The Construction of the Assyrian Empire

A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859-824 BC) Relating to His Campaigns to the West

Shigeo Yamada

CULTURE & HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The Construction of the Assyrian Empire

Shigeo Yamada

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A Historical Study of the Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.) Relating to his Campaigns to the West

by

Shigeo Yamada

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CONTENTS

Acknowledgements xi
List of Tables xiii
List of Maps xv
Abbreviations and Symbols xvii

Introduction 1

Part I. Preliminary Considerations 9
1. The Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III 9
1.1. General Remarks 9
1.2. Catalogue of Texts: Their Dates and Structural Peculiarities 10
1.2.1. Annalistic Inscriptions 11
1.2.2. Summary Inscriptions 28
1.2.3. Miscellaneous Texts 46
2. Chronology of Shalmaneser III's Campaigns 59
3. The Western Frontier of Assyria before Shalmaneser III's Accession 68

Part II. Historical and Historiographical Analysis of the Western Campaign Accounts 77
1. The First Year (858): to the Mediterranean Sea 77
1.1. Accounts of the First Year Campaign: Textual Variants 77
1.2. Historical Analysis of the First Year Campaign 87
2. The Second Year (857): to Bit-Adini and Carchemish 108
2.1. Accounts of the Second Year Campaign: Textual Variants 108
2.2. Historical Analysis of the Second Year Campaign 113
3. The Third Year (856): to Bit-Adini 120
3.1. Accounts of the Third Year Campaign: Textual Variants 120

3.2. Historical Analysis of the Third Year Campaign 123
4. The Fourth Year (855): to Bit-Adini 130
4.1. Accounts of the Fourth Year Campaign: Textual Variants 130
4.2. Historical Analysis of the Fourth Year Campaign 137
5. The Sixth Year (853): Battle of Qarqar 143
5.1. Accounts of the Sixth Year Campaign: Textual Variants 143
5.2. Historical Analysis of the Sixth Year Campaign 150
6. The Seventh Year (852): to Til-abne 163
6.1. Accounts of the Seventh Year Campaign: Textual Variants 164
6.2. Historical Analysis of the Seventh Year Campaign 165
7. The Tenth Year (849): to Carchemish and Bit-Agusi 165
7.1. Accounts of the Tenth Year Campaign: Textual Variants 166
7.2. Historical Analysis of the Tenth Year Campaign 167
8. The 11th Year (848): to Hamath 170
8.1. Accounts of the 11th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 170
8.2. Historical Analysis of the 11th Year Campaign 172
9. The 12th Year (847): to Paqar(a)hubuni 178
9.1. Accounts of the 12th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 178
9.2. Historical Analysis of the 12th Year Campaign 179
10. The 14th Year (845): to Central Syria 179
10.1. Accounts of the 14th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 180
10.2. Historical Analysis of the 14th Year Campaign 181
11. The 17th Year (842): to Mt. Amanus 183
11.1. Accounts of the 17th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 184

11.2. Historical Analysis of the 17th Year Campaign 184
12. The 18th Year (841): to Aram-Damascus 185
12.1. Accounts of the 18th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 185
12.2. Historical Analysis of the 18th Year Campaign (841) 188
13. The 19th Year (840): to Mt. Amanus 195
13.1. Accounts of the 19th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 195
13.2. Historical Analysis of the 19th Year Campaign 196
14. The 20th Year (839): to Que 197
14.1. Accounts of the 20th Year Campaign: Textual Variants 197
14.2. Historical Analysis of the 20th Year Campaign 198
15. The 21st and 22nd Years = the 21st *palû* (838–837): to Aram-Damascus 205
16. The 23rd Year = the 22nd *palû* (836): to Tabal 209
17. The 24th Year = the 23rd *palû* (835): to Melid 214
18. The 26th, 27th and 28th Years = the 25th and 26th *palûs* (833–831): to Que 218
19. The 30th Year = the 28th *palû* (829): to Patin 221

Part III. Booty, Tribute and Other Economic Exploitation 225
1. Booty 226
1.1. Booty Taken from Cities after Their Conquest 226
1.2. Booty Taken after Battles 228
1.3. Booty Taken after the Pursuit of Enemies 228
1.4. The Amount of Booty 229
2. Tribute 236
2.1. Spot Tribute 237
2.2. Annual Tribute 240
3. Booty and Tribute Described in Reliefs and Their Captions 250

4. Other Economic Exploitation during Campaigns 258
5. The Goods Gained by Shalmaneser III and Their Provenance 259
5.1. People 260
5.2. Horses, Chariots and Cavalry 261
5.3. Livestock and Exotic Animals 263
5.4. Metals and Metal Objects 265
5.5. Textiles 267
5.6. Ivory and Elephant Hide 268
5.7. Wood 269
5.8. Wine 270
6. Conclusion 271

Part IV. Ceremonial-Commemorative Acts 273
1. Setting Up of Royal Monuments during Campaigns 273
1.1. Evidence 275
1.2. Setting Up the Monument 290
1.3. Inscriptions Engraved on Monuments 292
1.4. The Ideological Background of the Location of Monuments 294
2. Washing of Weapons and Other Rituals on the Seashore 297

Part V. Concluding Remarks: Shalmaneser III's Dominion over the Countries in the West 300
1. Provinces and Outposts 300
2. Dominion over Vassals 305

Appendix A: Aram-Israel Relations as Reflected in the Aramaic Inscription from Tel Dan 309
Appendix B: The Commemoration of Dayyan-Ashur's Second Eponymate in the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue 321
Appendix C: The Manipulative Counting of the Euphrates Crossings in the Later Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III 335
Appendix D: The Edition of Annals 1 and Annals 3 342

Appendix E: Collations of the Kurkh Monolith Inscription (Annals 3) 380

Bibliography and Bibliographic Abbreviations 384
Maps 406
General Index 419
Index of Sources 432

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Shigeo Yamada

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1: Table of Correspondence between This Catalogue and RIMA 3 53
Table 2: Chronological Order of the Primary Text Editions 54
Table 3: Campaign Accounts in Shalmaneser III's Inscriptions 55
Table 4: Chronology of Shalmaneser III's Campaigns 66
Table 5: Booty-Taking in Shalmaneser III's Campaigns in Chronological Order 230
Table 6: Tribute Received or Imposed by Shalmaneser III in Chronological Order 241
Table 7: Booty and Tribute Depicted on Reliefs and Mentioned in Captions 254
Table 8: Timber-Cutting from the Amanus in Shalmaneser III's Inscriptions 259
Table 9: Distribution of References to the Monuments in Shalmaneser III's Texts 289
Table 10: The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns 289

LIST OF MAPS

Map 1: Major Polities in the Near East in the Time of Shalmaneser III 406
Map 2: Syria 407
Map 3: Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia 408
Map 4: Routes of Syrian Campaigns in Years 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6 409
Map 5: Routes of Anatolian Campaigns in Years 20, 23, 24 and 28 410
Map 6-A: Booty and Tribute: People 411
Map 6-B: Booty and Tribute: Horses, Chariots and Cavalry 412
Map 6-C: Booty and Tribute: Livestock and Exotic Animals 413
Map 6-D: Booty and Tribute: Metals and Metal Objects 414
Map 6-E: Booty and Tribute: Textiles, Ivory and Elephant Hide 415
Map 6-F: Booty and Tribute: Wood and Wine 416
Map 7: Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns 417

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Bibliographic abbreviations are presented below on pp. 384 ff.

Sigla of Tablets and Other Objects

A	1) Ashur Collection of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul 2) Asiatic Collection of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
AO	Objects at the Département des Antiquités Orientales, Musée du Louvre, Paris
Ass/Assur	Objects excavated in the German excavations at Ashur
Ass ph	Excavation photos from the German excavations at Ashur
BM	Objects at the British Museum, London
EŞ	Objects in the Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul
IM	Objects at the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
K	Objects in the Kuyunjik Collection of the British Museum, London
MAH	Objects at Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
ND	Objects excavated in the British excavations at Nimrud, Iraq
Rm.	H. Rassam Collection of the British Museum, London
RS	Tablets excavated from Ras Shamra, Syria
SU	Tablets excavated from Sultantepe, Turkey
VAT	Tablets at the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin
WAG	Objects at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore
YBC	Objects in the Babylonian Collection of Yale University Library, New Haven

General Abbreviations and Symbols

Ann.	Annals
BH	Biblical Hebrew
col(s).	column(s)
D	D-stem of Akkadian verbs

DN(S)	divine name(s)
GN(S)	geographical name(s)
Hitt.	Hittite
Misc.	Miscellaneous Texts
NA	Neo-Assyrian
OA	Old-Assyrian
OB	Old-Babylonian
obv.	obverse
pf.	perfect
pl.	plural or plate
pls.	plates
PN(S)	personal name(s)
prt.	preterite
r.	reverse
sg.	singular
Summ.	Summary Inscriptions
Š	Š-stem of Akkadian verbs
var.	variant
[ ]	restoration
⌜ ⌝	partial restoration
< >	omitted by scribe
<< >>	erroneously added by scribe
+	join, ligature
//	parallel to

INTRODUCTION

The reign of Shalmaneser III (859–824 B.C.) was the most remarkable period of Assyrian military advance in the pre-imperial phase of the Neo-Assyrian empire. Following his predecessors' recovery of the traditional "Land of Ashur",[1] Shalmaneser undertook ambitious expeditions far beyond the previous boundaries of Assyria. This phenomenon stands out especially in the king's campaigns against the lands west of the Euphrates, undertaken 21 times during his 35-year reign.[2] In the present study, I shall examine the historical inscriptions of Shalmaneser, investigate his western campaigns, and discuss their political, economic and ideological aspects.

At the beginning of the present century several significant pioneering works relating to our subject appeared. The first to be noted is the work of A.T. Olmstead, who introduced a systematic critical approach to the historical study of Assyrian royal inscriptions. In 1916, in his monograph *Assyrian Historiography: A Source Study*, he examined the textual interrelations between various versions of Shalmaneser III's Annals, and demonstrated their recensional development.[3] While doing so, he aptly argued that the reliability of the text is greatly dependent on its contemporaneity, and thus that earlier versions must be more reliable and should be given priority over later ones. Shortly afterwards, in 1921, he used this principle to investigate Shalmaneser III's enterprise in a special study.[4] He described all the king's military expeditions, using Assyrian texts as well as the iconographic evidence from the reliefs of the Balawat Bronze Gate and of the Black Obelisk.

Almost simultaneously with Olmstead's studies, E. Kraeling discussed Shalmaneser's major campaigns to Syria in his *Aram and Israel* (1918).[5] He analysed the course of the campaigns and identified many

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[1] For the political-ideological term "Land of Ashur", see J.N. Postgate, *World Archaeology* 23 (1991), pp. 237–263. See also below, Part V, 1.

[2] The last western campaign in the 28th *palû* was, however, conducted by Dayyan-Ashur, the commander-in-chief, but not by the king (see below, Part II, 19).

[3] Esp. pp. 15–28.

[4] *JAOS* 41, pp. 345–382.

[5] Esp. pp. 59–81.

toponyms mentioned in Assyrian texts. This work still remains most valuable for the study of Shalmaneser's campaigns and the history of Syria during his reign.

Later progress of studies was noticeable in two fields—source studies on one hand and historical investigations on the other. In the former field, J.M. Peñuela critically reviewed the recensional development of Shalmaneser's texts demonstrated by Olmstead, in an article published in 1943.[6] He pointed out that the setting up of inscribed royal monuments referred to in Shalmaneser's Annals proves that many more texts, than those that survived, were composed during the reign. He rightly argued that there must have been early historical texts which served as forerunners of the Kurkh Monolith Inscription—the text which had been believed to be the earliest recension of the Annals.

Some thirty years later, in 1973, an invaluable contribution was made by W. Schramm. In his *Einleitung in die Assyrischen Königsinschriften, 2. Teil: 934–722 v. Chr* (esp. pp. 70–105), Schramm catalogued all the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, both published and unpublished, and classified them according to their genre, contents, date and provenance. He offered a comprehensive bibliography for every text and added philological notes, making his book an essential tool for philological, literary and historical investigations of Shalmaneser's inscriptions.

In 1991, T.J. Schneider examined the structure of Shalmaneser's Annals in comparison with those of previous Assyrian rulers, and discussed the date and peculiarities of the major versions of the Annals in her Ph. D. dissertation.[7] She also treated several historical matters, such as Shalmaneser's wars with Ahuni of Bit-Adini, a topic examined from a different angle in the present study.

Most recently, in 1996, A.K. Grayson's RIMA 3 embodied a substantial change in the textual study of Shalmaneser's inscriptions. This work of extraordinary significance contains the modern edition of all texts of the king, including several hitherto unpublished ones. With the edition, Grayson offered a useful introduction to and commentary on each text, supplementing the previous efforts of Schramm.

Turning to the field of historical studies, we may note several works relating to Shalmaneser's campaigns to the west. In 1969, J. Bing investigated Shalmaneser's campaigns against the kingdom

[6] *Sefarad* 3, pp. 251–287.

[7] *A New Analysis of the Royal Annals of Shalmaneser III* (University of Pennsylvania).

of Que on the Cilician plain in his dissertation.[8] He reconstructed the course of events and discussed Shalmaneser's policy against Cilicia in detail.

Of special importance is the doctoral dissertation of Y. Ikeda (1977).[9] Investigating the regional history centring on the kingdom of Hamath, Ikeda described the course of Shalmaneser's major campaigns to Syria, and presented an analytical discussion of the geo-political organisation of Syrian states in the time of Shalmaneser. He made full use of Akkadian and Hieroglyphic Luwian sources, iconographic evidence from the Balawat Gate, and archaeological data, and presented a profound and entirely original analysis of the political history of Hamath, including her encounters with the armies of Shalmaneser.

In a new edition of the third volume (Part 1) of *CAH*, published in 1982 (pp. 259–269), A.K. Grayson briefly described Shalmaneser's military expeditions, as well as his building activities, on the basis of the most up-to-date source material available at that time. Several years earlier, he had investigated Assyrian foreign policy in the ninth century B.C., including the reign of Shalmaneser III, in a separate article, and reviewed the chronology of Assyrian campaigns in the same period.[10] His chronology, however, is not followed in the present study (see below).

The same volume of *CAH* contains a chapter contributed by J.D. Hawkins, the foremost authority on the Hieroglyphic Luwian inscriptions, about the Neo-Hittite states in Syria and Anatolia (pp. 372–441). He assembled Neo-Hittite archaeological and textual remains, attempted to synchronise these sources with the chronological framework provided by the Assyrian documentary evidence, and briefly described Shalmaneser's campaigns against these countries. Hawkins also contributed a number of important articles in *RlA*, vols. 4–8 and elsewhere, discussing the geo-political problems relating to the Neo-Hittite states that faced Shalmaneser's western advance.[11]

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[8] *A History of Cilicia during the Assyrian Period* (Indiana University), esp. pp. 33–54.

[9] *The Kingdom of Hamath and Its Relations with Aram and Israel* (The Hebrew University of Jerusalem), esp. pp. 149–200 (Hebrew).

[10] *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 134–145. Cf. also the articles which discussed Assyrian policy in the same period by W.G. Lambert (*Iraq* 36 [1974], pp. 103–109) and H. Tadmor (in *Unity and Diversity*, pp. 36–47).

[11] "Hamath", "Hattin", "Karkamiš", "Kummuh", "Maras", "Marqasi", "Melid", etc. in *RlA*; *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 67–83. Most recently, in *NAG*, pp. 87–101 and pls. 1–10.

A comprehensive study of Aramaean states in Syria was published by H.S. Sadar, *Les états araméens de Syrie, depuis leur fondation jusqu'à leur transformation en provinces assyriennes* (1987). In this monograph, she treated Bit-Adini, Bit-Agusi, Sam'al, Hamath and Aram-Damascus, the countries which faced Shalmaneser's military machine. Devoting each of the chapters to a single state, she edited passages of relevant Akkadian and Aramaic documents, summarised archaeological data, sketched the relations of each of the Aramaean states with Assyria and illustrated their territorial extension.[12]

As the majority of previous historical studies have focused on specific countries, regions or ethnic entities, but not on Shalmaneser III's enterprises proper, an exhaustive study of the king's campaigns remains as one of the main desiderata in the study of the early imperial phase of Assyria.[13] The present work is intended to fill this deficiency.

A large number of the new texts of Shalmaneser III uncovered at Calah, as well as some significant texts from Ashur, were published from the 1950s onwards, and their publication was only recently completed with the afore-mentioned major edition of the corpus by A.K. Grayson (see further below, Part I, 1). Especially important was the publication of three new versions of Annals from Shalmaneser's first, second and 33rd regnal years (our Ann. 1, Ann. 2 and Ann. 14; see below, Part I, 1.2.1); the first one became available in 1982; the second in 1996; and the last one was partially published in 1959, though its full publication only appeared in 1996. These sources, with some other new texts, provide us with hitherto unknown historical data. There is also a welcome addition of non-Akkadian (more specifically Aramaic, Phoenician and Hieroglyphic Luwian) sources relating to our study, among which the most recent and sensational is the Aramaic inscription discovered at Tel Dan (published in 1993 and 1995).[14] Naturally, these new pieces of evidence raise questions which have never been treated and force us to review issues previously discussed.

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[12] In 1997 there appeared another monograph on the Aramaeans by P.-E. Dion: *Les Araméens à l'âge du fer: Histoire politique et structures sociales*. This work, which deals with the Aramaean states in a chronologically and geographically broader framework, reached me after the present study had been completed. It will, therefore, be quoted only in a few footnotes.

[13] Cf. Grayson, *BiOr* 33, p. 134.

[14] A. Biran and J. Naveh, *IEJ* 43 (1993), pp. 81–98, and *IEJ* 45 (1995), pp. 1–18.

The recensional development of Shalmaneser's Annals was not always a straightforward process of abridgment, as once conjectured by Olmstead, but must have been more complex. Variants between different versions appear to have derived from the literary sophistication of royal scribes, who attempted to prove their talent by reforming previous texts, either shortening or expanding them, for a specific goal.[15] The result of such literary work must have also been influenced by contemporary conditions, such as the sources at the scribes' disposal, the size and shape of writing materials, etc.[16] In order to make a proper evaluation of Shalmaneser's texts as historical sources, two stages of textual analysis should be executed: (1) the clarification of the date and peculiarities of each text; (2) the examination of variants between parallel passages in different texts and the circumstances which caused the variants.

To achieve these aims, I open my work with a source study (Part I, 1). I classify the relevant texts, investigate their date and structural peculiarities, and clarify the relations between these texts, both the Annals and the other types of inscriptions.

The next stage of textual analysis is included in the main part of my work (Part II), where every western campaign is investigated individually. I examine the variants between different accounts and discuss the pertinent historiographical problems. This is especially relevant to the earlier part of the king's reign (up to and including Year 20), for which we possess a number of varying accounts relating to each single campaign. Following this source analysis, I study the historical details of each campaign. I attempt especially to reconstruct the course and direct results of the campaigns; thus, the emphasis is placed on geo-political matters.

Two further preliminary studies precede the main part of my work: (1) the chronology of Shalmaneser's campaigns (Part I, 2); (2) the review of the Assyrian expansion to the west before his reign (Part I, 3). As for the first topic, the chronological incongruity between Shalmaneser's Annals and the Eponym Chronicle was discussed by E. Forrer as early as 1916, and later in the 1970s, with new evidence,

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[15] See T.J. Schneider, *New Analysis*, for the major versions of Shalmaneser's Annals which were available to her. Cf. also various remarks on the compositional procedure of Assyrian royal inscriptions by A.K. Grayson (*Or.* 49 [1980], pp. 164–171) and by H. Tadmor (in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 329f., with bibliography).

[16] Cf. Tadmor, *ibid.*

by A.K. Grayson and J.E. Reade.[17] I review the evidence, settling for the proposal made by Reade. In regard to the second topic, M. Liverani's recent study of Ashurnasirpal II's Annals (1992)[18] greatly clarified the politico-military achievements of this monarch, who paved the road for Shalmaneser's enterprises. Following Liverani's lead, I re-examine the western campaigns of Ashurnasirpal II, in the light both of his Annals and of other sources.

Apart from the military aspect of Shalmaneser's expeditions, his inscriptions provide us with data for investigating two topics which so far have not been fully studied. The first is the booty and tribute taken from the subjugated countries. Though there have been previous studies on the economic exploitation of foreign countries by Assyria,[19] the voluminous data found in Shalmaneser's texts deserve a separate investigation.[20] The relevant documentary and iconographic evidence is assembled and discussed in Part III.

The other topic is the royal monuments set up in the course of Shalmaneser's campaigns. In fact, he scrupulously referred to such monuments, more than any other eminent Mesopotamian ruler. J. Börker-Klähn, in her *Bildstelen* (1982), assembled the archaeological and documentary evidence for Assyrian stelae and rock reliefs, and D. Morandi discussed their location, diffusion and ideological implications.[21] However, these studies, specifically of the material of Shalmaneser III, are essentially based on a rather incomplete and partly obsolete source book, the seventy-year-old *ARAB* of D.D. Luckenbill. A new detailed investigation of the data in Shalmaneser's texts is presented in Part IV.[22] In order to obtain a comprehensive view of this issue, as well as of the booty and tribute studied in Part III, I have treated all the frontiers of Assyria in these two parts, without limiting myself to the west.

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[17] Forrer, *MVAG* 20/3 (1916), pp. 9–15; Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 140f.; Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 251–260.

[18] *Studies on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, 2: Topographical Analysis* (henceforth *SAATA*).

[19] E.g. N.B. Jankowska, "Some Problems"; M. Elat, *Economic Relations*; J. Bär, *Tribut*.

[20] Cf. M. Liverani's study of the same sort of evidence from Ashurnasirpal II's Annals (*SAATA*, pp. 153–162 with figures 21–29).

[21] *Mesopotamia* 23 (1988), pp. 337–342.

[22] The dissertation of A.T. Shafer, *The Carving of an Empire: Neo-Assyrian Monuments on the Periphery* (Harvard University, 1998) reached me after the present work was completed.

The concluding part (Part V) is devoted to the synchronic analysis of the political and administrative methods adopted by Shalmaneser in his dominion over the west, both the provinces and the vassal states.

In the three appendixes (A, B and C), I treat some specific topics which could not have been discussed at length in the main body of the present work. In another appendix (D), I present a new edition of the Kurkh Monolith—based on my collation (Appendix E)—and of the One Year Annals, with the synoptic score of the two texts for their parallel section.

Some words on conventions: Akkadian texts are mainly cited in normalized form in the main body of the thesis. When the transliteration is presented, I have adopted the sign values of R. Borger's *Zeichenliste*. Hieroglyphic Luwian texts are referred to by the name of the find site, with capital letters, following the list of E. Laroche, *Les hiéroglyphes hittites*, Paris, 1960, pp. XXI–XXXV. The transliteration is modified, if necessary, according to the new reading of the elementary syllables, as suggested by J.D. Hawkins, A. Morpurgo-Davies and G. Neumann.[23]

[23] *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen I, Philologisch-historische Klasse* 6 (1973).

PART I

PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS

1. *The Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III*

1.1. *General Remarks*

Several inscriptions of Shalmaneser III were unearthed in the remains of ancient Assyrian sites in the nineteenth century, and the texts on monuments such as the Black Obelisk and the Kurkh Monolith were deciphered and circulated in the early days of Assyriology. The first editions of the major inscriptions were published by A. Amiaud and V. Scheil in 1890[1] and by N. Rasmussen in 1897.[2] In 1947, E. Michel produced the first installment of his ambitious plan of publishing a critical edition of all Shalmaneser's texts from the city of Ashur, as well as some from other places (*WO* 1, pp. 5–20). His work, which continued up to 1967 in the same journal, provided a firm philological foundation for later research. In the meantime, the sensational results of the British excavations at Calah in 1950s and 1960s, as well as the discovery of additional versions of annals from Ashur and Calah (our Ann. 1, 5 and 7), added a considerable number of new historical texts to the corpus of Shalmaneser's inscriptions. Some of the texts discovered at Calah during the British excavations and edited by the late P. Hulin have recently been published by A.K. Grayson in RIMA 3.

Most of Shalmaneser's inscriptions commemorate the king's military expeditions and/or building enterprises, generally narrating them in the first person as if related by the king himself. These commemorative inscriptions can be classified into two categories according to the historiographical-structural features of the text: (1) annalistic and (2) summary inscriptions.[3] In the first category, the chronological

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[1] *Les inscriptions de Salmanasar II, roi d'Assyrie (860–824).*

[2] *Salmanasser den II's Indskrifter.*

[3] This term, proposed by H. Tadmor in *Iraq* 35 (1973), p. 141, is preferred here to the prevailing "display inscriptions" or "Prunkinschriften". For the classification of the Assyrian and Babylonian royal inscriptions in general, see A.K. Grayson, *Or.*

sequence is retained in the consecutive historical accounts. The texts of the second category display no chronological arrangement in their contents; here military accounts, if any, are most commonly listed in geographical order.

The catalogue of the texts presented below is neither intended to represent the entire corpus of Shalmaneser III's inscriptions nor to offer complete bibliographical information for each text. For such purposes, the reader is recommended to refer to Schramm's *Einleitung* and Grayson's RIMA 3. The aim of this catalogue is to assemble the texts which can serve as the basis for a study of Shalmaneser's military campaigns. Accordingly, the catalogue contains all of the king's annalistic texts, as well as the majority of the longer summary inscriptions. Excluded are short summary inscriptions and labels composed only of the royal name, titles, genealogy and a reference to building activities, as well as any other short inscription whose content does not refer to the king's campaigns.[4]

1.2. *Catalogue of Texts: Their Dates and Structural Peculiarities*

The texts are sub-divided into three groups: "annalistic inscriptions" (1.2.1), "summary inscriptions" (1.2.2), and "miscellaneous texts" (1.2.3), which include a poetic composition, booty inscriptions and captions on reliefs. These are listed as Annals 1, 2, 3, etc., Summary Inscriptions 1, 2, 3, etc., and Miscellaneous Texts 1, 2, 3, etc., respectively. A concordance with previous studies and editions, such as Schramm (*Einleitung*), Schneider (*New Analysis*), Michel (*WO* 1–4) and Grayson (RIMA 3), is given under each entry.

A brief description of the provenance and the physical features of the inscription is given for each of the texts in the catalogue, fol-

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49 (1980), pp. 140–194. Specifically for the case of Shalmaneser III's inscriptions, cf. also T.J. Schneider, *New Analysis*; idem, *Form and Context in the Royal Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III*. Our "summary inscriptions" correspond to Grayson's "display texts with military conquests", and to Schneider's "display texts" and some of her "building inscriptions".

[4] For these inscriptions, see Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 87 (e, 6), 90–98 (g, 2–7, 9–30; h, 2–7; i, 1–7; j; l); and now Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.41–58, 93, 95–116, 1001–1013, 2001–2003, which includes additional materials. The stone relief fragment *KAH* 2, no. 99 (Assur 18616), which bears a caption telling of the tribute of the Qatanaeans, was counted among the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III by Schroeder in *KAH* 2. This fragment should, however, be excluded from the corpus of Shalmaneser's inscriptions, as aptly argued by Grayson (*BiOr* 33, p. 143; cf. RIMA 2, A.0.101.1004).

lowed by a discussion of the structural peculiarities and the date of the text, with some emphasis on chronological formulae, textual interrelations and other details bearing upon the date of the composition. More detailed examinations of the separate historical episodes included in each text may be found later in Part II, with an analysis of the king's annual campaigns.

1.2.1. *Annalistic Inscriptions*

The inscriptions of this group are arranged in chronological order, according to the date of their composition. Fragmentary duplicates are referred to together with the complete exemplar, but their detailed description, which may be found in Schramm's *Einleitung* and Grayson's RIMA 3, is not given here.

Annals 1 (till Year 1) = Inscription on a marble tablet from the Nabu Temple in Calah

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.3

The tablet bearing this text on its two sides was found at the Nabu Temple of Nimrud (ancient Calah) in 1982, and published by M. Mahmud and J. Black, in *Sumer* 44 (1985/86), pp. 135–155 as Text, no. 1 with photograph, copy and transliteration. The text was recently re-edited by Grayson in RIMA 3 and by the present author below in Appendix D.

The text is the earliest known version of Shalmaneser III's annals and contains the military account of the accession year and the first regnal year (859–858). It was probably composed shortly after the campaign of the first regnal year (858).[5]

The account of the accession year begins with *ina ūmēšūma ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya* "at that time, in the beginning of my reign, my first *palû*", and the subsequent account of the first regnal year opens with no chronological formula but with the date of

[5] Grayson is of the opinion that the stone tablet, which he calls a "slab", is but the first of a series of "slabs" inscribed with some later version of the annals; he compares this with the various annals series inscribed on several stone slabs which adorned the Ninurta Temple and the North-West Palace of Ashurnasirpal II in Calah (RIMA 3, p. 24; cf. also idem, RIMA 2, p. 192). One argument for Grayson's theory is that the text abruptly ends with the narrative of the first campaign, without any mention of building, blessings or curses. This feature, however, is common to a number of Shalmaneser's annalistic texts (Ann. 2, 3, 4, 6 and 13), and thus seems normative, as noted by Schneider (*New Analysis*, pp. 171f.). See, however, Annals 11 for a stone tablet which raises a similar question as to whether it may have been part of a series of tablets bearing a single annalistic text.

Shalmaneser's departure for the campaign, recorded by the month and the day. Thus, whatever the exact connotation of the phrase *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya*, it must be understood as referring to the period from his accession until the end of the first regnal year.[6]

The military account is detailed, with a minutely described itinerary reminiscent of those in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, the father and predecessor of Shalmaneser III.[7]

CONTENTS:
1–5a: Invocation of the gods
5b–14a: Royal name, titles, epithets and genealogy
14b–15a: *enūma* introducing the nomination of the king by the god Ashur
15b–r.46: *ina ūmēšūma* introducing the campaign account of the accession year and the first year

Annals 2 (till Year 2) = Inscription on a stone tablet from Fort Shalmaneser in Calah (ND 6237, IM 60636)

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.1

The inscription, engraved on both sides of the tablet, was found during the British excavations of 1957–58,[8] and was deciphered and edited by the late P. Hulin, though his edition was never published. It was recently re-edited and published in transliteration by A.K. Grayson in RIMA 3. Hulin's hand copy of this text is published by me in *Iraq* 62 (2000).

The text is the second earliest version of the annals, and includes an account of the events from the king's accession year up to and

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[6] The phrase was discussed by H. Tadmor (*JCS* 12 [1958], pp. 27–29) with similar chronological formulae in various Assyrian royal inscriptions. It is, however, questionable whether the two notions *šurrât šarrūtīya* and *mahrê palêya* are enumerated asyndetically and mean the accession year and the first regnal year, respectively, in a strictly chronological sense, or whether both of them, standing in apposition, form a looser designation of the entire period composed of the accession year and the first regnal year together. In the later annalistic texts dated by consistent *palû* datings, i.e., Ann. 5, 7, 11, 13 and 14, the *šurrât šarrūtīya* may be differentiated from 1 *palêya* and refer specifically to the accession year. On the other hand, in the *résumé* of the battle with Ahuni in Ann. 3 (ii 66b–69a), *šurrât šarrūtīya* is placed in apposition with *ina līme zikir šumīya*, i.e., Year 2 (see below, Part II, 4.1). As noted by J.A. Brinkman (*FS Oppenheim*, p. 23, n. 126), this indicates that in this context the former expression must have the loose chronological meaning of "the beginning of my reign" rather than "accession year". Similarly in Ann. 2, *šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya* refers loosely to "the beginning of the reign" (see below, Ann. 2). For the notion of *palû*, see below, Part I, 2.

[7] Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.1.

[8] See D. Oates, *Iraq* 21 (1959), p. 101.

including his second regnal year (859–857). It was probably edited shortly after the last event narrated, i.e. the campaign to the west in the second year (857).

The text opens with the royal name, titles, epithets, genealogy and the passage describing the nomination of the king by the god Ashur. It lacks, however, the invocation of the gods as found in the other early annals (Ann. 1 and Ann. 3). Following the introduction, the account of the accession year begins with the formula *ina ūmēšūma ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya*, as in Annals 1 and Annals 3, and the subsequent account of the first regnal year opens with *ina šattimma* (MU 1 KÁM-*ma*) *šuāti* "in that very year",[9] rather than with the month and the day as in Annals 1 and Annals 3. The fact that *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya* is paraphrased by *šattimma šuāti* implies that the former expression represents the entire period of the accession year and the first regnal year,[10] and that this was taken as a single chronological unit, "a year", loosely equated with *ina šattimma šuāti*. The introduction to the second year is only partly preserved, but may be restored from Annals 3 (see below) as [*ina līme zikir šumī*]-*ia-ma* "[in the eponymate of] my [name]" (l. 82').[11]

The campaign account is detailed and largely parallels that of Annals 1 and Annals 3. Specifically, the account of the accession year almost completely duplicates that of Annals 1 and Annals 3. The account of the first regnal year is also quite similar to those of both of the other early annalistic texts, but apparently closer to Annals 3 in the latter part (see below, Part II, 1.1). The account of the second year is more detailed than that of Annals 3 and includes historical information that is not found in any other text (see below, Part II, 2.1).

CONTENTS:

1–10: Royal name, titles, epithets and genealogy
11–13: *enūma* introducing the nomination of the king by the god Ashur
14–95': *ina ūmēšūma* introducing the campaign account from the accession year to the second year

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[9] Read thus rather than Grayson's "in this first year". For the reading of MU 1 KÁM as *šattu*, see *AHw*, p. 1201a; *CAD* Š/II, p. 197; also below n. 93.

[10] Cf. Ann. 1 (above) and Ann. 3 (below).

[11] As suggested by Grayson in his edition: [. . . *ina līme* MU MU]-*ia-ma*.

Annals 3 (till Year 6) = Inscription on the monolith from Kurkh (BM 118884)

Concordance: Schramm, pp. 70f., Rezension A; Schneider, 1D
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.2

The stone stela bearing the text with the king's image and divine insignia is traditionally referred to as the Kurkh Monolith, referring to its provenance.[12] The standard copy is that of G. Smith in *III R*, pls. 7f. The text was recently re-edited by Grayson in RIMA 3 and by the present author, following a new collation, in Appendix D.[13]

The annalistic account of the text contains the accession year and the first to sixth regnal years, but leaves out the fifth year.[14] Just as in Annals 1 (see above), the account of the accession year starts with *ina ūmēšūma ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya*, and the account of the first regnal year begins only with the month and the day. The subsequent years are all dated by *limmu*s.

The account is much more detailed than in various later versions of the annals. The opening and the accounts of the accession year and the first regnal year are almost completely parallel to those of Annals 1, but the latter part of the first year account (ii 5ff.) deviates from that of Annals 1 (r. 33ff.) (see below, Part II, 1.1).

The date of the composition is presumably shortly after the last event mentioned in the text, i.e. the battle with the south Syrian coalition in the sixth regnal year (853). The circumstances of the erection of the monolith, however, remain unclear, as they are not recorded in any text. It has been suggested that the monument was set up during the seventh year campaign to the source of the Tigris (852), specifically when the king returned to Assyria via Kurkh.[15] If this were so, however, the text should have contained the account

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[12] For the identification of Kurkh (east of Diyarbakir) with ancient Tidu, one of the administrative centres established by Ashurnasirpal II, and for a criticism of the earlier proposal to associate Kurkh with ancient Tushhan, see K. Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 110–120, esp. 117–120; cf. also K. Nashef, *RGTC* 5, p. 266 and M. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 38f. (under Tushha(n)).

[13] As noted by Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 71 (cf. RIMA 3, p. 12), two stone fragments from Nineveh (R. Campbell Thompson, *AAA* 18, pp. 95 and 98, nos. 14 and 19) probably come from a single exemplar and bear lines parallel to the Kurkh Monolith, i 43–45, ii 33–36 and 42–44. The original text, however, probably differed from that of the Kurkh Monolith (Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 12).

[14] For the omission of the fifth regnal year, see below, Appendix B, esp. p. 326, n. 19.

[15] N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 3 (1976), pp. 89–91; cf. Schneider, *New Analysis*, pp. 170–174.

of the events from the seventh year.[16] We would assume then either that the monolith was set up during a visit by the king to Kurkh on the return march from Syria in Year 6,[17] or that it was fashioned without the king's personal presence at the site;[18] in any case, it was set up before the king's visit to the source of the Tigris in Year 7.

CONTENTS:

i 1–4:	Invocation of the gods
i 5–12a:	Royal name, titles, epithets and genealogy
i 12b–14a:	*enūma* introducing the nomination of the king by the god Ashur
i 14b–ii 102:	*ina ūmēšūma* introducing the campaign account from the accession year to the sixth year (the fifth year being skipped)

Annals 4 (till Year 9) = Balawat Gate Inscription

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 2, pp. 408–415 and *WO* 4, pp. 28–37 (34. Text)
Schramm, pp. 72f., Rezension B; Schneider, 1E
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.5

The text is inscribed in duplicate on the sheathing of bronze covering, which runs from the top to the bottom of the free edge of each of the gate doors found at Balawat (ancient Imgur-Enlil).[19] This inscription decorated the gate together with 16 bronze bands, each of which bore reliefs with one or more captions (see below, Misc. 4).

After the opening (royal name, titles, genealogy and epithets), the text narrates selected events from the first, third, fourth, eighth and ninth regnal years, in that order. However, the narrations of the

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[16] Na'aman (*Tel Aviv* 3, pp. 89–91) explained this problem by hypothesizing that the poorly trained scribe did not space his work properly and broke off in the middle, thus omitting the prepared narrative of the seventh year campaign and the building inscription. It is, however, unbelievable that the scribe neglected the entire account of the latest events. Another point interpreted by Na'aman as proof that the inscription was carelessly inscribed is the absence of the building account. However, it is quite normal for building account to be omitted from Shalmaneser's annals. For this see above, n. 5 to Ann. 1. Schneider's explanation that the scribe copied a prefabricated text without updating it (*New Analysis*, pp. 170–174) is also unconvincing.

[17] The route of the return march from Syria in the sixth year is not recorded in any version of the annals.

[18] It should be noted that the region was probably under Assyrian control from the beginning of Shalmaneser's reign (see below, Part I, 3).

[19] For the identification of Balawat with Imgur-Enlil, see D. Oates, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 173f.; cf. J. Curtis, "Balawat", in J. Curtis (ed.), *Fifty Years of Mesopotamian Discovery*, pp. 113–119.

events from the first, third and fourth years are not preceded by any chronological formula. The strict chronological order of the events in these years does not seem to have been the editor's main concern.[20] In contrast, the accounts of Babylonian campaigns in the eighth and ninth years are dated by *limmu*, and that of the ninth year is especially detailed. Besides these structural peculiarities, the historical accounts are markedly different from their counterparts in the other versions of the annals.

The text was presumably composed shortly after the second campaign to Babylonia in the ninth regnal year (850), although one of the bronze bands depicts a scene from an event in the 11th year (see below, Misc. 4).

CONTENTS (line numbers according to duplicate A of Michel and exemplar "a" of Grayson):

i 1–6a:	Royal name, titles, genealogy and epithets
i 6b–ii 2a:	*ina ūmēšūma* introducing the nomination of the king by the god Ashur
ii 2b:	Royal name and titles, including the "conqueror of the Sea of Nairi, Sea of the Inner Zamua and Great Sea of Amurri"
ii 2c–5a:	Account of the campaign to the sea (Year 1, not dated)
ii 5b–iii 3a:	Account of the campaign to Urartu (Year 3, not dated)
iii 3b–6:	Account of the battle with Ahuni of Bit-Adini (Years 3 and 4, not dated)
iv 1–vi 8:	Account of Years 8 and 9 (dated): campaigns to Babylonia

Annals 5 = The 16 Year Annals inscribed on clay tablets

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 454–475 (31. Text; the main exemplar)[21]
Schramm, pp. 73–76, Rezension C, 1–11
Schneider, 1A, 1C, 1F, 1G, 1H (the main exemplar), 1P and 1Q
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.6 and 7

The complete clay tablet from Ashur bearing the present text (IM 54669) was published by G. Cameron in *Sumer* 6 (1950), pp. 6–26 and pls. 1f., with a transliteration and photograph.[22] Eleven other

[20] The lack of chronological exactitude is seen, besides the lack of dating, in the placement of the Urartian episode in the third year before the episode of Ahuni's escape, which actually occurred in the same year before the Urartian campaign. Note also the loose arrangement of the events in the account of the first year, discussed below in Part II, 1.1.

[21] Michel also edited six other fragmentary exemplars from *KAH* 2. For references, see Schramm.

[22] For the findspot, see below under Annals 6.

fragmentary exemplars of the same text from Ashur, Calah and possibly from Nineveh are known.[23]

After the opening (invocation of gods, royal name, titles, epithets and genealogy), the text proceeds to a continuous account of the king's military expeditions from his accession year until the 16th regnal year. The accounts of the last two years, i.e. Years 15 and 16, are considerably longer than those of the preceding years. The text concludes with a summary of conquests and short reports, such as the appointment of governors and the imposition of tribute, etc. The text was composed shortly after the last reported campaign, i.e. the 16th year (843), as shown by the colophon in the primary exemplar: "Month *Tašrītu*, day 22, eponym Taklak-ana-sharri, governor of Nimet-Ishtar", i.e. the king's 17th year (842).

The account of the accession year is introduced by the formula: *ina ūmēšūma ina šurrât šarrūtīya ša ina kussî šarrūti rabîš ūšību* "at that time, at the beginning of my reign, when I sat on the royal throne". The accounts of the first to the 16th regnal years all open with the formula "*ina X palêya*". Thus, the accession year and the first regnal year are clearly distinguished from each other by the two distinct chronological formulae, in contrast to the earlier annals (Annals 1, 2, 3), which treat the two years as a single unit. The system of dating by the *palû* was an innovation first detected in this edition[24] and was regularly adopted in later annalistic texts. Furthermore, the style of this edition became paradigmatic for subsequent editions, such as Annals 6 and Annals 7.

CONTENTS (line numbers according to the primary exemplar):

i 1–10: Invocation of the gods
i 11–23: Royal name, titles and epithets
i 24–27: Genealogy
i 28–iv 25: *ina ūmēšūma* introducing campaign account from the accession year to Year 16
iv 26–36: Summary of conquests

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[23] *KAH* 2, 109 (Assur 21255 = VAT 9568); *KAH* 2, 112 (Assur 8475 = VAT 9559); *KAH* 2, 113 (VAT 9651); *KAH* 2, 115 (VAT 9625); *KAH* 2, 110 (Assur 12343 = VAT 9536); D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 26 (1964), p. 118 and pl. 26 (ND 4369); *KAH* 2, 114 (Assur 14627 = VAT 9553); A. Boissier, *RT* 25 (1903), pp. 81–85 (MAH 10827 and 10830); Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 74f. (K. 3106); RIMA 3, A.0.102.6, ex. 12 (private collection).

[24] However, the *palû* dating appears to have been first introduced not in the 16 Year Annals, but in an unknown earlier annalistic text. For this see below, Appendix C.

iv 37–39: Appointment of governors and imposition of tax and tribute on subject lands
iv 40–44: Sum total of the result of royal hunting
iv 45: Agricultural success and stock of products
iv 47–48: Sum total of horses and chariots equipped for the national force

Annals 6 (till Year 18) = Inscription on the bulls from Calah
Concordance: Schramm, p. 76, Rezension D; Schneider, IJ
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.8

The text inscribed in duplicate, with some variations, on a pair of human-headed bull colossi was first published by H. Layard as a copy in *ICC*, pls. 12–16 and 46f. It records events up to the 18th regnal year, skipping over Years 16 and 17.[25] The account of each year is preceded by the standard formula *ina X palêya*.

The arrangement of the text on the bulls is unique. The opening (royal name, titles, epithets, genealogy and summary of conquests), inscribed between the bulls' legs, is directly followed by the account of the 18th year. The remainder of the text, inscribed at the back of the bulls, though broken at its beginning, must have originally included the account of the accession year and the first and second regnal years; the account resumes in the middle of Year 3 and continues until Year 15. This peculiar arrangement is probably not accidental. The part on the back of the bulls could not have been seen by the visitor passing through between the bulls, and the only visible part of the inscription was that between the legs.[26] The engraver

[25] The bull colossi bearing the inscription were rediscovered by the Polish expedition to the site in 1975. See A. Mierzejewski and R. Sobolewski, *Sumer* 36 (1980), pp. 152f. and 155, fig. 4; Sobolewski, *ZA* 71 (1981), pp. 258–260; idem, *AfO* Beiheft 19 (RAI 28), pp. 335f. However, it is oddly stated in *Sumer* 36, p. 260 and *AfO* Beiheft 19, pp. 335f. that a continuous text commences on the back part of the northern bull and ends on the back part of the southern bull. This statement contradicts Layard's copy (*ICC*). We have followed Layard, suspecting that Sobolewski's statement is due to a slip. A.K. Grayson (in RIMA 3) reconstructed the text not only from the inscription on the bulls but also from two more fragments of inscribed stone; one is the text published from a squeeze as *III R*, pl. 5, no. 6 (our Ann. 10), and the other is EŞ 6697. However, it seems doubtful, as Grayson himself notes, whether these texts should be regarded as exemplars of the Bull Inscription. There is no clear indication that the latter originally included the long version of the 18th year account as *III R*, pl. 5, no. 6. As for EŞ 6697, the text duplicates not only the Bull Inscription but also the 16 Year Annals (our Ann. 5), of which there are many exemplars.

[26] As noted by J.M. Russell apud Schneider, *New Analysis*, pp. 16f. with nn. 22f. Now cf. also Russell, *The Writing on the Wall*, pp. 72–79.

thus placed the two most important sections of the text, the opening and the narration of events from the last year, in this prominent part.[27]

The preserved accounts of Years 3–15 duplicate those of the 16 Year Annals (our Ann. 5), the immediately preceding version. It thus seems probable that the editor of the present text borrowed the 16 Year Annals as the most up-to-date annals until Year 15 (inclusive) and added the 18th year account to this.[28] The text was therefore presumably edited shortly after the campaign of Year 18 (841).

CONTENTS: (line numbers according to the edition of F. Delitzsch, *Palasttore*, pp. 144ff.)
1–19: Royal name, titles and epithets
20–24a: Genealogy
24b–40: Summary of conquests: Upper and Lower Seas of Nairi (Years 0 and 3), Great Sea of the Setting Sun (Years 1 and 6), Mt. Amanus (Years 1 and 17), the entire land of Hatti, the sources of the Tigris and the Euphrates (Years 7 and 15), Enzite—Suhni—Melid—Dayeni—Arzashkun—Gilzanu—Hubushkia (Years 3 and 15), Namri (Year 16), Sea of Chaldea or Bitter Sea (Year 9)
41–52: Campaign account of Year 18
(Break)
53–107: Campaign account from Year 3 to Year 15

Annals 7 = The 20 Year Annals inscribed on a marble tablet from Ashur (IM 55644)

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 2, pp. 27–45 (32. Text)
Schramm, pp. 77f., Rezension E, 1; Schneider, IK
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.10

This stone tablet was reportedly discovered together with a clay tablet bearing the primary exemplar of the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5) in the bricks of the outer wall of Ashur.[29] The text was published

[27] It thus seems improper to rearrange the sequence of the narrations and place the 18th *palû* account at the end of the inscription, as Grayson does in RIMA 3. For this very reason, we have followed the line numbering of F. Delitzsch (*Palasttore*, pp. 144–151), respecting the order of Layard's copy.

[28] Thus already Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 76.

[29] F. Safar, *Sumer* 7 (1951), p. 3. Safar identified the foundation inscriptions (NA_4.NA.RÚ.A *ù te-me-ni-ia*) mentioned in the building account as deposited in the constructed wall (bottom, l. 2) with the tablets of the 16 and 20 Years Annals. However, it is unlikely that the tablets from different dates were originally buried together (R. Ellis, *Foundation Deposits in Ancient Mesopotamia*, p. 101, n. 45).

by F. Safar in *Sumer* 7 (1951), pp. 3–21 and pls. 1–3, with a transliteration and photograph.[30]

The text includes a continuous annalistic account of the king's campaigns from his accession year to the 20th regnal year. The account comes after the opening (invocation of gods, royal name, titles and genealogy) and is followed by the sum total of captives, enemies killed and other booty, and by the building account of the wall of the city Ashur.

The account of the accession year is preceded by the formula *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ša ina kussî šarrūti ūšību*. From the first regnal year onwards, the account of each year opens with the standard formula *ina X palêya*. The account is apparently based on and abridged from the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5) until Year 16 (inclusive). The account of Year 18 is longer than that of the Bull Inscription (Ann. 6). The colophon inscribed on the left side of the tablet gives the date: "Month *ša kināte* (that is) month *Tašrītu*, day 1, the 20th year",[31] which proves that the text was edited immediately after the last related campaign.

CONTENTS:

i 1–9:	Invocation of the gods
i 10–18:	Royal name, titles and genealogy
i 19–iv 34a:	Account from the accession year until Year 20
iv 34b–40a:	Sum total of enemies killed and booty taken until Year 20
iv 40b-left side 1a:	Building account of the wall of the city Ashur
Left side 1b–2a:	Date
Left side 2b:	Sum total of chariots and cavalry held

Annals 8 (till Year 20) = Inscription on an alabaster tablet fragment from Ashur (Assur 20739)

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 389–394 and pls. 18–20 (28. Text)
Schramm, p. 78, Rezension E, 2; Schneider, 1M
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.11

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[30] Grayson notes in RIMA 3 that there are two fragments (Ass 862+873; Ass 8558 [A 659]), both bearing lines duplicating the present text (iii 20–36 and ii 29–iii 10a, respectively).

