4) | MAN KUR aš-šur           |  |

## 1005

This bit of text is preserved on a fragment of clay cone found at Tell al-Hawa (HW 45). Since a number of clay cone fragments were discovered there with a text of Shalmaneser III (A.0.102.41), perhaps this is a piece of another Shalmaneser text.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1989 Black, Iraq 51 pp. 44–46 and pl. III (photo, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| Lacuna  | Lacuna  |
| 1') [...] u TI-ia x [...]                               | 1') [I dedicated this for ...] and my life [...]                                    |
| 2') [...] ù <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR ik-r[i-bi-šu išemmû ...] | 2') [A later prince who ..., the gods Aššur] and Adad [will listen to his] prayers. |
| 3') [ša ... ana aš]-ri ša-ni-ma i-šá-[akkan ...]        | 3') [Whoever] puts [my inscription in] another place, [...]                         |
| 4') [...] AN-e ù KI-te x [...]                          | 4') [May ..., the gods of] heaven and underworld, [destroy him].                    |

## 1006

This is a tiny fragment of a text from a bit of a clay cone discovered at Tell al-Hawa (HW 43). Several other clay cone fragments found at that site have a text of Shalmaneser III (A.O.102.41) and therefore this fragment might also be of that king. Not enough is preserved to warrant an edition.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1989 Black, Iraq 51 pp. 44–47 and pl. III (photo, copy)

## 1007

A fragmentary object on Ass ph 4795 has the following traces: [... *tukultī*]-f<sup>d</sup>MAŠ MAN *kiš-šá-te* [...] “[... Tukultī]-Ninurta, king of the universe.” The reason for suggesting Shalmaneser III (son of Ashurnasirpal II, son of Tukultī-Ninurta II) is that the word *kiššati* is apparently never written syllabically in texts of either Tukultī-Ninurta II or Ashurnasirpal II. There is, however, one such writing as a title of Shalmaneser III. See Seux, ERAS p. 309.

## 1008

This fragmentary text is a small chip from the right edge of a stone slab found at Nineveh. The present location of the piece is not known. Borger read in line 8: [... *anum-ḫi-ir*]-*bi zaq-pu* on analogy with A.O.102.2 ii 10 and thus suggested it was a fragment of a Shalmaneser III text. But nothing else in the traces corresponds to the passage in A.O.102.2 or to any other narrative of Shalmaneser's first campaign. Not enough of the fragment is preserved to warrant an edition.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 p. 120 and pl. XLII no. 39 (copy, edition)

1965 Borger, BiOr 22 p. 166b (study)

1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 536 (study)

1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 96 (study)



## 1009

A piece of a wall plaque (IM 55701 = ND 831), which was said to have been found at Imgur-Enlil (Balawat), has the name of the city on it: URU *im-gúr-<sup>d</sup>BAD*. Since Shalmaneser III in particular concerned himself with this place, perhaps it is part of one of his royal inscriptions.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1951 Wiseman, Iraq 13 p. 119 (study)  
1973 Postgate, Governor's Palace p. 263 (study)

## 1010

This fragmentary text on a surface flake of a tablet from Nineveh (K 15116, 2×3+ cm) seems to concern Shalmaneser III, although it may not be a royal inscription. Not enough is preserved to warrant an edition but the references to [...] *šul-ma-n[u(?) - ...]* (line 9') and URU *ma-s[a-šur-ru(?) ...]* (line 7'), a place attested only in texts of Shalmaneser III, indicate ascription to that king. There is mention of a gold necklace (GÚ KÙ.GI) in line 6'. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1914 King, Cat. p. 158 (study)

## 1011

This fragmentary text is engraved in Neo-Assyrian script on a small piece of stone, probably from a statue, in the British Museum (N 1817), where it was collated (7×6+ cm). The preserved traces suggest that Shalmaneser III is the most likely king involved. The text is published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. The stone is broken just above line 1 but given the content there would appear to be no lines missing in the break.

## TEXT

- 1) [a]-na [<sup>d</sup>(?)] [...]  
2) [MA]N *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN [...]

- 1) To the *deity* [...]  
2) strong king, king of the universe, king of [Assyria, son of ...]

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 3) MAN GAL- <i>u</i> MAN <i>dan</i> -[ <i>nu</i> ...] | 3) great king, strong king, [king of the universe, king of Assyria (...)] |
| 4) <i>ina šur-rat</i> MA[N- <i>ti-ia</i> ...]         | 4) in [my] accession year [...]   |
| 5) <i>ina</i> ILLU- <i>šú</i> [...]                   | 5) [I crossed the river ...], which was in flood, [...]                   |
| 6) <i>ina</i> x x [...]                               | 6) in ... [...]   |
| 7) x [...]  | 7) ... [...]  |
| Lacuna  | Lacuna  |

## 1012

There are faint, illegible traces within several ruled lines of an inscription on a surface flake of stone in the British Museum (BM 139428 = 1983-1-1,3). It measures 13.5×3.5+ cm and the inscription has been collated. The text is cited here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

## 1013

Faint, illegible traces of an inscription within ruled lines are preserved on two surfaces as well as on the edge of a stone fragment in the British Museum (BM 139429 = 1983-1-1,4). It measures 7×5×4+ cm and the inscription has been collated. The text is cited here with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

## 2001

This dedication is engraved on a stone vase fragment found at Tarbišu (Sherif Khan). It was donated to the city's patron deity, Nergal, by the Assyrian field marshal Bēl-lūballiṭ. Since he was the eponym for the year 814 BC, the vase and inscription might date to the reign of Šamši-Adad V. However, two similar dedicatory texts on mace heads found at Tarbišu are of Shalmaneser III (A.0.102.96), which suggests that the present text might instead date to that reign. Another text of Bēl-lūballiṭ is A.0.102.2002. Finally, A.0.104.2012 (q.v.) might also be ascribed to him.

### COMMENTARY

The fragment (BM 90960) measures 7×7.3+ cm and the inscription has been collated. For justification of the restorations see the edition in Curtis and Grayson.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1873–75 Lenormant, Choix no. 76B (copy) | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 22 (study)   |
| 1922 BM Guide, p. 195 (study)           | 1982 Curtis and Grayson, Iraq 44 pp. 91–94 and pl. III (photo, copy, edition) |
| 1927 Nassouhi, MAOG 3/1–2 p. 30 (study) | 1994 Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 16 p. 248 (edition)                          |
| 1928 Hall, Sculpture pl. LX (photo)     |   |
| 1938 Ungnad, RLA 2 p. 446 (study)       |   |

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) [ana <sup>d</sup> U].GUR dan-dan-ni MAḤ SAG.KAL ši-tar-[ḥu ...]     | 1–3) [To the god] Nergal of exalted might, resplendent leader, ..., [ <i>possessed of</i> ] strength, perfect one, replete with [...], resident of the city |
| 2) [ša(?)][e <sup>l</sup> -mu-qi gít-ma-lum ma-lu-[u ...]              | Tarbiṣu, great lord, [my] lord:   |
| 3) [a-ši]b URU tar-bi-ša EN GAL EN-[ia (...)]                          | 4) [Bēl]-lūballiṭ, field marshal, [ <i>chief</i> ] herald:  |
| 4) [m <sup>EN</sup> ]-lu-TI LÚ tar-ta-nu LÚ.NI[MGIR(?)] rabū(?) (...)] | 5) [I have dedicated (this) for] my life, that [my] days might be long [...]  |
| 5) [ana T]I ZI.MEŠ-a GÍD UD.MEŠ [(...) aqīš]                           |   |

## 2002

This text is engraved on a stele found in the row of steles at Ashur. Regarding Bēl-lūballiṭ see A.0.102.2001. The elaborate titulary which he bears here is also attested for Šamši-ilu, A.0.104.2010.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1913 Andrae, Stelenreihen no. 44 (photo, copy, edition) | 1967 Gordon, JCS 21 p. 87 (study)        |
| 1920 Forrer, Provinz. p. 8 and 23 (study)               | 1970 Fales, RSO 45 pp. 21–27 (study)     |
| 1938 Ungnad, RLA 2 p. 439 (edition)                     | 1971 Postgate, BSOAS 34 p. 390 (study)   |
| 1957–58 Falkner, AfO 18 p. 15 (study)                   | 1973 Fales, Censimenti pp. 94–96 (study) |

## TEXT

- |                                     |   |
|-------------------------------------|---|
| 1) ṣa-lam m <sup>EN</sup> -lu-TI.LA | 1–10) Monument of Bēl-lūballiṭ, the field marshal, the great herald, the administrator of temples, chief of the extensive army, governor of the cities Tabitu, Ḥarrān, Ḥuzirina, Dūru, the lands Qibānu (and) Zallu, (and) the city Baliḥu. |
| 2) LÚ tur-ta-a-ni                   |   |
| 3) LÚ.NIMGIR GAL-ú                  |   |
| 4) LÚ.ŠĀ.TAM É.KUR.MEŠ              |   |
| 5) LÚ.GAL ÉRIN.ḤI DAGAL-šū          |   |
| 6) LÚ.GAR.KUR URU ta-bi-ti          |   |
| 7) URU KASKAL-ni                    |   |
| 8) URU ḥu-zi-ri-na                  |   |
| 9) URU.BĀD KUR qi-ba-ni             |   |
| 10) KUR za-al-lu URU ba-li-ḥu       |   |

## 2003

This text is inscribed on a clay cube which, as the inscription indicates, is a die for casting lots for an eponym. This particular die belonged to Iaḥalu, an official of Shalmaneser III, who actually held the office of eponym twice (833 and 824 BC) during Shalmaneser's reign.

## COMMENTARY

The clay cube (YBC 7058) measures c. 2.7 to 2.8 cm on each side. The provenance is unknown.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1937 Stephens, YOS 9 no. 73 (photo, copy)            | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 95–96 (study)                            |
| 1939 J. Lewy, HUCA 14 p. 145 (study)                 | 1980 Kessler, Nordmesopotamien pp. 170–72 (study)                |
| 1949 Michel, WO 1 pp. 261–64 no. 20 (edition)        | 1983 Hallo, Biblical Archaeologist 46 pp. 19–29 (photo, edition) |
| 1956 J. Lewy, HUCA 27 p. 42 (study)                  | 1994 Millard, SAA S 2 pp. ii and 8 (photo, edition)              |
| 1969 von Soden, Orientalia NS 38 p. 421 n. 1 (study) |  |

## TEXT

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1) <i>aš-šur</i> EN ṬGAL <sup>1</sup>    | 1–15) Aššur, the great lord, Adad, the great lord: die of Iaḥalu, (5) the steward ( <i>masennu</i> ) of Shalmaneser, king of Assyria; governor of (10) the city Kipšuna, the lands Qumēnu, Meḥrānu, Uqu, (and) <i>Erimmu</i> ; chief of customs: |
| 2) ṬIŠKUR EN GAL                         |  |
| 3) <i>pu-ú-ru</i>                        |  |
| 4) <i>šá<sup>m</sup>ia-ḥa-li</i>         |  |
| 5) ṬAGRIG GAL <sup>1</sup>               |  |
| 6) Ṭšá <sup>m</sup> šú <sup>l</sup> -    |  |
| 7) <i>ma-nu-SAG</i>                      |  |
| 8) MAN KUR <i>aš-šur</i>                 |  |
| 9) LÚ.GAR.KUR                            |  |
| 10) URU <i>kip-šú-ni</i>                 |  |
| 11) KUR <i>qu-me-ni</i>                  |  |
| 12) KUR <i>me-eḥ-ra-ni</i>               |  |
| 13) KUR <i>ú-Ṭqi<sup>1</sup></i>         |  |
| 14) KUR <i>e-ri-Ṭmi(?)<sup>1</sup></i>   |  |
| 15) GAL <i>ka-a-ri</i>                   |  |
| 16) <i>ina li-me-šú</i>                  | 16–19) In his eponymy (and the period allotted by) his die, may the harvest of Assyria prosper well.   |
| 17) <i>pu-ri-šú</i>                      |  |
| 18) BURU <sub>14</sub> KUR <i>aš-šur</i> |  |
| 19) SI.SÁ <i>liḏSIG<sub>3</sub></i>      |  |
| 20) <i>ina IGI aš-šur</i>                | 20–23) May he throw his die before Aššur (and) Adad.   |
| 21) ṬIŠKUR                               |  |
| 22) <i>pu-ur-šú</i>                      |  |
| 23) <i>li-Ṭda<sup>1</sup>-a</i>          |  |

14 KUR *e-ri-Ṭmi(?)<sup>1</sup>*: cf. Nassouhi, MAOG 3/2 (1927) pp. 36–38 line 22, where one should perhaps read URU *e-ri-im-Ṭma(?)<sup>1</sup>* with Parpola, Toponyms p. 126. The reading proposed by some scholars for our passage of KUR (=šadē) *e-ri-ni[m(?)<sup>1</sup>*] is unlikely; “cedar mountain” would hardly be the name of a province.

# Šamšī-Adad V

A.0.103

The reign of Šamšī-Adad V (823–11 BC) began during a revolution against Shalmaneser III, his father, and Šamšī-Adad claims credit for putting down the revolt. Compared to the achievements of his two predecessors, those of this king are relatively modest, in part, no doubt, because he was on the throne for a much shorter period of time (see Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 pp. 269–71). The main thrust of his military campaigns was against Nairi and Babylonia. Indeed, the invasion of Babylonia is one of the most significant events of his career. The historical consciousness of this age, reflected in, among other things, the revival of such famous Assyrian names as Šamšī-Adad and Shalmaneser, is illustrated in this reign by the use of “archaic” script in the *Annals* (A.0.103.1). Another unusual feature among the royal inscriptions is a letter from the god Aššur (A.0.103.4).

The turmoil of the early years of the reign, as well as the relatively brief period the king was on the throne, means that there are not very many royal inscriptions. Indeed, there was not time to finish one of them before the king died (A.0.103.2). Nor is there evidence of very much building, apart from the palace at Nineveh, and that project had to be completed by Adad-narari III (A.0.104.13). Only some inscribed bricks from Nineveh and Aššur are contemporary evidence of his building projects at those sites (A.0.103.9). He dedicated some precious stones to the goddess Bēlat-paršī at Aššur (A.0.103.5–8). Šamšī-Adad was buried at Aššur, where his sarcophagus was recovered by modern excavators (see A.0.103.9).

The invasion of Babylonia, mentioned above, is described in the *Synchronistic History* (Grayson, *Chronicles* pp. 168–69 iii 6' – iv 14) and his name appears in king lists (see Grayson, *RLA* 6 pp. 86–135). A complete list of the eponymies from his reign is available: see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 pp. 420–21, Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976) pp. 140–43, and Millard *SAA* 11.

The fragmentary remains of a treaty between this king and Marduk-zākīr-šūmi I of Babylonia is known (Rm 2, 427 — see Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 109). There is a fragment of a royal decree from this reign (Postgate, *Royal Grants* pp. 101–105 no. 51).

## 1

This text is engraved on a large stone stele found at Calah. On the front of the stele is a portrait of the king and divine symbols in relief. The text is inscribed on the two sides and back. The stele was discovered by Rassam in the Nabû temple, where it had probably been removed for storage from the Ninurta temple, since it is dedicated to Ninurta. The engraver used an “archaic” script similar in form to the script employed by the scribes of

Šamši-Adad I, among other ancient kings. The choice of a script used in the time of Šamši-Adad I is an example of the imitation of past rulers and customs so prevalent in Assyria in the ninth century.

A stone fragment from Nineveh has the remains of an inscription which duplicates, as far as it is preserved, the Calah text and it is in the same “archaic” script. Since this second exemplar is from Nineveh, it may have been dedicated to the goddess Ištar rather than, as the Calah text, to the god Ninurta.

There are also two fragments of stone steles from Aššur, listed as A.0.103.2 and 3, which duplicate portions of this text. These were, no doubt, dedicated to yet other deities. The first, A.0.103.2, is badly worn and difficult to read but it is clear that it describes the suppression of the rebellion and the first four campaigns in the same words as A.0.103.1. It then continues beyond the end of A.0.103.1 to finish the description of the fourth campaign, and narrates two further campaigns. The second stele fragment from Aššur, A.0.103.3, is almost totally illegible.

The dedication to Ninurta, with which the text opens (i 1–25), is very lengthy and rich in divine epithets. This is followed by the royal name, epithets, and genealogy (i 26–38). Then comes an unusual passage (i 39–53a) which describes the rebellion against Shalmaneser III and how the son, Šamši-Adad V, suppressed it. Thereafter four campaigns are described, unfortunately with no dates: the “first campaign” against Nairi (i 53b – ii 16a); the “second campaign” against Nairi, led by the chief eunuch (ii 16b – 34a); the “third campaign” against Nairi and the Medes (ii 34b – iii 70a); and the “fourth campaign” against Babylonia (iii 70b – iv 45). The narrative ends abruptly at this point, there being no building section or concluding blessings and curses; the same is true of other inscriptions on steles of this period (see RIMA 2 pp. 252–62 and A.0.102.2, etc.). The last campaign narrated took place in 814 BC and thus the stele would date to that year or early 813 BC.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum/RIM number	Registration number	Provenance	Dimensions (cm)	Lines preserved	cpn
1	BM 118892	56-9-9,63	Calah, Nabu temple	c. 200 high	i 1–53 ii 1–59 iii 1–70 iv 1–45	c
2	BM 115020	56-9-3,1510	Nineveh	c. 25×20+	i 29–33 ii 49 – iii 10	c
3	A.0.103.2	—	—	—	i 40 – iii 4 iv 36–44	c

## COMMENTARY

As indicated in the introduction, the “archaic” script is, I think, part of the historical consciousness in ninth century Assyria; it is not, I believe, a result of Babylonian influence as suggested by Schramm, EAK 2 p. 106. The abrupt ending of the text has been discussed by Reade in Fales, ARIN pp. 150–51.

The master text is ex. 1 with a few restorations from ex. 2. Ex. 1 is, in fact, almost completely preserved. There are some flaws in the stone which predate the inscription: e.g. i 25–26, 33–37. Since early copies and

editions were published, a chip has broken off from the upper left-hand corner of col. i and a few signs at the beginning of i 1–4 are now missing.

Since the passages in A.0.103.2 which are parallel to passages in A.0.103.1 are very difficult to decipher, no reliable transliteration can be given for them. Therefore in this edition of A.0.103.1 only variants, where they can be deciphered, are given in the notes with A.0.103.2 being called “ex. 3” (as in the catalogue).

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 1984 Postgate, Sumer 40 p. 158 (iii 70 – iv 16, edition)

## TEXT

## Col. i

- 1) [a]-na <sup>d</sup>nin-urta EN ga-*áš-ri*  
 2) [šá-g]a-pi-ri šur-bi-i e-tel-li  
 3) [U]R.SAG DINGIR.MEŠ mu-kil mar-kas AN-e  
 4) <sup>l</sup>u<sup>1</sup> KI-te mu-ma-<sup>e</sup>-er gim-ri  
 5) mut-tal-li <sup>d</sup>i-gi-gi ma-am-li  
 6) šit-ra-<sup>hi</sup> ša la im-ma-<sup>ha</sup>-ru  
 7) dan-nu-su SAG.KAL <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ki  
 8) al-lál-li DINGIR.MEŠ šu-pi-i  
 9) šá là SÁ kaš-ka-šu <sup>d</sup>ut-u<sub>19</sub>-lu  
 10) EN MAĪ ra-kib a-bu-bi  
 11) šá GIM <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši nu-úr DINGIR.MEŠ  
 12) i-bar-ru-u kib-ra-a-ti ur-šá-an-ni  
 13) DINGIR.MEŠ šá nam-ri-ri šit-pu-ru  
 14) ma-lu-ú pul-<sup>ha</sup>-a-ti ga-mir e-mu-qí  
 15) ga-*áš-ra-ti* bu-kur <sup>d</sup>en-líl tukul-ti  
 16) DINGIR.MEŠ za-re-e-šu bi-nu-ut é-šár-ra  
 IBILA  
 17) šit-lu-<sup>tu</sup> šá ina bu-ru-mi KÙ.MEŠ šur-ru-<sup>hu</sup>  
 18) gis-gal-lum i-lit-ti <sup>d</sup>ku-tu-šar GAŠAN ší-na-at  
 19) <sup>d</sup>a-num u <sup>d</sup>da-gan ša la ut-tak-ka-ru  
 20) ši-it pi-i-šu dan-dan-nu ši-ru šur-bu-ú  
 21) ra-*áš* e-mu-qí šá šum-mu-<sup>hu</sup> meš-re-ti  
 22) šur-ru šum-du-lu ka-raš nik-la-a-ti  
 23) kaš-kaš DINGIR.MEŠ e-tel-lu a-šib URU kal-  
<sup>hi</sup>  
 24) ki-iš-ši el-li *áš-ri* šum-du-li  
 25) šu-bat <sup>d</sup>ut-u<sub>19</sub>-lu  
 26) <sup>md</sup>šam-ši-<sup>d</sup>ŠKUR LUGAL dan-nu LUGAL kiš-  
 šat  
 27) la maš-ri re-<sup>l</sup> <sup>u</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup> *áš-ra-a-ti* na-ši GIDRU  
 28) eš-re-te mur-<sup>f</sup>[e-du]-<sup>l</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> ka-liš KUR.KUR.MEŠ  
 mu-ma-<sup>e</sup>-er  
 29) gim-ri NUMUN LU[GAL-ti <sup>d</sup>]a-ru-ú ša ul-tu ul-  
 la-a

i 1–25) To the god Ninurta, the strong lord, the majestic, the exalted, the noble, the warrior of the gods, the one who holds the bond of heaven and underworld, commander of all, (i 5) noble among the Igiu gods, the hero, the splendid one whose strength cannot be matched, foremost among the Anunnaku gods, the brave one of the gods, the magnificent one whose might is unrivalled, the god Utulu, (i 10) the exalted lord, the rider of the Deluge, the one who, like the god Šamaš, light of the gods, watches the (four) quarters, the hero of the gods who is bedecked with brilliance (and) full of awesomeness, the one consummate in (i 15) tremendous power, son of the god Enlil, the support of the gods his fathers, offspring of Ešarra, victorious son whose position is resplendent in the bright starry heaven, child of the goddess Kutušar, the lady equal to the gods Anu and Dagan, (i 20) whose command cannot be altered, mighty, exalted, gigantic, the one who possesses strength (and) whose limbs are magnificent, wide in understanding (and) clever in conception, powerful among the gods, the noble who resides in the city Calah, the holy shrine (and) spacious sanctuary, dwelling of the god Utulu:

i 26–33) (I), Šamši-Adad, strong king, unrivalled king of the universe, shepherd of shrines, bearer of the just sceptre, ruler of all lands, commander of all, eternal royal seed, (i 30) whose name the gods designated from ancient times, holy priest who provides unremittingly for Ešarra (and) who maintains the rites of Ekur, who is dedicated heart

i 18 *ši-na-at*: from *šinnatu*. See von Soden, AHW pp. 1242–43.

i 27 re-<sup>l</sup> <sup>u</sup>-ú<sup>1</sup> *áš-ra-a-ti* na-ši GIDRU eš-re-te: Goetze, JCS 19 (1965) p. 130 n. 66 suggests that the text is in error. But these epithets, although not duplicated elsewhere, are meaningful. See Seux, ERAS p. 248. An emendation of *áš-ra-a-ti* to *tab-ra-a-ti* (Schramm) is also unnecessary.

i 29 For the restoration see Borger, EAK 1 p. 58, and Seux, ERAS p. 377.

- 30) DINGIR.MEŠ *ib-bu-ú<sup>1</sup> zi-kir-šu* SANGA-ú KÙ  
*za-nin*
- 31) *é-šár-ra la [m]u-pár-ku-ú mu-kil par-ši é-kur*
- 32) *šá a-na šip-ri é-ḥur-sag-kur-kur-ra* É.KUR.MEŠ  
KUR-šu
- 33) *[g]u-mur lib-ba-šú-ma ba-šá-a uz-na-a-šu*
- 34) DUMU [m]<sup>d</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ LUGAL *kib-rat 4-ti*
- 35) *šá<sup>1</sup>-nin mal-ki šá kul-la-ti da-iš*  
KUR.KUR.MEŠ
- 36) DUMU DUMU *šá<sup>m</sup>aš-šur-PAB-A*
- 37) *ma-ḥir* GUN
- 38) *ú<sup>1</sup> i<sup>1</sup>-gi-si-i šá ka-liš kib-ra-a-ti*
- 39) *e-nu-ma<sup>md</sup>aš-šur-KAL-in-A ina tar-ši<sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ*
- 40) *AD-šu e-pu-šá lim-né-e-ti si-ḥu bar-tu a-mat*  
ḪUL-ti
- 41) *ú-šab-ši-ma* KUR *uš-bal-kit-ma ik-šu-ra*
- 42) *ta-ḥa-zu* UN.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur e-liš ú šap-liš*  
*it-ti-šu*
- 43) *ú-šes-ḥir-ma ú-dan-ni-na ta-me-tu* URU.URU *ú-šam-kir<sub>6</sub>-ma*
- 44) *a-na e-peš* MURUB<sub>4</sub> *ú ta-ḥa-zi iš-ku-na pa-ni-šu*
- 45) URU *ni-na-a* URU *a-di-a* URU *ši-ba-ni-ba*  
URU *im-gur<sup>d</sup>BAD* URU *iš-šab-ri*
- 46) URU É-IM.SA<sub>5</sub>-a URU *ši-mu(?)* URU *ši-ib-ḥi-ni-š*  
URU *tam-nu-na* URU *kip-šu-na*
- 47) URU *kur-ba-il* URU *ti-du* URU *na-bu-lu* URU  
*ka-ḥat* URU *aš-šur* URU *ú-rak-ka*
- 48) URU *sal-lat* URU *ḥu-zi-ri-na* URU.BĀD-TI.LA  
URU *da-ri-ga* URU *za-ban*
- 49) URU *lu-ub-du* URU *arrap-ḥa* URU.4-DINGIR  
*a-di* URU *a-me-di* URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-NA<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ
- 50) URU *ḥi-in-da-nu* PAP 27 *ma-ḥa-zi a-di ḥal-ša-ni-šu-nu ša* TA
- 51) <sup>md</sup>šùl-ma-nu-SAG LUGAL *kib-rat 4-ti AD-ia ik-ki-ru-ú-ni*
- 52) TA <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-KAL-A *iš-šak-nu-ni ina qí-bit*  
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia
- 53) *a-na* ĞIR.II.MEŠ-ia *ú-šak-ni-š ina ger-ri-ia*  
*maḥ-re-e šá ana* KUR *na-ri-ri*
- Col. ii
- 1) *e-lu-ú ma-da-tú*
- 2) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LA[L]-at *ni-ri*
- 3) *ša* LUGAL.MEŠ-ni DŪ-šú-nu *šá*
- 4) *na-ri-ri am-ḥur ina u-mi-šú-ma*
- 5) KUR *na-ri-ri a-na paṭ gim-ri-šá*
- 6) GIM *sa-pa-ri as-ḥu-up*

and mind to the work of Eḫursagkurkurra (and) the temples of his land;

i 34–38) son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters, (i 35) rival of princes everywhere, trampler of the lands, grandson of Ashurnasirpal (II), receiver of tribute and tax from all the (four) quarters:

i 39–53a) When Aššur-da<sup>''</sup>in-apla, at the time of Shalmaneser (III), his father, acted treacherously by inciting insurrection, uprising, and criminal acts, caused the land to rebel and prepared for battle; (at that time) the people of Assyria, above and below, he won over to his side, and made them take binding oaths. He caused the cities to revolt and made ready to wage battle and war. (i 45) The cities Nineveh, Adia, Šibaniba, Imgur-Enlil, Iššabri, Bīt-Šašširia, Šimu, Šibḫiniš, Tamnuna, Kipšuna, Kurbail, Tīdu, Nabulu, Kaḥat, Aššur, Urakka, Sallat, Ḫuzirina, Dūr-balāṭi, Dariga, Zaban, Lubdu, Arrapḥa, (and) Arbail, together with the cities Amedu, Tīl-abnī, (and) Ḫindānu, — altogether twenty-seven towns with their fortresses which had rebelled against Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters, my father, sided with Aššur-da<sup>''</sup>in-apla. By the command of the great gods, my lords, I subdued (them).

i 53b – ii 16a) On my first campaign, upon which (ii 1) I went up to the land Nairi, I received booty of teams of horses from all the kings of Nairi. At that time I spread over the (ii 5) entire land Nairi like a net. The land of Assyria, which (stretches) from the city Paddira of the land Nairi to the city Kār-Shalmaneser, which is opposite (ii 10) Carchemish, from the city Zaddi on the border of the land Akkad to the land Enzi, from the city Aridu to the land

i 30 *zi-kir-šu*: so ex. 2. In ex. 1 one can restore [zi-ki]r-šu. Seux, ERAS p. 178 n. 27 remarks correctly that the traces are not entirely consistent with the shape of the KIR sign elsewhere on this stele (i 44 and 53). But confirmation of the reading, if it were needed, is provided by a parallel: *ša ultu ullā aššur ib-bu-u si-ṭar(?)<sup>1</sup>-šú* A.O.104.1 lines 26–27.

i 31 *la [m]u-pár-ku-ú*: the traces of the [m]u- are almost invisible but a reading of them as *na<sup>1</sup>-* is unlikely since the normal forms are either *lā mupparkū* or *lā napparkā* — note the final vowels. See CAD 10/2 (M) p. 211 and CAD 11/1 (N) pp. 280–81. Also note the parallel: SANGA KÙ *za-nin é-šár-ra la mu-par-ku-ú mu-kil* GARZA *é-kur* A.O.104.8 line 3.

i 33 *[g]u-mur lib-ba-šú-ma*: see CAD 2 (B) p. 152a. This reading is preferable to *šá<sup>1</sup>-kín lib-ba-šú-ma* — see Seux, ERAS p. 53.

i 46 É-IM.SA<sub>5</sub>-a = Bīt-šāšširia. See Postgate, Governor's Palace p. 60 note to line 5.

i 46 *ši-ib-ḥi-ni-š*: for the reading see Postgate, BSOAS 34 (1971) p. 390.

i 46 *tam-nu-na*: for the reading see Kessler, ZA 69 (1979) pp. 219–20. For the older reading as *par-nu-na* see the bibliography in Schramm, EAK 2 p. 108.



- 7) *mi-šir* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *šá* TA URU *pad-di-ra*  
 8) *ša* KUR *na-ʾi-ri a-di*  
 9) URU *kar-<sup>d</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ šá pu-ut*  
 10) URU *gar-ga-<sup>f</sup>miš<sup>1</sup>* TA URU *za-ad-di*  
 11) *mi-šir* KUR *ak-ka-di-i a-di*  
 12) KUR *en-zi* TA URU *a-ri-di a-di*  
 13) KUR *su-ḫi ina qí-bit aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 14) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>INANNA DINGIR.MEŠ *tik-li-a*  
 15) GIM *kil-zap-pi a-na ĞİR.II.MEŠ-a*  
 16) *ik-nu-šu ina 2 ger-ri-ia*  
 17) <sup>m</sup>mu-LAL-*aš-šur* LÚ.GAL.SAG.MEŠ  
 18) *er-šu mu-de-e ĞIŠ.LAL LÚ ṭé-e-me*  
 19) *it-ti ÉRIN.ḪI.<A>-ia u KARAS-ia*  
 20) *a-na* KUR *na-ʾi-ri ú-ma-er-ma*  
 21) *aš-pur-šú a-di* UGU *tam-ti ša šul-me*  
 22) <sup>d</sup>šam-šī *il-lik* 3 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni*  
 23) *ša* <sup>m</sup>ŠAR-*ši-na* DUMU  
 24) <sup>m</sup>me-*eq-di-a-ra* 11 URU.MEŠ-*ni*  
 25) *dan-nu-ti a-di* 2 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú*  
 26) *ša* <sup>m</sup>uš-*pi-na ik-šud* GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu*  
 27) GAZ *šal-la-su-nu NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu*  
 28) DINGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú-nu*  
 DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-*šú-nu*  
 29) *iš-lu-la* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu ip-púl*  
 30) *iq-qur ina IZI iš-ru-up ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-šú*  
 31) GAZ.MEŠ *šá* KUR *su-un-ba-a-a i-duk*  
 32) *ma-da-tu, ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at*  
 33) *ni-ri ša LUGAL.MEŠ-ni ša KUR na-i-ri*  
 34) DÜ-*šú-nu im-ḫur* [ina] 3 *ger-ri-ia* ÍD *za-ban*  
 35) *e-te-bir* KUR *kúl-la-ar* BAL-*at*  
 36) *a-na* KUR *na-ʾi-ri e-li ma-da-tu*  
 37) *ša* <sup>m</sup>da-*di-i* KUR *ḫu-bu-uš-ka-a-a*  
 38) *ša* <sup>m</sup>ŠAR-*ši-na* DUMU <sup>m</sup>me-*eq-di-a-ra*  
 39) *ša* KUR *su-un-ba-a-a* KUR *ma-na-a-a*  
 40) KUR *pár-su-a-a* KUR *ta-ur-la-a-a*  
 41) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-*at* ĞIŠ *ni-ri*  
 42) *am-ḫur* KUR *me-sa-a-a púl-ḫi me-lam-me*  
 43) *ša aš-šur EN-ia is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti*  
 44) *iš-tu pa-na na-mur-rat* ĞIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia*  
*dan-nu-ti*  
 45) *ip-la-ḫu-ma* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu ú-maš-ši-ru*  
 46) KUR-*ú mar-šu iš-ba-tu*  
 47) 3 KUR *ú-ba-na-at* KUR-*e šá* GIM DUNGU  
 48) TA AN-*e šu-qá-lu-la ša iš-šur*  
 49) *mu-par-šu la i-ba-ʾu a-šar-ši-in a-na*  
 50) *dan-nu-ti-šú-nu iš-ku-nu* EGIR-*šú-nu ar-te-di*  
 51) *ú-ba-na-at* KUR-*e ši-na-ti lu al-me*  
 52) *ina 1-en u<sub>4</sub>-me* GIM TÍ<sub>8</sub>.MUŠEN UGU-*šú-nu lu*  
*a-še-ʾi*  
 53) GAZ-*šú-nu ma-at-tu lu a-duk šal-la-su-nu*

Suḫi, — (this area) by the command of the deities Aššur, Šamaš, Adad, (and) Ištar, the gods who support me, bowed down at my feet as though they were footstools.

ii 16b–34a) On my second campaign I issued orders and sent Mutarriš-Aššur, the chief eunuch, one clever and experienced in battle, a sensible man, with my troops and camp (ii 20) to the land Nairi. He marched as far as the sea of the west. He overcame (and) defeated 300 cities of Šaršina, son of Meqdiara, (and) eleven (ii 25) fortified cities together with 200 cities of Ušpina. He carried off from them booty, property, possessions, their gods, their sons, (and) their daughters. He razed, (ii 30) destroyed, (and) burned their cities. On his return he defeated the people of the land Sunbu. He received tribute of teams of horses from all the kings of the land Nairi.

ii 34b–59a) [On] my third campaign I crossed the river Zab, traversed Mount Kullar, (and) went up to the land Nairi. I received tribute of teams of horses from Dadī, the Ḫubuškaean, from Šaršina, son of Meqdiara, (and) from the people of Sunbu, Mannaea, (ii 40) Parsua, (and) Taurla. As for the people of Mēsu, the awesome brilliance of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed them so that out of fright, in the face of the flash of my strong weapons, (ii 45) they abandoned their cities (and) took to a rugged mountain. They took up fortified positions on three mountain peaks, which hovered like clouds in the sky (and) which no bird on the wing could reach. (ii 50) I pursued them (and) surrounded those mountain peaks. In one day I sought them out like an eagle (and) massacred many of them. I brought down from the mountain countless quantities of booty, property, possessions, oxen, donkeys, (ii 55) sheep, teams of horses, (and) camels with two humps. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned 500 cities in their environs.

ii 7 *pad-di-ra*: see the note to A.0.102.6 iii 62

ii 15 *kil-zap-pi*: so CAD 8 (K) p. 362. Von Soden, AHw p. 286 reads *kèr-šap-pi* with the same meaning. Ex. 3 has *ki-[i] gir-šap-pi*. A similar simile occurs in A.0.102.28 line 10.

ii 17 LÚ.GAL.SAG: on the question of the reading in Akkadian see Borger, Zeichenliste p. 91 no. 115, and Tadmor, Essays Freedman pp. 279–85. Older publications mistakenly read *rab šāqe* “chief cupbearer.”

ii 19 ÉRIN.ḪI.<A>-ia: the sign ÉRIN has basically the same shape in iv 13 and 37. Ex. 3 has ÉRIN.ḪI.A-ia here. See Scheil, Šamši-Ramman IV pp. 10–11 n. 2, and Weidner, AfO 9 p. 91 n. 14.

ii 23 ŠAR can be read *šar, sar, šir, sir, or ḫir*

ii 24 *Me-eq-di-a-ra*: also in ii 38. Schramm believes he is identical with Niqdēra in Shalm. III (e.g. A.0.102.6 ii 11).

ii 38 Šaršina: see the note to ii 23.

- 54) NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu  
ANŠE.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 55) US<sub>5</sub>.UDU.ĪI.A-šú-nu ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ  
LAL-at ni-ri
- 56) ANŠE ud-ra-a-ti ša 2.TA.ÀM iš-qu-bi-ti
- 57) GAR-na a-na la ma-ni TA qé-reb KUR-e ú-še-  
ri-da
- 58) 5 ME URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tu-šú-nu ap-pùl  
aq-qu
- 59) ina IZI GÍBIL a-na KUR gi-zil-bu-un-da  
Col. iii
- 1) a-lik URU ki-na-ki ak-šud
- 2) ap-pùl aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL-up
- 3) KUR-e NA<sub>4</sub>.ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA lu-ú
- 4) BAL-it ma-da-tú šá <sup>m</sup>ti-ta-ma-áš-ka
- 5) URU sa-si-a-šá-a-a <sup>m</sup>ki-a-ra URU kar-si-bu-ta-  
a-a
- 6) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at ni-ri am-ḥur
- 7) KUR gi-zil-bu-un-da DÛ-šú me-lam-me EN-  
ti-a
- 8) u ti-bi MÈ-ia dan-ni is-ḥu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma
- 9) URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu ma-a <sup>2</sup>du-ti ú-maš-še-ru  
a-na
- 10) URU ú-ra-áš URU dan-nu-ti-šú-nu e-ru-bu-[ni]
- 11) URU šu-a-tú a-si-bi ak-ta-šad ÚŠ.MEŠ
- 12) qu-ra-di-šú-nu GIM na-ba-si ri-bit URU-šú-nu  
lu aš-ru-up 6 LIM GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu lu a-duk
- 14) <sup>m</sup>pi-ri-šá-a-ti LUGAL-šú-nu a-di 1 LIM 2 ME  
mun-daḥ-ši-šú
- 15) ina ŠU-ti aš-bat šal-la-su-nu NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu
- 16) GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu UDU še-ni-šú-nu  
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-šú-nu ú-nu-ut
- 17) KÛ.BABBAR KÛ.GI ḥu-še-e ZABAR.MEŠ  
a-na
- 18) la ma-ni áš-lu-la ap-pùl aq-qur
- 19) ina IZI GÍBIL-up ma-da-tú šá <sup>m</sup>EN-URU
- 20) URU ši-ba-ra-a-a am-ḥur ša-lam
- 21) LUGAL-ti-a šur-ba-a DÛ-šú li-ta-at
- 22) aš-šur EN-ia ta-nit-ti qar-du-ti
- 23) ù mim-ma ep-šet ŠU-ia šá ina
- 24) KUR na-<sup>2</sup>i-ri e-pu-šú ina qer-bi-šú
- 25) al-ḥu-ur ina URU ši-ba-ra
- 26) URU dan-nu-ti-šú-nu šá KUR gi-zil-bu-un-da-  
a-a
- 27) ú-še-ziz a-na KUR ma-ta-a-a lu a-lik
- 28) TA pa-an GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ aš-šur ez-zu-te u  
e-peš
- 29) MÈ-ia dan-ni šá mu-né-eḥ-ḥa la i-šú-ú
- 30) ip-la-ḥu-ma URU.MEŠ-šú-nu ú-maš-še-ru
- 31) ana KUR-e mar(\*)-ši e-lu-ú EGIR-šú-nu
- 32) ar-ti-di 2 LIM 3 ME GAZ.MEŠ šá ḥa-na-ši-ru-  
ka

ii 59b – iii 27a) I marched to the land Gizilbunda (and) conquered the city Kinaki. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned it. I crossed the mountain of antimony (and) received tribute of teams of horses from Titamaška of the city (iii 5) Sassiašu (and) from Kiara of the city Karsibuta. The brilliance of my rule and mighty attack in battle overwhelmed all of the land Gizilbunda and they abandoned their numerous cities. (iii 10) They entered Uraš, their fortified city, and I surrounded that city, captured it, (and) with the blood of their warriors I dyed their city square red like red wool. I massacred 6,000 of them. (iii 15) I captured Pirišāti, their king, together with 1,200 of his fighting men. I carried off from them countless quantities of booty, possessions, property, oxen, sheep, horses, utensils of silver (and) gold, (and) pieces of bronze. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned. I received tribute from Bēl-āli (iii 20) of the city Šibara. I made my colossal royal statue (and) wrote thereon the victories of Aššur, my lord, praises of my heroic deeds, and all the things which I had achieved in the land Nairi. I erected (it) (iii 25) in Šibara, the fortified city of the Gizilbundaeans.

iii 27b–36) I marched to the land of the Medes. They took fright in the face of the angry weapons of Aššur and of my strong warfare, which have no rival, (iii 30) and abandoned their cities. They ascended a rugged mountain (and) I pursued them. I massacred 2,300 soldiers of Ḥanaširuka the Mede. I took away from him 140 of his cavalry (and) (iii 35) carried away his property and possessions in countless

iii 3 NA<sub>4</sub>.ŠIM.BI.ZI.DA = *guḥlu*. The reading is clear in all exs. and not the old reading *bi-iš-bi-zi-da* (cf. Parpola, Toponyms p. 75). See Meissner, OLZ 17 (1914) 54–55; CAD 5 (G) p. 125; and von Soden, AHw p. 296.

iii 19 <sup>m</sup>EN-URU = *Bēl-āli*. The second sign is clearly URU, not GUR (old reading). Is this his actual name or simply his title?

iii 29 *mu-né-eḥ-ḥa*: see the note to RIMA 2 p. 20 iv 47.

- 33) KUR *ma-ta-a-a* GAZ-uk 1 ME 40 *pit-ḫal-la-šu*  
 34) *lu e-kim-šú NÍG.GA-šú NÍG.ŠU-šú a-na la ma-ni*  
 35) *ú-ter-ra* URU *sag-bi-ta* URU MAN-ti *a-di*  
 36) 1 LIM 2 ME URU.MEŠ-šú *ap-pùl aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL-up*  
 37) *ina ta-a-a-ar-ti-a* KUR-e NA<sub>4</sub> *mu-ši* BAL-at  
 38) <sup>m</sup>*mu-nir-su-ar-ta* KUR *a-ra-zi-áš-a-a a-di*  
 39) 1 LIM 70 *mun-daḫ-ḫi-ši-šú ina GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ ú-šam-qi*t  
 40) ADDA.MEŠ-šú-nu *ḫur-ri na-at-ba-ki šá* KUR-e *lu-ú*  
 41) *ú-mal-li* DUMU.MEŠ-šú-nu DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú-nu NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
 42) NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu UDU *še-ni-šú-nu um-ma-na-at*  
 43) KUR-ia *ma-da-ta lu im-šú-ʾa* URU.MEŠ-šú-nu *ap-pùl*  
 44) *aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL-up ina u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šú-ma ma-da-tú*  
 45) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*si-ra-áš-me* KUR *ba-ba-ru-ra-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ma-ḫar*  
 46) URU *ḫar-mí-iš-an-da-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*za-ri-šú* KUR *pa-ar-sa-ni-a-a*  
 47) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*za-ri-šú* URU *ḫu-un-du-ur-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*sa-na-šu*  
 48) KUR *ki-pa-ba-ru-ta-ka-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*ar-da-ra-a*  
 49) KUR *uš-ta-áš-šá-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*šu-ma-a* KUR *ki-nu-ka-a-a*  
 50) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ta-a-ta-a-i* KUR *gi-in-gi-bir-a-a*  
 51) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*bi-si-ra-in* KUR *a-ri-ma-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*pa-ru-uš-ta*  
 52) KUR *ki-ba-ru-šá-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*áš-pa-áš-ta-ta-uk*  
 53) KUR *ú-i-la-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ma-ma-aš* KUR *ki-in-gi-iš-ti-le-en-za-aḫ-a-a*  
 54) *šá* <sup>m</sup>TAR-*si-ḫu* KUR *ma-ši-ra-uš-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*ma-ma-ni-iš*  
 55) KUR *lu-uk-sa-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*za-an-zar* KUR *di-ma-ma-a-a*  
 56) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*si-ra-a-šú* KUR *si-im-gu-ri-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*gi-iš-ta*  
 57) KUR *ab-da-na-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-da-da-a-nu* KUR *a-sa-ti-a-a*  
 58) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ur-si* KUR *gi-in-ḫu-uḫ-ta-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*ba-a-ra*  
 59) KUR *gi-in-zi-na-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*a-ru-a* KUR *ki-in-du-ta-uš-a-a*  
 60) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ki-ir-na-ku-uš* KUR *dag(?) -ru-ú-a-a šá za-ba-nu*  
 61) KUR *zu-za-ru-ra-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*ir-ti-ša-ti* KUR *gi-in-gír-da-a-a*  
 62) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*ba-ar-zu-ta* KUR *ta-ur-la-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*šu-ú-a*  
 63) KUR *na-ni-tùm-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*sa-ti-ri-a-a šá* <sup>m</sup>*ar-ta-si-ra-ri*

quantities. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned Sagbita, (his) royal city, together with 1,200 of his cities.

iii 37–44a) On my return I crossed the mountain of *mūšu*-stone. I felled with the sword Munirsuarta of the land Araziaš, together with 1,070 of his fighting men, (and) filled (iii 40) the ravines and crevices of the mountain with their corpses. The numerous troops of my land plundered them of their sons, daughters, property, possessions, oxen, (and) sheep. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities.

iii 44b–67a) At that time, by the command of the gods Aššur, Šamaš, (and) Adad, the gods who support me, I imposed tribute and tax of teams of horses forever upon (iii 45) Sirašme of the land Babarura, Amaḫar of the city Ḫarmišanda, Zarišu of the land Parsania, Zarišu of the city Ḫundura, Sanašu of the land Kipabarutaka, Ardarā of the land Uštašša, Šumā of the land Kinuka, (iii 50) Tātāi of the land Gingibira, Bisirain of the land Arima, Parušta of the land Kibaruša, Ašpaštatauk of the land Uila, Amamaš of the land Kingištilenzaḫa, Tarsiḫu of the land Maširauša, Mamaniš (iii 55) of the land Luksa, Zanzar of the land Dimama, Sirāšu of the land Simguria, Gišta of the land Abdana, Adadānu of the land Asatia, Ursa of the land Ginḫuḫta, Bāra of the land Ginzina, Arua of the land Kindutašša, (iii 60) Kirnakuš of the land *Dagrūa*, Zabanu of the land Zuzarura, Irlišati of the land Gingirda, Barzuta of the land Taurila, Šūa of the land Nanituma, Satiriā (and) Artasirari, all the kings of the land Nairi.

iii 33 1 ME 40 = "140": despite a slight chip from the surface of the stone, the numeral 40 seems reasonably certain. In 1 R pl. 30 it was copied as 20 and this is the figure in the older literature.

iii 38 <sup>m</sup>*mu-nir-su-ar-ta*: the sign is clearly *-nir-*, not *-un-* (old reading). Cf. Schott, Vorarbeiten p. 152 n. 4.

iii 53 KUR at the beginning of the line: it is clearly inscribed in the space between cols. ii and iii although it is missing in the copy in 1 R pl. 30.

iii 54 TAR can be read a number of different ways, including *tar*, *kud*, *ḫas*, or *šil*.

iii 60 <sup>m</sup>*ki-ir-na-ku-uš*: the *ki-* is clear and copied correctly in 1 R pl. 31 (cf. Luckenbill). In KB 1 p. 182 it is incorrectly read *di-*.

iii 60 *dag(?) -ru-ú-a-a*: the first sign looks like an archaic *dag-*. The old reading as *kib-* is improbable since that sign has a different shape elsewhere on this stele.

- 64) MAN.MEŠ-ni šá KUR na-<sup>3</sup>i-ri DÜ-šú-nu ina  
qí-bit aš-šur <sup>4</sup>UTU
- 65) <sup>4</sup>IŠKUR DINGIR.MEŠ tik-li-ia GUN ma-da-tú
- 66) ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LAL-at ni-ri a-na u<sub>3</sub>-mi
- 67) ša-ti UGU-šú-nu ú-kin ina UD-šú-ma iš-<tu>  
KUR kúl-la-ar
- 68) KUR-e dan-ni a-di tam-di šá šùl-me <sup>4</sup>UTU-ši  
GIM <sup>4</sup>IŠKUR
- 69) šá-gi-mi UGU-šú-nu áš-gum(\*) pùl-ḫi me-  
lam-me
- 70) UGU-šú-nu at-bu-uk ina 4 ger-ri-a SIG<sub>4</sub>
- Col. iv
- 1) UD 15.KÁM a-na KUR kar-du-ni-áš a-la-ku
- 2) ÍD za-ban e-bir ina bi-rit URU za-ad-di URU  
za-ban
- 3) BAL na-at-bak KUR-e 3 UR.MAḪ.MEŠ  
ṭár<sup>tar</sup>-du-te a-duk
- 4) KUR e-bi-iḫ ab-bal-kit URU me-e-túr-na-at al-  
me
- 5) pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur u <sup>4</sup>AMAR.UTU  
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 6) EN.MEŠ-a is-ḫu-up-šú-nu-ti GÌR.MEŠ-a iṣ-ba-  
tú UN.MEŠ
- 7) ša-tu-nu ú-še-ša-am-ma a-di NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu a-na lib-bi
- 8) KUR-ia ú-bíl-šú-nu-ti a-na UN.MEŠ KUR-ia  
am-nu
- 9) ÍD túr-na-at ina mi-li-šá e-bir URU qar-né-e
- 10) URU MAN-ti-šú a-di 2 ME URU.MEŠ ša li-mi-  
tu-šú ap-pùl aq-qur
- 11) ina IZI GÍBIL KUR ia-al-ma-an ab-bal-kit URU  
di-i<sup>2</sup>-bi-na
- 12) al-me na-mur-rat aš-šur is-ḫu-<up>-šú-nu-ti  
GÌR.MEŠ-ia iṣ-ba-tú
- 13) 3 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ a-di UN.MEŠ-šú-nu  
NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu iš-tú qé-reb
- 14) URU šú-a-tú al-qa-šú-nu-ti URU da-te-e-bir  
URU iz-du-ia
- 15) ša ina a-ḫi URU ga-na-na-ti šak-nu a-di 2 ME  
URU.MEŠ-ni(\*)
- 16) ša li-mi-tu-šú-nu KUR-ud 3 ME 30 GAZ.MEŠ-  
šú-nu a-duk
- 17) šal-la-su-nu NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu  
DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-nu áš-lu-la GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>-šú-nu
- 18) ak-ši-ṭí URU.MEŠ-šú-nu ap-pùl aq-qur ina IZI  
GÍBIL UN.MEŠ šá ina pa-ni GIŠ.TUKUL
- 19) ez-zu-te ip-pár-ši-du a-na URU qé-reb-ti-  
URU.MEŠ-ni URU dan-nu-te-šú-nu
- 20) e-ru-bu URU šú-a-tú a-si-bi ak-ta-šad 5 ME  
GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu a-duk šal-la-su-nu
- 21) NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu DINGIR.MEŠ-šú-  
nu GU<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu UDU še-ni-šú-nu áš-lu-la  
URU

iii 67b–70a) At that time I thundered like the god Adad, the thunderer, over (the people in the area) from Mount Kullar, the mighty mountain, to the sea of the west. I spread over them my awesome light.

iii 70b – iv 10) On my fourth campaign, on the fifteenth day of the month Sivan, I crossed the river Zab enroute to Karduniaš. While traversing the gorge between the cities Zaddi and Zaban I killed three startled lions. I crossed Mount Ebiḫ (and) surrounded the city Mê-turnat. (iv 5) The awesome brilliance of Aššur and Marduk, the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them (and) they submitted to me. I led those people out and brought them with their property (and) gods into my land. I regarded them as people of my land. I crossed the river Turnat in flood (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned Qarnê, (iv 10) a royal city, together with 200 cities in its environs.

iv 11–22a) I crossed Mount Ialman (and) surrounded the city Di<sup>2</sup>bina. The radiance of Aššur overwhelmed them (and) they submitted to me. I took from that city 3,000 troops, together with their people, property, (and) possessions. I conquered the cities Datēbir (and) Izduia, (iv 15) which are beside the city Gannanāte, together with 200 cities in their environs. I massacred 330 of their fighting men (and) carried off from them captives, property, possessions, (and) gods. I cut down their orchards (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities. The people who had fled in the face of my fierce weapons entered Qerebti-ālāni, their fortified city. (iv 20) I surrounded (and) captured that city. I massacred 500 of their fighting men (and) carried off from them captives, property, possessions, gods, oxen, (and) sheep. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the city.

iii 69 áš-gum(\*): text has áš-giš. A derivation from šagāšu (i) “to slay” is improbable since this verb is construed with a direct object. On the other hand šagāmu (u) “to thunder” is construed with an indirect object governed by eli, as here. See CAD 17/1 (Š) pp. 64 and 73.

iv 3 ṭár<sup>tar</sup>-du-te: both the ṭár and tar are clear. Together they do not have the shape of the IK sign (cf. ii 30) for a reading ek-du-te. For ṭardu see von Soden, AHW p. 1381.

iv 13 ÉRIN.MEŠ: the ÉRIN sign is clear. See the note to ii 19.

- 22) *ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI GÍBIL KUR.URI.KI  
DU.A.BÍ ša ul-tu pa-an na-mur-rat*  
23) *GIŠ.TUKUL-ia šam-ru-te e-peš MĒ-ia dan-ni  
ša mu-né-ḥa la TUKU-ú*  
24) *ip-la-ḥu-ma a-na URU.BĀD<sup>d</sup>pap-sukal URU  
MAN-ti ša GIM ú-šal ÍD*  
25) *ina ru-ub-bi A.MEŠ šak-nu-ú a-na qit-ru-ub um-  
ma-na-ti-a*  
26) *la ṭa-bu a-di 4 ME 47 URU.MEŠ-ni ša ina ŠĀ  
e-ru-bu-ni*  
27) *URU šú-a-tú ina mi-tàq-ti-ia lu-ú ak-šud 13  
LIM*  
28) *mu-un-daḥ-ḥi-ši-šú ina GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit  
ÚŠ.MEŠ-šú-nu*  
29) *ki-ma A.MEŠ ÍD re-bit URU-šú-nu lu ú-šar-di  
šal-ma-ta*  
30) *qu-ra-di-šú-nu a-na gu-ru-ni-it lu-ú ag-ru-un*  
31) *3 LIM TI.MEŠ ina qa-<ti> ú-šab-bit GIŠ.NÚ  
MAN-ti-šú GIŠ né-mat MAN-ti-šú*  
32) *ni-šir-ti É.GAL-šú  
MUNUS.ÉRIN.MEŠ.É.GAL.MEŠ-ti-šú  
NÍG.GA-šú*  
33) *NÍG.ŠU-šú DINGIR.MEŠ-šú ú mim-ma ḥi-ši-i<sup>2</sup>-  
ti É.GAL-šú a-na la ma-ni*  
34) *iš-tú qé-reb URU šú-a-tú áš-lu-la šal-lat qu-ra-  
di-šú*  
35) *ki-ma BURU<sub>5</sub>ḪI.A.MEŠ a-na um-ma-na-ti  
KUR-ia*  
36) *lu-ú i-pa-du URU šú-a-tú ap-púl aq-qur ina IZI  
GÍBIL*  
37) <sup>md</sup>*AMAR.UTU-TI-su-iq-bi a-na gi-piš  
ÉRIN.ḪI.<A>.MEŠ-šú*  
38) *it-ta-kil-ma KUR kal-du KUR e-lam-tum KUR  
nam-[ri]*  
39) *KUR a-ru-mu it-ti ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú ma-a<sup>2</sup>-di  
a-na la [ma-ni]*  
40) *id-ka-a a-na e-peš MURUB<sub>4</sub> ú MĒ ina GABA-  
ia it-[ba-a]*  
41) *ina UGU ÍD da-ban ina pu-ut URU.BĀD<sup>d</sup>pap-  
sukal si-dir-ta*  
42) *ša ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ-šú GAR-un it-ti-šú am-daḥ-  
ḥi-iš BAD<sub>5</sub>BAD<sub>5</sub>-šú áš-kun*  
43) *5 LIM gu-ni-šú ú-pel-liq 2 LIM TI.MEŠ ina  
ŠU-te ú-šab-bit*  
44) *1 ME GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-šú 2 ME pit-ḥal-tu-šú É  
EDIN kúl-tar MAN-ti-šú GIŠ.NÚ*  
45) *uš-ma-ni-šú e-kim-šú*

iv 22b–36) All of (the people of) the land Akkad, who had taken fright at the flash of my violent weapons (and) my incontestable mighty warfare and together with (the inhabitants of) 447 cities had entered Dūr-Papsukkal, a royal city which lay like a river meadow (iv 25) in the torrent of waters (and) was not easily accessible for (lit. “was not good for the approach of”) my troops — that city I conquered on my march. I felled 13,000 of its soldiers with the sword, caused their blood to flow like river water in the square of their city, (and) (iv 30) piled up the corpses of their warriors in heaps. I captured 3,000 (soldiers) alive. I carried off from that city its royal bed, its royal couch, the treasure of its palace, its palace women, its property, possessions, gods, and anything desirable in its palace, in countless quantities. Its captured warriors were rounded up (iv 35) like locusts into the army of my land. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned that city.

iv 37–45) Marduk-balātsu-iqbi, trusting in the mass of his army, mustered the lands Chaldaea, Elam, Namri, and Aram, with his multitudinous troops (and) (iv 40) moved forward to wage battle and strife against me. He drew up the battle line of his troops by the River Daban in front of the city Dūr-Papsukkal. I fought with him (and) defeated him. I slaughtered 5,000 of his hordes (and) captured 2,000 alive. I took away from him 100 chariots, 200 cavalry, the pavilion, his royal tent, (and) his camp bed.

iv 23 *mu-né-ḥa*: see the note to RIMA 2 p. 20 iv 47.

iv 24 URU.BĀD-: note that the BĀD sign, as in iv 41, is shaped like the ŠAR sign in iv 29 and not like the BĀD sign in i 48.

iv 24 *ušal nāri*: see Zimmern, ZA 36 (1925) p. 61 n. 1.

iv 33 *ḥi-ši-i<sup>2</sup>-ti*: the sign is clearly aleph (cf. i 4) and not IḪ (cf. iii 53).

iv 37 ÉRIN: see the note to ii 19.

iv 41 URU.BĀD-: see the note to iv 24.

## 2

This text is engraved on a broken stone stele found at the Anu-Adad temple in Aššur. The beginning of the stele is missing but it probably had a dedication to Anu and Adad, or one of the two. The preserved narrative has passages which are duplicates of those in the stele found at Calah (A.O.103.1), bringing events down to the middle of the fourth campaign. The Aššur text then continues with a description of the fourth campaign, followed by the fifth and sixth campaigns. At this point (iv 29') the text begins a new paragraph with "At that time," followed by a space with six ruled but empty lines, showing that the inscription was never finished. The sixth campaign took place late in the reign (812 BC), the year in which the stele must have been carved, and the lateness may account for its never being finished.

## COMMENTARY

The inscription is very badly worn and difficult to read, particularly the cols. on the obverse (i and ii) and reverse (iv). The col. (iii) on the right, narrow, side is a little easier to decipher. This edition depends largely on the readings of Weidner, who, in addition to having access to the original, had Delitzsch's incomplete transliteration of cols. iii and iv and Ass ph 784–87, 3394. I had access only to Ass ph 784–86. Grant Frame examined the original but found it difficult to read because of its condition and poor lighting. Some of the readings in this edition are from his collation.

Fortunately the first two cols. are duplicates of parts of A.O.103.1: A.O.103.2 i 2–56 = A.O.103.1 i 41 – iii 4; in

col. ii of A.O.103.2 only traces are legible until the last ten lines, and these are duplicates of A.O.103.1 iv 36–44. Since the duplication is close, and the decipherment of every word is not possible, this portion of A.O.103.2 has been included in the edition of A.O.103.1, where A.O.103.2 is labelled "ex. 3" in giving variants.

The stele (VA Ass 4511, Ass 6596, Ass ph 784–87, 3394) measures c. 136 cm high in its present state. Weidner, on the basis of the narrowing towards the top, estimated that it originally was at least 250 cm high. It was discovered at the southwest front of the Anu-Adad temple, by the door of room F (eA5IV).

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## TEXT

Cols. i-ii (See A.O.103.1)

Col. iii

Lacuna (c. 65–70 lines)

- 1') [x x x x x x x x] x [x x x]  
2') [x x x x x x] x <sup>1</sup>dan<sup>1</sup>-na [x x x]  
3') [x x x x]-x-nu-ti ina ta-a-a-[ar-ti-ia]  
4') [x x x]-x URU MAN-ti-šú a-di [N]  
5') [UR]U.MEŠ-ni <sup>1</sup>šá li-me-tu<sup>1</sup>-šú ul-[tu pa-an]  
6') [r]a-šub-bat <sup>1</sup>GIŠ.TUKUL<sup>1</sup> aš-šur <sup>1</sup>ek<sup>1</sup>-du-te [ù e-peš]  
7') MĒ-ia dan-ni šá ki-ma x [x x]  
8') ta-a-a-<sup>1</sup>ra<sup>1</sup> la i-du-<sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> [URU.MEŠ-šú-nu]  
9') ú-maš-še-ru-ú-ma a-na URU [x x x]

Cols. i-ii (see A.O.103.1)

Lacuna (c. 65–70 lines)

iii 1'–16') [...] strong [...]. Upon my return, [(the people of) ...], his royal city, together with [N] (5') cities in their environs, abandoned [their cities] in the [face of] the awesomeness of the ferocious weapons of Aššur and my mighty warfare, which, like [...], cannot be repelled (lit. "does not know returning"). They entered [...] (10') their fortified city. I pursued them. I massacred 650 of them (and) (15') took away from them 30 of their cavalry, one chariot, as well as their possessions, property, oxen,

- 10') URU *dan-nu*-[ti<sup>1</sup>-šú-nu *e-ru-b*[u *arkī-šú-nu*]  
 11') *ar-te-di* 6 ME 50 GAZ.MEŠ-šú-[nu a]-[duk<sup>1</sup>]  
 12') 30 *pit-ḫal-la-šú-nu* [1]-it [GIŠ<sup>1</sup>.GIGIR  
 13') *it-ti* NÍG.GA-šú-nu NÍG.ŠU-šú-nu  
 14') GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu [UDU<sup>1</sup> *še-ni-šú-nu*  
 15') *e-kim-šú-nu-ti* [URU<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu  
 16') *ap-púl* [aq<sup>1</sup>-*qur ina* [IZI<sup>1</sup> *áš-ru-up*  
 17') *ina* 5 *ge*[r-r]*i-ia šá-n*[u-u]*t-te-šú*  
 18') *a-na* KUR *kar-du-ni-áš lu al-lik*  
 19') ÍD *za-ban e-bir* KUR *e-bi-iḫ ab-bal-kit*  
 20') [ÍD<sup>1</sup> *túr-na-at ina mi-li-šá e-bir*  
 21') URU *qa-i-x-na* URU *pa-ad-nu* URU *ma*-[kur-  
*re*<sup>1</sup>-*te*  
 22') 3 URU.MEŠ-[ni<sup>1</sup> URU MAN-[ti<sup>1</sup>-šú *a-di* 2 ME  
 50 URU.MEŠ-ni  
 23') *šá* [li<sup>1</sup>-*me-tu-šú-nu ap-púl*<sup>1</sup> *aq-qur ina* IZI [áš-  
*ru-up*<sup>1</sup>  
 24') KUR *ḫa-ši-lmur ab-bal*<sup>1</sup>-*kit* <sup>md</sup>AMAR.UTU-TI-  
*su-iq-bi*  
 25') MAN KUR *kar*-[du-ni<sup>1</sup>-*áš na-mur-rat aš-šur*  
 EN-*ia*  
 26') [is-ḫu<sup>1</sup>-*pu-šú*<sup>1</sup>-*ma ù e-peš* MÈ-*ia dan-ni*  
 27') *šá mu-né*-[ḫa *la*<sup>1</sup> *i-šú-ú ip-láḫ-ma ina mu-ši-te*  
 28') *sa-lim-t*[i] x x URU *ga-na-na-a-te*  
 29') URU *dan*-[nu-ti-šú<sup>1</sup> *ú-maš-šir-ma a-na*  
 30') *šú-zu*-[ub ZI<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú *a-na* URU *né*-[mer<sup>1</sup>-*ti*-  
 MAN  
 31') *e-ru*-[ub EGIR<sup>1</sup>-šú *ar-te-di* GAZ.[MEŠ-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 32') *a-duk* [GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-šú *pit-ḫal*-[lu<sup>1</sup>-šú *ú*-  
 [nu-ut<sup>1</sup>  
 33') [MÈ<sup>1</sup>-[šú] [e-kim<sup>1</sup>-šú *ina qé-reb* URU-šú *mit*-  
 [ḫu-su<sup>1</sup>  
 34') *lu aš-kun di-ik*-[tu<sup>1</sup> *ina* [KÁ.GAL<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 35') [a<sup>1</sup>-[duk] GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú *ak-šit* 2 ME 45  
 36') [URU.MEŠ-ni<sup>1</sup> *šá li-me-tu-šú ap-púl aq-qur*  
 37') *ina* [IZI<sup>1</sup> *áš-ru-up a-na* KUR *de-e-ri*  
 38') *lu* [al-lik UR]U.BÀD.DINGIR.KI *ma-ḫa-zu*  
 GAL-*a*  
 39') *šá* [kīma ki]-[šir KUR<sup>1</sup>-*e šur-šú-da iš-da-šú*  
 40') *a*-[x x (x)] [la(?) *um*(?)-*ma*(?)-*na*(?)<sup>1</sup>-*ti-ia*  
 41') UR[U(?) x x] x [bu URU *šú-a*<sup>1</sup>-[tu] *al-mi*  
 42') [ak-šú-ud<sup>1</sup> AN.GAL <sup>a</sup>*na-na-a* <sup>a</sup>GAŠAN-URU-*de*-  
 ri  
 43') <sup>a</sup>DUMU-É-šá-*pa-an-É* <sup>a</sup>DUMU-É-  
 44') *šá-bi-rit*-ÍD <sup>a</sup>*bu-ru-qu*  
 45') <sup>a</sup>*gu-la* <sup>a</sup>*ur-ki-tu* <sup>a</sup>*šú-ka-ni-ia*  
 46') <sup>a</sup>*né-er-e-tag-mil* <sup>a</sup>*sak-kud*  
 47') *šá* URU *bu-bé-e* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut*  
 48') URU.BÀD.DINGIR.KI *a-di* NÍG.GA-šú-nu  
 Lacuna  
 Col. iv  
 Lacuna  
 1') [...] x [...]  
 2') [...] [<sup>m</sup>]<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UT[U-*balātsu-iqbi*(?)]

(and) sheep. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned their cities.

iii 17'–37'a) On my fifth campaign I marched for a second time to Karduniaš. I crossed the river Zab, traversed Mount Ebiḫ, (and) (20') crossed the river Turnat in flood. I razed, destroyed, (and) burned the cities Qai...na, Padnu, (and) Makurrete, three of his royal cities, together with 250 cities in their environs. I crossed Mount Ḫašimur. (25') The splendour of Aššur, my lord, overwhelmed Marduk-balātsu-iqbi, the king of Karduniaš, and, taking fright of my mighty warfare, which has no rival, he abandoned Gannanāte, his fortified city, in the still (lit. "friendliness") of the night. To (30') save his life he entered the city Nēmetti-šarri (and) I pursued him. I slaughtered his (people) (and) took from him his chariots, cavalry, (and) battle equipment. I pressed the battle right inside his city and carried out a massacre at its gate. (35') I cut down his orchards (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned 245 cities in its environs.

iii 37'b–48') I marched to Dēr. Dēr, the great city whose foundations are as firm as bedrock, (40') ..., I surrounded (and) captured that city. [I carried off] the deities Anu-rabū, Nannai, Šarrat-Dēr, Mār-bīti-šapān-bīti, Mār-bīti-ša-birīt-nāri, Burruqu, (45'), Gula, Urkītu, Šukāniia, Nēr-e-tagmil, Sakkud of the city Bubê — the gods who dwell in Dēr — together with their property, [...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

iv 1'–10') [...] *Mardu*[*k-balātsu-iqbi* ...] rescued him and [...]. (5') He attacked to wage war [and] strife

iii 27' *mu-né*-[ḫa<sup>1</sup>]; see the note to RIMA 2 p. 20 iv 47.

iii 28' Schramm, followed by CAD 15 (S) p. 105a, reads: *sa-lim-t*[i] *ina pil-še*, on analogy with A.O.102.5 v 1. In A.O.102.5 v 1 the verb used with *ina pilše* is *ūši*, not *umaššir*.

iii 43'–44' Cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 165 n. 1002.

- 3') [x x x (x) e-ſ]i-ir-šú-ma [x x x x]  
 4') [x x x (x)]-ma a-<sup>l</sup>na<sup>1</sup> e-pe[š] <sup>1</sup>MURUB<sub>4</sub> <sup>1</sup>[u] <sup>1</sup>MÉ<sup>1</sup>  
 5') ina <sup>1</sup>GABA<sup>1</sup> ÉRIN.ĤI.A.-ia <sup>1</sup>ir<sup>1</sup>-ba-a<sup>md</sup>x-[x-x]  
 6') a-<sup>l</sup>di<sup>1</sup> ÉRIN.MEŠ EN ĥi-ti šá i[t-t]i-šú<sup>1</sup>  
 7') ba[l-ſ]u-su-nu ina ŠU ú-ša-bit ina URU.NINA  
 8') URU tuk-<sup>1</sup>la-te<sup>1</sup>-ia ina x-ia lu <sup>1</sup>ar(?)<sup>1</sup>-[x-x]  
 9') bal-tu-<sup>1</sup>su-nu<sup>1</sup> x x [x] x [x] <sup>1</sup>ú(?)<sup>1</sup>-bal(?)<sup>1</sup>-[x]  
 10') <sup>1</sup>KUŠ(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ-šú-n[u] a-<sup>l</sup>ku-uš<sup>1</sup> x [x] x <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> x [x]  
 11') i-na 6 [ger-ri-ia a-n]a KUR kar-du-n[i-áš]  
 12') lu al-li[k ID za-ban e-bir] <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [e-bi]<sup>1</sup>-iĥ ab<sup>1</sup>-[bal-ki<sup>1</sup>]  
 13') ID <sup>1</sup>túr<sup>1</sup>-[na-at ina] <sup>1</sup>mi<sup>1</sup>-[li-ša e-bir]  
 14') <sup>md</sup>ba-ba<sup>6</sup>-<sup>1</sup>PAP-AŠ<sup>1</sup> [...]ni i[t-t]i(?)<sup>1</sup>-šú  
 15') ina URU ni-<sup>1</sup>bu(?)<sup>1</sup>-[x] <sup>1</sup>e(?)<sup>1</sup>-sir(?)<sup>1</sup>-[šú URU] <sup>1</sup>šu-a-tú ina pi<sup>1</sup>-šī  
 16') ù GIŠ na-pi-l[i] <sup>1</sup>si-mil(?)<sup>1</sup>-[ti(?) ak]-šud <sup>md</sup>ba-ba<sup>6</sup>-PAP-AŠ  
 17') a-di <sup>d</sup>ÜR<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>GAL<sup>1</sup> a-<sup>l</sup>lik pa<sup>1</sup>-ni-šu DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
 18') DUMU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú  
 [MUNUS(?)<sup>1</sup>.É(?)<sup>1</sup>.G]AL.MEŠ-šú x.[x].MEŠ-šú  
 19') bal-tu-ti ina [ŠU ú-ša-b]it x [x x]-šú  
 20') ù É.GAL [...] <sup>1</sup>AN.NA<sup>1</sup>  
 21') AN.BAR A.BÁR x [... NA<sub>4</sub>.M]EŠ  
 22') <sup>1</sup>KUR-i<sup>1</sup> na-as-qu-<sup>1</sup>te NA<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> [...]  
 23') NA<sub>4</sub> sa-<sup>2</sup>a-ra-t[e ...]  
 24') ĥu-še-e ZABAR.ME[Š x (x)] <sup>1</sup>DI(?)<sup>1</sup> [x x] AN.BA[R(?)]  
 25') KUŠ AM.SI ZÚ AM.SI GI[Š.x G]IŠ.TÚG [x x] i x  
 26') GIŠ e-lam-ma-ku GIŠ ta-ti-du GIŠ NÚ <sup>1</sup>ZÚ(?)<sup>1</sup>  
 27') GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TUKUL šá KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.GI uĥ-ĥa-<sup>1</sup>zu(?)<sup>1</sup>-ma aq-ru  
 28') ĥi-ših-ti MAN-ti it-ti šal-<sup>1</sup>lat<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú  
 29') ma-<sup>2</sup>a-te a-na la ma-ni al-qa-a ina u<sub>4</sub>-mi-šú-ma

against my troops. I captured alive [*Marduk-balātsu-iqbi*], together with the criminal troops who were with him. I [... them] in Nineveh, my faithful city, I ... [them] alive, (and) stripped off their skin. ...

iv 11'–29'a) On my sixth [campaign] I marched to Karduniaš. [I crossed the river Zab], traversed Mount [Eb]iĥ, (and) [crossed] the river Tur[nat in] flood. Baba-aĥa-iddina, [together with the troops who were] with him, (15') I confined in the city Nibu... I captured that [city] by tunnels, battering rams, (and) ladders. I captured alive Baba-aĥa-iddina, together with the divine standard which goes before him, his sons, his daughters, his [palace women], (and) his [...]. His [...] (20') and palace [...], tin, iron, lead, [...], precious stones of the mountain, [...] stone, stone *sa'aru*, [...] strips of bronze, [...] of iron, (25') elephant hides, elephant tusks, [...] wood, boxwood, [...], *elammakku*-wood, *tatidu*-wood, a bed made of ivory (and) ebony, a precious sword with silver (and) gold mountings, royal accoutrements — I took (these) with the excessively abundant booty of his land.

iv 29'b) At that time, (text not completed)

## 3

Parts of an inscription, preserved on a piece of stone stela from Aššur, duplicate at least some of A.O.103.1. Since the piece was found in the Aššur temple, it was probably dedicated to that deity. Unfortunately the present location of the stone is unknown but Schramm was able to decipher several lines from the published photo and noted that they duplicated A.O.103.1 iii 18–31. This portion is on the second of two columns on the obverse but, since the text did not continue on the reverse, which is uninscribed according to Haller, it may have been just a duplicate of A.O.103.1. In any case, the fact

iv 8' ina x-ia: Schramm suggests either *ina* <sup>1</sup>ŠU(?)<sup>1</sup>-ia “with my hand” or <sup>1</sup>KÁ(?)<sup>1</sup>-ia “at my gate.”

iv 8' At the end of the line Weidner suggests restoring *ar-[ku-su-nu-ti]* “I bound them.”

iv 16' Weidner reads *na-pi-[i a-s]i-b[i ak]-šud*, and cf. Brinkman, PKB p. 211 n. 1314.

iv 23' Weidner restores [*unūt kaspi ĥurāši*].

iv 27' GIŠ.TUKUL: this seems to be the obvious reading, given the attributes which follow. In any case, GIŠ.TÚG was already mentioned in iv 25'.



that there is no inscription on the reverse indicates that it could not join A.O.103.2. The published photo is virtually illegible and the text cannot be edited here although enough of Schramm's transliteration could be collated to confirm his identification.

### COMMENTARY

The fragment (Ass 17137a, Ass ph 5313) measures 83×20+ cm and it was discovered in the forecourt of the Neo-Assyrian temple of Aššur behind the northeast tower. Another piece of stone stele was found in the same area (Ass 17137) but no photo was published. Haller says that the inscription is illegible. There is a

confusion of numbers in Haller, *Heiligtümer* pl. 58c, where, as Schramm observes, the top photo must be of Ass 17137a, not Ass 17137 (see *ibid.* p. 66). Haller believed that Ass 17137 and Ass 17137a came from the same object.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1955 Haller, *Heiligtümer* p. 66 and pl. 58c (photo, provenance)  
1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 pp. 107–108 (study)

## 4

This text is a fragment of a "letter from a god," no doubt Aššur, to Šamši-Adad. Letters to gods from Assyrian kings are known but letters from gods are quite rare. This text has an unusual format. First the god narrates what the king has reported to him about a campaign, and this narrative, which is a quotation, is in first person. Then the god says he had commanded the campaign to take place as it did and he repeats the narrative, but now in second person. This text, then, seems to be an oracle in which the god through a diviner reminds the king of his support in the past as a prelude to announcing what he will do in future.

When the fragmentary text begins, it is in the midst of a narrative of the fifth campaign (lines 1'–20') and some restoration can be made from a parallel passage in A.O.103.2 (iii 29'–48'//A.O.103.4 lines 2'–9'). The text continues (lines 21'–34') with more military narrative and this is presumably a description of the sixth campaign (812 BC), although it does not match what is preserved for the sixth campaign in A.O.103.2 (iv 11'–29'). Thus the text was composed quite late in the reign (the reign ended in 811 BC).

### COMMENTARY

The tablet fragment (VAT 9628) measures 9×9.3+ cm and the provenance is unknown. The inscription has been collated by Grant Frame. Another tablet fragment,

K 14676, which is commonly mentioned in connection with VAT 9628, may be from the time of Esarhaddon (cf. von Soden, *NABŪ* 1990 no. 22).

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1922 Schroeder, *KAH* 2 no. 142 (copy)  
1933–34 Weidner, *AfO* 9 pp. 101–104 (edition)  
1936 Nougayrol, *RA* 36 p. 33 n. 4 (study)  
1960 Oppenheim, *JNES* 19 p. 145 n. 22 (study)  
1971 Borger, *RLA* 3/8 pp. 575–76 (study)  
1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 109 (study)  
1980 Grayson, *Orientalia* 49 p. 158 n. 88 (study)  
1983 Grayson, *JAOS* 103 pp. 147–48 (study)  
1989 Livingstone, *SAA* 3 no. 41 (edition)

## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x x x [...]  
 2') [a-na šu-z]u-ub ZI.MEŠ-š[ú ...]  
 3') [GAZ.ME]Š-šú ta-du-ak GIŠ.GIGI[R.MEŠ-šu ...]  
 4') [ina q]é-reb URU-šú mit-ḫu-šu t[a-ssakan ...]  
 5') 1<sup>21</sup> ME 5<sup>16</sup> URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-t[ú-šu ...]
- 
- 6') ša taš-pu-ra-an-ni ma a-na URU de-<sup>1</sup>e-ri<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 7') ša ki-ma ki-šir KUR-e šur-šu-da SUḪUŠ.MEŠ-šú x [...]  
 8') ma-a URU šú-a-tum al-te-me ak-ta-šad ma-a [...]  
 9') a-di NÍG.GA-šú-nu ma-a 'di ma-a NÍG.GA É.GAL [...]  
 10') GIŠ.NÚ MAN-ti-šu ni-šir-ti É.GAL-šú MUNUS.[...]  
 11') ma-a 30 LIM šal-la-su-nu ma-a GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú [...]  
 12') ma-a 4 ME 76 URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tú-šú ma-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 13') ina pi-i DINGIR-ti-ia GAL-ti it-tuq-ta [...]  
 14') [UR]U de-e-ru ma-ḫa-zu GAL-a ša ki-ma k[i-šir ...]  
 15') [URU] šú-a-tum ta-al-<sup>1</sup>ti-me ta<sup>1</sup>-ak-t[a-šad ...]  
 16') [adi] NÍG<sup>1</sup>.GA-šú-nu [...]  
 17') [GI]Š né-mat-ti MAN-ti-šu ni-ši[r-ti ekallīšu ...]  
 18') [DU]MU.MUNUS.MEŠ-šú 30 LIM šal-la-su-n[u ...]  
 19') 1<sup>41</sup> ME 76 URU.MEŠ-ni [...]  
 20') ta-ta-pal ta-ta-qar [...]
- 
- 21') ša taš-pu-ra-an-ni ma-a UN.MEŠ [...]  
 22') ma-a TA pa-an na-mur-rat aš-šur [...]  
 23') ip-la-ḫu-ma ma-a URU.MEŠ-ni-šú-nu 1<sup>ú</sup>-[mašširūma ...]  
 24') ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu ma a-na KUR.ELAM.MA.KI pa-ni-šú-n[u ...]  
 25') ma-a a-di URU É-bu-na-ki ša mi-ši[r ...]  
 26') ma-a GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu i-du-ku ma-a šal-la-s[u-nu ...]  
 27') GU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú-nu še-ni-šú-nu ú-te-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup>-ni ma-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 28') [i]p-<sup>1</sup>pu<sup>1</sup>-lu iq-qu-ru ina IZI [...]  
 29') [ina pi]-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup> DINGIR-ti-a GAL-ti it-tuq-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup> [...]  
 30') [TA pa-an n]a-mur-rat aš-šur ip-la-ḫ[u-ma ...]  
 31') [ana šuzub] ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu a-na [...]  
 32') [ištu URU pa]r(?)<sup>1</sup>-sa-maš a-di x [...]  
 33') [GAZ.MEŠ-šú-n]u i-du-ku ša[<sup>1</sup>-lassunu ...]  
 34') [...-n]u 1<sup>ú</sup>-te-r[u-...]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

1'–5') [(By the command of my great divinity it came about that): ... To] save his (Marduk-balāšus-iqbi) life [he entered the city Nēmetti-šarri (and) you pursued him]. You slaughtered his (people) (and) [took from him his] chariots, [cavalry, (and) battle equipment]. You [pressed] the battle right inside his city (and) [carried out a massacre at its gate. You cut down his orchards (and) razed, destroyed, (and) burned 2]56 cities in [its] environs.