[31] ITI *ša ki-na-a-te* ITI DUL UD 1 KÁM *li-mu* 20 BALA.MEŠ-*a*. The formula *līmu* (*šanat*) X *palêya* has been discussed by H. Tadmor (*JCS* 12, p. 25, n. 26) and by J.A. Brinkman (*PKB*, p. 192, n. 1176). The formula is apparently a combination of the traditional Assyrian *līmu* dating and the new *palû* dating, which was introduced by Shalmaneser's historiographer specifically into his royal inscriptions as the primary method of chronological indication.

The fragment, found in a test trench in area K A 11 I in German excavations in 1913,[32] was published in 1950 by E. Michel with a transliteration and photograph (see Concordance). The upper, lower and right parts of the tablet are broken off and only two columns—one on each side—are preserved. The original tablet, however, seems to have borne four columns, as assumed by W. Schramm.

After the opening (invocation of the gods, royal names, titles and genealogy), the preserved text includes the account of the accession year and the beginning of that of the first regnal year on the obverse, with the account of Years 19 and 20, followed by the building account, on the reverse. Thus, the text is a version of the 20 Year Annals. The surviving royal titles and military accounts, as well as the sum total of chariots and cavalry held (on the side of the tablet), almost exactly duplicate those of the standard version (Ann. 7). The gods invoked, however, differ from those of the latter. The building account is shorter than that of Annals 7, although both record the construction of the wall of Ashur. Furthermore, the present text lacks the sum of booty, which is recorded in Annals 7, but includes the name and size of the wall, which is absent from Annals 7.

CONTENTS:

1'–7'a:	Invocation of the gods
7'b–13'a:	Royal name, titles and genealogy
13'b–18'a:	Account of the accession year
18'b–19:	Account of Year 1
(break)	
r. 1'–2':	Account of Year 19
r. 3'–16'a:	Account of Year 20
r. 16'b–19':	Building account of the wall of Ashur
Side 1–2a:	Sum total of chariots and cavalry held
Side 2b–4:	Name and size of the wall

Annals 9 = Kurbail Statue Inscription from Calah (ND 10000, IM 60497)

Concordance: Schramm, pp. 78f., Rezension E, 3; Schneider 1L Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.12

The text, inscribed on a royal statue of a "white fine-grained limestone", was found in Fort Shalmaneser of Calah. The text was published by J.V. Kinnier Wilson, in *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 90–115 and pls. 30, 33–35, with a copy, transliteration and photograph. In spite of its findspot, the statue seems to have originally stood in a temple

[32] W. Andrae, *MDOG* 51 (1913), p. 44.

of the god Adad in the city of Kurbail, as implied by the inscription, specifically by the mention of "the god Adad who lives in Kurbail" (ll. 1–8) and the statement that the statue is dedicated to him (ll. 34–39).[33] Alternatively, as Grayson suggests, there may have been a temple of Adad of Kurbail in Calah, and the statue may have come from there.[34]

The text is not the genuine type of the royal annals but a votive inscription. However, after a summary of the king's conquests, it includes an annalistic account of Years 18, 19 and 20 dated by *palûs*. The account of the 18th *palû* duplicates that of Annals 10 (*III R*, pl. 5, no. 6) and resembles that of the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7), but the accounts of the 19th and 20th *palûs* are much shorter than those of the 20 Year Annals (see below, Part II, 13.1 and 14.1). The inclusion of these accounts suggests that the text was composed shortly after the 20th year campaign (839).

CONTENTS:
1–8: Address to the god Adad of Kurbail
9–10: Royal name, titles and genealogy
11–20: Summary of conquests: Upper and Lower Seas of Nairi (Years 0 and 3), Great Sea of the Setting Sun (Years 1 and 6), Mts. Amanus (Years 1 and 17) and Lebanon (Year 18), the land of Hatti, the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates (Years 7 and 15); Enzi, Suhni, Melid, Tumme, Dayeni, Urartu, Gilzanu, Hubushkia (Years 3 and 15); Namri (Year 16)
21–34: Campaign account of Years 18, 19 and 20
35–41: Dedication and prayer

Annals 10 = Text on a paper squeeze at the British Museum
Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 265–268 (22. Text)
Schramm, p. 77, Rezension D, 2; Schneider, 11
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.8[35]

A copy of the text was published by G. Smith in *III R*, pl. 5, no. 6, from a paper squeeze, which was once preserved in the British Museum. The text was reportedly inscribed on a stone fragment of unknown provenance.[36]

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[33] D. Oates, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 16f.; Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24 (1962), p. 98; M. Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 401.

[34] RIMA 3, p. 59.

[35] Grayson regards this text as an exemplar of the Bull Inscription (Ann. 6). The association between the two texts is far from certain, however, as Grayson himself notes (RIMA 3, pp. 42f. [commentary]). See above, n. 25.

[36] According to Michel, *WO* 1, p. 265. Grayson guesses that it comes from Calah (RIMA 3, p. 42, under A.0.102.8).

The text consists exclusively of an account of the 18th regnal year without anything preceding or following. The account duplicates the 18th year account of the Kurbail Statue Inscription (Ann. 9)[37] and is similar to that of the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7; see below, Part II, 12.1). Since the original squeeze has been lost, and Smith's publication reveals neither the context of the preserved lines nor the shape of the fragment, it is difficult to determine the exact nature and date of the composition. We have placed this text after the Kurbail Statue Inscription because of the precise textual agreement between these two texts.

Annals 11 = Inscription on a stone tablet from Ashur (Assur 2919+)
Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 11–15 (3. Text)
Schramm, p. 81, c; Schneider, 1B
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.102.15 (with microfilm, pp. 90–94)

The text is inscribed on several fragments of a stone tablet found at Ashur.[38] The largest fragment (Assur 2919) is broken at the top, right and left, and bears the text on both sides. The inscription on this fragment was published by L. Messerschmidt as *KAH* 1, 77 (copy) and then edited by E. Michel. However, E. Unger identified from Ashur excavation photographs another large fragment (Ass ph 5058), assigned to the top half of the tablet, as well as other small fragments belonging to it (Ass ph 4001, 4952, 4958 and 5055).[39] With these materials, A.K. Grayson prepared a new edition of the text in RIMA 3.[40] This edition has made it clear that the entire text duplicates the beginning of the Black Obelisk Inscription (Ann. 13), though it ends abruptly in the middle of the account of the fourth year.[41] However, except for the invocation of the gods in the prologue, the text also duplicates the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7).[42] It may thus have

[37] As noted by J.V. Kinnier Wilson (*Iraq* 24 [1962], p. 93).

[38] For a more exact provenance of the tablet, see W. Andrae, *MDOG* 26 (1905), p. 22; cf. RIMA 3, p. 72.

[39] *RlA* 2, p. 405 (under "Enzite").

[40] Microfilm, pp. 90–94. Two tiny fragments which were not incorporated in Grayson's edition are Ass ph. 4958 (Ass 16812) and 4001, as noted in his commentary on p. 72.

[41] Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 71.

[42] *ar-ti-*[*di*] (l. 46) is parallel to Ann. 7, i 50 but deviates from *a-lik* of the Black Obelisk = Ann. 13 (l. 46) and the Calah Statue = Ann. 14 (l. 21). On the other hand, *rabîš* in l. 23 and *ina mēlīša* in l. 27 which also appear on the Black Obelisk (ll. 23 and 27) and Calah Statue (ll. 6 and 8) are omitted in Ann. 7 (i 19f. and

been composed around the king's 20th regnal year, if not somewhat later.[43] Perhaps, as Grayson believes, it may be the first of a series of tablets bearing a version of the annals, although none of the other tablets ("slabs" in Grayson's terminology) of any such series has yet been recovered.

CONTENTS: (line number according to the composite text of Grayson, which is identical to that of the Black Obelisk Inscription [Ann. 13])[44]
1–14: Invocation of the gods
15–21: Royal name, titles, and genealogy
22–47: Account from the accession year until Year 4

Annals 12 = Inscription on a stone fragment from Ashur (Assur 1120)

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.13

The text on the stone fragment was first published by Grayson in RIMA 3 (in transliteration) on the basis of the excavation photographs (Ass ph 561–63).

The surviving text contains a total of 21 lines on the obverse and reverse, describing the campaigns from the 15th to 21st *palûs*; additional short lines, conveying an address to a future prince, are engraved on the left edge. The fragment must come from near the bottom of the single column tablet, since only the account of the 19th *palû* is entirely missing in the lacuna between the surviving lines on the obverse and those on the reverse.[45]

The text duplicates the corresponding part of the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7) and the Calah Statue (Ann. 14) in the 15th to 20th *palûs*, and continues to parallel the latter text in the 21st *palû*.[46] If the original stone bore a text basically parallel to that of the Calah Statue, we may assume that the missing part must have contained c. 95 lines at the beginning, c. 22 lines between the surviving lines on the obverse and those on the reverse, and another c. 95 lines at the end (if the reverse was fully inscribed). This leads us to suggest that the

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23). In any case, these small details could be variants on the level of exemplars but not of recensions.

[43] Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 81; Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 15.

[44] The actual line numbers of the present text remain unclear; the score prepared by Grayson (RIMA 3, microfilm, pp. 90–96) follows the arrangement of the lines of the Black Obelisk.

[45] Grayson, *ibid.*, p. 61 (commentary).

[46] The account of the 21st *palû* is clearly different from the shorter account of the Black Obelisk.

original text was inscribed on an exceptionally large stone tablet (c. 165 cm long, c. 60 cm wide, 12 cm deep) and included the account approximately up to and including the 26th *palû*, with possibly some lines recording a building account.[47] Accordingly, the fragment seems to represent a hitherto unknown version of the Annals, edited after the final Que campaign in Year 28 (831) = the 26th *palû*.[48]

CONTENTS:
Obv. 1'–10': Account of Years 15–18
(lacuna)
Rev. 1'–11': Account of Years 20–21
(lacuna)
Left Edge 1'–10': Words for the future prince
(lacuna)

Annals 13 (till Year 33) = Inscription on the Black Obelisk (BM 118885)

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 2, pp. 137–157 and 221–233 (33. Text)
Schramm, p. 79, Rezension F, 1; Schneider, 1O
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.14

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[47] The size of the original stone, not given in RIMA 3, was calculated from the excavation photographs, in two of which (Ass ph. 561 and 562) a scale is placed alongside the fragment. The fragment is 21 cm in length, 21 cm in width, and 12 cm in depth. The fairly secure restorations of the lines on the obverse by Ann. 7 iv 31–34 and those on the reverse by Ann. 14, ll. 152'–159' enable us to calculate the width of the original stone as c. 60 cm. The length (c. 165 cm) can be calculated from the average width of one line (1.42 cm) and the assumed total line number (115 lines) on the obverse. The estimated size of the original tablet may be compared with that of the stone tablet bearing the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7) found in the wall of the city of Ashur: 80 cm long, 60 cm wide and 7 cm deep (according to Safar, *Sumer* 7, p. 3). The width of 60 cm, common to the tablets of Ann. 7 and Ann. 12, can be regarded as standard for the foundation stone tablets bearing the annals dated by *palûs*. (The clay tablet of the *palû* annals [Ann. 5] is a different size: 33 cm long and 24 cm wide, according to Cameron, *Sumer* 6, p. 9; 31 × 23.5 cm in RIMA 3, p. 32.) The fact that the depth of the tablet of Ann. 12 is considerably wider than that of Ann. 7 may support our assumption that originally the former tablet was much longer than the latter. One might alternatively suggest that the text was inscribed on two tablets of half the length each, i.e. c. 82.5 cm, and that our fragment is the second of the series. If so, however, the text on the first tablet must have ended before the 9th or 10th *palû* and included a prologue of more than 60 lines, preceding the account of the accession year; such a long prologue is unknown in any version of Shalmaneser's annals, and this possibility thus seems unlikely.

[48] For the discrepancy between the regnal years and *palûs*, see below, Part I, 2. As discussed in Appendix B, this is probably the very version in which the defective *palû* datings, as known from the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13) and Calah Statue (Ann. 14), were first introduced.

The text is inscribed, with reliefs depicting scenes of tribute bearing (see below, Misc. 5), on the four faces of the basalt monument, traditionally referred to as the Black Obelisk. The monument was found at the piazza of Calah[49] and copied by Layard, in *ICC*, pls. 87–98, before the decipherment of the cuneiform.

The text is one of the latest versions of Shalmaneser III's annals, covering the period from the accession year through his 33rd regnal year (= 31st *palû*). As in the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5) and 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7), the accession year account, following the opening, is preceded by *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ša ina kussê šarrūtīya rabîš ūšibu*, and the subsequent years are dated by the formula *ina x palêya*, with the exception of the fourth regnal year (see below).

As we shall discuss later, the text raises certain chronological problems. The major problem is that its *palû*-datings do not correspond exactly to the regnal years from the 21st *palû* onwards, and thus the 31st *palû* is actually assigned to the 33rd regnal year (see Part I, 2). Moreover, although the text constantly uses the *palû*-dating, as do the preceding annalistic versions, it deviates from the practice on two occasions: one is the indication of the eponymate of the *turtānu* Dayyan-Ashur in *palû* 4 (instead of the correct *palû* 6), and the other is the enigmatic remark added to the final, 31st *palû*, which has usually been understood as a reference to the second eponymate of the king. As we argue in Appendix B, the remark accompanying the 31st *palû* probably refers to the second eponymate of the *turtānu* Dayyan-Ashur, rather than to that of the king. If so, the Black Obelisk commemorates the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur, with which the inscription concludes. This concurs with another curious phenomenon observed in the text: it states that Dayyan-Ashur, rather than the king, led the Assyrian army in the campaigns from the 27th *palû* onwards. Therefore, as J.E. Reade has suggested, the obelisk is effectively a memorial to him as well as to his royal master.[50]

The text was probably edited immediately after the conclusion of the final campaign in the 33rd year (825), before the state of Assyria was plunged into internal strife later in the same year (see below, Part I, 2).

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[49] For the location of the discovery, see C.J. Gadd, *Stones*, pp. 147f.; cf. also Sobolewski, in *AfO* Beiheft 19, pp. 330–340, esp. 336 and fig. 9.

[50] Reade in *ARINH*, p. 159.

CONTENTS:
1–14: Invocation of the gods
15–21: Royal name, titles and genealogy
22–190: The military account from the accession year to the 33rd year (= *palû* 31)

Annals 14 (till Year 33) = Inscription on a royal statue from Calah (ND 5500, IM 60496)

Concordance: Schramm, p. 79, Rezension F, 2; Schneider, 1N
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.16

The statue bearing the inscription was reconstructed from several fragments found at the south-eastern corner of the acropolis at the outer city wall of Calah.[51] The text was published by J. Læssøe in *Iraq* 21 (1959), pp. 147–157, with a partial copy and photographs. It was, however, thoroughly studied by the late P. Hulin, who successfully deciphered much more than appeared in Læssøe's publication.[52] A new edition has recently been published by A.K. Grayson in RIMA 3 on the basis of Hulin's unpublished copy and transliteration. Hulin's hand copy is published by me in *Iraq* 62 (2000).

The text covers the period from the accession year through the 31st *palû*, like the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13).[53] The annual account bears some relationship to the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7) and the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13), but there are several deviations and additions. Like the Black Obelisk, the text exhibits the defective *palû*-datings from the 21st *palû* onwards, as well as the enigmatic remark on the eponymate in the final, 31st *palû*. The two texts thus seem to have been edited almost simultaneously in Year 33 (= the 31st *palû*).[54]

CONTENTS:
1–5: Royal name, titles and genealogy
6–341'a: Account from the accession year to Year 33 (= *palû* 31)
341'b–347': Sum total of the result of royal hunting
348': Sum total of horses and chariots equipped for the national force

[51] J. Læssøe, *Iraq* 21 (1959), pp. 147f. It remains unclear where the statue originally stood, however. On this problem, see Grayson, RIMA 3, pp. 72f.

[52] As noted by Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 73 (commentary).

[53] As expected by Læssøe (*Iraq* 21, p. 157); cf. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 81.

[54] For the textual relations between the present text and the Black Obelisk, see below, Appendix B.

1.2.2. *Summary Inscriptions*

Although explicit chronological expressions and internal chronological arrangement do not usually appear in the summary inscriptions, some clues to the date of the composition are often found in these texts. The historical details, such as specific military campaigns, toponyms mentioned in the summary of conquests, and construction works commemorated, are generally undated in the summary texts, but are more or less datable from outside source, particularly the annalistic texts. Using these sources, I have attempted to arrange the texts in chronological order. When the date of the composition could only be roughly determined, I have placed the text according to the earliest possible date (*terminus ad quem*).

Summary Inscription 1 = Inscription on a stone slab from Til-barsip

Concordance: Schramm, p. 71
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.4

The stone slab was discovered in the south-western section of a cemetery located in the western part of the mound of Tell Ahmar, the ancient Til-barsip.[55] The inscription was published by F. Thureau-Dangin in *Syria* 10 (1929), pp. 196f., with a partial transliteration and a photograph.[56] A complete edition by A.K. Grayson appeared in RIMA 3.

The beginning of the text (invocation of the gods, royal name, titles, epithets and genealogy) duplicates the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3, i 1–12) and the One Year Annals (Ann. 1, obv. 1–14), but its continuation deviates from them. The inscription seems to have been unfinished since the text stops abruptly (at the left edge, l. 17), although there is plenty of room the engraver to have continued.[57] The text claims that the king conquered the area extending from the Sea of Nairi (Lake Urmia) as far as the Sea of the Setting Sun (the Mediterranean); the two "seas" were reached by the king in the accession year and the first regnal year respectively.

The monument must have been fashioned after the Assyrian occupation of Til-barsip in Year 3 (856), probably in this very year or slightly later.

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[55] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Til-Barsib*, p. 159; idem, *Syria* 10 (1929), p. 196.
[56] Cf. also Thureau-Dangin, *Til-Barsib*, p. 159, no. 11.
[57] Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 25.

CONTENTS:

Face 1—Left Edge 9:	Invocation of the gods, [royal name], titles, epithets and genealogy
Left Edge 10–14:	Summary of conquests: Sea of Nairi; Sea of the Setting Sun
Left Edge 15–17:	*enūma* opening an incomplete portion, whose contents remain unclear

Summary Inscription 2 = Inscription on the cliff at Kenk Gorge

Concordance: Schneider, 2F

Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.20

The text is engraved across a relief figure of the Assyrian king on the cliff face near Kenk Gorge, about 60 km north-east of Gaziantep, on the west bank of the Euphrates. The copy and edition were made by J.D. Hawkins and published by A. Taşyürek, with photographs and commentary, in *Iraq* 41 (1979), pp. 47–53 and pls. 15f.

The text includes a summary of the king's conquests and a narration of his battles with Ahuni of Bit-Adini. The battles with Ahuni are the only events narrated. We can therefore assume that the text was engraved in order to commemorate the final defeat of Ahuni at his fortress Shitamrat, probably on Shalmaneser's return march thence in Year 4 (855).[58]

The summary of the conquests preceding the "Ahuni episode" seems to support this conclusion. It lists toponyms relating to Shalmaneser's campaigns from his accession year until Year 3, but Muṣaṣir, which is mentioned elsewhere only in the 31st *palû* account of the annals (Ann. 13, ll. 178f. and Ann. 14, l. 326'). As noted by Taşyürek, however, the mention of Muṣaṣir can be reconciled with the general route of the third year campaign: Sea of Nairi—Gilzanu—Hubushkia,[59] as well as that of the accession year campaign: Hubushkia—Urartu—Sea of Nairi—Gilzanu. Both of these routes must have passed through the region of Muṣaṣir, situated in the vicinity of Hubushkia and Gilzanu.[60]

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[58] Taşyürek, *Iraq* 41 (1979), p. 52. For the location of Shitamrat, see below, Part II, 4.2.

[59] Taşyürek, *Iraq* 41, p. 50.

[60] For the geographical association of Muṣaṣir with Gilzanu and Hubushkia, see M. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 23f.

CONTENTS:
1–3a: Royal name, titles and genealogy
3b-7a: Summary of conquests: Sea of Nairi (Years 0 and 3); Sea of the Setting Sun (Year 1); Enzi, Suhme, Dayeni (Year 3); Urartu, Muṣaṣir, Gilzanu, and Hubushkia (Years 0 and 3)
7b-19: Ahuni episode (Years 1–4)

Summary Inscriptions 3a and 3b = Tigris Tunnel Inscriptions III and V

Concordance: Schramm, pp. 84f., e, 4 (Tigr. 3 and 5); Schneider, 2G
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.21 and 22

These two inscriptions, carved together with two later inscriptions of Shalmaneser (Summ. 7a and 7b) at the so-called Tigris Tunnel, were published by C. Lehmann-Haupt, who also reported the discovery in detail.[61]

The contents of the two inscriptions are largely parallel, although they are not exact duplicates. The texts mention the engraving of the king's name at the source of the Tigris, which is apparently intended to refer to these very inscriptions. They were probably inscribed during the course of the seventh year campaign (852), in which the king visited the source of the Tigris for the first time.

CONTENTS: (line numbers according to Summ. 3a; those of Summ. 3b in the parentheses)
1–4a (1–5a): Invocation of the gods
4b–6a (5b–8a): Royal name, titles and genealogy
6b–16a (8b–12a): Summary of conquests: "from the Sea of Nairi to the Mediterranean"; all of the land of Hatti (Years 1, 4 and 6); the conquest of the lands of Suhme, Dayeni and Urartu (Year 3); the (second) tribute of the land of Gilzanu (the expression "for the second time [II-*šu*]" only in Summ. 3b) (Year 3)
16b–17 (12b–13): The third visit to the land of Nairi,[62] the engraving of the inscription at the source of the Tigris (Year 7)

Summary Inscription 4 = Inscription on clay cones from Ashur, Type E

Concordance: Schramm, p. 98, k; Schneider, 3M
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.18

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[61] *Materialien*, pp. 36–38 (no. 21) and 42f. (no. 23). A full report of the discovery is found in idem, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, I, pp. 430–462.

[62] The first and second visits took place in the accession year (859) and the third year (856).

The text was edited by V. Donbaz and A.K. Grayson, in RIMS 1, pp. 48f., from two fragments of *sikkatus* (Ass 11429 and Ass 5657). In RIMA 3, Grayson re-edited the text with some improvements, while identifying two more small fragments (Ass 3975 and 9490) as its additional exemplars. This text, although quite fragmentary, definitely records the Babylonian campaign of Year 9 (850), mentioning the land of Akkad and the cities of Gannanate, Borsippa and Baqanu. The text is dated by the *limmu* of Ihtadi-libbushu, governor of Nairi, identical to Hadi-lipushu, the eponym of Year 10 (849).[63]

CONTENTS:
(lacuna)
1'–4': Fragmentary; the contents are unclear
5'–15'a: Account of the Babylonian campaign (Year 9)
15'b–18': Building account of the temple of Ashur
18'–22': Date

Summary Inscription 5 = Inscription on an amulet-shaped stone tablet (BM 104410)

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.19

The stone fragment is the part of tab from an amulet-shaped tablet, designed to be hung up on display by a string threaded through a protuberance perforated lengthwise in the tab.[64] The text inscribed on both sides of the fragment was published, with a copy and transliteration, by A.K. Grayson in *ARRIM* 9 (1991), pp. 19–22. The edition was subsequently included in RIMA 3.

A few lines are preserved from the historical section (r. 1–7).[65] They contain an account of the defeat of certain enemies, the capture of their chariots and cavalry, and the king's visit to Mt. Amanus on the return march (*ina tayyartīya* [r. 5]). Although the king's timber-cutting visits to the Amanus are known to have occurred in Years 1, 11, 17, 19 and 28 (see below, Part III, 4), the combination of such a visit with a preceding battle and the taking of booty is matched most closely by the events in the 11th year campaign (848).[66] This is thus the *terminus ad quem* of this edition of the text.

The nature of the text remains unclear because of its fragmentary state. It may have originally contained a building account and/or

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[63] A. Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 28 and 94.
[64] For the amulet-shaped tablet, see E. Reiner, *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 148–155, esp. 155, and Grayson, *ARRIM* 9, p. 19.
[65] Grayson, *ARRIM* 9, p. 19.
[66] Grayson, *ARRIM* 9, p. 19 and RIMA 3, p. 89.

a narrative of further campaigns. In any case, it is improbable that the text included a version of the standard annals, since the surviving account does not contain any known annalistic text (see below, Part II, 8.1). This is the reason why we have placed this text among the summary inscriptions.

CONTENTS:
1–6a: Address to the god Ninurta of Calah
6b–8a: Royal name, title and genealogy
8b–10: (fragmentary)
(lacuna)
r. 1–7: Campaign account (Year 11?)
r. 8–10: (fragmentary)
(lacuna)

Summary Inscription 6 = Throne base inscriptions from Calah (ND 11000, IM 65574)

Concordance: Schramm, p. 82, e-1; Schneider, 2C
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.28 and 59–62

The text is inscribed on various parts of the throne base, composed of two stone blocks found in Room T1 of Fort Shalmaneser at Calah. It was published by P. Hulin in *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 48–69 and pls. 3–7 and 10, with a copy, transliteration and photographs. We follow Hulin's line numbering (also adopted in RIMA 3).[67]

The text contains an account of selected events from the earlier part of Shalmaneser's reign. The structure of the text is an unusual fusion of the annalistic style and a geographical summary. Following the opening (royal name, titles and genealogy), the campaign account of the accession year and of the first regnal year is introduced by the phrase *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina mahrê palêya* "in the beginning of my reign, in my first *palû*" (ll. 10f.), the formula used in the early annalistic texts (Ann. 1, 2 and 3). In the following section (ll. 18b–47), however, events are arranged in geographical order—west (ll. 18b–36), north (ll. 37–44), and then south (ll. 45–47). The running text continues only as far as this point. The lines inscribed on the left and right vertical faces above the two relief scenes of tribute-bearing (ll. 48f.) actually serve as their captions (see below, Misc. 6).[68]

[67] A distinct seven-line inscription on the undersurface of the eastern block (Hulin, *Iraq* 25, pp. 68f., now see RIMA 3, A.0.102.57) has not been included here, since it does not contain any historical details.

[68] Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 101) thinks that ll. 45–47, dealing with the Babylonian

Chronological references are given in two places. One is the formula preceding the account of the accession year, mentioned above; and the other is the phrase *ina 13 palêya* which precedes the account of the tenth Euphrates crossing and of the establishment of Assyrian influence over the lands of the west (ll. 34–36): *ina 13 palêya 10-šu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir namrurat bēlūtīya eli māt Hatti* ^{kur}*Meṣri* ^{kur}*Ṣūri* ^{kur}*Ṣidūni u* ^{kur}*Hanigalbat atbuk.* As we shall discuss in Appendix C, this must be translated as "in (the point of time of) my 13th regnal year, I have (already) crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time (and) poured out my lordly splendour over the lands of Hatti, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon and Hanigalbat". Thus, "*ina* 13 *palêya*" indicates the date of the composition and introduces the summary of the king's achievements in the west up to that point.[69]

All the other events mentioned in the text occurred before Year 13. The latest one, the bringing of tribute by Qalparunda of Unqi (l. 48), should probably be assigned to the 11th year.[70] This would fit well with the proposed date of the composition in Year 13 (846).

CONTENTS:

1–10a: Royal name, genealogy and titles

10b–18a: The chronological introduction to the accession year and the first regnal year followed by:
Visit to "the Sea of Nairi", conquest of the lands of Aridu, Hubushkia and Sugunia; receipt of tribute from the towns Harga, Harmasa, Ulmasa, Simera, Sirish and the land Gilzanu (Year 0)

18b–26a: Visit to the Sea of Amurru; receipt of tribute from the kings of the sea-coast; visit to Mts. Amanus and Lallar; subjugation of the land of Hatti (Year 1)

26b–28: Defeat and incorporation of Ahuni, ruler of Bit-Adini (Year 4)

29–34a: *ina ūmēšūma* introducing the defeat of the South Syrian coalition (Year 6)

34b–36: The tenth crossing of the Euphrates and the establishment of influence over Hatti, Meṣri, Tyre, Sidon and Hanigalbat up to the 13th year (see above).

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expedition, serve as the caption for the relief on the front (western) face which shows Shalmaneser and Marduk-zakir-shumi shaking hand, even though these lines and the relief are far apart. This view is not followed here.

[69] A similar literary device, indicating the time of composition and summarizing the political achievement up to this point, is also found in the inscriptions on the door-sills and a door-socket from Fort Shalmaneser (Summ. 8, 9, 10a/b/c and 11a/b).

[70] The tribute of Qalparunda of Patin/Unqi is explicitly mentioned in the annalistic account of Years 2 and 11 (see below, Part II, 2.1–2 and 8.1–2). For other possible instances of his payment of tribute, see below, Part III, 3 with Table 7, entries x and y.

37–42a: Conquest of Enzi, Dayeni and Suhni; the destruction of Arzashkun and the battle with Arame, king of Urartu; the visit to "the Sea of the Setting Sun"[71] (Year 3)
42b–44a: Defeat of Anare of Bunisa and Nikdera of Ida (Year 4)
44b: Subjugation of Anhitti of Shubria (Year 5)
45–47: Suppression of Babylonian revolt by Marduk-bel-usate, supporting Marduk-zakir-shumi, king of Babylonia; subjugation of Chaldea (Years 8 and 9)
48: Tribute of Qalparunda of Unqi (Year 11?)
49: Tribute of Mushallim-Marduk of Bit-A(m)ukani and of Adini of Bit-Dakkuri (Year 9)
50: Account of the construction of the throne base by Shamash-belu-uṣur, governor of Calah

Summary Inscriptions 7a and 7b = Tigris Tunnel Inscriptions II and IV

Concordance: Schramm, pp. 84–86, e, 4 (Tigr. 2 and 4); Schneider, 2G
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.23 and 24

The two inscriptions were carved, with a royal image on the side, near the so-called Tigris Tunnel, like the other two earlier royal inscriptions (Summ. 3a and 3b). The texts were published in C. Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, pp. 31–35 (No. 20) and 38–41 (No. 22). They are not exact duplicates but are quite similar to each other.

Following a summary of the king's conquests, the texts continue with a brief account of the Babylonian campaign and of the victory over the South Syrian coalition in the "fourth" battle against it. The Babylonian campaign should definitely be assigned to the ninth year. The "fourth" battle with the Syrian coalition occurred in the 14th year.[72] Thus, the inscriptions were probably engraved during the king's second visit to the source of the Tigris in Year 15.[73]

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[71] If "the Sea of the Setting Sun", i.e. the western sea (*tâmtim ša šulum šamši*) is the name assigned to the Mediterranean, as one might expect, the passage dealing with the king's visit to this sea would be oddly isolated from the preceding and following context. Could Lake Van, to the west of Lake Urmia, be referred to here, in connection with the preceding lines dealing with the Urartian campaign of Year 3, and in contrast to the other names of seas—"the Sea of Nairi" (*tâmtu ša* KUR *Nairi*), i.e. Lake Urmia (l. 10) and "the Sea of Amurru" (*tâmtu ša* KUR *Amurri*), i.e. the Mediterranean (l. 19)? If so, the editor tried to identify the sea visited by the king in his accession year with Lake Urmia, and the sea reached in Year 3 with Lake Van. This attempt, however, appears to have been erroneous, since the king seems to have visited Lake Urmia both in his accession year and Year 3 (see below, Part IV, 1.1, Cases 1 and 8).

[72] Following the previous encounters in the 6th, 10th and 11th years.

[73] E. Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pp. 31ff. and 53; cf. Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 84f.

If this date is accepted for the composition, the reference to the source of the Euphrates in the summary of conquests (Summ. 7a, l. 18; Summ. 7b, l. 9 [restored]) becomes problematic, since the annals prove that the king reached the Euphrates source in Year 15 after his visit to the Tigris source. It is unclear whether the scribe included the then unachieved result of the current campaign, or whether the reference was prompted by the subjugation of the land of Dayeni, located in the region of the Euphrates source, in Year 3.[74] In any case, the issue does not necessitate any change in the hypothesis proposed for the date of the composition.

CONTENTS: (line numbers according to Summ. 7a; those of Summ. 7b in parentheses)

1–13a (1–5a):	Royal name and titles
13b–14a:	Genealogy (only in Summ. 7a)
14b–19a (5b–10):	Summary of conquests: from the Sea of Nairi (Years 0 and 3) to the Great Sea of the Setting Sun (Years 1 and 6); the entire land of Hatti; the lands of [Enzite],[75] Dayeni, Suhme, the city Arzashkun, the lands of Gilzanu, Hubushkia (Year 3), from the source of the Tigris to the source of Euphrates (Years 7 and 15), from the Sea of Zamua (Year 4) to the Sea of Chaldea (Year 9)
19b–20 (11–14a):	Babylonian campaign (Year 9)
21–27 (14b–17):	Battle with the South Syrian coalition (Year 14)

Summary Inscription 8 = Inscription on a door-sill from Fort Shalmaneser, Calah

Concordance: Schramm, p. 86, e, 5, a; Schneider, 2E
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.34

The text is inscribed on an alabaster threshold placed at the entrance of Room S 4 of Fort Shalmaneser at Calah. It was published by J. Læssøe (*Iraq* 21 [1959], pp. 38–40 and pl. 12), with a copy and transliteration. Similar texts are inscribed on other door-sills and door-sockets discovered at Fort Shalmaneser (Summ. 9, 10 and 11).

The text is composed of the opening (royal name, titles and genealogy, ll. 1f.) and a section summarizing the king's conquests (ll. 3–11).

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[74] Dayeni's location close to the Euphrates source is evident in the account of the 15th year's campaign in the annals (Ann. 5, iii 41–45). See also below, Part IV, 1.1, Case 12.

[75] Lehmann-Haupt has restored the lacuna with Melid (cf. RIMA 3, A.0.102.23–24), but a more likely restoration is Enzite, the land reached by Shalmaneser in his third year together with the other places listed after the lacuna.

The only chronological expression included in the text is the phrase *ina* 15 *palêya* (l. 4), followed by the account of the 12th Euphrates crossing and the establishment of domination over the entire land of Hatti: *ina 15 palêya 12-šu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir* KUR *Hatti ana pāṭ gimrīša abēl*. As in the case of Summary Inscription 6 (throne base), the chronological expression seems to point to the time of composition, and the entire sentence should be interpreted "in (the point of time of) my 15th regnal year, I have (already) crossed the Euphrates for the 12th time (so that) I ruled the entire land of Hatti".[76] All the historical events mentioned in the text should be dated before Year 15 (844).[77]

CONTENTS:

1–2: Royal name, titles and genealogy

3–4a: Epithet: "Conqueror of the Sea of Nairi, the Sea of the Setting Sun (that is) the Sea of Amurri"

4b–10a: The incidents in the west up to the 15th year: the 12th crossing of the Euphrates (Year 15); dominion over the entire land of Hatti; the deportation of Ahuni (Year 4); the second visit to the Mediterranean (Year 6); the third visit to Mt. Amanus (Year 11?); the erection of a royal image at Mt. Lallar (Year 1)

10b–11: Conquest from the source of the Tigris as far as that of the Euphrates (Years 7 and 15)

Summary Inscription 9 = Inscription on a door-sill from Fort Shalmaneser, Calah

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.30

The door-sill bearing the text lies in the doorway to Room T 25 of Fort Shalmaneser.[78] The text, the longest of a group of similar texts inscribed on door-sills and door-sockets from Fort Shalmaneser (Summ. 8–11), was first published by Grayson in RIMA 3, from a

[76] For a detailed discussion, see below, Appendix C.

[77] The only indication in this and some other inscriptions on door-sills that they may have been edited later than the 15th regnal year is the problematic mention of a third visit to the Amanus (Summ. 8, ll. 7f.; Summ. 10a, l. 8; Summ. 10b, l. 5; Summ. 10c, l. 7; Summ. 11a, l. 5). Until his 15th regnal year, Shalmaneser is known to have visited the Amanus only in his first and 11th regnal years. If the number "3" is not an error, the editor apparently counted two visits to the Amanus during the single campaign of the first year, one before the king reached the Mediterranean and the other upon his return (see below, Part II, 1.2), or else counted an otherwise unrecorded visit. In any case, it seems very unlikely that this edition of the text could be dated after the 15th year, by identifying the third visit with that which took place during the 19th year campaign.

[78] Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 106.

draft transliteration found among the unpublished papers of the late P. Hulin.

The text opens with the royal name, titles and genealogy, and these are followed by a lengthy passage of royal epithets almost identical to those found in the Throne Base Inscription (Summ. 6).[79] This is followed by a section summarizing the king's conquests. As in Summary Inscriptions 8, 10 and 11, the only chronological expression included in the text is *ina* 15 *palêya* in the sentence *ina 15 palêya 12-šu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir māt Hatti ana pāṭ gimrīša abēl*, which probably places the date of the composition in the 15th regnal year (844) (see above, Summ. 8).

CONTENTS:

1–3a:	Royal name, titles and genealogy
3b–12a:	Royal epithets
12b–13	"Conqueror of the Sea of Nairi, the Sea of the Setting Sun (that is) the Sea of Amurri"
14–18a:	Conquest of the lands of Enzite, Dayeni, Suhme, the city of Arzashkun, the lands of Gilzanu, Hubushkia (Year 3)
18b–28a:	The incidents in the west up to the 15th year: the 12th crossing of the Euphrates (Year 15); total dominion of the land of Hatti; the deportation of Ahuni (Year 4); the battle with the South Syrian coalition (Year 6)
28b–32a:	Babylonian campaign (Year 9)
32b–34:	Account of the dedication of the object to the king by Shamash-belu-uṣur, governor of Calah

Summary Inscriptions 10a, 10b and 10c = Inscriptions on door-sills from Fort Shalmaneser, Calah

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.31, 32 and 33

Three basically parallel texts, inscribed on five door-sills found at Fort Shalmaneser, were first published by Grayson in RIMA 3 from Hulin's draft transliteration. These texts, exhibiting minor variations between them, are referred to here as Summary Inscriptions 10a, 10b and 10c, corresponding to RIMA 3, A.0.102.31, 32 and 33, respectively; Summary Inscription 10a (RIMA 3, A.0.102.31) is known from three exemplars.[80]

After the opening (the royal name, titles and genealogy), the texts summarize the king's military achievements on various fronts in rough geographical order: west, north, then (only in Summ. 10b) east and

[79] *Ibid.*

[80] See Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 108, commentary.

south. As in the case of the similar texts from Fort Shalmaneser (Summ. 8, 9 and 11), the only chronological expression included in the text is *ina* 15 *palêya*, in *ina 15 palêya 12-šu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir māt Hatti ana pāṭ gimrīša abēl*, the sentence which probably indicates the date of the composition as the 15th regnal year (844) (see above, Summ. 8).

CONTENTS: (line numbering is according to RIMA 3, A.0.102.31 [= our Summ. 10a], unless otherwise noted)

1–3a:	Royal name, titles and genealogy
3b–5:	"Conqueror of the Sea of Nairi, the Sea of the Setting Sun (that is) the Sea of Amurri"
6–9a:	The incidents in the west until the 15th year: the 12th crossing of the Euphrates (Year 15); dominion over the entire land of Hatti; the second visit to the Mediterranean (Year 6); the third visit to the Amanus (Year 11?)
9b–11a:	Conquest from the source of the Tigris as far as that of the Euphrates (Years 7 and 15)
11b–12a:	The third campaign to Nairi (Year 15)
12b–17a:	Conquest of the lands of Enzite, Dayeni, Suhme, the city of Arzashkun, the lands of Gilzanu, Hubushkia (Year 3)
Only in Summ. 10b (ll. 9b–10):	Subjugation from the Sea of Inner Zamua (Year 4) as far as the Sea of Chaldea (Year 9)
Only in Summ. 10a (ll. 17b–19):	Statement of the dedication of the object by Shamash-belu-uṣur, governor of Calah

Summary Inscriptions 11a, 11b and 11c = Inscriptions on door-sills and door-sockets from Fort Shalmaneser, Calah

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.35, 36 and 37

Three basically parallel texts, engraved on two door-sills and two door-sockets found at Fort Shalmaneser, were recently published by Grayson in RIMA 3 from Hulin's unpublished transliterations.[81] These texts are referred to here as Summary Inscriptions 11a, 11b and 11c, corresponding to RIMA 3, A.0.102.35, 36 and 37, respectively; Summary Inscription 11b (RIMA 3, A.0.102.36) is known from two exemplars.[82]

The texts are shorter versions of Summary Inscriptions 10. They open with the royal name, titles and genealogy, the conquest of the

[81] For the exact find spots, see the appropriate commentaries in RIMA 3.
[82] See Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 113, commentary.

seas, and the king's military achievements in the west, but omit some of the incidents mentioned in Summary Inscriptions 10. As in the case of Summary Inscriptions 8, 9 and 10, the chronological expression included in the present texts—*ina* 15 *palêya*, in *ina 15 palêya 12-šu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir māt Hatti ana pāṭ gimrīša abēl* (see above, Summ. 8)—probably indicates the date of the composition. Summary Inscription 11c omits *ina 15 palêya 12-šu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir* but must also have been edited at approximately the same time.

CONTENTS: (line numbering is according to RIMA 3, A.0.102.35 [= our Summ. 11a])
1–2a: Royal name, titles and genealogy
2b–3: "Conqueror of the Sea of Nairi, the Sea of the Setting Sun (that is) the Sea of Amurri"
4–5: Incidents in the west until the 15th year: the 12th crossing of the Euphrates (Year 15, omitted in Summ. 11c); dominion over the entire land of Hatti; the third visit to the Amanus (Year 11?; omitted in Summ. 11b and c)

Summary Inscription 12 = Inscription on a stone slab from Fort Shalmaneser, Calah

Concordance: Schramm, p. 86, e, 5, b; Schneider, 2D
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.29

The text is inscribed on two panels A and B on a limestone slab which presumably served with an adjacent slab as a royal throne base. The two slabs were discovered under a secondary pavement in Fort Shalmaneser.[83]

The 48-line inscription runs from Panel A on to Panel B, with 24 lines on each.[84] The very partial transliteration of the poorly-preserved text was published by J. Læssøe in *Iraq* 21 (1959), pp. 40f. Recently, however, Grayson has published a more complete edition in RIMA 3 on the basis of a draft transliteration in the unpublished papers of Hulin. The entire contents of the text have thus become clear for the first time.

The inscription opens with the royal name, titles and genealogy,

[83] It was suggested that they were originally placed in the throne room (M. Mallowan, *Iraq* 20 [1958], Pt. 2, p. ii; cf. Læssøe, *Iraq* 21 [1959], p. 40), but this view has been criticized by Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 105, commentary).

[84] Another slab discovered together with the slab dealt with here also bears an inscription, but it is badly damaged and only a section of the genealogy is legible (Læssøe, *Iraq* 21, p. 41); cf. the further comment on this slab by Grayson in RIMA 3, p. 105 under commentary to A.0.102.29.

and this is followed by the summary of the king's campaigns, arranged in the geographical order: west (8b–26), north (27–39a), east (39b–42a) and south (42b–48). The reference to the king's journey to the source of the Euphrates, the receipt of the tribute of Melid, the third campaign to Nairi and the subjugation of Asia, king of Dayeni, are all assignable to the king's 15th year. This and the similarities of the present text to a series of inscriptions from Fort Shalmaneser (Summ. 8, 9, 10 and 11) suggest that it was composed shortly after the 15th year campaign.

CONTENTS:

1–4a:	Royal name ("Palace of Shalmaneser"), titles and genealogy
4b–8a:	Summary of conquests: the Sea of Nairi, Sea of the Setting Sun or Sea of Amurri; the entire land of Hatti
8b–12a:	Deportation of Ahuni (Year 4)
12b–20:	The "third" battle with the South Syrian coalition (Year 11)
21–26:	Other incidents in the west: the second visit to the Great Sea (Year 6); the third visit to the Amanus (Year 11?); the erection of a royal image with the image of Anum-hirbe at Mt. Lallar (Year 1)
27–34a:	Conquest of the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates (Years 7 and 15); the tribute of Melid; the third campaign to Nairi; the subjugation of Asia, king of Dayeni (Year 15)
34b–39a:	The destruction from Enzi to Dayeni, Suhme to Arzashkun, Gilzanu to [Hubushkia] (Years 0 and 3)
39b–42a:	The subjugation from the Sea of Inner [Zamua] (Year 4) as far as the Sea of Chaldea (Year 9)
42b–48:	Babylonian campaign (Year 9)

Summary Inscription 13 = Inscription on a stone statue from Nineveh

Concordance: Schramm, p. 96, h, 1
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.38

The text is inscribed on two fragments of a stone statue now in the British Museum (1932–12–10, 9 and 1932–12–10, 10). The copy of one fragment, 1932–12–10, 10, was published by R. Campbell Thompson in *AAA* 19, pl. 89, as No. 302 (copy). The second fragment, with the upper part of the inscription, was first published by Grayson in RIMA 3, and was edited with the other fragment into a single text.

It opens with the address to the goddess Ishtar, the royal name, titles (broken off) and a genealogy. This is followed by a summary of the king's conquests. The summary refers to the place names

related to the 16th year campaign, such as Parsua, Abd[adani] and Tugliash (ll. 11'f.), among others. Accordingly, the *terminus ad quem* of the composition is the king's 16th regnal year (843).

CONTENTS: (line numbers according to RIMA 3)

1–9:	Address to the goddess Ishtar
10–4'a:	Royal name, [titles] and genealogy
4'b–7':	Conquest of seas and river sources
8'–9':	Conquest of [. . .] Suhn[a . . .] Gilzanu, Hubushkia (Years 0 and 3)
10'–13'a:	Namri campaign (Year 16)
13'b–16':	Babylonian campaign (Year 9)
(break?)[85]	

Summary Inscription 14 = Inscription on a gold tablet from Ashur (A 2529)

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 259–261 and pl. 13 (19. Text)
Schramm, p. 84, e, 3, b; Schneider, 3Q
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.26

The text is inscribed on a gold tablet now in the collections of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, said to have originally come from Ashur.[86] It was published by Michel with a transliteration and photograph (see Concordance). The text mentions the Babylonian campaign and the king's march to the Sea of Chaldea, both safely assigned to the ninth regnal year (850). However, the building account of the wall of the city of Ashur, which concludes the text, may further narrow down the date of the composition to the approximate range of the king's 17th to 26th years (842–833).[87]

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[85] Grayson comments that the text seems to end with line 16' since an uninscribed space follows that line (RIMA 3, p. 114, commentary).

[86] T. Jacobsen *apud* Michel, *WO* 1, p. 259. It is suggested that the gold tablet was originally contained in the alabaster box bearing Summ. 15 (Michel, *WO* 1, p. 387).

[87] The period of the construction of the wall is implied by the dates of texts which report the building work. The relevant texts and their dates are as follows: Clay Cones Type F: RIMS 1, pp. 49f. = RIMA 3, A.0.102.46 (Year 17, dated); Ann. 7 and 8 (both Year 20); Misc. 2 (c. Year 21); Clay Cones Type C = RIMA 3, A.0.102.44 (Year 23, dated); Summ. 18 (c. Year 24); Summ. 19 (c. Year 25); Clay Cones Type B: RIMS 1, pp. 31–34, re-edited with modifications in RIMA 3, A.0.102.43 (Year 25, dated); Clay Cones Type A: RIMS 1, pp. 30f. = RIMA 3, A.0.102.42 (Year 26, dated). Note further that Clay Cone Type D (= Summ. 17) is dated in its colophon to the 20th regnal year, while mentioning no military event other than the Babylonian campaign of Year 9. This implies that in case of the present inscription too, the mention of the Babylonian campaign need not point to the date of the composition.

CONTENTS:
1–4: Royal name, titles and genealogy
5–r. 5a: Summary of conquests: "the Sea above and below (*tam-di* AN.TA *u* KI.TA)"[88] and the Sea of Chaldea (Year 9); the land of Hatti; Babylonia (Year 9)
r. 5b–13: Building account of the construction of the wall in the city of Ashur

Summary Inscription 15 = Inscription on an alabaster box from Ashur (Assur 12167)

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 387f. (27. Text)
Schramm, p. 90, g, 1; Schneider, 3R
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.27

The text, published as *KAH* 2, 100 (copy), is inscribed on three faces of an alabaster box, which was found in the ruins of the outer wall of the city of Ashur. The king's march to the Sea of Chaldea is referred to in the summary of the conquests. This proves that the text was composed after the ninth regnal year (850). However, the building account, included in the text, reports the construction of the wall of the city of Ashur, and this implies that the text was composed later, in the range of the king's 17th to 26th years (842–833), like Summary Inscription 14.

CONTENTS:
1–2: Royal name, titles and genealogy
3–6a: Summary of conquests: from "the Great Sea of Amurri of the Setting Sun" (Years 1 and 6) as far as "the Sea of Chaldea" (Year 9)
6b–13a: Building account of the construction of the wall of the city of Ashur
13b–15: Address to the future prince
16–17: The name of the outer wall: *munerriṭ kibrāti*

Summary Inscription 16 = Inscription on a stela in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (WAG 41.162)

Concordance: Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.9

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[88] *tam-di* AN.TA *u* KI.TA is problematic in its reading and identification. It is unclear whether we should read *tâmdi elīti u šaplīti* and understand it as referring either to Lakes Van and Urmia or to the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf, or whether it should be read as *tâmdi eliš u šapliš*, meaning the entire Mediterranean or something else. The line should perhaps be regarded as a result of an unsuccessful attempt to abridge an earlier text, since *ka-šid ištu tam-di* AN.TA *u* KI.TA *u tam-di šá* KUR *kal-di šá* ^{id}*mar-ra-tú i-qa-bu-ši-ni a-lik* KUR *Hat-ti ana paṭ*^{aṭ} *gim-ri-šá a-pél* is in any case grammatically confused. Cf. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 84 and Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 99 (both of whom suggest some text emendation).