6'–12') With regard to what you wrote to me, as follows: “[I marched] to Dēr. [Dēr, the great city] whose foundations are as firm as bedrock, [...] I surrounded (and) captured that city. [I carried off ...] together with their great property, the property of the palace, [...], (10') his royal couch, the treasury of his palace, [his palace] women, [...] his daughters], 30,000 captives, oxen, [sheep, ... I razed, destroyed, and burned] 476 cities in its environs.”

13'–20') By the command of my great divinity it came about that: [You marched to Dēr]. Dēr, the great city whose [foundations are as firm] as bedrock, [...] (15') you surrounded (and) captured that [city. You carried off ... together with] their [great] property, [the property of the palace, ...], his royal couch, the treasury [of his palace, his palace women, ...], his daughters, 30,000 captives, [oxen, sheep, ...]. You razed, destroyed, (and) [burned 4]76 cities [in its environs].

21'–28') With regard to what you wrote to me, as follows: “The people of [...] took fright in the face of the radiance of Aššur [...] and [abandoned] their cities. [To save] their lives [they set] out for Elam. They massacred people [from the city Parsamaš] to the city Bīt-Bunakki, which is on the border of [...]. They carried off hostages, [...], oxen, (and) sheep. [...] They razed, destroyed, (and) burned [...].”

29'–34') [By the] command of my great divinity it came about that: “[The people of ...] took fright [in the face of] the radiance of Aššur [and abandoned] their cities. To save] their lives [they set out for Elam]. They massacred people [from the city Pa]rsamaš to [the city Bīt-Bunakki, which is on the border of ...]. They carried off hostages, [...], oxen, (and) sheep ... They razed, destroyed, (and) burned [...].”

## Lacuna

## 5

A number of small inscribed cylinders of precious materials were found at Aššur and several of these have inscriptions of Šamši-Adad V or Adad-nārārī III dedicating them to the goddess Bēlat-paršī. Several distinct text types are evident among the inscriptions of Šamši-Adad V and they are edited as A.O.103.5–8. Those of Adad-nārārī III are edited as A.O.104.10–11.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	Ass ph number	Material	Galter number	cpn
1	See commentary	—	Ass 1200a	—	Lapis lazuli	11	—
2	See commentary	—	Ass 1200b	—	Lapis lazuli	12	—
3	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202a	—	Alabaster	13	n
4	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202b	—	Alabaster	14	n
5	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202f	—	Alabaster	15	n
6	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202g	—	Alabaster	16	n
7	VA Ass 2281	—	Ass 12885	3210	Lapis lazuli?	17	c
8	BM 102405	1906-10-13,2	—	—	Alabaster?	18	c
9	Private possession	—	—	—	Bone/ivory?	—	c

## COMMENTARY

Since the inscription is very short and several exs. could not be located or collated, no scores are given. A detailed discussion of the provenances will be found in Galter. The cylinder published by Donbaz with the

museum number EŠ 5172 could be either ex. 1 or ex. 2. The measurements of ex. 8 are 5.3 cm long and 0.8 cm in diameter. The measurements of ex. 9 are 5.4 cm long and 0.9 cm in diameter.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1904 Andrae, MDOG 22 pp. 19 and 21 (provenance)  
 1908 Andrae, MDOG 36 pp. 37–38 (provenance)  
 1911 Messerschmidt, KAH 1 no. 31 (exs. 1–6, copy)  
 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§727–28 (translation)  
 1973 Brinkman, JNES 32 pp. 44–45 no. 2 (ex. 9, copy, edition)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 109 (study)

- 1986 Pedersén, Archives 2 p. 30 n. 5 (provenance)  
 1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11–30 nos. 11–18 (exs. 1–9, edition)  
 1991 Donbaz, NABU no. 107 (edition)  
 1994 Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 16 pp. 246–47 (ex. 9, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *ana* <sup>4</sup>NIN-GARZA.MEŠ NIN-šú  
 2) <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 GAR <sup>4</sup>BAD ŠID AŠ  
 3) A <sup>4</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ ŠID AŠ  
 4) A AŠ-PAB-A ŠID AŠ-ma  
 5) *ana* TI-šú BA

1–5) To the goddess Bēlat-paršī, his mistress, has Šamši-Adad, appointee of the god Enlil (and) vice-regent of Aššur, son of Shalmaneser (III), vice-regent of Aššur, son of Ashurnasirpal (II) (who was) also vice-regent of Aššur, dedicated (this) for his life.

1.8 omits NIN-šú "his mistress."

4-ma is omitted by either exs. 1 or 2.

## 6

This is another text inscribed on small cylinders from Aššur (see A.0.103.5).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Excavation number	Ass ph number	Material	Galter number	cpn
1	Unlocated	Ass 1202h	—	Alabaster	19	n
2	VA Ass 1734	Ass 12884	3210	Lapis lazuli	20	c
3	Private possession	—	—	?	—	c

## COMMENTARY

As with A.0.103.5, no scores are given for this text. Regarding the provenance and a fuller bibliography, see A.0.103.5.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1911 Messerschmidt, KAH 1 no. 32 (ex. 1, copy)  
1973 Brinkman, JNES 32 pp. 44–45 (ex. 3, copy, edition)

1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11–30 nos. 19–20 (exs. 1–3, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *ana* <sup>d</sup>NIN-GARZA.MEŠ
- 2) NIN-šú <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 MAN KUR AŠ
- 3) A <sup>d</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN KUR AŠ
- 4) A AŠ-PAB-A MAN KUR AŠ-*m*[a]
- 5) [*ana*] TI-šú B[A]

1–5) To the goddess Bēlat-paršī, his mistress, has Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser (III), king of Assyria, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), (who was) also king of Assyria, dedicated (this) [for] his life.

## 7

This is another text inscribed on small cylinders from Aššur (see A.0.103.5). Although there is no genealogy, this is clearly dedicated by Šamši-Adad V since the text is so similar to A.0.103.5 and 6.

2.2 GAR <sup>d</sup>[...] “appointee of the god [Enlil]” instead of MAN KUR AŠ “king of Assyria.”

5 The line is preserved only on ex. 3. Messerschmidt’s copy of ex. 1 shows no evidence of this line, but the remaining space on ex. 2 suggests that this line was once present.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Excavation number	Ass ph number	Material	Galter number	cpn
1	Unlocated	Ass 1200e	—	Lapis lazuli	21	n
2	Unlocated	Ass 1202e	—	Alabaster	22	n
3	VA Ass 1731	Ass 12881a	3210	Magnesite	23	c
4	VA Ass 1731	Ass 12881c	3210	Magnesite	24	c

## COMMENTARY

As with A.0.103.5, no scores are given for this text. Regarding the provenance and a fuller bibliography, see A.0.103.5. Exs. 3–4 are heavily encrusted and

difficult to read so that their identity with this text is uncertain.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1911 Messerschmidt, KAH I no. 33 (exs. 1–2, copy)  
 1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11–30 nos. 21–24 (exs. 1–4, edition)

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) <i>ana</i> <sup>d</sup> NIN-GARZA.MEŠ | 1–3) To the goddess Bēlat-paršī, his mistress, has    |
| 2) NIN-šú <sup>m</sup> šam-ši-10         | Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, dedicated (this) for his |
| 3) MAN KUR AŠ <i>ana</i> TI-šú BA        | life.   |

## 8

This text, engraved on a small cylinder of limestone from Aššur, is an abbreviated version of A.0.103.5–7 (q.v.).

## COMMENTARY

The cylinder (EŠ 4232) is 2.5 cm long and 0.8 cm in diameter. The text has been collated by Veysel Donbaz.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1991 Donbaz, NABU no. 107 (edition)

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) <i>ana</i> <sup>d</sup> NIN-GARZA.MEŠ NI[N-šú] | 1–4) To the goddess Bēlat-paršī, [his] mistress, has |
| 2) (traces)                                       | [Šamši-Adad], son of Shalmaneser (III), son of       |
| 3) A šùl-ma-nu-MAŠ                                | Ashurnasirpal (II), (dedicated this).                |
| 4) A AŠ-PAB-A                                     |  |

## 9

This text is inscribed on bricks found at Nineveh and at Aššur and on a piece of clay cone found at Nineveh (ex. 15). It is also engraved on the sarcophagus of Šamši-Adad V discovered at Aššur (ex. 14); one of the inscribed bricks (ex. 12) was found with the sarcophagus. The title “king of Sumer (and) Akkad” indicates that the text was composed after the beginning of the invasions of Babylonia (814–811 BC), that is, late in the reign, a fact borne out by its use for the royal grave.

Another text of this king on bricks was incorporated with a text of Adad-nārārī III, since the latter monarch completed work on the palace at Nineveh which Šamši-Adad had begun. This text is edited as A.O.104.13.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	Provenance	Publication reference	cpn
1	BM 45607	81-7-1,3396	—	Nineveh?	CBI no. 161	c
2	BM 123525	1932-12-10,468	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 161	c
3	BM 128162	1929-10-12,818	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 161	c
4	BM 128189	1929-10-12,845	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 161	c
5	BM 137435	R 55	—	—	CBI no. 161	c
6	BM 137464	1929-10-12,175	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 161	c
7	BCM 352 '79	—	—	Nineveh	CBI no. 161	c
8	BCM 353 '79	—	—	Nineveh	AAA 18 no. 44	c
9	BCM 354 '79	—	—	Nineveh	AAA 18 no. 44	c
10	BCM A57 '87	—	—	Nineveh	—	c
11	BCM A58 '87	—	—	Nineveh	—	c
12	Unlocated	—	Ass 22864	Aššur	MDOG 54 p. 41	n
13	Unlocated	—	—	Aššur?	RT 22 p. 37c	n
14	VA Ass 2282	—	—	Aššur	MDOG 54 p. 40	n
15	BM 128379	1932-12-10,636	—	Nineveh	AAA 19 no. 107	c

## COMMENTARY

Note that Thompson, Arch. 79 nos. 114 and 119 are composite texts and some of the fragments used may be identical with some of exs. 3–4 and 6–11. Further note that Thompson, AAA 18 no. 44 is a text composed from five exs., two of which are exs. 8–9. The sarcophagus

(ex. 14) is on display in Berlin but the inscription is not on the visible portions so that it could not be collated. The inscription on the clay cone fragment was at one time ascribed to Shalmaneser III, but it clearly belongs here.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

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 1914 Andrae, MDOG 54 pp. 37–41 (exs. 12, 14, transliteration)  
 1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 p. 123 and pl. XLVI nos. 114 and 119 (copy)  
 1931 Thompson, AAA 18 p. 100 and pl. XX no. 44 (copy)  
 1932 Thompson, AAA 19 p. 103 and pl. LXXIII no. 107 (ex. 15, copy)  
 1954 Haller, Gräber pp. 173–76 and pl. 41d (exs. 12, 14, study)

- 1965 Seux, RA 59 p. 16 (edition)  
 1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 527 (ex. 15, study)  
 1968 Brinkman, PKB p. 213 n. 1323 (study)  
 1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 65 (ex. 15, study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 96 (ex. 15, study) and 109–10 (study)  
 1981 Walker, CBI no. 161 (exs. 1–9, edition)  
 1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 pp. 10, 12, and 14 (study)

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup> UTU-ši- <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR LUGAL <i>dan-nu</i>       | 1–4) Palace of Šamši-Adad, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, king of Sumer (and)    |
| 2) LUGAL ŠĀR LUGAL KUR <i>aš-šur</i> LUGAL KUR <i>šu-me-ri</i> URI.KI       | Akkad, son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), (who was) also |
| 3) A <sup>md</sup> šùl- <i>ma-nu</i> -MAŠ LUGAL <i>kib-rat</i> 4- <i>ti</i> | king of the universe and king of Assyria.   |
| 4) A <sup>m</sup> <i>aš-šur</i> -PAB-A LUGAL ŠĀR LUGAL KUR <i>aš-šur-ma</i> |   |

## 10

This broken text is on a piece of an ivory strip found at Calah.

## COMMENTARY

The ivory strip (ND 10152) was found in SW 37 and is now presumably in the Iraq Museum. It measures 9×3.6+ cm and the inscription was collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1962 Oates, Iraq 24 p. 3 (translation)          | translation)                       |
| 1966 Mallowan, Nimrud 2 pp. 594 and 596 (photo, | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 110 (study) |

## TEXT

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1) <sup>m</sup> <i>šam-ši</i> -10 MAN KUR AŠ A <sup>md</sup> šùl- <i>[mānu-ašarēd šar māt aššur]</i> | 1–3) Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, son of Shal[maneser (III), king of Assyria], son of |
| 2) A <sup>m</sup> AŠ-PAB-A MAN KUR AŠ- <i>ma</i> GIŠ.†GU.ZA† [...]                                   | Ashurnasirpal (II), (who was) also king of Assyria: throne [...]                      |
| 3) <i>a-x</i> [...]  |   |
| Lacuna   | Lacuna  |

## 2001

An amulet of blue stone found at Byblos has a cuneiform inscription indicating that it belonged to an official of Šamši-Adad, certainly the fifth king of this name. Most of the inscription consists of incantations of the Lamaštu type, but the first three lines, which are edited here, record the name and titles of the owner. The name, which is badly broken, seems to reappear later in the text (line 7). Regarding Ili-ittīia see Brinkman, who quotes Reiner as having proposed the reading of the official's name.

## COMMENTARY

The amulet (Byblos 19041) measures c. 7.8x9.4+ cm and the inscription has been collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1969 Dossin, MUSJ 45 pp. 250–55 (copy, edition)   | 1976 Grayson, ARI 2 p. 64 n. 262 (study) |
| 1971 Nougayrol, RA 65 pp. 173–74 (photo, edition) | 1980–83 Farber, RLA 6 p. 441 (study)     |
| 1973 Brinkman, JNES 32 p. 46 (study)              | 1987 Grayson, RIMA 2 p. 117 (study)      |
| 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 110 (study)                |  |

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) šá <sup>m</sup> DINGIR- <sup>l</sup> it(?) <sup>-ti(?)</sup> l- <sup>l</sup> ia(?) | 1–3) Property of Ili-ittīia, eunuch of Šamši-Adad,    |
| 2) LÚ.SAG šá <sup>m</sup> UTU-š <sup>i</sup> - <sup>d</sup> IŠKUR                     | king of Assyria, governor of the city Baltil (Aššur). |
| 3) MAN KUR aš-šur.KI GAR.KUR URU <i>bal-til</i>                                       |   |



# Adad-nārārī III

A.0.104

Adad-nārārī (810–783 BC) inherited an empire that was already suffering serious problems and by the end of his reign the Assyrian state was on the decline. A number of military endeavours took place during his rule, notably the capture of Damascus, and several building projects were carried out (see Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 pp. 271–76). A salient feature of the reign is the prominence of some Assyrian officials whose influence was so great that their names and deeds were recorded in royal inscriptions (see A.0.104.2, 6–7, and 9). A special discussion of these officials follows this introduction. A most unusual aspect of the reign is the high profile of the queen mother, Semiramis, whose name appears in royal inscriptions (A.0.104.3 and cf. A.0.104.2002) and who even had her own inscribed stele (A.0.104.2001).

The atypical nature of the reign is apparent when one turns to the royal inscriptions. Only the beginning of one real annals text is preserved (A.0.104.1). On the other hand, records of royal campaigns are inscribed on boundary stones in which are recorded the circumstances surrounding the decisions on the boundaries (A.0.104.2–3 and cf. 4–5).

Adad-nārārī's building enterprises were spread over the main Assyrian cities. He worked at Calah (A.0.104.1, 8, and 19) and carried out extensive repairs to Fort Shalmaneser (A.0.104.17–18). At Nineveh he completed the palace begun by Šamšī-Adad V (A.0.104.13, 15–16) and worked on the temples of Ištar (A.0.104.1002) and Nabû (A.0.104.14). Inscribed bricks of his from the Aššur temple at Aššur attest to construction there (A.0.104.12 and cf. 21) and precious stones with dedications to the goddess Bēlat-paršī show his concern for her shrine (A.0.104.10–11).

The activities of Adad-nārārī in Babylonia are narrated in the *Synchronistic History* (see Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 169 iv 15–22) and his name appears, of course, in the *Assyrian King List* (see Grayson, *RLA* 6 pp. 86–135). There is a complete list of the eponymies for his reign: see Ungnad, *RLA* 2 pp. 420–23 (cf. Shea, *JCS* 29 [1977] pp. 240–42) and Millard, *SAAS* 2.

There are some itineraries from his time: see Weidner, *AfO* 21 (1966) pp. 42–46, and Schroeder, *KAH* 2 no. 145 (cf. Borger, *HKL* 3 p. 23). The exceptional number of royal decrees by this king is noteworthy: see Postgate, *Royal Grants*.

## Officials with Extraordinary Powers

A feature of the eighth century BC in the Assyrian empire is the emergence of officials with extraordinary powers. Most acknowledge the Assyrian king as their overlord; nevertheless more than one of them operates in practice as the supreme authority in his own right, within and even beyond his official domain (Cf. Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 pp. 273–79). Such officials frequently held office under more than one king in this period, beginning with Adad-nārārī III at the start of the century, and ending with Tiglath-pileser III in the second half of the eighth century. They had inscriptions written to commemorate

their deeds, just like an Assyrian monarch, and it is these texts which are of concern here. Most of the texts have the form of royal inscriptions and therefore I have included them, whether or not the Assyrian king is actually mentioned. In some cases, however, the inscriptions are not royal in form at all and the king is not mentioned; these are not edited here.

Of the texts included, following is an overview in alphabetical order:

Bēl-daiiānī: A.0.104.2017  
 Bēl-Ḥarrān-bēlī-ušur: A.0.105.2  
 Bēl-tarši-ilumma: A.0.104.2002–2005  
 Marduk-šarra-ušur: A.0.107.1  
 Nabû-šarra-ušur: A.0.104.2015  
 Nergal-ēriš: A.0.104.6–7, 9, and 2006–2008  
 Nergal-ilāia: A.0.104.2009  
 Pān-Aššur-lāmur: A.0.104.2016  
 Remanni-ilu: A.0.104.2005  
 Šamši-ilu: A.0.104.2, 2010–2014; A.0.105.1

The seal of a “eunuch of Adad-nārārī” was found in a queen’s tomb at Calah: Fadhil, *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 (1990) pp. 471–82. But this must be the second king of this name, not the third: see Grayson, *SAAB* 7 (1993) p. 30 n. 42.

There are texts of several other high officials, in which the Assyrian king’s name is not mentioned, which are not edited here. Following is a list of some of these:

Aplāia and Bēl-ilāia: see the introduction to Aššur-dan III (A.0.106).

Mušēzib-Šamaš: Pognon, *Inscriptions Sémitiques* pp. 106–107 and pl. XXVI no. 59. This fragmentary text is on a broken stone with figures in relief found in a village (Añaz) a little east of Urfa in southern Anatolia. It commemorates the building of a fortified city (URU.BAD) by Mušēzib-Šamaš, the governor (<sup>m</sup>mu-še-zib-<sup>a</sup>UTU LÚ.EN.NAM). Cf. Borger, *HKL* 1 p. 413; Reade, *Iraq* 34 (1972) p. 94; *CAD* 2 (B) p. 318a sub 2.

Nabû-šaklim-aḥḥē: George, *Iraq* 41 (1979) pp. 122, 134, and 136 (fig. 5) and pl. XVIIa. This text is a dedication to Nabû engraved on a stone mace head from Nimrud (BCM 269 '61 = ND 5544).

# 1

This text is inscribed on pavement slabs found at Calah. It begins with the royal name and epithets, followed by an extremely long genealogy going back approximately one thousand years. The main exemplar of the text ends here, while the other two exemplars end earlier, and this makes one suspect that these were on the first of a series of inscribed slabs with the annals of Adad-nārārī III. Such annals series are known for Ashurnasirpal II (*RIMA* 2 p. 192) and Shalmaneser III (A.0.102.3 and 15).

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Publication reference	Lines preserved	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
1	—	Unlocated	1 R pl. 35 no. 3	1-27	—	n
2	—	Unlocated	ICC pl. 70B	1-25	—	n
3	BM 118925	51-9-2,35	ICC pl. 70A	1-21	196×145	c

## COMMENTARY

The slab with the number 51-9-2,35 (BM 118925) definitely has the inscription published as ICC pl. 70A

and not that published as 1 R pl. 35 no. 3, despite Bezold, Cat. 5 p. 2235.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1851 Layard, ICC pl. 70 (exs. 2-3, copy)

1861 1 R pl. 35 no. 3 (ex. 1, copy)

1889 Abel, KB 1 pp. 188-91 (exs. 1-3, edition)

1890 Abel and Winckler, Keilschrifttexte pp. 13-14 (exs. 1-3, copy)

1912 Delitzsch, AL<sup>5</sup> p. 61 (exs. 1-3, copy)

1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§742-43 (translation)

1959 Weidner, Tn. pp. xiii and 44 (lines 19-20, edition)

1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 116 (exs. 1-3, study)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL<sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu*
- 2) MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ MAN šá *ina* TUR-šú *aš-šur*
- 3) MAN<sup>d</sup>í-gì-gì *ut-tu-šú-ma mal-kut*
- 4) *la šá-na-an ú-mal-lu-ú*
- 5) *qa-tuš-šú TA tam-tim GAL-ti*
- 6) šá KUR-ḥa<sup>d</sup>UTU-ši *a-di tam-tim*
- 7) GAL-ti šá šul-mu<sup>d</sup>UTU-ši
- 8) *qat-su KUR-ma i-pe-lu-ma*
- 9) DÚ *gim-ri A* <sup>md</sup>UTU-ši-10
- 10) MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ
- 11) MAN *la šá-na-an A* <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 12) MAN *kib-rat 4-ti šá kul-lat za-<sup>ʿ</sup>i-ri-šú*
- 13) *i-né-ru-ma is-pu-nu a-bu-ba-niš*
- 14) DUMU DUMU šá <sup>maš-šur</sup>-PAB-A NÍTA *qar-du*
- 15) *mu-ra-piš da-ád-mi pí-ri*
- 16) <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ NUN *na-a<sup>ʿ</sup>-du šá aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>UTU
- 17) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>u</sup> <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *re-šu-su*
- 18) *i-li-ku-ma ú-ra-pi-šú KUR-su*
- 19) ŠÁ.BAL.BAL<sup>m</sup>tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 20) MAN KUR *šu-me-ri u* URI.KI
- 21) *lib-lib-bi šá* <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu*
- 22) *mu-šam-di-il é-ḥur-sag-kur-kur-ra*
- 23) *šá-ad ma-ta-a-ti lib-li-b*
- 24) *šá* <sup>md</sup>BAD-kap-ka-pi MAN *pa-ni*
- 25) *a-lik maḥ-ri qu-ud-mu* MAN-tii

1-9a) Palace of Adad-nārārī (III), great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the king in whose youth Aššur, king of the Igigu gods, chose and entrusted him with unrivalled rulership: he conquered and gained dominion over everything from the great sea in the east to the great sea in the west.

9b-27) Son of Šamsī-Adad (V), great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, (grand)son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters, who slew all his enemies and annihilated (them) like a flood, (great) grandson of Ashurnasirpal (II), virile warrior who extended habitations, offspring of Adad-nārārī (II), attentive prince whom the gods Aššur, Šamaš, Adad, and Marduk assisted so that he extended his land, offspring of Tukultī-Ninurta (I), king of Assyria, king of Sumer and Akkad, offspring of Shalmaneser (I), great king, strong king, who enlarged Eḫursagkurkurra, "the mountain of the lands," offspring of Ilu-kabkabi (Enlil-kapkapi), an earlier king, a predecessor from before the sovereignty of Sulili, whose name Aššur called from of old.

12.2 Omits 4-ti "four."

21.1 Omits, probably in error, MAN GAL "great king."

- 26) *šá* <sup>m</sup>*su-li-li šá ul-tú*  
 27) *ul-la-a aš-šur ib-bu-u si-<sup>l</sup>qar(?)<sup>l</sup>-šú*

## 2

This remarkable text is engraved on a stone stele found by a farmer near the Orontes river, not far from the city of Antakya, and records the drawing up of a boundary line along the Orontes. What is remarkable is that the king, Adad-nārārī, and the field marshal (*tartannu*), Šamšī-ilu (see the introduction above), are recorded as jointly establishing the boundary line. In this regard note that there are two figures portrayed in relief at the top of the stele with a perpendicular object standing between them. Šamšī-ilu also plays a lead role in a stele of Shalmaneser IV (A.O.105.1). As to the boundary itself, it was drawn up between the domains of Zakur of Ḥamat and Ataršumki of Arpad. The text concludes with curses on anyone who would violate the border or damage the stele.

## COMMENTARY

The stele is in the Antakya Museum (Env. nr. 11832) and has some slight damage to the relief at the top and

to the inscription on the left side. It measures 127×52×31 cm and the inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1990 Donbaz, ARRIM 8 pp. 5–24 (photo, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>md</sup>IŠKUR.ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN GAL MAN  
 KAL MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR ṚAŠ<sup>l</sup>  
 2) A <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN  
 KUR aš- <<aš>>-šur  
 3) A <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN *kib-rat* 4  
 4) [ta]-ḥu-mu šá ina *bir-ti* <sup>m</sup>za-ku-ri KUR ḥa-  
 ma-ta-a-a  
 5) [(u ina) *bir*]-ti <sup>m</sup>a-tar-šúm-ki A <sup>m</sup>ad-ra-mu  
<sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR AŠ <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-  
 DINGIR LÚ *tar-ta-nu*  
 6) [iš-ku]-nu-ni URU *na-aḥ-la-si a-di*  
 A.ŠA.MEŠ-šú GIŠ.KIRI<sub>6</sub>.MEŠ-šú  
 7) [u d]i-ma-ti-šú *gab-be šá* <sup>m</sup>a-tar-šúm-ki šu-tú  
 ID *ar-am-tú ina bi-ri-šú-nu*  
 8) [ú-šam]-ši-lu-ma *i-zu-zu mi-šir* NAM A <sup>m</sup>10-  
 ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR AŠ <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-DINGIR  
 ṚLÚ<sup>l</sup>

1–3) Adad-nārārī, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamšī-Adad (V), strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters:

4–8a) The boundary which Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamšī-ilu, the field marshal, established between Zakur of the land of Ḥamat and Ataršumki, son of Adramu: the city Naḥlasi with all its fields, gardens, [and] settlements is (the property) of Ataršumki. They divided the Orontes River between them. *This is the border.*

8b–11a) Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamšī-ilu, the field marshal, have given it free and clear to Ataršumki, son of Adramu, to his sons, and his

A.O.104.1 line 27.1 *si-<sup>l</sup>qar(?)<sup>l</sup>-šú*: Seux, ERAS p. 178, read *si-qir-šú* but the traces look more like *-<sup>l</sup>qar<sup>l</sup>*.

A.O.104.2 line 8 [ú-šam]-ši-lu-ma *i-zu-zu*: cf. *ušamšilūma izūzū* Grayson, Chronicles p. 160 i 22'.

8 NAM A is a problem. One could read NAM as *ana* (an attested value of NAM), giving *ana-a = annā*. Or should one regard this as a metathesis for *a-nam = annām*?

- 9) [tar]-ta-nu ú-za-ki-ú-ma a-na <sup>m</sup>a-tar- šum-ki A subsequent grandsons. His city (and) its territories  
<sup>m</sup>ad-ra-mu a-na DUMU.MEŠ-šú [...] to the border of his land he made firm.
- 10) [DU]MU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú EGIR.MEŠ ki ri-  
mu-ti i-ri-mu URU-šú ta-ḥu-ma-ti-šú
- 11) [x x] a-na mi-šir KUR-šú ú-kín MU aš-šur 11b–13a) By the name of the gods Aššur, Adad, and  
<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR u <sup>d</sup>be-er <sup>d</sup>BAD aš-šur-ú Ber, the Assyrian Enlil, the Assyrian [Ninli]l, and  
the name of Sîn, dwelling in Ḥarrān, the great gods
- 12) [<sup>d</sup>NIN.LÍ]L aš-šur-tú MU <sup>d</sup>30 a-šib [of] Assyria:
- 13) [šá K]UR aš-šur man-nu EGIR-ú šá pi 13b–16) whoever afterwards speaks ill of the terms  
NA.RÚ.A šú-a-tú of this stele, and takes by force this border from the  
possession of Ataršumki, his sons, or his grandsons;
- 14) [ú]-šam-sa-ku-ma mi-šir an-na-a TA qa-at <sup>m</sup>a- and destroys the written name (and) writes another  
tar-šum-ki name:
- 15) [DUMU].MEŠ-šú u DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú  
ina dan-na-ni e-ki-mu
- 16) [(x)] [u(?)] šu-mu šaṭ-ri i-pa-ši-ṭa MU šá- 17–19) may the gods [Aššur], Adad, and Ber, Sîn  
nam-ma i-šaṭ-ṭar dwelling in Ḥarrān, the great gods of Assyria  
[whose] names are recorded on this stele, not listen
- 17) [aš-šur] <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR u <sup>d</sup>be-er <sup>d</sup>30 a-šib to his prayers.
- 18) [šá ina] NA.RÚ.A an-né-e MU-šú-nu zak-ru
- 19) [i]k-ri-bi-šú ul i-šá-mu-ú

## 3

This unusual text is inscribed on the obverse of a stone stele found in a village (Kızkapanlı) near Maraş during construction of the Pazarçık dam. The stele was therefore discovered at or near its original location since the text describes the establishment of a boundary between the states of Kummuh and Gurgum. The text is unusual for not only is Semiramis, the mother of Adad-nārārī, mentioned but she is said to have crossed the Euphrates with Adad-nārārī to undertake military action against Ataršumki of Arpad. The text ends with curses on anyone who would violate the boundary. Another text, this one of Shalmaneser IV (A.0.105.1), is engraved on the reverse of the stele.

## COMMENTARY

The stele is in the Maraş Museum and is completely preserved. It measures 140×44×16.5 cm. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1990 Donbaz, ARRIM 8 pp. 5–24 (photo, copy, edition)  
1993 Timm, WO 24 pp. 55–84 (edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *ta-ḥu-mu šá* <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR *aš-šur*  
 2) A <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 MAN KUR *aš-šur*  
 3) <sup>f</sup>*sa-am-mu-ra-mat* MUNUS.É.GAL  
 4) *šá* <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 MAN KUR *aš-šur*  
 5) AMA <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KAL MAN KUR  
*aš-šur*  
 6) *kal-lat* <sup>m</sup>dšul-ma-nu-MAŠ  
 7) MAN *kib-<rat>* 4-ti *ina u<sub>3</sub>-me* <sup>m</sup>uš-pi-lu-lu-me  
 8) MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a a-na* <sup>m</sup>10-  
 ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR *aš-šur*  
 9) <sup>f</sup>*sa-am-mu-ra-mat* MUNUS.É.GAL  
 10) ÍD *pu-rat-tú ú-še-bi-ru-u-ni*  
 11) <sup>m</sup>a-tar-šum-ki A <sup>m</sup>ad-ra-a-me URU *ár-pa-da-a-a*  
 12) *a-di* 8 MAN.MEŠ-ni *šá* KI-šú *ina URU pa-*  
*qi-ra-ḥu-bu-na*  
 13) *si-dir-ta-šú-nu* KI-šú-nu *am-daḥ-iš* *uš-ma-*  
*na(?)*-šú-nu  
 14) *e-kim(\*)*-šú-nu-ti *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu  
 15) *e-li-ú* *ina* MU.AN.NA *šá-a-te*  
 16) *ta-ḥu-mu šú-a-tú* *ina bir-ti* <sup>m</sup>uš-pi-lu-lu-me  
 17) MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a* *ina bir-ti* <sup>m</sup>qa-al-  
*pa-ru-da(?)*  
 18) A <sup>m</sup>pa-la-lam MAN URU *gúr-gu-ma-a-a ú-*  
*še-lu-ni*  
 19) *man-nu šá* <TA> ŠU-at <sup>m</sup>uš-pi-lu-lu-me  
 20) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú *e-ki-mu*  
 21) *aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU  
 22) *a-na di-ni-šú lu la i-za-zu*  
 23) *ik-kib aš-šur* DINGIR-ia <sup>d</sup>30 *a-šib*  
 URU.KASKAL
- 1–7a) Boundary stone of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad (V), king of Assyria, (and of) Semiramis, the palace-woman of Šamši-Adad, king of Assyria, mother of Adad-nārārī, strong king, king of Assyria, daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters.
- 7b–10) When Ušpilulume, king of the Kummuhites, caused Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, (and) Semiramis, the palace woman, to cross the Euphrates;
- 11–15a) I fought a pitched battle with them — with Ataršumki, son of Adramu, of the city of Arpad, together with eight kings who were with him at the city Paqaraḥubunu. I took away from them their camp. To save their lives they dispersed.
- 15b–18) In this (same) year they erected this boundary stone between Ušpilulume, king of the Kummuhites, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, king of the Gurgumites.
- 19–20) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the possession of Ušpilulume, his sons, his grandsons: 21–22) may the gods Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Šin, (and) Šamaš not stand (by him) in his lawsuit. 23) Taboo of Aššur, my god, (and) Šin, who dwells in Ḥarran.

## 4

This bit of text is engraved on a stone fragment, the provenance of which is unknown. The fragment can with some certainty be ascribed to Adad-nārārī III for the following reasons. The predecessor's name in line 3' must be Šamši-Adad V and the same phrase is used in another text of Adad-nārārī III, A.O.104.6 (line 14). The name Ataršumki almost definitely appears in line 5' (Tadmor's proposal) and this same man is mentioned in other texts of Adad-nārārī III, A.O.104.2 and 5. The text talks about a campaign to the west but it is too broken to provide any coherent account.

## COMMENTARY

The text is known only from the copy published by Scheil. The present location of the fragment is unknown and the inscription has not been collated.

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## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') x x x [...]  
 2') 'i<sup>l</sup>-š<sup>u</sup>-ṭ<sup>u</sup> ni-ir [bēlūtīia(?) ...]  
 3') šá ina tar-ši mšam-ši-[adad ...]  
 4') EN.MEŠ šá ÍD.A.[...]  
 5') iš-me-ma ma-tar-š[um-ki ...]  
 6') it-ta-kil-ma ana 'e<sup>l</sup>-[peš ...]  
 7') uš-ma-nu-šú e(\*)-kim[...]  
 8') ni-šir-ti 'É<sup>l</sup>.[GAL-šú ...]  
 9') DUMU ma-ra-me u[l ...]  
 10') ana la ma-ni 'am<sup>l</sup>-h[ur ...]  
 11') li-[...]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

- 1') ... [...]  
 2') They drew the yoke of [my dominion. The kings of the extensive land Ḫatti]  
 3') who, in the time of Šamsī-[Adad (V), my father, had become strong and caused]  
 4') the lords of the river Orontes/Euphrates [to rebel ...]  
 5') he heard [of my approach] and Atarš[umki, ...]  
 6') trusting [in his own strength, attacked to wage war and strife. I defeated him (and)]  
 7') took away his camp. [...]  
 8') the treasure of [his] palace [I carried off ... Ataršumki],  
 9') son of Aramu, [...]  
 10') I received without number [...]  
 11') ... [...]

## Lacuna

## 5

This fragmentary text is engraved on a stele fragment from Dūr-Katlimmu (modern Tell Sheik Hammad). Besides the inscription there are remains of a portrait of the king's head in relief and divine symbols. After the introductory paragraph with the king's name, epithets, and genealogy, there is a brief description of a western campaign and the defeat of Ataršumki. At this point the text breaks off. Since the phrasing is similar to that of A.O.104.7, this text probably also continued with the name Nergal-ēriš and a statement about the territories he governed.

## COMMENTARY

The fragment is in the British Museum (BM 131124) and it measures c. 81×48+ cm. The inscription has been collated.

2'–3' Cf. A.O.104.6 lines 14–15.

4' ÍD.A.[...]: restore either ÍD.A.[RAD] or ÍD a-[ramtu]. The text of the Antakya stele (A.O.104.2), in associating Ataršumki with the Orontes, is an argument in favour of restoring the Orontes here. Tadmor, however, prefers to restore the Euphrates.

7' e(\*)-kim: copy has TE-kim. Cf. A.O.104.3 line 14. Tadmor suggested that TE was a mistake for KAR = ekēmu but this orthography, as he noted, would be unusual.

8'–9' Ataršumki: this is Tadmor's conjectural restoration. In the Antakya stele (A.O.104.2) he is said to be the son of Adramu.

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## TEXT

- 1) [*adad-nārārī šarru rabû šarru*] *dan-nu* MAN  
 ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur* A <sup>m</sup>*šam-ši*-10  
 2) [*šarru dannu šar kiššati šar māt aššur apil*]  
<sup>l</sup>*mšûl*-*ma-nu*-MAŠ MAN *kib-rat* 4-*ti*  
 3) [... K]ARAŠ *lu-ú ad-ki a-na* KUR *ḫat-t[i]*  
 4) [... Í]D.A.RAD *ina mi-[l]i-šá e-bi[r]*  
 5) [...]-*bu-na a-ta-rad* <sup>m</sup>*a-tar-šúm*-<sup>l</sup>*ki*<sup>1</sup>  
 6) [... MAN].<sup>l</sup>*MES*<sup>1</sup>-*ni šá* <sup>l</sup>*KUR ḫat*<sup>1</sup>-*ti šá i-si-*  
<sup>l</sup>*ḫu-ma*<sup>1</sup>  
 7) [... *p*] *u-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* E[N-*ia*]  
 8) [... *ina iš-t*] *e-et* MU.AN.NA KUR *ḫat-ti*  
 9) [...] x x x [...] *ak-[šud(?)]*  
 10) [...] x [...]  
 Lacuna  
 1–2) [Adad-nārārī, great king], strong [king], king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad (V), [strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of] Šalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters:  
 3–10) [*By the command of Aššur*] I mustered my camp (and) [*ordered the march*] to the land Ḫatti. I crossed the Euphrates in flood (and) went down [to ...]buna. Ataršumki, [*son of Adramu (...) together with*] the kings of the land Ḫatti, who had rebelled and [*withheld tribute (...)*], the awful brilliance of Aššur, [my] lord, [*overwhelmed them and they submitted to me*]. In one year [*I subdued the entire*] land Ḫatti. [...] ... [...]  
 Lacuna

## 6

This text is engraved on a stone stele discovered at Saba'a, south of the Jebel Sinjar. A portrait of the king in relief and divine symbols are on the top part of the stele while the text is inscribed below. The first two-thirds of the text (lines 1–22) are a royal dedicatory inscription; then Nergal-ēriš, a governor under Adad-nārārī III, is introduced with his titles (lines 23–25). In the concluding curses Nergal-ēriš speaks in the first person (lines 26–33). Regarding other texts of Nergal-ēriš see the introduction above.

The text opens with a dedication to the god Adad (lines 1–5), followed by Adad-nārārī III's name, epithets, and genealogy (lines 6–11a). Then the author introduces the military narrative with a date, "In the fifth year," and describes a campaign against Ḫatti and the submission of Damascus. As we know from the eponym chronicle, there were several campaigns to the west, between 805 and 796 BC, and the description on this stele is just a brief summary of these events. Perhaps the scribe chose to introduce the chronological note to indicate that these conquests began after "the fifth year." It is curious, however, that he did so, but then the text as a whole is strange: note the prominent role given to a governor, the unskilled manner in which the stone was carved, and the occasional faults in syntax. A date for the text can confidently be given as 797 BC, or later, since it was in that year that Hindānu was added to Nergal-ēriš's domain by royal decree (see A.O.104.9).

5 [...] *-bu-na*: Tadmor restores Paqiraḫubuna on analogy with A.O.104.3 line 12.

8 Cf. A.O.104.7 line 4.



## COMMENTARY

The stele is in Istanbul (2828). It stands 192 cm high and is slightly tapered with the top being narrower (47

cm) than the bottom (50.5 cm). The inscription has been collated from photos.

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## TEXT

- 1) [ana] [d]IŠKUR gú-gal AN u [KI-tim DUMU d<sup>a</sup>-nim] qar-du šar-<sup>l</sup>hu<sup>l</sup>  
 2) [g]t<sup>l</sup>-ma-<sup>l</sup>lu ša<sup>l</sup> pu-un-<sup>l</sup>gu<sup>l</sup>-lu ku-bu-uk-kuš a-šá-<sup>l</sup>red<sup>l</sup>  
 3) [d]í-gi-gi qar-rad dDIŠ.U šá hi-it-lu-pu nam-ri-ri ra-kib  
 4) [UD].[MEŠ] GAL.MEŠ ha-líp me-lam-me ez-<sup>l</sup>zu<sup>l</sup>-te mu-šam-qit HUL.MEŠ  
 5) [na-a]-[š]i<sup>l</sup> qí-na-<sup>l</sup>an<sup>l</sup>-zi KÜ-te mu-šab-riq NIM.GÍR EN GAL-e EN-šú  
 6) [m]10-ÉRIN].[TÁH] MAN GAL-u MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-šur MAN la šá-na-<sup>l</sup>an<sup>l</sup> SIPA tab-ra-te  
 7) [ÉN]SI MAH šá ni-iš qa-ti-šú [na<sup>l</sup>-dan zi-bi-šú ih-šu-hu  
 8) [DINGIR].[MEŠ] GAL.[MEŠ] SIPA-su GIM šam-me TILA UGU UN.MEŠ  
 9) [KUR aš]-[š]ur<sup>l</sup> ú-<sup>l</sup>í<sup>l</sup>-bu-ma ú-ra-pi-šú KUR-su A mšam-ši-10 MAN dan-nu  
 10) [šar kiššati] MAN KUR aš-šur A [A] mšul-ma-nu-MAŠ šá-pir mal-ki PAP-eš mu-šá-pi-ih  
 11) [KUR.KUR].MEŠ KÜR.MEŠ ina MU 5.KÁM <šá> ina GIŠ.GU.ZA MAN-ti GAL-iš  
 12) [ú]-[š]i<sup>l</sup>-bu-ma KUR ad-ki [ÉRIN].HI.<A>-at KUR aš-šur [DAGAL].MEŠ ana KUR hat-te-<sup>l</sup>e<sup>l</sup>  
 13) [DU] lu aq-bi ana ÍD pu-rat-te ina me-li-šá e-bir MAN.MEŠ-ni  
 14) [māt hatte] [DAGAL]-te šá ina tar-ši mšam-ši-10 AD-ia id-nin-ú-ma

1–5) [To] the god Adad, canal-inspector of heaven and underworld, son of the god Anu, the perfectly splendid hero whose strength is mighty, foremost of all the Igu gods, warrior of the Anunnaku gods, who is bedecked with luminosity, who rides the great storms (and) is clothed with fierce brilliance, who lays low the evil, who bears a holy whip, who makes the lightning flash, the great lord, his lord:

6–11a) [Adad-nār]ārī, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, unrivalled king, marvellous shepherd, exalted vice-regent, whose prayers (and) sacrifices the great gods desired (and) thus made his shepherdship as pleasing as a healing drug to the people of Assyria and widened his land; son of Šamšī-Adad (V), strong king, [king of the universe], king of Assyria; son of Shalmaneser (III), commander of all rulers, scatterer of (the inhabitants of) enemy lands:

11b–20) In the fifth year <after> I had ascended nobly the royal throne, I mustered the land (and) commanded the extensive troops of Assyria to march to the land Hatti. I crossed the Euphrates in flood. The kings of the extensive [land Hatti] who, in the time of Šamšī-Adad (V), my father, had become strong and withheld their [tribute] — by the command of Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Ištar, the gods

10 mu-šá-pi-ih: this is mušappih, D of ššapāhu. See CAD 15 (S) p. 154a for parallels. Seux, ERAS p. 185, took the form as Š from napāhu but this is to be rejected

13 ana ÍD pu-rat-te: the ana is nota accusativi.

- 15) <sup>1</sup>ik(?)<sup>-</sup>lu(?)<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>ú(?) IGI.DU<sub>8</sub>(?)<sup>-</sup>šú-un ina qí-bit  
aš-šur <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR <sup>d</sup>iš-tar  
DINGIR.[MEŠ]  
16) <sup>1</sup>tik-li-ia<sup>1</sup> [pul<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>hu me-lam<sup>1</sup>-mu is-<sup>1</sup>hu-pu-šú-nu-  
te-ma ĞĪR.[II.MEŠ-ia]  
17) iš-ba-tú GUN ma-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-[tú ...] x x x [...]  
18) ana KUR aš-šur ú-ru-ni am-<sup>1</sup>h[u-ur ...]  
19) lu aq-bi <sup>m</sup>ma-ri-i<sup>1</sup> ina URU di-maš-qí <sup>1</sup>lu<sup>1</sup> [...]  
20) <1>(?) ME GUN KŪ.GI 1 LIM GUN  
KŪ.BABBAR GUN [...]  
21) <sup>1</sup>ina<sup>1</sup> u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma ú-še-piš-ma ša-lam be-lu-te-  
ia li-ta-[at qur]<sup>1</sup>-di-ia<sup>1</sup>  
22) <sup>1</sup>ip<sup>1</sup>-šet qa-ti-ia ina qer-bi-šú al-<sup>1</sup>tur ina AN za-  
ban-ni <sup>1</sup>ul<sup>1</sup>-[zi]-šú N[A<sub>4</sub>(?)]  
23) <sup>1</sup>ša<sup>1</sup>(?)<sup>1</sup>-ri <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU-KAM LŪ.GAR.KUR URU  
ne-med-<sup>d</sup>15 URU ap-ku<sup>1</sup> URU ma<sup>1</sup>-re-e  
24) KUR ra-ša-pi KUR qat-ni URU.BĀD-duk-  
I.LIM URU kar-<sup>m</sup>AS-PAB-<sup>1</sup>A URU sir<sup>1</sup>-qu  
25) KUR la-qé-e KUR hi-in-da-nu URU an-at KUR  
su-<sup>1</sup>hi URU aš-<sup>1</sup>šur<sup>1</sup>-DAB-bat  
26) NUN-ú EGIR-ú šá ša-lam šu-a-tú ul-tú KI-šú i-  
<sup>1</sup>laq(?)<sup>-</sup>qu(?)<sup>1</sup>-ni-ma  
27) <sup>1</sup>man<sup>1</sup>-nu lu ina SAĤAR.ĤIA i-kát-ta-mu lu  
ina É á-<sup>1</sup>sak(?)<sup>-</sup>ki(?)<sup>1</sup> u-še-ra-be  
28) MU MAN EN-ia u MU ša<sup>1</sup>-ri i-pa-ši-tu-ma MU-  
šú i-ša<sup>1</sup>-tar aš-šur AD <sup>1</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>  
29) li-ru-ur-šú-ma NUMUN-šú MU-šú ina KUR li-  
<sup>1</sup>hal-li-qu <sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.UTU [...]  
30) <sup>1</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-su lis-kip ŠU.II-šú IGI.II-šú ka-mu-su  
lim-nu-šú <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>1</sup>DI<sup>1</sup>.KUD <sup>1</sup>AN u KI<sup>1</sup>  
31) <sup>1</sup>ik<sup>1</sup>-le-tú ina KUR-šú li-šab-ši-ma a-a i-tu-lu a-  
<sup>1</sup>ha-<sup>1</sup>meš <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR<sup>1</sup>  
32) gú-gal AN-e KI-<sup>1</sup>tim<sup>1</sup> MU lis-su-u<sup>1</sup>h GIM tib e-  
ri-bu-u <sup>1</sup>lit<sup>1</sup>-bi-ma  
33) li-šam-qit KUR-s[u]

who support me, (my) awesome radiance overwhelmed them and they submitted to me. Tribute (and) tax [...] they brought to Assyria (and) I received (it). I commanded [my troops to march to Damascus]. I [confined] Mari in Damascus [... He brought to me] 100 talents of gold (and) 1,000 talents of silver as tribute. [I received it and took it to Assyria.]

21–22) At that time I had made my lordly statue and inscribed thereon my heroic victories (and) achievements. I erected it in Zabanni.

23–25) *The inscribed stone of Nergal-ēriš*, governor of the cities Nēmed-Ištar, Apku, Mari, the lands Rašappa, Qatnu, the cities Dūr-duklimmu, Kār-Ashurnasirpal, Sirqu, the lands Laqê, Ĥindānu, the city Anat, the land Suĥi, (and) the city (Ana)-Aššur-(utēr)-ašbat.

26–33) A later prince who takes this statue from its place; whoever either covers (it) with earth or puts (it) in a Taboo House or erases the name of the king, my lord, and my name and writes his own name: may Aššur, the father of the gods, curse him and destroy his seed (and) his name from the land. May the god Marduk [...] overthrow his sovereignty (and) give him up to be bound by the hands (and) over the eyes. May the god Šamaš, judge of heaven and underworld, cause there to be darkness in his land so that people cannot see each other. May the god Adad, canal-inspector of heaven (and) underworld, tear out (his) name (and) attack like an onslaught of locusts so that his land collapses.

## 7

This text is engraved on a stone stele discovered beside the podium in a shrine at Tell al-Rimah, near the Jebel Sinjar. As with the Saba'a stele (A.0.104.6), a portrait of the king in relief and divine symbols are on the top part of the stele while the text is inscribed below. A further similarity is that the first part of the text (lines 1–12) is a royal dedicatory inscription; then Nergal-ēriš is introduced with his titles and a list of cities which the king has added to his governorship (lines 13–20); the text concludes with a curse (line 21). Regarding other texts of Nergal-ēriš see the introduction to A.0.104.6.

15 The reading of the beginning of the line is very uncertain. The restorations given here were suggested by Tadmor. Cf. CAD 8 (K) p. 100b.

22 AN za-ban-ni: one expects a place name here.

23–25 See Röllig, *Orientalia* NS 47 (1978) pp. 424 and 429; Liverani, SAAB 6 (1992) pp. 35–40; and Fales, SAAB 6 (1992) pp. 105–107.

29 Schramm suggests restoring [bēlūr]-s[u] “his dominion” at the end of the line.

A special feature of this inscription is that the portion which concerns Nergal-ēriš has been deliberately erased. This would obviously have been done when Nergal-ēriš fell from power. It is known that he had an eminent position as late as 775 BC, and so the mutilation of the inscription must date after that time. Adad-nārārī III (810–783 BC) had by this time been succeeded by his son, Shalmaneser (IV) (782–773 BC), and perhaps the son ordered the erasure. Alternatively, there may have been an interval in Adad-nārārī III's reign when Nergal-ēriš fell into disgrace temporarily and the erasure had been done then. It is relevant to note, in this regard, that two pairs of lion heads were found in the same shrine as this stele and that both pairs bear traces of erased inscriptions. Page stated that only *bu-kūr* <sup>da-nim</sup> "son of the god Anu" (cf. line 1) could be read, and he theorized that the lion heads once had the same inscription as the stele.

The text opens with a dedication to the god Adad (lines 1–2), followed by Adad-nārārī III's name and genealogy (line 3). Then the author describes military activity in the west, which he says took place "in one year." The phrase is a literary convention, not a chronological statement, for the description summarizes various western campaigns and highlights receipt of tribute from Damascus and Samaria. The military narrative concludes with a brief statement about tribute from Nairi; this is odd since all that preceded concerned the west. Tadmor regards it as a "space filler" but it might have been inserted to remind the reader of the king's Nairi campaigns, which were more numerous than the western campaigns. There is considerable fluctuation in this passage between first and third person, which indicates that the author compiled the text from two different sources without bothering to blend them grammatically.

Of special significance is the erased portion, for this records that the king granted to Nergal-ēriš control over the entire part of the Jezireh from the Ḥabur River in the west to the Wadi Tharthar in the east, from the Middle Euphrates in the south to the Jebel Sinjar in the north. Ḥindānu is included here (line 14) and thus the stele, like A.O.104.6, must date no earlier than 797 BC, the year in which Ḥindānu was added to Nergal-ēriš's domain by royal decree (see A.O.104.9).

## COMMENTARY

The stele was discovered in an excellent state of preservation and is now in the Iraq Museum. It measures 130 cm in height and 69 cm in width at the base. The inscription has been collated from the published photos. The erased portion (lines 13–21) is very difficult to decipher from the photos and most

readings must be regarded as uncertain. In particular there is uncertainty about the numerals preceding *kaprānišu*; I have followed Page's decipherment, which, as she states, is based on reaching the correct total in line 20.

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## TEXT

- 1) *ana* <sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR EN *šur-bé-e* NIR.GÁL  
DINGIR.MEŠ *mug-dáš-ri bu-kúr* <sup>a</sup>*nim e-diš-šú-ú ra-šub-bi*
- 2) MAḤ *gú-gal* AN-*e u* KI-*tim mu-šá-za-nin*  
ḪÉ.NUN *a-šib* URU *za-ma-ḫi* EN GAL-*e* EN-šú
- 3) <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TAḤ MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN  
KUR *aš-šur* A <sup>md</sup>*šam-ši-<sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR* MAN ŠÚ  
MAN KUR *aš-šur* A <sup>md</sup>*šul-ma-nu-MAŠ* MAN  
*kib-rat* 4
- 4) GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ  
KARAŠ.MEŠ *lu ad-ki ana* KUR *ḫat-te* DU-*ka*  
*lu aq-bi ina* 1-*et* MU.AN.NA
- 5) KUR.MAR.TU.KI KUR *ḫat-te a-na si-ḫir-ti-šá*  
*ina* ĠIR.II.MEŠ-*ia* *lu ú-šak-niš* GUN *ma-da-tu*  
*a-na* EGIR *u<sub>c</sub>-me* UGU-šú-*nu* *lu ú-kin* 2 LIM  
GUN KÚ.BABBAR 1 LIM GUN URUDU 2  
LIM GUN AN.BAR
- 7) 3 LIM *lu-bùl-ti bir-me* u TÚG.GADA.MEŠ *ma-*  
*da-tu ša* <sup>m</sup>*ma-ri-i* <sup>ʹ</sup>*ša* KUR.ANŠE-šú *im-ḫur*  
ma-*da-tu šá* <sup>m</sup>*iu-ʹa-su* KUR *sa-me-ri-na-a-a*  
KUR *šur-a-a* KUR *ši-du-na-a-a*
- 9) *im-ḫur ana tam-tim* GAL-*te šá šul-me* <sup>d</sup>*šam-ši*  
*lu a-lik ša-lam* EN-*ti-ia*
- 10) *ina* URÚ *ar-ma-di ša* MURUB<sub>c</sub> *tam-tim lu-u az-*  
*qu-pu ana* KUR *lab-na-ni*
- 11) *lu e-li* GIŠ.ÜR 1 ME GIŠ *e-ri-ni dan-nu-te ḫi-*  
*ši-iḫ-ti* É.GAL É.KUR.MEŠ-*ia*
- 12) *lu ak-kis ma-da-te šá* MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá* KUR  
*na-ʹi-ri* DÜ.MEŠ-šú-*nu lu-u im-ḫur*
- 13) <sup>ʹ</sup>*ina u<sub>c</sub>-me-šú-ma a-na* <sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-KAM LÚ  
GAR.KUR KUR *ra-ša-pi* KUR *la-qé-e*<sup>1</sup>
- 14) <sup>ʹ</sup>KUR *ḫe-en-da-nu*<sup>1</sup> [URU] <sup>ʹ</sup>*an-at* KUR *su-ḫi*  
URU.AN.ŠÁR-DAB-*bat man-za-zu* IGI-*ia*<sup>1</sup>
- 15) <sup>ʹ</sup>*lu aq-bi* URU.BÁD.<sup>d</sup>INANNA 12 URU *kap-ra-*  
*ni-šú* URU *kar-<sup>m</sup>10* URU *kap-ra-ni-šú*<sup>1</sup>
- 16) <sup>ʹ</sup>URU.BÁD-*duk-1*.LIM 33 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú*  
URU.BÁD-*aš-šur* 20 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú*  
URU.BÁD<sup>1</sup>-[<sup>md</sup>IGI]<sup>1</sup>[DU-KAM]<sup>1</sup>
- 17) <sup>ʹ</sup>33 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú* URU.BÁD.<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU  
40 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú* URU *kar-<sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TAḤ*<sup>1</sup>
- 18) <sup>ʹ</sup>1 ME 26 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú* KUR *sa-an-ga-ri*  
28 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú ina* KUR *a-za-al(?)*-*li(?)*<sup>1</sup>
- 19) <sup>ʹ</sup>URU.BÁD.<sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TAḤ 15 URU *kap-ra-ni-*  
*šú ina* KUR *la-qé-e* URU <sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR 14 *kap-ra-ni-*  
*šú ina* KUR *qat-ni*<sup>1</sup>
- 20) PAB 3 ME 31 URU.MEŠ-*ni* TUR.MEŠ *šá*  
<sup>m</sup>IGI.DU-KAM *ina zi-kir* EN-šú *iš-ba-tú-ma e-*  
*pu-šú*

1–2) To the god Adad, the almighty lord, powerful noble of the gods, son of the god Anu, unique, awesome, supreme, canal-inspector of heaven and underworld, who rains down abundance, who dwells in the city Zamaḫu, the great lord, his lord;

3) Adad-nārārī, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamsī-Adad (V), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters:

4–8) I mustered my chariotry, troops, (and) armed forces (and) ordered the march to the land Ḫatti. In one year I subdued the entire lands Amurru (and) Ḫatti. I imposed upon them tax (and) tribute forever. I (text “he”) received 2,000 talents of silver, 1,000 talents of copper, 2,000 talents of iron, 3,000 linen garments with multi-coloured trim — the tribute of Mari, the Damascene. I (text “he”) received the tribute of Joash (Iu’asu), the Samaritan, (and) of the people of Tyre (and) Sidon.

9–12) I marched to the great sea in the west. I erected my lordly statue in the city Arvad, which is on an island in the sea. I ascended Mount Lebanon (and) cut down 100 strong beams of cedar for the requirements of my palace (and) temples. I (lit. “he”) received tribute from all the kings of the land Nairi.

13–20) At that time I decreed for Nergal-ēriš, governor of the lands Rašappa, Laqê, Ḫindānu, Anat, Suḫi, the city (Ana)-Aššur-(utēr)-ašbat, my courtier: the city Dūr-Ištar with its 12 villages, the city Kār-Sîn with its 10 villages, the city Dūr-duklimmu with its 33 villages, the city Dūr-Aššur with its 20 villages, the city Dūr-Nergal-ēriš with its 33 villages, the city Dūr-Marduk with its 40 villages, the city Kār-Adad-nārārī with its 126 villages in (the area of) Mount Sangar, 28 villages in (the area of) Mount Azallu, the city Dūr-Adad-nārārī with its 15 villages in the land Laqê, the city Adad with its 14 villages in the land Qatnu — altogether 331 small cities, which Nergal-ēriš undertook to rebuild by the decree of his lord.

8 <sup>m</sup>*iu-ʹa-su*: see Malamāt, BASOR 204 (1971) pp. 37–39.

14 <sup>ʹ</sup>*ḫe-en-da-nu*<sup>1</sup>: this would conform to the order of the place names in A.0.104.6 line 25. See Schramm.

16 <sup>ʹ</sup>URU.BÁD-*duk-1*.LIM<sup>1</sup>: cf. A.0.104.6 line 24 and see Grayson, JNES 31 (1972) p. 218b.

17 <sup>ʹ</sup>URU *kar-<sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TAḤ*<sup>1</sup>: see Grayson, JNES 31 (1972) p. 219b.

18 <sup>ʹ</sup>1 ME 26 URU *kap-ra-ni-šú* KUR *sa-an-ga-ri*<sup>1</sup>: the text is reasonably clear. One, however, expects the place name to be preceded by URU rather than KUR. Is Sangar a variant form of Singār (see Parpola, Toponyms p. 310), the Jebel Sinjar?

19 URU <sup>d</sup>ĪŠKUR: this must be a short form of some such name as Dūr/Kār-Adad.

20 TUR.MEŠ “small (towns)”: the reading is reasonably clear. The adjective refers to the total being only of the numerals preceding the word *kaprānu*, a scribal device to ensure arithmetical accuracy.

21) *šá ina* MU.MEŠ *an-nu-ti 1-en* MU *i-pa-ši-tu-ma*  
DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *iz-zi-iš li-kil-mu-šú*

21) Whoever erases one name from these names, may the great gods angrily look with disfavour upon him.

## 8

This text was inscribed on a broken stone slab found by Loftus in 1854 at Calah, at the edge of the mound between the North West and South West Palaces. It begins (lines 1–5a) with the royal name and epithets, but curiously lacks a genealogy. It then describes (lines 5b–14), in general geographic terms, the extent of Adad-nārārī III's conquests, going from east to west. It goes on to record two particular achievements, the submission of Damascus (lines 15–21) and the king's activities in Babylonia (lines 22–24). At this point the text breaks off. The location of the original broken slab is unknown and the text is known only from the published copy, which was based on paper squeezes which were subsequently destroyed (see Reade, ARRIM 4 [1986] p. 27).

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| 1926 Gressman, ATAT <sup>2</sup> pp. 344–45 (translation)                                    | 1979 Borger, TGF <sup>3</sup> pp. 53–54 (lines 11–16, translation) |
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## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN GAL MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ MAN *šá ina* TUR-šú *aš-šur* MAN <sup>d</sup>i-gi-gi *ut-tu-šú-ma mal-kut*
- 2) *la šá-na-an ú-mal-lu-ú qa-tuš-šú* SIPA-su GIM Ú TI UGU UN.MEŠ KUR *aš-šur ú-tí-bu-ma*
- 3) *ú-šar-ši-du* GIŠ.GU.ZA-šú SANGA KÙ *za-nin é-šár-ra la mu-par-ku-ú mu-kil* GARZA *é-kur*
- 4) *šá ina* GIŠ.tukul-ti *aš-šur* EN-šú DU.DU-ku-ma *mal-ki šá kib-rat 4-ti*
- 5) *ú-šék-ni-šú a-na* ĞIR.II.MEŠ-šú *ka-šid* TA KUR(\*) *si-lu-na*
- 6) *šá na-paḫ* <sup>d</sup>UTU-ši KUR.ZÁLAG KUR *el-li-pi* KUR *ḥar-ḥar* KUR *a-ra-zi-áš*
- 7) KUR *me-su* KUR *ma-da-a-a* KUR *gi-zil-bu-un-da ana si-ḥír-ti-šú*

1–5a) Palace of Adad-nārārī (III), great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria; the king in whose youth Aššur, king of the Igiḡu gods, chose, entrusted him with unrivalled rulership, made his shepherdship pleasing like a healing drug to the people of Assyria, (and) established his throne; holy priest who unceasingly provides for Ešarra (and) maintains the rites of Ekur, who campaigns with the support of Aššur, his lord, and subdues the princes of the four quarters;

5b–14) Conqueror from Mount Siluna in the east, the lands Namri, Ellipi, Ḥarḥār, Araziaš, Mēsu, Media, Gizilbunda in its entirety, Munna, Parsua, Allabria, Abdadānu, Nairi in its entirety, Andia, which is far away, Mount BADḫu in its entirety, as far as the shore of the great sea in the

- 8) KUR *mu-un-na* KUR *par-su-a* KUR *al-lab-ri-a* KUR *ab-da-da-na*  
 9) KUR *na-ʾi-ri ana paṭ gim-ri-šá* KUR *an-di-ú šá a-šar-šú ru-qu*  
 10) BAD-*ḫu* KUR-*ú a-na paṭ gim-ri-šú a-di* UGU *tam-tim* GAL-*ti*  
 11) *šá na-paḫ* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši* TA UGU ÍD.A.RAD  
 KUR *ḫat-ti* KUR *a-mur-ri ana si-ḫír-ti-šá*  
 12) KUR(\*) *šur-ru* KUR *ši-du-nu* KUR *ḫu-um-ri-i* KUR *ú-du-mu* KUR *pa-la-as-tú*  
 13) *a-di* UGU *tam-tim* GAL-*ti šá* SILIM-*mu* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši ana* GÌR.II-*ia*  
 14) *ú-šék-niš* GUN *ma-da-tú* UGU-*šú-nu ú-kín a-na*  
 15) KUR *šá-ANŠE-šú lu-ú a-lik* <sup>m</sup>ma-*ri-i* ʾMAN *šá-KUR.ANŠE-šú*  
 16) *ina* URU *di-ma-áš-qi* URU MAN-*ti-šú lu-ú e-sir-šú*  
 17) *pu-ul-ḫi me-lam-me šá aš-šur* EN-*šú is-ḫup-šú-ma* GÌR.II-*ia iṣ-bat*  
 18) *ar-du-ti DŪ-uš* 2 LIM 3 ME GUN  
 KŪ.BABBAR 20 GUN KŪ.GI  
 19) 3 LIM GUN ZABAR 5 LIM GUN AN.BAR  
*lu-búl-ti bir-me* GADA  
 20) GIŠ.NÁ ZŪ GIŠ *né-mat-ti* ZŪ *iḫ-zi tam-le-e*  
 NÍG.GA-*šú NÍG.ŠU-šú*  
 21) *ana la ma-ni ina* URU *di-ma-áš-qi* URU  
 MAN-*ti-šú ina qé-reb* É.GAL-*šú am-ḫur*  
 22) MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá* KUR *kal-di DŪ-šú-nu ar-du-ti e-pu-šú*  
 GUN *ma-da-tu a-na* UD  
 23) *ši*(\*)-*a-ti* UGU-*šú-nu ú-kín* KÁ.DINGIR.KI  
*bár-sípa*.KI GŪ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A  
 24) KI *re-ḫat* <sup>d</sup>EN <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>U.GUR *lu-ú iš-šú-ni*  
 UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ KŪ

Lacuna

east. I subdued (the territory stretching) from the bank of the Euphrates, the land Ḫatti, the land Amurru in its entirety, Tyre, Sidon, Samaria (Ḫumri), Edom, (and) Palastu, as far as the great sea in the west. I imposed tax (and) tribute upon them.

15–21) I marched to Damascus. Mari, king of Damascus, I confined in Damascus, his royal city. The awesome brilliance of Aššur, my (text “his”) lord, overwhelmed him, he submitted to me, and became my vassal. I received 2,300 talents of silver, 20 talents of gold, 3,000 talents of bronze, 5,000 talents of iron, linen garments with multi-coloured trim, an ivory bed, a couch with inlaid ivory, his property (and) possessions without number — (I received all of this) within his palace in Damascus, his royal city.

22–24) All the kings of Chaldaea became my vassals (and) I imposed upon them in perpetuity tax (and) tribute. At Babylon, Borsippa, (and) Cuthah they delivered up the remnant offerings of the gods Bēl, Nabû, (and) Nergal. [I made] pure sacrifices.

Lacuna

## 9

This text is engraved on a stone tablet found in the temple of Ištar at Nineveh. It is clear from the text that the tablet was on display in that temple (rev. 22) and the reason it was on display is that it is the official record of a royal decree granting the province of Ḫindānu to Nergal-ēriš. Normally royal decrees are not included in this series but I have decided to include this document because some of it is very much like a royal inscription in format and because it is important for the understanding of the other steles in which Nergal-ēriš appears (see the introduction above).

The text begins with the royal name and genealogy (obv. 1–3). It then gives the wording of the decree granting Ḫindānu to Nergal-ēriš (obv. 4–5). There follows a lengthy sequence of statements, some similar to legal

10 BAD-*ḫu*: the reading of this mountain name is still unknown. See Tadmor, Iraq 35 p. 149.

12 KUR(\*): copy has a Babylonian DIN.

12 KUR *ḫu-um-ri-i*: Tadmor, Iraq 35 p. 149, reads KUR.<É>-*ḫu-um-ri-i*.

23 *ši*(\*)-: copy has UM.

24 KI: this must go with GŪ.DU<sub>8</sub>.A in the preceding line.

phrases in contracts, threatening future challengers of this decree with the wrath of king and god (obv. 6 – rev. 21a). These passages are somewhat repetitive. Then there is a paragraph in which divine curses are called down upon anyone who would remove the stone tablet from the temple of Ištar and destroy or hide it in any way (rev. 21b–33). This is followed by the date, 797 BC (rev. 34–35).

The text should really end at this point. However, after a blank line, the author resumes his threats against future challengers of the decree (rev. 36–38). While the text breaks off after only three lines, there would have been room on the original tablet for further lengthy statements on this theme. That most of the document is concerned about future attempts to revoke or ignore the royal decree is understandable in the historical context. In the eighth century BC there were some very powerful officials, among them Nergal-ēriš, who were vying with the crown and with each other for territorial power (see Grayson, CAH 3/1 pp. 273–74). It was, then, viewed as a real possibility that Ḫindānu might be taken away from Nergal-ēriš in defiance of the king.

### COMMENTARY

The main part of the broken tablet is in the Iraq Museum, while a small piece, which clearly must join it, is in the British Museum (BM 136974 = 81-2-4,29) — see Reade and Walker. The original tablet, according to Reade and Walker, would have measured over 41 cm in height and 18.7 cm in width. The text on the large piece was collated from a photo by Postgate, *Orientalia NS*

42. The text on the small piece was collated by Walker from the original and by me from the published photo. The join shows that on the rev. there is one less line missing, between rev. 20–25, than Thompson had estimated. Thus the line numbers in this edition are one lower from this point on.

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### TEXT

#### Obverse

- 1) [adad-nārārī šarru GA]L-ú MAN dan-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>  
MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR [aššur]
- 2) [apil/mār šam-š]i-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR MAN dan-nu M[AN  
ŠÚ MA]N KUR [aššur]
- 3) [apil/mār šul]-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kib-rat 4-[tim]
- 4) [di(?)]-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[nu(?)] K]UR ḫi-<sup>1</sup>in-da<sup>1</sup>-nu ina ŠU  
<sup>md</sup>[IGI.D]U-ēriš
- 5) [L]Ú.GAR.KUR KUR ra-ša-pa im-tu-nu ina  
ŠU-šú i[l-ku(?)] (...)]
- 6) man-ma <ša> ina UGU <sup>1</sup>pi(?)-i(?)<sup>1</sup> di(?)<sup>1</sup>-i-<sup>1</sup>ni  
ša(?)<sup>md</sup>[IGI(?)]<sup>1</sup>DU<sup>1</sup>-[ēriš(?)]
- 7) LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR ra-ša-p[a] LÚ šá-ki-i[n x x  
x (x)]
- 8) i-rad-di x (x) x x UD EN-šú šu UD [x x x (x)]

1–3) [Adad-nārārī (III), great king], strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, [son of Šamš]i-Adad (V), strong king, king [of the universe], king of Assyria, [son of Šal]maneser (III), king of the four quarters:

4–5) *Decree*: he has entrusted the land Ḫindānu to Nergal-[ēriš], governor of the land Rašappa. The ilku is under his authority.

6–10) Whoever lays claim against the provisions of the decree, which is (in favour) of Nergal-ēriš, governor of the land Rašappa (and) governor [of the land Ḫindānu], ... [...] his agent. Whoever [...] files a] suit before the king against Nergal-ēriš [...]:

Obv. 4 [di(?)]-<sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-[nu(?)]; cf. obv. 6.

Obv. 8 i-rad-di: for *redū* with the meaning “to claim, lay claim to” see von Soden, AHw p. 966a sub *redū* 9.

- 9) LÚ *mu-tir té-mi-i-šú man-ma* [x x x (x)]  
 10) *ina* IGI MAN *bu-qúr* <sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-KAM [x x x (x)]  
 11) u NU.MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>-*te la i-zak-kar* x [x x x (x)]  
 12) *ina kun-nu lib-bi-šú ina ŠU* <sup>mf</sup><sup>d</sup>[*nergal-ēriš*]  
 13) LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR *ra-ša-pa* <sup>f</sup>im<sup>l</sup>-[*tu-nu* x x x (x)]  
 14) <sup>d</sup>IŠKUR u <sup>d</sup>be-er [x x x x x x (x)]  
 15) NUN-ú EGIR-ú *ša* [*aššur ana*] <sup>f</sup>MAN<sup>l</sup>-ut KUR AŠ.KI  
 16) *i-nam-bu-u* MU-š[ú] <sup>f</sup>ú(?) *pi<sup>l</sup>-i dan-ni-ti*  
 17) <sup>f</sup>šul-[a]-<sup>f</sup>tú *la<sup>l</sup> ú-šam-sak* KUR *hi-in-da-na-[a-a]*  
 18) [*ina*] <sup>f</sup>ŠU<sup>l</sup> <sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-KAM LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR *ra-š[a-pa]*  
 19) *la-a e-kim a-na pa-ḫa-ti šá-ni-ti-ma ina ŠU man-ma*  
 20) *šá-ni-im-ma la i-man-nu a-na* EGIR UD.MEŠ *ana* UD.MEŠ *ša-a-ti*  
 21) <sup>f</sup>it<sup>l</sup>-*ti pa-ḫa-at* KUR *ra-ša-pa* <sup>f</sup>ma-ni<sup>l</sup>  
 22) [x] LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR *ra-ša-pa* [x x x (x)]  
 23) [x x x x] x Ú GAR [x x x (x)]  
 Lacuna (about 5 lines)

## Reverse

- 1) *man-nu lu* NUN-[ú ...]  
 2) *lu* ŠEŠ MAN [...]  
 3) *lu* LÚ.SUKKAL *lu* LÚ.x [...]  
 4) *lu* BAD *lu* MAŠ.EN.GAG [*lu* ...]  
 5) *ú-š*-<sup>f</sup>šu-zu<sup>l</sup>-*ma a-mat-su* [...]  
 6) *a-<sup>f</sup>mat<sup>l</sup>* MUNUS.SIG<sub>5</sub>-*tim u la* [...]  
 7) *šá* KUR *hi-in-da-na-a-ina* IGI [x x x (x)]  
 8) *man-ma la i-zak-kar ana* IGI MAN EN-šú *la i-qabbi(?)*  
 9) *ma-a* KUR *hi-in-da-na-a-ina* ŠU <sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-<sup>f</sup>ēriš  
 10) LÚ.GAR.KUR *ra-ša-pa še-ši ina ŠU šá-ni-im-ma mu-nu-šú*  
 11) MAN EN-šú *ul-tu qé-reb É.GAL-šú*  
 12) [*i*]<sup>t</sup>(?)-*ti a-mat ḫUL-tim u* MU NU SIG<sub>5</sub> *i-na saḫ-šú*  
 13) [*a<sup>l</sup>-di u<sub>5</sub>-me* TILA *ina qé-reb É.GAL e-reb-šú* NU GÁL  
 14) NAM(?)<sup>-su e-ki-mu-šú-ma *ina ŠU LÚ.<KÚR>-šú i-man-nu-šú*  
 15) *ma[n]-nu šá a-mat šá* KUR *hi-in-<sup>f</sup>da-ni i<sup>l</sup>-qa-bu-ni*  
 16) *ma-a* <sup>f</sup>KUR *hi<sup>l</sup>-in-da-nu TA ŠU LÚ.GAR.KUR [ra-ša-pa š]e-š*  
 17) <sup>d</sup>AMAR.[UTU] EN GAL-ú *ez-<sup>f</sup>zi<sup>l</sup>-iš li[k-kil-me]-<sup>f</sup>šú<sup>l</sup>*  
 18) *ši-mat ḫUL-tim ana ša-a-ti* [...]  
 19) MAN MU DINGIR *i-za-kar* KUR *hi-<sup>f</sup>in<sup>l</sup>-[da-na ...]*  
 20) *ina ŠU* <sup>mf</sup><sup>d</sup>IGI<sup>l</sup>.DU-KAM *im-tu-[nu ...]*</sup>

11–14) Now he must not speak calumnies, [for the king] has wholeheartedly entrusted [the land Ḫindānu] to [Nergal-ēriš], governor of the land Rašappa. The gods Adad and Ber [...]

15–23) A later prince whom [Aššur] will name [for] the sovereignty of Assyria: he must not cancel (lit. “remove”) the provisions of this document, he must not remove the people of the land Ḫindānu from the authority of Nergal-ēriš, governor of the land Rašappa, to add them to another province and (20) entrust them to someone else. For future days, for eternity, they are included with the province of Rašappa [and] the governor of Rašappa [...] ... [...]

Lacuna (about 5 lines)

rev. 1–14) Whoever, either prince, [or ...], or brother of the king, [or ...], or vizier, or [...], or master, or commoner, or [...], (5) stands (to testify), the testimony [which he declares] must be good. Whoever (he be), he must not speak bad [testimony] concerning the people of the land Ḫindānu before [the king, his lord]. In the presence of the king, his lord, he must not [say]: “Remove the people of Ḫindānu from the authority of Nergal-[ēriš], (10) governor of the land Rašappa. Put them under the authority of someone else.” (If he does), may the king, his lord, banish him from his palace with curses (lit. “bad words”) and maledictions (lit. “not-good-oaths”). As long as he lives may he not be allowed to re-enter the palace. May he (the king) remove his province (from his authority) and hand it over to his enemy.

rev. 15–18) Whoever says concerning the land Ḫindānu, “Remove the land Ḫindānu from the authority of the governor of [Rašappa]”: may the god Marduk, the great lord, glare at him angrily (and) [ordain for him] an evil fate forever.

rev. 19–21a) The king swears by god that he has entrusted the land Ḫin[dānu ...] to Nergal-ēriš. [No one] may take (it from him).

Obv. 16–17 *pi-i ... ú-šam-sak*: this is a common idiom in NA contracts. See CAD 11/2 (N) p. 19 sub *nasāku* A 5b.

Rev. 19 MU DINGIR *i-za-kar*: for other examples of this well-attested idiom see CAD 11/2 (N) p. 290 and 21 (Z) p. 19b.



- 21) *la ú-šam-sak* [šá(?) *tup*(?)<sup>1</sup>-*pa* [...]  
 22) *ul-tu* IGI <sup>d</sup>[GAŠAN URU<sup>1</sup> *ni-n*[*u-a* ...]  
 23) *lu-ú ina A*.<sup>d</sup>MESŠ ŠUB<sup>1</sup>-*ú lu ina IZI GÍBIL-ú*  
 24) *lu ina KI i-tam-me-ru lu ina áš-ri šá-ni-im-ma*  
 25) *i-šak-ka-nu lu-ú ina É a-sak-ki*  
 26) *a-šar la a'-a-ri* KU<sub>a</sub>-*ma i-na-su-ku*  
 27) *aš-šur* <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>MUATI <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU <sup>d</sup>*en-lil* AD  
 DINGIR.MEŠ  
 28) <sup>d</sup>MAŠ *qar-ra-[du]* <sup>d</sup>*nè-eri*<sub>11</sub>-*gal* EN *šip-ṭi*  
 29) <sup>d</sup>*iš<sub>8</sub>-tár áš-šu-ri-l tu*<sup>1</sup> DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ  
*an-nu-ti*  
 30) *ez-zi-iš lik-kil-mu-šú-m*[*a*(?) ...]  
 31) *u* NUNUZ-*šú i-na* KUR *li-ḫal*-[*li-qu* (...)]  
 32) SAḪAR.ŠUB-BA-*a i-na zu*-[*um-ri-šu*]  
 33) GIM *šu-ba-ti li-ḫa*[*l-li-pu-šu*]  
 34) ITL.SIG<sub>a</sub>.GA UD 24.K[AM *li-mu*]  
 35) <sup>m</sup>EN-LAL-<sup>d</sup>[DINGIR-*ma*<sup>1</sup> LÚ.GAR.[KUR ...]  
 36) *man-nu šá ina* IGI MAN *i-qab-bu-ni x*(?) *ma-a*  
 K[UR *ḫindāna ina qāti nergal-ēriš*]  
 37) [LÚ.G]AR.KUR KUR *ra-ša-pa še-ši ki-l*(?)<sup>1</sup> *x*-  
 [x] *an-ni-i*(?) ...  
 38) [...] x x x [...]

Lacuna

rev. 21b–33) Whoever [removes this] document from the presence of the divine mistress of Nineveh [and] throws it in water, or burns it with fire, or buries it in the earth, or (25) puts it in another place, or throws it into a Taboo House where it is inaccessible: may the deities Aššur, Šamaš, Nabû, Marduk, Enlil, father of the gods, Ninurta, the warrior, Nergal, the lord of judgment, the Assyrian Ištar, (all) these great gods, (30) glare angrily at him and eradicate [his name, his seed], and his offspring from the land. May they clothe his body with leprosy as with a garment.

rev. 34–35) Month of Sivan, twenty-fourth day, [eponymy of] Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor [of Calah].  
 rev. 36–38) Whoever says in the presence of the king, “Remove the land [Ḫindānu from the authority of Nergal-ēriš], governor of the land Rašappa”: according to this document [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

## 10

A number of small inscribed cylinders of precious materials were found at Aššur and several of these have inscriptions of Adad-nārārī III, which are edited as A.0.104.10 and 11, or Šamši-Adad V, for which see A.0.103.5–8.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	Ass ph number	Material	Galter number	cpn
1	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202c	—	Alabaster	25	n
2	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202d	—	Alabaster	26	n
3	VA Ass 1730	—	Ass 12880a	3210	Magnesite	27	c
4	See commentary	—	Ass 1200c	—	Lapis lazuli	28	—
5	See commentary	—	Ass 1200d	—	Lapis lazuli	29	—
6	See commentary	—	Ass 1200f	—	Lapis lazuli	30	—
7	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202i	—	Alabaster	31	n
8	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202k	—	Alabaster	32	n
9	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202l	—	Alabaster	33	n
10	Unlocated	—	Ass 1202m	—	Alabaster	34	n
11	VA Ass 1733	—	Ass 12883a.	3210	Lapis lazuli	35	c
12	VA Ass 1733	—	Ass 12883b	3210	Lapis lazuli	36	c
13	BM 102406	1906-10-13,1	—	—	Lapis lazuli	37	c
14	VA Ass 1730	—	Ass 12880b	3210	Magnesite	38	c
15	VA Ass 1731	—	Ass 12881b	3210	Magnesite	39	c

Rev. 35–36 There is a blank line between these lines.

Rev. 36 Given the cramped cuneiform in this line, there is quite enough room for the restoration.