The text is inscribed on a fragment of a stone stela of unknown provenance and was published by J.A. Brinkman, in *JNES* 32 (1973), pp. 40–46, with a copy and transliteration. Only a small fragment of the text is legible, on the front and right side.[89] It contains the royal titles and an account of a campaign against Damascus. The campaign account is not an exact duplicate of any other known text, but exhibits some phraseological similarities to the account of the 18th year campaign of some annalistic texts (Ann. 7, 9, 10 and 14) and that of the Ashur Statue (Summ. 19). The *terminus ad quem* for the date of the text is thus Year 18 (841).[90]

It is not entirely clear from the preserved lines whether the text should be classified with the Annals or the summary texts. It will be treated as a summary inscription here, however, for the following reasons: first, as already noted, the campaign account does not duplicate any other versions of the Annals. Second, the text begins with the royal name and titles but without any invocation of the gods; this again deviates from the norm of Shalmaneser's standard Annals.[91] Finally, if Brinkman's restoration of the opening of the military account: [*i-na* U_4.M]EŠ-⌜*šú*⌝-[*ma*] (right side l. 1') is correct, the *palû* dating is absent here.[92]

CONTENTS:
Face 1–18: [Royal name] and titles
(break)
Right side 1'–15': Campaign against Damascus (Year 18?)
(break)

Summary Inscription 17 = Inscription on clay cones from Ashur, Type D

Concordance: Schramm, p. 84 , e, 3, c; Schneider, 3L
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.39

The text, inscribed on fragments of *sikkatu*s (Assur 5999, 6240, 13215a–d), was edited by V. Donbaz and A.K. Grayson in RIMS

[89] The inscription on the back is almost totally obliterated. For traces of some isolated signs on the back, see Brinkman, *JNES* 32, p. 40, n. 4. He also mentions the possibility of assigning ll. 6'–8' on this side to the Que campaign of the 25th or 26th *palû*s.

[90] Brinkman, *JNES* 32, p. 40. See however above, n. 89.

[91] As represented by texts such as Ann. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8, 11 and 13. However, Ann. 2, 4 and 14 open with the royal name, titles and genealogy without any invocation of the gods.

[92] It is, however, possible to restore this passage differently and to assume that the *palû* dating originally appeared in a preceding line; Grayson (RIMA 3, A.0.102.9) follows this approach.

1, pp. 46f. A much improved edition, with the identification of additional exemplars, was published in RIMA 3. Although the only military event narrated is the Babylonian campaign of Year 9 (850), the text is explicitly dated in the colophon to Year 20 (839).[93]

CONTENTS: (line numbering according to the partiture of RIMS 1, RIMA 3)
1–2a: Royal name, titles and genealogy
2b–4: Summary of conquests: from the Sea of Nairi as far as [the Sea of Chaldea] (= *Marratu*); [as far as] the Sea of the Setting Sun
5–6a: Offering in Babylonia (Year 9)
6b–10: Building account of the Anu-Adad temple
11–14: Address to the future prince
15: Date (Year 20)

Summary Inscription 18 = Inscription on the seated statue of the god Kidudu from Ashur (BM 118886)

Concordance: Schramm, p. 83, e, 3, a; Schneider, 2A
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.25

The text is inscribed on the base of a sitting figure, whose head is broken off, discovered by Layard in the western part of the mound of Ashur.[94] A copy of the text was published as *ICC*, pls. 76f. The figure has commonly been considered to be that of the king. However, J.E. Reade aptly argued that it represents the god Kidudu, the guardian of the wall, as the text refers to the renewal of the statue of this deity (ll. 32–34).[95]

Although the Babylonian expeditions in Years 8 and 9 are the only military events narrated in the text, the date of the composition must be much later.[96] The mention of Que, Imeri (i.e. Aram-Damascus),[97] Tabal and Melid in the summary of conquests preceding the narrative section implies that the text was composed after the campaigns against these lands in the 20th, 21st, 22nd and 23rd *palûs*

[93] ITI.*mu-hur*-DINGIR.MEŠ UD 15.KÁM MU 1.KÁM 20 BALA.MEŠ-*ia* "the month of *Muhur-ilāni*, the 15th day, the year of my 20th *palû*". For MU 1 KÁM = *šattu* "year", see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 25, n. 26; Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 191f., n. 1176.

[94] It seems likely that the statue originally stood at the Coppersmiths' (Tabira) Gate together with the royal statue bearing Summ. 19. See W. Andrae, *FwA*, Text volume, p. 38; cf. J.E. Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 17 (1986), p. 299.

[95] *Bagh. Mitt.* 17, pp. 299f. The article is overlooked in RIMA 3.

[96] *Contra* Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 97), who considers that the text must date to or shortly after 850 (= Year 9).

[97] For the reading *I-me-ri* (l. 11) instead of *Ad-ri*, see R. Borger, *ZA* 66 (1976), pp. 277f.; cf. RIMA 3.

(i.e. Years 20, 21/22, 23, and 24 [839–835]) respectively. Hence, the *terminus ad quem* of the composition is Year 24 (835). The end of the text records the building account of the walls of Ashur, and lists the ceremonial names of the walls and gates of the city of Ashur. This also supports the later date (see above, under Summ. 14).[98]

CONTENTS:

1–9a: Royal name, titles and genealogy
9b–13: Summary of conquests: "from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea"; the lands of Hatti, Luhute, Imeri (Year 21/22), Labnana, Que (Year 20), Tabal (Year 23), and Melid (Year 24); "one who saw the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates" (Years 7 and 15)
14–20: The Babylonian campaigns (Years 8 and 9)
21–34a: Building account of the walls of the city Ashur and the statue of Kidudu
34b–36: Address to the future prince
37–40: Enumeration of the names of the walls and gates

Summary Inscription 19 = Inscription on a royal statue from Ashur (Assur 742, EŞ 4650)

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 57–63 and pls. 7f. (5. Text)
Schramm, p. 82, e, 2; Schneider, 2B
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.40

The text, published as *KAH* 1, 30 (copy), is inscribed on a royal statue, which was discovered in a fragmentary state in the east plateau of Ashur during the German excavations in 1903.[99]

Following the opening (royal name, titles and genealogy), the king's military achievements (i 6b–iii 8) are summarized in geographical order—north, west, east and far west (i.e. eastern Anatolia). The latest datable event mentioned is the second campaign against Namri, which was undertaken, according to the Annals, in the 24th *palû*, that is the 25th regnal year (834).[100] Thus, the text was probably

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[98] It is also notable that this text and Summ. 19, composed c. Year 25 (see below), record the same names for the great wall and the outer wall: *ša melammūšu māta katmu* and *munerriṭi kibrāte*. This similarity supports the chronological association between the two texts, as well as the statues bearing them.

[99] Andrae, *FwA*, Text volume, pp. 37f.; idem, *MDOG* 21 (1904), pp. 20f. It was assumed that the statue originally stood at the Tabira Gate. For this, see above, n. 94.

[100] The account of the destruction of the lands of Que and Tabal (iii 5b–8) is presumably a conflation of the 20th, 22nd and 23rd *palû* campaigns, and the view that it reflects the fourth and final campaign to Que in the 26th *palû* (Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 84; Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 117) seems unlikely (see below, Part II, 14.2).

composed shortly after this event. The building account of the walls of the city of Ashur, which concludes the text, also agrees with the late date (see above, under Summ. 14 and 18).

CONTENTS:

i 1–6a:	Royal name, titles and genealogy
i 6b–10a:	Summary of conquests: Enzi, Gilzanu, Hubushkia and Urartu (Years 0 and 3)
i 10b–13:	Deportation of Ahuni (Year 4)
i 14–24:	The battle with the South Syrian coalition (Year 6?)
i 25–ii 1:	Rise of Hazael and the battle with him (Year 18)
ii 2–6:	Fragmentary, perhaps relating to the western campaign in the 21st *palû* (= Year 21/22)
iii 1–2a:	The second campaign to Namri (the 24th *palû* = Year 25)
iii 2b–5a:	Visit to Mts. Tunni and Muli (the 22nd *palû* = Year 23)
iii 5b–8:	Campaigns to Que and Tabal (the 20th and 22nd *palû*s = Years 20 and 23)
iii 9–11:	Building account of the wall of the city of Ashur and the erection of a royal image

1.2.3. *Miscellaneous Texts*

Miscellaneous 1 = Poetic text on a tablet from Sultantepe (SU 51/110)

Concordance: Schramm, pp. 81f., d; Schneider, 4A
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.17

The tablet, uncovered at Sultantepe (ancient Huzirina), was published by O.R. Gurney as *STT* 1, no. 43 (copy) and edited by W.G. Lambert (*AnSt* 11 [1961], pp. 143–158); new editions were published by A. Livingstone, in SAA 3, pp. 44–47, no. 17 (with modification in *NABU* 1990, p. 68, no. 90) and by Grayson in RIMA 3.

The text is a poetic composition written in the common Babylonian metre of four main stresses to the line with a caesura after the second.[101] The composition is most unusual in its style and contents. After an invocation of the gods, the text proceeds to a brief narration of the conquest of Bit-Adini and the land of Hatti, and this is followed by the lengthy description of a king's heroic venture in Urartu. It includes quotations of direct speech and narrative which alternates between the first and third persons while describing the king's military achievements.

The text's fragmentary state makes it uncertain which monarch is

[101] Lambert, *AnSt* 11, p. 143.

the hero of the poem. Gurney assigned the text to Shalmaneser III.[102] Lambert further identified the historical context of the text as the king's campaign against Til-barsip and Urartu in the third regnal year (856), basing himself mainly on the reference to Ashur-beluka'in, the *turtānu*, the eponym for Shalmaneser's Year 3.[103] This view has been followed by most of the subsequent commentators.[104] Recently, however, J.E. Reade suggested that the text might be ascribed to Ashurnasirpal II, whose name is actually mentioned in the text, rather than to Shalmaneser, who does not appear in the preserved portion.[105] Although the historical background of the text is arguable, as Reade emphasizes, the association of the text with Shalmaneser's campaign of Year 3 (see below, Part II, 3.2) still remains most cogent.

CONTENTS:

1–6:	Invocation of gods and address to the king
7–c. 30:	The conquest of Til-barsip and the land of Hatti, and the preparation for the Urartian war
c. 31–58 (= r. 26):	The incidents in Urartu
59–60 (= r. 27–28):	The king's return to Assyria, and his participation in the feast of Ishtar of Arbela
61–64 (= r. 29–32):	The king's entrance into the city of Ashur and dedication to the god Ashur
65 (= r. 33):	An ending (fragmentary)

Miscellaneous 2 = Booty inscription on a stone cylinder from Ashur

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 1, pp. 269f. (24. Text)
Schramm, p. 92, g, 8
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.92

The small stone cylinder (15 × 4 cm) was found on the north-eastern side of the small *ziqqurat* of Ashur (= Anu-Adad temple).[106] The text was published by O. Schroeder in *AfK* 2 (1924/25), pp. 70f. (copy) and edited by E. Michel.[107] The inscription designates the object as "booty (*kišittu* [l. 1])" taken by Shalmaneser III from the temple of the god Sher in Malaha, "the royal city (*āl šarrūti*)" of

[102] *AnSt* 2 (1952), p. 28; *STT* 1, p. 4.
[103] *AnSt* 11, pp. 145–156.
[104] Schramm, *Einleitung*, pp. 81f.; Livingstone, SAA 3, p. xxvii; Schneider, *New Analysis*, pp. 31f. and 196–202; B. Foster, *Before the Muses*, p. 699.
[105] *SAAB* 3 (1989), pp. 93–97.
[106] W. Andrae, *MDOG* 29 (1905), p. 45; cf. H.D. Galter, *ARRIM* 5 (1987), p. 13 (No. 8).
[107] Cf. also Galter, *ARRIM* 5, pp. 13 and 19, No. 8 (copy and transliteration).

Hazael, king of Damascus, and buried as a foundation deposit "into the wall of the city of Ashur (*ana libbi dūri ša* URU *libbi āli* [ll. 7f.])." According to the eponym chronicle, Malaha was the target of the campaign of Year 21 (838).[108] The object was thus probably taken in this campaign and shortly later deposited in the wall.

CONTENTS:
1–8: Identification of the object

Miscellaneous 3 = Booty inscription on a mace-head from Ashur (Assur 10265, EŞ 7025)

Concordance: Schramm, p. 92, g, 7
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.94

The four-line text is inscribed on a stone mace-head found at the Tabira Gate at Ashur and was published by E. Nassouhi, in *MAOG* 3 (1927), pp. 12–14 with a transliteration and copy. In style it resembles a dedicatory text, opening with an address to the god Nergal. The text reveals that the object was "booty (*kišittu* [l. 3])" taken from Marduk-Mudammiq, king of Namri, and buried "at the Tabira Gate of the city of Ashur (*ina abulli Tabira ša libbi āli* [l. 4])". The mace-head was probably taken in the first Namri campaign (Year 16, 843), in which Shalmaneser plundered the property of Marduk-mudammiq.

CONTENTS:
1a: Address to the god Nergal
1b–2a: Royal name, titles and genealogy
2b–3a: Blessing formula (*ana balāṭīšu* etc.)
3b: Identification of the object as booty from Marduk-Mudammiq
4: Location of the deposit at the Tabira Gate of the city of Ashur

Miscellaneous 4 = Reliefs and their captions from the Balawat bronze bands

Concordance: Michel, *WO* 4, pp. 34–37
Schramm, p. 73, under Rezension B
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.63–86

Sixteen bronze bands decorated the Balawat Gate (see above, under Ann. 4). Each of the bands, composed of upper and lower registers, bears reliefs and one, two or three captions; all the original 24 captions have been preserved. The original arrangement of the

[108] The toponym was first read correctly in the Eponym Chronicle by J.E. Reade (see below, Part I, 2, n. 142).

bronze bands over the two gate leaves was reconstructed by E. Unger and subsequently restored at the British Museum.[109] The captions have never been published properly.[110] The most recent edition is included in RIMA 3, which essentially follows the previous editions.

The iconographic and epigraphic data provided by these bronze bands include details not found in any other source, and are of great importance for our study. The entire series of reliefs and captions will be reviewed here in order to clarify the historical-chronological interpretation of the evidence presented in this study.

In their pioneering work, A. Billerbeck and F. Delitzsch assigned a date to each of the historical scenes on the reliefs, assuming that each band represents scenes from a single year.[111] Their conclusion was generally followed by L.W. King in his publication, in photographs, of 13 bands in the British Museum collection; he arranged the bands in chronological order according to the date assigned to the scenes on the bands (I–XIII = A-M of Billerbeck and Delitzsch).[112] The contents of the captions over the reliefs and the suggested date of each scene may be summarized as follows (u.r. = upper register; l.r. = lower register):

Band I (Year 0):	u.r.: Erection of an image at the Sea of Nairi
	l.r.: Capture of the city Sugunia (in Urartu)
Band II (Year 0, but see below):	u.r.: Defeat of the land Urartu
	l.r.: (No caption)
Band III (Year 1):	u.r.: Tribute of Tyre and Sidon
	l.r.: Defeat of the city Hazazu (in Patin)
Band IV (Year 2):	u.r.: Defeat of the city Dabigu in Bit-Adini
	l.r.: (No caption)
Band V (Year 2, but see below):	u.r.: Tribute of the land Unqi
	l.r.: (No caption)
Band VI (Year 2, but see below):	u.r.: Tribute of Sangara, the Carchemishite
	l.r.: (No caption)

[109] Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pp. 96–105; cf. J.E. Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), pp. 70–72. The geographical organization in the reconstructed arrangement has been discussed by M.I. Marcus (*Iraq* 49 [1987], pp. 77–90).

[110] They will be included in the definitive publication being prepared by the British Museum (so Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 140, under A.0.102.63).

[111] *Palasttore.*

[112] *Bronze Reliefs.*

Band VII (Year 3, but see below):	u.r.:	Capture of a city of Arame, the Urartian
	l.r.:	Tribute of the land Gilzanu
Band VIII (Year 5):	u.r.:	Capture of the city Upumu in Shubria
	l.r.:	(No caption)
Band IX (Year 6):	u.r.:	Capture of the city Parqa; capture of the city Ada in Hamath
	l.r.:	Capture of the city Qarqar in Hamath
Band X (Year 7):	u.r.:	(No caption)
	l.r.:	Capture of the city Kulisi; the erection of an image at the source of the river (= Tigris)
Band XI (Year 9):	u.r.:	Tribute of Adini of Bit-Dakkuri
	l.r.:	(No caption)
Band XII (Year 10):	u.r.:	Capture of the city Arne of Arame (of Bit-Agusi)
	l.r.:	Capture of [. . .]agda of Arame of Bit-Agusi
Band XIII (Year 11):	u.r.:	Capture of Ashtammaku, the royal city in Hamath
	l.r.:	(No caption)

The contents and supposed date of the scenes on the remaining three bands (N, O and P), reconstructed by E. Unger from various fragments,[113] may be summarized as follows:

Band N (Year 1):	u.r.:	Erection of an image at [. . . .]
	l.r.:	Tribute of Tyre and Sidon
Band O (Year 9)	u.r.:	Defeat of the city Baqani of Chal-[dea]
	l.r.:	(No caption)
Band P (General; see below)	u.r.:	Defeat of Hamathites
	l.r.:	(No caption)

The latest event which can be dated with certainty is the capture of the city Ashtammaku depicted on Band XIII, which took place, according to the Annals, in the king's 11th regnal year (848). Thus, the chronological range covered by the series runs from the accession year (859) at least until Year 11 (848). It cannot run much further than Year 11, since it is already two years beyond the *terminus ad quem* of the Gate Inscription (Ann. 4). This is corroborated by

[113] *Zum Bronzetor*, pp. 30–43 and pls. I–II; "Wiederherstellung", pp. 14–29 and pls. I–II.

the fact that later outstanding historical events, such as the campaigns against Namri (Year 16, 843), Damascus (Year 18, 841) and Que (Year 20, 839), are not mentioned in any caption on the reliefs. Hence, the completion of the series should doubtlessly be dated to the period between Year 11 and Year 15 (848–844, inclusive).

As suggested in the previous studies, in most cases the scenes on the upper and lower registers of a band seem to deal with events from a single year, whether the band bears a caption or captions in each of the two registers or only in one of them.[114] In several cases, however, it is difficult to assign a single specific year to the scenes depicted. This is the case when the caption only gives a general name of a large land, such as Urartu (Bands II and VII) or Hamath (Band P), with which the king fought several times, or else when tribute from a single country was brought in various years (Bands V [Unqi/Patin], VI [Carchemish] and VII [Gilzanu]).[115] It is conceivable that these scenes generalize similar incidents from several years, without recording a single specific campaign.[116]

Miscellaneous 5 = Reliefs and captions on the Black Obelisk
Concordance: Michel, *WO* 2, pp. 140–143
Schramm, p. 79, under Rezension F, 1
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.87–91

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[114] M. Wäfler (*Nicht-Assyrer*, pp. 77–82 and 299–301) assigned the tribute-bearing of Tyre and Sidon depicted in Band III (u.r.) to 841 (Year 18) or 837 (Year 22), not to the accepted 858 (Year 1), claiming that "the kings of the seacoast" mentioned as the tribute-bearers in Year 1 in the Annals are not the kings of south Phoenicia, and that Tyrian and/or Sidonian tribute is reported in the Annals only in the later years. On this basis, he assumed that some of the bands which bear two captions include events from two different years. To solve the chronological problem raised by this alleged late date of Band III, he suggested the possibility that Shalmaneser's Balawat bands belonged to two gates, and ascribed Band III to the younger one, completed after 841 or 837. This hypothesis, however, raises some difficulties. As pointed out, the series does not include major events from the years later than 844 (Year 15); this contradicts the alleged late date. In addition, as J. Bär has pointed out (*Tribut*, pp. 116f.), the report of the bands' discovery shows that they were found at a relatively coherent location, suggesting that they belonged to a single gate. Therefore, we may follow the traditional view, that the Tyrian and Sidonian tribute was brought to Shalmaneser, when he reached the Mediterranean and received the tribute of "the kings of the sea coast" in Year 1 (858) (see below, Part II, 1.2).

[115] Band II: Years 0 and/or 3; Band V: Years 2, 3 and/or 6; Band VI: Years 2, 3 and/or 6; Band VII: Years 0 and/or 3; Band P: Years 6, 10, 11 and/or perhaps 14 (see below). For the scenes of tribute-bearing, see further below, Part III, 3.

[116] Unger already thought that this was the case of Band II, VI (= his M(B) and E(F) respectively) and P ("Wiederherstellung", pp. 68f., 76–78, and 81). For the

Apart from its main annalistic text (Ann. 13), the Black Obelisk bears, five rows of reliefs, representing, as indicated by their captions, the tribute brought by Sua of the land Gilzanu, by Yaua "son of Humri" (i.e. Jehu of Israel), by the people of the land Muṣri (i.e. Egypt), by Marduk-apla-uṣur of the land Suhu, and by Qalparunda of the land Patin. Photographs appear in *ANEP*, figs. 351–355.

Except for two cases, the tribute of Sua (Years 0 and/or 3) and that of Yaua (Year 18), the historical circumstances of these scenes are uncertain (see below, Part III, 3). It is thus difficult to suggest a clear principle, whether geographical or chronological, which would account for the arrangement of the five scenes.[117]

Miscellaneous 6 = Reliefs and captions on the Throne Base from Calah

Concordance: Schramm, p. 82, e, 1
Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.60 and 61

Apart from its main text (Summ. 6), the Calah Throne Base bears three reliefs on its western block: one shows Shalmaneser and the king of Babylon shaking hands with each other (on the front vertical face) and the other two are scenes depicting the bringing of tribute (on the left and right vertical faces, respectively). Photographs were published in M. Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, pp. 447–449.

Each of the two tribute scenes is accompanied by a caption (Summ. 6, ll. 48f.), which reveals the identity of the tribute-bearers as Qalparunda of Unqi (the scene on the left face), and Adini of Bit-Dakkuri and Mushallim-Marduk of Bit-A(m)ukani (the right face). The scene of the monarchs shaking hands can definitely be associated with Shalmaneser's Babylonian campaigns in Years 8 and 9 (851–850). The bringing of tribute by Adini and Mushallim-Marduk is known as an event in Year 9.[118]

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possibility that Bands XII and XIII conflate scenes from several years, see below, Part II, 7.2 (esp. pp. 168f.) and 8.2 (esp. p. 176, n. 350), respectively.

[117] J.E. Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10 (1979), p. 72. Cf. however, M.I. Marcus, *Iraq* 49 (1987), pp. 77–90, esp. 87–89, who insists on a geographical organization. S. Parpola, on the other hand, proposed (in P.J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Hama* II/2, p. 261) that the five scenes are arranged in chronological order. For my criticism of Parpola's view, see below, Part III, 3, n. 56.

[118] On the tribute of Qalparunda, see below, Part III, 3, esp. pp. 251f.

Table 1: *Table of Correspondence between This Catalogue and RIMA 3*

a) *This Catalogue* > *RIMA 3*			*General Names*
Annals 1	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.3	One Year Annals
Annals 2	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.1	Two Year Annals
Annals 3	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.2	Kurkh Monolith
Annals 4	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.5	Balawat Gate Inscription
Annals 5	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.6–7	16 Year Annals
Annals 6	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.8	Bull Inscription (18 Year Annals)
Annals 7	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.10	20 Year Annals
Annals 8	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.11	Stone Fragment, Ass. 20739
Annals 9	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.12	Kurbail Statue
Annals 10	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.8	Text on Squeeze, *III R*, 5, no. 6
Annals 11	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.15	Stone Fragment, *KAH* 1, 77+
Annals 12	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.13	Stone Fragment, Ass. 1120
Annals 13	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.14	Black Obelisk
Annals 14	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.16	Calah Statue
Summary 1	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.4	Til-barsip Stone Slab
Summary 2	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.20	Kenk Inscription
Summary 3a/b	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.21–22	Tigris III/V
Summary 4	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.18	Clay Cone E
Summary 5	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.19	Amulet-Shaped Tablet
Summary 6	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.28, 59–62	Calah Throne Base
Summary 7a/b	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.23–24	Tigris II/IV
Summary 8	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.34	Door-sill (Læssøe)
Summary 9	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.30	Door-sill (Longest)
Summary 10a/b/c	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.31–33	Door-sill (Middle)
Summary 11a/b/c	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.35–37	Door-sill etc. (Short)
Summary 12	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.29	Calah Stone Slab
Summary 13	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.38	Nineveh Statue Fragment, *AAA* 19, 302+
Summary 14	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.26	Gold Tablet
Summary 15	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.27	Alabaster Box
Summary 16	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.9	Walters Art Gallery Stela
Summary 17	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.39	Clay Cone D
Summary 18	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.25	Statue of the god Kidudu
Summary 19	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.40	Ashur Royal Statue, *KAH* 1, 30
Misc. 1	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.17	Poetic Composition, *STT* 1, 43
Misc. 2	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.92	Booty Inscription from Malahi
Misc. 3	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.94	Booty Inscription from Namri
Misc. 4	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.63–86	Balawat Bronze Bands, Captions
Misc. 5	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.87–91	Black Obelisk, Captions
Misc. 6	=	RIMA 3, A.0.102.60–61	Calah Throne Base, Captions

Table 1 (*cont.*)

b) *RIMA 3 > This Catalogue*

RIMA 3, A.0.102.1 = Annals 2
RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 = Annals 3
RIMA 3, A.0.102.3 = Annals 1
RIMA 3, A.0.102.4 = Summ. 1
RIMA 3, A.0.102.5 = Annals 4
RIMA 3, A.0.102.6 = Annals 5
RIMA 3, A.0.102.7 = Annals 5
RIMA 3, A.0.102.8 = Annals 6/ Annals 10
RIMA 3, A.0.102.9 = Summ. 16
RIMA 3, A.0.102.10 = Annals 7
RIMA 3, A.0.102.11 = Annals 8
RIMA 3, A.0.102.12 = Annals 9
RIMA 3, A.0.102.13 = Annals 12
RIMA 3, A.0.102.14 = Annals 13
RIMA 3, A.0.102.15 = Annals 11
RIMA 3, A.0.102.16 = Annals 14
RIMA 3, A.0.102.17 = Misc. 1
RIMA 3, A.0.102.18 = Summ. 4
RIMA 3, A.0.102.19 = Summ. 5
RIMA 3, A.0.102.20 = Summ. 2
RIMA 3, A.0.102.21 = Summ. 3a
RIMA 3, A.0.102.22 = Summ. 3b
RIMA 3, A.0.102.23 = Summ. 7a
RIMA 3, A.0.102.24 = Summ. 7b
RIMA 3, A.0.102.25 = Summ. 18
RIMA 3, A.0.102.26 = Summ. 14
RIMA 3, A.0.102.27 = Summ. 15
RIMA 3, A.0.102.28 = Summ. 5
RIMA 3, A.0.102.29 = Summ. 12
RIMA 3, A.0.102.30 = Summ. 9
RIMA 3, A.0.102.31 = Summ. 10a
RIMA 3, A.0.102.32 = Summ. 10b
RIMA 3, A.0.102.33 = Summ. 10c
RIMA 3, A.0.102.34 = Summ. 8
RIMA 3, A.0.102.35 = Summ. 11a
RIMA 3, A.0.102.36 = Summ. 11b
RIMA 3, A.0.102.37 = Summ. 11c
RIMA 3, A.0.102.38 = Summ. 13
RIMA 3, A.0.102.39 = Summ. 17
RIMA 3, A.0.102.40 = Summ. 19
RIMA 3, A.0.102.59–62 = Summ. 5/ Misc. 6
RIMA 3, A.0.102.63–86 = Misc. 4
RIMA 3, A.0.102.87–91 = Misc. 5
RIMA 3, A.0.102.92 = Misc. 2
RIMA 3, A.0.102.94 = Misc. 3

Table 2: *Chronological Order of the Primary Text Editions*

Year of edition	*Text(s)*
Year 1 (858)	Annals 1 (Calah Stone Tablet = the One Year Annals)
Year 2 (857)	Annals 2 (Calah Stone Tablet = the Two Year Annals)
Year 3 (856) or later	Summ. 1 (Til-barsip Stone Slab)
Year 4 (855)	Summ. 2 (Kenk Inscription)
Year 6 (853)	Annals 3 (Kurkh Monolith)
Year 7 (852)	Summ. 3a/b (Tigr. III/V)
Year 9 (850) or later	Annals 4 (Balawat Gate Inscription)
Year 10 (849)	Summ. 4 (Ashur Clay Cone E)
Year 11 (848) or later	Summ. 5 (Amulet-Shaped Tablet)
Year 13 (846)	Summ. 6 (Calah Throne Base)
Year 15 (844)	Summ. 7a/b (Tigr. II/IV), Summ. 8, 9, 10 and 11 (Door-sills and -socket from Fort Shalmaneser)
Year 15 (844) or later	Summ. 12 (Calah Stone Slab)
Year 16 (843)	Annals 5 (Ashur Clay Tablet = the 16 Year Annals)
Year 16 (843) or later	Summ. 13 (Nineveh Statue)
Year 17–26 (842–833)	Summ. 14 (Ashur Gold Tablet), Summ. 15 (Ashur Alabaster Box)

Table 2 (*cont.*)

Year of edition	*Text(s)*
Year 18 (841)	Annals 6 (Calah Bull Inscription)
Year 18 (841) or later	Summ. 16 (Walters Art Gallery Stela)
Year 20 (839)	Annals 7 (Ashur Stone Tablet = the 20 Year Annals), Annals 8 (Ashur Stone Fragment), Annals 9 (Kurbail Statue), Summ. 17 (Ashur Clay Cone D)
c. Year 20 (839)	Annals 10 (Squeeze, *III R*, 5, no. 6), Annals 11 (Ashur Stone Fragment)
Year 24 (835) or later	Summ. 18 (Statue of the god Kidudu from Ashur)
Year 25 (834) or later	Summ. 19 (Ashur Royal Statue)
Year 28 (831)	Annals 12 (Ashur Stone Fragment)
Year 33 (826)	Annals 13 (Black Obelisk), Annals 14 (Calah Statue)

Table 3: *Campaign Accounts in Shalmaneser III's Inscriptions*[119]

	Ann. 1	*Ann. 2*	*Ann. 3*	*Ann. 4*	*Ann. 5*
Acc.	15b–42a	14–40	i 14b–28	—	i 28–41
1	42b–r. 46	41–81'	i 29–ii 13a	i 2c–5a	i 42–48
2		82'–95'	ii 13b–30a	—	i 49–56
3 (West)			ii 30b–40a	—	i 57–61a
(Urartu)			ii 40b–66a	i 5b–iii 3a	i 61b–ii 2
Résumé of Ahuni			ii 66b–69a	iii 3b–4	—
4 (West)			ii 69b–75a	iii 5–6	ii 3–9
(Mazamua)			ii 75b–78a	—	ii 10–15
5			—	—	ii 16–18
6			ii 78b–102	—	ii 19–33
7				—	ii 34–40
8				iv 1–5a	ii 41–44
9				iv 5b–vi 8	ii 45–54
10					ii 55–67
11					ii 68–iii 15
12					iii 16–20
13					iii 21–23
14					iii 24–33
15					iii 34–57
16					iii 58–iv 25

[119] This table includes only the narrative passages assignable to a specific year, with the exclusion of the mention of geographical names in the summary of the conquest in the form of nominal epithets such as "conqueror of GN", or "conqueror from GN1 to GN2" or the like, as well as instances of one short sentence which summarizes the conquest of several toponyms and/or hydronyms relating to different years.

Table 3 (*cont.*)

	Ann. 6	*Ann. 7*	*Ann. 8*	*Ann. 9*	*Ann. 10*
Acc.	broken	i 19–23a	13'–18'a	—	—
1	broken	i 23b–30a	18'b–19'	—	—
2	broken	i 30b–36a	broken	—	—
3 (West)	broken	i 36b–44a	broken	—	—
(Urartu)	56–60a	i 44b–48a	broken	—	—
4 (West)	60b–63a	i 48b–ii 6a	broken	—	—
(Mazamua)	63b–66a	ii 6b–9a	broken	—	—
5	66b–67a	ii 9b–12	broken	—	—
6	67b–74	ii 13–25	broken	—	—
7	75–78a	ii 26–30	broken	—	—
8	78b–79a	ii 31–34	broken	—	—
9	79b–84a	ii 35–44	broken	—	—
10	84b–89	ii 45–50	broken	—	—
11	90–96a	ii 51–iii 5	broken	—	—
12	96b–98a	iii 6–10a	broken	—	—
13	98b–99a	iii 10b–13	broken	—	—
14	99b–102a	iii 14–25	broken	—	—
15	102b–107	iii 26–33a	broken	—	—
16	—	iii 33b–37a	broken	—	—
17		iii 37b–45a	broken	—	—
18	41–52	iii 45b–iv 15a	broken	21–30a	1–26
19		iv 15b–22a	r. 1'–2'	30b–31a	
20		iv 22b–34a	r. 3'–16'a	31b–34a	

	Ann. 11	*Ann. 12*	*Ann. 13*	*Ann. 14*
Acc.	22–26a	broken	22–26a	6–8a
1	26b–31	broken	26b–31	8b–11a
2	32–35a	broken	32–35a	11b–14a
3 (West)	35b–41a	broken	35b–41a	14b–17
(Urartu)	41b–44	broken	41b–44	18–20a
4 (West)	45–47	broken	45–50a	20b–24a
(Mazamua)		broken	50b–52a	24b–26a
5		broken	52b–54a	26b–27
6		broken	54b–66	28–38a
7		broken	67–72	38b–44a
8		broken	73–76	44b–50a
9		broken	77–84	50b–65'
10		broken	85–86	66'–71'a
11		broken	87–89a	71'b–81'
12		broken	89b–90a	82'–84'
13		broken	90b–91a	85'–87'a
14		broken	91b–92a	87'b–95'
15		1'–2'a	92b–93a	broken
16		2'b–4'a	93b–95	x–115'
17		4'b–9'a	96–97a	116'–122'a
18		9'b–10'	97b–99a	122'b–137'a
19		broken	99b–100a	137'b–143'a
20		r. 1'–4'	100b–102a	143'b–151'

Table 3 *(cont.)*

	Ann. 11	*Ann. 12*	*Ann. 13*	*Ann. 14*	
21/22 (= *palû* 21)		r. 5'–11'	102b–104a	152'–162'a	
23 (= *palû* 22)		broken	104b–107a	162'b–181'a	
24 (= *palû* 23)			107b–110a	181'b–194'	
25 (= *palû* 24)			110b–126a	195'–x	
26 (= *palû* 25)			126b–131	x–216'a	
27/28 (= *palû* 26)			132–141a	216'b–227'	
29 (= *palû* 27)			141b–146a	228'–267'	
30 (= *palû* 28)			146b–156a	268'–286'a	
31 (= *palû* 29)			156b–159a	286'b–290'	
32 (= *palû* 30)			159b–174a	291'–320'a	
33 (= *palû* 31)			174b–190	320'b–341'a	

	Summ. 2	*Summ. 3a*	*Summ. 3b*	*Summ. 4*	*Summ. 5*
1					
2					
3 (West)					
(Urartu)		10–16a	10b–12a		
Résumé					
of Ahuni	7b–15a				
4 (West)	15b–19				
(Mazamua)					
5					
6					
7		16b–17	12b–13		
8					
9				5'–15'a	
10					
11					r. 1–7

	Summ. 6	*Summ. 7a*	*Summ. 7b*	*Summ. 8*	*Summ. 9*
Acc.	10b–18a				
1	18b–26a			8b–10a	
2					
3 (West)					
(Urartu)	37–42a				14–18a
4 (West)	26b–28			6–7a	20b–21
(Mazamua)	42b–44a				
5	44b				
6	29–34a			7b	22–28a
7					
8	45a				
9	45b–47, 49	19b–20	11–14a		28b–32a
10					
11	48?			7c–8a?	
12					
13	34b–36				
14		21–27	14b–17		
15				4b–5, 10b–11	18b–20a

Table 3 (*cont.*)

	Summ. 10a	*Summ. 10b*	*Summ. 10c*	*Summ. 11a*	*Summ. 11b*
Acc.					
1					
2					
3 (West)					
(Urartu)	12b–17a	7b–9a	10b–13		
4					
5					
6	7b–8a	4b–5a	6b–7a	5b	
7					
8					
9					
10					
11	8b–9a?	5b?	7b–8a?	5c	
12					
13					
14					
15	6–7a, 9b–12a	3b–4a, 6–7a	5–6a, 8b–10a	4–5a	6–7

	Summ. 12	*Summ. 13*	*Summ. 14*	*Summ. 16*	*Summ. 17*
Acc.					
1	24–26				
2					
3 (West)					
(Urartu)	34b–39a	7'b–10'a			
4 (West)	8b–12a				
(Mazamua)	39b–40a				
5					
6	21				
7					
8					
9	42b–48	13'b–16'	12–16a		5–6a
10					
11	12b–20, 22–23?				
12					
13					
14					
15	27–34a	7'a			
16		10'b–13'a			
17					
18				r.s. 1'–15'?	

	Summ. 18	*Summ. 19*	*Misc. 1*
Acc.			
1			
2			
3 (West)			7–13
(Urartu)			14–58

Table 3 (*cont.*)

	Summ. 18	*Summ. 19*	*Misc. 1*
4 (West) (Mazamua)		i 10b–13	
5			
6		i 14–24	
7			
8	14–17a		
9	14–20		
10			
11			
12			
13			
14			
15			
16			
17			
18		i 25–ii 1	
19			
20		iii 5b–6a, 6b–8	
21/22 (= *palû* 21)			
23 (= *palû* 22)		iii 2b–5a, 5b–6a	
24 (= *palû* 23)			
25 (= *palû* 24)		iii 1–2a	

2. *Chronology of Shalmaneser III's Campaigns*

It is well established that the 35-year reign of Shalmaneser III falls in the period between *limmu* Tab-belu, 859 (accession year) and *limmu* Yahalu, 824 (the 35th and last year).[120] According to this essential framework of absolute dates, the king's campaigns described in his Annals can be definitely assigned to specific years for most of his reign except for its later years. The problem regarding the later years arises when we try to correlate the record of the royal annals to another source, the Eponym Chronicle, which survives for the period from the king's 18th regnal year onwards (see below). This problem was first treated by E. Forrer in his pioneering work on Neo-Assyrian

[120] The essential study is A. Poebel, *JNES* 2 (1943), pp. 56–90, esp. 77f. The chronological assignment of Shalmaneser III's reign was, however, previously suggested by E. Forrer in *MVAG* 20/3 (1916), pp. 9–16. In the present study, each Mesopotamian year is indicated by a single Julian year equivalent, even though the Mesopotamian year overlapped with parts of two Julian years (e.g., the Mesopotamian year that we will refer to as "859" actually covered a period from March/April of 859 to February/March of 858).

chronology,[121] and it has recently been discussed again almost simultaneously by A.K. Grayson and by J.E. Reade.[122] Though Reade's work seems to have settled most of the issues, it has not been unanimously accepted in recent studies.[123] I would therefore like to raise the topic once again in order to review the evidence.

The Eponym Chronicle is a distinct type of eponym list, conventionally classed as B Type.[124] Its name refers to the fact that, in addition to the names of the *limmu* and their titles, it provides a mass of historical notes, usually indicating the goal or position of the royal army as "*ana/ina* place X".[125] Two fragmentary exemplars of the Eponym Chronicle preserve such notes, as already mentioned, for Shalmaneser III's 18th regnal year (841) onwards. One of them, Rm. 2, 97, from Nineveh, has been known since the previous century.[126] The other exemplar was reconstructed from five fragments, uncovered in the 1950s at Sultantepe (SU 52/18 + 18A + 21 + 333 + 337), and published by O.R. Gurney in *STT* 1 and 2, as nos. 46+348.[127] The relevant lines of both exemplars read:[128]

Rm. 2, 97, obv. 1'–18'

1'. [.....]		[*a-na* KUR *Di-maš-q*]*a*
2'. [.....]*x*		[*a-na* KUR GIŠ.E]RIN
3'. [.....	*ša* URU *Ahi*]*-zu-hi-na*	*a-*[*na* KUR *Qu*]*-e*
4'. [.....	*ša* URU *R*]*a-ṣap-pa*	*a-na* ⌜KUR⌝ ⌜*Ma*⌝-⌜*la*⌝*-hi*
5'. [.....	*ša* URU *Ahi*]-ÍD.*zu-hi-na*	*a-na* KUR *Da-na-bi*
6'. [.....	*ša* URU] *Raq-mat*	*a-na* KUR *Ta-ba-li*

[121] *MVAG* 20/3, pp. 9–16.

[122] Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 134–145, esp. 140–143; Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 251–260.

[123] E.g. A.K. Grayson, *CAH* III/1, pp. 259–269; T.J. Schneider, *New Analysis*; W. Mayer, *PKA*, pp. 274–289, esp. 275 (with n. 1), 286–289; J.K. Kuan, *NHISP*, pp. 18–21. On the other hand, Reade's solution was accepted by M. de Odorico (*Numbers*, pp. 163–166, esp. n. 30) and more recently by A. Fuchs (*Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr.*, pp. 89–95 [this reached me after the completion of the present work]).

[124] A. Ungnad, *RLA* 2, pp. 428ff.; A.R. Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 4f.

[125] For problems in the interpretation of such notes, cf. A.R. Millard and H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 62–64; Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 4f.

[126] C. Bezold, *PSBA* 11 (1889), p. 287 and pl. III; edited by Ungnad in *RLA* 2, pp. 433f. as C^{b} 4. Recently, a new copy was provided by Millard (*Eponyms*, pl. 15f., B4).

[127] Reproduced in Millard, *Eponyms*, pls. 19f. as B10.

[128] These texts were recently edited by Millard in his synoptic transliteration of all the available eponym lists and chronicles (Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 29–31, as B4 and B10, respectively); the copies are found in pls. 15 and 19; the eclectic translation in pp. 56f. Nevertheless, I shall give my own transliteration of the relevant lines in standard style in order to discuss their details.

7'.	[.....	*ša* URU *Ha*]*b-ru-ri*	*a-na* KUR *Me-li-di*
8'.	[.....	*ša* URU] *Ni-nu-a*	*a-na* KUR *Nam-ri*
9'.	[*Yahalu*	LÚ].AGRIG	*a-na* KUR *Qu-e*
10'.	[.....	*ša* URU *Ki*]*li*(KAK)-*zi*	*a-na* KUR *Qu-e*
11'.	[.....	..... *a*]*-na* KUR *Qu-e*	DINGIR GAL TA URU *De-ri it-tal-ka*
12'.	[.....	*ša* URU *I*]-˹*sa*˺-*na*	*a-na* KUR *Ur-ar-ṭi*
13'.	[.....	*ša* URU *Kal*]*-hi*	*a-na* KUR *Un-qi*
14'.	[.....	*ša* URU *Arrap*]*-ha*	*a-na* KUR *Ul-lu-ba*
15'.	[.....	.....]	*a-na* KUR *Man-na-a-a*
16'.	[.....	.....]	*si-hu*
17'.	[.....	.....]	*si-hu*
18'.	[.....	.....]	*si-hu*

(the following lines are omitted)

STT 46+348, obv. 1–18

1.	[.....	.....]	[*ina* KUR] ˹*e*˺-*re-na*
2.	[.....	.....]	[*ina*] URU ˹*Qu*˺-*u-e*
3.	[.....	.....]	[*ina* URU] ˹*Mala*˺-*hi*
4.	^{m}*x x* (*Ninurta?*)-[*ilāya*	*ša Ahizuhina*]	[*ina* URU] ˹*Da*˺-*na*-˹*bi*˺
5.	^{m}[*Qur*]-˹*di?*˺-[*Aššur*	*ša Raqmat*]	*ina* KUR [*Ta*]-*b*[*a*]-˹*li*˺
6.	[*Šēp-šarri*	*ša Habruri*]	*ina* ˹URU˺ *Me*-˹*li*˺-˹*di*˺
7.	[*Nergal-mudammiq*	*ša Ninua*]	˹*ina*˺ ˹KUR˺ [*Nam*]-˹*ri*˺
8.	[*Yahalu*	*masennu*]	[.....]
9.	^{m}IT[I.K]IN-˹*a*˺-[*a*	*ša Kilizi*]	[.....]
10.	^{m}M[AN]-*hat-t*[*i*]*-be-*[*el*	.....]	[.....][129]
11.	^{md}U.GUR-DINGIR-˹*a*˺-[*a ša Isana*]		[*ina* KUR *Ur*]-*á*[*r-ṭi*]
12.	^{m}[*Hubaya*	*ša Kalhi*]	[...] *U*[*n*]*.?*-[*q*]*i*
13.	[*Ilu-mukīn-ahi*	*ša Arrapha*]	[*ina*] *x* [*Ul-l*]*u*-˹*ba*˺
14.	[*Šulmānu-ašarēdu*	*šar*]	KUR *Aš+šur*
15.	[.....	.....]	[*ina* KUR *Man-n*]*a-a-a*
16.	[*Dayyān-Aššur*	.....]	[.....]
17.	[*Aššur-bunāya-uṣur*	.....]	˹*si*˺-[*hi*]
18.	[^{m}*I*]*a-ha-*[*lu/ li*	.....]	˹*si*˺-[*hi*]

(the following lines are omitted)

Studying Rm. 2, 97, E. Forrer suggested restoring the broken name of the holder of the title [LÚ].AGRIG = *masennu*[130] (l. 9' = Forrer's

[129] Millard's reading *q*[*u*] in this line seems to be a slip; no such trace appears here. He probably read the trace of U[B] in l. 11 twice, once for *q*[*u*] of *Q*[*u-e*] (mistake) and then *á*[*r*] of [*ina* KUR *Ur*]-*á*[*r-ṭi*] (correct!). This was perhaps the result of the excessively low placement (by a space of one line) of the fragment SU 52/333 in the copy (Millard, *Eponyms*, pl. 19 [reproduction of *STT*]), which probably misled Millard into reading the trace in question, for the first time, as the continuation of the year of the eponym Sharru-hatti-ipel (l. 10) instead of that of Nergal-ilaya (l. 11).

[130] The title has conventionally been transcribed as *abarakku* (cf. *CAD* A, I,

l. 8) as Yahalu, who is known from an inscription of Shalmaneser III (*KAH* 1, 28, ll. 14–16 [colophon]) to have held the title LÚ.AGRIG GAL-*ú* during the king's reign.[131] Using the result of this restoration—*limmu* Yahalu (Year 26, 833) = the year of the campaign against Que—as his anchor-point, he first proposed correlating the information of Rm. 2, 97, ll. 2'ff. with the row of the *limmu*s known from other copies of eponym lists.[132] Now, however, additional anchor-points may be found in *STT* 46+348. In l. 14, divided by lines from the preceding and following parts, we can safely restore the name and title of the king, the *limmu* holder of Year 32 (827), and subsequently take the next line to be devoted to the military target of this year, [Mann]ai. Furthermore, the second *limmu* of [Y]aha[lu], in l. 18, should definitely be assigned to Year 35 (824), the last year of Shalmaneser's reign. These and the three names of *limmu*s restored on the left side of ll. 9–11, *U*[*lū*]*lā*[*ya*], *Šar*[*ru*]-*hatt*[*i*]-⟨*i*⟩*bē*[*l*] and *Nergal-ilā*[*ya*], enable us to correlate this text and Rm. 2, 97 with the well established line of *limmu*s; thus the presentation of the chronology of the king's military campaigns from Year 18 (841) onwards, as follows:

YEAR/Eponym (limmu)	*Rm. 2, 97 (obv. 1'–18')*	*STT 46+ (obv. 1–18)*
Year 18 (841) [*Adad-rēmanni*]	1'. [*a-na* KUR *Di-maš-q*]*a*	not preserved
Year 19 (840) [*Šamaš-abūa*]	2'. [*a-na* KUR GIŠ.E]RIN	1. [*ina* KUR] ⌜*e*⌝-*re-na*
Year 20 (839) [*Šulmu-bēli-amur*]	3'. *a*-[*na* KUR *Qu*]-*e*	2. [*ina*] URU ⌜*Qu*⌝-*u-e*
Year 21 (838) [*Ninurta-kibsi-uṣur*]	4'. *a-na* ⌜KUR⌝ ⌜*Ma*⌝-⌜*la*⌝-*hi*	3. [*ina* URU] ⌜*Mala*⌝-*hi*
Year 22 (837) [*Ninurta-ilāya*]	5'. *a-na* KUR *Da-na-bi*	4. [*ina* URU] ⌜*Da*⌝-*na*-⌜*bi*⌝
Year 23 (836) [*Qurdi-Aššur*]	6'. *a-na* KUR *Ta-ba-li*	5. *ina* KUR [*Ta*]-*b*[*a*]-⌜*li*⌝
Year 24 (835) [*Šēp-šarri*]	7'. *a-na* KUR *Me-li-di*	6. *ina* ⌜URU⌝ *Me*-⌜*li*⌝-⌜*di*⌝
Year 25 (834) [*Nergal-mudammiq*]	8'. *a-na* KUR *Nam-ri*	7. ⌜*ina*⌝ ⌜KUR⌝ [*Nam*]-⌜*ri*⌝
Year 26 (833) [*Yahalu*]	9'. *a-na* KUR *Qu-e*	8. [.....]

p. 35a), but an Aramaic epigraph has shown that the title of a post-canonical eponym, Dadi, the LÚ.AGRIG (see M. Falkner, *AfO* 17 [1954/56], p. 103) was read as *mś/šn*, i.e., *mas/šennu* (E. Lipiński, in J. Harmatta and G. Komoróczy [eds.], *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien*, p. 383). See further *CAD*, M/I, pp. 363f. (*s.v. mašennu*), and R.M. Whiting in Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 7, n. 14.