## COMMENTARY

Since the inscription is very short and several exs. could not be located or collated, no scores are given. A detailed discussion of the provenance will be found in Galter. The cylinders published by Donbaz with the

museum numbers EŞ 2340 and 2770 could be any of exs. 4–6. The measurements of ex. 13 are 3.1 cm long and 0.9 cm in diameter. Some exs. omit MAN KUR AŠ-(ma) “king of Assyria” in both lines 2 and 3.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1904 Andrae, MDOG 22 pp. 19 and 21 (provenance)             | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 118 (study)                             |
| 1908 Andrae, MDOG 36 pp. 37–38 (provenance)                 | 1986 Pedersén, Archives 2 p. 30 n. 5 (provenance)              |
| 1911 Messerschmidt, KAH 1 nos. 35–36 (exs. 1–2, 4–10, copy) | 1987 Galter, ARRIM 5 pp. 11–30 nos. 25–39 (exs. 1–15, edition) |
| 1922 Andrae, AIT p. 4 (study)                               | 1991 Donbaz, NABU no. 107 (edition)                            |
| 1923 Meissner, OLZ 26 618 (study)                           | 1994 Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 16 p. 247 (edition)           |
| 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§747–48 (translation)              |  |
| 1931–32 Weidner, AfO 7 pp. 267–68 (photo, study)            |  |

## TEXT

- 1) *ana* <sup>d</sup>NIN-GARZA.MEŠ NIN-šú
- 2) <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN KUR AŠ
- 3) A <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*
- 4) *ana* TI-šú BA

1–4) To the goddess Bēlat-paršī, his mistress, has Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, son of Šamšī-Adad (V), (who was) also king of Assyria, dedicated (this) for his life.

## 11

This text, engraved on two small stone cylinders from Aššur, is an abbreviated version of A.O.104.10 (q.v.).

## COMMENTARY

The main ex. (EŞ 4831) is 2.9 cm long and 0.9 cm in diameter. A fragmentary duplicate (EŞ 4841) has only

*ana* <sup>d</sup>NIN-GARZA.MEŠ. The inscriptions have been collated by Veysel Donbaz.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1991 Donbaz, NABU no. 107 (exs. 1–2, copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *ana* <sup>d</sup>NIN-GARZA NIN-šú
- 2) <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ A <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-<sup>d</sup>[10]
- 3) *ana* TI-šú BA

1–3) To the goddess Bēlat-paršī, his mistress, has Adad-nārārī, son of Šamšī-[Adad] (V), dedicated (this) for his life.

## 12

This text is stamped on bricks from Aššur and records work by Adad-nārārī on the facing of the Aššur temple. A design appears in the stamp impression to the left of the inscription.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Ass number	cpn
1	VA Ass 4302a	—	c
2	VA Ass 4302b	—	c
3	VA Ass 4302c	—	c
4	Unlocated	4663	n

## COMMENTARY

Line 4 is broken in the three exs. which have been located (exs. 1–3) but it was preserved completely in the unlocated ex. (ex. 4) and, according to Andrae, it

had the text which has been restored in this edition. Thus there is no reason to doubt that the bricks came from the city Aššur, as Kessler has postulated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1905 Andrae, MDOG 26 pp. 62–63 (ex. 4, provenance)  
 1905 Andrae, MDOG 27 pp. 9 and 18 (ex. 4, study)  
 1905 Andrae, MDOG 29 p. 39 (ex. 4, study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 118 (study)

1984 Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1 nos. 337–39 (exs. 1–3, study)  
 1985 Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23 no. 123 (ex. 1, copy)  
 1986 Galter, ZA 76 p. 304 (study)  
 1988 Kessler, BiOr 45 627 (ex. 1, study)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN ŠÚ MAN [KUR A]Š
- 2) [A] <sup>m</sup>šam-[ši-10] MAN KIŠ MAN [KUR AŠ]
- 3) [A] <sup>md</sup>[šul-ma-nu]l-MAŠ MAN [KUR AŠ]
- 4) [šá] <sup>l</sup>ki-si-i[r]-ti [šá É AŠ]

1–4) Palace of Adad-nārārī, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamšī-Adad (V), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser (III), king of Assyria: belonging to the facing [of the temple of Aššur].

## 13

This text, inscribed on bricks from Nineveh, records that Adad-nārārī completed construction of the palace which Šamšī-Adad, his father, had begun.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Publication reference	cpn
1	BM 137493	1932-12-10,37	AAA 18 no. 39	c
2	Ash 1930.719	—	As ex. 1	c
3	Unlocated	—	AAA 19 p. 115	n
4	Unlocated	—	As ex. 3	n

## COMMENTARY

Some exs. have *ú-šak-li-lu* in line 4.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1931 Thompson, AAA 18 p. 100 and pl. XIX no. 39 (copy, edition)  
 1932 Thompson, AAA 19 p. 115 Y (1) (study)  
 1965 Seux, RA 59 p. 16 (study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study)  
 1981 Walker, CBI no. 165 (edition)

## TEXT

- 1) É.GAL <sup>md</sup>*šam-ši*-10 MAN GAL-*u* MAN *dan-nu* MAN [ŠÚ MAN KUR AŠ]  
 2) A <sup>md</sup>*šul-ma-nu*-MAŠ MAN *kib-rat 4-ti* A <sup>m</sup>AŠ-PAB-IA<sup>1</sup> [MAN KUR AŠ]  
 3) *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú-ma* É.GAL *ši-i šá* <sup>md</sup>*šam-ši*-10 MAN KUR AŠ  
 4) DŪ-*uš-ma la ú-šak-li-lu u ana-ku* <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN KUR AŠ DUMU-šú *ú-šak-lil* 1–4) Palace of Šamšī-Adad (V), great king, strong king, king of [the universe, king of Assyria], son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters, son of Ashurnasirpal (II), [king of Assyria]: at that time, this palace, which Šamšī-Adad (V), king of Assyria, had built but not completed, I myself, Adad-nārārī (III), king of Assyria, his son, completed.

## 14

This text, inscribed on bricks from Nineveh, records work on the Nabû temple there.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Publication reference	cpn
1	BM 137463	1929-10-12,173	Arch. 79 no. 66(?)	c
2	BCM 333 '79	—	—	c
3	BCM 332 '79	—	—	c
4	BCM 355 '79	—	AAA 18 no. 48	c
5	BCM A59 '87	—	—	c
6	BCM A60 '87	—	—	c
7	BCM A61 '87	—	AAA 18 no. 48(?)	c
8–12	Unlocated	—	Arch. 79 no. 66	n
13	Unlocated	—	Arch. 79 no. 67	n

## COMMENTARY

Altogether there are seven exs. conflated into Arch. 79 no. 66 and two into AAA 18 no. 48. Exs. 2-3 and 5-6 may be identical with some of exs. 8-12. Ex. 13 may be a shorter version of this text. The following variants occur in sundry exs.:

Line 2 <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši*-10 or <sup>m</sup>dUTU-10

Line 3 <MAŠ>  
omit *-ma*  
Line 4 EN-*šú ša*  
*ni-URU-na-[a]*  
Line 5 KUR-<*šú*>

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 p. 123 and pl. XLIV nos. 66-67 (exs. 1? and 8-13, copy)      1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study)  
1931 Thompson, AAA 18 pl. XX no. 48 (exs. 4, 7, copy)      1981 Walker, CBI no. 164 (exs. 1-4, edition)  
1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 pp. 9 and 12 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur*
- 2) A <sup>m</sup>dUTU-*ši*-10 GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur*
- 3) A <sup>m</sup>dšùl-*ma-nu*-MAŠ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-šur-ma*
- 4) É <sup>d</sup>AG EN-*šú ša qé-reb* URU *ni-na-a*
- 5) *iš-tu* URU-*šú a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú*
- 6) *ana* TI-*šú šùl-mu* NUMUN-*šú u* KUR-*šú DÙ-uš*

1-6) Adad-nārārī, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Šamsī-Adad (V), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Shalmaneser (III), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur: he (re)built from top to bottom the temple of the god Nabû, his lord, which is within Nineveh, for his life (and) the well-being of his seed and his land.

## 15

This text is inscribed on bricks from Nineveh, one of which (ex. 1) was found on Nebi Yunus, while most of the others were found on Kuyunjik.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Publication reference	cpn
1	BM 90266	1979-12-20,164	1 R pl. 35 no. 4	c
2	BM 90463 + 90464	1979-12-20,265	—	c
3	BM 90742	1979-12-20,333	—	c
4	BM 137466	1929-10-12,177	Arch. 79 no. 68	c
5	Ash 1930.718	—	—	c
6	BCM 335 79	—	AAA 18 p. 100 no. 39 (a)	c
7	Unlocated	—	Arch. 79 no. 68	n
8	Unlocated	—	AAA 18 p. 100 no. 39 (a)	n
9-11	Unlocated	—	AAA 19 p. 115 Y (2)	n

## COMMENTARY

The following variants appear in line 3 in sundry exs.: <sup>m</sup>dšùl-; omit GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD "appointee of the god Enlil"; omit *-ma*.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1861 1 R pl. 35 no. 4 (ex. 1, copy)                                  | 1932 Thompson, AAA 19 p. 115 Y (2) (exs. 9–11, study) |
| 1889 Abel and Schrader, KB 1 pp. 188–89 (ex. 1, edition)             | 1965 Seux, RA 59 p. 105 n. 2 (ex. 1, study)           |
| 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §746 (ex. 1, translation)                    | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study)                    |
| 1929 Thompson, Arch. 79 p. 123 and pl. XLIV no. 68 (exs. 4, 7, copy) | 1981 Walker, CBI no. 162 (exs. 1–6, edition)          |
| 1931 Thompson, AAA 18 p. 100 no. 39 (a) (exs. 6, 8, study)           | 1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 pp. 5–20 (study)                  |

## TEXT

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1) m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ GAR dBAD ŠID AŠ        | 1–3) Adad-nārārī, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Šamši-Adad (V), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur, son of Shalmaneser (III), (who was) also appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur. |
| 2) A mšam-ši-10 GAR dBAD ŠID AŠ        |  |
| 3) A mšul-ma-nu-MAŠ GAR dBAD ŠID AŠ-ma |  |

## 16

This label is stamped on bricks found in the bathroom of Adad-nārārī's palace at Calah.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Registration number	Excavation number	cpn
1	Ash 1957.185	—	ND 3499	c
2	BM 132264	1958-2-8,7	ND 3499	c

## COMMENTARY

There seem to have been a number of stamped bricks from the floor of the bathroom (PD 5 room 9) and all of them were assigned the number ND 3499.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1953 Wiseman, Iraq 15 p. 149 and pl. XV (copy, translation) | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study) |
| 1954 Mallowan, Iraq 16 p. 155 (provenience)                 | 1981 Walker, CBI no. 163 (edition) |

## TEXT

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| 1) É.GAL m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ              | 1–4) (Property of) the palace of Adad-nārārī, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad (V), king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters. |
| 2) MAN KIŠ MAN KUR aš-šur          |   |
| 3) A mšam-ši-10 MAN KIŠ MAN KUR AŠ |   |
| 4) A mšul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kib-rat 4  |   |

## 17

The text of an inscribed brick found in a bathroom (not the same as A.0.104.16) at Fort Shalmaneser (NW 3) has not been published.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1966 Mallowan, Nimrud pp. 384 and 402 (provenance)  
 1984 Dalley and Postgate, Fort Shalmaneser p. 265 F (study)

## 18

The text of an inscribed brick of Adad-nārārī, which was discovered at Fort Shalmaneser (S 35), has never been published.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1961 Oates, Iraq 23 p. 7 (provenance)              | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study)                          |
| 1966 Mallowan, Nimrud pp. 389 and 468 (provenance) | 1984 Dalley and Postgate, Fort Shalmaneser p. 265 E (study) |

## 19

Two inscribed clay hands of Adad-nārārī (“Vul-nirari”) were found by George Smith at Calah. The inscriptions were never published and the location of the objects is unknown.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |                                      |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 1875 G. Smith, Assyrian Disc. p. 252 (study) | 1991 Frame, NABU 1991 no. 83 (study) |
| 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study)           |                                      |

## 20

This broken text appears on an incomplete seal impression on a clay docket found at Calah. The inscription appears in the “negative” or “mirror” form, which means that it was engraved on the seal as a “positive.”

## COMMENTARY

The ascription to Adn. III is based on the enclitic *-ma* appearing after Shalmaneser’s titles, which indicates that this is the grandfather’s name. The docket (IM

64209 = ND 7104) was found in SE 10. The inscription could be partially collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1962 Parker, Iraq 24 pp. 28, 38-39 and pl. XXII 1 (photo, copy, edition)

1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 379 (study)

1993 Watanabe, Orient 29 p. 110 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

Lacuna

- 1') A <sup>d</sup>šūl-man-MAŠ  
2') MAN KUR AŠ-*ma*

Lacuna

[*Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad V, king of Assyria*], (1'–2') son of Shalmaneser (III), (who was) also king of Assyria

## 21

This text, with a dedication to the god Aššur, is partially preserved on fragments of clay cones found at Aššur.

## CATALOGUE

Ex.	Museum number	Excavation number	Aššur provenance	Dimensions (cm)	cpn
1	VA Ass 2104	Ass 5765	Stone foundation of South Wall, eC6I	17 diam.	c
2	VA Ass 2111	Ass 5579	Well, iC6I	4.5x7+	c

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1905 Andrae, MDOG 28 p. 21 (ex. 1, provenance)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 98 and 120 (ex. 1, study)

1982 Rost, FuB 22 nos. 104 and 105 (exs. 1–2, copy)



## TEXT

- 1) *a-na aš-šur* EN GAL EN-šú<sup>[m]</sup>†<sup>d</sup> IŠKUR-ÉRIN.TÁĤ GAR<sup>d</sup> [enlil iššak aššur] †A<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 [šakin enlil]  
 2) ŠID aš-šur A(\*)<sup>m</sup>dšùl-ma-nu-M[AŠ šakin]  
 †<sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID aš-šur-<ma> ana TI-†šú<sup>1</sup> [šulmu  
 zērišu] u KUR-š[ú iqiš]

1–2) To Aššur, the great lord, his lord, has Adad-nārārī, appointee of the god [Enlil, vice-regent of Aššur], son of Šamsī-Adad (V), [appointee of the god Enlil], vice-regent of Aššur, son of Shalmaneser (III), (who was) also [appointee] of the god Enlil and vice-regent of Aššur: [he has dedicated (this)] for his life (and) [the well-being of his seed] and his land.

## 1001

This broken text is engraved on a stele fragment found in a village (Pāra) in the western part of the Jebel Sinjar. A figure in relief, only the bottom part of which is preserved, is also engraved on the piece. There is reference to “the great sea of the west,” the city Arvad, and the erection of a stele. As to the date, it could be ascribed to Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III, or Adad-nārārī III.

## COMMENTARY

After discovery, the stele fragment was deposited in the Iraq Museum. It measures 109×72+ cm. The inscription has been collated from the published photos.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1970 Hulin, Sumer 26 pp. 127–31 (photo, copy, edition)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 141 (study)

1982 Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen no. 168 (study)

## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x [...]  
 2') [...] †a<sup>1</sup>-na †tam-tim GAL<sup>1</sup>-ti šá †šùl-mu<sup>1</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>UTU-ši l[u ...]  
 3') [...] -e ina URU ar-ma-di šá MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim  
 lu-†ú<sup>1</sup> [...]

## Lacuna (erasure?)

- 1'') [... ú-š]e-piš-ma ša-lam x x [...] x [...] x [...]  
 2'') [...] -x-šú(?) a-na da-ra-te lu-u [...] x x [...]  
 3'') [...] †PAB<sup>1</sup>-ru †IŠKUR EN GAL [...] x [...]

## Lacuna

1'–3') No translation warranted.

## Lacuna (erasure?)

1'–3'') No translation warranted.

A.0.104.21 line 2 A(\*): text -ma.

A.0.104.21 line 2.2 a-n[a] for ana.

A.0.104.21 line 2.2 For the restoration of the end of the line see A.0.104.14.

## 1002

This bit of text is inscribed on a clay cone fragment found in the Ištar temple at Nineveh. The reference to “son of Šamšī-Adad” (line 2’) suggests ascribing it tentatively to Adad-nārārī III. Later (line 4’) there is reference to “Tukultī-Ninurta, king of Assyria,” presumably as an earlier builder, and this is no doubt the first king of that name, who did considerable work on the Ištar temple at Nineveh. Not enough of the text is preserved to warrant an edition.

## COMMENTARY

The fragment (BM 128355 = 1932-12-10,612) was found in the Ištar temple, MM.10, and measures 4.2×8.5+ cm. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1932 Thompson, AAA 19 p. 103 and pl. LXXIX no. 219 (copy, edition) | 1976 Grayson, ARI 2 p. 64 n. 262 (study) |
| 1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 527 (study)                                  | 1984 Frame, ARRIM 2 p. 16 (study)        |
| 1968 Lambert and Millard, Cat. p. 63 (study)                       | 1991 Grayson, RIMA 2 p. 117 (study)      |

## 1003

A tiny fragment of a black stone obelisk found at Nineveh preserves traces of two lines of inscription and a scene in relief showing the upper part of a man’s body holding a bowl above his head. Only the name Zakur (<sup>m</sup>za-ku-r[i]) can be deciphered in the inscription and this is probably identical with Zakur of Ḥamat. Thus the original obelisk may well have belonged to Adad-nārārī III (see A.O.104.2).

## COMMENTARY

The fragment (BM 120429) is 6.9 cm in height. The inscription was collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1875 G. Smith, Assyrian Disc. pp. 141 and 430 (provenance)  
 1981 Reade, Iraq 43 pp. 151–52 and pl. XXc (photo, edition)

## 2001

This singular text is engraved on a stele (Ass 15712) in the row of steles discovered at Aššur. It is of Semiramis, wife of Šamši-Adad V and mother of Adad-nārārī III.

## COMMENTARY

Regarding the titles of Semiramis see A.O.104.3 lines 3–7. Schramm in his bibliography for this text refers to

Lehmann-Haupt, Semiramis p. 7 and 70, but I have not been able to locate this volume.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1913 Andrae, Stelenreihen no. 5 (photo, copy, edition)  
1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§730-31 (translation)

1947 Böhl, Chrestomathy p. 18 no. 11 (copy)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 111 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) *ša-lam* <sup>f</sup>*sa-am-mu-ra-mat*
- 2) MUNUS.É.GA[L *ša mšam*]-šī-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR
- 3) MAN ŠÚ MAN [KUR] [<sup>d</sup>a]-šur
- 4) MUNUS.AMA [*ša m<sup>d</sup>IŠ*]KUR-ÉRIN.TÁḪ
- 5) MAN ŠÚ MAN K[UR] <sup>d</sup>a-šur
- 6) MUNUS *kal-lat* [<sup>m<sup>d</sup>šū</sup>]*l-ma-nu-MAŠ*
- 7) MAN *kib-rat 4-ti*

1–7) Monument of Semiramis, the palace woman [of Šam]šī-Adad (V), king of the universe, king of Assyria, mother of Adad-nārārī (III), king of the universe, king of Assyria, daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser (III), king of the four quarters.

## 2002

This text, dedicated to the god Nabû, is inscribed on two human-shaped statues (160 cm in height) of stone found in the Nabû temple at Calah. Two other similar statues, but uninscribed, were found with them. The dedication is made by Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Calah, and it is to be presumed that the statues represent him and were erected in the Nabû temple to show him worshipping that god (see the introduction above). According to the text, he dedicated the statues to the life of the king, Adad-nārārī III, and the king's mother, Semiramis.

## COMMENTARY

The inscriptions on the two statues are identical, with two minor variants, and therefore no scores are given. BM 118888 has in line 4 *šu-ka-mi* and in line 6 it omits *ina*. In line 5 I have followed the interpretation of CAD 11/1 (N) p. 97 and von Soden, AHW p. 708b, rather than that of Goetze, JCS 19 (1965) 129.

The two uninscribed statues were left at the site, while the two inscribed objects were removed to the British Museum, where they are registered as BM 118888 and 118889 (56-9-9,64 and 65). The inscriptions have been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1861 1 R pl. 35 no. 2 (copy)  
 1885–88 Hommel, Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens p. 630 (translation)  
 1889 Abel, KB 1 pp. 192–93 and 217 (edition)  
 1890 Abel and Winckler, Keilschrifttexte p. 14 (copy)  
 1895 Meissner, Chrestomathie p. 10 (copy)  
 1897 Rassam, Asshur pp. 9–10 and opposite p. 12 (photo, provenance)  
 1907 Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien pp. 44–45 and pl. V no. 24 (study)  
 1909 Winckler, Textbuch pp. 27–28 (edition)  
 1911 Sarsowsky, Urkundenbuch p. 20 (copy)  
 1913 Andrae, Stelenreihen p. 15 n. 1 and pl. XII (study)  
 1920 Pinckert, LSS 3/4 no. 5 (edition)  
 1926 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §§744–45 (translation)  
 1936 Gadd, Stones pp. 150–51 (provenance)  
 1938 Smith, Sculptures pls. III–IV (photo)  
 1957 Oates, Iraq 19 p. 29 (provenance)  
 1962 Strommenger and Hirmer, Mesopotamien Abb. 215 (photo)  
 1970 Strommenger, Rundskulptur pls. 8–9 and pp. 18–20 (photo)  
 1971 Eilers, Semiramis p. 34 (study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 116–17 (study)  
 1994 Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 16 pp. 256–57 (edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *a-na* <sup>d</sup>AG *da-pi-ni šá-qé-e* DUMU *é-sag-gíl* IGI.GÁL *šit-ra-ḫu*
- 2) NUN *kaš-ka-šu* IBILA <sup>d</sup>nu-*dím-mud šá qí-bit-su* MAḪ-rat
- 3) ABGAL *nik-la-a-ti pa-qid kiš-šat* AN-e KI-tim *mu-du-ú mim-ma* MU-šú
- 4) *rap-šá uz-ni ta-mi-iḫ* GI *tup-pi a-ḫi-zu šu-ka-mi re-me-nu-ú muš-ta-lu*
- 5) *šá šu-ud-du-ú šu-šú-bu ba-šu-ú it-ti-šú na-ra-am* <sup>d</sup>BAD EN EN.MEŠ-e
- 6) *ša la iš-šá-na-nu dan-nu-su šá ba-lu-uš-šu ina* AN-e *la iš-šá-ka-nu mil-ku*
- 7) *re-me-nu-ú ta-ia-a-ru šá na-ás-ḫur-šú* DÜG.GA *a-šib é-zi-da šá qé-reb* URU *kal-ḫi*
- 8) EN GAL EN-šú *a-na* TI <sup>m</sup>dIŠKUR-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN KUR *aš-šur* EN-šú *ù* TI
- 9) <sup>f</sup>*sa-am-mu-ra-mat* MUNUS.É.GAL NIN-šú <sup>m</sup>EN-tar-ḡi-DINGIR-ma LÚ.GAR KUR
- 10) URU *kal-ḫi* KUR *ḫa-me-di* KUR *sir-ga-na* KUR *te-me-ni* KUR *ia-lu-na*
- 11) *a-na* TI ZI.MEŠ-šú GÍD UD.MEŠ-šú *šúm-ud* MU.MEŠ-šú *šul-mu É-šú u* UN.MEŠ-šú *la* GÁL GIG-šú
- 12) *ú-še-piš-ma* NÍG.BA *ma-nu ar-ku-ú a-na* <sup>d</sup>AG *na-at-kil ana* DINGIR *šá-ni-ma la ta-tak-kil*

1–8a) To the god Nabû, heroic (and) exalted, son of Esagil, wise (and) splendid, mighty prince, heir of the god Nudimmud, whose command is supreme, skilled in the arts, trustee of all heaven and underworld, expert in everything, wise, the one who can write (lit. “holder of the tablet stylus”), learned in the scribal art, merciful (and) judicious, (5) who has the power to depopulate (and) repopulate (a country), beloved of the god Enlil, lord of lords, whose might has no rival, without whom there can be no order in heaven, the merciful (and) compassionate whose benevolence is good, dweller in Ezida, which is within Calah, the great lord, his lord:

8b–9a) For the life of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, his lord, and (for) the life of Semiramis, the palace woman, his mistress:

9b–12a) Has Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of Calah (and) the lands Ḫamedu, Sirgāna, Temenu, (and) laluna, had (this statue) made and he dedicated (it) for his life, that his days might be long, his years many, (for) the well-being of his family (lit. “house”) and people, (and) that he might not become ill.

12b) Whoever you are, after (me), trust in the god Nabû! Do not trust in another god!

## 2003

This text of Bēl-tarši-ilumma (see the introduction above) was engraved on a cylinder seal and is known from several impressions on broken clay sealings and a tablet from the Governor’s Palace at Calah. The original seal has not been recovered.

## COMMENTARY

The clay sealings are ND 240(b) (Institute of Archaeology in London) and ND 252(k) (Iraq Museum) and the clay tablet is ND 476 (Institute of Archaeology

in London). All were found in room K of the Governor's Palace. The edition is based on Postgate's reconstruction.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1955 Parker, *Iraq* 17 pp. 110–11 and pl. XXI no. 1 (photo, study)  
 1973 Postgate, *Governor's Palace* nos. 66, 170, and 171 (photo, copy, edition)  
 1990 Fadhil, *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 p. 481 (edition)

- 1992 Watanabe, *Bagh. Mitt.* 23 p. 365 and pl. 70d (photo, edition)  
 1993 Watanabe, *Orient* 29 pp. 112–13 and pl. 3 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

- 1) KIŠIB <sup>m</sup>EN-LAL-DINGIR-*ma*  
 2) šá SAG šá <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ  
 3) MAN ŠÁR GAR.KUR URU *kal-ḫi*  
 4) KUR [*ḫa(?)*]-*me(?)*]-*d*[*i(?)*] KUR *te-me-ni*  
 5) [*māt i*]*a-lu-na*  
 6) *at-kal-ka*  
 7) *a*-[*a(?)*]-*ba(?)*]-*áš* <sup>d</sup>MUATI

1–7) Seal of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, eunuch of Adad-nārārī, king of the universe, governor of the city Calah (and) the lands [*Ḫamed*]*i*, Temenu, (and) Ialuna. I have trusted in you, O Nabû, let me not be put to shame!

## 2004

Among the Luristan bronzes is a mace head, at one time in the Foroughi Collection, with this text of Bēl-tarši-ilumma (see the introduction above). The inscription has been collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1962 Dossin, *Iranica Antiqua* 2 pp. 162–63 and pl. XXX no. 27 (photo, edition)  
 1967 Borger, *HKL* 1 p. 83 (study)

- 1969 Calmayer, *Datierbare Bronzen* p. 92 no. 45A and p. 166 no. 89 (edition)  
 1973 Schramm, *EAK* 2 p. 117 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) šá <sup>m</sup>EN-*tar-ši*-DINGIR-*ma* LÚ.A.BA LÚ.SAG  
 2) šá <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN ŠÁR(?) MAN(?)  
 KUR(?)<sup>1</sup> *aš-šur*

1–2) Property of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, the scribe, eunuch of Adad-nārārī, king of the universe, king of Assyria.

## 2005

This text is engraved on a cylinder seal in the Museo Archeologica, Florence (inventory number 14385). The provenance is unknown. Regarding Bēl-tarši-ilumma see the introduction above.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1900 Winckler, OLZ 3 433–34 (copy, edition, earlier bibliography)       | 1938 Ungnad, RLA 2 p. 446b (study)                                |
| 1910 Ward, Seals no. 767 (copy, study)                                  | 1987 Collon, First Impressions no. 342 (photo, study)             |
| 1915 Scheil, RA 12 pp. 55–56 (copy, edition)                            | 1992 Watanabe, Bagh. Mitt. 23 p. 365 and pl. 71a (photo, edition) |
| 1927 Delaporte, Arethuse 4 pp. 62–63 and pl. VIII no. 25 (photo, study) | 1993 Watanabe, Orient 29 p. 116 and pl. 4 (photo, edition)        |

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) <i>šá<sup>m</sup>ré<sup>m</sup>-ma-ni-DINGIR</i> | 1–4) Property of Remmanni-ilu, eunuch of Bēl-tarši-ilumma, governor of the city Calah. |
| 2) LÚ.SAG   |  |
| 3) <i>šá<sup>m</sup>EN-LAL-DINGIR-ma</i>            |  |
| 4) LÚ.GAR.KUR URU <i>kal-ḫi</i>                     |  |

## 2006

This text is engraved on a black stone cylinder, with two white bands, which has a hole drilled lengthwise through the middle. The provenance is unknown. Regarding Nergal-ēriš see the introduction above.

## COMMENTARY

The cylinder (NBC 3174) measures 3×0.8 cm in diameter. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1990 Galter, Iraq 52 pp. 47–48 (photo, copy, edition) | 1993 Watanabe, Orient 29 p. 112 (copy, edition) |
| 1992 Watanabe, Bagh. Mitt. 23 p. 363 (copy, edition)  |   |

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) <i>šá<sup>md</sup>IGIDU-KAM</i>      | 1–4) Property of Nergal-ēriš, eunuch, governor of the city Nēmed-Ištar (and) of the land Rašappa. |
| 2) LÚ.SAG GAR.KUR                       |   |
| 3) URU <i>nē-med-<sup>g</sup>INANNA</i> |   |
| 4) KUR <i>ra-ša-pi</i>                  |   |

## 2007

This text is engraved on a stone mace head (Ass 10274 = Ass ph 1530–32) found at Aššur. The text has never been published but Weidner quoted extracts from it, saying it was dedicated to the god Nergal by Nergal-ēriš, governor of the lands Rušapa, Laqê, (and) Suḫi (<sup>md</sup>IGI.DU-KAM LÚ *ša-kin* KUR *ru-ša-pi* KUR *la-qe-e* KUR *su-ḫi*). Further, he said it recorded that Nergal-ēriš “in my second eponymy” (*i-na 2-e lim-me-a*) offered a large quantity of animals and wine to the gods Aššur and Adad. Regarding Nergal-ēriš see the introduction above.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1939–41 Weidner, AfO 13 p. 318 (study)  
1990 Galter, Iraq 52 pp. 47–48 (study)

## 2008

This text is engraved on a cylinder seal which belonged to Ashur-bela-ušur, a eunuch of Nergal-ēriš (see the introduction to A.0.104.6).

## COMMENTARY

The seal is of chalcedony and measures 5.5 cm in length and 1.8 cm in diameter. The text has been collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1875 G. Smith, <i>The Assyrian Eponym Canon</i> (London) p. 82 (translation) | 1938 Ungnad, RLA 2 p. 457 (study)  |
| 1910 Delaporte, <i>Bibliothèque Nationale</i> no. 354 (photo, edition)       | 1973 Postgate, <i>Governor's Palace</i> p. 10 n. 28 (edition)                |
|  | 1992 Watanabe, <i>Bagh. Mitt.</i> 23 pp. 363–64 and pl. 70b (photo, edition) |

## TEXT

- 1) NA<sub>4</sub>.KIŠIB <sup>m</sup>[aš]-šur-UMUN-PAB
- 2) LÚ.[SAG *ša* <sup>md</sup>]IGI.DU<sup>1</sup>-KAM
- 3) LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR *ra-ša-p[a]*

1–3) Seal of [Aš]šur-bēla-ušur, eunuch of Nergal-ēriš, governor of the land Rušappa.

## 2009

This text is engraved on a cylinder seal, the provenance of which is unknown. It records that the seal was a gift to an officer of Nergal-ilāiia by an officer of the king, Adad-nārārī. An inscription of Nergal-ilāiia on a stone duckweight from Nimrud (BCM 87 '57 = ND 4319) is known: George, Iraq 41 (1979) pp. 122 and 134 and pl. XVII b–d. Regarding powerful officials of this type see the introduction above.

## COMMENTARY

The cylinder seal (AO 3877) is of red cornelian and measures 3.2×1.4 cm. The inscription has been collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1923 Delaporte, CCL 2 pp. 165–66 and pl. 88 A678 (photo, copy, edition) | 1987 Collon, First Impressions no. 343 (photo, edition)           |
| 1932 Contenau, RA 29 p. 30 (edition)                                    | 1992 Watanabe, Bagh. Mitt. 23 p. 364 and pl. 70c (photo, edition) |
| 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 119 (study)                                      | 1993 Watanabe, Orient 29 p. 115 and pl. 3 (photo, edition)        |

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) <i>ana</i> <sup>m</sup> 15-BĀD LÚ.SAG                | 1–7) To Ištar-dūri, eunuch of Nergal-ilāiia, the field marshal, his protector, (this) was given by Birtāiia, eunuch of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria. |
| 2) <i>šá</i> <sup>md</sup> MAŠ.MAŠ-DINGIR- <i>a-a</i>   |  |
| 3) LÚ <i>tur-ta-nu</i>                                  |  |
| 4) EN <i>kit-ri-šú</i>                                  |  |
| 5) SUM  |  |
| 6) <i>šá</i> <sup>m</sup> <i>bi-ir-ta-a-a</i>           |  |
| 7) LÚ.SAG <i>šá</i> <sup>m</sup> 10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ MAN KUR AŠ |  |

## 2010

This text is engraved on two colossal stone lions, each more than two metres high, discovered at a place first called Tīl-Barsip and later renamed Kār-Shalmaneser (modern Tell Ahmar). The text is in form a royal dedicatory inscription, but the author is Šamšī-ilu, the field marshal, who does not mention any royal name (see the introduction above). After the dedication to various deities and the listing of several titles for himself, Šamšī-ilu goes on to describe a successful campaign against Argištu (I), king of Urartu. The text commemorates the erection of the two lions and records each of their names.



## COMMENTARY

Both lions are badly worn and damaged and thus the inscriptions have been very difficult to decipher. No legible photos of the inscriptions have been published and the present edition depends on the readings of Thureau-Dangin. The master text is a conflation of the two exemplars. Thureau-Dangin in RA labels the objects “North” and “South” lions, while in Til-Barsip

he labels them, respectively, “West” and “East” lions. The best preserved exemplar is on the “West” or “North” lion, while the other is on the “East” or “South” lion. In this edition I have noted variants in the second exemplar as coming from the “other lion,” i.e., the “East” or “South” lion. Most of the text is in the third person but in line 19 it switches to first person.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1909 King, AAA 2 pp. 185–86 and pl. XXXVII (exs. 1–2, photo, edition)  
 1912 Thompson, PSBA 34 pp. 66–74 and pls. IV–VI (exs. 1–2, photo, copy, edition)  
 1930 Thureau-Dangin, RA 27 pp. 11–21 (exs. 1–2, photo, copy, edition)  
 1936 Thureau-Dangin, Til Barsip pp. 141–51 and pl. XXXVII (exs. 1–2, photo, copy, edition)  
 1953 Malamat, BASOR 129 p. 26 (study)  
 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 120–21 (exs. 1–2, study)  
 1987 Engel, Dämonen pp. 57–58 and 245 (study)  
 1990 Bunnens, Tell Ahmar (provenance, study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur* EN GAL-*u* MAN DINGIR.MEŠ [*mu-šim* [N]AM.MEŠ  
 2) <sup>d</sup>*a-nu geš-ru reš-tu-u za-ri* DINGIR.MEŠ  
 †GAL.MEŠ  
 3) <sup>d</sup>BAD *a-bu* DINGIR.MEŠ EN  
 KUR.KUR.MEŠ *mu-šar-bu-u* MAN-*ú-ti*  
 4) <sup>d</sup>*é-a er-šú* MAN ABZU *pe-tu-ú* [*uzni*].MEŠ  
 5) <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU ABGAL DINGIR.MEŠ EN *te-re-te mu-[ma-’e-e]r gim-ri*  
 6) <sup>d</sup>MUATI DUB.SAR *é-sag-gil a-ḫi-iz* DUB-*ši-mat* [*ilāni sa*]-*ni-qu mit-ḫur-ti* [<sup>d</sup>]30 *na-[an-nar šamê u eršeti]*  
 7) EN AGA *mu-nam-mir bu-ru-me* <sup>d</sup>*iš-tar be-lat*  
 MURU[B<sub>u</sub>] MĒ *sa-ki-pat áš-ṭ[u]-ti* <sup>d</sup>*gu-la*  
*a-zu-g[a]l-[a]-ṭ[u]*  
 8) GAL-*tú ḫi-rat qar-rad* DINGIR.MEŠ DUMU  
<sup>d</sup>BAD *gaš-ri* <sup>md</sup>[*šamšī*]-†DINGIR LÚ *tar<sup>1</sup>-tanu* †NIMGIR GAL-*ú*<sup>1</sup> [*šatam É.KUR.M*]EŠ  
 GAL ÉRIN.ḪIA DA[GAL]  
 9) *šá-pi-ir* KUR *ḫat-ti* KUR *gu-te<sub>9</sub>-e u gi-mi-ir*  
 KUR.ZA[LAG *ka*]-*šid úḫ(u)-ma-tú šá* SILIM  
<sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši mu-[š]aḫ-r[i]-bu x* [...]  
 10) *mu-šam-ḳit* KUR *mu-us-ki u* KUR *ú-ra-ar-ṭu*  
*šá-li-lu* UN.MEŠ-*šú sa-pin* KUR *ú-tu-’u*  
 KUR [*ru*]-*bu-’u*  
 11) KUR *ḫa-<sup>1</sup>da(?)<sup>1</sup>-lu* KUR *lab-du-du šá-ki-nu*  
*ka-mar-šú-nu e-nu-ma* <sup>m</sup>[*ar-giš-ti*<sup>1</sup>] KUR *ú-ra-*

1–8a) God Aššur, great lord, king of the gods, [who] decrees destinies; god Anu, mighty, foremost, ancestor of the great gods; god Enlil, father of the gods, lord of the lands, who makes sovereignty great; god Ea, the wise, king of the *apsû*, who grants wisdom; (5) god Marduk, sage of the gods, lord of omens, commander of all; god Nabû, scribe of Esagil, possessor of the tablet of destinies of [the gods], who resolves differences; [god] Šin, luminary [of heaven and underworld], lord of the lunar disk, who illuminates the firmament; goddess Ištar, mistress of battle [and] strife, overthrower of the fierce; goddess Gula, the great chief physician, wife of the hero of the gods, the mighty son of the god Enlil:

8b–11a) [Šamšī]-ilu, the field marshal, the great herald, [the administrator of] temples, chief of the extensive army, governor of the land Ḫatti (and) of the land of the Gutu and all the land Namri, conqueror of the *mountains* in the West, who lays waste [...], (10) who overthrows the lands Musku and Urartu, who pillages its people, who devastates the lands Utû, Rubû, Ḫadalu, (and) Labdudu, who defeats them:

11b–13a) At that time Argištu, the Urartian, the number of whose forces is huge like a thick cloud

8 The same titles for Šamšī-ilu appear in line 14. They are restored, following Thureau-Dangin, on analogy with Bēl-luballit, another *tartānu* who had exactly the same titles. See A.0.102.2002.

9 *úḫ(u)-ma-tú*: it is hard to believe that this provincial text has such a rare word, particularly when the attested plural, other than here, is masculine, not feminine. See von Soden, AHW p. 1405a. One is tempted to amend slightly to read *tam-ti(\*)* GAL(\*)-*tú* “the great sea.”

10 The other lion has *sa-p[i-i]n*.

11a *ḫa-<sup>1</sup>da(?)<sup>1</sup>-lu*: Thureau-Dangin says that the other lion reads *ḫa-[ṣ]u-d[u(?)]*. However, parallel passages in Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II have Ḫadallu between Rub’u and Labdudu. For references see Parpola, Toponyms p. 296.

- a[r-t]u-u šá G[IM] MUR[U<sub>5</sub>] <sup>1</sup>kab<sup>1</sup>-t[u (...)]
- 12) ni-ba-šú e-mu-qi gít-pa-šú-ma ana mām-ma  
MAN maḥ-re-e la it-[ru]-šu ŠU-su uš-bal-kit-  
ma n[i]-š[i] a[na] KUR gu-ti-i i[k-š]ur <sup>1</sup>tam<sup>1</sup>-  
ḥa-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> uš-te-še-er
- 13) gi-mir <sup>1</sup>ÉRIN<sup>1</sup>.ḪI.A-šú ina qé-reb KUR-e ana  
na-aq-ra-bi i-nu-qa i[na qí]-bit AD a[š-š]ur  
EN GAL u LAL-t[ú] AMA é-šár-ra  
SAG.KAL-ti DINGIR.MEŠ <sup>4</sup>NIN.LÍL
- 14) <sup>md</sup>š[am-š]i-DINGIR L[Ú] ta[r-t]a-n[u] <sup>1</sup>NIMGIR  
GAL-u<sup>1</sup> [šatam] <sup>1</sup>É.KUR.MEŠ GAL<sup>1</sup>  
ÉRIN.ḪI.<sup>1</sup>A DAGAL<sup>1</sup> ina qé-reb KUR-e šu-a-tú  
<sup>1</sup>re-de-e<sup>1</sup>
- 15) <sup>1</sup>ug<sup>1</sup>-da-<sup>1</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-šir ina šá-ga-me GAL.MEŠ  
NÍG.NAR-ma GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ šu-tak-šu-  
ru-te šá par-d[i]-iš i-ra-mu-m[u]
- 16) <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-zi-<sup>1</sup>qa<sup>1</sup> im-ḥul-iš šam-ru-te mu-re-e <sup>1</sup>LAL<sup>1</sup>-  
at <sup>1</sup>GIŠ<sup>1</sup> ni-ri-šú UGU-šú an-za-ni-iš uš-pa-  
riš-ma
- 17) [i]š-ku-na [abikta]-šú e-zib-ma um-ma-na-te-  
šú UKKIN-šú BIR.MEŠ MĒ e-dúr-ma šar-  
ra-qi-iš ú-ši e-kim-šú
- 18) uš-ma-na-šú ni-šir-ti MAN-ti-šú x-x-šu-su qa-  
a-ti ik-šu-du
- 19) ina u<sub>5</sub>-me-šú-ma 2 UR.MAḪ-e MAḪ.MEŠ  
ina KÁ.GAL URU kar.<sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ
- 20) URU EN-ti-a ZAG u <sup>1</sup>GÜB<sup>1</sup> [(lu) uš]-ziz-ma  
MU.MEŠ-šú-nu ab-bi
- 21) MU 1-en UR.MAḪ šá [... UD]-mu ez-zu ti-bu  
la <sup>1</sup>maḥ-ru<sup>1</sup>
- 22) mu-šam-qi<sup>1</sup> la ma-gi-ri mu-<sup>1</sup>šam-šu<sup>1</sup>-ú mal  
lib-bi MU-<sup>1</sup>šú
- 23) MU 2-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup> (x) šá <sup>1</sup>maḥ-rat(?) KÁ<sup>1</sup> [n]a-kip a-  
nun-tú <sup>1</sup>sa-pin<sup>1</sup> KUR nu-kúr-tú
- 24) mu-še-<sup>1</sup>šu(?)<sup>1</sup>-[ú(?) (...)] ḪUL.MEŠ mu-še-  
rib <sup>1</sup>SIG<sub>5</sub><sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>[ME]Š MU-šú

and who had not *had relations with* (lit. “stretched out his hand to”) any previous king; he (Argištu) rebelled and assembled the people together at the land of the Gutí. He put his (forces for) battle in good order (and then) all his troops marched into the mountains for battle.