[131] Forrer, *MVAG* 20/3 (1916), pp. 10f. In addition to *KAH* 1, 28 (= RIMA 3, A.0.102.42 [with additional exemplars]), the fact that Yahalu held this title in the time of Shalmaneser III is also known from the text of his cube-shaped lot (*pūru*), YOS 9, no. 73 (cf. Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 8 with bibliography; see also my discussion of the text in Appendix B).

[132] This was followed by Ungnad (*RlA* 2, p. 433); cf. also Reade (*ZA* 68, pp. 251–254) and Millard (*Eponyms*, p. 57). Grayson rejected this anchor-point and suggested his own chronology of Shalmaneser's campaigns (*BiOr* 33 [1976], pp. 140f.). However, his conclusion is unlikely, since it leaves several of the discrepancies between the Eponym Chronicle and the Annals (see below) unexplained.

Table (*cont.*)

YEAR/Eponym (limmu)	*Rm. 2, 97 (obv. 1'–18')*	*STT 46+ (obv. 1–18)*
Year 27 (832) *U[lū]lā[ya]*	10'. *a-na* KUR *Qu-e*	9. [.....]
Year 28 (831) *Šar[ru]-hatt[i]-(i)bē[l]*	11'. [*a*]-*na* KUR *Qu-e*	10. [.....]
	DINGIR GAL TA URU *De-ri it-tal-ka*[133]	
Year 29 (830) *Nergal-ilā[ya]*	12'. *a-na* KUR *Ur-ar-ṭi*	11. [*ina* KUR *Ur*]-*á*[*r-ṭi*]
Year 30 (829) [*Hubaya*]	13'. *a-na* KUR *Un-qi*	12. [...] *U*[*n*]*?*-[*q*]*i*
Year 31 (828) [*Ilu-mukīn-ahi*]	14'. *a-na* KUR *Ul-lu-ba*	13. [*ina*] *x* [*Ul-l*]*u-*⌜*ba*⌝
Year 32 (827) [*Šulmānu-ašarēdu*]	15'. *a-na* KUR *Man-na-a-a*	15f. [*ina* KUR *Man-n*]*a-a-a*
Year 33 (826) [*Dayyān-Aššur*]	16'. *si-hu*	16. [.....]
Year 34 (825) [*Aššur-būnāya-uṣur*]	17'. *si-hu*	17. ⌜*si*⌝-[*hi*]
Year 35 (824) [*Y*]*aha*[*lu*]	18'. *si-hu*	18. ⌜*si*⌝-[*hi*]

As noted at the beginning, however, several problems are encountered when we try to correlate the data of the Eponym Chronicle with the main military targets given in the account of the Annals, from the 18th to the 31st *palû*s.[134] The two sources can be contrasted as follows:

Eponym Chronicle	*Annals*	
Year 18 (841) Damascus ([*di-maš-q*]*a*)	18th *palû*	Damascus
Year 19 (840) Cedar mountain	19th *palû*	Mt. Amanus
Year 20 (839) Que	20th *palû*	Que
Year 21 (838) Malahi	21st *palû*	Damascus
Year 22 (837) Danabi	22nd *palû*	Tabal
Year 23 (836) Tabal	23rd *palû*	Melid
Year 24 (835) Melid	24th *palû*	Namri
Year 25 (834) Namri	25th *palû*	Que
Year 26 (833) Que	26th *palû*	Que ("the fourth time")
Year 27 (832) Que	27th *palû*	Urartu
Year 28 (831) Que; Der(?)	28th *palû*	Patin (= Unqi)[135]
Year 29 (830) Urartu	29th *palû*	Habhu (including Ulluba)[136]
Year 30 (829) Unqi	30th *palû*	Mannai
Year 31 (828) Ulluba	31st *palû*	Parsua, Namri
Year 32 (827) Mannai		
Year 33 (826) rebel		
Year 34 (825) rebel		
Year 35 (824) rebel		

[133] "The Great God came from Der." For questions associated with this note, see Reade, *ZA* 68, pp. 255–260.

[134] The two latest versions, Ann. 13 (the Black Obelisk) and Ann. 14 (the Calah Statue), contain the account up to and including the 31st *palû*, and are especially relevant to the comparison with the Eponym Chronicle.

[135] For Patin/Unqi, see below, Part II, 1.2, n. 71.

[136] J.N. Postgate, *Sumer* 29 (1973), pp. 57f.

The military target of Year 18 in the Eponym Chronicle (Rm. 2, 98, l. 1') should probably be restored as [*Di-maš-q*]*a*,[137] in association with the 18th *palû* account of the Annals.[138] "The Cedar Mountain ([KUR] *erēna*)" of the Eponym Chronicle in Year 19 is definitely Mt. Amanus, where Shalmaneser cut cedar timber according to the 19th *palû* account of the Annals.[139] In the 20th *palû* of the Annals, Shalmaneser marched against Que, as noted in the Eponym Chronicle in Year 20.[140] Therefore, the correspondence between the Years 18–20 of the Eponym Chronicle and the 18th–20th *palû*s of the Annals is complete. The discrepancies between the Eponym Chronicle and the Annals start with Year 21.

Forrer was the first to point out that one year is missing from the Annals in the period covered by Years 21 and 22.[141] After the publication of *STT* 46+348, Reade succeeded in deciphering the military target of Year 21 as Malahi,[142] which is known from a booty inscription of Shalmaneser III (Misc. 2) as a city belonging to Aram-Damascus. Furthermore, both this Malahi, mentioned in Year 21, and the Danabi mentioned in Year 22 in the Eponym Chronicle appear in the 21st *palû* account of Annals 14, as seen in the new edition, RIMA 3, A.0.101.16.[143] It thus seems, as Reade has already suggested, that the two years of military engagements with Aram-Damascus—one recorded in the Eponym Chronicle as "against Malahi" (Year 21) and the other as "against Danabi" (Year 22)—are conflated in the 21st *palû* of the Annals.[144]

There is a clear correspondence between Years 23–32 of the Eponym Chronicle and the 22nd–30th *palû*s of the Annals, except that the Annals register only two successive Que campaigns (the 25th and 26th *palû*s) as against the chronicle's three (Years 26–28). Sig-

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[137] A new restoration. The damaged sign in Rm. 2. 97, obv. 1' should probably be interpreted as the surviving trace of QA; a long vertical on the right end and a horizontal, its tail reaching the lower point of the vertical, have survived.

[138] See below Part II, 12.1–2.

[139] See below, Part II, 13.1–2.

[140] For this campaign, see below, Part II, 14.1–2.

[141] Forrer, *MVAG* 20/3 (1915), p. 11; cf. Reade, *ZA* 68, p. 254.

[142] *ZA* 68, pp. 251–254; cf. Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 29. Thus, "Qummuhi" and "Suhi", previously suggested by A.T. Olmstead (*JAOS* 34 [1915], p. 353) and by E. Forrer (*MVAG* 20/3, p. 11) respectively, must be dismissed.

[143] See below, Part II, 4.15.

[144] Reade, *ZA* 68, p. 254.

nificantly enough, however, it is stated in the 26th *palû* account of the Annals: "I went to the towns of Kate of Que for the fourth time". Forrer, while aware of this statement, proposed that Rm. 2, 97, ll. 10'–11' (his ll. 9–10) deals with the third and fourth campaigns which were undertaken in a single year, Year 27 (832).[145] This proposal, however, became untenable with the publication of *STT* 46+328, since the combination of this new text and Rm. 2, 97 shows that three *limmu*s must certainly be assigned to the three successive campaigns of Que (see above). Therefore, we should once more conclude with Reade that one Que campaign has either been omitted altogether or has been amalgamated with another.[146] It would not be too far-fetched to go one step further and assign the 26th *palû* account specifically to the fourth campaign against Que in Year 28, which followed the preceding ones in Years 20, 26 and 27. Accordingly, in the annals, either one of the campaigns of Years 26 and 27 has been omitted, or these two campaigns have been somehow conflated into the single account of the 25th *palû*.[147]

The last campaign account of the Annals, i.e. the 31st *palû* account of the Parsua/Namri campaign, must be assigned to Year 33, the first year of the rebellion in the Eponym Chronicle.[148] It thus appears that the rebellion broke out after the Parsua/Namri campaign, but still within the same year.

The chronology of Shalmaneser's campaigns, worked out from this examination of the texts, may be summarized as follows:

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[145] Forrer, *MVAG* 20/3, pp. 13f. (erroneously 833); cf. the modification of Ungnad (*RlA* 2, p. 433). Forrer's presentation "834 Shep-sharri, 835 Qurdi-Ashur, 836 Ninib-ilaia" (p. 11), is apparently a slip caused by failing to count l. 8' (Forrer's l. 7), which should be assigned to Nergal-mudammiq (834). Thus, the given years are to be corrected to 835, 836 and 837, respectively. This error subsequently misled him to assign "Jahr nach Namri" to "Jahr nach Mannai", one year too high, to 835–829, instead of 834–828 (pp. 12f.). These errors were corrected by Ungnad.

[146] Reade, *ZA* 68, p. 253.

[147] Cf. Reade, *ZA* 68, p. 253. An alternative solution, eliminating the Que campaign of 831 (Year 28) but retaining the Der entry for this year, is less likely, as noted by Reade.

[148] Reade, *ZA* 68, pp. 253f.

Table 4: *Chronology of Shalmaneser III's Campaigns*

Regnal Year (absolute date)	*Eponym*	*Main military target(s)*	palû *dating in the Annals*
Year 0 (859)	Tab-belu	Hubushkia, Urartu	*šurrât šarrūtīya*
Year 1 (858)	Sharru-balti-nishi	Mediterranean Sea	*palû* 1
Year 2 (857)	Shalmaneser (III)	Bit-Adini, Carchemish	*palû* 2
Year 3 (856)	Ashur-belu-ka'in	Bit-Adini, Urartu	*palû* 3
Year 4 (855)	Ashur-bunaya-uṣur	Bit-Adini; Mazamua	*palû* 4
Year 5 (854)	Abi-ina-ekalli-lilbur	Shubria	*palû* 5
Year 6 (853)	Dayyan-Ashur	Hamath	*palû* 6
Year 7 (852)	Shamash-abua	Til-abne, Tigris source	*palû* 7
Year 8 (851)	Shamash-belu-uṣur	Babylonia	*palû* 8
Year 9 (850)	Bel-bunaya	Babylonia	*palû* 9
Year 10 (849)	Hadi-lipushu	Carchemish, Bit-Agusi	*palû* 10
Year 11 (848)	Nergal-alik-pani	Hamath	*palû* 11
Year 12 (847)	Bur-Ramman	Paqarhubuni	*palû* 12
Year 13 (846)	Ninurta-mukin-nishi	Matyati	*palû* 13
Year 14 (845)	Ninurta-nadin-shumi	Central Syria	*palû* 14
Year 15 (844)	Ashur-bunaya	Nairi, Euphrates source	*palû* 15
Year 16 (843)	Tab-Ninurta	Namri	*palû* 16
Year 17 (842)	Taklak-ana-sharri	Mt. Amanus	*palû* 17
Year 18 (841)	Adad-remanni	Damascus	*palû* 18
Year 19 (840)	Shamash-abua	Cedar Mountain/Mt. Amanus	*palû* 19
Year 20 (839)	Shulmu-beli-lamur	Que	*palû* 20
Year 21 (838)	Ninurta-kibsi-uṣur	Malahi/Damascus	*palû* 21
Year 22 (837)	Ninurta-ilaya	Danabi/Damascus	*palû* 21
Year 23 (836)	Qurdi-Ashur	Tabal	*palû* 22
Year 24 (835)	Shep-sharri	Melid	*palû* 23
Year 25 (834)	Nergal-mudammiq	Namri	*palû* 24
Year 26 (833)	Yahalu	Que	*palû* 25 or omitted
Year 27 (832)	Ululaya	Que	*palû* 25 or omitted
Year 28 (831)	Sharru-hatti-ipel	Que; Der(?)	*palû* 26
Year 29 (830)	Nergal-ilaya	Urartu	*palû* 27
Year 30 (829)	Hubayu	Unqi/Patin	*palû* 28
Year 31 (828)	Ilu-mukin-ahi	Ulluba/Habhu	*palû* 29
Year 32 (827)	Shalmaneser	Mannai	*palû* 30
Year 33 (826)	Dayyan-Ashur	Parsua, Namri; rebellion	*palû* 31
Year 34 (825)	Ashur-bunaya-uṣur	rebellion	—
Year 35 (824)	Yahalu	rebellion; (the death of the king)	—

Finally, some comments on the concept of the *palû* are due. The term *palû*, as well as its Sumerian counterpart BALA, originally meant "term of office (*turnus*)", and is attested in the Old Babylonian period as meaning "period of reign, dynasty".[149] It was first used in the sense of "a year of reign", i.e. as a synonym of *šattu*/MU, in Assyrian

[149] H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 26; *AHw*, p. 817.

royal inscriptions.[150] Thus, *palû* in Shalmaneser's texts can usually be translated as "the regnal year", especially in the formula: *ina x palêya*. I believe, however, that the term, which was originally a non-calendaric concept signifying "*turnus*", rather than "year", may have led to chronological manipulation and/or confusion.

The preservation of an exact correlation between the regnal year and the *palû* was apparently the essential plan in the editions of Shalmaneser's Annals, especially in the versions of the 16 and 20 Year Annals (Ann. 5 and 7). The editor(s) seem to have made a conscious effort to present every year without interruption. This may be observed in the accounts of the 17th and 19th *palû*s (see below, Part II, 11 and 13), in which the editor(s), finding no military achievement to report, filled up the account with a report on timber-cutting and a royal hunt.[151] In the inscriptions of Shalmaneser's predecessors, such a detail would have been placed in a special section at the end of the inscription, rather than in the main body of the text.[152] Yet, some time later, when an editor was faced with the successive years of war against Aram-Damascus and with those against Que, he failed to respect this principle and twice conflated two years into a single *palû*, or suppressed one of them, apparently employing the term in the sense of a *turnus*, rather than of a regnal year.[153] Consequently, a defective chronology was created in the later versions of the annals, as seen in Annals 13 and 14.[154]

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[150] *Ibid.*, pp. 26–30.

[151] Schneider, *New Analysis*, p. 87; M. de Odorico, *Numbers*, p. 164. However, de Odorico's claim that one of the accounts of the 17th and 19th *palû*s was an invention for the sole purpose of completing the narrative of every *palû* seems unlikely (see below, Part II, 11.2, n. 375).

[152] For example, Tiglath-pileser I: RIMA 2, A.0.87.1, vi 58–vii 27; Ashur-bel-kala: RIMA 2, A.0.89.2, iii 29'–35'; A.0.89.7, iv 1–34a; Ashur-dan II: RIMA 2, A.0.98.1, ll. 68–72; Adad-nerari II: A.0.99.2, ll. 122–127; Tukulti-Ninurta II, A.0.100.3, r. 5'–6'; A.0.100.5, ll. 134f.

[153] Other examples of the loose usage of *palû* in annalistic texts appear in the texts of other Assyrian rulers. The Nineveh prisms of Sargon II use dates one *palû* earlier than the annals (Tadmor, *JCS* 12, pp. 22–40 and 77–100; cf. M. Ford, *JCS* 22 [1968/9], pp. 83f. [now see also Fuchs, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr.*, esp. pp. 81–96]); in the annals of Tiglath-pileser III, the *palû* is counted not from the first full year of the reign but from the accession year (Tadmor, *ibid.*, p. 30 and now his *ITP*, p. 232). See above, 1.2.1 (under Ann. 1) for the possibility that the notion *mahrê palêya* means a period longer than one year, covering both the accession year and the first regnal year.

[154] This defect was probably not noticed by the editor(s) of these texts, who believed that there was an exact correspondence between the *palû* and the regnal year. For this, see below, Appendix B.

3. *The Western Frontier of Assyria before Shalmaneser III's Accession*

In his accession year (859), Shalmaneser III undertook his first campaign to the north-eastern border of his kingdom. He conquered the cities of Aridi and Hubushkia, strengthened the border with Urartu by attacking its fortress Sugunia, and reached the "Sea of Nairi", probably Lake Urmia.[155] The Annals of the king do not provide the exact date of his enthronement. Nevertheless, it is beyond any doubt that his reign started early in the calendar year (which begins with the month Nisan, i.e. March–April, 859), since he was able to march to the mountainous region within that year and to return before the start of the snowy winter.[156] After this first expedition, Shalmaneser, leaving the north-eastern border, turned his face to the west, the main target of the ambitious military expeditions undertaken annually from his first regnal year (858) onwards. Before discussing Shalmaneser's western campaigns, I shall briefly review the situation on the western frontier of Assyria in the centuries before his reign.

Following the decline of the Middle Assyrian Empire (c. 1300–1200 B.C.), Assyria experienced a period of territorial recession. Especially after the reign of Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1047), former Assyrian territory was rapidly lost to incursive Aramaean tribes which built up their states throughout most of northern Mesopotamia and Syria. From the end of the tenth century B.C. onwards, however, the Assyrian kings, predecessors of Shalmaneser III, began to reconquer the lands lost by Assyria, with the clear consciousness that they were recovering the former "Land of Ashur". Assyria thus gradually regained control of the roads to the west.[157]

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[155] Ann. 1, obv. 15–42; Ann. 2, ll. 14–40; Ann. 3, i 14–29. Cf. also Ann. 5, i 28–41; Ann. 7, i 19–23; Ann. 8, obv. 13'–18'; Ann. 11, ll. 22–26, Ann. 13, ll. 22–26; Ann. 14, ll. 6–8; Summ. 6, ll. 10–18. For the identification of the "Sea of Nairi" here with Lake Urmia, see below, Part IV, 1.1, Case 1.

[156] A.T. Olmstead suggested that Shalmaneser III visited Babylonia and sacrificed to the god Marduk in Babylon in his accession year (*AJSL* 37 [1920/21], p. 217; *JAOS* 41 [1921], pp. 349f.; *History of Assyria*, p. 121). This suggestion must be dismissed, since it is based on the incorrect reading of the date of the clay cone Ass. 5999 (an exemplar of our Summ. 17). See J.A. Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 191f., n. 1176; cf. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 84 (c).

[157] A new theoretical analysis of the process of Assyrian growth in the relevant period has been made by M. Liverani (*SAAB* 2 [1988], pp. 81–98). Studying, in

The central road which connects the Assyrian heartland to Syria starts at its eastern end with the crossing of the Tigris near Nineveh, continues across the land of Kadmuhu on the piedmont south of Kashiyari, the upper Habur and upper Balih regions, and finally reaches the crossing of the Euphrates near Carchemish.

The land of Kadmuhu, located to the west of the crossing of the Tigris,[158] had been annexed by Adad-nerari II (911–891).[159] The reinforcement of Assyrian control of this area is illustrated by the construction of a palace in 879 by Ashurnasirpal II (883–859), father of Shalmaneser III, at Tiluli, an administrative centre of this region.[160]

Further to the west, Adad-nerari II repeatedly attacked the upper Habur region, known as the land of Hanigalbat; he succeeded in reducing its capital Naṣibina (Nusaibin) and annexed it.[161] The later Assyrian hold on this city is proved by the attestation of the Assyrian governor of Naṣibina as the eponym of 852,[162] which shows that by that time the city had been integrated into the Assyrian provincial organization. Adad-nerari II also reduced the kingdom of Bit-Bahian, with its centres Guzana (Tell Halaf) and Sikanu (Tell Fekherye), to a tributary vassal state.[163] Bit-Bahian remained an Assyrian vassal state and regular tributary during the reign of Ashurnasirpal II.[164] The fact that Bit-Bahian is not mentioned at all in the account of Shalmaneser III's western campaigns may reflect the firm Assyrian hold over its territory, whether or not the local dynasty of Bit-Bahian survived during the last days of Ashurnasirpal II and the reign of Shalmaneser III.[165]

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particular, the Assyrian campaigns to the Habur and Middle Euphrates area in the ninth century B.C., Liverani argued that the essence of Assyrian growth was the thickening of the network of Assyrian outposts rather than the expansion of land directly ruled by Assyria. Although Liverani has aptly emphasized the significant aspect of Assyrian dominion over foreign lands, his discussion may have unduly downplayed the co-existence of those two forms of expansion as J.N. Postgate commented (*World Archaeology* 23/3 [1991], pp. 255f.). See also the discussion below, Part V, 1.

[158] For the location of Kadmuhu, see A.K. Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 143f.; cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 29f. and bibliography cited there.

[159] RIMA 2, A.0.99.2, l. 26.

[160] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, ii 87.

[161] RIMA 2, A.0.99.2., ll. 39–104; esp. ll. 62–79 for the reduction of Naṣibina.

[162] Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 27 and 56 (Shamash-abua).

[163] RIMA 2, A.0.99.2., ll. 100–104.

[164] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1., ii. 21–23 and iii 57f.; it also offered military units.

[165] For the view that Guzana was annexed to Assyria at the end of Ashurnasirpal

In the upper Balih region, the city of Huzirina (Sultantepe) was captured by Adad-nerari II,[166] and by the time of Ashurnasirpal II had become an Assyrian centre where tribute was collected from the kingdoms of (A/I)zalla and Assha, the cities of Qipani—all lying within the great bend of the Euphrates—and from the kingdom of Kummuh (classical Kommagene, modern Samsat) beyond the river.[167] Til-abne, apparently located north of the central road between the Balih and the Euphrates, preserved its independence in the time of Ashurnasirpal II but became a regular tributary of Assyria,[168] and the nearby city of Sarug (Saruj) also paid tribute (see below). The status of Harran, later the Assyrian administrative centre of the region, is unclear in this period.[169] However, if we believe the later statements of Ashurbanipal and Nabonidus that Shalmaneser (III) built the temple Ehulhul at Harran,[170] it would seem that the city, which is not mentioned at all in Shalmaneser's texts, fell under Assyrian control before his accession, probably in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II.[171]

In the reigns of Shalmaneser's predecessors, the Aramaean state of Bit-Adini exerted its influence over the large area between the Balih and Euphrates rivers and kept possession of the vital crossing of the Euphrates at the western end of the central road connecting Assyria and Syria. Adad-nerari II was the first Assyrian king to receive tribute from Bit-Adini, when he captured the city of Huzirina (see above). In the reign of Ashurnasirpal II, conflict developed

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II's reign, see H. Tadmor, in *Unity and Diversity*, p. 39, n. 27. If Shamash/Sas-nuri, the father of the donor of the statue bearing an Aramaic-Akkadian bilingual inscription from Tell Fekherye (= ancient Sikani), is identified, as suggested, with the namesake of the Assyrian eponym of 866, this would provide evidence showing that Shamash/Sas-nuri was the governor of the Assyrian province Guzana in the reign of Ashurnasirpal II (A. Abou-Assaf, P. Bordreuil and A. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*, pp. 103ff.).

[166] RIMA 2, A.0.99.2., ll. 45f.

[167] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 93–96. For the location of (A/I)zalla, Assha and Qipani, see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 34f. and 81f.

[168] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 55 and 63f.; for the location of Til-abne, see below, Part II, 1.2 and 6.2.

[169] The earliest NA attestation of Harran is the stela of Bel-luballit (eponym 814) (W. Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 44) in which his titles include *turtānu* and governor of Harran.

[170] M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, p. 170, ll. 37f.; S. Langdon, *NBK*, p. 222, ii 3f.

[171] So J.E. Reade, *SAAB* 3 (1989), p. 96. J.N. Postgate, however, thinks that Harran was incorporated into the Assyrian empire under Shalmaneser III (*RlA* 4, p. 123).

between Assyria and Bit-Adini because of the latter's involvement in the two revolts which took place in the land of Laqe on the middle Euphrates. In the first revolt, in 883, Ashurnasirpal II removed Ahi-yababa, a usurper who had come from Bit-Adini and had been installed as king of the rebellious city of Suru, and appointed his own governor.[172] At least six years later, when the Assyrian king suppressed the second revolt of Laqe, he destroyed Dummetu and Azmu, two cities of Bit-Adini located along the Euphrates to the west of the land of Laqe, and founded two Assyrian cities, Kar-Ashurnasirpal and Nibarti-Ashur, one on each bank of the river.[173] This may have opened up the way through the northern fringe of the Syrian desert directly to central Syria, although the use of this road is not attested in the military accounts of any Assyrian ruler.[174] In the following campaign to the west, Ashurnasirpal II attacked and destroyed Kaprabi, a fortified city of Bit-Adini, probably located somewhere on its eastern border close to the Balih river.[175] Ahuni of Bit-Adini, as well as Habinu of Til-abne, responded by sending tribute to the Assyrian monarch. Later, when Ashurnasirpal II undertook his Mediterranean campaign, Ahuni paid tribute, delivered hostages and military units and allowed the Assyrian army to cross his territory.[176] Although the Annals are silent, it is likely that there were other military activities against Bit-Adini before the Mediterranean campaign (see below). To sum up, Ashurnasirpal II halted the expansion of Bit-Adini eastwards and reinforced Assyrian control over the regions bordering the territory of Bit-Adini, both on the middle Euphrates west of Laqe and along the central road passing the upper Balih to the Euphrates.

Another, though less popular, way to the west was the northern road which crosses the upper Tigris basin and continues to the upper Euphrates in the direction of Melid (Malatia), or to its southern crossing at the point facing Kummuh. In the upper Tigris basin, known by the generic term "the land of Nairi", Ashurnasirpal II used three

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[172] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 74–99.

[173] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 26–50. For the historical geography, see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 69–72.

[174] For S. Parpola's proposal that Shalmaneser III used this route in 838, and my criticism of this view, see below in Part III, 3, n. 56.

[175] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 50–55. For the location of Kaprabi, see Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 72, n. 332.

[176] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 60–63.

campaigns to re-impose his control over the former Assyrian cities Tushhan, Damdammusa, Udu, Shura, Sinabu and Tidu.[177] The existence of Assyrian provincial government at Tushhan is also confirmed by the fact that Ishtar-emuqaya—the governor of Tushhan, as known from his stela in the city of Ashur (Andrae, *Stelenreihen*, no. 99)—held the eponym office in 867.[178] Ashurnasirpal II's control of this region is further supported by the discovery of his monolith at Kurkh, which should probably be identified with ancient Tidu.[179] Around these Assyrian cities, states such as Bit-Zamani, Shubre, Nirdun and Urumu/Nirbu remained independent but paid tribute and rendered corvée to Ashurnasirpal II. However, Bit-Zamani continued to resist Assyria.[180] Its capital Amedu (Diyarbakir) was besieged, but its capture was not recorded in the Annals. The Assyrians, however, must eventually have succeeded in conquering Bit-Zamani, since Shalmaneser III seems to have been in full control of this kingdom, whence his expeditions to the upper Euphrates started out.[181] Furthermore, Ashurnasirpal II converted Mallanu (in Arqania [modern Ergani] into an Assyrian outpost and placed his governor over the land of Habhu, located between Bit-Zamani and the upper Euphrates;[182] he thus secured access to the upper Euphrates.

As stated above, in one of his campaigns Ashurnasirpal II advanced far into northern Syria to reach the Mediterranean Sea, far beyond the traditional western border of Assyria.[183] In this Mediterranean campaign, the states around the Euphrates—Bit-Adini, Til-abne and

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[177] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 (Annals), i 99–ii 23, ii 86–135; iii 92–113; A.0.101.19 (Kurkh Monolith), ll. 27–103. For the description of the second Nairi campaign of 879, the account of the Kurkh Monolith is more detailed than that of the Annals (ii 86–135).

[178] E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 33; Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 26, 56 and 97.

[179] J. Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, no. 135; for its text, see RIMA 2, A.0.101.19. For the identification of Kurkh with Tidu, see above, 1.2.1 under Ann. 3, esp. n. 12.

[180] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1 (Annals), ii 118–125, iii 105–109; A.0.101.19 (Kurkh Monolith), ll. 86–97.

[181] As noted by Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 113. The later military achievement of Ashurnasirpal II in Bit-Zamani is probably reflected in the Banquet Stela, which mentions the settling of the deportees from this state (RIMA 2, A.0.101.30, ll. 33–36).

[182] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 101–104. For the location of Habhu and Mallanu, see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 82f. and 84f.

[183] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 56–92. For the historical geography of this campaign, see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 73–80.

Carchemish—paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II and allowed the Assyrians to cross the river. Of the states west of the Euphrates, apart from Carchemish, Patin and Yahan offered tribute to Ashurnasirpal II when he passed in or near their territory. Bit-Adini, Carchemish and Patin also delivered hostages and military units. Ashurnasirpal II occupied Aribua, the southernmost fortified city of Patin, located on the road to the Mediterranean. He converted the city into an Assyrian outpost by settling Assyrians there, and used it to store the plunder taken from the nearby land of Luhutu.[184] Phoenician cities like Tyre, Sidon, Byblos and Arwad offered tribute when the king, taking "the way to the slopes of Mt. Lebanon", reached the Mediterranean coast.[185] To sum up, in this campaign the kingdoms of Syria unanimously allowed the Assyrians to march to the Mediterranean Sea and dutifully delivered their tribute. All of this may seem to have happened peacefully, apart from the plunder of Luhutu, as recorded in the Annals, but it does not reflect all aspects of the relations between Ashurnasirpal II and the Syrian states, as will shortly be demonstrated.

Additional significant data come from the partly published reliefs of the Balawat Bronze Bands of Ashurnasirpal II.[186] This evidence has been almost entirely neglected in previous studies, apparently because of the lack of a complete publication. Fortunately, the partial publication of these bands by L.W. King and subsequently by R.D. Barnett has recently been supplemented by the publication of all the band captions by Grayson in his RIMA 2, although many of the scenes depicted on the bands are still unpublished. Some of the reliefs on Ashurnasirpal II's bronze bands depict events which

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[184] For the location of Aribua (near modern Jisr esh-Shughur), see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 76f. with the bibliography cited there. Since no military confrontation with the king of Patin is mentioned, the city seems to have been taken with the consent of Lubarna, king of Patin (Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 115). However, as will be discussed below, the deportees were probably taken from the city when it was occupied, so that the operation was not particularly peaceful.

[185] Ashurnasirpal II apparently did not actually reach Mt. Lebanon, but probably arrived at the Mediterranean Sea in the Latakia region by passing Jebel Ansariye. For discussions of this problem, see K. Elliger, *FS Eissfeldt*, pp. 74f., nn. 18f.; Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 28, n. 1; Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 77.

[186] L.W. King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. LXXVIII–LXXX; R.D. Barnett, in *Symbolae Böhl*, pp. 19–22; idem, *Qadmoniot* 17 (1972), pp. 29–32; Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.51 (introduction) and A.0.101.80–97 (all the captions of the reliefs).

took place in Syria and the Euphrates region, i.e. the plunder/captives (*šallutu*) from Sangara of Hatti;[187] the battle at the city Marina of Bit-Adini; the tribute from the people of Sarug; and the conquest of the cities [R]ugulutu and Y[al]igu of Bit-Adini, and perhaps *Sa-[z]a-ba* of Hatti.[188] Rugulutu and (Y)aligu of Bit-Adini were the cities occupied by Shalmaneser III in his Year 3 campaign (see below, Part II, 3.2). Sazaba of Carchemish or Hatti, if correctly read, is apparently identical to Sazabe, which Shalmaneser conquered in his second regnal year (see below, Part II, 2.2). Marina of Bit-Adini should probably be equated with Burmar'ana, located east of the Euphrates and conquered by Shalmaneser in his first regnal year (Part II, 1.2).[189] Sarug, on the upper Balih, is also attested in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III as a city which brought him tribute (Part II, 1.2).

These pieces of evidence prove beyond any doubt that Ashurnasirpal II attacked some cities of Bit-Adini and Carchemish, which Shalmaneser III conquered and/or occupied later, although no recorded of this appears in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II. The variations that appear in Ashurnasirpal's titles in texts from Calah imply the existence of two stages in his western expeditions—one against "Carchemish of the land of Hatti" and the other against "Mt. Lebanon and the great sea"—as has been suggested by J.A. Brinkman.[190] It is disputed by scholars whether two campaigns, one to Carchemish and the other to the Mediterranean, are conflated in the account of the single Mediterranean campaign in the Annals, or the original account can be taken at face value.[191] In any case, one thing seems quite clear:

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[187] J.E. Reade interpreted the relief (Barnett, in *Symbolae Böhl*, the figure facing p. 22) as evidence of the capture of Sangara himself, identifying him as one of the naked captives (*Iraq* 47, p. 204). However, the caption, *šallutu ša* ^{m}*Sangara* ^{kur}*Hattāya* (RIMA 2, A.0.101.80), need not mean the capture of Sangara himself, as he survived as king; it probably refers to the taking of the booty and/or captives from him.

[188] Barnett, in *Symbolae Böhl*, 1973, pp. 19–22, esp. 21; and now Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, and 90. The caption A.0.101.90 may perhaps be read *sa-[z]a-ba* instead of *ú-[l]u-ba*, although the first sign does resemble U rather than SA (collated); the second sign is too badly worn to be identified as a specific sign.

[189] R. Zadok, in *NAG*, p. 277 (7.3.31); cf. idem, *NABU* 1996, no. 3, p. 70.

[190] Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 390–394; cf. Grayson, *BiOr* 33, p. 139; W. de Filippi, *Assur* 1/7 (1977), pp. 27–30; Reade, *Iraq* 47, pp. 204f.

[191] The hypothesis that the two campaigns are conflated in the account of the

Ashurnasirpal's Annals suppress, either by omission or by conflation, the details of one or several campaigns against Bit-Adini and Carchemish, probably during the period between 875–868 (inclusive) preceding the Mediterranean campaign assigned to 874–867. Thus, it would appear that the tribute of the north Syrian states in the Mediterranean campaign was offered after and as a direct result of the preceding military expedition(s) against Bit-Adini and Carchemish.

This picture is further reinforced by the Annals and several other texts which list the countries from which deportees came to populate the new capital of Calah.[192] The lists include the people of the lands of Bit-Adini and Hatti (i.e. Carchemish), and the people of Lubarna, king of Patin.[193] This implies that not only Bit-Adini and Carchemish but also Patin did experience some military confrontation with the army of Ashurnasirpal II. The most likely occasion of the deportation of the people of Patin is the conquest of Aribua during the Mediterranean campaign (see above). Although the Annals include no detail of the deportation from Aribua, it is plausible that Patinite inhabitants were carried off from there by the Assyrian occupiers.

Finally, another list on the Banquet Stela deserves our comments. The list of the countries of 5,000 envoys (*ṣīrāni* (LÚ.MAH.MEŠ) ^{lú}*šaprāte*), who were invited to the celebration banquet at Calah, includes the countries of the west, i.e. Patin, Hatti, Tyre, Sidon, Gurgum and Melid.[194] This proves that diplomatic relations existed between Assyria and these countries, including those never reached by Ashurnasirpal's army, such as the Phoenician cities of Tyre and Sidon, which brought tribute to the king at the Mediterranean coast (see above), and Gurgum and Melid, neither of which are attested at all in other inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II. This seems to have been a novel result of Ashurnasirpal II's advance into Syria.

Mediterranean campaign was proposed by Brinkman (*PKB*, pp. 390–394) and followed by Grayson, *BiOr* 33, p. 139. Schramm (*Einleitung*, pp. 27–29) argued against this, while defending the unity of the account; this view was followed by Hawkins (*CAH*, III/1, p. 388 with n. 135) and Liverani (*SAATA*, p. 73, n. 336 and p. 119 with n. 475). Cf. also de Filippi (*Assur* 1/7, pp. 27–30), who keeps the question open.

[192] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 133f. (// A.0.101.2, ll. 53–55; A.0101.23, ll. 15–17); A.0.101.30, ll. 33–36.

[193] The Banquet Stela (A.0.101.30, ll. 33–36) specifically mentions the city of [Ka]prabi instead of Bit-Adini.

[194] RIMA 2, A.0.101.30, ll. 143–147.

In short, Ashurnasirpal II probably marched several times against Syria, attacked the cities of Bit-Adini and Carchemish, took deportees and tribute from the north Syrian states and established an Assyrian outpost at Aribua in the far west. This situation apparently paved the way for his son Shalmaneser III to undertake further ambitious expeditions into the heart of Syria and south-eastern Anatolia.

PART II

HISTORICAL AND HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS OF THE WESTERN CAMPAIGN ACCOUNTS

Taking advantage of the preparations by his predecessor, Shalmaneser III embarked on his ambitious plan to invade the lands west of the Euphrates and to incorporate Syrian states into the Assyrian sphere of influence in a systematic fashion. Shalmaneser's almost annual western campaigns are dealt with in the various successive editions of his Annals (cf. above Part I, 1). Especially for the earlier part of the reign, we possess a large number of different accounts recording a single campaign, which sometimes sharply contradict each other. Thus, a thorough investigation of the king's military expeditions can only be achieved by scrutinizing the variations between these accounts. For this reason, especially for the campaigns up to and including Year 20, I will first discuss the textual variants and historiographical problems of each campaign, and will then investigate the historical details. Since a modern edition of all the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III has now been made available by A.K. Grayson in RIMA 3, the full Akkadian text under discussion will not be presented here; only a summary of the text and/or a partial transcription will be provided in order to help the reader to follow the discussion.

1. *The First Year (858): to the Mediterranean Sea*

1.1. *Accounts of the First Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

In his first regnal year (858), Shalmaneser undertook a campaign to the Mediterranean, apparently emulating his father, Ashurnasirpal II, who boasted of his Mediterranean campaign in his inscriptions (see Part I, 3).

The three earliest versions of the Annals preserve lengthy accounts of this campaign (Ann. 1 = the One Year Annals, obv. 42b–r. 46; Ann. 2 = the Two Year Annals, ll. 41–82'a; Ann. 3 = the Kurkh Monolith, i 29–ii 13). Though similar to each other, each of these

accounts exhibits some peculiarities. The accounts of Annals 1 and Annals 3 duplicate each other in the beginning, up to and including the lines relating the conquest of the city Alimush (i.e. Ann. 1, obv. 42b–r. 33a // Ann. 3, i 29–ii 5a). Typical of this common part is the often repeated itinerary formula, *ištu* GN1 *attumuš ana* GN2 *aqṭirib* "I departed from GN 1 (and) approached GN 2", which is attested in several royal inscriptions from the early ninth century.[1] The contents of this common part may be summarized as follows:

A) Date (month and day);[2] the king departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, traversed the mountains of Hasamu and Dihnunu.
B) The king approached La'la'te of Bit-Adini, destroyed the city, and departed from La'la'te.
C) The king approached Til-barsip, the stronghold (*āl dannūti*) of Ahuni, son of Adini, fought with Ahuni, defeated him, confined him in his city, and departed from Til-barsip.
D) The king approached the city Burmar'ana of Bit-Adini, besieged the city and conquered it. He received "in the course of his (lit. my) march (*ina mētaqtīya*)" the tribute of the cities Til-abne, Sarug and Immerina. He departed from Burmar'ana.
E) The king crossed the Euphrates and received the tribute of Kummuh.
F) The king approached the city of Paqarruhbuni (and) the trans-Euphrates cities of Bit-Adini, destroyed them, and departed from Paqarruhbuni.
G) The king approached the cities of Gurgum, received the tribute of Gurgum, and departed from there.
H) The king approached Lutibu, the stronghold of Hayanu of Sam'al, fought with the coalition of the kings of Sam'al, Patin, Bit-Adini and Carchemish, defeated them, and destroyed Hayanu's cities.
I) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)", the king erected his royal image at the source of the Saluara river at the foot of Mt. Amanus, and departed from the Amanus.

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[1] For references and discussion of such formulae in the inscriptions of Adad-nerari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnasirpal II, see A.K. Grayson, *Or.* 49 (1980), p. 165.

[2] The date is given only by month and day (Ayyaru, 13), without indicating the year by *limmu*. This phenomenon is related to the overall system of chronological indication used in the text, which has been discussed above in Part I, 1.2.1 under Ann. 1.

J) The king crossed the Orontes river, approached Alimush, the stronghold of Sapalulme of Patin, fought with the coalition of Patin, Bit-Adini, Carchemish, Sam'al, Que, Hiluka, Yasbuq and Yahan, defeated them and conquered Alimush.

The start of the account in Annals 2 is shorter (ll. 41–45), but then, after several fragmentary lines (ll. 46–52'), it almost duplicates Episodes H–J of Annals 1 (r. 9b–33a) and Annals 3 (i 41b–ii 5a).[3] This shows that the editor(s) of Annals 2 and Annals 3 used an earlier text such as Annals 1 up to the point of the conquest of Alimush; the editor of Annals 2 abridged its beginning,[4] whereas the editor of Annals 3 reproduced it exactly.

The beginning of the account of Annals 2 (ll. 41–45) differs from Annals 1 and Annals 3 in the following points: (1) Instead of giving the date and place of the departure and the following course of the campaign (Episode A), the account of Annals 2 opens with *ina šattimma šuāti* "in that very year"[5] and then presents the ultimate aim of the campaign: "I took the path to the Sea of the Setting Sun or (also called) the Sea of Amurru (*tâmti ša šulum* ^{d}*Šamši u tâmti ša māt Amurri*)".[6] (2) In Annals 2, the conquest of La'la'te (Episode B) and the tribute of Til-abne, Sarug and Immerina (Episode D [the second half]) are narrated in quick succession following the circumstantial phrase "in the course of my march (*ina mētaqtīya*)"; thus the episodes about Til-barsip and Burmara'na (Episodes C and D [the first half]) seem to be omitted in between; the contents of the tribute vary slightly from those of Annals 1 and Annals 3 (see n. 4).

After Episode J, the texts of Annals 1 (the One Year Annals) and Annals 3 (Kurkh) start diverging from each other. The continuation of Annals 1 (r. 33b–46) is more explicit than that of Annals 3 (ii 5b–13) (c. 130 words as against c. 100). The corresponding part of Annals 2 (the Two Year Annals, ll. 73'–81') is fragmentary but probably similar to Annals 3, as suggested by its length as well as by some preserved signs.[7] The continuation of Annals 1, r. 33b–46 can be summarized as follows:

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[3] The parallel part may have started in Ann. 2 at an earlier point somewhere after the crossing (Episode E). Note also that in Episode I, the account of Ann. 2 lacks the stereotyped phrase *ina ūmēšūma* as well as the statement preceding the erection of the royal image: *adlul narbût ilāni rabûti ša Aššur u Šamaš qurdīšunu ušāpi ana ṣāti* (Ann. 1, r. 21f. // Ann. 3, i 49).

[4] However, the contents of the tribute of Til-abne, Sarug and Immerina in Ann. 2 include items (tin and bronze) not found in those recorded in the account of Ann. 1 and Ann. 3. Cf. Part III, 2, Table 6, Incident. 4.

[5] For this reading, see above Part I, 1.2.1 under Ann. 2.

[6] For this double naming, see discussion below, 1.2, esp. pp. 100f.

[7] Preserved signs in ll. 73'–81' apparently correspond to Ann. 3, ii 5–12, but ⌜*aq-ṭi*⌝*-rib* in l. 78', if correctly read, is not found in the corresponding part of Ann. 3.

K) The king departed from Alimush, descended (*attarad*) to "the Sea of the Setting Sun", cleansed his weapons in the sea, made offering to the gods and set up his royal image on the sea shore.
L) "On his (lit. my) return from the Sea", the king climbed Mt. Amanus and cut timber.
M) The king climbed Mt. Atalur and set up his royal image at the side of the image of Anum-hirbe.
N) The king conquered Taya and Hazazu, the great cities (*māhāzī rabûti*) of the land of Patin, killed many people and took 4,600 captives; he departed from Hazazu.
O) The king approached Urime, stronghold of Lubarna of Patin, destroyed it, and set up a stela (*asumetta*) therein.
P) The king received the tribute of Bit-Agusi.
Q) The king carried off 22,000 people of the land of Hatti to the city of Ashur.

In this distinct part of Annals 1, the use of the standard itinerary formula: "I departed from GN 1 (and) approached GN 2 (*ištu* GN 1 *attumuš ana* GN 2 *aqṭirib*)" is slightly less frequent than in the preceding part. Nevertheless, the course of the campaign is still fairly well indicated. Thus, the campaign route is shown here unequivocally as: Alimush > the sea > Mt. Amanus, Mt. Atalur, the cities of Taya and Hazazu > the city of Urime > the city of Ashur. Though the itinerary formula is missing for a part of this sequence, i.e. between Mt. Amanus and Hazazu, there is no special reason, whether textual or geographical, to doubt the historical order of the entire sequence.

The continuation of Annals 3 (ii 5–13) may be summarized as follows:

K') The king conq[uered] the great cities (*māhāzī rabûti*) of Patin.
L') The king destroyed [the cities] of "the Upper [Sea] of Amurru or (also called) the Sea of the Setting Sun",[8] received the tribute of "the kings of the sea coast", marched victoriously on the coast, and set up his royal image on the coast.
M') The king climbed Mt. Amanus and cut timber.
N') The king went to Mt. Atalur and set up his royal image at the side of the image of Anum-hirbe.

[8] [*tâmdi*] *e-le-ni-te šá* KUR *A-mur-ri u tam-di* <(*ša*) SILIM>-*um* ^{d}*Šam-ši*. For this reading, see below, 1.2, esp. p. 100, n. 86.

O') The king (lit. "I") "de[parted] from the sea (*ištu tâmdi at*[*tumuš*])",[9] conquered Taya, Hazazu, Nulia and Butamu, the cities of Patin, killed 2,800 people and took 14,600 captives.
P') The king received the tribute of Bit-Agusi.

Unlike the counterpart of Annals 1, the itinerary formulae are almost entirely abandoned here, except for one enigmatic line "I de[parted] from the sea" (in Episode O'), which will be discussed below. Furthermore, the wording, the topics and their arrangement are notably different from those in Annals 1. Some topics dealt with in Annals 1, such as the cleansing of weapons in the sea (Episode K), the conquest of the city Urime and the related matters (Episode O), and the mass-deportation of the people of the land of Hatti (Episode Q) are absent from Annals 3. On the other hand, Annals 3 includes some details non-existent in Annals 1, i.e. the conquest of "the great cities" of Patin (Episode K'); the destruction of the [cities] on the sea coast and the receipt of tribute from the kings of the sea coast (Episode L'); two names of the destroyed Patinean cities, Nulia and Butamu (in addition to Taya and Hazazu, also mentioned in Annals 1) (Episode O'). Although the authenticity of the conquest of "the great cities" of Patin (Episode K') in this context is questionable (see below, 1.2), there is no reason to doubt the historicity of Episodes L' and O'. It thus appears that the distinctive part of Annals 3 was not only edited by changing the text of Annals 1 stylistically, but was also composed with the help of yet another source which has not survived.

The episodes of Annals 3, though not consistently guided by itinerary formulae, are arranged roughly in the same order as those of Annals 1 (i.e. the sea coast, Mt. Amanus, Mt. Atalur, and then the cities of Patin). However, the passage "I de[parted] from the sea (*ištu tâmdi at*[*tumuš*])", placed oddly between Mt. Atalur (Episode N') and the cities of Patin (Episode O'), is problematic. According to Annals 3, as it stands, the Assyrian army, after setting up the royal image at Mt. Atalur, departed "from the sea" (not "from the mountain" as might be expected) and conquered the cities of Patin, which were located to the east of the Afrin river.[10] It is hardly possible to use this confusing text to reconstruct a zigzag campaign route, such as:

[9] *at*-[*tu-muš*] is preferred here to an alternative *at*-[*ta-rad*/*ar-da*].
[10] See below, 1.2 for the location of these cities.

the Mediterranean sea > Mt. Amanus > Mt. Atalur > the sea (again) > the cities of Patin (east of the Afrin river). The second visit to the sea of course contradicts the plausible route given in Annals 1 (see above).

The problem is probably textual, not historical, and indeed, K. Balkan has suggested that "from the sea (*ištu*(TA) *tam-di*)" is a scribal error for "from the mountain (*ištu*(TA) *šad-di*)".[11] We can assume another reason for the confusion, however. As pointed out above, the editor of Annals 3, or of its forerunner (possibly Annals 2), must have interwoven a source other than the account of Annals 1 into his composition. One part apparently taken from such a source is Episode O', dealing with the conquest of the Patinean cities (see above). It may be supposed that the editor used a *Vorlage* which related that the Assyrian army "departed from the sea" and moved to conquer the cities of Patin, while omitting the visit to Mts. Amanus and Atalur in between. We would further suggest that in this editorial process, the editor borrowed both the phrase "*ištu tâmdi attumuš*" and the following lines describing the conquest of Patinean cities, as they had been found in the *Vorlage*, and placed them together after Episodes M'–N'.[12] Perhaps the editor meant to indicate that after the visit to Mts. Amanus and Atalur, the king continued moving away from the sea to the east.[13]

Finally, a caveat concerning the difference between Annals 1 and Annals 3 about the number of people carried off from the land of Patin: 14,600 (14 LIM 6 ME) in Annals 3 (Episode O') as against 4,600 (4 LIM 6 ME) in Annals 1 (Episode N). The number given in Annals 3 seems exaggerated and was probably invented on the basis of the original 4,600, since it is a general tendency that the later the text, the more exaggerated is this sort of number.[14]

We now come to discuss the next version, Annals 4 (the Balawat

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[11] K. Balkan, *Anum-Hirbe*, p. 36. In this connection, note the graphic similarity between the signs UD = *tam* and KUR = *šad*. Another much bolder textual emendation suggested by N. Na'aman (*Tel Aviv* 3 [1976], pp. 93f.) can hardly be maintained in the light of the new evidence of Ann. 1, which was not available to him.