13b–18) By the command of the father, Aššur, the great lord, and the lofty mother of Ešarra, foremost among the gods, the goddess Ninlil; Šamši-ilu, the field marshal, the great herald, [the administrator of] temples, chief of the extensive army, (15) put a strong force of soldiers into those mountains. With the great roar of drums (and) weapons at the ready which reverberate terrifyingly, he rushed forth like a terrible storm. He let fly the stormy steeds, harnessed to his chariot, against him (Argištu) like the Anzu-bird and defeated him. He (Argištu) abandoned his troops (and) scattered people (and), frightened by the battle, he escaped like a thief. He (Šamši-ilu) captured from him his camp, his royal treasure, (and) his ...

19–24) At that time I erected two lofty lions at the right and left of the gate of Kār-Shalmaneser, my lordly city and I named them (as follows). The name of the first is: “The lion who [...], angry demon, unrivalled attack, who overwhelms the insubmissive, who brings success.” The name of the second, which stands before the gate, is: “Who charges through battle, who flattens the enemy land, who expels criminals and brings in good people.”

## 2011

This broken text is engraved on a fragment of a black stone stele purchased in Mosul and is said to have come from Dohuk (Dehok). The reverse of the fragment is uninscribed. In the portion of text preserved there is a description of a battle waged between Šamši-ilu, the field marshal, and Argištu (I), king of Urarṭu, in a style rather similar to that of A.O.104.2010. The text may

11b Other lion has <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> instead of -u.

12a See CAD 5 (G) p. 112 sub *giṭpāšu*.

12 Other lion has a-na man-ma.

13a Other lion has a-na after KUR-e.

13b Other lion has šá-qu-tú instead of LAL-t[ú].

13b Other lion has a-šá-rit-ti instead of SAG.KAL-ti.

20–21 Other lion has URU EN-ti-ia u[š-ziz] <sup>1</sup>MU 1-en <sup>1</sup>UR.MAḪ<sup>1</sup>[...].

21 [UD]-mu: one should read the restoration either as [u<sub>5</sub>]-mu or as [laḥ]-mu. Cf. Engel, Dämonen p. 58 and n. 151.

22 Other lion has ma-[la] instead of mal.

24 Other lion has mu-še-ri-bu instead of mu-še-rib.

have ended with line 17', which seems to contain a curse on anyone who would deface the stele. Regarding Šamši-ilu see the introduction above.

## COMMENTARY

The stele fragment (VA 3295) could not be located in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in the spring of 1990. It

has been collated from the published photo of Lehmann-Haupt's squeeze.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1907 Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien* pp. 45–47 and 177 (photo, edition)  
1907 Ungnad, VAS 1 no. 69 (copy)

1930 Thureau-Dangin, RA 27 p. 12 (study)  
1973 Schramm, EAK 2 pp. 121–22 (study)

## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] x *um-ma-na-a-te(?)*<sup>1</sup> [x x x (x)] 'ÍD<sup>1</sup> x [...]  
2') [...] -at GIŠ *ma-gar-ru* 'gi-piš(?)<sup>1</sup> *a-ge-e pal-ħu-ti(?)* [...]  
3') [...] *t* *a-ħa-zi* <sup>md</sup>UTU-DINGIR *eṭ-lu la a-d[i-ru* [...]  
4') [...] x *li-ta* UGU *mu-ur-ni-is-qí-šú* DAGAL-tú ÍD x [...]  
5') [...] 'su<sup>1</sup> *um-ma* <sup>m</sup>*ar-giš-tu ina qé-reb* MÈ GIŠ.BAN x [...]  
6') [...] *e-zib k* *a-ra-šu-uš ina e-din-né-e si(\*)-si-i e-[li(?)* [...]  
7') [...] *su-ma um-ma-na a-mur-ru-ú* LÚ *nir-x* [...]  
8') [...] *l* *e(?) -mu-tu it-ku-pat saħ-maš-tu-um-ma da- 'a-[at(?)* [...]  
9') [...] *g* *i(?) -pár-šú* GIM *ka-lak-ki-im-ma* GIM *áš-qu-la-[i-im-ma(?)* [...]  
10') [...] x *x-tu-ú* ÚŠ.MEŠ *qu-ra-di-šú šur-du-ma il-[luriš* [...]  
11') [...] MEŠ-šú URU.MEŠ-šú x x x [...]  
12') [...] *ina* KUR-šú *ki-din-na* 'iz-qu-pa-am<sup>1</sup> *ma im(?)* [...]  
13') [...] 'šá(?)<sup>1</sup> <sup>m</sup>*mu-šal-lim-<sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU LÚ sar-tin-nu* [...]  
14') [...] 'ÍD(?)<sup>1</sup> *x-bi* NA<sub>4</sub>.DÚR.MI.NA *dur a x ku* [...]  
15') [...] <sup>m</sup>UTU-DINGIR LÚ *tar-ta-ni ni-[i]l-tú am-ma-ru* DIŠ x [...]  
16') [...] x GIŠ.BAN-šú *qar-du-us-su ir šeš x* [...]  
17') [...] DINGIR *šu-mu LAL ina qé-reb [t]am-ħa-ru* [...]

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] troops [...] the river [...]  
2') [...] wagon, might of the fearful flood, [...]  
3') [...] strife. Šamši-ilu, man fearless [in battle, ...]  
4') [...] ... upon his steeds, the extensive river [...]  
5') [...] to him and Argištu, in the midst of battle, the bow [...]  
6') [...] he (Argištu) abandoned] his camp (and) with a single horse he [*disappeared.* ...]  
7') [...] him and the army of the Amurru ... [...]  
8') [...] *evil* approaching (and) rebellion becoming *rife* (lit. 'strong') [...]  
9') [...] his/its *meadow* like a ..., like a ... [...]  
10') [...] ... the blood of his warriors being shed, with redness [*it dyed* ...]  
11') [...] his [...], his cities, ... [...]  
12') [...] in] his land he established *kidinnu*-security [...]  
13') [...] *which/of* Mušallim-Marduk, the chief judge, [...]  
14') [...] *the river* ...bi, breccia (rock), ... [...]  
15') [...] Šamši-ilu, the field marshal, siege ... [...]  
16') [...] his bow, his valour, ... [...]  
17') [...] *may the god discredit* (his) name in the midst of battle [...]

6' See CAD 4 (E) p. 28a.

6' *si(\*)*:- text has *is*-.

8' *it-ku-pat*: cf. CAD 4 (E) p. 69a sub \**ekēpu a*).

9' *kalakku* and *ašqulālu*: each of these words has a variety of meanings but none in common, so that it is difficult to decide what is meant here. This passage is cited under *ašqulālu* "1. (an atmospheric phenomenon)" in CAD 1/2 (A) p. 452b and under *kalakku* "2. storehouse, storeroom, silo" in CAD 8 (K) p. 63a.

17' LAL: to be read as a form of *qalālu*?

## 2012

This broken text is engraved on a fragment from the lower half of a stone tablet found at Aššur. The name of the person responsible for the text is unfortunately missing but the title “chief of the extensive army” is preserved and there is a possibility, therefore, that this is an inscription of Šamši-ilu, regarding whom see the introduction above. The text records the construction of a new city beside the old city of Aššur. The name for the city, Šarru-iddina, “The King Has Given to Me,” indicates that this was a royal favour granted to an honoured official.

## COMMENTARY

The tentative ascription of the fragment rests upon the title *rab ummāni rapšu*. This title is attested for three officials, all of whom also bore the title “field marshal”: Daiian-Aššur (A.0.102.14 lines 142, 149, 160, and 176), Bēl-luballit (A.0.102.2002), and Šamši-ilu (A.0.104.2010 lines 8 and 14). Thus the person responsible for the present text was also probably a field marshal, and either Bēl-luballit or Šamši-ilu are strong candidates since other private inscriptions of

theirs are known. However, it may have been someone else. I am tentatively putting the fragment under Šamši-ilu since, of the two strong candidates mentioned, he is responsible for a larger number of private inscriptions.

The stone fragment (VA 5057, Ass 14709) was found in gB9I and is about 15 cm wide. I am grateful to Erle Leichty for collating it for me.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |                                       |
|---|---------------------------------------|
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| 1922 Luckenbill, ARAB 1 §56 (translation) | 1964 Borger, EAK 1 p. 27 (study)      |
| 1934 Thureau-Dangin, RA 31 p. 85 (study)  | 1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 121 (study)    |

## TEXT

Lacuna

- 1') LÚ.GAL *um-ma-a-ni*.ME[Š] IDAGAL(?)<sup>1</sup>-[šū  
...]  
2') *ina u<sub>4</sub>-me-šu-ma ina qa-ni URU bal-til.KI*  
3') *ina a-ḫat KUR e-bi-iḫ ina GÚ ÍD.IDIGNA*  
4') URU DÜ-*uš-ma a-na si-ḫír-te-šú al-mi*  
5') TA *uš-še-e-šú a-di ga-ba-an-dib-ba-e-šú*  
6') *ár-šip ú-šak-lil*  
7') ù MU URU *šu-a-tu*  
8') <sup>m</sup>LUGAL-SUM-*na MU-šu ab-bi*  
9') NA<sub>4</sub> *na-ra-a-a al-tu-ur*  
10') ù MU *a-na da-riš*  
11') *al-t[a]-kan*  
12') EGIR-ú NA<sub>4</sub> NA.RÚ.A-*a*  
13') *an-na-a IGI.LÁ-<sup>1</sup>šú<sup>1</sup>*  
14') *šu-mi li<sup>2</sup>-i-du<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup>*  
15') [x x] <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup> -[...]

Lacuna

Lacuna

1') chief of the extensive army:

2'–8') At that time I built a city on the border of the city Baltil (Aššur), by Mount Ebiḫ on the bank of the Tigris, and surrounded it entirely (with a wall). I completed its construction from top to bottom. The name of this city I called Šarru-iddina.

9'–15') I wrote my monumental inscription and thus established my name for eternity. May those who come after see this monumental inscription of mine. May they heed my name and [...]

Lacuna

## 2013

This text is engraved on a stone bead which presumably must have come from the Aššur temple at Aššur. Regarding Šamšī-ilu see the introduction above.

## COMMENTARY

The bead (BM 89106 = 84-2-11,490) is 2.3 cm long and has a maximum diameter of 1.3 cm. It was purchased by the British Museum and no provenance is known. The text has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1987 Reade, ARRIM 5 p. 53 (copy, edition)  
1994 Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 16 p. 248 (edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *ana aš-šur* UMUN-šú  
2) <sup>md</sup>UTU-DINGIR  
3) LÚ *tar-ta-nu*  
4) *ana* TI-šú BA

1-4) To Aššur, his lord, has Šamšī-ilu, the field marshal, dedicated (this) for his life.

## 2014

This label is engraved on the edge of a golden bowl which was found in a tomb in the palace area at Calah. Regarding Šamšī-ilu see the introduction above.

## COMMENTARY

No photo or copy of the inscription has been published and it has not been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1990 Fadhil, Bagh. Mitt. 21 p. 482 (edition)

## TEXT

- 1) *šá* <sup>md</sup>šá-maš-DINGIR LÚ *tar-ta-nu*

1) Property of Šamšī-ilu, the field marshal.

## 2015

This text is engraved on a cylinder seal (Ash 1922.61) which belonged to Nabû-šarra-ušur, a eunuch of Adad-nārārī.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1966 Buchanan, Catalogue Ashmolean 1 no. 633 (photo, study) | 1992 Watanabe, Bagh. Mitt. 23 p. 365 and pl. 71b (photo, edition) |
| 1987 Collon, First Impressions no. 554 (photo, study)       | 1993 Watanabe, Orient 29 p. 116 and pl. 4 (photo, edition)        |

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>md</sup> MUATI-MAN-PAB | 1–3) Seal of Nabû-šarra-ušur, eunuch of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria. |
| 2) LÚ.SAG šá <sup>m</sup> 10-ÉRIN.TÁH                 |   |
| 3) MAN KUR AŠ   |   |

## 2016

This text is engraved on a cylinder seal (Ash 1932.319) which belonged to Pān-Aššur-lāmur and has a dedication to Adad-nārārī.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1966 Buchanan, Catalogue Ashmolean 1 no. 630 (photo, study)   | 1993 Watanabe, Orient 29 p. 126 and pl. 8 (photo, edition)              |
| 1986 Paley, Bib. Mes. 21 pp. 213–14 and pl. 48 (photo, study) | 1994 Watanabe, Acta Sumerologica 16 pp. 239–40 and 259 (photo, edition) |

## TEXT

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1) <i>ana</i> <sup>d</sup> ME.ME NIN-šú                     | 1–4) To the goddess Gula, his mistress, has Pān-Aššur-lāmur, governor of Baltil (Aššur), dedicated (this) for the life of Adad-nārārī, king of Assyria, (and) his own life. |
| 2) <i>ana</i> TI <sup>[m]</sup> 10-ÉRIN.TÁH MAN KUR AŠ.K[I] |   |
| 3) <sup>m</sup> IGI-aš-šur-IGI LÚ.GAR.KUR                   |   |
| 4) <i>bal-til</i> .KI <i>ana</i> TI-šú BA <sup>1</sup>      |   |

## 2017

This text is engraved on a cylinder seal which belonged to Bēl-daiiānī, a eunuch of Adad-nārārī.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1994 Hallo and Porada, Festschrift Mayer-Opificius pp. 260–64  
and 267 fig. 4 (edition, photo)  
1994 Watanabe, *Nabu* 1994/71 (edition)

## TEXT

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1) NA <sub>4</sub> .KIŠIB <sup>m</sup> EN-DI.KUD- <i>ni</i> | 1–3) Seal of Bēl-daiiānī, eunuch of Adad-nārārī, |
| 2) LÚ.SAG šá <sup>m</sup> 10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ                       | king of Assyria.                                 |
| 3) MAN KUR AŠ   |  |

# Shalmaneser IV

A.0.105

The period ushered in by Shalmaneser IV (782–773) is obscure in Assyrian history, the obscurity continuing for the subsequent reigns of Aššur-dān III and Aššur-nārārī V (see Grayson, CAH 3/1 pp. 276–79). It is a time when a few prominent officials exercised considerable power in the state (see the introduction to Adad-nārārī III). This circumstance is reflected in that although very few royal inscriptions are preserved for the kings there are a number of inscriptions by their officials.

Despite the small number of texts for Shalmaneser IV, there are some unusual inscriptions among them. One is inscribed on a boundary stone (A.0.105.1), another is a stele actually of the palace herald (A.0.105.2), and a third is a letter to the god Aššur (A.0.105.3). There is no record of building projects for this reign.

Shalmaneser appears in the Assyrian King List (see Grayson, RLA 6 pp. 86–135) and a complete list of the eponymies is preserved for his reign (see Ungnad, RLA 2 pp. 422–23 and Millard, SAAS 2). He is mentioned in a royal decree: see Postgate, Royal Grants no. 54 i 9', and Schramm, EAK 2 p. 120.

An inscribed stone fragment published by Scheil, RA 14 (1917) pp. 159–60 has been edited as A.0.104.4. The inscription on two bricks published by Rost, FuB 22 nos. 106–107, is a duplicate of RIMA 2 p. 139 A.0.98.4 (there may in fact be a join here). It is not, then, a text of Shalmaneser V or IV.

## 1

This unusual text is engraved on the reverse of a stone stele found in a village (Kızkapanlı) near Maraş during construction of the Pazarcık dam. The stele was, therefore, found at or near its original location since the inscription, like the one on the obverse (edited as A.0.104.3), describes the confirmation of the border of Ušpilulume, king of Kummuh. The text is unusual because of the lead role credited to Šamši-ilu, the field marshal (*tartannu*), in a campaign against Damascus. In this regard note the prominent part played by Šamši-ilu in a stele of Adad-nārārī III (A.0.104.2). For further information see the introduction to Adad-nārārī III. The inscription was written in 773 BC, the date of the particular campaign against Damascus which it narrates. The text concludes with curses on anyone who would violate the boundary.



## COMMENTARY

There is some ambiguity, probably deliberate, regarding the subject of the action described in this text. It appears that Šamši-ilu is the subject of *illikūni* in line 5. The first person narrative which follows (*amḥuršu* line 10, *taiirtīa* line 11, and *addin* line 13) should, in theory, refer to the king. However, from line 5 it appears that Šamši-ilu, without the king, went to Damascus and therefore it is *his* return, not

Shalmaneser's, which is mentioned in line 11. If so, then all of the action in the inscription was credited to Šamši-ilu. Given the great authority which Šamši-ilu is known to have exercised, this is not surprising.

The stele is in the Maraş Museum and is completely preserved. It measures 140×44×16.5 cm. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1990 Donbaz, ARIM 8 pp. 5–24 (photo, copy, edition)  
1993 Timm, WO 24 pp. 55–84 (edition)

1993 Zaccagnini, SAAB 7 pp. 53–72 (study)

## TEXT

- 1) <sup>m</sup>dšul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN KAL MAN KUR aš-šur
- 2) A <sup>m</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KAL MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-šur
- 3) A <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-10 MAN kib-<rat> 4-ti
- 4) <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-DINGIR LÚ tar-ta-nu
- 5) ki-i a-na KUR.ANŠE-šú i-lik-ú-ni
- 6) ma-da-tú šá <sup>m</sup>ha-di-a-ni KUR.ANŠE-šú-a-a
- 7) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI URUDU GIŠ.NÚ MAN-ti-šu
- 8) GIŠ né-mat-tú MAN-ti-šú DUMU.MUNUS-su
- 9) KI nu-du-ni-šá ma-a 'di
- 10) NÍG.GA É.GAL-lim la ma-ni am-ḥur-šú
- 11) ina ta-a-a-ár-ti-ia ta-ḥu-mu šú-a-tu
- 12) a-na <sup>m</sup>uš-pi-lu-lu-me MAN URU ku-mu-ḥa-a-a
- 13) a-din man-nu šá TA ŠU-at <sup>m</sup>uš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 14) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú e-ki-mu
- 15) aš-šur <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU <sup>d</sup>ŠKUR <sup>d</sup>30 <sup>d</sup>UTU
- 16) a-na di-ni-šú lu la i-za-zu
- 17) pi-ti up-ni-šú la i-šá-me-u-šú
- 18) KUR-su ki-i SIG<sub>4</sub> lu-šá-<sup>1</sup>bi(?)<sup>1</sup>-ru(?)<sup>1</sup> ur-ru-uḥ
- 19) mim-ma ina UGU MAN la i-ma-lik
- 20) ik-kib aš-šur DINGIR-ia <sup>d</sup>30 a-šib  
URU.KASKAL

1–3) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nārārī (III), strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, son of Šamši-Adad (V), king of the four quarters:

4–10) When Šamši-ilu, the field marshal, marched to Damascus, the tribute of Ḥadiiāni, the Damascene — silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her extensive dowry, the property of his palace without number — I received from him (Ḥadiiāni).

11–13a) On my return (from Damascus) I gave this boundary stone to Ušpilulume, king of the Kummuhites.

13b–14) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the possession of Ušpilulume, his sons, his grandsons:

15–19) may the gods Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Šin, (and) Šamaš not stand (by him) at his lawsuit; may they not listen to his prayers; and may they quickly *smash* his country like a brick. May he no longer give advice to the king.

20) Taboo of Aššur, my god, (and) Šin, who dwells in Ḥarrān.

**18** The end of the line is a problem. I have read *lu-šá-<sup>1</sup>bi(?)<sup>1</sup>-ru(?)<sup>1</sup>* because it makes good sense, but the reading of the traces of the last two signs is very uncertain. Zaccagnini emends the text to read *lu-ša-<sup>1</sup>ḥir<sup>1</sup>* and translates “May his country become [sic] *quickly* as small as a brick.” Instead of *ur-ru-uḥ*, one expects *urruḥiš*.

**19** *i-ma-lik*: Zaccagnini interprets this as the west semitic root *mlk* “to rule” and translates “In no way may he exercise kingship over the (legitimate) king.”

## 2

This text is engraved on a stone stele discovered at Tell Abta, a site on the Wadi Tharthar approximately equidistant from Hatra and Tell Afar. Engraved above the inscription are the symbols of the gods named in the text and to the right is a standing human figure in relief. The text commemorates the founding of a new city in the desert, possibly at the site of Tell Abta, by Bēl-Ḥarran-bēlī-ušur, who calls himself the palace herald of the king of Assyria (see the introduction to Adad-nārārī III). Curiously, the original inscription gave the name of the king as Shalmaneser (IV), but this was later changed to Tiglath-pileser (III). Another unusual feature of the text is that Bēl-Ḥarran-bēlī-ušur's name appears first, before the name of the king. Moreover, he records that he (not the king) made his new city, which he called after himself, exempt from taxes. All of these factors indicate the extent of his independence from the king of Assyria. The text fluctuates from third person (line 8) to first person (lines 10–16), a not unusual phenomenon in Assyrian royal inscriptions.

## COMMENTARY

The stele is on display in the Archaeological Museum in Istanbul (Inv. no. 1326) and is 183 cm high and 115 cm wide. The inscription has been collated.

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| 1967 Borger, HKL 1 p. 458 (study)                            |  |
| 1969 Postgate, Royal Grants pp. 11–12 (lines 19–23, edition) |  |

## TEXT

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| 1) <sup>4</sup> AMAR.UTU EN GAL MAN DINGIR.MEŠ <i>ta-mì-iḫ GŪR AN-e u KI-tim</i>                           | 1–8) God Marduk, great lord, king of the gods, who holds the circumference of heaven and underworld, who populates cities (and) establishes sanctuaries, who supervises all the shrines of the gods; god Nabû, scribe of the gods, who grasps the holy tablet stylus, who carries the tablet of the destinies of the gods, who provides for the Igigu and Anunnaku gods, who continually gives food rations (and) thereby grants life; (5) god Šamaš, light of the lands, judge of all cities (and) protector of the (four) quarters; god Sîn, luminary of heaven and underworld, who is endowed with lofty horns and clothed in brilliance; bright goddess Ištar-kakkabî, the goddess Inanna (Innina), whose forgiveness is good (and) who receives |
| 2) <i>mu-še-šib URU.URU mu-kin ma-ḥa-zi pa-qid eš-ret DINGIR.MEŠ DŪ.A.BI</i>                               |  |
| 3) <sup>4</sup> MUATI DUB.SAR DINGIR.MEŠ <i>ša-bit GI DUB KŪ na-ši DUB ši-mat DINGIR.MEŠ</i>               |  |
| 4) <i>a-še-ir <sup>4</sup>i-gi-gi u <sup>4</sup>DIŠ+U mu-ta-din kur-me-ti qa-iš TĪ.LA</i>                  |  |
| 5) <sup>4</sup> UTU ZÁLAG KUR.KUR DI.KUD <i>kiš-šat URU.URU AN.DŪL kib-ra-a-ti</i>                         |  |
| 6) <sup>4</sup> 30 <sup>4</sup> ŠEŠ.<KI> AN u KI <i>na-ši SI.MEŠ MAḪ.MEŠ šá lit-bu-šú nam-ri-ri</i>        |  |
| 7) <sup>4</sup> INANNA.MUL.MEŠ <i>na-mir-tú <sup>4</sup>in-nin-na šá DŪG.GA NIGIN-šá ma-ḥi-rat su-pe-e</i> |  |

- 8) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *a-na* NIGIN-šú-nu še-  
mu-u tas-li-ti-šú re-ši-šú EN.MEŠ-šú
- 9) <sup>m</sup>EN-KASKAL-UMUN-PAB LÚ.NIMGIR  
É.GAL šá <sup>m</sup>tukul-ti-<sup>l</sup>A-é-<sup>l</sup>šár-ra<sup>l</sup> MAN KUR  
aš-šur pa-liḫ DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 10) ú-ma-<sup>2</sup>e-ru-in-ni-ma EN.MEŠ geš-ru-ti ina qí-  
bit-ti-šú-nu šir-ti u an-ni-šú-nu ki-ni
- 11) URU ina mad-ba-ri ina na-me-e aš-bat TA  
URU<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ-šú a-di gaba-dib-bi-šú lu-u ú-šak-lil
- 12) é-kur DÜ-uš-ma BĀRA DINGIR.MEŠ  
GAL.MEŠ ina lib-bi ŠUB-di
- 13) tem-me-en-šú GIM šá-pik KUR-e ú-šar-šid ú-kin  
URU<sub>4</sub>-šú a-na du-ur dā-riš
- 14) URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>EN-KASKAL-UMUN-PAB ina  
KA UN.MEŠ MU-šú ab-bi-ma ú-še-šir  
KASKAL-šú
- 15) NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.A SAR-ma ša-lam DINGIR.MEŠ  
ina muḫ-ḫi ab-ni ina šu-bat DINGIR-ú-ti ul-ziz
- 16) GIŠ.ŠUB.BA NIDBA qut-rin-ni a-na  
DINGIR.MEŠ šu-nu-ti ú-kin dā-riš
- 17) man-nu EGIR-ú šá aš-šur <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>MES u  
<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR ana SIG<sub>5</sub>-tim MU-šú i-nam-bu-u ú-ma-  
<sup>2</sup>a-ru KUR
- 18) an-ḫu-ut URU É.KUR šu-a-tú ú-diš  
GIŠ.ŠUB.BA NIDBA šá DINGIR.MEŠ šu-nu-ti  
la ta-ba-ṭi-il
- 19) šá URU šá-a-šú za-ku-su aš-kun ŠE nu-sa-ḫi-šú  
la in-na-su-ḫu ŠE.IN.NU-šú la iš-šab-ba-aš
- 20) A.MEŠ-šú a-na bu-tuq-ti šá-ni-tim-ma la i-bat-  
taq mi-iš-ru ku-dúr la e-ni
- 21) ši-bit GÜ<sub>4</sub>.MEŠ u U<sub>8</sub>.ḪI.A la i-šab-bat  
UN.MEŠ a-šib lib-bi-šú il-ku
- 22) tup-šik-ku la im-di mam-ma šá-nu-um-ma ana  
muḫ-ḫi-šú-nu la uš-ta-za-ma
- 23) la e-pu-uš re-du-su-un u NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.A ul-tú  
KI-šú la ta-da-ki
- 24) ina dš-ri šá-nim-ma la ta-šá-kan a-na É a-sa-ki  
la KU<sub>4</sub> la GAZ
- 25) ina SAḪAR la ta-kát-tú ina A.MEŠ la ŠUB-di  
ESIR la SÜ ina IZI la GÍBIL
- 26) MU.SAR la ta-pa-šiṭ DINGIR.MEŠ šá ina  
NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.A UR<sub>5</sub>-tú MU-šú-nu šaṭ-ru
- 27) ina šá-áš-me MURUB<sub>4</sub> u ta-ḫa-zu di-ḫu šib-ṭi  
TAG <sup>d</sup>ēr-ra mu-ta-ni
- 28) e-ma ŠU.II-ka ÍL-u i-še-mu-u ik-ri-bi-ka DU-ku  
Á.TAḪ-u-ka
- 29) mu-na-ki-ir šiṭ-ri-ia u MU-ia aš-šur <sup>d</sup>UTU <sup>d</sup>MES  
<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR
- 30) DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN ul-li la ba-še-e a-a  
TUKU-šú re-e-mu

prayers; all great gods who heed his petitions, his allies, his lords:

9–14) Bēl-Ḫarran-bēlī-ušur, palace herald of Tiglath-pileser (III), king of Assyria, worshipper of the great gods — these mighty lords gave me instructions and at their exalted command and with their firm assent I set out to build a city in the desert, in the wasteland, (and) completed it from top to bottom. I constructed a temple and founded therein a shrine for the great gods. I laid its foundation as firm as the mass of a mountain (and) established its base for eternity. I made it known among the people that its name was (lit. “I named it in the mouth of the people”) Dūr-Bēl-Ḫarran-bēlī-ušur and made a good road to it.

15–16) I wrote my monumental inscription, engraved thereon images of the gods, and erected (this stele) in the divine abode. I established forever income, food offerings, (and) incense offerings for these gods.

17–23a) Whichever later one, whom the gods Aššur, Šamaš, Marduk, and Adad name to be in charge of the land for (its) benefit: repair the damaged portions of this city and temple! Do not put a stop to the income (and) food offerings of these gods. I established freedom from taxation for this city: grain (and) straw taxes will not be collected; (20) no one will divert its water into another channel, change its boundaries, (or) charge a tax on herds or flocks. State service (*ilku tupšikku*) is not imposed upon the people who live there. No one else will *impose* upon them *deprivation* nor will *they do* servitude.

23b–28) As for my monumental inscription, you (the later one) must not remove it from its place (and) put it somewhere else. You must not put it in a Taboo House, you must not smash it, (25) you must not cover it with earth, you must not throw it into water, you must not splash bitumen on it, you must not burn it, (and) you must not erase my inscription. (If you obey these injunctions, then) the gods whose names are written in this monumental inscription will heed your prayers (and) go to your aid whenever you pray in strife, conflict, battle, disease, plague, the affliction of Erra, (and) pestilence.

29–30) As for the one who alters my inscription or name, may the gods Aššur, Šamaš, Marduk, (and) Adad, the great gods, not have mercy upon him, to his utter destruction.

9 As Unger, PKOM 3 pp. 9–11, has shown, the preserved traces indicate that, instead of Tiglath-pileser, originally the inscription had <sup>d</sup>šul-ma-nu-MAŠ “Shalmaneser.”

22b *uš-ta-za-ma*: *uštazamma* from \**zamū*? Cf. CAD 21 (Z) pp. 156–57 and von Soden, AHW p. 1536. This would be the first attestation of the Št of this root; for the Š see Borger, BiOr 22 (1965) p. 167. Further discussion of this form is given by Postgate, Royal Grants pp. 11–12.

23a *re-du-su-un*: for *ar-du-su-un*?

## 3

This fragmentary text represents the beginning and end of a "Letter to the God," a rare type of royal inscription. The best preserved representative of this genre is the letter to the god of Sargon II, reporting on his eighth campaign (Thureau-Dangin, TCL 3). The present text is closely related to Sargon's letter and this permits extensive restoration. The text begins, as does Sargon's, with greetings to Aššur and the other gods and a declaration that all is well with the king and his army (obv. 1–12). A greeting to the people of the city Aššur, found in Sargon's letter, does not appear here. These opening stanzas would have been followed by a narrative of a campaign, again as in the Sargon letter, but unfortunately this section is almost entirely missing. On the reverse, the text concludes with a statement about the number of Assyrian soldiers killed on the campaign and the presentation of their bodies to Aššur. This undoubtedly indicates, as Oppenheim observed, that the reading aloud of this text was part of the state funeral in Aššur when soldiers killed in action were honoured. The custom was repeated in the reigns of Sargon II and Esarhaddon, and exactly the same wording (including the exact same number of soldiers killed!) was used at the end of their respective letters to the god (for Esarhaddon see Borger, *Asarh.* pp. 102–107).

The provenance and date of the present text require comment. Since the similar letters of Sargon and Esarhaddon both came from Aššur, and since the ancient city of Aššur was the obvious venue for this ceremony, it is warranted to suppose that the original of this letter came from Aššur, despite its being registered with a Koyoujik number. Many inscriptions with Koyoujik numbers in fact do not come from Nineveh. As to date, the most likely periods are early in the reigns of either Shalmaneser IV (780 BC) or Aššur-dān III (770 BC). If 780 is the correct date, then the campaign commemorated was against Urartu; if 770 is correct, the campaign was against Marad in Babylonia. See the commentary for further details.

## COMMENTARY

The fragment (82-5-22, 534) is from the top part of a tablet and measures 7×5+ cm. The inscription has been collated.

The dating of the fragment rests upon the name of Pān-Aššur-lāmur, which is partially restored in rev. 3' following Ungnad; for the reading given here see Borger, *HKL* 1 p. 278. Pān-Aššur-lāmur was eponym for 776 and 759 BC. Now, in rev. 4' the title *turtannu* clearly refers to the name of the eponym, and the only *turtannu* in the relevant period was Šamši-ilu, who was eponym for 780, 770, and 752 BC. Of these three choices, only the first two, early in the reigns of Shalmaneser IV and Aššur-dān III, respectively, seem plausible. By the middle of Aššur-dān III's reign, Assyria

was in such decline that no significant military campaigns, such as the one which this letter presumably commemorated, could be undertaken. Such a campaign was, however, practical early in the reigns of Shalmaneser IV or Aššur-dān III. Thus the text would seem to date to either 780 or 770 BC. In the eponym chronicle (Ungnad, *RLA* 2 p. 430) a campaign against Urartu is recorded for 780 and a campaign against Marad, in Babylonia, for 770.

The restorations are based on Sargon's letter to the god but it is uncertain if there were variants, and particularly if the present inscription had as much text. Thus possible restorations have been indicated only in the translation.

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| 1936 Schott, <i>Vorarbeiten</i> p. 41 (study) | 1973 Schramm, <i>EAK</i> 2 p. 120 (study)         |

## TEXT

## Obverse

- 1) [...] DINGIR.MEŠ  
 2) [...] é-kur-ri-šú GAL-e  
 3) [...] lu-ú šùl-mu  
 4) [...] <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ  
 5) [...] é-*hur-sag-gal-kur-kur-r*]a é-kur-ri-šú-nu  
 GAL-e  
 6) [...] lu-ú šùl-mu  
 7) [...] <sup>d</sup>INANNA.MEŠ  
 8) [...] -šú-nu GAL-e  
 9) [...] lu-ú šùl-mu  
 10) [...] SANG]A(?) el-l[i(?)]  
 11) [...] u KARAS-šú  
 12) [...] šùl-[mu]  
 13) [...] e-te-[x]  
 14) [...] x-šú ad-x-[x]  
 15) [...] x x [x]

## Lacuna

## Reverse

## Lacuna

- 1') [...] š]a pit-*hal-li*  
 2') [...] de-e-ku  
 (blank space)  
 3') [...] <sup>m</sup>pān]-<sup>d</sup>(\*)aš-šur-la-mur  
 4') [...] ú-še-bi-la  
 5') [...] tur-ta-ni na-šú

## Obverse

- obv. 1–3) [To the god Aššur, father of] the gods, [great lord, who dwells in Eḫursaggalkurkurra], his great temple, may it be [extremely] good!  
 obv. 4–6) [To the gods of destinies (and)] the goddesses, [who dwell in Eḫursaggalkurkurra], their great temple, may it be [extremely] good!  
 obv. 7–9) [To the gods of destinies (and)] the goddesses, [who dwell in the city Aššur] at their great [temple], may it be [extremely] good!  
 obv. 10–12) It is [extremely] good with [*Shalmaneser/Aššur-dān*], *holy priest*, [the servant who worships your great divinity], and with [his] military forces.  
 obv. 13–15) No translation warranted.

## Lacuna

## Reverse

## Lacuna

- rev. 1'–4') [*One charioteer, two*] cavalrymen, [*three light troops*] were killed. [The orator (*lišān rēšēti*), Pān]-Aššur-lāmur [...] had (the bodies) brought [*into the presence of the god Aššur, my lord*].  
 rev. 5') [*In the eponymy of Šamši-ilu*], the field marshal, they (the bodies) were presented.

## 1001

This fragmentary text is preserved on a piece of a large clay cone found at Aššur. All that is extant are the beginnings of nineteen lines, which are insufficient for certain identification or to warrant editing. Lines 1' and 2' might be read: <sup>m</sup>šù[l(?)]-...] <sup>m</sup>10(?)-[...], which could be the royal names Shalmaneser and Adad-nārārī. If so, the likely ascription of the text is to either Shalmaneser IV or Aššur-dān III. But nothing is certain.

## COMMENTARY

The clay cone (VA Ass 2106, Ass 7824) was found in the northwest stone foundation (eA5II) and measures c. 12.5×15+ cm. The inscription has been collated.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1982 Rost, FuB 22 no. 108 (copy)

rev. 3' "orator" (*lišān rēšēti*): see Oppenheim, JNES 19 (1960) p. 145 n. 22.

rev. 3' <sup>d</sup>(\*): text has TI. See the commentary.

# Aššur-dān III

A.0.106

Troubles continue for Assyria during the reign of Aššur-dān III (772–55 BC) (see Grayson, CAH 3/1 pp. 276–79). Only one small fragment of a royal inscription has been recovered for him and it concerns work on the Aššur temple at Aššur. He is listed in the Assyrian King List (see Grayson, RLA 6 pp. 86–135) and there is a complete list of eponymies for his reign (see Ungnad, RLA 2 pp. 422–25, and Millard, SAAS 2).

A private dedicatory inscription, on a bronze statue, which refers to a king Aššur-dān (cf. Schramm, EAK 2 p. 123) should almost certainly be ascribed to the first king of that name; the text has been edited in RIMA 1 pp. 307–308. Regarding powerful officials during this reign see the introduction to Adad-nārārī III. The following “private” inscriptions have not been edited here since, although these men held office during this reign, the texts do not mention the king: Aplāiia — Andrae, Stelenreihen no. 34; Bēl-ilāiia — Nassouhi, MAOG 3/I–II pp. 14 and 17 no. 2.

## 1

This text is inscribed on a fragment of a clay cone (A 3600 = Ass 17349) found at Aššur. Although badly preserved, it clearly described restoration work on the main courtyard of the Aššur temple. The inscription has been collated.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1984 Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA no. 227 (copy, edition)

### TEXT

- 1) [(...)] *a-šur*-KAL.GA GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠI[D *aššur* (...)]
- 2) [*mār*] <sup>d</sup>10-ÉRIN.TÁḪ GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID *aš-š[ur* (...)]
- 3) [*mār*] *šam-ši*-10 GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD ŠID [*aššurma* (...)]
- 4) [(...)] <sup>r</sup>KISAL<sup>l</sup>.MAḪ *šá é-ḫur-sa*[*g-kur-kur-ra* ...]
- 5) [...] x KISAL.<sup>r</sup>MAḪ *li<sup>l</sup>*-[...]
- 6) [...] x [...]

Lacuna

- 1–3) [(...)] Aššur-dān, appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent [of Aššur (...), son of] Adad-nārārī (III), appointee of the god Enlil, vice-regent of Ašš[ur (...), son of] Šamši-Adad (V), [(who was) also] appointee of the god Enlil and vice-regent of [Aššur (...)]:
- 4–6) [(...)] the main courtyard of Eḫursa[*gkurkurra* ...] the main courtyard [...]

Lacuna

# Aššur-nārārī V

A.O.107

The reign of Aššur-nārārī V (754–45 BC) is as obscure as that of his predecessor. This king's name appears in the Assyrian King List (see Grayson, RLA 6 pp. 86–135) and there is a complete list of the eponymies for his time (see Ungnad, RLA 2 pp. 424–25 and Millard, SAAS 2). In a royal inscription of Sardur II, this king of Urartu claims to have defeated Aššur-nārārī V. A fragmentary copy of a treaty between him and Mati'ilu of Arpad is known. See Grayson, CAH 3/1 pp. 276–79 for a brief history and references.

## 1

This bit of text is engraved on a fragment of a black stone stele, the provenance of which is unknown. The text is a royal decree and therefore technically should not be included in this volume. However, it seemed best to do so since it is similar to other documents of the period edited here, such as A.O.104.9 and A.O.105.2, which concern influential officials. The fragmentary text has the remains of a description of a battle followed by the granting of a territory, tax-free, to Marduk-šarra-ušur by “Aššur-nārārī, king of Assyria.” No doubt the grant was in recognition of Marduk-šarra-ušur having distinguished himself in battle.

The Aššur-nārārī in question here is almost certainly the fifth king of that name. The prominent position of Marduk-šarra-ušur reminds one of the other powerful individuals in the eighth century, such as Nergal-ēriš and Šamši-ilu (see the introduction to Adad-nārārī III). Indeed there are parallels in wording with the stele of Bēl-Ḥarran-bēli-ušur (see the note to lines 9'–10'). There are remains on the left side of a snake carved in relief, a feature of the stone upon which the royal decree of Adad-nārārī III is inscribed (A.O.104.9). As to the identity of Marduk-šarra-ušur, it is possible that he is identical with the eponym for 784 BC, as Dalley has suggested. On the other hand, he may be someone different.

## COMMENTARY

The fragment (IM 55640) was in the Mosul Museum at the time Dalley examined it. It measures c. 11×6×8+ cm and the inscription has been collated from the published photo.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1976 Dalley, Iraq 38 pp. 107–111 and pl. XVII (photo, edition)  
 1982 Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen no. 169 (photo, study)

1994 Al-Rawi, Iraq 56 p. 43 (copy, edition)

## TEXT

## Lacuna

- 1') x [x x x x (x)].<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> x [...]  
 2') *ina si-m[i-ill/la-t]e u na-bal-ká[t-te ...]*  
 3') MUNUS.KÚR *iš-šá-ki-nu-ni b[a(?)- ...]*  
 4') LUGAL *a(\*)-bi a-na LUGAL-ú-ti [...]*  
 5') <sup>m</sup>MES-MAN-PAB *a-na LÚ.EN.[NAM(?) ...]*  
 6') *ip-pa-ri-ku TA* <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-ÉRIN.TÁĤ x [...]  
 7') <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-ÉRIN.TÁĤ MAN KUR *aš-šur a-ba-x [...]*  
 8') *ša pa-an URU te-pa-ta a-x [...]*  
 9') *ú-zak-ki-šu a-na* <sup>m</sup>za-za-*[...]*  
 10') [ŠE].<sup>1</sup>IN.NU *la<sup>1</sup> iš-šab-ba-áš [...]*  
 11') [x x] x x ĤA x x [...]

## Lacuna

## Lacuna

1'–5'a) with scaling ladders and a siege ramp [... where] hostilities occurred [... whom ...] the king my (fore)father [had appointed] to sovereignty [... I appointed] Marduk-šarra-ušur to the governorship [of ...].  
 5'b–11') [No one will appear in court and] protest, [not] with Aššur-nārārī [...] Aššur-nārārī, king of Assyria, [has issued] a decree [concerning ...] which is in front of the city Tepata [...] established freedom from taxation (and) [gave it] to Zaza[.... Grain and] straw taxes will not be collected [...].

## Lacuna

5'b–6' [izaqqupanni(?)] iparrikū issi ...: cf. Postgate, Fifty Documents p. 18 and CAD 21 (Z) p. 55.

9'–10' Cf. A.O.105.2 line 19.



# Unidentified Fragments

A.0.0

For A.0.0.1001–1026 see RIMA 1 pp. 328–29 and RIMA 2 pp. 394–97.

## Clay Cone Fragments from Aššur

There are numerous clay cone fragments from Aššur which cannot be identified with any particular king. Since the vast majority of clay cone fragments from Aššur which can be identified belong to Shalmaneser III (see the introduction to A.0.102.42), I have placed the unidentified fragments at the end of this volume as A.0.0.1027–1093. Most of these, viz. A.0.0.1031–1093, are too insignificant to warrant edition or special comment and therefore they have been presented in chart form. Note that Donbaz and Grayson, *RICCA* nos. 251 and 253–60 should have been listed at the end of RIMA 1.

1027

The inscription on this clay cone fragment (VA Ass 2130 = Ass 10771) has a geographical description of conquests similar in style to A.0.102.39. Rost, *FuB* 22 no. 94.

## 1028–29

These two inscriptions on clay cone fragments (A 3383 = Ass 3165 and A 3398 = Ass 4043) mention Eḫursagkurkurra. Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA nos. 270–71.

## 1030

All that is preserved of this inscription on a clay cone fragment (Ass 18494 = Ass ph 5863) is [... *tukultī*]-*nin-urta* MAN KIŠ [...] “[... Tukultī]-Ninurta, king of the universe.” Thus the text might be ascribed to Tukultī-Ninurta II, Ashurnasirpal II, or Shalmaneser III.

## 1031–93

A.0.0	Museum number	Ass number	RICCA number	FuB 22 number	cpn
1031	A 3355	1379n	226	—	c
1032	A 3385	3496	261	—	c
1033	A 3480	10084a	262	—	c
1034	A 3483	10084e	263	—	c
1035	A 3343	620	266	—	c
1036	A 3346	1359	267	—	c
1037	A 3336	1468	268	—	c
1038	A 3375	2743	269	—	c
1039	A 3403	4424	272	—	c
1040	A 3406	4548	273	—	c
1041	A 3411	4734o	274	—	c
1042	A 3415	5060	275	—	c
1043	A 3430	5858	276	—	c
1044	A 3433	5992	277	—	c
1045	A 3435	6140	278	—	c
1046	A 3436	6168	279	—	c
1047	A 3442	6276 + 6311	280	—	c
1048	A 3444	6457	281	—	c
1049	A 3447	6618	282	—	c
1050	A 3453	5969	283	—	c
1051	A 3456	7108	284	—	c
1052	A 3458	7256	285	—	c
1053	A 3461	7464	286	—	c
1054	A 3492	10140a	287	—	c
1055	A 3505	10292	288	—	c
1056	A 3514	10323	289	—	c
1057	A 3521	10388	290	—	c
1058	A 3522	10397	291	—	c
1059	A 3523	10474	292	—	c
1060	A 3526	11564	293	—	c
1061	A 3528	11572	294	—	c
1062	A 3532	11679	295	—	c
1063	A 3536	11769	296	—	c
1064	A 3544	12242	297	—	c
1065	A 3564	13412	298	—	c

A.0.0	Museum number	Ass number	RICCA number	FuB 22 number	cpn
1066	A 3571a	15225	299	—	c
1067	A 3584	16119	301	—	c
1068	A 3531	16658	302	—	c
1069	A 3594	17153	303	—	c
1070	A 3619	18660	304	—	c
1071	A 3626	18848	305	—	c
1072	A 3654	—	308	—	c
1073	VA Ass 2139	19196	—	95	c
1074	VA Ass 2059	8232	—	97	c
1075	VA Ass 2141	22302	—	112	c
1076	VA Ass 2138	11345	—	113	c
1077	VA Ass 2125	10156	—	114	c
1078	VA Ass 2132	10800	—	115	c
1079	VA Ass 2123	9183	—	116	c
1080	VA Ass 2144	—	—	117	c
1081	VA Ass 2089	5313	—	118	c
1082	VA Ass 2118	8435b	—	119	c
1083	VA Ass 2129	10707	—	120	c
1084	VA Ass 2110	5526	—	121	c
1085	VA Ass 2145	—	—	122	c
1086	VA Ass 2134	11012	—	124	c
1087	VA Ass 2120	8701	—	125	c
1088	VA Ass 2140	19416d	—	126	c
1089	VA Ass 2048	10093g	—	127	c
1090	VA Ass 2116	8142	—	128	c
1091	VA Ass 2122	9055	—	129	c
1092	VA Ass 2135	11077a	—	130	c
1093	Unlocated	6063	—	—	p
		Ass ph 1100			

## 1094–95

Two glazed brick fragments from Nineveh have the remains of scenes accompanied by inscriptions. On each fragment of the inscription, only the sign URU “city” is preserved. There is no particular reason to assign them to Shalmaneser III, although this general time period seems appropriate. Thompson, AAA 18 (1931) pl. XXX no. 1 and pl. XXXII no. 1. Cf. Borger, HKL 1 p. 52b and Schramm, EAK 2 p. 96.

## 1096

This is another fragment of a glazed brick (BM 90495 = 1979-12-20, 275) with traces of two or three signs. Walker suggested that it was “possibly Ashurnasirpal II.” Walker, CBI p. 129.

## 1097

On this brick fragment (BM 137368 = 1979-12-18, 3) there are traces of three lines: 1) [...] MAN KUR AŠ 2) [...] MAN KUR AŠ 3) [... DÜ]-uš. Walker, CBI p. 129.

## 1098

Traces of a dedicatory inscription are preserved on a fragment of a rectangular agate vase which is registered in the British Museum among the antiquities from Rassam's excavations at Sippar (82-7-14, 1040\*): 1) [...] -[e] UMUN-[šú] 2) [... iššak A]Š GAR <sup>d</sup>BAD 3) [...] ŠID AŠ 4) [...] x-ti-a 5) [...] GU.ZA 6) [...] -a a-qiš. Cf. A.0.102.93-98 Walker in de Meyer, Tell ed-Dēr 3 p. 99 and pl. 26 no. 36.

## 1099

Traces of an inscription and figures in relief are preserved on a small fragment (BM 123342) of a stone obelisk discovered at Nineveh: [...] x ti-amat KÜ.BABBAR KÜ.G[I ...]. Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen no. 140.

## 1100

This fragmentary dedicatory inscription is engraved on a piece of a lead strip (1.8 cm high and 3.6 cm wide) registered in the Koyounjik collection of the British Museum (K 12826): 1) [...] <sup>d</sup>MUATI EN [...] 2) [...] x šal-me ana LUGAL x [...] 3) [...] x-ut <sup>d</sup>UTU EN x [...] 4) [...] <sup>d</sup>UTU E[N(?) ...] 5) [...] LU]GAL ŠÚ LUGAL [...] 6-9) (traces). Bezold, Cat. 3 p. 1269; Lambert, AfO 22 (1968-69) p. 64.

# 1101

Numerous stone fragments with traces of cuneiform signs and scenes in relief were found at Aššur. These may be pieces of an obelisk. Unger suggested an identification with Shalmaneser III but there is no compelling reason to believe this. Not enough is preserved to warrant an edition.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

1909 Andrae, AAT pl. XXX (photo)

1932 Unger, MAOG 6/1-2 p. 8 n. 1 (study)

1973 Schramm, EAK 2 p. 91 (study)

# Minor Variants and Comments

## Shalmaneser III

### A.0.102.2

i 1.2 [d]aš-šur. i 1.2 omits -ú after GAL. i 1.2 GAL.MEŠ-te. i 1.2 4a-num. i 1.2 <sup>d</sup>gi-gi.MEŠ for <sup>d</sup>NUN.GAL.MEŠ. i 1.2 ú for u. i 1.2 <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-<sup>1</sup>ki.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>. i 1.2 and A.0.102.4 KUR.KUR.MEŠ. i 1.2 AD for a-bu. i 2.2 GIŠ.ĤUR for e-šu-rat. A.0.102.4 <sup>1</sup>er(?) -še-te<sup>1</sup> for KI-tim. i 2.2 na-nār AN-e u KI-te. i 3.1 muš-te-šir<sup>1</sup>. i 3.2 muš-te-šir. i 3.1 te-[nē]-še-e-ti. i 3.2 te-nē-še-te. i 3.2 GAL.MEŠ-te. i 3.2 MAN-ti-a. i 4.2 kiš-šú-ti u ša-pi-ru-ti ú-šar-bu-ú šu-mi kab-ta u siq-ri ša-ra. i 5.1 <sup>md</sup><šul>-ma-nu. i 5.2 <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu. i 6.2 DÜ-tiš for ka-liš. i 6.2 KUR.KUR.MEŠ. i 6.2 ir-šit in error for ni-šit. i 6.2 omits MEŠ after e-ni. i 6.2 ŠID for ĜIR.NÍTA. i 7.2 re-še-te<sub>9</sub> e ša. i 7.2 ĥur-šá-ni. i 7.2 i-gi-si-i. i 9.2 aš-šur u <sup>d</sup>šá-maš. i 9.2 re-ši-šú DU-ma. i 10.2 ša kib-rat. i 10.2 MAN for LUGAL. i 10.2 omits MEŠ after KUR.KUR. i 10.2 pa-áš-qu-ti. i 11.2 A aš-šur-PAB-A. i 11.2 ana ĜIR.II.MEŠ-šú ... nab-ni-tú ... <sup>md</sup>GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ. A.0.102.4 ĜIR.II.MEŠ-šú] ú-šak-ni-šu nab-ni-tú KÜ-<sup>1</sup>tú] šá GIŠ.tukul-ti-<sup>d</sup>[MAŠ] šá. i 12.2 šá kúl-lat za-i-ri-šú i-né-ru-ú-ma ... lib-bi-šú. i 13.1 <sup>1</sup>ana<sup>1</sup>. i 13.2 a-na. i 13.2 ib-an-ni. i 13.2 NU for la before ma-gi-ri. i 14.2 ma-gi-ru-tu. i 14.2 u<sub>9</sub>-me-šu-ma for UD-šu-ma. i 14.2 MAN-ti-a. i 15.2 ina GIŠ.GU.ZA MAN-ti-ia GAL-iš ú-ši-bu GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ u ĒRIN.ĤIA.MEŠ ad-ki ina né-reb ša KUR si-me-si e-ru-bu. i 16.2 ša (beginning of line). i 16.2 GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu ĤIA a-duk šal-<la>-su-nu áš-lu-la di-im-tu. i 16.2 URU-šú ar-šip. i 17.2 LÚ <sup>1</sup>ba-tu-lil-šú-nu MUNUS ba-tu-la-ti-šú-nu a-na ma-aq-lu-ti aq-lu ... ša. i 18.2 GIŠ.ŠU in error for GIŠ.GIŠ. i 18.2 repeats, in error, GU<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ. i 19.2 pa-áš-qu-ti KUR.MEŠ-e ... ki-ma še-lu-ut ĜIR ana AN-e zi-qip-tú GAR-nu. i 19.1 adds, in error, ZABAR after URUDU. i 20.2 ana for a-na. i 20.2 URU.MEŠ-ni šá li-me-tú-šú ina IZI.MEŠ aš-ru-up. i 21.2 si-ta-at ... IGI na-<sup>1</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>-rat GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-a ip-láh-ú-ma KUR.MEŠ-e dan-nu-te iš-ba-tú ... e-li. i 22.2 aš-kun. i 22.2 BAD<sub>9</sub>BAD<sub>9</sub>-šú-nu ... KUR-e. erroneously omitted in the published copy (line 32). i 22.2 GIŠ.GIŠ-šú. i 23.2 EN-a is-ĥu-pu-šú-nu-ti ur-du-u-ni ĜIR.II.MEŠ-a iš-ba-tú GUN ma-da-tú. i 24.2 ana for a-na. i 24.2 ĤIA for ma-<sup>2</sup>a-tu. i 25.1 <sup>1</sup>šal-la-su. i 25.2 šal-la-su-nu. i 25.2 aš-lu-la. i 25.2 SAG.KI for pu-ut. i 25.2 šá li-me-tú-šú ina IZI aš-ru-up. i 26.2 ana tam-ti ... GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-a ina tam-ti ú-lil UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ-ti ana DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-a ... u<sub>9</sub>-me-šú-ma. i 27.2 ta-na-ti for ta-nit-ti. i 27.1 NUN-e in error. i 27.2 GAL-e. i 27.2 EN-a u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-a ... tam-ti ... ta-ia-ar-ti-a. i 28.2 tam-ti ma-da-tú. i 28.2 šá for ša after ud-ra-a-te. i 29.2 ana for a-na. i 29.2 13.KAM. i 29.2 at-ta-bal-kát. i 30.2 <sup>ma</sup>-di-ni ... púl-ĥi ... EN-a. i 30.1 a-[na šüzub ...]. i 31.2 ap-púl ... IZI.MEŠ aš-ru-up TA URU la-a-<sup>2</sup>la-a-<sup>2</sup>te. i 32.2 <sup>ma</sup>-di-ni (both occurrences). i 32.2 ana gi-piš. i 32.2 ina for i-na. i 33.2 EN.MEŠ-a KI-šú am-da-ĥi-iš ... aš-kun ina. i 34.2 ana URU bur-mar-an-na ... GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit di-im-tú. i 35.2 SAG.KI for pu-ut. i 35.2 ma-da-tú šá <sup>ma</sup>ĥa-pi-ni [UR]U.DU<sub>9</sub>.NA.MEŠ-a-a. i 35.1 ša(?) for šá (third occurrence). i 36.2 KÜ.GI.MEŠ ... bur-mar-an-na ... GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ šá. i 37.2 e-bir ma-da-tú šá ... KÜ.GI.MEŠ ... pa-qar-uh-bu-ni. i 37.1 <sup>ma</sup>qa-ta-zi-<sup>1</sup>lu. i 37.2 <sup>ma</sup>qa-ta-zi-li. i 38.2 ĜIR am-ma-ti ... a-bi-ik-ti KUR-šú aš-kun. i 39.2 rap-šú. i 40.2 pa-qar-uh-bu-ni ... ana ... <sup>mmu</sup>-ta-li. i 41.2 <sup>mmu</sup>-ta-li ... KÜ.GI.MEŠ. i 41.2 DUMU.MUNUS-su, in error. i 41.2 it-ti for iš-tu. i 43.2 ana re-šu-ti a-ĥa-meš. i 44.2 ana for a-na (both occurrences). i 44 tuq(not túq)-ma-ti is clear in both exs. 1 and 2 (against

Schramm). i 44.2 MAĤ.MEŠ for ši-ra-a-ti. i 44.2 pa-ni-ia for IGI-ia. i 45.2 it-ti-šú-nu am-da-ĥi-ši ... aš-kun mun-daĥ-ši-šú-nu. i 46.2 ri-ĥi-iš-tu for ri-ĥi-il-ta. i 47.2 rap-šú. i 47.2 ki-ma for GIM. i 48.2 omits -šú after GIŠ.GIŠ. i 48.2 di-im-tu for a-si-tu. i 48.2 SAG.KI for pu-ut. i 48.2 ap-púl ... IZI.MEŠ aš-ru-up. i 49.2 u<sub>9</sub>-me-šú-ma ... ú-šá-pi a-na ša-a-ti. i 50.2 al-ka-kát ... taš-nin-ti-a. i 50.2 inserts ÍD before e-ni. i 51.2 TA for iš-tu. i 51.2 e-ti-bir. i 52.2 dan-nu-ti-šú. i 52.1 has, in error, URU-ur-ma for KUR (last occurrence). i 52.2 ana for a-na. i 53.2 ZI.MEŠ-šú ... sa-am-<sup>2</sup>la-la-a. i 54.2 <sup>mbur</sup>-an-na-ti. ii 4.2 omits MEŠ after GIŠ.TUKUL. ii 4.2 šu-a-tú <sup>mbur</sup>-an-na-ti. ii 5.2 ŠU lu ik-šú-du. ii 6.1 tam-di <SILIM>-umz the SILIM/DI sign was mistakenly omitted (haplography). ii 31 Craig mistakenly has di-iĥ-nu-nu-nu. ii 33 EN GAL <EN>-ia: cf. EN GAL EN-ia in ii 44, 60, 62, and 70. ii 35.3 [M]U.MEŠ-[šunu] for MU-šú-nu. ii 48 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia: the sign is clearly MEŠ, not TI. ii 67 URU-ur-ma: as Craig observed, -ma is clear. ii 82 «2-<sup>1</sup>šú»: dittography. ii 90 MAN-ti-šú: -šú, not -ia, is clear. ii 90 ĒRIN, not MUNUS, is clear.

### A.0.102.5

ii 2.2 KUR a-mur-ri KUR ĥat-ti a-na ... ki-ma DU<sub>9</sub>. ii 3.1 ú-še-<sup>1</sup>ziz<sup>1</sup>; ex. 2 ú-še-zi-zi. ii 4.1 ina(\*): text has GIŠ. ii 4.2 a-na DINGIR.MEŠ-ni-ia aš-bat ... MAN.MEŠ-ni ... tam-ti (for A.AB.BA). ii 5.2 áš-ĥu-ru ... ú-še-zi-zi TA KUR en-zi-<te>. ii 6.2 a-na gi-piš. iii 1.2 it-ti-kil-ma LÚ.ĒRIN.ĤIA.MEŠ-šú ... a-na ... ana GABA-ia ... 3 LIM LÚ.ĒRIN.MEŠ. iii 1.1 ti-<du>-ki-šú. iii 2.2 DAGAL-šú ... ú-nu-tu ... e-ki-im-šú a-na šu-zu-bu ZI.MEŠ-šú a-na ... DAGAL-tu ki-ma <sup>d</sup>er-ra áš-gi-iš. iii 3.1 a-<di>. iii 3.2 ĥu-bu-uš-ki-a ... áš-gu-um nam-ru-rat ... ú-šá-áš-kin <sup>ma</sup>ĥu-ni DUMU <sup>ma</sup>-di-ni šá TA LUGAL.MEŠ-ni AD.MEŠ-a ši-ip-šu u dan-na-nu. iii 4.2 šu-rat ... BURU<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ-šú a-su-uh ... a-na šu-zu-bu. iii 4.1 šu-<zu>-ub. iii 4.2 ÍD pu-rat-tu for ÍD.A.RAD. iii 4.2 šu-qa-lu-lat. iii 5.2 2-ti MU.AN.NA EGIR-šú ar-ti-di. iii 5.2 LÚ.ĒRIN.ĤI.A.MEŠ-šú (both occurrences). iv 1.1 <sup>md</sup><AMAR>.UTU-EN-ú-sa-te. iv 1.2 lu ib-bal-kit KUR ma-la-ma-liš ... a-na ĒRIN.TÁĤ-šú a-na. iv 2.2 <sup>md</sup>šul-ma-nu-SAG ... a-na KUR.URI.KI a-la-ka iq-bi a-na. iv 3.2 a-na for ana (both occurrences). iv 3.2 me-túr-nat (both occurrences). iv 4.2 a-lak-ti ... a-na e-peš qab-li ú-ta-ĥa-zi ... a-bi-<ik>-ta-šú áš-kun ... URU-šú ... BURU<sub>9</sub>.MEŠ-šú. iv 5.2 <sup>men</sup>-bu-na-a-ia. iv 5.2 e-li-tú for AN.TA. iv 6.2 šap-li-ta for KI.TA. v 1.2 at-tú-muš ... píl-ši. v 2.1 áš-lu-la-su (in error, influenced by šal-la-su). v 2.2 EGIR-šú for ar-ki-šú. v 3.2 GIŠ.TUKUL ú-šam-qit u LÚ.ĒRIN.MEŠ ĥup-ši šá KI-šú a-a-um-ma. v 4.2 lib-bu-uš ... MAN KUR aš-šur a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI iq-ta-bi ... ana GÚ.DU<sub>9</sub>.A.KI. v 4.1 DINGIR.<MEŠ>. v 5.2 ú-qa-i-šá qi-šá-a-te e-ru-um-ma a-na KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI mar-kaš, AN-e KI-tim. v 6.2 a-na for ana. v 6.2 LUGAL for MAN. v 6.2 in-na-mir-ma uš-te-ši-ra kib-si-šú-nu ni-qa-šú si-ra. v 6.1 ina(?) é-sag-il; ex. 2 omits ina. vi 1.2 šú-ut é-sag-il u DİN.TIR.KI ... ni-qa-a-šú. vi 1-2.2 iš-bat-ma <sup>1</sup>ĥar<sup>1</sup>-ra-na(text ŠU) a-na BĀD.SI.AB.BA.KI (for URU bār-sip). vi 2.2 ga-áš-ri-i-ru-um-ma a-na é-[zi-da bīl] ši-ma-a-tim. vi 3.2 uš-te-ši-ra ... UDU.ARAD.MEŠ ... šú-<sup>1</sup>ut<sup>1</sup> bār-sipa.KI u é-zi-da. vi 4.2 a-na DİN.TIR.KI u bār-sipa.KI.MEŠ ĒRIN.MEŠ UBARA ... ku-ru-un-na id-din-šú-nu-ti. vi 5.1 <sup>1</sup>ul-tu<sup>1</sup>. vi 5.2 aš-šur for AŠ. vi 5.2 DİN.TIR.KI for URU.KÁ.DINGIR.MEŠ. vi 5.2 at-tu-muš a-na. vi 6.2 at-ta-rad a-na. vi 6.1 ba-<qa-a>-ni ... <sup>ma</sup>-<di>-ni. vi 6.2 DUMU for A. vi 6.2 at-tú-muš. vi 7.2 DUMU for A. vi 7.2 pu-ul-ĥi.

## A.0.102.6

i 9.2 *be-lu-ti* for *EN-ti*. i 24.3 *ša* for *ša*. i 27.3 *za-i-re-šu*.  
 i 29.3 ÉRIN.ĪI.A.MEŠ-*ia*. i 30.3 *ša* for *ša*. i 31.3 GAZ-*šu-nu ma-’a-tú*. i 33.3 and i 34.3 *hu-bu-uš-ki-a*. i 33.4 *li-me-tu-šu*.  
 i 35.11 GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a*. i 35.3 *dan-nu-te*. i 35.4 *dan-nu-ti-šu*.  
 i 37.4 GAR-*u[n]* for *aš-ku-un*. i 39.4 *ša* for *ša*. i 39.4 *a-lik*  
 GIŠ.TUKUL.†MEŠ-*ia*. i 40.4 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-a*. i 41.4 *ma-da-tú*.  
 i 42.4 BALA-*ia* ... *mi-li-ša* ... †*šül-mu*. i 43.4, 11 †DINGIR†.MEŠ-*ni-ia*. i 44.4 *ha-ma-ni*. i 45.11 †KUR.KUR(?)*-e* for *KUR-e*. i 46.11 *ša*  
 for *ša* (second occurrence). i 46.4 omits <sup>m</sup> before *a-di-ni*. i 47.4 *ša*  
 for *ša* (first occurrence). i 47.4 *am-ma-a-ti*. i 48.4 *ša* for *ša*.  
 i 48.11 [...]*pül a-qur(?)*. i 49.4 [BAL]A-*ia*. i 50.4 omits <sup>m</sup> before *a-  
 di-ni*. i 52.4 *bi-ir-te*. i 52.5 *ša* for *ša*. i 52.1 has, in error,  
 DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni* for URU.MEŠ-*ni* (preserved in exs. 4–5).  
 i 53.4 *ša* for *ša* (first occurrence). i 53.4 *si-ta-at*. i 54.4 *2-ma*.  
 i 54.4–5 *ap-pül*. i 55.4 *ša* for *ša* (second occurrence). i 55.4 *am-ma-  
 ti* i 56.4 *u* for *ù*. i 56.4 *al-ta-ak-ka-an*. i 57.4 omits <sup>m</sup> before *a-di-ni*.  
 i 58.6 [MAN-†]†*šü*. i 66.6 *pit-ḫal-lu-šu*. i 67.7 *ù* for *u*. i 68.6 MĒ-*šu*.  
 i 69.6 *pa-an* for IGI. i 70.6 [u]m-*da-še-ru*. i 71.6 [MAN]-*ti-šu*.  
 ii 1.8 *ki-ma* for GIM. ii 1.1 *a-bu-<bi>*. ii 5.9 *ù-ba-na-at*. ii 5.8 *ša* for  
*ša*. ii 7.9 *ù-ba-an*. ii 15.9 [G]AZ-*šu-nu*. ii 21.9 URU-*šu-nu*.  
 ii 26.9 *ana* for *a-na*. ii 28.1 *ši-<di>*. ii 29.5 *u* for *ù*. ii 30.9 *ti-du-ki-  
 šu-[nu]*. ii 32.5 *e-li-ù*. ii 34.9 †*ša* for *ša*. ii 52.9 *ša* <sup>ma</sup>*di* [...].  
 ii 53.5 <sup>m</sup>†*ù-[kani ...]* †[GIŠ]†.ESI.MEŠ. ii 55.9 *ša* for *ša*. ii 56.5 *ap-pül*.  
 ii 57.9 *ša* for *ša*. ii 60.5 *u<sub>s</sub>-mi-šu-ma*. ii 62.5 *ša* for *ša*. ii 64.5 *it-ti-šu-  
 nu*. ii 65.10 *aš-kun*. ii 65.5, 10 GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šu-nu*. ii 70.10 *ša*  
 for *ša*. iii 1.9 *ša* for *ša*. iii 6.9 *it-bu-ni*. iii 29.7 AN.TA u KI.TA  
 ÉRIN.ĪI.A-*š[u-nu]*. iii 29.1 KI.TA «[ĪI] ÉRIN.ĪI.<A>-*šu-nu «u»*  
 ĪI.A.MEŠ. iii 31.7 *aš-k[un]*. iii 33.7 *e-[kim-šu]-nu*. iii 40.5 *ap-pül*.  
 iii 44.5 [a]m-*hur-šu*. iii 45.5 MAN-†*ti-a*†. iii 48.1 *li-me-tu-šu*.  
 iii 48.5 *li-me-tu-šu-nu*. iii 49.12 GAZ-*šu-nu*. iii 51.12 KAL.MEŠ for  
*dan-nu-ti*. iii 54.4 *ina* for *a-na*. iii 55.4 *mé-li-di*. iii 55.4, 12 *ma-da-  
 tú*. iii 56.4 *mé-li-di-a-a*. iii 59.4 [...]*†a-bal-kát* for BAL-*at*.  
 iii 60.4 inserts URU before *b[ir-tu]*. iii 63.4 *dan-nu-ti-šu ša*.  
 iv 2.5 [É.G]AL-*šu* ĪI.A.MEŠ. iv 4.4 EN for *a-di*. iv 6.4 *me-lam-me*  
 EN-*ti-[ia]*. iv 8.4 ÉRIN.ĪI.<A>.MEŠ-*šu*. iv 10.4 GABA-*a*.  
 iv 12.4 *aš-kun*. iv 13.1 KUR *nam-ri*(\*) (text has NAM).  
 iv 13.4 KUR.ZÁLAG. iv 16.4 BAD.MEŠ-*ni-š[u]*. iv 18.4 *aš-kun*.  
 iv 20.4 GIŠ.GIŠ-*šu* ... *ma-a-ni*. iv 21.4 *ma-da-tú*. iv 22.4 *né-re-be*.  
 iv 24.4 *me-lam-me* E[N]-†*ti-ia*†. iv 36.3 *ki-ma a-[bu-bi]* (omits DU<sub>6</sub>).  
 iv 37.3 *hur-ša-a-ni*. iv 40.3 *u* for *ù*. iv 43.3 [GIG]IR.MEŠ-*a pa-tu-ti*.  
 iv 48 *ar-ku-us*(\*): ex. 1, the only ex. preserved, has *ar-ku-UN*. The  
 parallels (eg. RIMA 2 p. 135 line 67) have *ar-ku-us*.

## A.0.102.8

24'.2 *la-ḫi-ri(?)*. 28'.2 *i-qab-bu-ši-ni*. 32'.2 *ap-pül*. 36'.2 omits MEŠ  
 after IZI. 36'.2 *a-ta-bal-kát*. 38'.2 BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub>-*šu* (omits -*nu*).  
 46'.4 *e-li-te* †*u šap-li-te*† for AN.TA u KI.TA. 46'.4 *id-†ku-ù-ni*.  
 47'.4 *e-kim-šu-nu*. 48'.4 *ina ka*[...] (omits KUR).

## A.0.102.10

ii 39.3 EN *ḫi-i-ṭí ša*. ii 46.3 KUR-*ud* at end of line. iii 20.2 *e-li-te*  
 instead of AN.TA. iii 21.2 †*id-ku-ù-ni*. iii 24.2 *e-kim-šu-nu*.  
 iii 30 -*me*(\*): text -PI. iii 34.2 [at-*ta-b*]†*al-kát* instead of BAL-*at*.  
 iii 36.1 *tug*(\*): text ĪU. Ex. 2 has *tug* correctly. iv 10.1 -*še*(\*):  
 text -TE-. iv 49–50.1 «*ú-si*»: The scribe began to incise *ú-si-im* at  
 the end of the line but then realized there was not enough room and  
 so started all over again at the beginning of line 50, not  
 remembering to erase his false start.

## A.0.102.12

22 -*an*(\*): copy has KUR. 23 -*kun*(\*): copy has †. 30 BALA(\*):  
 copy has BŪL. 40 SU(\*): copy has ZU.

## A.0.102.14

2.2 MAN for LUGAL. 7.2 [b]é-*gal-li*. 11.2 MAN for LUGAL.  
 15.2-[ru]-*bu-ú* for NUN-*ú*. 16.2 MAN for LUGAL. 17.2 omits <sup>m</sup>  
 before the RN. 18.2 ĠIR.II-*šu*. 19.2 [nab]-*ni-tú*. 20.2 *za-i-re-e-šü*.  
 22.2 *ina* for *i-na*. 22.2 MAN for LUGAL. 23.2 MAN-*te* for LUGAL-  
*ti*. 26.2 *ina* for *i-na*. 27.2 *me-li-ša*. 30.2 [a-*ki*]-*si*. 31.2 MAN-*ti-a*.  
 33.2 omits <sup>m</sup> before *a-di-ni*. 33.2 *e-sir-šu*. 34.2 *me-[i-ša]*. 34.2 omits  
 URU. 35.2 †*li-me-tu-šu*. 36.2 [dan-*nu*]-*ti*. 37.2 [šarru]-†*ti-šu*.  
 39.2 [šja for *ša* (first occurrence). 43.2 [a]y-*ga-aš-ku-un*. 44.2 *hu-  
 bu-uš-ki-a*. 44.1 omits KUR-[ud], in error. 47.2 *ù-ba-an* for ŠU.SI.

## A.0.102.18

18'.3 *lu aš-ku-un*. 21'.3–4 -*ta-du*. 21'.4 [L]Ū.GAR.KUR.

## A.0.102.25

3 DŪ(\*): text has UD. Cf. Seux, ERAS p. 143. 4 *ša*(\*): text has [A.  
 19 -*qi*(\*): text has EN. 20 DŪ(\*): text has TAB. 25 -*lal*(\*): text  
 has ME.

## A.0.102.31

2.2 has LŪ before ŠID and GAR. 3.2 GIŠ.tukul-. 3.2 has LŪ before  
 GAR and ŠID.7.2–3 *a-na tam-ti*. 18.3 *a-na* instead of *ina*.

## A.0.102.39

1.1, 5 have <sup>m</sup> before *aš-šur-PAB-A*. It is omitted in ex. 2. 3.2 *mar-  
 ra-tu*. 3.2 *i-qa-<bu>-ši-†ni*†. 4.1 mistakenly repeats *šul-*. 5.6 *a-lik*.

## A.0.102.41

4.7, 9 *ù-tir* for *ut-tir*.

## A.0.102.42

8.3 [...-š]ú(?) *a-di*. 10.3 EGIR-*ú* for *ar-ku-ú*. 13.4 *zi-iq-qa-ti*.  
 13.2 [...-š]a(?) *lu-t[er]*.

## A.0.102.43

1.2 <sup>md</sup>šül-... 1.3 <sup>d</sup>«a»-*aš-šur*. 2.1 †A† *aš-†šur*†... 2.2, 4, 9 ...-PAB-  
 IBILA. 2.1 ÉNSI *aš-†šur*†. 2.3 ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>«a»-*aš-†šur*†. 3.1 A  
 GIŠ.TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ. 3.4, 9 <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.TUKUL-<sup>d</sup>MAŠ. 3.1 ÉNSI *aš-š[ur-  
 ma]*. 3.3 ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>«a»-*aš-šur-[ma]*. 3.9 *ḫa*[...]. 5.3 BĀD.KI.MEŠ.  
 5.4, 6, 9 BĀD.MEŠ.KI. 5.2 omits *ki-la-le*. 5.1 omits *ù*. 5.2 KĀ.GAL-  
 š[*u-nu*]. 5.3 KĀ.GAL.MEŠ-...]. 5.3, 9 *ša* for *ša*. 5.6 [...]*p*]-*a-ni*.  
 5.9 MAN-*ni*. 6.3 *e-na-aḫ-ma*. 7.3 *si-ḫir-ti-šu*. 7.1 *uš-<še>-šu*. 7.3 *uš-  
 še-š[u]*. 7.1 *ša-ap-[iṣṣu]*. 8.2 *zi-qa-a-ti*. 8.3 *z[i-iq]-qa-ti*. 9.3 [r]u-*bu-  
 [ú]* for NUN-*ú*. 9.8–9 *ru-ba-ú* for NUN-*ú*. 9.2 †*ar-ku-ú*†. 9.3, 9 *ur-ku-  
 [ú]* for *ar-ku-u*. 10.2 *e-na-ḫu-ú-[ma]*. 10.7 *e-na-ḫu-ú-†ú*†. 12.2, 10 NA<sub>4</sub>  
*zi*... 13.2, 10 ITI *ša-ki*... 14.2 <sup>md</sup>ŪRI.[GAL-...]. 14.7 <sup>md</sup>MAŠ.AŠ-....

## A.0.102.44

1.2, 8 <sup>md</sup>šül-*man-*. 1.2–3, 5–8, 10, 14 -MAŠ instead of -SAG.  
 1.5, 7, 14 have PA.SI.TE for ÉNSI. 1.2 *a-šur*. 1.4, 6–10, 13–14, 16  
*aš-šur*. 1.3 «*aš*»-*aš-šur*. 2.2, 8, 13 A instead of DUMU.  
 2.4, 6, 9–10, 15, 19–20 omit <sup>m</sup>. 2.2–3, 5–6, 8, 10, 17, 26 A instead of  
 IBILA. 2.5, 7, 14 have PA.SI.TE for ÉNSI. 2.4, 6–7, 9–10, 14, 16  
 ÉNSI *aš-šur*. 2.2, 8 MIN instead of ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>a-*šur*. 2.3 ÉNSI «*aš*»-*aš-  
 šur*. 3.2, 8, 13 A instead of DUMU. 3.2–3, 5, 7–8, 11–14, 19–20  
<sup>m</sup>GIŠ. 3.14 <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.TUKUL-. 3.5, 7, 14 have PA.SI.TE for ÉNSI.

3.4, 6-7, 9-10, 14, 16 *aš-šur-ma*. 3.2, 8 MIN instead of ÉNSI <sup>d</sup>*a-šur-ma*. 3.3 «*aš*»-*aš-šur* (omits *-ma*). 3.5, 13 omit *-ma*. 4.2, 8 *ana*. 4.2, 8 *ba-la-ti*. 4.18 TI-šú instead of *ba-lá-ti-šú*. 4.2, 5, 8, 13 *balāṭi-šú*. 4.3 *ú* instead of *ù*. 4.2, 5, 8, 13 omit *ù*. 4.2, 5, 8, 13, 18 *šá-lam*. 4.3 *ša-lam*. 4.4 *šá-<lá-am>*. 4.6, 10, 17 *šá-lá-am*. 4.9 *šá-am-lá*. 4.2-3, 5, 8, 13 URU-šú instead of *a-li-šú*. 4.9, 16 *a-li-šú*. 5.2, 8 BÂD.MEŠ KÁ.MEŠ-šú. 5.13 BÂD KÁ.GAL.MEŠ-šú. 5.18 BÂD.KI KÁ.ME[Š-...]. 5.5 BÂD KÁ.GAL. 5.3, 9-10, 14 omit *ù*. 5.5 inserts *e-li* before *šá*. 5.2, 8 *ša* for *šá*. 5.3 *pa-ni*. 5.4 *pa-<an>*. 5.5 IGI instead of *pa-an*. 5.2, 5, 14, 21 MAN-ni. 5.3, 6 MAN.MEŠ (omit *-ni*). 5.13 LUGAL.MEŠ-ni. 6.9 *pa-an-ia*. 6.13 IGI-ia DÜ-uš. 6.2, 8, 14 *e-pu-šur-ma*. 6.7 omits, in error, *e-pu-uš*. 7.2, 8 *i-na-ḥa* (omit *-ma*). 7.3, 14 *e-na-ḥu-ma*. 7.5 omits *-ma*. 7.13 *i-na-aḥ-ma*. 7.2 *a-<na>*. 7.8 *ana*. 7.3 *si-<ḥi>-ir*. 7.4, 10 *si-ḥir*. 7.8 *si-iḥ-te-šú*. 7.9 *si-ḥi-<ir>*. 7.2, 8 *-te-šú*. 7.5, 13-14, 16 *-ti-šú*. 7.3 omits *-šú*. 8.2, 8 *uš-du*. 8.3 *iš-di*. 8.15 *iš-tu*. 8.2, 8 *uš-še-šú*. 8.2, 6, 8 *šá-ap-te-šú*. 8.3, 16-17 *šá-ap-ti-šú*. 8.4, 9-11 *šá-ap-ti-šú*. 8.5 *ša-ap-te-šú*. 8.13 *ša-ap-ti-šú*. 8.15 *ša-ap-ti-šú*. 8.18 *šap-ti-šú*. 8.19 *ša-ap-<ti>-šú*. 8.2 instead of *e-pu-uš* has UŠ UŠ UŠ SI ŠU. 8.12 *e-pu-šú*. 9.2, 13 omit *ù*. 9.3, 24 omit NA. 9.2 *zi-qa-<ti>*. 9.3 *zi-qa-a-ti*. 9.4, 6, 9-10 *zi-iq-qá-ti*. 9.7 *zi-qá-ḷa-ti*. 9.8, 21(?) *zi-qa-a-te*. 9.12 *zi-iq-qá-te*. 9.13 *zi-iq-<qa>-ti*. 9.24 *zi-qa-ti*. 9.2-3, 8 *áš-kun*. 9.16, 21 *aš-ku-un*. 10.2-3, 5 NUN-ú instead of *ru-ba-ú*. 10.2, 8 *ar-ku-u*. 10.3, 5 EGIR-ú instead of *ur-ku-ú*. 11.2-3, 6, 8, 10, 15, 18 *e-nu-ma*. 11.2-3, 8, 16(?) BÂD KÁ.GAL-šú. 11.5 BÂD KÁ.GAL(text: DINGIR).MEŠ-šú. 11.11 BÂD.KI KÁ.GAL-šú. 11.4, 6, 9 omit *ù*. 12.2, 8 *e-nu-ḥu-ma*. 12.3, 5 *e-na-aḥ-ma*. 12.4, 7 *e-nu-uḥ*. 12.9 *e-na-ḥu-ú*. 12.2, 16 *e-pu-šú*. 12.8, 11 *e-pu-šú*. 13.2, 4, 8, 11, 13 omit *ù*. 13.5 *ù(\*)*: text has TI. 13.3, 6, 21 *u* for *ù*. 13.4 «*i*» *ik-ri-bi-šú*. 13.3 *ik-ri-be-šú*. 13.7, 12, 14, 24-25 *ik-ri-bi-šú*. 13.9 *ik-ri-<bi>-šú*. 13.10 *ik-ri-<bi>-šú*. 14.2, 8 *i-ši-mu-u*. 14.3, 5 *i-šá-me*. 14.4, 6, 10, 13 *i-šá-me-ú*. 14.2, 8 omit NA. 14.2, 8 *zi-qa-a-te*. 14.3 *zi-qa-a-ti*. 14.4, 9-10 *zi-iq-qá-ti*. 14.5 *zi-iq-<qa>-te*. 14.6, 25 *zi-iq-qá-ti*. 14.7, 24 *zi-qá-ti*. 14.12 *zi-iq-qá-te*. 15.13 *ana*. 15.2, 8, 22-23(?) *áš-ri-ši-na*. 15.3 *áš-ri-šú*. 15.5 *aš-ri*. 15.2-3, 5-12 *lu-ter*. 15.22 *lu-ú-[ter]*. 17.27 omits .KÁM. 18.27 *ša* for *šá*. 18.27 <sup>d</sup>*a-š[ur]*.