[12] Episodes M' and N' were possibly taken from the text of Ann. 1, since Ann. 1, r. 38–40 (our Episodes L and M) and Ann. 3, ii 9–10 (Episodes M' and N') are almost identical.

[13] Cf. K. Elliger, in *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 78, n. 25; the translation of Grayson: "*moving away* from the sea" (RIMA 3, p. 17).

[14] Examples of such "inflation" in numbers in Assyrian royal inscriptions have been assembled and discussed by M. de Odorico (*Numbers*, pp. 45–74; especially relevant to this case are pp. 48 and 71f.).

Gate Inscription). As noted in the Catalogue (Part I, 1.2.1), this text offers an account of the first year campaign (ii 2c–5a) dated neither by *limmu*, as in the earlier annalistic texts, nor by *palû*, as in the later ones. The account can be summarized as follows:

A) The general statement: The king destroyed the land of Hatti, carried off 44,400 people from there, and "poured the radiance of his (lit. my) rulership over the land of Hatti".
B) "In his (lit. my) marching of the sea (*ina mētaqtīya ša tâmdi*)", the king set up his royal image with the image of Anum-hirbe.
C) The king destroyed "the cities on his (lit. my) campaign route (*ālāni ša šiddi hūlīya*)".
D) The king went [to] "the great [sea] ([*tâmdi*] GAL-*te*)", cleansed his weapons there, and made an offering to the gods.
E) The king received the tribute of "all the kings of the sea coast (*šarrāni ša šiddi tâmdi kalīšunu*)".
F) The king set up his royal image by the sea.

The details from the beginning of the campaign, narrated in the earlier versions (Ann. 1 and 3, Episodes A–J), are entirely omitted here, except for the general statement (Episode A; but see below). Episodes B to F relate the incidents which happened at various points in the latter part of the campaign in an order sharply deviating from that of the earlier versions. The most notable point is that the placement of Shalmaneser III's image alongside that of Anum-hirbe (Episode B) appears before the incidents on the sea coast (Episodes C–F). According to Annals 1 and Annals 3, as well as to later annalistic texts,[15] this setting up of the image occurred at Mt. Atalur (Mt. Lallar in the later texts) after the king's activities on the sea coast and his visit to the Amanus. As for this discrepancy, the arrangement of topics in Annals 4 should be regarded as merely random and not historical, since the text does not include any itinerary formula[16] or even a specific place name, apart from the generic terms "the land of Hatti" and "the great [sea]".[17]

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[15] Ann. 5, 7, 8, 11, 13 and 14.

[16] *ina mētaqtīya ša tâmdi* "on my march of the Sea" does not indicate the course of the march clearly, as it can be interpreted in various ways, i.e. "on the march to/from/along the sea". This may be taken as a general statement meaning that the things occurred during the campaign towards the sea, either before or after he visited it.

[17] Balkan (*Anum-Hirbe*, pp. 36–38) and later Na'aman (*Tel Aviv* 3, pp. 93f.) took

Another question is the nature of Episode A, which gives 44,400 (40 LIM 4 LIM 4 ME)[18] as the number of people carried off from the land of Hatti. The number greatly exceeds the 22,000 (20 LIM 2 LIM) of Annals 1 (Episode M).[19] The comparison of these two numbers raises the possibility that 44,400 is an exaggerated number made up by manipulating the figure of 22,000 in Annals 1. However, since the general statement (Episode A) is not dated, it is possible, as suggested by M. de Odorico, that the statement summarizes the result of several campaigns and that 44,400 is the sum total of the deportees taken during several years—probably until the time of the composition, i.e. c. Year 9 (850).[20] At any rate, Annals 4 does not include any more detail than the earlier annalistic texts concerning the first year campaign. Thus, in conclusion, there is no reason to base our historical reconstruction of the first year campaign on this source.

Later annalistic texts—Annals 5 (the 16 Year Annals) and its later versions—share a short account of the first year campaign (Ann. 5, i 42–48; Ann. 7, i 23b–30a; Ann. 8, obv. 18'b–19';[21] Ann. 11, ll. 26b–31; Ann. 13, ll. 26b–31; Ann. 14, ll. 8b–11a), with minor variations between them. The account deals only with selected topics of the campaign and indicates no itinerary formula. It consists of the following topics:

A) Date ("*ina* 1 *palêya*"); the king crossed the Euphrates "in its flood (*ina mīlīša*)" ("in its flood" is lacking in Ann. 7).
B) The king went to "the Sea of the Setting-sun (*tâmdi ša šulme* ^{d}*Šamši*)", cleansed his weapons, and made an offering to the gods.
C) The king climbed Mt. Amanus and cut cedar and juniper timber.
D) The king climbed Mt. Lallar and set up his royal image there. (Different verbs are used for "set up" in various texts; *zaqāpu* in

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the order of the events presented in Ann. 4 as historical, while admitting its preference over the order given in the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3). This view is not valid any more after the publication of Ann. 1, which clearly records the historical order of the events, as seen above.

[18] Read thus by Grayson in his new edition RIMA 3, A.0.102.5, ii 3; cf. Michel, *WO* 2, p. 410 (40 LIM 4(?) ME).

[19] As noted by de Odorico (*Numbers*, p. 93, n. 194), the proposed emendation of 22,000 (20 LIM 2 LIM) to 20,200 (20 LIM 2 ME) is not necessary, since x LIM + x LIM is frequently attested; cf. the proper reading in RIMA 3, A.0.102.3, l. 98.

[20] De Odorico, *Numbers*, pp. 93–95.

[21] The account of Ann. 8 is largely broken; cf. above, Part I, 1.2.1, under Annals 8.

Ann. 5, *izuzzu-Š* in Ann. 7, Ann. 11 and Ann. 13; the verb is broken in Ann. 14).[22]

E) The king destroyed the cities of Patin, Bit-Adini, Carchemish and Bit-Agusi on the other side of the Euphrates (only in Ann. 5).

Almost all the details from the first half of the campaign, preceding the king's arrival at the sea, are neglected here. Setting aside Episode E, which is only found in Annals 5, the arrangement of the events and the phraseology in these later versions are most similar to those found in Annals 1. The order of events is of course similar to that of Annals 3, which is basically the same as that of Annals 1. However, the cleansing of weapons and the offering to the gods (Episode B) are details contained in Annals 1 (Episode K) but absent from Annals 3. Thus, the first year account of Annals 1 (but not that of Annals 3) could have been adopted as the standard *Urtext* of the later versions.

Episode E, unique to Annals 5, is problematic. Among the destroyed trans-Euphrates cities, it includes Carchemish and Bit-Agusi, although no attack on the cities belonging to these two states is explicitly mentioned in the detailed account of Annals 1 (cf. Ann. 1, Episodes F, H, J, N and O). This, however, need not imply that Annals 5 was composed with an unknown source for this detail. It seems, rather, that the editor claims here the completeness of the king's military success throughout north Syria beyond the river by enumerating the four representative countries in the region, without inquiring into the specific historical data found in a particular source.

Annals 7 (the 20 Year Annals) followed the text of Annals 5 but omitted Episode E; the text of Annals 7 was then exactly paralleled by the following versions: Annals 11 (Fragment *KAH* 1, 77+), Annals 13 (the Black Obelisk) and Annals 14 (the Calah Statue).

The name of the mountain where Shalmaneser set up his image alongside that of Anum-hirbe is enigmatic. It is called Lallar in the later versions of the annals (Ann. 5 onwards) as well as in Summary Inscriptions 6, 8 and 12, instead of Atalur as in Annals 1 and 3.[23] This issue will be discussed later in the historical analysis of the campaign (1.2).

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[22] Grayson, on the basis of the copy of P. Hulin, now reads ⌜*ú*⌝-[*še-ziz*] for Ann. 14 (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16, l. 11).

[23] Summ. 6 (the Calah Throne Base) is the oldest text (edited in Year 13 [846]) that records Mt. Lallar instead of the Atalur of the earlier texts; this was followed by the other summary inscriptions and then the later versions of the Annals, i.e. Ann. 5 onwards.

Summary Inscription 6 (the Calah Throne Base) includes an undated passage which can be definitely assigned to Year 1 (ll. 18–26):

A) The king went to "the Sea of Amurri (*tâmti ša māt Amurri*)", cleansed his weapons in the sea, set up the royal image "along the sea (*ina muhhi tâmti*)", and received the tribute of "all the kings of the sea coast (*šarrāni ša ahāt tâmti kalīšunu*)".
B) The king climbed Mt. Amanus, cut cedar and juniper timber, and set up his royal image on Mt. Amanus.
C) The king went to Mt. Lallar and set up his own image alongside that of Anum-hirbe.
D) Conclusion: The king ruled the extensive land of Hatti entirely, and took off 87,500 people of the land of Hatti and counted them as the people of his land.

The topics mentioned here are largely the same as those in the later versions of the Annals. The structure of the text, however, is not parallel to the annalistic texts. The editor divided the topics into three episodes according to the places where the incidents occurred, i.e. the sea-coast (Episode A), Mt. Amanus (Episode B) and Mt. Lallar (Episode C). It appears that he accomplished this geographical division by lowering the level of historical accuracy in Episode B. In this episode, "on (in front of?) Mt. Amanus (*ina muhhi* ^{kur}*Hamani*)" is given as the location of the royal image, although this event actually occurred at the sources of the Saluara river at the foot of Mt. Amanus, as shown by the early versions of the Annals (see above, Ann. 1 and 3, Episode I). With this loose geographical presentation, the editor placed the event, which took place on the way to the sea, together with the timber-cutting visit to the Amanus, which occurred later on the return march from the sea.[24]

The reference to 87,500 people carried off from the land of Hatti (Episode D) may be compared with the number of people taken from the land of Hatti mentioned in Annals 1, Episode Q (20,200), and Annals 4, Episode A (44,400). The magnitude of the number given in Summary Inscription 6 would be seen as an exaggeration, if it referred to the deportees carried off in this campaign alone. However, as with the case of the 44,400 of Annals 4 (see above),

[24] This has already been pointed out by P. Hulin. See *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 60, comments on lines 18–26.

the figure of 87,500 in Summary Inscription 6 does not appear in an unequivocal chronological framework. Therefore, it is not necessary to interpret the number as reflecting the result of a single campaign. It is possible or even preferable to regard it as the sum total of the deportees taken during many years, probably up to the year in which the text was edited, i.e. Year 13 (846).[25]

Summary Inscriptions 8 (ll. 8b–10a) and 12 (ll. 24–26) include a short passage describing the erection of the royal image at Mt. Lallar in the same phraseology as that found in Summary Inscription 6 (Episode C).

1.2. *Historical Analysis of the First Year Campaign*

For the beginning of the campaign, I shall base my analysis mainly on the duplicate account of Annals 1 (the One Year Annals) and Annals 3 (the Kurkh Monolith), which is the most contemporaneous and detailed account and is almost completely based on the standard itinerary formula.

On the thirteenth of Ayyaru (beginning of summer), Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh,[26] crossed the Tigris, traversed the mountains of Hasamu and Dihnunu, and approached the territory of Ahuni, king of Bit-Adini.[27]

Although Hasamu and Dihnunu, to which the determinative KUR is attached, can theoretically be either a land or a mountain, the verb "traverse (*nabalkutu*)" suggests that these are mountains.[28] Hasamu should be identified with KUR *Ha-sa-mu*, mentioned in a Mari letter,[29] and with KUR *A-sa-am* in the OB itinerary text.[30] The latter text reveals that the place is located between Shubat-Enlil (Tell Leilan)

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[25] De Odorico, *Numbers*, p. 95. He further speculates that the figure of 87,500 was not obtained by using "genuine" data, but was an approximation inspired by the figure of 17,500, the number of the deportees taken with Ahuni in Year 4, as given in Ann. 4.

[26] I believe that Shalmaneser personally led his army in every campaign, as described in his Annals, up to the 27th *palû*. For this, see below, Part II, 19, esp. p. 221, n. 500.

[27] Ann. 1, obv. 42f. // Ann. 3, i 29f.

[28] *AHw*, p. 695; *CAD* N/I, pp. 12f. Furthermore, this is supported by the attestation of the same toponym with determinative KUR in a Mari letter (see below); as W.W. Hallo noted, KUR never stands for *māt* in the Mari letters, in which the word for land is always spelled syllabically (*JCS* 18 [1964], p. 76, n. 11).

[29] *ARM* 1, no. 97, ll. 14, 18 and 20 (without KUR in ll. 18 and 20).

[30] Hallo, *JCS* 18, pp. 60 and 63f., l. 30.

and Harran, being six days' walk from the former and two days' walk from the latter. These pieces of evidence may be fortified by the census list of Harran, in which URU *Ha-sa-me* is attested.[31] Since the name of this town perpetuates that of the mountain, this also implies that Mt. Hasamu was not far from Harran.[32] In conclusion, especially according to the OB Itinerary, Mt. Hasamu is to be searched for c. 50 km (distance of two days' walk) east of Harran and Mt. Dihnunu may be located further to the west and closer to Harran, if not west of the latter. Thus, in all probability, the Assyrian army took the central road passing the upper Habur to the Harran region. The silence of the account about events on the way is certainly not accidental, but implies the Assyrian control of this central road, which had been established by Ashurnasirpal II (see above, Part I, 3). Now, however, Shalmaneser found Bit-Adini and other states in Syria opposing him, though they had once been subjugated by his father.

Shalmaneser's first target in the realm of Bit-Adini was the town of La'la'te. The residents of La'la'te "have fled (lit. went up [*elû*]) to save their lives", and the Assyrian army destroyed and burnt the deserted city.[33] This perhaps suggests that the town was not well-fortified and that escape to the mountainous region was the only way for the residents to save themselves from the large Assyrian army.[34] Departing from La'la'te, the army approached Til-barsip (modern Tell Ahmar), "the fortified city (*āl dannūti*)" of Ahuni, a man of Bit-Adini (lit. "son" of Adini).[35] The Annals narrate that Ahuni

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[31] F.M. Fales, *Censimenti*, p. 19, Text 1, ii 32; cf. S. Parpola, *NAT*, p. 155 (ḪASAMU).

[32] Hallo, *JCS* 18, pp. 75f.; Cf. also M.C. Astour, *JAOS* 88 (1968), p. 740; B. Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, p. 93 (Ḫasam, Asam); *ARM* 15, p. 125 (under Ḫasam) with n. 1.; cf. also K. Nashef, *RGTC* 5, pp. 121f. (Ḫasmi).

[33] Ann. 1, obv. 44 // Ann. 3, i 30f.; cf. Ann. 2, ll. 42f. relates the event more briefly.

[34] *elû* is frequently used in the Assyrian royal inscriptions as the verb for the enemy's flight into mountains. Cf. the literary pattern investigated by Italian scholars in the case of Ashurnasirpal II's annals (E. Badalì *et al.*, *Vicino Oriente* 5 [1982], pp. 30f.). Thus, in this context, it may be assumed that the people abandoned the town and escaped to the mountains, although the description lacks such details.

[35] Ann. 1, obv. 46 // Ann. 3, i 31f. Since the publication of Ann. 1 (the One Year Annals), the city name is now definitely known to be Til-barsip instead of the previously suggested *Kī*[. . .]*qa*, which was erroneously read on Ann. 3 (the Kurkh Monolith), i 33, the line telling of the departure from the city; on the lines telling of the arrival at the city (31f.), the name of the city is completely broken off. Thus, the previous understanding that the city called *Kī*[. . .]*qa* was the royal city beside

invited Shalmaneser to fight an open battle, and that the Assyrians defeated the enemy and confined Ahuni in the city.[36] The Annals do not reveal how thorough was the attack on the city, but the failure to mention the conquest of the city indicates that it was not reduced. Furthermore, in the light of the fact that Ahuni actively joined the anti-Assyrian coalition in two battles fought later in the course of this very campaign (see below), it seems that he avoided the expected consequences of the Assyrian siege of Til-barsip. This conclusion is further corroborated by the fact that the recently published text of Annals 2 (the Two Year Annals) apparently neglects the incident at Til-barsip in Year 1 (see above, 1.1). Therefore, it seems that Shalmaneser's army did not waste time on attacking the well-fortified Til-barsip but marched on.

The next target was another city of Ahuni called Burmar'ana/ Burmaranna. The Assyrians surrounded the city, conquered it and killed 300 soldiers, and piled up a mound of the heads of dead enemy soldiers in front of the city.[37] Fortunately, fresh evidence concerning this city has been supplied by the recent (1995) Italian-French joint excavation at Tell Shiukh Fawqani, on the east bank of the Euphrates, c. 15 km north of Tell Ahmar (Til-barsip) and c. 5 km south of Carchemish. An Aramaic document from the seventh century B.C. uncovered at the tell has revealed the ancient name of the site as *brmrn*, apparently identical to our Burmar'ana.[38] Thus, it is now certain that Shalmaneser advanced northwards from Til-barsip along the left (eastern) bank of the Euphrates to attack Burmar'ana.

The course of the campaign following the attack on Burmar'ana

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the fortified city Til-barsip (for example, Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, § 599; Oppenheim, in *ANET*, p. 277) should be dismissed. For the collation of this line (l. 33) in Ann. 3, resulting in the reading *Til-bu*[*r*]-⌜*si*⌝-⌜*ip*⌝, see the note by the present author in *NABU* 1995, pp. 24f. (no. 30). Cf. however Grayson's reading URU.DU$_6$ *bar*-[*x-x*] (in *Corolla Torontonensis*, p. 76; RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 [ex. 1], i 33 [footnote]). For the position of Til-barsip as the capital of Bit-Adini and the political organization of this state, see the discussion below, 4.2.

[36] Ann. 1, obv. 46–49 // Ann. 3, i 32f.

[37] Ann. 1, obv. 49–51 // Ann. 3, i 34f.

[38] I owe this information to M. de Odorico (letter of November 1995); cf. F.M. Fales, *Semitica* 46 (1996), pp. 108f. Burmar'ana has been previously identified with El Burat, 11 km southeast of Jerablus (Carchemish) (Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 60; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 464). The toponym should be interpreted as Aramaic; *br-mr'n* (*alef* is preserved in Akkadian orthography) probably means "well of our lord" (cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 350 "spring of our lord"), rather than "son of our lord". This implies an Aramaean occupation of the city in the time of Shalmaneser.

deserves a close examination. The relevant lines (Ann. 1, obv. 51b–r. 3 // Ann. 3, i 35b–37) read as follows:[39]

> *ina mētaqtīya maddattu ša* ^{m}*Habini* ^{uru}*Til-abnāya ša Ga'una/i* ^{uru}*Sarugāya ša* ^{m}*Giri-*^{d}*Adad* ^{uru}*Immerināya kaspa hurāṣa alpē immerē karānāte amhur ištu* ^{uru}*Burmaranna/Burmar'ana attumuš ina eleppāti ša dušē* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir/ētebir maddattu ša* ^{m}*Qatazili* ^{kur}*Kummuhāya kaspa hurāṣa alpē immerē karānāte amhur ana* ^{uru}*Paqar(r)uhbuni ālānīšu ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini ša šēpē ammâti/e ša* ^{id}*Puratti aqtirib abikti mātīšu aškun ālānīšu namûta ušālik dabdâ qurādīšu ṣēru rapšu umalli* 1,300 *ṣābē tidūkīšunu ina kakkē ušamqit ištu* ^{uru}*Paqar(r)uhbuni attumuš ana ālāni ša* ^{m}*Mūtalli* ^{uru}*Gurgumāya aqtirib*
>
> In (the course of) my march, I received the tribute of Habini of the city Til-abne, of Ga'una/i of the city Sarug, and of Giri-Adad of the city Immerina: silver, gold, oxen, sheep and wine.[40] I departed from Burmar'ana, crossed the Euphrates in boats made of (inflated) goat skins. I received the tribute of Qatazili of the land of Kummuh: silver, gold, cattle, sheep and wine. I approached Paqarruhbuni (and other) cities of Ahuni of Bit-Adini on the other side of the Euphrates. I established the defeat of his land, devastated his cities, and filled the wide field with the corpses of his soldiers. I felled 1,300 of their troops by weapons. From Paqarruhbuni, I departed (and) approached the cities of Mutalli of Gurgum.

The expression "in (the course of) my march (*ina mētaqtīya*)", not "at that city" as expected, is oddly placed between the conquest of Burmar'ana and the departure thence. Thus, the place(s) where the king received the tribute remains unclear.[41] Several possibilities should be considered: e.g. (1) the phrase "in (the course of) my march" refers retrospectively to the tribute delivered on the way from Til-barsip to Burmar'ana; (2) the text refers, in advance, to the tribute received on the way from Burmar'ana to the crossing point of the Euphrates; (3) Shalmaneser received all the tribute at Burmar'ana; (4) the tribute was received at various points on the way from Til-barsip to the crossing of the Euphrates via Burmar'ana. Since, however, the lands of the three tribute bearers are all situated north-east

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[39] The synoptic transliteration of Ann. 1 and Ann. 3 is given in Appendix D.

[40] Ann. 2, l. 45 gives a list with two additional items, tin (*annaku*) and bronze (*siparru*) between gold and cattle. Cf. Part III, Table 6, Incident. 4 (p. 242).

[41] This problem was not raised in previous studies (cf. E. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 60, who considers Burmaranna to have been the place), since the phrase "*ina mētaqtīya*" was broken off from Ann. 3, i 35 and became known by the parallel line in the new text Ann. 1 (obv. 51). Cf. also the abridged account of Ann. 2 (ll. 42–46) where the receipt of the tribute is mentioned between the conquest of La'la'te and the crossing of the Euphrates (see above, 1.1).

of Burmar'ana (Tell Shiukh Fawqani), as will be discussed below, it is most probable that Shalmaneser received the tribute of all the three cities some time after the conquest of Burmar'ana on the way to the crossing of the Euphrates.

Sarug[42] is to be sought in Seruj plain, which stretches southwards from the modern town of Seruj.[43] Giri-Adad, the ruler of Immerina,[44] is mentioned in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II as Giri-dadi of the land of Assha, who brought his tribute to the Assyrian king when the latter was staying at Huzirina (Sultantepe near Urfa) on the Balih river.[45] In the continuation of the same campaign, Ashurnasirpal II left Huzirina, probably marching northwards along the Balih, reached the Euphrates valley, crossed Assha and "Haphu facing Hatti (*Haphu ša pān Hatti*)", and marched to the direction of the upper Tigris via Mt. Amadanu.[46] Therefore, Immerina, included in the land of Assha, should be placed on the east bank of the Euphrates to the north of modern Urfa.[47] Habinu of Til-abne is also mentioned in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II as a ruler who brought his tribute to the king when the latter was in the territory of Bit-Adini.[48] Later, Shalmaneser, in his seventh year campaign (852), attacked Til-abne and then went to the Tigris source (see below, Part II, 6). Thus, it seems, Til-abne was also located to the north of the territory of Bit-Adini, in the vicinity of Sarug and Immerina.[49]

Shalmaneser's crossing point of the Euphrates has been disputed. Three possibilities have been considered: (1) south of the Sajur river near Til-barsip;[50] (2) at a point between Til-barsip and Carchemish;[51]

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[42] In Ann. 3 (i 35), the name of the city is preserved only fragmentarily, so that it has been long disputed whether the name of Sarug does exist on the line or not (see Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 197f.). The parallel passage in the new text Ann. 1, however, finally confirmed the attestation.

[43] S. Schiffer, *Aramäer*, p. 64; cf. also the extensive discussion of this city by K. Kessler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 197–200).

[44] The name is broken off in Ann. 3; it became known after the publication of Ann. 1.

[45] Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 94f.

[46] Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 96–102.

[47] Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 82; cf. also R. Zadok, *Abr-Nahrain* 27 (1989), pp. 161f., identifying the city Immerina with Emerion of the Syriac source.

[48] Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 55 and 63.

[49] M. Liverani suggests the area between Urfa and the Euphrates from the north of Bit-Adini (*SAATA*, p. 72 and the map in Fig. 12).

[50] Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 3, p. 96.

[51] Enumerated by H.S. Sader among several possibilities and noted as the best (Sader, *Les états*, pp. 95f.).

(3) at a northern point opposite the territory of Kummuh.[52] The first proposal appears to be incompatible with Shalmaneser's movements, since he marched from Til-barsip northwards along the east bank of the Euphrates to Burmar'ana (see above). The second proposal is also difficult to accept. If the Assyrians did indeed cross the Euphrates at a point between Til-barsip and Carchemish, they should have entered the heart of the kingdom of Carchemish, which, at that time, was a part of the anti-Assyrian coalition (see below). If this were indeed the case, Shalmaneser would have attacked the cities of Sangara of Carchemish immediately after the crossing. However, after crossing the river, Shalmaneser received the tribute of Kummuh, rather than fighting with Carchemish. It seems unlikely that Kummuh would have delivered the tribute across the territory of a state preparing to fight Assyria.[53] It is most probable, therefore, that Shalmaneser avoided crossing the river into the hostile land of Carchemish and chose a more northerly crossing-point, opposite the territory of friendly Kummuh, which extended along the Euphrates and lay to the north of Carchemish. This assumption agrees with the fact that Sarug, Til-abne and Immerina—all located to the north of the territory of Bit-Adini (see above)—delivered tribute to Shalmaneser before he crossed the river. The rulers of these countries were presumably eager to prevent the Assyrian advance in the direction of their realms. The crossing-point was probably located in the southernmost part of Kummuh, though there is no way of knowing the exact limit of Kummuh's southern extension along the river. Nevertheless, taking geographical conditions into account, the crossing-point should not have been too far north from modern Birecik.[54]

After crossing the Euphrates and receiving the tribute of Kummuh, the Assyrians approached their next target, "the city of Paqarruhbuni

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[52] Y. Ikeda, *Hamath*, p. 229; I.J. Winter, *AnSt* 33 (1983), pp. 190f. with n. 73. Cf. Sader, *Les états*, pp. 95f.

[53] This has already been argued by Ikeda (*Hamath*, p. 229).

[54] The crossing at the Birecik region was suggested by Ikeda (*Hamath*, p. 229); cf. Winter, *AnSt* 33, p. 191, n. 73 (Birecik or Kenk Gorge). A northern point known to have been an ancient crossing is Kenk gorge, where the king's inscription (Summ. 2) was discovered, commemorating the final defeat of Ahuni of Bit-Adini at the fortress of Shitamrat in Year 4 (855); this must have been the crossing-point on Shalmaneser's return march from this battle (cf. above, Part I, 1.2.2, Summ. 2, and below, Part II, 4.2). From a geographical viewpoint, however, the crossing far north of Birecik is less convenient for rafts, especially at flood time, i.e. spring, since the water flows rapidly in the narrow valley; it was probably only useful in the summer, when the water level is low.

(and other) cities of Ahuni, son of Adini, on the other side of the Euphrates (*[uru]Paqar(r)uhbuni ālānīšu ša [m]Ahuni mār Adini ša šēpē ammâti/e ša [id]Puratti*)".[55] Paqarruhbuni is mentioned in various spellings in different historical sources. In the record of Shalmaneser's 12th year campaign, it appears with either the land or the city determinative as KUR/URU *Paqar(a)hubni/a*, and its surroundings are described as a mountainous country (see below, 9.1–2). It is also mentioned in the boundary stela (*tahūme*) of Adad-nerari III discovered in Pazarcik as URU *Pa-qi-ra-hu-bu-na*, the city where a battle was fought between the Assyrian army and Atarshumki, king of Arpad, who led eight other kings.[56] The same place seems to be mentioned in the fragmentary Sheikh-Hammad Stela of Adad-nerari III as [URU/KUR *Paqarhu*]*-bu-na* in a similar historical context.[57] The circumstances described on the Pazarcik stela are comparable to the campaign of Shalmaneser under discussion here. According to the text (esp. ll. 7ff.), Adad-nerari crossed the Euphrates at the instigation of Ushpilulme, king of Kummuh, and fought with the coalition led by the king of Arpad at Paqirahubna. Similarly, in the case of Shalmaneser, the realm of Kummuh, keeping itself out of the anti-Assyrian coalition, let Shalmaneser's army pass through its territory.[58] Paqarruhbuni was thus the name of a city as well as that of a district, bordering the kingdoms of Kummuh and Gurgum. It probably lay in the mountainous terrain stretching to the north of Gaziantep.[59]

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[55] Ann. 1, r. 4f. // Ann. 3, i 37f. For the translation, I consider *[uru]Paqarruhbuni* and *ālānīšu* to be in asyndetic syntax; cf. Oppenheim, *ANET*, p. 277b: "the town of Pakaruhbuni (and) the towns of Ahuni". See also an alternative interpretation of Grayson (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, i 37f.): "the city of Paqarahubunu, *one of* the cities belonging to Ahuni". However, Ann. 3, i 37 have a variant KUR(sic) [*pa-qar-r*]*u-uh-bu-ni*. For collation, see below, Appendix E.

[56] V. Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8 (1990), pp. 5–24 esp. p. 9 (obv. 12); now cf. also RIMA 3, A.0.104.3.

[57] A.R. Millard and H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 57–59.

[58] Kummuh held a consistent pro-Assyrian stance from the time of Ashurnasirpal II until its submission to Sarduri II of Urartu and subsequent participation in the anti-Assyrian league led by Urartu and Arpad (in the middle of the eighth century). See J.D. Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), p. 80; idem, "Kummuh", *RlA* 6, pp. 338f.; cf. Y. Ikeda, *Eretz-Israel* 24 (1993), p. 106*.

[59] Cf. P. Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), p. 61 (roughly north-east of Gaziantep); J.D. Hawkins, in *NAG*, p. 94 (in the modern province of Gaziantep). N. Na'aman suggested locating Paqarruhbuni to the south of Gaziantep, assuming that Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates to the south of the Sajur and advanced along the river to the land of Paqarruhbuni (*Tel Aviv* 3, p. 96). This suggested crossing-point is improbable, however, as discussed above. Y. Ikeda also suggested that the land of Paqarruhbuni extended further south, adjacent to Arpad (Tell Rifat), but used a

Bit-Adini's control of Paqarruhbuni can be better understood in the light of the events in Shalmaneser's Years 2 and 3 (857 and 856). In these years Shalmaneser conquered numerous cities of Bit-Adini located to the west of the Euphrates, specifically those on the right (south-western) bank of the Sajur river, which probably demarcated the border between Bit-Adini and the state of Carchemish to its north-east (see below, 2.2 and 3.2). Accordingly, it seems that this corridor running along the right bank of the Sajur was connected, to the south-east, with the territory east of the Euphrates centring on Til-barsip and, to the north-west, with the land of Paqarruhbuni; thus, on the eve of its fall, Bit-Adini extended on both sides of the Euphrates, circumscribing Carchemishite territory. In this geopolitical setting, Paqarruhbuni had a particular strategic importance, enabling Bit-Adini to maintain contact with its northern neighbours, Kummuh, Gurgum and perhaps Sam'al.

After breaking through the district of Paqarruhbuni, the Assyrians approached the cities of Mutalli of Gurgum in the Maraş plain.[60] Shalmaneser received the tribute of Mutalli, "silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, and his daughter with her great amount of dowry". The offer of the royal daughter indicates Gurgum's policy accepting the Assyrian advance in the region and confirming the friendly relationship with the invader.[61]

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different argument (*Hamath*, pp. 228–239, esp. 232–234). He hypothesizes that the six fortified cities of Ahuni conquered by Shalmaneser in Year 2 (857), which were located south-west of the Sajur and north-east of Arpad (see below, 2.2), composed the southern part of the land of Paqarruhbuni, and that the Paqarruhbuni attacked by Shalmaneser in his first year is the northern part of the country. However, there is no firm evidence yet that the region where these six cities were located was called Paqarruhbuni.

[60] Ann. 1, r. 7–9 // Ann. 3, i 40–42. The city determinative URU is consistently attached to Gurgum in this context in both Ann. 1 (r. 7, 8 and 9) and Ann. 3 (i 40f.). However, Gurgum, attested also with KUR in other contexts, is certainly the name of both the country and its capital, which was later called Marqasi in the Sargonid texts and is identified with modern Maraş. For the attestations of Gurgum and Marqasi, see S. Parpola, *NAT*, pp. 137 and 239f. (but add the following from the Shalmaneser corpus: URU *Gúr-gu-me*: Ann. 1, r. 9; [URU] ⌜*Gúr-gu*⌝-[*me*]: Ann. 2, l. 53'; URU *Gúr-gu-ma-a-a*: Ann. 1, r. 7, 8 ; Ann. 2, l. 93'). The city is known in the native Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions as *Ku+ra/i-ku-ma-*(URBS). See J.D. Hawkins, "Maraş", *RlA* 7, pp. 352f. and idem, "Marqasi", *RlA* 7, pp. 431f. The rulers of the country, Mutalli and Qalparunda, attested in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III (the former in Years 1 and 2; the latter in Year 6), are identified with Muwatalis and Halparuntiyas (II) mentioned in the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions MARAŞ 1 and MARAŞ 4 (P. Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie I, nos. 33 and 32, respectively; cf. Hawkins, *op. cit.*).

[61] For similar offers of a royal daughter by the rulers of Carchemish, Sam'al,

Leaving Gurgum, Shalmaneser approached Lutibu, the "fortified city" of Hayanu of Sam'al and encountered and defeated there the coalition of four north Syrian rulers: Hayanu of Sam'al, Sapalulme of Patin, Ahuni of Bit-Adini and Sangara of Carchemish.[62] Sam'al was a small kingdom, located at the eastern exit of the principal Amanus pass, with its capital bearing the same name (modern Zencirli).[63] Lutibu should be located east of the Amanus ridge, not far from Zencirli. It has generally been identified with Sakçagözü, 25 km north-east of Zencirli,[64] but alternatively, it is also possible to equate it with Yesemek, located 25 km south-south-east of Zincirli.[65]

Shalmaneser claims a victory for the Assyrians at Lutibu, describing the massacre of the enemy and the destruction of many "cities (*ālāni*)"—apparently villages around Lutibu are referred to here. It seems, however, that the Syrian rulers were not completely crushed, since they were able to reorganize their forces to encounter the Assyrians again at Alimush (see below). The fact that Lutibu is not described as having been conquered also implies that the coalition somehow survived the Assyrian aggression. The result in reality was probably a tactical victory for the Assyrians.[66]

After the battle, Shalmaneser set up his royal image "at the source of the Saluara river which is at the foot of Mt. Amanus (*ina rēš* ^{id}*ēni* ^{id}*Saluara ša šēpē* ^{kur}*Hamani*)";[67] the river may be identified with the modern Kara Su.[68]

Patin (all in Year 2) and Que (Year 20), see below, Part II, 2.2 and 14.2; cf. also Part III, 4.1 and Part V, 2.

[62] Ann. 1, r. 10–20 // Ann. 2, ll. 53'–62' // Ann. 3, i 42–48. Various Syrian coalitions which fought against Assyria in the ninth and eighth centuries and the historical background of their organization have been discussed by H. Tadmor in C. Rabin (ed.), *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, pp. 239–248. Cf. also N. Na'aman, in *FS Tadmor*, pp. 80–98.

[63] For this state in general, see B. Landsberger, *Sam'al*; M. Abu Taleb, *IHNS*, pp. 83–97 and 129–136; Sader, *Les états*, pp. 153–184. For the dynastic line of the kingdom, see below, 14.2, n. 422.

[64] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 69, n. 1; Cf. Sader, *Les états*, p. 173, n. 57.

[65] Yesemek is counted as a city of Sam'al by J.D. Hawkins (*CAH* III/1, p. 377). Hawkins is of the opinion that the site of Sakçagözü, despite its proximity to Zincirli, belonged to the territory of Gurgum or Kummuh (in *NAG*, p. 95).

[66] Olmstead, *JAOS* 41 (1921), p. 351; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 69.

[67] Ann. 1, r. 20–23; Ann. 2, ll. 63'f.; Ann. 3, i 49–51. For the practice of placing royal images along the course of campaigns, see below, Part IV, 1 onwards. The relevant passage is quoted in Part IV, 1.1, Case 2.

[68] E. Sachau, *ZA* 12 (1897), p. 49; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 69, n. 2; Elliger, in *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 77 and n. 24. The ancient name of the river is still preserved in the village of Sulmara near the river source, not far east of Zencirli. See Sachau, *op. cit.*; cf. Kraeling, *op. cit.*

Up on "leaving Mt. Amanus", in the vague terminology of the Annals, the Assyrians crossed the Orontes river ([id]*Arantu*) and approached Alimush, the "fortified city" of Sapalulme of Patin,[69] where Shalmaneser again met the allied forces.[70] The Neo-Hittite state of Pat(t)in (also known by its alternative name Unqi, Aramaic *'mq* "valley, plain") was situated in the Amuq valley, extending along the eastern foot of the Amanus range.[71] It seems that the Assyrians advanced along the Amanus, passing west of Ku/inalua (Tell Taynat), the capital of Patin,[72] and crossed the Orontes near modern Antakia to reach Alimush.[73]

Sapalulme is said to have gathered military aid from neighbouring princes. The allied forces, which fought in the former battle at Lutibu (Sam'al, Patin, Bit-Adini and Carchemish) were reportedly further reinforced by the participation of four more rulers: Kate(a) of Que, Pihirim of Hiluka, Bur-Anate of Yasbuq and Adanu of Yahan.[74] In this connection, E. Kraeling raised the question as to how the allied forces, which had already fought a difficult battle at Lutibu, were able to appear again at Alimush to encounter the

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[69] Sapalulme was probably just a governor of Patin, but not the king (see below).

[70] Ann. 1, r. 23–33 // Ann. 2, ll. 65'–72' // Ann. 3, i 51–ii 5.

[71] For Pat(t)in/Unqi in general, see J.D. Hawkins, "Hattin", *RlA* 4, pp. 160–162; idem, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 81–83 (s.v. Unqi). The still unknown Luwian name of the country may be concealed behind the name Patin. If this is indeed the case, it would not be far-fetched to consider that the toponym *wa/i-ta$_4$-sà-ti-ni*(REGIO), the origin of the authors of three Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, SHEIZAR (Hawkins, in *Florilegium Anatolicum*, pp. 145–156), MEHARDE (*ibid.* and Hawkins, *AnSt* 38 [1988], pp. 187–189) and TELL TAYNAT (Meriggi, *Manuale*, no. 293, fragment 3), is the native Luwian name of Patin; as for TELL TAYNAT, fragment 3, read on the l. 1: [. . . IUDEX?]-*ni-sa wa/i-t*[a_4]-*sà-*⌜*ti*⌝*-ni-*⌞*za-sa*?⌟(REGIO) "[judg]e(?) of the land Watsatini". The extensive distribution of these inscriptions—from Tell Taynat (north of Antakia) to Sheizar/Meharde (between Qal'at el-Mudiq and Hama)—shows that Watsatini was not merely a minor settlement but a significant country (cf. Hawkins, in *Florilegium*, p. 152). The transformation from **Watsatin-* to Patin is not impossible, admitting the sound change w>b>p and the fall of the intervocalic *-ts* with the accent being positioned on the first syllable.

[72] The city is not mentioned in this context, but is referred to as "the royal city (*āl šarrūti*)" in the 28th *palû* account (see below, Part II, 19).

[73] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 70. The city can be identified with *A-li-me* attested in Alalakh tablets (M.C. Astour, *JNES* 22 [1963], p. 236, no. 132). On this ground, the reading *A-li-muš* is preferred here to the alternative reading *A-li-ṣir*, which has been adopted in some scholarly works (for example, Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 351; cf. Grayson, RIMA 3, A.102.2, l. 16: URU *a-li-*ṢIR).

[74] The names of the last state and its ruler have evidently only been known since the recent publication of Ann. 1 as [m]*A-da-a-nu* KUR *Ia-ha-na-a-a* (Ann. 1, r. 28–29), whereas the relevant line of Ann. 3 (i 54) is fragmentary (see Appendixes D and E).

Assyrian force.[75] He suggested two possibilities: either Shalmaneser, after the battle of Lutibu, was engaged in other unrecorded operations, so that he gave the allies from Asia Minor and Syria time to assemble at Alimush, or else the editor of the Annals is inaccurate in recording that Hayanu was present at Alimush and that the others participated in the battle of Lutibu. Although it is legitimate to doubt the accuracy of the details offered by the Annals, the reality may not have been very different from what the Annals describe. Lutibu and Alimush are located at least 120 km apart—long enough for the allied forces to have a chance to reorganize. Furthermore, Assyrians spent some time visiting the source of Saluara river to set up the monument, which was probably accompanied by appropriate rituals and celebrations;[76] they may even have taken a rest. This probably gave the Syrian rulers enough time to assemble their army at Alimush. In any case, it is obvious that all the main members of the coalition had been in concord before the arrival of the Assyrian army in the heart of Syria. They attempted to block Shalmaneser's force at strategic points, first at Lutibu close to the junction of the roads leading to Cilicia in the west and to the valley along the Amanus in the south, and then at Alimush, the fortress at the crossing-point of the Orontes.

Two of the four new members of the coalition, Que and Hiluka, are well-known Anatolian states. Que is located in the Cilician plain (see below, Part II, 14 and 18). Hiluka, attested as Hilakku in later Assyrian documents, is located in the general region of Toros Dağlari.[77]

Yasbuq is also attested in *CT* 53, no. 10 (= SAA 1, no. 179, l. 18), a letter sent to Sargon II from Bel-liqbi, the governor of Ṣubat, north of Biqa. The letter reports that Bel-liqbi granted fields and orchards in the land of Yasbuq to Ammi-li'ti, an Arab leader. The same letter also reveals that the governor of Ṣubat had some influence on the city Huzaza (URU *Hu-za-za*) at that time, as well as on the land of Yasbuq. If Huzaza is identified with the well-known Hazazu (modern Azaz), Bel-liqbi's sphere of influence would have extended from his seat, Ṣubat, to northern Syria around Hazazu. Thus, Yasbuq

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[75] *Aram and Israel*, pp. 69f.

[76] For the placement of the royal image and rituals accompanying it, see below, Part IV, 1–2.

[77] See P.H.J. Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG*, pp. 19f.; J.D. Hawkins, "Hilakku", *RlA* 4, pp. 402f.

may be located close to Patin, which, at that time, extended as far as Hazazu.[78] To judge by the Aramaic name of the ruler, Bur-Anate, i.e. "son of the goddess Anat",[79] Yasbuq was probably an Aramaean state.

(Y)ahan, the last of the four new members, is also known from the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II. On the way from Carchemish to Hazazu, Ashurnasirpal is said to have left the land of Ahan (KUR *A-ha-a-nu*) "on his left" (i.e. to the south), and later when the king was at Kunulua, the capital of Patin, he received tribute from Gusi of Yahan (KUR *Ia-ha-na-a-a*), the eponymous founder of the Aramaean state of Bit-(A)gusi.[80] Thus, the land of Yahan, located roughly in the area of Tell Rifat (Arpad) and Aleppo, has been equated with the territory of Bit-Agusi. However, Shalmaneser's Annals raise a complicated question. Describing the continuation of the present campaign, the Annals mention Arame of Bit-Agusi, as bringing tribute to Shalmaneser (see below). Hence, Adanu of Yahan and Arame of Bit-Agusi held power in the same area. The lack of the titles of these rulers makes it difficult to speculate the nature of the relations between them. The presence of the two rulers might be taken as testimony to the fragmentation of the area of Yahan/Bit-Agusi into two smaller Aramaean polities.[81] It is, however, more likely that Adanu was a commander or viceroy of king Arame, since the former is mentioned only in this context, in contrast with the latter, who is attested consistently in Years 1, 2, 6, 10, 11 and 26/27 as the leader of Bit-Agusi.

Despite the organized effort of the allies, Shalmaneser seems to have defeated them at Alimush. Shalmaneser claims to have "dispersed their organization (*puhuršunu uparrir*)", put Alimush under siege, conquered it, deprived the enemies of numerous chariots and horses, killed 700 of their soldiers, and captured Bur-Anate of Yasbuq in the battle.[82]

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[78] The suggestion of locating Yasbuq in Anatolia (J. Bing, *Cilicia*, p. 35, n. 5) should therefore be dismissed.

[79] Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 351, n. 17. K.L. Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 66a ("offspring of ענת"). Cf. R. Zadok, *WSB*, pp. 38 and 107 ("Anat's son").

[80] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 71 and 78. Ahan and Yahan in this context undoubtedly refer to the same place. See Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 217 and n. 785; Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 73–74. For Yahan in general, see J.D. Hawkins, "Jahan", *RlA* 5, pp. 238f., without, however, the evidence from Shalmaneser's One Year Annals (Ann. 1) discussed here; see above, n. 74.

[81] Most recently, P.-E. Dion, *Araméens*, p. 114.

[82] From this point onwards, Yasbuq is never mentioned in the inscriptions of

From this point on, the accounts of Annals 1 (the One Year Annals) and Annals 3 (the Kurkh Monolith) diverge. As noted above (1.1), Annals 1 adheres to the itinerary formulae, whereas Annals 3 describes the events topic by topic, without indicating the king's movement from one place to another. The historical reconstruction of the latter part of the campaign will therefore be based mainly on Annals 1, with some discussion of supplementary information from Annals 3 and other sources.

According to Annals 1 (r. 33b–37a), Shalmaneser left Alimush and went down to "the Sea of the Setting Sun (*tâmdi ša šulmu* ^{d}*Šamši*)", i.e. the Mediterranean Sea; he cleansed his weapons in the sea, made offerings to his gods, and set up his royal image on the seashore.[83] Annals 3 (ii 5–8), on the other hand, following the battle of Alimush, continues with details absent from Annals 1:[84]

> *māhāzī rabûti ša* $^{uru(sic)}$*Patināya ak*[*šud ālāni ša ahāt tâmdi*] (6) *elēnīte ša māt Amurri u tâmdi* <*ša*> *šulum*(< SILIM>-*um*) ^{d}*Šamši kīma tīlu abūbi lū ašhu*[*pšunūti*] (7) *maddattu ša šarrāni ša ahāt tâmdi amhur ina ahāt tâmdi rapašte mēšeriš šalṭiš* (8) *lū attalak*
>
> I con[quered] the great cities of the Patinean(s). I flattened [the cities on the coast of] the Upper [Sea] of Amurru—or (also called) the Sea of the Setting Sun—like hills of ruins. I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast. I marched around justly and triumphantly in the extensive seashore.

The first matter mentioned here but absent from Annals 1 is the conquest of the "great cities (*māhāzī rabûti*)" of Patin. If the text of Annals 3 is taken as it stands, it seems that Shalmaneser, after the climactic battle at Alimush, conquered other important cities of Patin before arriving at the Mediterranean coast. Oddly enough, however, no specific toponym is given in the text. If the title *māhāzī rabûti* means Taya and Hazazu, as it does in Annals 1 (see below), the present placement of the title in Annals 3 must be chronologically

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Shalmaneser. This may imply that the land was incorporated by a neighbouring country, probably by Bit-Agusi.

[83] Corresponding to Episodes K–M above in 1.1. The achievement on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea is also referred to in various other versions of the Annals: Ann. 2, ll. 73'–75'; Ann. 3, ii 6–8 (our Episode L'); Ann. 4, ii 3b–5a (Episodes B–F); Ann. 5, i 42b–43 // Ann. 7, i 24–26a // Ann. 13, ll. 27b–29a // Ann. 14, ll. 8b–10a (Episode B); and Summ. 6, ll. 18b–20a (Episode A). For the variants in these texts, see above, 1.1. E. Unger has suggested that Balawat Band N, upper register, depicts the setting up of a stela on the Mediterranean coast at its right end ("Wiederherstellung", pp. 19–24 and 67f. and pl. I. N, 5–7).

[84] These lines are possibly paralleled by Ann. 2, ll. 73'–75', as noted above (1.1).

inexact, since these sites were taken after (not before!) Shalmaneser's visit to the Mediterranean coast, as proved by Annals 1.[85] I believe, therefore, that the statement of Annals 3 is a result of the vague résumé which reports the conquest of Alimush and that of the other Patinean cities in quick succession, although these actually took place in different historical contexts. If this analysis is correct, Shalmaneser would not have conquered or encountered any large city of Patin on his way from Alimush to the Mediterranean coast, though he could have plundered small settlements.

The nature and details of the Assyrian military activities on the sea coast, described only in Annals 3, are obscure. The object destroyed on the coast is broken off on the text, but it is reasonable to assume that the destruction of local settlements on the seashore was originally mentioned here. Thus, as seen above in our transcription, ii 5–6 may be read with restoration: [*ālāni ša ahāt tâmdi*] *e-le-ni-te šá* KUR *A-mur-ri u tam-di* <(*ša*) SILIM>-*um* ^{d}*Šam-ši* "[the cities on the coast of] the Upper [Sea] of Amurri or (also called) the Sea of the Setting Sun".[86] The unique juxtaposition of two alternative names for the very same sea can now be accepted with confidence in the light of a comparable passage in the recently published Two Year Annals (Ann. 2, ll. 41f.). It defines the ultimate aim of the present campaign as the Mediterranean Sea, while indicating it by the juxtaposition of two names for the sea essentially parallel to those in Annals 3, although in a different order: *a-na tâmti*(A.AB.BA) *šá šulum*(SILIM-*um*) ^{d}*Šam-ši ù tâmti*(A.AB.BA) *šá māt*(KUR) <*A*>-*mur-ri aṣ-bat ar-hu* "I took my way to the Sea of the Setting Sun, or (also called) the Sea of Amurri".[87] The attestation of the essentially

[85] See above, 1.1, for the entire structure of the accounts of Ann. 1 and 3, especially Episodes K/K' onwards, as well as for other historiographical problems involved in the distinctive part of Ann. 3.

[86] Following Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 6: [*ālāni ša ahat tâmdi*] *e-li-ni-te šá* KUR *a-mur-ri u tam-di* <SILIM>-*um* ^{d}*Šam-ši*. Concerning <(*ša*) SILIM>-*um*, the omission of SILIM(= DI) may be explained as the result of haplography after the omission of *ša*, which should be placed between *tâmdi* and *šulum Šamši*. An alternative reading, though less likely, is *e!-rib!* for <SILIM>-*um*, suggested by W. von Soden (*AHw*, p. 233 s.v. *erbu*(*m*), II. 2).

[87] The same juxtaposition of two names is also attested in a group of summary texts from Fort Shalmaneser (many of them first published in RIMA 3), though it occurs in an ambiguous context of a summary of the king's conquests: *kāšid tâmti ša māt Nairi tâmti ša šulme* ^{d}*Šamši u tâmti ša māt Amurri* "conqueror of the Sea of Nairi (and) the Sea of the Setting Sun or (also called) the Sea of Amurri" (Summ. 8, ll. 3–4a; Summ. 9, ll. 12b–13; Summ. 10a, ll. 3b–5; Summ. 10b, ll. 2b–3a; Summ.

identical pair in these texts can hardly be accidental. The name *tâmti (elēnīte) ša māt Amurri* was applied to the Mediterranean by the scribes of Tiglath-pileser I,[88] whereas *tâmdi ša šulme/u* ^{d}*Šamši* is the term introduced first in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III.[89] Therefore, the juxtaposition of the two names in Shalmaneser's texts can be understood as an effort of Shalmaneser's historiographer(s) to show the correspondence between the traditional name and the new name of the Mediterranean Sea by paraphrasing both of them.[90] In any case, it is unlikely that the two names should be seen as the appellatives of two different parts of the Mediterranean Sea, as suggested by J. Elayi,[91] since there is no indication that Shalmaneser reached the sea twice at two different points, as elucidated above (1.1).

The precise location of the sea coast reached by Shalmaneser is not explicitly mentioned in any version of the Annals. He probably arrived either at the mouth of the Orontes near Jebel Aqra (Mons Cassius) or else at the coastal plain of Latakia. At any rate, it is unlikely that he advanced much further southwards. The receipt of tribute from the kings of the sea coast is absent from Annals 1 but is recorded in Annals 3 (ii 7), as well as in Annals 4 (the Balawat Gate Inscription) and Summary Inscription 6 (the Calah Throne

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10c, ll. 3b–4; Summ. 11a, ll. 2b–3, Summ. 11b, ll. 4–5; Summ. 11c, ll. 3b–5a; Summ. 12, ll. 4b–7a).

[88] RIMA 2. A.0.87.4. ll. 6 and 68f.; A.0.87.10, l. 7.

[89] For example, Ann. 1, r. 34 (= l. 86 in RIMA 3, A.0.102.3); Ann. 5 (the 16 Year Annals), i 42; Ann. 7, i 24; Ann. 13, l. 27; Ann. 14, ll. 8f. Cf. A.AB.BA *e-li-ni-ti ša ša-la-mu* ^{d}*Šam-ši* in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser I (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1, iv 50; but this is in the context of the Nairi campaign); A.AB.BA GAL-*ti/tu šá* KUR *A-mur-ri šá šùl-mu/um* ^{d}*Šam-ši* in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, A.0.101.40, l. 20; A.0.101.41, ll. 5–7 and A.0.101.56, ll. 8f.). The short form: *tâmdi ša šulme/u* ^{d}*Šamši* is, however, first attested in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. As for the terminology of the Mediterranean Sea, I benefitted from reading the unpublished paper by Keiko Yamada: "A Study of Geographical Expressions of Seas in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions". On this subject, however, for the time being see J. Elayi, *OA* 23 (1984), pp. 75–92.

[90] Another example of the effort to correlate the old and new terminologies of the Mediterranean by Ashurnasirpal II's scribes is the composition of a single name for the sea with a double modifier: *tâmti rabīte ša māt Amurri ša šulum Šamši* "the great sea of Amurri that of the Setting Sun" (see above, n. 89). In this light, following the suggestion of Keiko Yamada (see n. 89), I seriously considered reading the present passage of the Monolith as [*ālāni ša ahāt tâmdi*] *e-le-ni-te šá māt A-mur-ri ša*! (for *u* and *tam*) SILIM ^{d}*Šam-ši*, but finally abandoned this, since the result of the collation does not favour it (see Appendix E), and the reading contradicts the new evidence from the One Year Annals.

[91] *OA* 23, p. 83.

Base).[92] The names of the kings of the sea coast who brought tribute are not indicated in these texts; we can only speculate about their identity from circumstantial evidence. The best case for comparison is that of the Phoenician countries which brought their tribute to Ashurnasirpal II in similar circumstances when he reached the Mediterranean: Tyre, Sidon, Byblos, Mahallatu, Maizu, Kaizu, Amurru and Arwad, i.e. almost all the major city states in Phoenicia (see above, Part I, 3). It seems that Shalmaneser wished to repeat the achievement of his father Ashurnasirpal II on the Mediterranean coast. It thus seems that, like his father, Shalmaneser won the recognition of his prestige by the Phoenician rulers, and received their tribute, carried by ship from their cities which spread over the extensive coastal plain.

Two scenes depicted on the bronze bands of Balawat are generally associated with this tribute brought by the kings of the sea coast. The scenes are those of Band III, upper register, and of Band N, lower register, with the captions: *maddattu ša* ^{giš}*eleppāti ša* ^{uru}*Ṣūrāya* ^{uru}*Ṣidūnāya amhur* "the tribute of the ships of Tyrians and Sidonians I received" (Band III); [*maddat*]*tu ša* ^{uru}*Ṣūrāya* ^{uru}*Ṣidūnāya kaspa hurāṣa annaka siparra šīpāt uqnî sāmti* (SÍK.MEŠ NA_4.ZA.GÌN NA_4.GUG) *amhur* "the tribute of Tyrians and Sidonians, silver, gold, lead, bronze, wool of lapis lazuli colour (and) of carnelian colour I received" (Band N).[93] Both reliefs depict Phoenician boats crossing the sea from an island, apparently Tyre, to the mainland, as well as people unloading cargoes from a boat and carrying tribute to Shalmaneser.[94] Since the scenes describe the event schematically, they do not necessarily mean that Shalmaneser stayed just opposite the island of Tyre; this

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[92] Ann. 4, ii 4; Summ. 6, l. 20. In these texts, the word "altogether (*kalīšunu*)" is added to "the kings of the sea coast (*šarrāni ša šiddi tâmdi/ahāt tâmti*)".

[93] Band III, upper register: King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XIII–XVIII; cf. A. Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 16–19; J. Bör, *Tribut*, pp. 117–119; for its caption, E. Michel, *WO* 4, p. 34 (C, o. R.) = RIMA 3, A.0.102.66. Band N: E. Unger, *Zum Bronzetor*, pp. 34–39 and pl. I (= idem, "Wiederherstellung", pp. 19–24 and pl. I); cf. Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 81–82; Bör, *Tribut*, pp. 127–129. For its captions, Michel, *WO* 4, p. 36 (N, u. R) = RIMA 3, A.0.102.84. For the chronological assignment of the scenes on the bronze gates, see the remarks above in Part I, 1.2.3 (Misc. 4).

[94] On Band N, the island is largely broken off, but a figure standing on it can still be seen on the right end. The alternative identification of the island with Sidon or Arwad considered by Unger (*Zum Bronzetor*, p. 38; idem, "Wiederherstellung", p. 23) should be dismissed, since Sidon is not an island and Arwad stands in contradiction to the caption.

would be incompatible with the events of the first year.[95] On Band III, we can recognize an aged king of Tyre, apparently Ethbaal I,[96] standing on the island. That the Tyrian king did not lead the delegation himself may imply that the actual site where the tribute was received was far from the island;[97] thus, it could have been either the mouth of the Orontes or the Latakia region (see above).

Leaving the Mediterranean Sea, the remotest point reached in the campaign, Shalmaneser started the return march. As already discussed (1.1), thanks to the publication of Annals 1, the course of this march is now much clearer than before. Annals 1, r. 37–47 read as follows:

> *ina tayyartīya* (38) *ša tâmti ana šadê* ^{kur}*Hamani ēli gušurē erēni burāši akkis* (39) *ana šadê* ^{kur}*Atalur ēli ašar ṣalmu ša* ^{m}*Anum*(AN)*-hirbe zaqpu allik* (40) *ṣalmī itti ṣalmēšu ušezziz* ^{uru}*Tayā* ^{uru}*Hazazu māhāzī* (41) *rabûti ša* ^{kur}*Patināya akšud dīktašunu ma'attu adūk* (42) 4,600 *šallassunu ašlula ištu* ^{uru}*Hazazi attumuš ana* ^{uru}*Urime* (43) *āl dannūtīšu ša* ^{m}*Lubarna* ^{kur}*Patināya aqṭirib āla appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup* (44) *ākulšu asumetta alṭur ina muhhīšu azqup maddattu ša* ^{m}*Arame* (45) *mār* ^{m}*Gūsi kaspa hurāṣa* [*alp*]*ī immerī karānāti erša*(GIŠ.NÁ) *hurāṣi* (46) *šinni pīli taskarinni*(GIŠ.TÚG) *amhur* 22,000 *ummānāt māt Hatti assuha* (47) *ana ālīya Aššur ubla*
>
> On my return from the sea, I ascended Mt. Amanus, cut logs of cedar (and) juniper. I ascended Mt. Atalur, went to the place where the image of Anum-hirbe stands, set up my image together with his one. I conquered Taya (and) Hazazu, great cities of the Patinean(s). I massacred many of them (and) carried off 4,600 captives. I departed from Hazazu and approached Urime, the fortified city of Lubarna, the Patinean. I destroyed the city, set it on fire (and) consumed it. I inscribed a stone slab (and) set (it) up therein. I received the tribute of Arame "son of Gusi": silver, gold, [ox]en, sheep, wine, a bed made of gold, ivory (and) boxwood. I carried off 22,000 people of the land of Hatti (and) brought (them) to my city Ashur.

The phrase "*ina tayyartīya ša tâmti*" is decisive here in placing the ascent of the Amanus after the departure from the sea coast. The Assyrians probably took the same road, on which they had come to

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[95] Shalmaneser actually reached the mainland of Tyre in Year 18 (841) (see below, 12.2), but this event cannot chronologically be included in the series of the bronze bands, as discussed above (Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4).

[96] For Ethbaal I and his reign, see H.J. Katzenstein, *Tyre*, pp. 129–166.

[97] This has already been argued by H.J. Katzenstein (*Tyre*, p. 165). G. Kestemont (in E. Gubel, *et al.* (eds.), *Studia Phoenicia*, I/II, pp. 63f.) also concludes that the tribute was delivered to a point far from the island of Tyre.

the sea, now in the reverse direction to the Amanus. As already stated (l.1), the description from the Mt. Amanus to Hazazu is presented without any itinerary formula, but there is no specific reason, either geographical or textual, to reject the order of events given here.

The first target on this route was the Amanus, where Assyrians cut timber. The scene is probably depicted on Balawat Bronze Band N, upper register.[98] The site of the timber-cutting was presumably the southern part of the Amanus mountain ridge, not very far from the Orontes river from which the Assyrians had come.

The next target was Mt. Atalur, where Shalmaneser placed his image alongside that of Anum-hirbe, a king who had resided in the eastern Anatolia in the Old Assyrian period.[99] Mt. Atalur is attested as KUR *A-da-lu-úr/ur* in the two lists of significant mountains in the region; one is the lexical text HAR.RA-*hubullu* (Tablet XXII)[100] and the other is the incantation text, *Lipšur* Litanies.[101] Thus, it seems that as early as the second millennium B.C., the mountain was known in Mesopotamian scribal circles as a prominent peak.[102] It is also mentioned as HUR.SAG *A-ta-lu-ur* in the Akkadian version of the bilingual annals of Hattusili I,[103] in which Hattusili is said to have defeated the city Zarunti/Zarna, overcome the coalition of Hasshu(wa) and Halab (Aleppo) near Mt. Atalur, and then crossed the river Puran(a) to reach Hasshu(wa). In this itinerary, none of the

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[98] Unger, *Zum Bronzetor*, pp. 34–39 and pl. I = idem, "Wiederherstellung", pp. 19–24 and pl. I (N, 3–5). The scene has so far not been connected with any specific location, although the right end of the scene (N, 5–7) was associated by E. Unger with the setting up of the stela on the Mediterranean coast (see above, n. 83).

[99] Anum-hirbe is identified with the king of Mama from the Old Assyrian period, whose letter to Warshama, king of Kanesh, was uncovered at Kültepe (ancient Kanish). See K. Balkan, *Anum-Hirbe*. Mama is located in the modern Turkish district of Maraş (Balkan, *ibid.*, pp. 31–34; K. Nashef, *RGTC* 4, pp. 82f. [s.v. Mama]). The legendary story of this king was well known in the Hittite scribal circle and may have also been familiar to Assyrians. The issue has been discussed by A. Ünal, in K. Hecker and W. Sommerfeld (eds.), *Keilschriftliche Literaturen* (RAI 32), pp. 129–136.

[100] E. Reiner, *MSL* XI, p. 23, l. 11.

[101] E. Reiner, *JNES* 15 (1956), p. 132, l. 10.

[102] For the date of the texts, cf. W.F. Leemans, *Foreign Trade in the Old Babylonian Period*, p. 6.

[103] The annals have survived in Akkadian and Hittite (*KBo* 10, nos. 1–3). Apart from the mountain's name, only preserved in the Akkadian version (no. 1, obv. 33), the god ^{d}*A-da-lu-ur* (obv. 38 [Akkadian])/ rd*A*^{1}-^{r}*ta*^{1}-^{r}*al*^{1}-^{r}*lu*^{1}-^{r}*ur*^{1} (no. 2, ii 27 [Hittite]) is said to have been taken as booty from the city *Haššu*; cf. the translation and notes of H. Otten, *MDOG* 91 (1958), p. 82.

toponyms except Halab can be located with certainty,[104] but the proximity of the mountain to Aleppo is certainly implied here. Furthermore, HUR.SAG *A-tal-lu-u-ra-aš* is mentioned in a broken context in a Hittite text (*KBo* 15, no. 44. ll. 3'f.) between [HUR.SA]G *A-ma-na-aš* (Amanus) and [UR]U *Aš-ta-ta-aš* (Emar/Meskene region).[105] This may testify that Mt. Atalur was not very far from the Amanus. Using these pieces of evidence and the itinerary given in Shalmaneser's Annals 1, Mt. Atalur can be located between the Amanus and the line of Aleppo-Azaz-Gaziantep (south to north). Thus, the identification with Kurt Dağ, a mountain ridge east of the Amanus, as suggested by several scholars, seems likely.[106]

Another problem is the name of the mountain. As noted above (1.1), in the later texts of Shalmaneser III the mountain is not called Atalur but Lallar. Since the name Atalur is attested in the earliest texts of Shalmaneser (Ann. 1 and 3), as well as in the Hittite sources quoted above, it is difficult to reject its authenticity. If the form Lallar, attested only in the later texts, is not an error,[107] we may explain, with E. Weidner, that the original non-Akkadian name of the place **Tlallor* was normalized differently into "Atalur" and "Lallar";[108]

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[104] Concerning Zarunti/Zarna, *Za-ru-na* is also mentioned in the inscription of Idrimi as a place located within the border of the kingdom of Alalakh (S. Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi*, l. 68). Smith places the city in the district of Seleucia (*ibid.*, pp. 75f.); but see M.C. Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), p. 234 (eastern Cilicia); H. Klengel, *GS* III, p. 168 (north or north-west of Gaziantep); cf. also G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6, p. 496. For *Haššu*, see G. Szabó and H.G. Güterbock, *RlA* 4, pp. 136f.; del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, pp. 97–99. The location of Hasshu still remains unclear. It is even in dispute whether Hasshu lay to the west or east of the Euphrates. The answer to the question largely depends on the identification of the river Puran in our context. It has been suggested by Güterbock (*JCS* 18 [1964], pp. 3ff.) that Puran is a name of the Euphrates (cf. del Monte-Tischler, *RGTC* 6, pp. 543f., s.v. *Puratti*), but the juxtaposition of ÍD.*Pu-u-ru-na* and ÍD.*Ú-ra-at-ta* (an alternative spelling of *Purattu*) in *KUB* 15, no. 34, iii 11 may be an obstacle to this identification (Otten, *MDOG* 91, p. 82, n. 24).

[105] Transliterated and commented on by Klengel (*GS* II, p. 152); cf. Otten, *MDOG* 91, p. 82, n. 23. For the land of Ashtata, see most recently M. Yamada, *ASJ* 16 (1994), pp. 261–268, esp. p. 264 with n. 19.

[106] Klengel, *GS* III, p. 32 with nn. 7–9; Abu Taleb, *IHNS*, pp. 144f.; N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 3 (1976), p. 96. Cf. del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, pp. 53f. (s.v. *Atalura*), and Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, p. 81, n. 219.

[107] M. Streck (*OLZ* 6 [1906], pp. 344f.) and A.T. Olmstead (*JAOS* 41 [1921], p. 352, n. 19) reject the name Lallar altogether as an error, accepting the authenticity of Atalur.

[108] Weidner, *apud* Michel, *WO* 1/I–II (1947), p. 14, n. 10, suggests the original name **Tlallu(a)r*; cf. W. Röllig, *RlA* 6, p. 438 (s.v. Lallar). A similar example of the **tl* sound, transcribed differently, is the Anatolian toponym Tegarama (OA and

perhaps the latter reflects the contemporary Assyrian transcription of the toponym, as against the former, traditional version.[109]

Following the ascent of Mt. Atalur, Annals 1 continues with the conquest of Taya and Hazazu, the "great cities of the Patinean(s) (*māhāzī rabûti ša* ^{kur}*Patināya*)", as quoted above. On the other hand, Annals 3 (ii 11) enumerates four cities—Taya, Hazazu, Nulia and Butamu, together called "of the Patinean(s) (*ša* ^{m}*Patināya*)" but without the attribute *māhāzī rabûti* (see above). Hazazu is securely identified with the modern Azaz[110] and Taya must be located in its vicinity.[111] If we admit that Nulia and Butamu were indeed conquered with Taya and Hazazu after the visit of Mt. Atalur, as presented in Annals 3, these cities should also be located around Hazazu.[112] In any case, the army of Shalmaneser, coming from Mt. Atalur, apparently

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Hittite) = Lakarma (Luwian) = Til-garimmu (NA) = Togarma (BH). For this, see below, Part II, 17.

[109] A different explanation was proposed by N. Na'aman (*Tel Aviv* 3, p. 95). Following K. Balkan (*Anum-Hirbe*, p. 37), he considered that Atalur and Lallar are different peaks. Taking Atalur (Kurt Dağ) as the site actually visited by Shalmaneser, Na'aman assumed that the scribe of the later version, being misled by the confusing text of his *Vorlage*, the Kurkh Monolith (see above, 1.1), "modified" Atalur into Lallar—allegedly the southern spur of the Amanus—which the scribe regarded as more suitable to the context. However, the new text Ann. 1, which indicates the course of the campaign clearly, appears to have been the *Vorlage* of the later version, rather than the Kurkh Monolith (see above, 1.1). This may make Na'aman's explanation untenable.

[110] R. Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 468; M. Noth, *ZDPV* 77 (1961), p. 136; J.D. Hawkins, *RlA* 4, p. 240, s.v. Hazazu.

[111] Taya can be equated with URU *Ta-e* attested in the Annals of Tiglath-pileser III as a city of Unqi/Patin (Tadmor, *ITP*, p. 66, Ann. 13*, l. 4). It is generally identified with the modern Kefr Tai, 12 km west of Aleppo (Olmstead, *JAOS* 41 [1921], p. 353, n. 20; Elliger, in *FS Eissfeldt*, pp. 78f. with n. 27; Astour, *JNES* 22, p. 237, no. 153). The city may, however, be located to the west or north of Hazaz, as the route of the campaign implies (cf. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 70, n. 1). In this respect, Tatya (between Kilizi and Azaz), suggested by R. Dussaud (*Topographie*, p. 469, n. 2) seems more compatible with the supposed campaign route.

[112] Kraeling suggests identifying Nulia with modern Niyara, east of Azaz (*op. cit.*). On the other hand, Astour is inclined to identify it with mediaeval Arabic Jebel Lailun, modern Jebel Seman or Jebel Barakat located between Antakia and Aleppo (*JNES* 22, pp. 223f., no. 15). Butame is identified with Beitan by Kraeling (*op. cit.*, p. 70, n. 1), and with Badama of Yaqut by Olmstead (*JAOS* 41, p. 353, n. 20; cf. Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 469, n. 2), both of which are near Azaz. Astour proposed to identify it with modern Bdama or Bedamma, located on an important pass between Ugarit and Alalakh (*op. cit.*); the proposed location seems too far to the south-west to fit in with the supposed route. However, if Butame was conquered on the way from the sea to the Amanus, and not after the visit of Mt. Atalur as Annals 3 asserts, the identification is not impossible. Cf. also the proposal of M. Weippert (*ZDPV* 89 [1973], p. 42, n. 61) to identify our Butame with Bumame, mentioned in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor, *ITP*, Ann. 19*, l. 9) as a city included in the 19 districts of Hamath.

crossed the Afrin river (not reported in the Annals) to reach the region of Hazazu.

The destruction of Hazazu is depicted on Balawat Bronze Band III, lower register, with the caption "the battle of the city of Hazazu (*tidūku ša* ^{uru}*Hazazi*)".[113] The relief depicts the victorious fighting of Assyrians against Patineans, with a walled city on fire, apparently Hazazu, and Patinean captives brought before the Assyrian king. Annals 1 (r. 40–42) reports that Shalmaneser, as the result of the conquest of Taya and Hazazu, "killed many of them (*dīktašunu ma'attu adūk*)" and deported 4,600 people (as quoted above). Annals 3 (ii 11f.) mentions 2,800 killed and 14,600 deported at the conquest of Taya, Hazazu, Nulia and Butamu. The latter number (14,600) should be regarded as made up by the manipulation of the original 4,600 (see above, 1.1). However, if even the smaller number of people carried off is real, it reflects the great size of the settlements, or at least of Hazazu and Taya which were called "*māhāzī rabûti*".

The Assyrians left Hazazu and approached Urime, "the fortified city of Lubarna, the Patinean", destroyed it, and set up an inscribed monument (*asumetta*) therein (Ann. 1, r. 42–44, cited above). This shows that there were two Patinean rulers at that time. One was Sapalulme, who participated in the anti-Assyrian coalition in the two battles fought in this year, one at Lutibu and the other at Alimush which was described as his fortified city (see above), and the other was Lubarna, who held Urime in the present context. The Annals of Ashurnasirpal II show that Lubarna of Patin possessed the cities Kunulua, Aribua and Hazazu, and allowed Ashurnasirpal II to take Aribua as an Assyrian outpost, at the same time offering tribute.[114] It is most probable that this ruler and our Lubarna are one and the same person.[115] If so, he was in all probability the king of Patin, although the Annals do not indicate his title, as usual in the texts of Shalmaneser. Considering this and the fact that Sapalulme is only mentioned in the account of this year, it may be supposed that Sapalulme was merely a viceroy of the aged king Lubarna, whose reign ended in this year; he was succeeded by Qalparunda in the next year, Year 2 (see below, 2.2).[116]

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[113] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XIII–XVIII; cf. Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 16 and 19–21.

[114] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 71–81.

[115] Cf. M. Mahmud and J. Black (*Sumer* 44 [1985/6], p. 137), who have already noted this identification as possible.

[116] Another possibility is that Lubarna (I), mentioned in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal

Urime must be located south of Hazazu, since apparently after its conquest, Shalmaneser received the tribute of Arame, "son of Gusi", whose territory must have extended around Aleppo and Arpad (Tell Rifat).[117] As discussed above, Arame was probably the king of Bit-Agusi and sent Adanu, the Yahanean, to fight as his commander at Alimush. It would seem then that Arame, who had co-operated with the anti-Assyrian coalition, now submitted to Shalmaneser and paid him tribute in order to save his land from the destruction experienced by the land of Patin.

The account of Annals 1 ends, after the mention of Arame's tribute, with the total number of the people carried off from the entire land of Hatti—22,000 (r. 46 quoted above).[118] This must include captives from Patin, the main target of the campaign, as well as those from Bit-Adini, Sam'al and possibly other north Syrian countries.[119]

2. *The Second Year (857): to Bit-Adini and Carchemish*

In his second regnal year (857), Shalmaneser continued his military enterprises on his western front, and attacked the cities of Bit-Adini and Carchemish. As in the case of Year 1, here too I shall first discuss the textual variants in the relevant accounts, and then proceed to investigate the historical details.

2.1. *Accounts of the Second Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The earliest version of the Annals which includes an account of the second year is Annals 2 (the Two Year Annals). The subsequent version, Annals 3 (the Kurkh Monolith), includes another account. The two accounts (Ann. 2, ll. 82'–95'; Ann. 3, ii 13b–30a) duplicate each

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II, was succeeded by Sapalulme, Lubarna (II) and then Qalparunda. This is theoretically possible but less likely, since it implies too many changes of ruler during a short period, including a reign for Lubarna II that lasted less than one year.

[117] Urime should probably be equated with *Urima* of the inscriptions of Idrimi and *Urume* of the Alalakh tablets. See Astour, *JNES* 22, p. 234, n. 118. He further identified it with *w-r-m* of the list of Thutmosis III and with one of the two Urim, 20 and 25 km west-south-west of Aleppo.

[118] Against the emendation of 22,000 (20 LIM 2 LIM) to 20,200 (20 LIM 2 ME), see above, 1.1, n. 19. For variants of the number in Ann. 4, ii 3 (44,400) and Summ. 6, ll. 25f. (87,500), see above, 1.1, esp. pp. 84 and 86f.

[119] On the captives taken by Shalmaneser in general, see below, Part III, 5.1.

other at the beginning (Ann. 2, ll. 82'–85' // Ann. 3, ii 13b–16a).[120] The contents of this common part may be summarized as follows:

A) Date (year, month and day); the king departed from [Nineveh], crossed the Tigris, and traversed the mountains of Hasamu and Dihnunu.
B) The king approached Til-barsip, the "fortified city" of Ahuni "son of Adini", fought with Ahuni, defeated and confined him [in the city]. The king departed from Til-barsip.
C) The king crossed the Euphrates.

After this common opening, the two accounts start diverging from each other. The continuation of Annals 2 (ll. 86'–95') is quite fragmentary, especially in ll. 86'–89' (= Episode D [see below]), but is evidently different from the corresponding part of Annals 3 (ii 16b–30a). The distinctive part of each text can be summarized as follows:

Annals 2, ll. 86'–95':

D) The king approached(?) [. . .] of Ahuni [. . .], killed many and plundered weapons and other items. The king "departed from [the city Til-bashe]ra(?)".[121]
E) The king approached "Dabigu, [. . .] the fortified city of Ahuni",[122] besieged and conquered it. He killed the people, took the booty and destroyed the city.
F) When the king stayed at Dabigu, he received the tribute of Qalparunda of Unqi (= Patin), Mutalli of Gurgum, Hayani of Sam'al, Arame of Bit-Agusi. (The items of the tribute are recorded.)

Annals 3, ii 16b–30a:

D') The king conquered [. . .]ga, Tagi, Surunu, Paripa, Til-bashere and Dabigu, "the six fortified cities of Ahuni (*6 ālānīšu dannūti ša* ^{m}*Ahuni*)", and destroyed 200 cities in their environs. The king departed from Dabigu.

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[120] Thus, the fragmentary lines of Ann. 2 can be restored from the corresponding part of Ann. 3.

[121] TA [URU *x-x*]-*x-ra* ⌜*at-tu-muš*⌝ (ll. 89'b–90'a). The possible identification of the broken toponym with Til-bashere, one of the six fortified cities of Ahuni mentioned in Ann. 3, ii 17 (Episode D' [see below]), was suggested by A.K. Grayson (RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, footnote to l. 89').

[122] URU ⌜*Da-bi-gi*⌝ [*x* (*x*)] *x x* [*x* (*x*)] *x x-ti* URU *dan-*⌜*nu-ti-šú ša*⌝ ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni* (ll. 90'f.). I wonder whether the broken part could be restored as [*bīrtu/i ša māt Hat*]-*ti*, the attribute of Dabigu as attested in Ann. 5 and the subsequent versions (see below).

E') The king approached Sazabe, the "fortified city" of Sangara the Carchemishite, besieged the city, conquered it, and destroyed the cities in its environs.

F') "The kings of the land of Ha[tti] altogether (*šarrāni ša māt Ha[tti] ana sihirtīšunu*)" submitted to Shalmaneser (lit. "seized my feet [*šēpēya iṣbatū*]"). From Qalparunda of Patin, Hayanu "son of Gabbar" (i.e. of Sam'al) and Sangara of Carchemish, Shalmaneser received their "spot tribute" (see below for the terminology); he further imposed "annual tribute" upon them and received it every year at the city of Ashur. From Arame of Bit-Agusi, he received "spot tribute". From Qatazilu of Kummuh, he received the "annual tribute" every year. (The items and quantities of the tribute are recorded).

There are significant variants between the two texts in the description of the conquest of the Syrian cities. Annals 3 (Episode D') reports the fall of six fortified cities of Ahuni, mentioned by name. In contrast, Annals 2 (Episodes D–E) seems to mention only two, [Til-bashe]ra(?) and Dabigu, of the six fortified cities, while giving the itinerary formula—non-existent in Annals 3—in between.[123] Furthermore, the conquest of Sazabe, the Carchemishite fortified city, narrated in Annals 3 (Episode E'), is neglected in Annals 2.

Variants are also found in the episode dealing with the tribute of Syrian countries (Ann. 2, Episode F and Ann. 3, Episode F'). The tribute bearers mentioned in both texts are not absolutely identical: Annals 2 enumerates Unqi (= Patin), Gurgum, Sam'al and Bit-Agusi, while Annals 3 lists Patin, Sam'al, Carchemish, Bit-Agusi and Kummuh.

The absence of Carchemish and Kummuh from Annals 2 is understandable when it is observed that the names are listed in different contexts in the two texts: Annals 2 only deals with the tribute received at Dabigu, whereas Annals 3 reports all the tribute gained as the result of the campaign, i.e. not only the occasional tribute gained at certain places during the campaign ("spot tribute") but also the tribute imposed at that time on a yearly base and then delivered every year to Assyria ("annual tribute"). The absence of Gurgum in Annals 3, however, cannot be explained unless it is regarded as a mistake.

[123] It is very unlikely that Ann. 2 originally included the names of all the six cities as enumerated in Ann. 3. The badly-preserved Episode D of Ann. 2 seems to narrate the battle at a single site only, and the following lines (Episode E) are devoted solely to the conquest of Dabigu.

An interesting point to note, regarding the edition of Annals 3's account, is the reference to the annual tribute, which must have been received some time later than the campaign itself. This implies that the second year account of Annals 3 is not merely the copy of a text written immediately after the campaign, but was composed later, probably with the edition of the whole text of Annals 3, i.e. the sixth regnal year (see above, Part I, 1.2.1, Annals 3).

The next version including an account of the second year is Annals 5 = the 16 Year Annals (i 49–56). The account is much shorter than the preceding versions. Its contents can be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my second *palû* (*ina 2 palêya*)"; the king departed from Nineveh.
B) The king approached Til-barsip, "tore down the cities of Ahuni of Bit-Adini, devastated and set (them) on fire", and confined Ahuni in "his city".
C) The king crossed the Euphrates.
D) Dabigu, "the fortress of the land of Hatti (*birtu ša māt Hatti*)" with the cities in its environs and "the rest of the cities of all the lands (*šītat(a) ālāni*[124] *ša mātāti kalîšina*)", the king, "on his (lit. my) second expedition, conquered, tore down, devastated and set (them) on fire (*ina girrīya šanêma akšud appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup*)".[125]
E) Shalmaneser received the tribute of "the kings of the other side of the Euphrates altogether (*šarrāni kalîšunu ša šēpē ammâte ša* [id]*Puratti*)", (and) "established his dominion (lit. 'my power and might [*lītī u danānī*]') over all the lands".

Some details related in the earlier versions are absent from Annals 5: (1) The exact date (month and day) of the departure and the itinerary from Nineveh to Til-barsip (Ann. 2 and Ann. 3, Episode A) are omitted. (2) The conquest of the Syrian cities of Ahuni (Ann. 2, Episodes D and E; Ann. 3, Episodes D' and E') is only briefly reported in Annals 5 (Episode D); of the conquered cities, only Dabigu is mentioned by name, with the new attribute "the fortress of the land of Hatti (*birtu ša māt Hatti*)".[126] The generic

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[124] The main exemplar has *ilāni*, an error for *ālāni*.

[125] The text has an excessive *ana* before Dabigu (*a-na* URU *Da-bi-gi bi-ir-tu ša* KUR *Hat-ti* [l. 52]), while the city name is the direct object of the verbs following it: *appur*, *aqqur*, and *ašpur*. As suggested by A.K. Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 35), this awkward sentence may be a result of inexpert compilation made using a text which included the standard itinerary formula *ana Dabigi . . . aqṭirib* "I approached Dabigu".

[126] See, however, above, n. 122, for the possible attestation of the same attribute in Ann. 2, Episode E.

term, "the rest of the cities of all the lands" is added to compensate for these abridgements. (3) The names of the tributaries and the contents of the tribute (cf. Ann. 2, Episode F; Ann. 3, Episode F') were omitted and replaced by the general statement: "I established my power and might over all the lands" (Ann. 5, Episode E).

The destruction of the cities of Ahuni before the Euphrates crossing, mentioned in Annals 5 (Episode B), is a detail lacking in the preceding versions. Could this detail, with no specific names of the cities appeared, reflect an original source or did it originate in the editor's speculation that small settlements around Til-barsip were destroyed?

Another topic discussed by some scholars is the change of the attribute of Dabigu, from one of "the fortified cities of Ahuni of Bit-Adini (*ālānīšu dannūti ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini*)" in Annals 3 to "the fortress of the land of Hatti (*birtu ša māt Hatti*)" in Annals 5. Y. Ikeda suggested that the change took place as the result of the fading Assyrian memory of the connection between Bit-Adini and Dabigu, after Dabigu fell to the Assyrians and allegedly became an important Assyrian base.[127] T.J. Schneider, on the other hand, claimed that this change was introduced by the editor, who wished to conceal Bit-Adini's expansion to the west of the Euphrates with the new attribute.[128] In my opinion, however, the attribute "the fortress of the land of Hatti" could have been introduced by an editor simply as part of the structure of the text, and not necessarily for any historical reason or with any manipulative intent. In the account of Annals 5, the king's achievements are summarized in two geographical divisions: (1) the eastern side of the Euphrates represented by Bit-Adini (Epi-

[127] *Iraq* 41 (1979), pp. 77f. Considering, however, that the later versions were edited on the basis of the earlier ones, it is improbable that the past connection of Dabigu with Bit-Adini was so easily forgotten. It is also doubtful whether Dabigu became an important Assyrian base, since the Annals do not mention explicitly that the region of Dabigu came under direct Assyrian control (see below, 2.2 and 3.2).

[128] *New Analysis*, pp. 207–210, esp. 209. It is, however, hard to explain why the editor should wish to conceal the expansion of Bit-Adini, the state which had successfully been reduced by Shalmaneser long before the edition of Ann. 5. Moreover, the first year account of Ann. 5 includes the lines (i 46–48): *ālāni ša* ^{kur}*Patināya ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār* ^{m}*Adini ša* ^{uru}*Gargamišāya ša mār Gūsi ša šēpē ammâti ša* ^{id}*Puratti appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup* "I tore down, devastated and burnt the cities of the Patinean(s), of Ahuni son of Adini (= Bit-Adini), of the Carchemishite(s) and of the son of Gusi (= Bit-Agusi), which (were) on the other (= west) side of the Euphrates". This passage admits, in my opinion, the existence of the cities of Bit-Adini west of the Euphrates, as opposed to Schneider's interpretation which sees the same passage as concealing the western expansion of Bit-Adini by combining its description with others (*ibid.*, p. 207).

sode B) and (2) "the other (i.e. western) side of the river", defined as "the land of Hatti" (Episodes D and E). The editor emphasizes the king's success especially in the latter region, by claiming its complete subjugation in this "second (western) expedition (*ina girrīya šanêma*)". In this framework, Dabigu was defined geographically, not politically, by the attribute: "the fortress of the land of Hatti" and was placed together with "the rest of the cities of all the lands", which also probably signified cities located to the west of the river (Episode D).

We now arrive at the later versions: Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (i 30b–36a), Annals 11 = *KAH* 1, 77+ (ll. 32–35a), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 32–35a) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 11b–14a). These versions have a duplicate account of the second year, with only minor variations between them.[129] The account of these later texts was abridged from that of Annals 5, and they all contain common phraseology. There can be no doubt that the later versions were edited using Annals 5 as a *Vorlage*.

However, in this process, several changes took place: (1) The indication of the point of departure, i.e. Nineveh (Ann. 5, Episode A) was omitted. (2) The statement "I tore down, devastated and set (them) on fire (*appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup*)" (Ann. 5, Episode B) was abridged to "I conquered (*akšud*)". (3) The statement "the rest of the cities of all the lands (*šītat(a) ālāni ša mātāti kalîšina*)" (Ann. 5, Episode D) was omitted, and the statement "in my second expedition, I conquered, tore down, devastated and set (them) on fire (*ina girrīya šanêma akšud appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup*)" was shortened to "I conquered (*akšud*)". (4) Episode E of Annals 5 is entirely omitted in the later versions.

2.2. *Historical Analysis of the Second Year Campaign*

As in the previous year, Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh, on the thirteenth day of the month Ayyaru, and took the same route, through Mts. Hasamu and Dihnunu, to the city of Til-barsip to fight with Ahuni of Bit-Adini.[130] It seems that the Assyrian army did not encounter any substantial military target on the way, since no other place is said to have been attacked before Til-barsip.[131]

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[129] An excessive *ana* is found before the city name Dabigi in Ann. 7, i 35 (as in Ann. 5), but is non-existent in Ann. 13, l. 34; the relevant part is broken on Ann. 11 (l. 34) and Ann. 14 (l. 13).

[130] Ann. 3, ii 13–15; cf. Ann. 2, ll. 82'–84'; Ann. 5, i 49–51; Ann. 7, i 30–33, Ann. 11, ll. 32–33; Ann. 13, ll. 32–33; Ann. 14, ll. 11–13.

[131] In the previous year, La'la'te was attacked before Til-barsip.

The encounter between Shalmaneser and Ahuni is related in Annals 3, with exactly the same details as in the account of the previous year: Ahuni, trusting in the might of his own army, came out to fight, but Shalmaneser defeated him, confined him in his city, and then departed from there to cross the Euphrates. Although the phraseology "I confined him in his city (*ina* [*ālīšu*] *ēsiršu*)"[132] is stereotyped and identical to that found in the account of the previous year (i 33), it must be questioned whether Til-barsip escaped a prolonged siege at the present time too, as it did in the previous year (see above, 1.2), or not. In this connection, we should examine the *résumé* section, which is placed before the fourth year account in Annals 3 (ii 66b–69a), and which describes the siege of Til-barsip:[133]

> ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini ša ištu šarrāni abbēya šipṣu* [*u*] *danāni iltakkanu ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina līme zikir šumīya ištu* ^{uru}*Ninua attumuš* ^{uru}*Til-bursip*(*sic*) *āl dannūtīšu assibi qurādīya ušalmēšu*[134] *mithuṣu ina libbīšu aškun kirîšu akkis nablī mulmullī elīšu ušaznin ištu pān namurrat kakkēya melammē bēlūtīya iplahma ālšu umaššir ana šūzub napšātīšu* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir*
>
> As for Ahuni son of Adini who, since (the days of) the kings my fathers, had incessantly conducted himself with obduracy and violence; in the beginning of my reign in the eponym year of my own name (= Year 2), I departed from Nineveh, besieged Til-barsip, his fortified city. I let my warriors surround it, set a battle in its midst, cut down its orchard (and) rained fire and arrows upon it. He became frightened before the brilliance of my weapons (and) the splendour of my lordship and abandoned his city. He crossed the Euphrates to save his life.

The chronological remark "in the eponym year of my own name (*ina līme zikir šumīya*)" points to Year 2 (857).[135] Following this remark, it would seem that Til-barsip, which escaped prolonged siege in Year 1, was first severely besieged in Year 2, and that the siege was somehow continued by Shalmaneser's warriors until Ahuni abandoned the city.[136] However, from the relevant texts (Ann. 3 and the subsequent

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[132] Ann. 3, ii 15f.; the restoration is certain in the light of parallel lines in Ann. 5 (i 51), Ann. 7 (i 33), Ann. 13 (l. 33) and Ann. 14 (l. 13).

[133] For the examination of the historiographical aspects of this *résumé*, as well as its relationship to similar passages found in other texts (Ann. 4 and Summ. 2), see below, 4.1.

[134] ⌜*ú-šá*⌝-*al-me-šu* (l. 67), the restoration was first proposed by W. Schramm (*Einleitung*, p. 72); cf. Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 21; for my collation, see below, Appendix E.

[135] See above, Part I, 2, esp. Table 4 (p. 66).

[136] The entire sequence of the fall of Til-barsip is discussed below in 3.2.

versions), it appears that Shalmaneser himself did not stay at Til-barsip for a long time but led part of his army across the Euphrates.

After crossing the Euphrates, Shalmaneser conquered [. . .]*-x-ga-a, Ta-gi, Su-u-ru-nu, Pa-ri-pa,* ⌜*Til*⌝*-ba-še-re-e*, and *Da-bi-gu*, "six fortified cities of Ahuni son of Adini (*6 ālānīšu dannūti ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini*)", caused them heavy losses, took the booty and/or captives (*šallassunu ašlula*), and destroyed 200 towns in their environs.[137] Dabigu is almost unanimously identified with modern Dabiq on the upper part of the Quweiq river, 13 km east of Azaz and 11 km east-north-east of Tell Rifat.[138] Til-bashere is evidently the modern Tell Bashir, on the western bank of the Sajur river, 20 km south-east of Gaziantep.[139] Surunu may probably be identified with Saruna, attested in Tiglath-pileser III's list of the cities of Bit-Agusi, with *šrn* of the Aramaic Sefire treaty, and perhaps with *Šurun* of the Suppiluliuma-Sattiwaza treaty.[140] The name of the place may be preserved in the modern Sarin located 15 km south-east of Gaziantep.[141] Thus, the six fortified cities were located in the area between Gaziantep and Tell Rifat (ancient Arpad), on the west bank of the Sajur and on the upper Quweiq.[142]

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[137] Ann. 3, ii 16–18; cf. Ann. 2, ll. 86'–92'; Ann. 5, i 51f.; Ann. 7, i 34f.; Ann. 11, ll. 33–35; Ann. 13, ll. 33–35; Ann. 14, ll. 13f.

[138] Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, pp. 70f.; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 60; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 468; Noth, *ZDPV* 77 (1961), p. 137, n. 54; Sader, *Les états*, p. 96, n. 157. A. Billerbeck (*Palasttore*, pp. 21f. with n. 1 [on p. 22]), however, placed Dabigu together with Til-bashere (= Tell Bashir) in the area of Aintab, the source of the Sajur.

[139] Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 69; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 60; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 468; Sader, *Les états*, p. 96, n. 156.

[140] North, *ZDPV* 77, p. 136 with n. 54; cf. M. Weippert, *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 224 (1972), p. 159. For Tiglath-pileser III's list, see *ITP*, p. 146, ii 5. For the Sefire treaty, see *KAI*, no. 222, A, l. 34. For the Suppiluliuma-Sattiwaza treaty, see E. Weidner, *PDK*, pp. 22–25 [= *KBo* 1, no. 1], r. 17'; cf. J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 33 (1983), pp. 131–136, esp. 135f. and M. Yamada, *AJS* 16 (1994), pp. 261–268, esp. 261–263, for the interpretation of the relevant passage.

[141] Noth, *ZDPV* 77, pp. 136f. with n. 54; Sader, *Les états*, p. 96, n. 154; Tadmor, *ITP*, p. 147:5; but cf. different opinions of A.T. Olmstead (*Ṣauron* east of Niara or *Sārūn* north-west of Tell-Bashir [*JAOS* 41, p. 254, n. 22]) and of M.C. Astour (Suran, 22 km north-west of Aleppo [*JNES* 22, p. 234, no. 116; this seems too far south).

[142] Further, A.T. Olmstead suggests identifying our Tagi with *Tu-ka-a* in the list of the cities of Bit-Agusi in Tiglath-pileser III's inscription (Tadmor, *ITP*, p. 146, ii 4); see *JAOS* 41, p. 354, n. 22. As for Paripa, R. Dussaud prudently suggests identifying it with Tell Ifar, south-west of Hierapolis (= Membij), comparing it to the Paphara of Ptolemy (*Topographie*, p. 470, n. 6), as did E. Sachau (*ZA* 12 [1897], pp. 47f.).

A systematic record of the movements of Shalmaneser's force between the six cities is not available. Yet, Annals 2 (ll. 86'–89') shows that after the crossing of the Euphrates, Shalmaneser attacked a site belonging to Ahuni, whose name is fragmentarily preserved as [. . .]-*ra* (l. 89'),[143] and then moved from this site to conquer Dabigu. In addition to this, Annals 3 (ii 18f.) relates that the king departed from Dabigu and approached Sazabe, the fortified city of Sangara the Carchemishite. Therefore, it is most likely that Dabigu was the last of the six conquered cities belonging to Ahuni. It appears that Shalmaneser, after crossing the Euphrates at the mouth of the Sajur river near Til-barsip, advanced to the north-west along the right (western) bank of the Sajur and then turned around to proceed southwards down to Dabigu, located on the upper Quweiq.[144]

The battle of Dabigu is depicted on Balawat Bronze Band IV.[145] The upper register of the band bears the epigraph "the battle of Dabigu of Ahuni, son of Adini (*tidūku ša* ^{uru}*Dabigi ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār* ^{m}*Adini*)" and depicts a walled city being attacked from both sides by sappers, archers and chariots. In the lower register, which has no epigraph, we see in its left half the scene of the final assault on a walled city by sappers and a siege engine, with enemies' corpses being impaled near the city;[146] on the right half is engraved another scene, with captives led by Assyrians to a walled city which already seems to be under Assyrian occupation.[147] The two walled cities engraved on the lower register are similar to each other and resemble the city in the upper register as well. Thus, it appears that all three are intended to represent Dabigu, and that each of them represents a different stage of the same battle, i.e. its beginning, the assault on the city, and the taking of captives after the fall of the city.[148]

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[143] Perhaps it could be restored as [Til-bashe]ra, as noted above (2.1), n. 121.

[144] This route was suggested by E. Kraeling (*Aram and Israel*, p. 60), who did not have Ann. 2 at his disposal.

[145] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XIX–XXIV (cf. p. 24); cf. Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 21–29. For the edition of the epigraph on its upper register, see Michel, *WO* 4 (1967), p. 36; and now RIMA 3, A.0.102.68.

[146] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XX–XXI.

[147] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XXII–XXIV.

[148] This is the view held by A. Billerbeck (*Palasttore*, p. 25) with certain reservations. L.W. King (*Bronze Reliefs*, p. 24) and A.T. Olmstead (*JAOS* 41, p. 354) are of the opinion that the scenes in the lower register depict the sack of a neighbouring town; Olmstead identifies it as Til-bashere.

As already discussed (2.1), the account of Annals 2 includes a passage specifically devoted to the incidents at Dabigu (ll. 90'–95'). According to this passage, Shalmaneser besieged and conquered the city, killed the people and took booty and/or captives from them. Importantly, it is further stated in the same text (ll. 93'–95') that when the king stayed at Dabigu, he received the tribute (*maddattu*) of Qalparunda of Unqi (Patin), Mutalli of Gurgum, Hayanu of Sam'al and Arame of Bit-Agusi. These countries, failing to organize an anti-Assyrian coalition, probably adopted a wait-and-see policy when the cities of Ahuni were attacked. Apparently, their tribute-bearing was the direct result of the conquest of Dabigu, the event which signified decisive Assyrian military success over Bit-Adini. The absence of Carchemish among the tributaries testifies to this state's failure to submit immediately to Shalmaneser upon the fall of Dabigu. This must have persuaded Shalmaneser to continue his campaign into Carchemishite territory.

Departing from Dabigu, Shalmaneser's force approached Sazabe, the fortified city of Sangara of Carchemish. The Assyrians besieged the city, conquered it, caused heavy losses to the enemy, carried off booty and/or captives (*šallassunu ašlula*), destroyed the villages in the environs of the city and set them on fire.[149] It has been suggested that Sazabe should be identified with the Syriac Shadabu, which is said to have been located two parasangs (c. 11 km) below Jerablus (Carchemish).[150] No matter what the exact location of Sazabe, the general direction of Shalmaneser's movements is clear. Leaving the area south-west of the Sajur, which belonged to Ahuni, Shalmaneser turned to the north-east, crossed the Sajur and entered the realm of Carchemish which extended, no doubt, along the western bank of the Euphrates around the city of Carchemish.