## A.0.102.46

3.3 <sup>m</sup>GIŠ.tukul-. 3.2 omits *-ma*. 4.1 omits MAN after KIŠ. 4.3 AŠ-*ma* instead of *aš-šur-ma*. 6.2 -A- instead of -IBILA-. 7.3 *e-pu-šú*. 7.2 *ú-na-kir*. 8.2 *ak-šu-du*. 9.1 *gaba-«RI»-dib-bi-ša*. 9.2 *gaba-dib-be-ša*. 10.2 *maḥ-re-e*. 11.4 [... *temme*]-nu. 11.2 *áš(?)-[kun]*. 11.4 [*a*ḫ(?)]-*kat* instead of EGIR. 12.4 [UD].MEŠ(?) instead of *u<sub>4</sub>-um*. 13.3 *e-na-ḥu-[ma]*. 15.3 [...] <sup>d</sup>*iš-tar* [<sup>d</sup>][...].

## A.0.102.49

2.2 NIN-ti «NIN» GAL-ti. 3.2 NIN-ti-a šá <sup>m</sup>TUKUL-MAŠ A <sup>d</sup>šúl-*ma-nu-MAŠ a-bi ŠID AŠ*. 4.2 [URU<sub>4</sub>-šú] for *uš-še-šú*.

## A.0.102.51

2.2 AŠ-PA[B(?)...] for [<sup>d</sup>]*a-šur-PAB-A*. 3.4 *šá* for *ša*. 4.4 omits <sup>m</sup>. 4.1 [*i-na*]. 6.3 *aš-šur* for AŠ. 6.3 *a-na*.

## A.0.102.56

2.2 *na-a-du*. 4.2 EN-a ... AD.MEŠ-a. 6.2 DAGAL-tu. 7.2 [*i*]-*qí-šú-ni*. 7.1 <*kal*>-*ḫi*, 7.2 *kal-ḫi*. 10.2 omits <sup>li</sup>. 13.2 *lu[d]*-*di-iš*.

## Šamši-Adad V

## A.0.103.1

i 31.2 *pár-ši*. i 33.2 [*libba*]-[*šú-ma*]. i 42.3 omits <sup>d</sup> before *aš-šur*. i 53.3 *ú-šak-ni-iš*. ii 11.3 KUR.URI.KI instead of KUR *ak-ka-di-i*. ii 18.3 *ṭè-e-me*. ii 48.3 [*šú-ga-lu-lá*] *šá*. ii 49.3 [*mu-pár-šú*]. ii 50.2 *ar-ki-šú-nu ar-ti-di*. ii 51.2 KUR *ú-[bānāt]*. ii 51.3 [*ši-na*]-*a-ti*. ii 53.2-3 GAZ.MEŠ-šú-nu *ma-ʾa-tu*. ii 55.2-3 UDU *še-ni* instead of UŠ, UDU.ḪIA-. ii 56.2-3 ANŠE *ud-ra-a-te šá* 2.TA.ĀM *iš-qu-bé-e-ti*. ii 57.2-3 *šá-ak-na* instead of GAR-na. ii 58.2 *ap-púl*. ii 59.2 *gi-zi-il-bu-un-da*. ii 59.3 *gi-ṭi-ill-bu-ḷa*. iii 2.2-3 *ap-púl*. iii 2.3 GÍBL (omits *-up*). iii 3.2 *lu-u*. iii 3.3 *lu* (omits *-ú*). iii 7.2 *gi-zi-il-bu-un-d[a]*. iii 7.2 EN-ti-ia. iii 8.2 *ta-ḥa-zi-ia* instead of MĒ-ia. iii 9.2 URU.MEŠ-<sup>d</sup>*šú*-nu. iii 31 *mar(\*)*: text has Pl. iv 15 *-ni(\*)*: text has IR.

## A.0.103.9

1.15 Between [IŠKUR] and MAN there is an impression which might be a flaw in the clay or a slip of the stylus. 1.15 MAN KAL MAN KIŠ MAN KU[R ...]. 3.6 <sup>m</sup>SILIM.MA-MAŠ. 3.15 [*4-te*] A <sup>m</sup>AŠ-PAB-A.

## Adad-nārārī III

## A.0.104.1

4.2-3 *ú-mal-lu-u*. 5.2-3 *qa-tuš-šú*. 6.3 *na-paḥ* instead of KUR-*ḥa*. 9.3 <sup>m</sup>šam-ši-<sup>d</sup>IŠKUR. 10.3 *aš-šur* instead of AŠ. 11.2 DUMU instead of A. 12.1 *kul(\*)*: text has AŠ. 12.2-3 *za-ʾi-i-ri-šú*. 15.3 *nu-rap-piš*. 18.3 *ú-rap-pi-šú*. 19.2-3 <sup>d</sup>*nin-urta* instead of <sup>d</sup>MAŠ. 23.2 *ma-ta-a-te*. 24.2 *pi(\*)*: copy has UD. 25.1 *ud(\*)*: text has Pl. 25.2 LUGAL-ti instead of MAN-ti.

## A.0.104.6

10 There is an erasure before *-iḥ* at the end of the line. 23 There is no PN wedge before <sup>d</sup>IGI.DU-KAM.



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# Index of Museum Numbers

## British Museum

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
BM 45607	103.9.1	BM 124665+	102.5.2	1903-10-12,6	102.111.9
BM 89106	104.2013	BM 124666+	102.5.2	1906-10-13,1	104.10.13
BM 89281	102.1004	BM 124667+	102.5.1	1906-10-13,2	103.5.8
BM 89907	102.1003	BM 128156+	102.5.1	1922-8-12,54	102.46.3
BM 90221	102.105.1	BM 128162	103.9.3	1929-10-12,165	102.106.25
BM 90222	102.109.2	BM 128189	103.9.4	1929-10-12,172+	102.106.26
BM 90223	102.105.2	BM 128355	104.1002	1929-10-12,173	104.14.1
BM 90224	102.111.1	BM 128379	103.9.15	1929-10-12,174+	102.106.26
BM 90225	102.111.2	BM 131124	104.5	1929-10-12,175	103.9.6
BM 90226	102.111.3	BM 131128	102.96.1	1929-10-12,176	102.107.1
BM 90227	102.111.4	BM 132264	104.16.2	1929-10-12,177	104.15.4
BM 90266	104.15.1	BM 132265	102.56.2	1929-10-12,818	103.9.3
BM 90298	102.106.23	BM 136974	104.9	1929-10-12,845	103.9.4
BM 90354	102.106.24	BM 137435	103.9.5	1932-12-10,9+	102.38
BM 90355	102.111.5	BM 137455	102.106.25	1932-12-10,10+	102.38
BM 90360	102.104.12	BM 137462	102.106.26	1932-12-10,37	104.13.1
BM 90463+	104.15.2	BM 137463	104.14.1	1932-12-10,468	103.9.2
BM 90464+	104.15.2	BM 137464	103.9.6	1932-12-10,612	104.1002
BM 90495	0.1096	BM 137465	102.107.1	1932-12-10,636	103.9.15
BM 90534	102.56.1	BM 137466	104.15.4	1932-12-10,730	102.106.36
BM 90705	102.111.6	BM 137493	104.13.1	1958-2-8,7	104.16.2
BM 90742	104.15.3	BM 139276	102.106.36	1979-12-20,134	102.109.2
BM 90744	102.111.7	BM 139428	102.1012	1979-12-20,136	102.111.2
BM 90747	102.105.3	BM 139429	102.1013	1979-12-20,164	104.15.1
BM 90751	102.111.8			1979-12-20,211	102.106.24
BM 90817	102.1001	46-5-23,459	102.1003	1979-12-20,265	104.15.2
BM 90960	102.2001	48-11-4,1	102.14.1	1979-12-20,275	0.1096
BM 98068	102.111.9	48-11-4,28	102.111.1	1979-12-20,333	104.15.3
BM 99097	102.106.34	48-11-4,33	102.106.23	1983-1-1,3	102.1012
BM 99098	102.106.35	49-5-2,17	102.25	1983-1-1,4	102.1013
BM 102405	103.5.8	51-9-2,35	104.1.3		
BM 102406	104.10.13	55-12-5,24	102.96.1	Ki 1904-10-9,126	102.106.34
BM 104410	102.19	55-12-5,25	102.96.2	Ki 1904-10-9,127	102.106.35
BM 115020	103.1.2	55-12-5,460	102.19		
BM 116399	102.46.3	56-9-3,1510	103.1.2	K 3106	102.6.7
BM 118884	102.2.1	56-9-9,63	103.1.1	K 15116	102.1010
BM 118885	102.14.1	56-9-9,64	104.2002	K 12826	0.1100
BM 118886	102.25	56-9-9,65	104.2002		
BM 118888	104.2002	56-9-9,142	102.106.33	N 1817	102.1011
BM 118889	104.2002	81-2-4,29	104.9		
BM 118892	103.1.1	81-7-1,3396	103.9.1	Rm 1046	102.5.2
BM 118925	104.1.3	82-5-22,534	105.3	Rm 1047	102.5.1
BM 120429	104.1003	82-7-14,1040	0.1098		
BM 123342	0.1099	84-2-11,490	104.2013		
BM 123525	103.9.2				

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No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
BCM 101 '33	102.107.5	BCM 352 '79	103.9.7	BCM A57 '87	103.9.10
BCM 225 '63	102.111.58	BCM 353 '79	103.9.8	BCM A58 '87	103.9.11
BCM 225 '78	102.2.3	BCM 354 '79	103.9.9	BCM A59 '87	104.14.5
BCM 332 '79	104.14.3	BCM 355 '79	104.14.4	BCM A60 '87	104.14.6
BCM 333 '79	104.14.2	BCM 363 '79	102.107.2	BCM A61 '87	104.14.7
BCM 335 '79	104.15.6	BCM A56 '87	102.106.27	BCM A68 '87	102.106.28

**Iraq Museum**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
IM 54669	102.6.1	IM 55764	102.111.38	IM 65574	102.59	IM 113629+	102.41.7
IM 55349	102.111.10	IM 56281	102.111.44-47	IM 65574	102.60	IM 113631	102.41.11
IM 55350	102.111.12	IM 56283	102.111.42	IM 65574	102.61	IM 132847	102.41.2
IM 55353	102.111.14	IM 60496	102.16	IM 65574	102.62	IM 132848	102.41.3
IM 55640	107.1	IM 60636	102.1	IM 75763	102.113	IM 132849	102.41.4
IM 55644	102.10.1	IM 61867	102.115	IM 112566+	102.41.7	IM 132850	102.41.5
IM 55701	102.1009	IM 64209	104.20	IM 112567	102.41.8	IM 132851	102.41.6
IM 55759	102.111.22-23	IM 65574	102.28	IM 113620	102.41.9		
IM 55760a-b	102.111.36-37	IM 65574	102.57	IM 113626	102.41.10		

**Istanbul**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
A 659	102.10.3	A 3437	102.39.4	A 3505	0.1055	A 3584	0.1067
A 3336	0.1037	A 3441	102.39.3	A 3506	102.44.153	A 3589	102.43.7
A 3343	0.1035	A 3442	0.1047	A 3507	102.44.154	A 3594	0.1069
A 3345	102.43.11	A 3443	102.44.117	A 3508	102.44.155	A 3600	106.1
A 3346	0.1036	A 3444	0.1048	A 3509	102.44.23	A 3603	102.44.177
A 3347	102.44.101	A 3445	102.44.118	A 3510	102.44.17	A 3619	0.1070
A 3348	102.43.4	A 3447	0.1049	A 3511	102.44.21	A 3626	0.1071
A 3349	102.43.6	A 3453	0.1050	A 3512	102.44.22	A 3630	102.45.1
A 3350	102.44.102	A 3456	0.1051	A 3513	102.44.20	A 3631+	102.45.2
A 3351	102.44.104	A 3458	0.1052	A 3514	0.1056	A 3631a	102.45.3
A 3352+	102.42.2	A 3459	102.44.119	A 3517+	102.44.14	A 3632+	102.45.2
A 3353	102.46.4	A 3461	0.1053	A 3518+	102.44.14	A 3633	102.43.1
A 3354+	102.42.2	A 3463	102.44.26	A 3519	102.44.25	A 3654	0.1072
A 3355	0.1031	A 3464	102.44.120	A 3521	0.1057	A 3655	102.43.8
A 3357	102.44.103	A 3466	102.44.121	A 3522	0.1058	A 3656	102.44.182
A 3358	102.43.10	A 3470	102.44.124	A 3523	0.1059		
A 3359	102.43.5	A 3472	102.18.4	A 3526	0.1060	EŞ 920-	102.106.18
A 3360	102.44.105	A 3476	102.52	A 3527	102.44.16	EŞ 2340	104.10.4, 5 or 6
A 3368	102.44.18	A 3478	102.44.129	A 3528	0.1061	EŞ 2770	104.10.4, 5 or 6
A 3375	0.1038	A 3479	102.44.130	A 3530	102.44.164	EŞ 4232	103.8
A 3383	0.1028	A 3480	0.1033	A 3531	0.1068	EŞ 4600	102.108.5
A 3385	0.1032	A 3481+	102.44.132	A 3532	0.1062	EŞ 4650	102.40
A 3393	102.44.106	A 3482+	102.44.132	A 3534	102.44.165	EŞ 4831	104.11.1
A 3397	102.18.3	A 3483	0.1034	A 3535	102.44.166	EŞ 4841	104.11.2
A 3398	0.1029	A 3484	102.44.133	A 3536	0.1063	EŞ 5172	103.5.1 or 2
A 3403	0.1039	A 3485	102.44.24	A 3537	102.44.167	EŞ 6652	102.106.16
A 3404	102.44.107	A 3486	102.44.134	A 3538	102.44.168	EŞ 6661	102.106.7
A 3406	0.1040	A 3487	102.44.135	A 3540	102.44.169	EŞ 6663	102.106.8
A 3408	102.44.108	A 3488	102.44.139	A 3541	102.44.170	EŞ 6669	102.106.17
A 3409	102.44.109	A 3489	102.44.141	A 3544	0.1064	EŞ 6697	102.8.4
A 3410	102.44.110	A 3490	102.44.142	A 3545	102.44.171	EŞ 6750	102.42.1
A 3411	0.1041	A 3491	102.44.145	A 3546	102.44.172	EŞ 6872	102.14.2
A 3415	0.1042	A 3492	0.1054	A 3551	102.44.173	EŞ 6872	102.15
A 3428	102.44.115	A 3497	102.44.15	A 3553	102.44.174	EŞ 7052	102.94
A 3430	0.1043	A 3498	102.43.3	A 3564	0.1065	EŞ 9193(?)	102.102.3
A 3432	102.44.116	A 3499	102.44.149	A 3568	102.44.175	EŞ 9307	102.106.9
A 3433	0.1044	A 3500	102.44.150	A 3570	102.44.176	EŞ 9482	102.100.12
A 3434	102.39.5	A 3501	102.44.151	A 3571a	0.1066		
A 3435	0.1045	A 3502	102.43.12	A 3576	102.42.4	1326	105.2
A 3436	0.1046	A 3504	102.44.152	A 3577	102.44.27	2828	104.6

## Vorderasiatisches Museum

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
VA 3214	102.111.61	VA Ass 2089	0.1081	VA Ass 3262d	102.100.9
VA 3295	104.2011	VA Ass 2099	102.44.178	VA Ass 3262e	102.100.10
VA 5057	104.2012	VA Ass 2100	102.44.179	VA Ass 3262f	102.100.5
VA 8443	102.44.8	VA Ass 2101	102.44.180	VA Ass 3262g	102.99.4
VA 8444	102.44.2	VA Ass 2102	102.18.1	VA Ass 3263a	102.108.2
VA 8836	102.27	VA Ass 2103	102.18.2	VA Ass 3263b	102.108.3
VA 8987	102.111.59	VA Ass 2104	104.21.1	VA Ass 3263c	102.108.4
		VA Ass 2106	105.1001	VA Ass 3264a	102.99.9
VA Ass 1730	104.10.3	VA Ass 2108	102.44.111	VA Ass 3264b	102.99.6
VA Ass 1730	104.10.14	VA Ass 2109	102.44.112	VA Ass 3264c	102.99.7
VA Ass 1731	103.7.3	VA Ass 2110	0.1084	VA Ass 3264d	102.99.4
VA Ass 1731	103.7.4	VA Ass 2111	104.21.2	VA Ass 3265a	102.106.11
VA Ass 1731	104.10.15	VA Ass 2112	102.44.113	VA Ass 3265b	102.106.10
VA Ass 1733	104.10.11	VA Ass 2113	102.44.114	VA Ass 3265c	102.106.12
VA Ass 1733	104.10.12	VA Ass 2114	102.39.6	VA Ass 3265d	102.106.13
VA Ass 1734	103.6.2	VA Ass 2115	102.44.122	VA Ass 3265e	102.106.14
VA Ass 1852	102.47.1	VA Ass 2116	0.1090	VA Ass 3266	102.106.22
VA Ass 1853	102.47.4	VA Ass 2117	102.42.3	VA Ass 3267	102.99.5
VA Ass 1854	102.54.1	VA Ass 2118	0.1082	VA Ass 3268a	102.111.60
VA Ass 1855	102.47.3	VA Ass 2120	0.1087	VA Ass 3268b	102.111.61
VA Ass 1856	102.54.2	VA Ass 2121	102.39.7	VA Ass 3268+	102.102.5
VA Ass 2018	102.46.1	VA Ass 2122	0.1091	VA Ass 3269	102.51.1
VA Ass 2019	102.44.3	VA Ass 2123	0.1079	VA Ass 3270a	102.106.6
VA Ass 2020	102.44.1	VA Ass 2124	102.44.128	VA Ass 3270b	102.104.10
VA Ass 2021	102.44.4	VA Ass 2125	0.1077	VA Ass 3271	102.99.11
VA Ass 2022	102.44.9	VA Ass 2126	102.44.156	VA Ass 3272a	102.102.1
VA Ass 2023	102.44.5	VA Ass 2127	102.44.157	VA Ass 3272b	102.102.2
VA Ass 2024	102.44.6	VA Ass 2129	0.1083	VA Ass 3272c	102.102.4
VA Ass 2025	102.44.10	VA Ass 2130	0.1027	VA Ass 3272d+	102.102.5
VA Ass 2026	102.43.2	VA Ass 2131	102.44.158	VA Ass 3272e	102.102.6
VA Ass 2027	102.44.11	VA Ass 2132	0.1078	VA Ass 3273a	102.103.1
VA Ass 2028	102.44.123	VA Ass 2134	0.1086	VA Ass 3273b	102.103.2
VA Ass 2029	102.44.7	VA Ass 2135	0.1092	VA Ass 3273c	102.99.12
VA Ass 2030	102.44.12	VA Ass 2136	102.44.159	VA Ass 3274a	102.109.4
VA Ass 2031	102.44.13	VA Ass 2137	102.44.162	VA Ass 3274c	102.104.8
VA Ass 2032	102.44.163	VA Ass 2138	0.1076	VA Ass 4300	102.106.2
VA Ass 2033	102.44.146	VA Ass 2139	0.1073	VA Ass 4301a	102.51.4
VA Ass 2034	102.44.140	VA Ass 2140	0.1088	VA Ass 4301b	102.104.9
VA Ass 2035	102.44.137	VA Ass 2141	0.1075	VA Ass 4301c	102.53.1
VA Ass 2036	102.44.19	VA Ass 2144	0.1080	VA Ass 4302a	104.12.1
VA Ass 2037	102.44.136	VA Ass 2145	0.1085	VA Ass 4302b	102.12.2
VA Ass 2038	102.44.131	VA Ass 2268	102.44.181	VA Ass 4302c	104.12.3
VA Ass 2039	102.44.126	VA Ass 2281	102.5.7	VA Ass 4307a	102.104.11
VA Ass 2040	102.44.144	VA Ass 2282	103.9.14	VA Ass 4307b	102.99.8
VA Ass 2041	102.44.143	VA Ass 2293	102.110.2	VA Ass 4308a	102.55.2
VA Ass 2042	102.44.138	VA Ass 3260a	102.104.4	VA Ass 4310a	102.51.2
VA Ass 2043	102.44.160	VA Ass 3260b	102.104.5	VA Ass 4311d	102.108.7
VA Ass 2044	102.44.125	VA Ass 3260c	102.104.6	VA Ass 4511	103.2
VA Ass 2045	102.44.148	VA Ass 3260d	102.104.7		
VA Ass 2046	102.44.147	VA Ass 3261a	102.106.1	VAT 9536	102.6.10
VA Ass 2047	102.44.161	VA Ass 3261b	102.106.20	VAT 9553	102.6.5
VA Ass 2048	0.1089	VA Ass 3261c	102.106.4	VAT 9559	102.6.3
VA Ass 2050	102.44.127	VA Ass 3261d	102.106.5	VAT 9568	102.6.2
VA Ass 2051	102.39.2	VA Ass 3262a	102.100.2	VAT 9625	102.6.8
VA Ass 2058	102.46.2	VA Ass 3262b	102.100.7	VAT 9628	103.4
VA Ass 2059	0.1074	VA Ass 3262c	102.100.8	VAT 9651	102.6.4

## MISCELLANEOUS

**Ankara, Archaeological Museum**

No.	A.O.
S.U. 51/110	102.17

**Antakaya Museum**

No.	A.O.
11832	104.2

**Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery**

No.	A.O.
WAG 41.162	102.9
WAG 54.2335B	102.83
WAG 54.2335A	102.84

**Chicago, Oriental Institute**

No.	A.O.
A 2529	102.26

**Florence, Museo Archeologica**

No.	A.O.
14385	104.2005

**Geneva, Musée d'Art et d'Histoire**

No.	A.O.
MAH 10827	102.6.6
MAH 10830	102.6.9

**Jerusalem, Studium Biblicum Franciscanum**

No.	A.O.
SF 3970	102.111.77

**Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden**

No.	A.O.
Leiden 1952/2.4	102.109.3

**Melbourne, Australian Institute of Archaeology**

No.	A.O.
IA 5.031	102.111.53
IA 5.032	102.111.54
IA 5.032a	102.111.55

**Mosul Museum**

No.	A.O.
MM 2	102.95

**Oxford, Ashmolean Museum**

No.	A.O.
Ash 1957.184	102.111.50
Ash 1922.199	102.111.56
Ash 1922.200	102.111.57
Ash 1930.719	104.13.2
Ash 1930.718	104.15.5
Ash 1957.185	104.16.1

**Paris, Louvre**

No.	A.O.
AO 3877	104.2009

**Philadelphia, University Museum**

No.	A.O.
UM 84-26-30	102.58
UM 84-26-31	102.111.75

**Yale University**

No.	A.O.
YBC 2295	102.97
YBC 2021	102.111.70
YBC 2022	102.111.71
YBC 7058	102.2003
NBC 3174	104.2006

# Index of Excavation Numbers

## Aššur

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
862+	102.10.2	3165	0.1028	6357	102.44.117	9969	102.44.3
873+	102.10.2	3496	0.1032	6401	102.106.43	9976	102.44.2
963	102.100.2	3828	102.44.106	6437	102.93.1	10012	102.52
978	102.100.6	3934	102.100.4	6445	102.44.118	10036	102.44.129
1120	102.13	3975	102.18.3	6457	0.1048	10049	102.44.10
1200a	103.5.1	4043	0.1029	6596	103.2	10055	102.100.11
1200b	103.5.2	4424	0.1039	6618	0.1049	10063	102.44.130
1200c	104.10.4	4478	102.44.107	6647	102.51.4	10069	102.44.131
1200d	104.10.5	4548	0.1040	6658a	102.102.1	10084a	0.1033
1200e	103.7.1	4656a+	102.44.108	6658b	102.102.2	10084b+	102.44.132
1200f	104.10.6	4656b+	102.44.108	6658c	102.102.3	10084c+	102.44.132
1202a	103.5.3	4656c+	102.44.108	6658d	102.102.4	10084d+	102.44.132
1202b	103.5.4	4663	104.12.4	6658e	102.102.5	10084e	0.1034
1202c	104.10.1	4705	102.44.109	6830	102.102.6	10084f	102.44.133
1202d	104.10.2	4734b	102.44.110	7108	0.1051	10093a	102.44.24
1202e	103.7.2	4734o	0.1041	7256	0.1052	10093b	102.44.134
1202f	103.5.5	4778	102.55.2	7282	102.44.119	10093c	102.44.135
1202g	103.5.6	5060	0.1042	7436	102.100.8	10093d+	102.44.12
1202h	103.6.1	5305	102.100.12	7464	0.1053	10093e	102.44.136
1202i	104.10.7	5313	0.1081	7526	102.44.26	10093f	102.44.137
1202k	104.10.8	5357b	102.44.111	7557	102.44.120	10093g	0.1089
1202l	104.10.9	5357b	102.44.112	7597	102.44.121	10093h	102.44.138
1202m	104.10.10	5507	102.106.42	7938	102.44.122	10093i	102.44.139
1271	102.106.1	5526	0.1084	7980	102.44.123	10099a	102.44.140
1351	102.43.11	5579	104.21.2	8101	102.44.124	10099b	102.44.141
1359	0.1036	5595	102.44.113	8142	0.1090	10099c+	102.44.146
1376	102.44.101	5631	102.44.114	8232	0.1074	10101+	102.44.142
1377	102.42.1	5657	102.18.2	8389	102.44.125	10112+	102.44.12
1377b	102.43.4	5672	102.100.7	8435a	102.42.3	10112c+	102.44.143
1378	102.43.9	5748	102.39.6	8435b	0.1082	10112f+	102.44.143
1379(a)	102.43.5	5751	102.99.6	8475	102.6.3	10112p	102.44.144
1379a	102.43.6	5765	104.21.1	8509	102.44.126	10116m+	102.44.142
1379(b)+	102.43.10	5821	102.44.115	8558	102.10.3	10119a	102.44.145
1379(c)+	102.43.10	5849	102.104.11	8701	0.1087	10119b+	102.44.146
1379c	102.44.102	5858	0.1043	8726	102.49.1	10130	102.44.147
1379(d)	102.44.103	5862	102.99.7	9017	102.44.127	10140a	0.1054
1379g	102.44.104	5917	102.106.41	9029	102.39.7	10140b	102.44.148
1379h+	102.42.2	5926	102.44.116	9055	0.1091	10156	0.1077
1379m+	102.42.2	5958	102.39.5	9183	0.1079	10210	102.106.39
1379n	0.1031	5969	0.1050	9287	102.43.2	10217	102.48.1
1425	102.44.105	5992	0.1044	9326	102.44.128	10221	102.48.2
1468	0.1037	5999	102.39.1	9341	102.106.10	10234	102.106.40
1746	102.104.4	6063	0.1093	9342	102.106.11	10235	102.47.1
2026	102.44.18	6140	0.1045	9353	102.106.20	10236	102.47.2
2415	102.106.2	6168	0.1046	9362	102.104.6	10237	102.44.4
2542	102.104.5	6173	102.39.4	9464	102.46.3	10238a	102.44.15
2743	0.1038	6240	102.39.3	9490	102.18.4	10238b	102.43.3
2892(?)	102.99.9	6276+	0.1047	9505(?)	102.100.9	10238c	102.44.149
2919	102.15	6311+	0.1047	9733	102.106.18	10238d	102.44.150

## Index of Excavation Numbers

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
10248a+	102.43.3	10771	0.1027	12761b+	102.44.173	17349	106.1
10248b	102.44.151	10794	102.44.158	12761g+	102.44.173	17565	102.109.4
10248c+	102.43.3	10800	0.1078	12822	102.93.2	17570	102.106.4
10248f	102.43.12	11012	0.1086	12841i	102.100.3	17573	102.108.2
10255a+	102.44.152	11077a	0.1092	12880a	104.10.3	17576	102.106.5
10255b+	102.44.152	11077b	102.44.159	12880b	104.10.14	17659	102.106.21
10265	102.94	11132a	102.44.160	12881a	103.7.3	18024	102.44.177
10271	102.104.3	11132b	102.44.161	12881b	104.10.15	18252	102.108.6
10292	0.1055	11136b	102.44.162	12881c	103.7.4	18253a+	102.108.3
10295	102.46.1	11317	102.99.3	12883a	104.10.11	18253b+	102.108.3
10307	102.44.153	11345	0.1076	12883b	104.10.12	18494	0.1030
10313	102.44.154	11391	102.44.9	12884	103.6.2	18539	102.106.15
10318	102.44.155	11394	102.44.163	12885	103.5.7	18544	102.55.1
10319a	102.44.23	11429	102.18.1	12913	102.51.3	18660	0.1070
10319b+	102.44.17	11446c	102.44.11	12914	102.44.174	18828	102.108.1
10319c+	102.44.21	11556	102.44.6	13215a-d	102.39.2	18848	0.1071
10319d+	102.44.21	11564	0.1060	13412	0.1065	19196	0.1073
10319e	102.44.22	11569	102.44.16	13425(?)	102.99.5	19344	102.44.8
10319f+	102.44.17	11572	0.1061	13495	102.110.1	19345a+	102.45.1
10319g+	102.44.20	11583	102.44.5	13496	102.110.2	19345b+	102.45.1
10322	102.44.1	11606	102.44.164	13744	102.51.2	19345c+	102.45.1
10323	0.1056	11679	0.1062	13745	102.50	19346+	102.45.2
10325	102.104.1	11699	102.44.165	13791	102.46.4	19346a	102.45.2
10327	102.44.7	11738	102.106.3	13916	102.44.175	19346c	102.45.3
10327g+	104.44.20	11768	102.44.166	13997a	102.104.9	19355a+	102.43.1
10328	102.47.3	11769	0.1063	14046?	102.51.1	19355b+	102.43.1
10329	102.47.4	11912	102.44.167	14348?	102.51.1	19355c+	102.43.1
10335b	102.44.14	11913	102.44.168	14627	102.6.5	19355d+	102.43.1
10343	102.104.2	12104	102.109.5	14709	104.20.12	19358+	102.44.13
10364	102.99.2	12138	102.100.1	15178	102.44.176	19416+	102.44.13
10381	102.44.25	12139	102.99.1	15225	0.1066	19416a	102.44.178
10383	102.104.13	12154	102.44.169	15475	102.42.4	19416b	102.44.179
10388	0.1057	12155	102.44.170	15552	102.44.27	19416d	0.1088
10397	0.1058	12167	102.27	15712	104.20.01	19743	102.49.2
10425	102.99.13	12242	0.1064	16119	0.1067	20739	102.11
10474	0.1059	12244	102.44.171	16567	102.43.7	20843(?)	102.99.11
10495	102.46.2	12343	102.6.10	16658	0.1068	20959a+	102.44.180
10496	102.44.156	12399	102.44.172	16812	102.15	20959b+	102.44.180
10587	102.44.157	12687	102.54.1	17086	102.53.1	21255	102.6.2
10699	102.44.19	12688	102.54.2	17137a	103.3	22302	0.1075
10707	0.1083	12689	102.54.3	17153	0.1069	22340	102.44.181
10741	102.99.10	12690	102.54.4	17169	102.53.2	22864	103.9.12
						.....8	102.104.8

## Nimrud

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
ND 240(b)	104.2003	ND 824	102.111.24	ND 1131A	102.111.43	ND 4369	102.7
ND 252(k)	104.2003	ND 824	102.111.25-26	ND 1131B	102.111.44-47	ND 5417	102.1002
ND 281	102.111.10	ND 825	102.111.27	ND 3495A-B	102.111.48-49	ND 5500	102.16
ND 282	102.111.11	ND 826	102.111.28	ND 3496	102.111.50	ND 6237	102.1
ND 283A	102.111.12	ND 829	102.111.29-35	ND 3497A-B	102.111.51-52	ND 7056	102.113
ND 283B	102.111.13	ND 830	102.111.36-37	ND 3498A1	102.111.53	ND 7104	104.20
ND 286A	102.111.14	ND 830	102.111.38	ND 3498A2	102.111.54	ND 7879	102.115
ND 286B	102.111.15	ND 830	102.111.39-41	ND 3499	104.16.1	ND 10000	102.12
ND 476	104.2003	ND 831	102.1009	ND 3499	104.16.2	ND 10152	103.10
ND 823	102.111.16-21	ND 1127	102.111.42	ND 4319	104.20.09	ND 11000	102.28
ND 824	102.111.22-23	ND 1128	102.56	ND 4369	102.6.11		

## Tell al-Hawa

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
HW 43	102.1006	HW 194	102.41.3	HW 262+	102.41.7	HW 356	102.41.11
HW 44	102.41.1	HW 195	102.41.6	HW 263	102.41.8	HW 364	102.41.10
HW 45	102.1005	HW 204	102.41.5	HW 353+	102.41.7		
HW 119	102.41.2	HW 222	102.41.4	HW 354	102.41.9		

# Concordances of Selected Publications

## Börker-Klähn, Bildstelen

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
140	0.1099	149-50	102.23	161	103.1.1	164	104.7
149-50	102.21	149-50	102.24	162	103.1.2	165	104.5
149-50	102.22	152	102.14	163	104.6	168	104.1001
						169	107.1

## Donbaz and Grayson, RICCA

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
137	102.42.1	160	102.45.3	185	102.44.153	208	102.44.103
138	102.42.2-3	161	102.44.149	186	102.44.176	209	102.44.150
139	102.43.1	162	102.44.105	187	102.44.142	210	102.44.104
140	102.43.3	163	102.44.165	188	102.44.106	211	102.44.110
141	102.43.4	165	102.44.167	189	102.44.173	212	102.44.102
142	102.43.5	166	102.44.141	190	102.44.130	213	102.44.129
143	102.43.6	167	102.44.117	191	102.44.154	214	102.44.166
144	102.43.7	168	102.44.132	192	102.44.169	215	102.39.1
145	102.43.8	169	102.44.164	193	102.44.155	216	102.39.3
147	102.44.15	170	102.44.135	194	102.44.119	217	102.39.4
148	102.44.16	171	102.44.177	195	102.44.116	218	102.46.4
149	102.44.17	172	102.44.172	196	102.44.151	219	102.52
150	102.44.18	173	102.44.171	197	102.44.120	220	102.18.3
151	102.44.20	174	102.44.124	198	102.44.170	221	102.39.5
152	102.44.21	175	102.44.174	199	102.44.109	222	102.18.4
153	102.44.22	177	102.44.152	200	102.44.168	223	102.44.27
154	102.44.23	178	102.44.145	201	102.44.133	224	102.43.12
155	102.44.24	179	102.44.175	202	102.44.182	225	102.43.11
156	102.44.25	180	102.44.101	203	102.44.108	227	106.1
157	102.44.26	181	102.44.139	204	102.44.118	270	0.1028
157a	102.44.14	182	102.44.121	205	102.44.134	271	0.1029
158	102.45.1	183	102.44.115	206	102.42.4		
159	102.45.2	184	102.44.107	207	102.43.10		

## Layard, ICC

Pl.	A.O.	Pl.	A.O.	Pl.	A.O.	Pl.	A.O.
12-16	102.8.1	70A	104.1.3	76-77	102.25	78B	102.111
13	102.8.2	70B	104.1.2	77B	102.106.23	87-98	102.14

## Lehmann-Haupt, Materialien

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
13	102.111.63	18	102.109	22	102.24	24	104.2002
14	102.111.64	20	102.23	23	102.22	25	104.2011
17	102.111.65	21	102.21				



**Marzahn and Rost, Ziegeln 1**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
286	102.100.2	301	102.104.6	316	102.111.60	332	102.99.12
287	102.100.7	302	102.104.7	317	102.111.61	333	102.51.4
288	102.100.8	303	102.102.1	318	102.111.59	334	102.104.9
289	102.100.9	304	102.102.2	319	102.106.11	335	102.53.1
290	102.100.10	305	102.102.4	320	102.106.10	336	102.104.10
291	102.100.5	306	102.102.5	321	102.106.12	337	104.12.1
292	102.99.5	307	102.102.6	322	102.106.13	338	104.12.2
293	102.99.11	308	102.106.1	323	102.106.14	339	104.12.3
294	102.99.9	309	102.106.20	324	102.106.2	404	102.104.11
295	102.99.6	310	102.106.4	325	102.51.1	405	102.99.8
296	102.99.7	311	102.106.5	326	102.109.4	406	102.55.2
297	102.99.2	312	102.106.22	328	102.104.8	416	102.51.2
298	102.99.4	313	102.108.2	329	102.103.1	423	102.108.7
299	102.104.4	314	102.108.3	330	102.103.2	428	102.109
300	102.104.5	315	102.108.4	331	102.106.6		

**Messerschmidt, KAH 1**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	P.	A.O.
26	102.43.9	29	102.100.2	32	103.6.1	36	104.10.4-10
27	102.44.105	30	102.40	33	103.7.1-2	77	102.15
28	102.42.1	31	103.5.1	35	104.10.1-2	77	102.43.5-6

**Rost, FuB 22**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
47	102.44.8	62	102.44.146	77	102.44.180	91	102.39.2
48	102.44.1	63	102.44.140	78	102.44.178	92	102.44.181
49	102.44.3	64	102.44.137	79	102.44.125	93	102.44.161
50	102.44.4	65	102.44.19	80	102.44.148	94	0.1027
51	102.44.5	66	102.44.136	81	102.44.147	98	102.44.111
52	102.44.9	67	102.44.131	82	102.42.3	99	102.44.127
53	102.44.10	68	102.44.126	83	102.46.1	100	102.44.113
54	102.44.6	69	102.44.144	84	102.46.2	101	102.44.159
55	102.44.11	70	102.44.143	85	102.44.156	102	102.44.158
56	102.43.2	71	102.44.138	86	102.44.114	103	102.44.162
57	102.44.123	72	102.44.160	87	102.18.1	104	104.21.1
58	102.44.7	73	102.44.112	88	102.18.2	105	104.21.2
59	102.44.12	74	102.44.128	89	102.44.122	108	105.1001
60	102.44.13	75	102.44.157	90	102.39.6	123	102.39.7
61	102.44.163	76	102.44.179				

**Rost and Marzahn, VAS 23**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
103	102.99.5	110	102.106.11	117	102.106.6	122	102.104.10
104	102.99.11	111	102.106.2	118	102.99.12	154	102.104.11
105	102.99.6	112	102.51.1	119	102.51.4	155	102.99.8
106	102.99.7	115	102.104.8	120	102.104.9	156	102.55.2
107	102.99.4	116	102.103.2	121	102.53.1	165	102.51.2
						171	102.108.7

**Schroeder, KAH 2**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
26	104.2012	100	102.27	106	102.102.3-5	113	102.6.4
81	102.108.6	101	102.99.10	107	102.106.21	114	102.6.5
96	102.100.4?	102	102.99.2	108	102.108.1	115	102.6.8
97	102.44.2	103	102.55.1	109	102.6.2	142	103.4
98	102.50	104	102.104.1-3	110	102.6.10	145	104
98	102.51.1-2	105	102.106.15	112	102.6.3		

**Walker, CBI**

No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.	No.	A.O.
153	102.109.2	157	102.105.1-3	161	103.9.1-9	165	104.13
154	102.107.1-2	158	102.107.5	162	104.15.1-6		
155	102.106.23-26	159	102.111.1-9, 50,56-58	163	104.16	p. 129	0.1096
156	102.104.12			164	104.14.1-4	p. 129	0.1097