Following the conquest of Sazabe, Annals 3 (ii 20f.) relates that "all the kings of the land of Hatti (*šarrāni ša māt H[atti] ana sihirtīšu*)" became afraid of Assyrian military power and expressed their submission. Actually, however, Patin, Sam'al, Bit-Agusi and Gurgum

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[149] Ann. 3, ii 18–20. Sangara is first attested in the annals of Ashurnasirpal II in the account of his Mediterranean campaign (RIMA 2, 0.101.1, iii 65; cf. above, Part I, 3), which is dated to 875–867, and then in Years 1, 2, 6, 10 and 11 of Shalmaneser III. He barely outlived Shalmaneser III. For Carchemish in general, see J.D. Hawkins, "Karkamiš", *RlA* 5, pp. 426–446.

[150] F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, p. 268; cf. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 60, n. 1.

had already submitted and paid tribute at Dabigu, as seen above, and Carchemish was the last to submit, after the fall of Sazabe.

The account of Annals 3 concludes with the detailed list of the tribute that Shalmaneser received from five kings: Qalparunda of Patin, Hayanu of Sam'al, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Sangara of Carchemish and Qatazilu of Kummuh (ii 21–30). As already stated (2.1), this is a comprehensive list of all the tribute gained directly or indirectly as the result of the present campaign, including both tribute received at a particular spot during the campaign ("spot tribute"), and a fixed tribute to be delivered yearly to the city of Ashur ("annual tribute"). The examination of the list may help us to understand the new political situation created by the present campaign.[151]

Of the five tributaries mentioned in the list, Qalparunda of Patin, Hayanu of Sam'al and Sangara of Carchemish, all of whom had fought against Shalmaneser the previous year, offered a large "spot tribute" (in our terminology), including a royal princess and her dowry.[152] The tribute of Patin and Sam'al may be equated with the afore-mentioned tribute brought to Shalmaneser at Dabigu. Carchemishite tribute was apparently paid after the fall of Sazabe. In addition to the "spot tribute", Shalmaneser is said to have imposed "annual tribute" upon these three rulers and to have accepted it at the city of Ashur.[153]

In the same list, Arame of Bit-Agusi is said to have offered "spot tribute". This must be the tribute paid at Dabigu (see above). As discussed above (1.2), Bit-Agusi/Yahan was involved in the anti-Assyrian coalition at the Battle of Alimush in the previous year (858), but later, though still during the same campaign, Arame submitted to Shalmaneser and paid tribute. In spite of this subjugation, it seems that Arame needed to show his loyalty to Shalmaneser again by pay-

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[151] For the comprehensive analysis of Shalmaneser's economic exploitation in the west, including the contents of this list of tribute, see below, Part III; especially 2.1–2.2, with Table 6 (Incidents 9–13), for the tribute mentioned in the present list.

[152] The scenes of tribute brought by Patin and Carchemish depicted in the reliefs on Balawat Bronze Bands V and VI are generally associated with the tribute-bearing of this year. See, however, above, Part I, 1.2.2, Misc. 4 and below, Part IV, 3, concerning the chronological ambiguities involved in these pieces of evidence.

[153] This is fully stated only in the case of Qalparunda of Patin (ii 23f.), whereas there is no mention of the city of Ashur as the place of receipt of the tribute in the cases of Hayanu (ii 26f.) and Sangara (ii 29f.). It is, however, evident that the abbreviation here was just to avoid redundant repetition of the same phrases. For the terminology of the receipt and imposition of the annual tribute, see below, Part III, 2.2.

ing "spot tribute" in the present year too. It is odd that there is no record of annual tribute paid by Arame. There seem to be no special historical circumstances which would explain why Arame was able to avoid this duty, which all of his neighbours were obliged to perform. Therefore, we should assume that the mention of the annual tribute of Bit-Agusi was neglected by the scribe.[154]

Concerning Qatazilu of Kummuh, it is merely recorded that Shalmaneser received his annual tribute (20 minas of silver and 300 logs of cedar);[155] there is no mention of a large amount of "spot tribute", like that the other four kings paid, nor an explicit statement of the imposition of "annual tribute", such as "I imposed upon him (*ina muhhīšu aškun*)". This probably reflects the special political status of Kummuh at that time. In the previous year (858), Qatazilu, keeping out of the anti-Assyrian coalition, had allowed Shalmaneser to pass through his kingdom and had also offered tribute (see above, 1.2). Therefore, we may assume with J.M. Peñuela[156] that Kummuh had already recognized Assyrian supremacy over the region, and accepted the duty of delivering an annual tribute; this would explain both why its imposition was not mentioned here, and why no large subjugation gift was requested from him. It is also possible that he had no need to come and pay tribute for an audience with Shalmaneser, since his territory was far distant from the focus of Assyrian military operations in this year.

Gurgum is not mentioned at all in the present list from Annals 3. Nevertheless, it is known that this state paid tribute to Shalmaneser, who passed through its territory in the previous year (see above, 1.2), and, as we have seen above, paid again in the present year after the fall of Dabigu. Furthermore, it is reasonable to suppose that Gurgum had also accepted the duty of paying annual tribute either in the previous year together with Kummuh, or less probably in the present year with other countries. Therefore, as already stated (2.1), the omission of Gurgum from the list must have been due to a scribal error.

To sum up, all of the north Syrian states were subjugated and integrated into the system of Assyrian control, both politically and economically, as expressed by their payment of tribute. Apart from

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[154] J.M. Peñuela, *Sefarad* 9 (1949), p. 19, considers the possibility of scribal error; cf. M.V. Seton-Williams, *Iraq* 23 (1961), p. 72.

[155] Ann. 3, ii 29f.

[156] *Sefarad* 9, p. 24.

the city of Til-barsip on the east bank of the Euphrates, the target of the Year 2 campaign was the territory west of the Euphrates belonging to Bit-Adini and Carchemish. This was the very area that the Assyrian army had skirted and left untouched in the previous campaign in Year 1 (see above, 1.2). By attacking this area, Shalmaneser intimidated the north Syrian states into submitting to him and isolated Bit-Adini, especially its centre Til-barsip, which was now placed under prolonged siege.

3. *The Third Year (856): to Bit-Adini*

3.1. *Accounts of the Third Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

In his third regnal year (856), Shalmaneser undertook an exceptionally long campaign, in which he reached Bit-Adini in the west and then traversed the extensive land of Urartu from west to east. We may define the incidents in the west as the first phase of the campaign, and the Urartian war, which climaxed with the battle at Arzashkun, the capital of Arame, king of Urartu, as the second.

The Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3) and the Annals dated by *palû*s, i.e. the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5) and the subsequent versions (specifically Ann. 7, 11, 13 and 14), include an account dealing with both phases. Though the Bull Inscription (Ann. 6) too must have originally included an account of both phases, only its latter part, relating to the Urartian war, has been preserved (ll. 56–60). The inscriptions on the Balawat Gate (Ann. 4, ii 5–iii 3) and on the Calah Throne Base (Summ. 6, ll. 37–42) contain a narrative of the Urartian war but no account of the incidents in the west. Here I shall only examine the accounts relating to the west, but not those of the Urartian war.

The account of Annals 3 (ii 30–66a) is the most detailed. Its contents may be summarized as follows:

A) Date (year, month and day); the king departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris, traversed the mountains of Hasamu and Dihnunu.
B) The king <approached> Til-barsip, "the fortified city" of Ahuni "son of Adini", and conquered <the city>.[157]

[157] The pertinent line (ii 31b) seems corrupted. For its interpretation, see below, 3.2, n. 165.

C) Ahuni escaped by crossing the Euphrates and "crossed over to other countries (*ana mātāte šaniāti ibbalkit*)".
D) Shalmaneser took Til-barsip, Alligu, Nappigi and Rugulitu as his "royal cities (text sg.: *āl šarrūti*)", settled Assyrians therein, built royal palaces and renamed those cities (the new names are given).[158]
E) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)"; Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat, which is called Pitru by the local people and located along the Sajur river on the other (west) side of the Euphrates, and Mutkinu which is on this (east) side of the Euphrates, had once been taken by Tiglath-pileser (I) for Assyria but then lost to the "Aramaeans"[159] during the reign of Ashur-rabi (II). Shalmaneser restored these cities and settled Assyrians therein.
F) When the king was in Kar-Shalmaneser (= Til-barsip), he received the tribute of "the kings of the sea coast and the kings of the Euphrates".
G) The king departed from Kar-Shalmaneser to march against Urartu.

A note should be added here concerning the general structure of Annals 3. In this text, after the account of the third year summarized above, a special *résumé* is inserted describing the previous battle(s) with Ahuni (ii 66b–69a), and this is followed by the fourth year account narrating the final defeat of Ahuni at Shitamrat. Similar *résumés*, preceding the narration of the final defeat of Ahuni, are also found in Annals 4 (iii 3b–4) and Summary Inscription 2 = the Kenk Inscription (7b–15a). These *résumés*, which may contain the events of the third year as well as others, will be discussed later (4.1), since each *résumé* forms a single literary structure together with the subsequent account relating to the fourth year in each text. Here it is sufficient to note that these *résumés* include a few details missing from the yearly account of Annals 3 for Years 1–3, as well as from those of other versions of the Annals, i.e. the battle in the midst of Til-barsip (which appears in the *résumés* of Ann. 3 and Summ. 2), the felling of orchards (found in those of Ann. 3 and Ann. 4) and the reaping of the harvest at Til-barsip (recorded in that of Ann. 4).

Let us turn to the account of the relevant campaign in Annals 5 = the 16 Year Annals. This account (i 57–ii 2) contains the following details:

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[158] For the interpretation, see below, n. 173.
[159] KUR *A-ru-mu* (ii 38), not MAN KUR *A-ru-mu*. See below, 3.2, n. 177.

A) Date: "*ina 3 palêya*".
B) Ahuni, son of Adini, abandoned Til-barsip, "his royal city", and crossed the Euphrates.
C) Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh.
D) The king took for himself Til-barsip and Pitru, the city "of the other side of the Euphrates" which had once been taken by Tiglath-pileser (I) for Assyria.
E) The king continued his campaign to Urartu.

This account is an abridged version of that in Annals 3.

The following omissions can be observed: (1) The exact date (month and day) of the departure and the itinerary as far as Til-barsip (Ann. 3, Episode A) are omitted. (2) Concerning Ahuni's escape from Til-barsip (Ann. 3, Episode D; Ann. 5, Episode B), his movement into other countries (*ana mātāte šaniāti ibbalkit*) is omitted in Annals 5. (3) Of the six cities occupied by the Assyrians (Ann. 3, Episodes D and E), four cities—Nappigi, Alligu, Rugulitu and Mutkinu—are omitted in Annals 5 (Episode D); the settlement of Assyrians in the occupied cities and the renaming of the cities are also not mentioned any more. (4) The statement about the past loss of the cities Pitru and Mutkinu, as well as the gloss on their location, is omitted from Episode E of Annals 3. (5) The receipt of tribute from the kings of the west (Ann. 3, Episode G) is entirely omitted.

Apart from these omissions, there are two further points of disagreement between Annals 3 and 5. The first point concerns the historical setting of Ahuni's flight to the other side of the Euphrates. Annals 3 first records that Shalmaneser approached and captured Til-barsip (Episode B), and then Ahuni's flight is narrated, apparently as the result of Shalmaneser's actions (Episode C). In contrast to this, in Annals 5, the flight is placed at the very beginning of the account (Episode B), before Shalmaneser's departure from Nineveh (Episode C). This question of the timing of Ahuni's escape will be discussed later in the historical analysis of the campaign (3.2). The other point is the attribute of Til-barsip. The city is called the "fortified city (*āl dannūti*)" in Annals 3 (Episode B)[160] but the "royal city (*āl šarrūti*)" in Annals 5, as well as in the subsequent versions of the Annals (e.g. Ann. 7 and Ann. 13).[161] This fluidity of the city's

[160] ii 31. The same attribute is also attested in the first year accounts of Ann. 1 (l. 46) and Ann. 3 (i 31), and in the second year account of Ann. 3 (ii 14).

[161] Ann. 6 (Bull Inscription), 11 and 14 (Calah Statue) are broken at the relevant point. In the account of the second year campaign of these later Annals, the city has no attribute.

attribute will also be discussed later, in 4.2, when the political status of the city within the state of Bit-Adini is discussed.

Let us now proceed to later versions of the Annals. Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (i 36b–48a) and Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 35b–44) contain an almost identical account of the third year. The accounts of Annals 11 = *KAH* 1, 77+ (ll. 35b–44) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 14b–20a) are fragmentary but seem to have been parallel to that of Annals 7 and 13. These accounts have in fact been abridged from Annals 5. Most of the abridgements, however, were made in the narration of the Urartian war, and the description of the incidents in the west remained largely the same as that of Annals 5.

Nevertheless, two points of changes should be observed: (1) The statement about the point of departure, "I departed from Nineveh" (Ann. 5, Episode B) was omitted in the later versions.[162] (2) In the account of Til-barsip and Pitru, the cities taken by Shalmaneser (Ann. 5, Episode D), the reference to Til-barsip has been omitted, while Pitru is mentioned by its alternative name, Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat, with two notes which are not found in Annals 5: its geographical location "along the Sajur river", and the subsequent gloss on the name Pitru as being used by the local people.[163]

Finally, the poetic composition *STT*, 43 may possibly depict the third year campaign of Shalmaneser III (see above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 1). The text includes lines describing the incidents in the west (ll. 7–13) before continuing with an elaborate narration of the Urartian war, the central theme of the composition. The text is an independent composition, revealing no direct textual contact with any other text of Shalmaneser.

3.2. *Historical Analysis of the Third Year Campaign*

Departing from Nineveh on the same day, the thirteenth of Ayyaru, and taking the same course as in the two previous years, Shalmaneser approached Til-barsip.[164] The third year account of Annals 3 (the

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[162] As happens also in the second year account (see above, 2.1). This omission, however, introduced into this context the ambiguity whether the subject of the following sentence "I/he crossed the Euphrates (*Puratta ēbir*)", is Shalmaneser (first person) or Ahuni (third person). This ambiguity has already been noted by M. de Odorico (*Numbers*, p. 137, n. 95). For this problem, see below, n. 187.

[163] The editor of Ann. 7 may have taken these additional details about Pitru from an older version, such as Ann. 3 (Episode E), which he probably consulted.

[164] Ann. 3, ii 30b–31. As for the reading of the month, ITI.G[U$_4$] = *Ayyaru* is more likely than ITI.ŠU = *Du'ūzu* (G. Smith, *III R*), not only from the traces of

Kurkh Monolith) relates the final reduction of the city and the Assyrian occupation of the region around it, as follows (ii 31b–35):

> *ana* ^{uru}*Til-barsip āl dannūtīšu ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini <aqṭirib āla> aktašad*[165] ^{m}*Ahuni* (32) *mār Adini ištu pān namurrat kakkēya ezzūte u tāhāzīya šitmuri <iplahma>*[166] *ana šūzub napšātīšu ā[lšu umaššī]r*(?)[167] ^{id}*Puratta ēbir* (33) *ana mātāti šaniāti ibbalkit ina qibīt Aššur bēli rabî bēlīya* ^{uru}*Til-barsip* ^{uru}*Aligu* ^{uru}*[Nappigi* ^{ur}*]*^{u}*Rugulitu ana āl šarrūtīya* (34) *aṣbat amīlē* ^{lú}*Aššurāya ina libbi ušēšib ekallāte ana šubat šarrūtīya ina qerebšu addi [šum]* ^{uru}*Til-barsip* ^{uru}*Kār-*^{d}*Šulmānu-ašarēdu* (35) *šum* ^{uru}*Nappigi* ^{uru}*Līta-Aššur šum* ^{uru}*Alligi* ^{uru}*Aṣbat-lakūnu šum* ^{uru}*Ruguliti* ^{uru}*Qibīt-[x x šum]šunu abbi*
>
> I <approached> Til-barsip, the fortified city of Ahuni son of Adini and conquered <the city>. Ahuni son of Adini <became afraid> of the splendour of my raging weapons and fierce battle, [abandoned his ci]ty (?), crossed the Euphrates to save his life (and) moved into other countries. By the command of the god Ashur, the great lord, my lord, I took Til-barsip, Alligu, [Nappigi] and Rugulitu to be my royal cities, settled Assyrians therein and founded palaces in (the cities) as my royal abode(s). I changed the name of Til-barsip to Kar-Shalmaneser, Nappigi to Lita-Ashur, Alligu to Aṣbat-lakunu, Ruguliti to Qibit-[DN].

Here, Ahuni's flight is narrated after the mention of Shalmaneser's arrival at Til-barsip, and it might seem that this actually represents

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the sign (aligned heads of two horizontals) but also because 13th Ayyaru was the date of Shalmaneser's departure in the two previous years too (W.G. Lambert, *AnSt* 11 [1961], p. 154 with n. 8; cf. Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 30; collated, see Appendix E).

[165] The insertion of *<aq-ṭí-rib* URU>, suggested by W. Schramm (*Einleitung*, p. 72), is adopted here. It is indeed perfectly reasonable to restore *aqṭirib*, the term frequently attested in the standard itinerary formula and also included in the parallel passage in the second year account of the same text (ii 15). The present passage, however, may perhaps be understood without this emendation as "I reached Til-barsip, the fortified city of Ahuni son of Adini". In this case, the text would not explicitly mention the conquest of the city. *ana . . . kašādu* for "to reach" is well attested, although it only rarely appears in the Assyrian royal inscriptions (*CAD* K, pp. 272–274).

[166] Cf. the following parallel passages: Ann. 3, ii 66b–69a: ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini . . . . . ištu pān namurrat kakkēya melammê [ša] bēlūtīya iplahma ālšu umaššir ana šūzub napšātē[šu]* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir*; Summ. 2, ll. 7b–13a: ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini . . . . . ištu pān namurrat kakkēya dannūti iplahma ālšu umaššir ana šūzub napšātē[šu]* ^{id}*Purattu ēbir*; Ann. 5, i 57f.: ^{m}*Ahuni mār* ^{m}*Adini ištu pān kakkēya dannūti iplahma* ^{uru}*Til-bursaip āl šarrūtīšu umdaššir* ^{id}*Puratta ētebir*. For reference to *ištu pān . . . palāhu*, see further *AHw*, p. 812b (I.3.d).

[167] *ā[lšu umaššī]r*(?): U[RU-*šú ú-ma-áš*-SI]R(?) (see collation in Appendix E, and cf. the parallel passages cited above in n. 166). J.A. Craig (*Hebraica* 3 [1888/7], p. 212) and A.K. Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 19) read [*ina mēlī*]-*šá*, but the traces and broken space (for five or six signs) do not agree with their reading. N. Rasmussen's [*ana šēpē ammâte*] *šá* (*Salmanasser*, p. 16) fits better with the size of the broken space, but the trace of the sign which I read as U[RU] cannot be reconciled with this restoration.

the historical sequence of events. Were this in fact the case, however, the king could have completed the long Urartian campaign only after devoting a considerable amount of time to the reduction of Til-barsip and the surrounding territory. Two such time-consuming events could hardly have taken place during a single campaign. The historical circumstances, therefore, suggest that the reference to Ahuni's escape is a gloss, which does not necessarily reflect the chronological sequence of events. As already noted (3.1) in the account of Annals 5, Ahuni's escape is mentioned at the very beginning of the account preceding the departure of Shalmaneser from Nineveh.[168] This must be the historically correct sequence.

Significant additional data about the fall of Til-barsip are provided by the *résumé* of Annals 3 (ii 66–69, cited above in 2.2), which is inserted between the third year account and the fourth year account.[169] As already mentioned (2.2), this *résumé* shows that the siege of Til-barsip started in the eponym year of the king himself, Year 2 (858), and that Shalmaneser let his warriors surround the city (*qurādīya ušalmēšu* [ii 67]) and fought a battle there, and that finally Ahuni abandoned the city to escape by crossing the Euphrates. On the other hand, the third year account of Annals 3 cited above, as well as that of Annals 5 (i 57–61), does not mention either the siege or any attack on the city during the course of the king's third year campaign.[170] This raises serious doubt as to whether the king personally conducted the final stage of the siege and witnessed the very moment of the fall of Til-barsip. It seems rather that the siege of Til-barsip, which had begun the previous year, had already been completed by his "warriors" (*qurādū*, the term used in the *résumé* of Annals 3), when the king returned to the site in Year 3 (857). In other words, the king visited the conquered city of Til-barsip—after Ahuni fled, of course—only for the sake of inspection, reserving plenty of time to traverse the entire land of Urartu.[171] Consequently,

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[168] Ann. 5, i 57–59. The accounts of Ann. 7, 13 and 14 also open with the escape of Ahuni, but do not refer to the king's departure from Nineveh (see above, 3.1).

[169] The reason for the insertion of this exceptional *résumé* is discussed below in 4.1.

[170] The later annalistic versions, such as Ann. 7, 13 and 14, do not mention Til-barsip at all.

[171] In my opinion, there is no need to hypothesize two separate campaigns behind the third year account of Shalmaneser III, as M. Salvini has suggested (*AfO* Beiheft 19, pp. 387f.; *Geschichte*, pp. 30f.; more recently in *NAG*, pp. 47f.).

the date of the fall of Til-barsip should be placed either late in the second regnal year or early in the third regnal year, i.e. in the period from the late summer of 857 up to the early spring of 856.

As for the fate of Ahuni after his escape from Til-barsip, we are informed that he fought his final battle against Assyria in the next year, Year 4 (855), at the fortress of Shitamrat, somewhere west of the Euphrates and north of Carchemish (see below, 4.2). Annals 3 (ii 33) adds that Ahuni "crossed over to other countries (*ana mātāti šaniāti ibbalkit*)". This statement may mean either that Ahuni went to the region of Shitamrat or that he escaped through the territory of other states, such as Carchemish and/or Kummuh.[172] In any case, Ahuni fled to the region which was still under his control, in order to reorganize his remaining forces for further resistance.

Returning to the conquered cities of Bit-Adini, it should be noted that Til-barsip, Nappigi, Al(l)igu and Rugulitu were renamed and turned into Shalmaneser's royal cities (lit. *āl šarrūtīya* [sg.]), and that Assyrians were settled and royal palaces were constructed therein.[173] Nappigi, Al(l)igu and Rugulitu, the three cities referred to with Til-barsip, had apparently belonged to Ahuni but fell into Assyrian hands when Ahuni abandoned the area. Nappigi is certainly identifiable as modern Membij (classical Hieropolis) west of the Euphrates, southwest of the mouth of the Sajur river, and located on the main road from Til-barsip to Arpad (Tell-Rifat) and Halab (Aleppo).[174] Alligu should probably be equated with the Yaligu attested in the epigraph on one of Ashurnasirpal II's Balawat Bronze Bands[175] and can perhaps be compared to Lejah on the east bank of the Euphrates, some distance above the mouth of the Sajur.[176]

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[172] His passage through the territory of Carchemish and Kummuh was postulated by A. Taşyürek (*Iraq* 41 [1979], p. 52).

[173] Ann. 3, ii 33–35. Perhaps the royal palaces were only constructed in one city, for the text reads *ekallāte ana šubat šarrūtīya ina qerebšu* (sg.) *addi*. If so, they were probably built in Til-barsip. It seems, however, more probable to interpret the passage as meaning that Assyrian palaces were constructed in each of the reorganized cities, called Shalmaneser's "royal city". For the construction and renaming of such Assyrian cities, see below, Part V, 1.

[174] Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 25: Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 468; Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 107, n. 9; and most recently Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 188f.; cf. Parpola, *NAT*, p. 257. Note also that the recently published Iran Stela of Tiglath-pileser III mentions ^{uru}*Na-an-pi-gi ša kišādi* ^{id}*Puratti* (A.[RAT]) (Tadmor, *ITP*, p. 102, II B, 6').

[175] Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.87; cf. Barnett, in *Symbolae Böhl*, p. 21. For the attack on the city by Ashurnasirpal II, see above, Part I, 3.

[176] Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, p. 264; cf. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 61, n. 1;

Shalmaneser is further said to have restored (*ana ašrīšunu utēr*) and resettled two other cities in the same region, Pitru (Assyrian name, Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat) and Mutkinu, which had once been captured by Tiglath-pileser (I) but then lost to the "Aramaeans (KUR *A-ru-mu*)".[177] Although these cities were apparently included within the newly-captured territory of Bit-Adini, it is not entirely clear whether they had been occupied by the people of Bit-Adini or had remained deserted. The location of Pitru is explicitly mentioned in Annals 3 as "on the Sajur (and) [on the other (west) side] of the Euphrates (*ša muhhi* ^{id}*Sagu*[*ra ša šēpē ammâte*] *ša* ^{id}*Puratti* [ii 36])".[178] It is also recorded in another context in the same text (regarding Year 6), that after the crossing of the Euphrates, Shalmaneser received tribute from the king of the land of Hatti at Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat (= Pitru)[179] and then departed "from the Euphrates" (ii 82–86). The fact that the editor of Annals 3 gives "the Euphrates" as the point of departure, instead of the city itself (after the receipt of tribute there), may suggest that Pitru was located very close to the Euphrates. Although no modern site bearing a comparable name has been found, it has been suggested that Pitru should be identified with Aushar, located at the mouth of the Sajur.[180] The exact location of the other

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but this is doubted by K. Kessler (*Untersuchungen*, p. 217, n. 786). Another suggestion is that of E. Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung*, p. 25), suggesting it be identified with Aligör/Tell Onbirnisau to the north of Sürüç; however, the location is apparently too far north to be within the territory of Bit-Adini (Kessler, *ibid.*).

[177] Ann. 3, ii 35–38. KUR *A-ru-mu* (ii 38) was previously read as MAN KUR *A-ru-mu* "the king of Aram" (with the addition of the actually non-existent MAN; collated). As a result of this erroneous reading, the identification of the "king of Aram" has been discussed by several scholars (A. Malamat, in D.J. Wiseman (ed.), *People of Old Testament Times*, pp. 141f. [biblical Hadadezer, king of Aram-Zobah]; cf. Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, p. 381; Y. Ikeda, in T. Mikasa (ed.), *Monarchies and Socio-Religious Traditions in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 33f. [Neo-Hittite Hapatila, king of Masuwari/Til-barsip]), although the essence of their discussions remains valid. Shalmaneser's restoration of Pitru/Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat is also briefly touched on in later annalistic texts—Ann. 5, i 59ff.; Ann. 7, i 40ff.; Ann. 13, ll. 38ff.; Ann. 14, ll. 16ff. The information about the earlier Assyrian occupation of Pitru is supplemented by the text of Ashur-bel-kala, son of Tiglath-pileser I, which was reconstructed by A.R. Millard (*Iraq* 32 [1970], p. 169) from several fragments (= RIMA 2, A.0.89.6 and 9). The reconstructed text reads in ll. 7'f. : [^{id}*Purattu lū ēbir* ^{uru}*Pitru ša* G]ÌR.MEŠ *am-ma-te š*[*á* ^{id}*Puratti*] *ša* UGU ^{id}*Sa-gu-r*[*a* . . .] (cf. Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 191).

[178] For restoration, cf. Ann. 5, i 59f.; Ann. 7, i 41f.; Ann. 13, ll. 38f.; Ann. 14, ll. 16f. (fragmentary).

[179] Its location is given here too: "on the other side of the Euphrates and on the Sajur (*ša šēpē ammâte ša* ^{id}*Puratti ša muhhi* ^{id}*Saguri*)" (ii 85).

[180] Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 191–194.

city, Mutkinu, is unknown, but it is said to have been "on this (east) side of the Euphrates (*ša šēpē annâte ša* ^{id}*Puratti*)" (Ann. 3, ii. 37).

To sum up, the cities occupied anew by the Assyrians were located around Til-barsip on both sides of the Euphrates, and this central part of the former territory of Bit-Adini seems to have been reorganized under the Assyrian provincial administration.[181] It should be noted that the annexed territory did not include all of the lands held by Bit-Adini. The land of Paqarruhbuni north-west of Carchemish, attacked in Year 1 (above, 1.2), and the region of the upper Sajur and the upper Quweiq, attacked in Year 2 (above, 2.2), probably remained unoccupied.[182]

While staying at Kar-Shalmaneser (= Til-barsip), Shalmaneser received the tribute of "the kings of the sea coast and the kings of the Euphrates (*šarrāni ša ahāt tâmdi u šarrāni ša* ^{id}*Puratti*)".[183] The tribute payers, mentioned only in generic terms, probably included at least the countries which had paid tribute in the previous year, i.e. Patin, Sam'al, Gurgum, Bit-Agusi, Carchemish and Kummuh (see above, 2.2).

A passage from the poetic composition *STT* 43 (our Misc. 1) probably describes Shalmaneser's stay at Til-barsip. The text includes the speech of the king to Ashur-belu-ka'in, the *turtānu* and the eponym holder of this year (856),[184] following the destruction of Til-barsip (ll. 7–14):

> (7) [*urd*]*u*([ARA]D) *ekṣu mār* ^{m}*Adini ibrīšu* [. . . . .] (8) $^{[ur]u}$*Til-barsipi māhāzu dannu ina* ^{d}*Girri* . . .[. . .] (9) *šarrāni ša* ^{kur}*Hatti ušahrirū šubatšunu* (10) ^{m}*Aššur-bēlu-ka'in* ^{lú}*turtānu kâši līte iqbi* (11) *halṣāni lū paqdānikka lū dannat maṣṣartaka* (12) *lū da'an rikiska muhur bilassunu* (13) *malkū ša* ^{kur}*Hatti ina šēpēya ušaknissunu*(*ú-šak-ni-su-*<*nu*>) (14) *lullik ša* ^{kur}*Urarṭāya lūmur qarabšunu*

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[181] Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 25f. For Shalmaneser's reorganization of the conquered territory in general, see below, Part V, 1.

[182] For the later history of Paqarruhbuni, see below, 9.2. The region of the upper Sajur and the upper Quweiq must have been absorbed by neighbouring states such as Carchemish and Bit-Agusi. As pointed out by J.D. Hawkins (in *NAG*, p. 91), the later territorial expansion of Carchemish to the west is suggested by the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions KÖRKUN and CHEKKE from the time of the Carchemishite rulers Astiruwas and Kamanis (second half of the ninth to the eighth centuries). For these inscriptions, see Meriggi, *Manuale*, II serie, no. 152 (KÖRKUN), and I serie, no. 28 (CHEKKE); cf. Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 70 and 72, and idem, *RlA* 5, pp. 442–445.

[183] Ann. 3, ii 39f.

[184] His name is remembered in the *limmu*-dating of Ann. 3, ii 30 and also attested in the eponym lists (A1, A7) and Eponym Chronicle (B5); in B5 his title LÚ *turta-nu* is also preserved (Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 27).

> (7) [. . . .] the stiff-necked slave, son of Adini (and) his companions. (8) Til-barsip, the strong metropolis, [he set?] on fire. (9) The kings of Hatti laid waste their habitations.[185] (10) "Oh Ashur-belu-ka'in, the *turtānu*; the power is for you (i.e. you are in charge)", he (= the king) said. (11) "May the fortresses be under your control; may your guard be firm. (12) May your organization be strong; receive their tribute. (13) The kings of Hatti, I subjugated at my feet. (14) (Now) let me go to see how the Urartians fight".

This passage, if indeed related to the relevant campaign, shows that Shalmaneser entrusted the *turtānu* Ashur-belu-ka'in with the task of guarding the conquered region around Til-barsip and ordered him to receive the tribute,[186] while the king himself hastened off to the Urartian campaign. To repeat what has been noted so far: Shalmaneser must have stayed in the region, in particular at Til-barsip, for only a short time.[187] It may be that the entire responsibility for the provincial government of the newly annexed territory was entrusted to the *turtānu* who was destined to reside at Til-barsip/Kar-Shalmaneser. If this assumption is correct, this incident started the tradition of the city as the seat of the *turtānu*, as in the case of Shamshi-ilu, the unusually powerful minister in the first half of the eighth century.[188]

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[185] *CAD* Š/III, p. 208 (s.v. *šuhruru*).

[186] This does not necessarily contradict the statement of Ann. 3 that the king himself received the tribute at Til-barsip. It is easy to harmonize the two pieces of evidence, if we assume that the king witnessed at least part of the tribute-bearing and entrusted the *turtānu* with the task of receiving and registering all the incoming tribute. Even if he did not witness any tribute, he could have claimed his receipt of tribute at Til-barsip in his Annals without mentioning the manner of receipt, i.e. through his deputy.

[187] I therefore believe that Shalmaneser did not personally cross the Euphrates in the present year, albeit the Annals assign the responsibility for all the construction work on both sides of the river to the king. This can be supported by the fact that Ann. 3 and all the later texts fail to mention the king's crossing of the Euphrates. (In the abridged account of Ann. 7 [= the 20 Year Annals] and the subsequent versions, it remains ambiguous whether the subject of *Puratta ēbir* is Ahuni or Shalmaneser [see above, 3.1, esp. n. 162]. Thus, the sentence has often been translated "I [i.e. Shalmaneser] crossed the Euphrates" [e.g. D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, § 560 for Ann. 13, l. 37; F. Safar, *Sumer* 7, p. 16 for Ann. 7, i 39f.; E. Michel, *WO* 2, pp. 29 and 147 for Ann. 7, i 39f. and Ann. 13, l. 37, respectively; J. Læssøe, *Iraq* 21, p. 152, for Ann. 14, ll. 15f.]. Considering, however, the textual dependence of these texts on Ann. 5 [see above, 3.1] the subject of the sentence must originally have been Ahuni, as in Ann. 5 [Grayson consistently translates "he crossed the Euphrates" in RIMA 3, A.0.102.10, i 39; A.0102.14, l. 37; A.0.102.16, ll. 15f.]). It can hardly be accidental that none of the annalistic texts explicitly records the king's personal crossing in his third year, since these texts scrupulously mention such crossings in every other western campaign. (An exception is the lack of the reference to the crossing in Year 4 in Ann. 3; for the special reason for this omission, see below, 4.1.)

[188] Shamshi-ilu calls Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-barsip) "his (lit. my) lordly city (*āl*

4. *The Fourth Year (855): to Bit-Adini*

4.1. *Accounts of the Fourth Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

In his fourth regnal year, Shalmaneser undertook two separate campaigns, the first to the west to end his war with Ahuni of Bit-Adini, and the second against Mazamua in the mountainous region east of Assyria. Both of these campaigns are narrated in six versions of the Annals (Ann. 3, 5, 6, 7, 13 and 14), as well as in two summary inscriptions (Summ. 6 and 12). There are another six texts which contain an account of the western campaign only (Ann. 4, 11, Summ. 2, 8, 9 and 19). Only the accounts relating to the west will be discussed here.

The earliest version of the Annals, which contains the relevant account is Annals 3 (the Kurkh Monolith). As already noted above (3.1), this version includes a *résumé* of the previous battles with Ahuni (ii 66b–69a) before its fourth year account (ii 69b–78a), and these two sections together form a single literary unit. Its contents can be summarized as follows:

(*Résumé* of the previous battles)

A) Introduction: Ahuni, "son of Adini", who made obstinate resistance since (the days of) the fathers of Shalmaneser.

B) "In the beginning of my reign in the eponym year of my name (*ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina līme zikir šumīya*)",[189] Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh, besieged (*assibi*) Til-barsip, Ahuni's fortified city, had his warriors surround it, fought a battle in its midst, cut down its orchard, rained fire and arrows upon it.

C) Ahuni became frightened, abandoned his city, and crossed the Euphrates to save his life.

(The fourth year account)

D) "In another year in the eponym year of Ashur-bunaya-uṣur ([*ina*] *šanīte šatti ina līme* ^{m}*Aššur-būnāya-uṣur*)", the king pursued Ahuni.

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bēlūtīya)", in his inscription from Tell Ahmar, ancient Til-barsip. See F. Thureau-Dangin, *RA* 27 (1930), pp. 11–21 = RIMA 3, A.0.104.2010, esp. ll. 19f. For Shamshi-ilu in general, see A.K. Grayson, *SAAB* 7 (1993), pp. 19–52, esp. p. 27. In the later period (late eighth century onwards), Til-barsip was certainly the residence of a provincial governor. See Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 49, 60 and 94 (Hananu, governor of Til-barsip in 701); B. Parker, *Iraq* 23 (1961), p. 43 (ND 2684, r. 5'f.); *SAA* 1, nos. 4 (l. 10'), 32 (r. 13').

[189] For the reading of *ina li-me* MU MU-*ia, ina līme zikir*(MU) *šumīya* is preferred here to the prevailing *ina līme šatti šumīya.*

E) Ahuni built up Mt. Shitamrat for his fortress.
F) The king approached Mt. Shitamrat, and searched for the enemy for three days in the mountain.
G) Ahuni came up and drew the battle line; the king defeated the enemy in open battle, and fought a fierce battle in the city.
H) The enemies came down and surrendered to Shalmaneser. The king caused Ahuni, with his people, chariots, cavalry and palace properties, to be brought to his presence.
I) The king transferred them over the "Tigris"[190] into the city of Ashur, and counted them as the people of Assyria (lit. "people of my land [*nišē mātīya*]").
J) The account of the second campaign undertaken against Mazamua opens with "in the same year (*ina šattīma šiāti*)".

The two chronological expressions: *ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina līme zikir šumīya* found in the *résumé* (Episode B) and [*ina*] *šanīte šatti ina līme Aššur-būnāya-uṣur*, which opens the account of the fourth year (Episode D), have effectively combined these two sections. It should be noted, however, that in this process, some basic elements common to the normal yearly account have been omitted, e.g. the exact date (month and day) and the itinerary up to the first military target in Year 4.[191]

It is possible that the editor borrowed the idea of presenting the *résumé* and the fourth year account in combination from an earlier summary text, such as Summary Inscription 2 = the Kenk Inscription (see below). Still, the question remains as to why such a structure was chosen at the cost of interrupting the succession of the standard yearly accounts. There were apparently several reasons. First, the *résumé*, functioning as an introduction to the fourth year account, draws the readers' attention from the Urartian war, which ends the account of the previous year, back to the events in the west. Furthermore, it effectively commemorates the entire process of the reduction of Bit-Adini in a single literary framework, giving it a special emphasis.[192] Another explanation that comes to mind is that the editor was unable to find any appropriate place for relating the fall of Til-barsip

[190] Grayson (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 75) aptly suggests emending "Tigris (ÍD.HAL.HAL)" to "Euphrates (ÍD.A.RAD)"; cf. J.A. Craig, *Hebraica* 3 (1886/7), p. 219, who presented "Euphrates" in his translation, without noting the emendation.
[191] Thus, the crossing of the Euphrates on the way to Shitamrat remains unrecorded, though such crossings are usually noted in Shalmaneser's Annals. For Shalmaneser's Euphrates crossings, see below, Appendix C.
[192] Cf. A.T. Olmstead, *Assyrian Historiography*, p. 22.

within the usual framework of the Annals; hence the special *résumé*, an element alien to the Annals. The final point is critically discussed below.

In the *résumé*, the earlier incidents are introduced by the chronological expression "at the beginning of my reign, in the eponym-year of my name (*ina šurrât šarrūtīya ina līme zikir šumīya*)". The second part of this expression, *ina līme zikir šumīya*, specifies Year 2 (857) as the time of the start of the siege which resulted in the fall of Til-barsip, as already noted (2.2 and 3.2). This might be regarded as contradicting the account of the first to third years, where Shalmaneser is said to have confined Ahuni (*ēsiršu*) in Til-barsip in Year 1 (858), then again in Year 2 (857), and the final reduction of the city is mentioned only in Year 3 (856).[193] However, I have already suggested that the process of the fall of Til-barsip should be reconstructed as follows: in Year 1, Til-barsip escaped a prolonged siege, since the Assyrian army moved on (1.2); in Year 2, the city was first seriously besieged by Shalmaneser's soldiers, while the king advanced with part of his army to other military targets in Bit-Adini (2.2); the city fell in a prolonged siege, without Shalmaneser's personal presence, before the king returned to the site in his next campaign in Year 3 (3.2). Given this historical reconstruction, it is understandable that the editor of Annals 3 did not find a suitable place to relate the fall of Til-barsip in any standard yearly account, in which events are narrated while tracing the king's movements. In other words, in the usual framework of the Annals it was impossible for the editor to describe the incidents which occurred without the king's personal presence. He thus solved this problem by inserting a special section, in which he was able to recount the entire story of the fall of Til-barsip and Ahuni's flight.[194]

The subsequent version, Annals 4 (the Balawat Gate Inscription), basically followed the structure of Annals 3; it has a similar *résumé* relating the previous battles (iii 3b–4), and it is followed by the fourth year account (iii 5–6). The relevant part of the text may be summarized as follows:

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[193] Year 1: Ann. 1, obv. 49 and Ann. 3, i 33. Year 2: Ann. 2, ll. 83'f. (fragmentary); Ann. 3, ii 15f.; Ann. 5, i 51; Ann. 7, i 33; Ann. 13, l. 33; and Ann. 14, l. 13. Year 3: Ann. 3, ii 31, 33; Ann. 5, i 59–61.

[194] I have discussed this historiographical problem in a separate article in *ASJ* 20 (1998), pp. 217–225.

(*Résumé* of the previous battle(s))

A) Introduction: Ahuni, son of Adini, who made obstinate resistance since (the days of) the fathers of Shalmaneser.

B) "In the beginning of my reign (*ina šurrât šarrūtīya*)", the king "confined him in his city (*ina ālīšu ēsiršu*)", pulled up his harvest and cut down his orchards.

C) Ahuni crossed the Euphrates to save his life.

D) Ahuni built up the city Shitamrat for his fortress.

(The fourth year account)

E) "In another year (*ina šanīte šatti*)", the king pursued Ahuni.

F) The king besieged the mountain summit (of Shitamrat). The Assyrian soldiers pursued the enemies.

G) The king carried off 17,500 soldiers of Ahuni, and brought Ahuni with his people, gods, chariots and horses into his presence.

H) The king transferred them to the city of Ashur and counted them as the people of Assyria.

The present part of Annals 4 includes phraseology found in the corresponding part of Annals 3.

However, there are some differences between the two texts: (1) The chronological indications in Annals 4, *ina šurrât šarrūtīya* (Episode B) and *ina šanīte šatti* (Episode E), are the same as those in Annals 3 (Episodes B and D), but no eponym date follows them. (2) The departure from Nineveh (Ann. 3, Episode B) is omitted in Annals 4. (3) In the description of the attack on Til-barsip (Episode B in both), phrases describing the siege are different (*esēru/ēsiršu* [Ann. 4] against *lemû/assibi* [Ann. 3]); the details of the attack on the city given in Annals 3, such as the surrounding by the warriors, the battle in the city etc., are absent from Annals 4; however, Annals 4 mentions another minor detail, i.e. the reaping of the harvest, which Annals 3 does not mention. (4) In the *résumé* of Annals 4, Ahuni's escape from Til-barsip (Episode C) and his fortification of Shitamrat (Episode D) are narrated in rapid succession at its end. In contrast to this, the *résumé* of Annals 3 ends with his escape from Til-barsip (Episode C), while the fortification of Shitamrat is mentioned later in the fourth year account (Episode E). (5) The fourth year account of Annals 4 is much shorter than that of Annals 3. In particular, the narration of the king's heroic fight, which is very lengthy in Annals 3 (Episodes F and G), is non-existent in Annals 4. However, Annals 4 contains a few details not found in Annals 3, such as the number of deportees (17,500) and the reference to the gods carried off as booty (in Episode G).[195]

[195] However, the palace properties, mentioned in Ann. 3 as part of the booty (Episode H), are absent from Ann. 4.

We now come to six later versions of the Annals, i.e. Annals 5 = the 16 Year Annals (ii 3–15), Annals 6 = the Bull Inscription (ll. 60b–66a), Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (i 48b–ii 9a), Annals 11 = *KAH* 1, 77+ (ll. 45–47), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 45–52a) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 20b–26a). These versions have no *résumé* preceding the account of the fourth year. Thus the episode of the fall of Til-barsip was abandoned altogether along with the *résumé*. The accounts of these versions are largely parallel to each other.[196] Their contents can be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my fourth *palû* (*ina 4 palêya*), month Ayyaru, day 14" (thus in Ann. 5 and 6;[197] Ann. 7 and 14 have "*ina 4 palêya*" alone; Ann. 13 has "*ina limmu* ^{m}*Dayyān-Aššur*" instead of the *palû*-dating); the king departed from Nineveh (lacking in Ann. 7 and 14), crossed the Euphrates, and pursued Ahuni.
B) Ahuni built up Mt. Shitamrat as his fortress (see below for variants).
C) The king besieged the mountain summit and conquered it.
D) The king carried off Ahuni with his 22,000 people (the number is non-existent in Ann. 13) and property, and brought them to the city of Ashur (see below for further variants).
E) The second campaign in the same year, undertaken against Mazamua.

Annals 5 and 6 seem to have had a duplicate account, although only fragments of the latter are preserved. This account shows common points in contents and phraseology with Annals 3 and 4, and may possibly have been derived from these texts.

However, a few points that differ from the latter texts should be noted: (1) The exact date and point of the departure, as well as the reference to the crossing of the Euphrates, which do not appear in Annals 3 and 4, appear in full in Annals 5 (Episode A; Ann. 6 fragmentary and unclear); (2) The number of deportees is 22,000 in Annals 5 (Episode D; Ann. 6 broken) as opposed to 17,500 in Annals 4 (Ann. 3 does not record any number). These two points may indicate that Annals 5 also used a different source.[198]

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[196] The fourth year account of Ann. 11, however, ends abruptly in the middle (see Part I, 1.2.1 under Ann. 11).

[197] The fragmentary lines (ll. 60f.) of Ann. 6 preserve only *ina* IV BALA.MEŠ-*a ina* ITI.[. . . . .], but the lacuna can be restored from the text of Ann. 5.

[198] Note, however, that as M. de Odorico pointed out (*Numbers*, pp. 94f.), the figure 22,000 is exactly the same as the number of deportees reported in Ann. 1

The account of Annals 7 was abridged from that of Annals 5 and 6. The former lacks some details included in the latter: the date and place of departure (in Episode A), and part of the geographical description of Shitamrat: *ša kīma urpati ištu šamê šuqallulat* "like the cloud suspended from the sky" (in Episode B).

The accounts of the next versions, Annals 13 and 14 are quite similar to each other. They must have been edited on the basis of the preceding versions.

Here too, several points of peculiarity can be observed: (1) In Annals 13, the *limmu* date of Dayyan-Ashur is indicated instead of the standard *palû* dating (Episode A);[199] Annals 14 has the standard *ina 4 palêya*. (2) The place of departure (Nineveh), omitted in Annals 7, is indicated in Annals 13 (Episode A); Annals 14 omits this detail. (3) Both Annals 13 and 14 use the verb *alāku* (prt.) instead of *redû* (pf.), attested in the other texts for the pursuit of Ahuni (Episode A). (4) As for Shitamrat, both Annals 13 and 14 omit the description of the fortress, which was present in Annals 5 (but absent from Ann. 7): *ša kīma urpati ištu šamê šuqallulat* (Episode B). (5) The number of deportees (22,000), indicated in the previous versions, is omitted in Annals 13 but is given in Annals 14; in both Annals 13 and 14, the sons and daughters of Ahuni, who do not appear in any other version, are mentioned among the deportees (Episode D).

So far, the various versions of the Annals have been examined; now, we must turn to the summary inscriptions. The narrative section of Summary Inscription 2 (the Kenk Inscription) devoted to the Ahuni episode (ll. 7b–19) is of special importance. It is similar to the accounts of Annals 3 and 4, while presenting, in sequence, a *résumé* of the previous events (ll. 7b–15a) and an account of the battle at Shitamrat in Year 4 (ll. 15b–19). Since Summary Inscription 2 was edited earlier (in Year 4 [855]) than Annals 3 and 4 (in Years 6 and 9 respectively), it is possible, as noted above, that this summary text inspired the editor(s) of the annalistic texts with the idea of inserting the *résumé*.

The relevant part of Summary Inscription 2 may be summarized as follows:

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as taken from Hatti in Year 1 (cf. above, 4.1). Thus, the number may have been borrowed from this historical context. Peculiarities are also found in the account of the Mazamua campaign undertaken in the same year. In Ann. 5 (ii 10) and Ann. 6 (ll. 63f.), the city of Ashur (URU ŠÀ-URU) is indicated as the place of the departure, and Mt. Kullar is mentioned as a point that the Assyrian army passed (both fragmentarily in Ann. 6) etc., none of which appear in Ann. 3.

[199] This *limmu* dating is erroneous, corresponding to Year 6, instead of to the correct Year 4. This error has a significant bearing on the overall nature of the text. For this, see Appendix B.

(*Résumé* of the previous year)

A) Introduction: Ahuni, "son of Adini", who made obstinate resistance since (the days of) the fathers of Shalmaneser III (and) withheld the tribute and tax.

B) "In the beginning of my reign (*ina šurrât šarrūtīya*)", the king besieged (*assibi*) Til-barsip, his (= Ahuni's) "royal city", and fought a battle in its midst.

C) Ahuni became frightened, abandoned his city, and crossed the Euphrates to save his life.

D) Ahuni built up Mt. Shitamrat for his fortress.

(The fourth year account)

E) "In another year ([*ina*] *šanīte šatti*)" the king pursued Ahuni.

F) The king besieged the mountain summit, fought a battle in the city. The god Ashur's fearful radiance overwhelmed the enemies.

G) The king carried them off, made them cross the Euphrates and counted them as the people of Assyria.

This entire part (Episodes A–G) is almost as long as its counterpart in Annals 4.[200] It is closer to Annals 4 than to Annals 3, since it lacks a *limmu* date, and mentions the fortification of Shitamrat in the *résumé* (as in Ann. 4) but not in the fourth year account (as in Ann. 3).[201]

Summary Inscription 2 mentions two details unique to this text, i.e. Ahuni's refusal to pay tribute (Episode A), and the remark that the king made the captives cross the Euphrates (Episode G).[202]

Four later summary inscriptions contain short similar narrations of Ahuni's deportation: Summary Inscription 6 = the Calah Throne Base (ll. 26–28), Summary Inscriptions 8 (ll. 6–7) and 9 (ll. 20–21), both inscribed on door-sills from Fort Shalmaneser, and Summary Inscription 19 = the Ashur Statue (i 10–13). Of these texts, only Summary Inscription 6 has the opening statement describing Ahuni as the historical enemy of Shalmaneser's predecessors.[203]

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[200] About 80 words in Summ. 2 and Ann. 4 as against c. 180 words in Ann. 3.

[201] However, there are several points shared with Ann. 3 rather than with Ann. 4, especially in the account of the fall of Til-barsip (Episode B in each of the three texts), such as the use of *assibi* (*lemû*, pf.) for the terminology of the siege (Ann. 4, *esēru*) and the mention of the battle in the midst of the city, which does not appear in Ann. 4.

[202] Ann. 3 (Episode I) refers to the crossing of the "Tigris" in the same context. This, however, may be an error for "Euphrates". See above, n. 190.

[203] This statement parallels the early texts such as Summ. 2, Ann. 3 and Ann. 4 (Episode A in each of them). This motif disappeared in the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5),

4.2. *Historical Analysis of the Fourth Year Campaign*

As discussed above (3.2), some time in the period between the late summer of 857 and the early spring of 856, Ahuni abandoned Til-barsip and fled to the western side of the Euphrates, leading to the fall of Til-barsip. More than a year after this event, when Shalmaneser set out on his fourth year campaign in the spring of 855, he found Ahuni at the fortress of Shitamrat.

The place is described in the Annals as "the mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates, which hangs from the sky like a cloud (*ubān šadê ša ahāt* ^{id}*Puratte (šakinima) ša kīma urpati ištu šamê šuqallulat*)".[204] The location of Shitamrat may be hinged on the Kenk Gorge (on the west bank of the Euphrates, 60 km north-east of Gaziantep and 60 km downstream from Samsat), where the relief depicting Shalmaneser III with an inscription commemorating his final defeat of Ahuni (= Summ. 2) was discovered.[205] As already mentioned (Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 2), Shalmaneser, in all probability, made this monument at his crossing-point on his return march from Shitamrat.[206] Therefore, Shitamrat should be situated in the mountain ridge to the west of the Kenk Gorge, probably at a distance of a few days' walk, as it is said to be "on the bank of the Euphrates (*ahāt* ^{id}*Puratte*)".[207] When it is recalled that at the time of Shalmaneser's first year campaign (859), the district of Paqarruhbuni, located on the western side of the Euphrates close to the territory of Kummuh, was under Ahuni's control (see above, 1.2), it is not so surprising that this general region

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which was edited about three years after Summ. 6, and never reappeared in any later text.

[204] Ann. 3, ii 69f.; Ann. 4, iii 4; Ann. 5, ii 5f.; Summ. 2, ll. 13–15; cf. also a shorter description in Ann. 7, i 51–ii 1; Ann. 13, l. 47; Ann. 14, ll. 21f. *kīma urpati ištu šamê šuqallul(at)* is a formulaic expression for the simile of the mountain peak (*ubān šadê*) or of the fortress situated on a mountain cliff. It occurs especially in inscriptions from Ashurnasirpal II onward (for reference, see *CAD* E, p. 303b; *CAD* Š/III, p. 331).

[205] Taşyürek, *Iraq* 41 (1979), p. 52; Sader, *Les états*, p. 97. Both of them suggest that Shitamrat may be located in the vicinity of the Kenk Gorge.

[206] Taşyürek (*Iraq* 41, p. 47) reports that "still today it is possible to cross the Euphrates easily at this point by simple rafts buoyed up by goat-skins, especially in summer when the water level in the river is low".

[207] The definition "on the bank of the Euphrates" does not seem to present a major obstacle to locating Shitamrat at some distance from the Euphrates (cf. the question raised by Taşyürek [*op. cit.*, p. 52]). For comparison's sake, note that Nappigi (modern Membij), 20 km from the Euphrates, is described in an inscription of Tiglath-pileser III as "on the bank of the Euphrates (*ša kišād* ^{id}*Pu[ratti]*)" (Tadmor, *ITP*, p. 102, Stele II B, l. 6').

somehow remained under the control of Ahuni even after the fall of Til-barsip.[208]

Shalmaneser left Nineveh on the 14th day of Ayyaru, crossed the Euphrates and approached Shitamrat.[209] Since the king was able to undertake another campaign against Mazamua in the same year, after this expedition, it does not seem that the Shitamrat campaign could have lasted very long.

Annals 3 (ii 71–75) describes the battle and its result in a heroic epic style, rare in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, as follows:[210]

> (71) . . . *ina 3 ūmē qarrādu šadû ihīṭa gapšu libbašu tuqumta ubla ēli ina šēpēšu šadû* (72) *usahhip* ^{m}*Ahuni ana rupuš ummānātēšu ittakilma ina irtīya ūṣâ sidirtu lū iškun kakkē Aššur bēlīya ina libbīšunu utarriṣi abiktašunu* (73) *aškun qaqqadāt muqtablīšu unakkis dāmē mundahṣīšu šadû aṣrup ma'dūtīšu ana kāpi ša šadê ittanaqqutūni tāhāzu dannu ina libbi ālīšu* (74) *aškun pulhī melammē ša Aššur bēlīya ishupūšunu ūridūni šēpēya iṣbutū Ahuni itti ummānātēšu narkabātē<šu> pīthallušu makkūr ekallīšu ma'du* (75) *ša šuqultašu lā ṣabtat ana pānīya utēra* ^{id}*Idiqlat ušēbir ana ālīya Aššur ubla ana nišē mātīya amnūšunu*
>
> . . . For three days the hero (= Shalmaneser) explored the mountain. His proud heart yearned for battle. He climbed up (the mountain) and trampled (it) down with his (own) feet. Ahuni trusted in his extensive armies and came out against me. He drew up the battle line. I hurled the weapon of Ashur, my lord, against them, inflicted their defeat, cut off the heads of his warriors. With the blood of his fighters, I dyed the mountain. Many of his (men) threw themselves off (lit. "to") the cliffs of the mountain. I fought the fierce battle in the midst of his city. The awesome splendour of the god Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. They came down to me, and seized my feet. I brought to my presence Ahuni, with his armies, (his) chariots, his cavalry, and much property of his palace, the weight of which is immeasurable. I carried (them) off across the "Tigris (sic)", brought (them) to my city Ashur, and counted them as the people of my land.

We learn from this account that there was a battle between Shalmaneser and Ahuni in the mountain; Ahuni was defeated; his army, it seems, entered the prepared fortification; the fortress was sur-

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[208] Most recently, P.-E. Dion has suggested that Paqarruhubni and Shitamrat were in the same region (*Araméens*, p. 91).

[209] Ann. 5, ii, 3–5; other texts lack the information about the date and/or place of the departure (see above, 4.1).

[210] This passage, however, includes sentences borrowed from the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II. Note especially the exact parallel: *ina 3 ūmē qarrādu šadû ihīṭa gapšu libbašu tuqumta ubla ēli ina šēpēšu šadû usahhip* (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 50f.). *ina 3 ūmē* "for three days" is a typological number, not necessarily reflecting the exact number. For the typological number in the Assyrian royal inscriptions in general, see de Odorico, *Numbers*, pp. 133ff.

rounded and attacked by the Assyrians; finally Ahuni submitted to Shalmaneser. It is recorded here and/or in other inscriptions that Ahuni and his people, including Ahuni's own sons and daughters, were carried off, together with his palace property, divine images, chariots, cavalry and horses, to the city of Ashur; the deportees were counted as the people of Assyria.[211] The deported people are said to have numbered 17,500 (Ann. 4, iii 5), or 22,000 (Ann. 5, ii 8; Ann. 7, ii 4).[212]

As the result of this final defeat of Ahuni, Bit-Adini disappeared as a state from the political map. There is, however, no indication that Assyria reorganized the region around Shitamrat under her provincial government. Since eight years later, in Year 12 (847), Shalmaneser undertook a campaign against the still independent Paqarhubni, located roughly in the same area (see below, Part II, 9), it may be concluded that the region remained under some sort of local Aramaean control, independent of the neighbouring Neo-Hittite states of Kummuh, Carchemish and Gurgum.

Finally, we must discuss the internal organization of Bit-Adini, and specifically the cultural and political position of Til-barsip, the central abode of Ahuni. The special focus of the problem has been the incompatibility between the strong Aramaean presence in the region, as described in the Assyrian Annals, and the Hittite archaeological remains uncovered at Tell Ahmar, ancient Til-barsip.[213]

On one hand, the names of the state and its ruler, as well as the eponymous gentilic *mār Adini*, evidently point to the Aramaean tribal organization,[214] and the presence of Bit-Adini along the Euphrates is attested as early as 899 B.C. (eponym Ninuaya).[215] On the other

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[211] The following details about the booty and captives, not included in Ann. 3, are provided by other inscriptions: divine images (Ann. 4, iii 5; Ann. 5, ii 7; Ann. 7, ii 3; Ann. 13, l. 48; Ann. 14, l. 23; Summ. 6, l. 27; Summ. 8, l. 6; Summ. 9, l. 20; Summ. 19, i 11); horses (Ann. 4, iii 6; Ann. 5, ii 8; Ann. 7, ii 4; Ann. 13, l. 49; Ann. 14, l. 23; Summ. 6, l. 28), and Ahuni's own sons and daughters (Ann. 13, l. 49; Ann. 14, l. 23).

[212] For these numbers, see above, 4.1.

[213] Fundamental studies are: D. Ussishkin, *Or.* 40 (1971), pp. 431–437; J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 30 (1980), pp. 139–156; Y. Ikeda, in T. Mikasa (ed.), *Monarchies and Socio-Religious Traditions in the Ancient Neat East*, pp. 27–35; Sader, *Les états*, pp. 81–88; G. Bunnens, in *FS Lipiński*, pp. 19–27.

[214] Ahuni, meaning "our brother", is a typical west Semitic name. For the formation *Bīt-X* and *mār X*, cf. J.A. Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 255, 264, and 266; T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel*, pp. 102f.; most recently, P.-E. Dion, *Araméens*, pp. 225ff.

[215] RIMA 2, A.0.99.2, ll. 45–48; cf. above, Part I, 3.

hand, the archaeological finds at Tell Ahmar, dated to the period preceding the Assyrian occupation of the site (856), are predominantly Neo-Hittite, not Aramaean.[216] D. Ussishkin, for example, dated the Neo-Hittite monuments from Tell Ahmar which bear Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, by the analysis of their artistic style, to the period between the second half of the tenth century and the first half of the ninth century (contemporary with the kings Suhis and Katuwas in adjacent Carchemish).[217] Meanwhile, J.D. Hawkins established, from the Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions at the site, that the Luwian name of the city was Masuwari,[218] and also reconstructed the successive line of the five Neo-Hittite kings—Hapatilas—Ariyahinas—X the usurper (name not preserved)—Hamiyatas—Y son of Ariyahinas (name not preserved)—who probably ruled the city before the Assyrian occupation.[219]

The question is how to explain the absence of Aramaean cultural remains at Til-barsip, a site which at the period under discussion seems to have lain within an area which was increasingly dominated by Aramaeans. This can be best understood by assuming, with Y. Ikeda and J.D. Hawkins, that the Aramaeans of Bit-Adini occupied Masuwari/Til-barsip, which had survived as a Hittite enclave within the locally dominant Aramaean expansion; the Aramaean occupation continued for only a short period, however, until the Assyrian conquest and thus left no clear Aramaean imprint at the site.[220] It seems, then, the occupation by Bit-Adini of the vast terri-

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[216] For the results of the French excavations, see F. Thureau-Dangin, *Syria* 10 (1929), pp. 185–205; Thureau-Dangin, *et al.*, *Til-Barsip*. For the recent excavations by Melbourne University, see G. Bunnens, *AfO* 40/41 (1993/4), pp. 221–225; idem, *AJA* 98 (1994), pp. 149–151; idem, in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 17–27.

[217] Ussishkin, *Or.* 40, pp. 433–436. Cf. also Hawkins, *AnSt* 30, pp. 155f.; W. Orthmann, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 46–48; H. Genge, *Reliefs*, pp. 52–55 and 93–95.

[218] *AnSt* 33 (1983), pp. 131–136. Further pieces of evidence which confirm this conclusion are the recently published inscription of Hamiyatas, king of Masuwari (I. Singer, *Tel Aviv* 15/16 [1988/89], pp. 184–192), and another still unpublished inscription, which was discovered at Tell Ahmar in 1994 (see Bunnens, in *FS Lipiński*, pp. 20f.; idem, in *Assyria 1995*, p. 25).

[219] *AnSt* 30, pp. 139–156. However, not all the names of these rulers can be regarded as Hittite. See J.D. Hawkins *apud* R. Zadok, in *NAG*, p. 276 (7.3.1.0.1).

[220] Ikeda, *Hamath*, p. 95; Hawkins, *AnSt* 30, p. 156. Different views have been advanced by D. Ussishkin and G. Bunnens. Ussishkin (*Or.* 40, pp. 433–436) considered that Bit-Adini was ruled by a Neo-Hittite dynasty or dynasties for a period of about a century before the Assyrian annexation, and regarded Ahuni as the last Neo-Hittite ruler. This view does not account for the afore-mentioned typically Aramaean formation of the names Bit-Adini and Ahuni. Another hypothesis, proposed by Bunnens, is discussed below.

tory on both sides of the Euphrates was a short historical episode, which may have only begun with Ahuni himself and which ended with his defeat by Shalmaneser III.

Recently, however, some doubt has been expressed by several scholars about the status of Til-barsip as the capital of Bit-Adini. H.S. Sader suggested that Til-barsip was only a strategic fortress, while proposing that Shitamrat was the actual capital of Ahuni.[221] This proposal is difficult to accept. The palace property and the divine images taken from Shitamrat by the Assyrians were interpreted by Sader as evidence for the existence of palaces and temples at Shitamrat. However, these items had probably been carried by Ahuni to Shitamrat from the deserted Til-barsip.[222] Thus, it remains questionable whether the fortress of Shitamrat contained the sort of large buildings essential to a capital city. Although Shitamrat is occasionally called "his city",[223] it is never called the "royal city (*āl šarrūti*)" or the "fortified city (*āl dannūti*)". When it is called by name, the determinative KUR is consistently attached to it, with a few exceptions,[224] and the place is specifically described as "a mountain peak (*ubān(at) šadê*)".[225] It appears, therefore, that Shitamrat was originally the name of the mountain, and not of a sizable city which could have been the capital of a powerful state.

Another view has been advanced by G. Bunnens. He proposed that Ahuni, an Aramaean tribal sheikh, was not associated with any specific urban settlement, but ruled the Neo-Hittite kingdom of Masuwari/Til-barsip only indirectly as a vassal state.[226] I hesitate to

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[221] *Les états*, pp. 92f.

[222] A similar case is the booty taken from the defeated Arame, king of Urartu, in Year 3 (856). In this case, Shalmaneser took the royal treasure (*niṣirti šarrūti*) after pursuing Arame, who abandoned his royal city Arzashkun and fled to Mt. Adduri [for references, see below, Part III, Table 5, Incident 11]).

[223] Ann. 3, ii 73 (URU-*šú*); Summ. 2, l. 17 (Hawkins reads: *ina* ŠÀ ˹URU-*šu*˺ [*apud* Taşyürek, *Iraq* 41, p. 48]; but A.K. Grayson in RIMA 3 [A.0.102.20]: *ina* ŠÀ-˹*bi*(?)˺-*šú*).

[224] KUR in Summ. 2, l. 13; Ann. 3, ii 69; Ann. 5, ii 5; Ann. 6, l. 61; Ann. 7, i 51. URU appears only in Ann. 4, iii 4. No determinative is attached in Ann. 13, l. 46 and Ann. 14, l. 21.

[225] For the reference, see above, nn. 223f. and add further Ann. 4, iii 5; Ann. 5, ii 7; Ann. 6, l. 62; Ann. 7, ii 2; Ann. 13, ll. 47f.; Ann. 14, l. 22 and Summ. 2, l. 16.

[226] *Akkadica* 63 (1989), p. 4; *Tell-Ahmar: 1988 Season*, pp. 3f.; *FS Lipiński*, pp. 19–27, esp. 20 and 25. To some degree, however, Bunnens too seems to be inclined to regard Shitamrat as the original centre of Bit-Adini, when he states that the only place name mentioned in relation to Ahuni's family and possessions is not Til-barsip but Shitamrat (*FS Lipiński*, p. 26, n. 31).

follow this position, since the people of Bit-Adini, as described in the Annals of Shalmaneser, seem to have been sedentary, possessing many fortified cities as well as well-equipped army.[227]

Sader and Bunnens have claimed that Til-barsip could not have been the capital of Bit-Adini, because in the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3), as well as in the One Year Annals (Ann. 1), it is defined as "the fortified city (*āl dannūti*)", and not as "the royal city (*āl šarrūti*)", as it appears in the later versions of the Annals.[228] Even before the studies of Sader and Bunnens, Ikeda had noted this point and argued that Til-barsip was a stronghold of Ahuni but was not the capital.[229] It is true, as Ikeda pointed out, that the royal residence of a ruler is generally referred to in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions as *āl šarrūtī(šu)*, not as *āl dannūtī(šu)*.[230] However, Til-barsip is attested as "*āl šarrūti*" of Ahuni in the Kenk Inscription (Summ. 2),[231] which was edited in Year 4 (855), less than two years after the fall of Til-barsip and two years before the edition of the Kurkh Monolith. Moreover, the fluidity between the terms *āl šarrūti* and *āl dannūti* is not surprising, particularly in reference to the city of royal residence, since the definition "*āl dannūti*", which refers to a city fortified with walls, can theoretically include the royal abode, "*āl šarrūti*", as well. Similar fluidity between the two terms may be found in two other cases, i.e. those of Til-abne and Hubushkia. Til-abne was apparently the royal abode of Habini, but in the Annals it is called *āl dannūti* (see below, 6.1). Hubushkia is attested in Sargon's Letter to Ashur as "*āl šarrūtī*" of Yanzu, king of Nairi,[232] but the same city is called "*āl dannūtī*" in

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[227] To judge by its name, it was organized on the basis of a tribal society in the early stage of its development. However, the fact that Ahuni is never credited with the title of king in the Assyrian inscriptions, cannot serve, as claimed by Bunnens (*FS Lipiński*, p. 25), as proof of the nomadic organization of the state in the period under discussion, since this is apparently due to the stylistic features of Shalmaneser's Annals. It must be noted that almost none of the rulers mentioned in Shalmaneser's texts are referred to as *šarru* "king", but only by the gentilic form, i.e. GN-*a-a* "man of GN," or *mār* PN "son of PN (the name of the eponymous ancestor)".

[228] The city is called the "royal city" in Summ. 2, ll. 9f.; Ann. 5, i 58, Ann. 7, i 38f.; Ann. 13, ll. 36f., and the "fortified city" in Ann. 1, obv. 46; Ann. 3, ii 14, 31 and 67. Cf. above, 2.1 and 3.1.

[229] Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 (1979), pp. 78f. His further suggestion to regard a certain Ki[. . .]qa as the capital of Ahuni has now, however, been safely dismissed by the alternative reading *Til-bu*[*r*]-⌜*si*⌝-⌜*ip*⌝ (see above, 1.2, n. 35).

[230] Ikeda, *Iraq* 41, p. 76.

[231] As noticed by Ikeda (p. 76).

[232] F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne* (new edition by W. Mayer, *MDOG* 115 [1983], pp. 65–132), l. 307.

the Annals and the Display Text.[233] Therefore, I would conclude that the terminological fluidity is too ambiguous to disprove the position of Til-barsip as Bit-Adini's capital.

5. *The Sixth Year (853): Battle of Qarqar*

In the fifth regnal year (854), Shalmaneser III made a pause in his western expeditions and marched against Shubria, located along the uppermost part of the Tigris, via Kashiyari mountain.[234] After this interruption of one year, Shalmaneser returned to the west in his sixth regnal year (853) to fight the famous battle of Qarqar.

5.1. *Accounts of the Sixth Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The present campaign is narrated in six versions of the Annals (Ann. 3, 5, 6, 7, 13 and 14). The account of Annals 3 = the Kurkh Monolith (ii 78b–102) is the most detailed. The contents may be summarized as follows:

A) Date (year, month and day); the king departed from Nineveh and crossed the Tigris.
B) The king approached cities ruled by Giammu on the Balih river. The people, fearing Assyrian attack, rebelled against Giammu and killed him.
C) The king entered those cities, Sahlala and Til-sha-turahi, introduced Assyrian gods into his (Giammu's) palaces, made a celebration banquet in the palaces, carried off the property and brought it to the city of Ashur. The king departed from Sahlala.
D) The king approached Kar-Shalmaneser, crossed the Euphrates, received tribute from "the kings of the other side of the Euphrates"

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[233] The Annals: A.G. Lie, *Sargon*, p. 26, l. 148; recently re-edited by A. Fuchs in his *ISK*, p. 113. Display Text: Fuchs, *ISK*, p. 207, l. 54. The variants are noted by Ikeda (*Iraq* 41, pp. 78f., n. 29), who however held the view that the "fortified city" of the two later texts is a scribal error.

[234] Ann. 5, ii 16–18; Ann. 6, ll. 66b–67a; Ann. 7, ii 9b–12; Ann. 13, ll. 52b–54a; Ann. 14, ll. 26b–27; Summ. 6, l. 44b. In addition to these texts, the capture of the city of Upumu of Shubria, described on the Balawat Bronze Band VIII, should probably be associated with this campaign (see above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4). For the absence of the fifth year campaign from Ann. 3 (the Kurkh Monolith), see Appendix B, esp. p. 326, n. 19.

at Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat (the names of the seven kings and the contents of the tribute are recorded). The king departed from the Euphrates.

E) The king approached Halman (Aleppo); the people of the city feared and submitted to Shalmaneser. The king received the tribute, made offerings to the god Adad of Halman, and departed from Halman.

F) The king approached the cities of Irhuleni of Hamath, conquered the cities of Adennu, Parga and Argana, carried off Irhuleni's people and property and burned his palaces. The king departed from Argana.

G) The king approached Qarqar, Irhuleni's "royal city", and destroyed it.

H) 12 kings (their names and the details of their forces are given) came to fight against Shalmaneser. The king fought with them, defeated them from Qarqar to Gilzau, killed 14,000 enemy soldiers, filled the plain and the Orontes river with their corpses, and took their chariots, cavalry and horses as booty.

The account of next two versions, Annals 5 = the 16 Year Annals (ii 19–33) and Annals 6 = the Bull Inscription (ll. 67b–74), duplicate each other. The contents of this account can be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my sixth *palû* (*ina 6 palêya*)"; the king departed from Nineveh.

B) The king approached the cities on the bank of the Balih river. The people feared Assyrian attack and killed Giammu.

C) The king entered the city of Til-turahi, "took the city for himself (lit. myself)". The king departed from the bank of the Balih.

D) The king crossed the Euphrates and received tribute from the "kings of the land of Hatti". The king departed from "the land of Hatti".

E) The king approached Halman and made offerings to the god Adad of Halman. The king departed from Halman.

F) The king approached the city of Qarqar. Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath, and "12 kings of the sea coast" came out to fight; the king fought with them, killed 25,000 enemy soldiers, and took their chariots, cavalry and military utensils. The enemies escaped.

G) The king boarded boats and went out upon the sea.

This account is much shorter than that of Annals 3, but still retains some textual contact with the latter text in structure and phraseology. Thus, it may be regarded as a version abridged from Annals 3, except for the new episode about the king's boat trip (Episode G). Although the course of events described in Annals 3 is still roughly traceable in the present account, a number of place names were omitted here (the Tigris, Sahlala, Kar-Shalmaneser, Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat, Adennu, Parga and Argana), and some details relating to the other places were neglected and/or briefly summarized.

The following are the primary points of the abridgement: (1) The crossing of the Tigris river (Ann. 3, Episode A) was omitted. (2) Of the two cities of Giammu referred to in Annals 3 (Episode C), Sahlala was omitted and only Til-sha-turahi remained in a variant form, Til-turahi (Ann. 5/6, Episode C). Other details omitted are the plundering of Giammu's property, the carrying of Assyrian gods into the palaces, and the celebration banquet held in the palaces. These were compensated for in Annals 5/6 by a short general statement: "I took (the city) for myself (*ana ramānīya aṣbat*)". (3) The account of the king's approach to Kar-Shalmaneser, found in Annals 3 before his crossing of the Euphrates (Episode D), was omitted. (4) As for the tribute from the kings of the west (Ann. 3, Episode D; Ann. 5/6, Episode D), the names of tribute-bearers and the items of tribute, as well as the place where it was received (Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat), were omitted. Furthermore, the appellative of the tribute-bearers in Annals 3 "the kings of the other side of the Euphrates (*šarrāni ša šēpē ammâte ša Puratte*)" was changed in Annals 5/6 to "the kings of the land of Hatti (*šarrāni ša* ^{kur}*Hatti*)". This change seems to have caused the editor to give a vague geographical term "the land of Hatti" (instead of the specific city name Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat, as given in Ann. 3) in the subsequent itinerary formula; hence, the reading "I departed from the land of Hatti".[235] (5) Of the two activities of the king at Halman, recorded in Annals 3 (Episode E), i.e. the receipt of tribute and the offering to the god Adad, the former was omitted (Ann. 5/6, Episode E). (6) The conquest and destruction of the three cities of Irhuleni of Hamath (Ann. 3, Episode F) were omitted altogether. (7) The destruction of Qarqar (Ann. 3, Episode G) was also omitted. (8) The description of the battle of Qarqar varies considerably (between Ann. 3, Episode H and Ann. 5/6, Episode F). Of the names of the allied rulers whom Shalmaneser encountered near Qarqar, only the two leading members of the coalition (Adad-idri of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath) are mentioned in Annals 5/6, while the others are grouped under a generic term "12 kings of the sea coast (12 *šarrāni ša šiddi tâmdi*)". This produced

[235] It is unlikely that the scribe used the term "the land of Hatti" here in its narrow sense, meaning the land of Carchemish, since the territory of the state of Carchemish, extending to the north of the Sajur river, apparently did not lie on the course of the campaign.

a total of 14 kings, as against 12 in Annals 3.[236] Further abridgement took place by omitting the numerical details of the size of the coalition army, and the area where the Syrian kings were defeated—"from Qarqara to Gilzau". The narration of the battle was considerably shortened, and was compensated for by increasing the number of the enemy soldiers killed to 25,000 (from 14,000 in Ann. 3). Finally, in the list of the booty, "horses", noted in Annals 3, were replaced by "military utensils (*unūt tāhāzi*)".

At this point, it may be worthwhile to make a general comment on the transition from the *limmu* Annals (represented by Ann. 3) to the *palû* Annals (particularly Ann. 5), examining all their comparable years, i.e. from the beginning to Year 6. The campaign account of the *limmu* Annals, following the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, meticulously indicated the course of the king's march with the standard itinerary formulae, and described the king's heroic advance with some poetic imagery. The *palû* Annals, in its considerably briefer account, concerned itself merely with selected topics from those found in the *limmu* Annals, while apparently depending on the latter[237] for the order of these topics. In this major transition, the description of the exact course of the campaign was generalized, with the omission of many toponyms and itinerary formulae, a number of details (geographical information, personal names, numerical data etc.) were neglected, and the poetic imagery was totally abandoned. In contrast to this, the transition between different versions of the *palû* Annals occurred in a straightforward programmatic process, by borrowing the forerunning version almost verbatim, with minor omissions, additions and/or replacements of words.

Returning to the account of Year 6, we shall examine the subsequent versions of the *palû* Annals, Annals 7 = 20 Year Annals (ii 13–24), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 54b–66) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 28–38a). The accounts of these texts are quite similar to each other, despite some variants. They can be regarded as abridged versions of the preceding text, Annals 5/6.[238] Their contents may be summarized here together, as follows:

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[236] Cf. de Odorico, *Numbers*, pp. 134f.

[237] However, the *palû* texts include the account of Year 5, which is skipped over in Ann. 3—a fact that suggests other sources were used for the *palû* texts. For the omission of Year 5 in Ann. 3, see below Appendix B, esp. p. 326, n. 19.

[238] However, a fragmentary passage at the end of Ann. 14's account includes a detail not found in Ann. 5/6 (see below).

A) Date: "in my sixth *palû* (*ina 6 palêya*)"; the king approached the cities on the bank of the Balih; they killed (GAZ [Ann. 7]/GAZ-*ku* [Anns. 13 and 14]) Giammu, their lord.
B) The king entered the city of Til-turahi (Ann. 14 has an additional detail, which will be discussed below).
C) The king crossed the Euphrates and received tribute from the "kings of the land of Hatti".
D) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)" (included in Ann. 13 and Ann. 14 but not in Ann. 7), Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath, and "12 kings of the sea shore (12 *šarrāni ša šiddi tâmdi* [in Ann. 7])"/"the kings of the land of Hatti and the sea coast" (*šarrāni ša māt Hatti u ahāt tâmti* [Ann. 13 and 14]) came up to battle. The king fought with them, defeated them, took their chariots, cavalry and military utensils, and killed 25,000 (Ann. 7)/ 20,500 (Ann. 13)/29,000 (Ann. 14) of the enemy soldiers.
E) The king cast down the remainder of the enemies into the Orontes (only in Ann. 14).

Throughout this account, other place names mentioned in Annals 5/6 (Nineveh [as a point of departure], Halman, and Qarqara) were omitted, as well as the incidents connected with them.

Further omissions and changes can be noted as follows: (1) The reason for the murder of Giammu by his servants: "(for) they feared my strong weapons (*ištu pān kakkēya dannūte iplahūma*)" (Ann. 5/6, Episode C) was omitted in the later versions (Episode A).[239] Thus, the main sentence "they killed Giammu, their city-ruler (*mGiammu bēl-ālīšunu idūkū*)" was left alone resulting in an ambiguous context; it is not clear why and who killed Giammu. (2) As for Til-(sha)-turahi, the statement "I took the city for myself" (Ann. 5/6, Episode C) was omitted in Annals 7 and 13 (Episode B). Thus, nothing is known any more in the latter two texts about the consequences of the Assyrian conquest of the city. Annals 14 (ll. 29f.), however, not only retains the statement, but adds a unique detail: "I carried off his numerous possessions with his palace women (MUNUS.ÉRIN.MEŠ *ekallīšu*)". (3) The narration of the battle with the Syrian coalition (Episode D) has been left without its location in the later versions, as a result of the afore-mentioned omission of the reference to Qarqar. In Annals 13 and 14, the introductory formula "at that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)" was inserted, and this detached the present episode from the preceding one. However, Annals 7 lacks such a temporal clause. (4) The generic name of the allies of Adad-idri and Irhuleni in Annals 7 (Episode D) has remained the same

[239] The appropriate line is damaged in Ann. 14 (l. 28) but may be restored from Ann. 7 (ii 14f.) and Ann. 13 (l. 55).

as that given in Annals 5/6 (Episode F), i.e. "12 kings of the sea coast (12 *šarrāni ša šiddi tâmtim*)"; this, however, was changed in Annals 13 and 14 to "the kings of the land of Hatti and the sea coast (*šarrāni ša māt Hatti u ahāt tâmti*)", ignoring the number of the allies. (5) In describing the battle of Qarqar, an adverbial phrase not found in Annals 5/6 was inserted before "I fought with them" in Annals 13 and 14 (Episode D), i.e. *ina qibīt Aššur bēli rabî bēlīya (*^{d}*Ninurta rā'im šangūtīya)* "by the command of the god Ashur, great lord, my lord (and the god Ninurta, who loves my priesthood)";[240] this addition, however, does not occur in Annals 7.[241] (6) As for the result of the battle, Annals 5/6 (Episode F) refer first to (i) the killing of the enemy soldiers, and then to (ii) the booty. In contrast, in the later versions (Episode D), the statement "I defeated them (*abiktašu aškun*)"—found in Annals 3 (ii 97) but non-existent in Annals 5/6—is followed by (ii) the booty and then (i) the killing of the enemy soldiers, in the reverse order. (7) The number of enemies killed varies: Annals 7 gives the figure of 25,000, as in Annals 5/6, yet, Annals 13 has 20,500, and Annals 14 has 29,000 (cf. also Ann. 3's 14,000).[242] (8) The reference to the escape of the enemies and the king's boat ride on the sea, with which the account of Annals 5/6 ends (Episodes F and G), was omitted in Annals 7 and 13 without any compensation. The account of Annals 14, on the other hand, ends with a statement about the casting down of the remainder of the enemies into the Orontes (Episode E).[243]

We now come to examine two summary texts, Summary Inscriptions 6 (the Calah Throne Base) and 19 (the Ashur Statue), in which the battle of Qarqar has been taken up as a main topic and placed between other events which took place in the west. The account is not dated in either text, but the contents of the pertinent part must surely bear some relationship to the narrations of this battle in Year 6 in the annalistic texts (see below).

In Summary Inscription 6, the account (ll. 29–34a) is introduced by the phrase "at that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)", following the episode of the final defeat of Ahuni, king of Bit-Adini in Year 4 (855). The

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[240] The part set in parentheses occurs only in Ann. 14.

[241] This theological explanatory phrase was also introduced in Summ. 6 (Throne Base Inscription), edited in about the 13th regnal year, a few years before the edition of Ann. 5 (see below). Ann. 3 (the Kurkh Monolith) includes lines telling of the divine support of Ashur and Nergal in the battle: *ina idāte ṣīrāte ša Aššur bēlī iddina ina kakkē dannūte ša Nergal ālik pānīya išruka ittišunu amdahhiṣ.* It may, however, be far-fetched to consider that the theological explanatory phrase in Ann. 13 and 14, as well as in Summ. 6, has a direct textual connection with this.

[242] These variants were recently discussed by M. de Odorico (*Numbers*, p. 49 with n. 20). See also *ibid.*, pp. 72ff. for the numerical inflation in Assyrian royal inscriptions in general.

[243] This is comparable with the ending of the accounts of Summ. 6 and 19, as will be seen below.

text briefly narrates the coming out of Adad-idri, Irhuleni and their allies, the battle against them, their defeat, the filling up of the field with corpses, and the casting down of the remainder of the enemies into the flood. The wording is similar to that of Annals 5 and its subsequent versions. The present account, however, includes a detail found elsewhere only in Annals 3 (see below, remarks 3 and 4). This might reflect the date of the edition, c. Year 13, which was between the edition of Annals 3 (Year 6) and that of Annals 5 (Year 16).

Detailed examination of the account reveals: (1) The coalition members are called "Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhulina (sic) of Hamath and 12 kings of the sea coast (*12 šarrāni ša ahāt tâmti*)", thus giving a total of 14 kings instead of the originally intended 12 (cf. Ann. 3), a phenomenon also observed in Annals 5, 6 and 7. (2) As noted (above, n. 241), the theological explanation, "by the command of the god Ashur, my lord," is found preceding "I fought with them," as in Annals 13 and 14.[244] (3) The place of the defeat of the Syrian kings, indicated elsewhere only in Annals 3, is noted as "from the city of Qarqara until the city of Dilziau" (cf. Ann. 3: Gilzau). (4) As for the results of the battle, the number of enemy soldiers killed and the taking of booty, both noted in all the versions of the Annals, are not mentioned. However, Summary Inscription 6 refers to the filling of the field with corpses and the casting down of the remaining enemies into a "flood (*rihṣu*)". The former detail finds its parallel in Annals 3, and the latter one in Annals 14 and Summary Inscription 19 (see below).

The other text, Summary Inscription 19, includes a brief account of the battle of Qarqar (i 14–24). It relates the defeat of Adad-idri and his allies, the killing of the enemies, the casting down of their survivors into the Orontes, and the escape of the enemies. It contains unique phraseology, not in exact contact with any other text of Shalmaneser III. It seems that the editor composed anew a short history of the battles between Assyria and Damascus, placing the battle of Qarqar and later incidents relating to Damascus in rapid succession. In this historiography, he regarded the battle of Qarqar as a step towards the final defeat of Damascus.[245]

The following observations may further be noted: (1) The enemies are referred to as "Adad-idri of the land of Damascus (*Imēr*[*īšu*]) with 12 princes, his allies (*adi 12 malkī rēṣīšu*)". This is unique, not only in its phraseology

[244] However, note the insertion of "great lord (*bēli rabî*)" before "my lord" both in Ann. 13 and 14, and the addition of "the god Ninurta, lover of my priesthood" following the god Ashur in Ann. 14 (see above).

[245] M. Elat suggests that the author of Summ. 19 exploited the fact that the struggle against Aram-Damascus had ended in an Assyrian victory in order to blur the previous military failure (*IEJ* 25 [1975], pp. 25f.).

but also in that Adad-idri, mentioned with Irhuleni in all the other texts, appears here alone; the total number of the kings is thus 13 instead of 12 or 14. (2) "29,000 brave ones, his soldiers, I laid down like reeds (*29,000 ālilī mundahhiṣīšu unīli kīma šūbi*)"[246] is also unique, and the number is the highest variant, with the same number given in Annals 14 (see above). (3) As already noted, the casting down of the enemies into the Orontes river is a topic shared with Summary Inscription 6 and Annals 14. It is possible, then, that the topic was taken from Summary Inscription 6, although in the latter text "flood (*rihṣu*)" is given instead of "the Orontes". (4) The escape (the verb *elû*) of the enemies, as a result of the battle, is related elsewhere only in Annals 5/6.

Finally, it should be noted that the series of summary inscriptions from Fort Shalmaneser of Calah, i.e. Summary Inscriptions 8 (l. 7b), 10a (ll. 7b–8a), 10b (ll. 4b–5a), 10c (ll. 6b–7a), 11a (l. 5b) and 12 (l. 21), include a duplicate passage: "for a second time, I marched to the great sea (*2-šu ana tâmti rabīti allik*)".[247] This was apparently intended to refer to the visit of the sea after the battle of Qarqar (cf. above Ann. 5/6, Episode G), which was the king's second visit, after his first one in Year 1 (859).

5.2. *Historical Analysis of the Sixth Year Campaign*

On the 14th of Ayyaru, Shalmaneser departed from Nineveh, crossed the Tigris and advanced to the west.[248] This time, however, the Assyrians did not travel straight to the bank of the Euphrates, as in previous years, but marched first against the cities of Giammu, the ruler of the Balih region. Annals 3 (ii 78b–81a) reports this incident as follows:

> *ana ālāni* (79) *ša* ^{m}*Giammu* ^{id}*Balīḫi*(KASKAL.KUR.A) *aqṭirib pulhat bēlūtīya namurrat kakkēya ezzūte iplahūma ina kakki ramānīšunu* ^{m}*Giammu bēlšunu* (80) *idūkū ana* ^{uru}*Šahlala u* ^{uru}*Til-ša-tur-a-ḫi lū ērub ilānīya ana ekallātēšu lū ušērib tašīltu ina ekallātēšu aškun* (81) *nakkamtēšu lū apte niṣirtušu lū āmur makkūršu bušâšu ašlula ana ālīya Aššur ubla*
>
> I approached the cities of Giammu, (on) the Balih river. They feared from the terror of my lordship and the splendour of my raging weapons, and killed Giammu with their own weapons. I entered the cities of Sahlala and Til-sha-turahi, brought my gods into his palaces, and held a celebration banquet (*tašīltu*) in his palaces. I opened his treasure

[246] *CAD* Š/III, p. 187 (s.v. *šūbu*).
[247] In Summ. 12, *2-šu* is broken off.
[248] Ann. 3, ii 78f.

house, saw his treasure, carried off his goods and properties (and) brought (them) to my city Ashur.

The reason for this Assyrian aggression is unrecorded. One might consider that Giammu, who had once been under Assyrian suzerainty, had rebelled and thus invited this Assyrian reaction.[249] However, it is unlikely that the lord of such a small state would have decided to rebel precisely after the fall of Bit-Adini, the powerful neighbour which had led the anti-Assyrian movement in the region. It seems rather that Giammu had long harboured anti-Assyrian feelings under the influence of Bit-Adini and remained insubordinate to Shalmaneser even after the fall of his larger neighbour. In this connection, we should note that in the time of Ashurnasirpal II, Bit-Adini's influence extended along the Euphrates eastward beyond the mouth of the Balih as far as Laqe of the Middle Euphrates (see above, Part I, 3); this may suggest that the Balih region had once been under the influence of Bit-Adini. At any rate, the opposition group in the country killed Giammu to avoid hopeless military confrontation with Shalmaneser and opened the gate of the cities to the Assyrians.

The name of the first city must be read *Sah-la-la*, not *Kīt-la-la*, and should be identified with *Ṣa/Sà-ah-la-la*, attested in the Old Babylonian itinerary, following Harran (URU ŠÀ.KASKAL) and *Apqū ša Balīha* "sources of the Balih river", preceding Zalpah.[250] It has commonly been located to the south of Harran on the bank of the Balih.[251] This city and *Til-(ša-)turahi*[252] were probably transformed

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[249] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 64. On the contrary, A.T. Olmstead considered that Giammu had retained his independence (*JAOS* 41 [1921], p. 363).

[250] W.W. Hallo, *JCS* 18 (1964), pp. 57–88, l. 34; for the identification between OB *Ṣa/Sà-ah-la-la* and Shalmaneser's *Sahlala*, see *ibid.*, p. 78; cf. also A. Goetze, *JCS* 18, p. 116 and Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 201f. R. Zadok (*Abr-Nahrain* 27 [1989], pp. 160f.) relates the same place to *Šī-ih-la-lam* in the Mari correspondence (*ARM* 10, no. 178, l. 9) and to *Sʿlm* of the Aramaic Arsham correspondence (fifth century B.C.). An unpublished Assyrian inscription from Qaruz (14 km south-east of Arslan Tash) reportedly mentions ^{uru}*Sah-la-lu*, as well as ^{uru}KAŠKAL-*ni* (Harran) and ^{uru}*Til*[. . .]. See K. Kohlmeyer, in B. Hrouda *et al.* (eds.), *Von Uruk nach Tuttul: Eine Festschrift für Eva Strommenger*, p. 96.

[251] E. Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung*, p. 24) equated the city with Tell Ṣolōla which is said to lie on the source of the "Môyet Ṣolôla"; this view was followed by A. Goetze (*JCS* 18, p. 116) and K. Kessler (*Untersuchungen*, pp. 201f.). W.W. Hallo (*JCS* 18, p. 78) proposed the city be identified with Tell Sahlan, some 20 km south of Ain al-Arus.

[252] URU *Til-ša-tur-a-hi*: Ann. 3, ii 80; URU *Til-tur-a-hi*: Ann. 5, ii 22; Ann. 6, l. 68; Ann. 7, ii 15; Ann. 13, l. 56; Ann. 14, l. 29. One may safely dismiss the two suggested alternative readings of the place name, *Til-ša-Balīhi* by taking *apal*(TUL

into Assyrian colonies,[253] as implied by the description of their treatment, i.e. the carrying out of the property,[254] the introduction of Assyrian divine images, and the celebration banquet (*tašīltu*) held in the palaces.[255] As for Til-turahi, this can be confirmed by the statement of the later versions of the Annals that the king "took the city for himself (lit. myself; *āla ana ramānīya aṣbat*)".[256]

The king departed from the Balih region,[257] halted at Til-barsip/Kar-Shalmaneser, then crossed the Euphrates, and received the tribute of "the kings of the other side of the Euphrates" or "the kings of the land of Hatti" at Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat.[258] It is understandable that the tribute was submitted at this city, located just on the opposite bank of the Euphrates, facing the administrative centre of Til-

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= DUMU)-*a-hi* as a play on ^{id}*Balīḫi* "the mound of Balih" (Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 73, n. 1; Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 363, n. 38; both following C.P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 200), and *Til-mār*(DUMU)-*ahi* "the mound of the cousin" (Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, §§ 563 and 610). The name has been associated with the biblical Terah, the father of Abraham, and interpreted in Akkadian as "a mound of ibex" (E. Kraeling, *ZAW* 40 (1922), pp. 153f.; cf. recently R.S. Hess, "Terah", *Anchor Bible Dictionary*, vol. 6, pp. 387f.).

[253] Thus Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 363.

[254] Further, Ann. 14 (ll. 29f.) provides us with the additional information that Shalmaneser carried off Giammu's "palace women (MUNUS.ERÍN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú*)" with other properties.

[255] For *tašīltu* in the sense of a celebration banquet, see *AHw*, p. 1338 (cf. also Å. Sjöberg, *ZA* 55 [1962], pp. 1–10 for the Sumerian counterpart gir_x(= KA)-zal). It may be worthwhile to note that Ashurnasirpal II uses the same expression *tašīltu ina ekallīšu aškun* in the context of his occupation of the city of Aribua in Patin as an Assyrian outpost. For this, see above, Part I, 3.

[256] Ann. 5, ii 22; Ann. 6, l. 69; Ann. 14, l. 30.

[257] According to Ann. 3 (ii 81), the king's departure is "from the city Sahlala", whereas in Ann. 5, ii 23 and Ann. 6, l. 69, it is "from the bank of the Balih".

[258] Ann. 3, ii, 81–86; cf. Ann. 5, ii 23; Ann. 6, ll. 69f.; Ann. 7, ii 16f.; Ann. 13, ll. 57–59; Ann. 14, ll. 30f. On the crossing of the Euphrates, Ann. 3, ii 82 reads: *ša šanûtēšu* ^{id}*Puratta ina mēlīša ēbir* "I crossed the Euphrates again (lit. for another time)". The alleged excessive <<II-ᶠšú¹>> following *ša šanûtēšu* (Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 82) is actually not attested (collated; see Appendices D and E). It is unlikely that the statement refers to a second crossing of the Euphrates by the king in the present (sixth) year, since the king had already crossed the Euphrates three times, in Years 1, 2, and 4, before the present year (see above, 1.2, 2.2, 3.2 and 4.2). The idea that the expression means "for the second time" during the narrated action or anyway within the sixth year (de Odorico, *Numbers*, p. 137, n. 96) is not followed here. There is no indication whatsoever that Shalmaneser undertook two campaigns to the west in this year. It is also improbable that the return march is being counted here, since the season implied here is that of the high water level (*ina mēlīša*), i.e. spring, but not the late summer, the supposed time of the return march. In my opinion, the expression *ša šanûtēšu* means not "for the second time" but rather "for another time, again", without indicating the sum total of the king's Euphrates crossings up to the sixth regnal year. For this, see below, Appendix C, esp. p. 337, n. 6.

barsip.[259] The seven tribute-bearing kings were Sangara of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Kummuh, Arame of Bit-Agusi (lit. son of Gusi), Lalli of Melid, Hayanu of Sam'al (lit. son of Gabbar), Qalparudda of Patin and Qalparudda of Gurgum.[260] It would thus seem that Assyrian suzerainty had been accepted in northern Syria by this time.

Shalmaneser advanced further south-westwards, evidently entering the territory of Bit-Agusi, and reached the city of Aleppo, where the people of the city submitted to him and offered tribute. Shalmaneser, in his turn, paid special respect to Adad of Aleppo, the prestigious weather god of the region, by dedicating offerings to him.[261] Although Aleppo was geographically adjacent to or included in the realm of Bit-Agusi, the city seems to have enjoyed some sort of political autonomy, probably because of its special status as the religious centre.

Leaving Aleppo, the Assyrians entered the realm of Irhuleni of Hamath. Annals 3 (ii 87b–90a) describes the conquest of Hamathite cities as follows:

> *ana ālāni* (88) *ša* ^{m}*Irhuleni* ^{kur}*Amatāya aqṭirib* ^{uru}*Adennu* ^{uru}*Pargā* ^{uru}*Arganā āl šarrūtīšu akšud šallassu bušâšu* (89) *makkūr ekallātīšu ušēṣâ ana ekallātīšu išāti addi ištu* ^{uru}*Arganā attumuš ana* ^{uru}*Qarqara aqṭirib* (90) ^{uru}*Qarqara āl šarrūtīšu appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup*
>
> I approached the cities of Irhuleni of Hamath, conquered Adennu, Parga and Argana, his royal citi(es),[262] carried out his booty, his goods and the treasure of his palaces, (and) set fire to his palaces. I departed from Argana and approached Qarqar. I destroyed and set on fire Qarqar, his royal city.

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[259] For the restoration of Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat in Year 3 (856), and its location, see above, 3.2.

[260] The names of the tribute-bearers, as well as the items of tribute (silver, gold, tin, bronze and bronze bowls), are only recorded in Ann. 3 (see above, 5.1).

[261] Ann. 3, ii 86f.; cf. Ann. 5, ii 25f. For the prestigious status of Aleppo as the sanctuary of Adad, see H. Klengel, *JCS* 19 (1965), pp. 87–93; Klengel and Hawkins, "Halab" in *RlA* 4, pp. 50–53; J.C. Greenfield, in *FS Tadmor*, pp. 272–278; cf. also the evidence from OB Mari, discussed by J.-M. Durand (*MARI* 7 [1993], pp. 41–61).

[262] It is not entirely clear whether the attribute *āl šarrūtīšu* "his royal city" relates to Argana alone (Elliger, *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 82, n. 42; Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 [1979], p. 79, n. 33), or whether it refers to each of the three cities, Adennu, Parga and Argana (Luckenbill, *ARAB* I, § 610; Noth, *ZDPV* 71 [1955], p. 40; Sader, *Les états*, p. 187, n. 7; Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 [p. 23]). One might expect *ālāni šarrūtīšu* if all three cities were intended (Ikeda, *op. cit.*), but the sg. could still be intended for each of the three cities (see W. von Soden, *GAG*, § 134c; cf. R. Borger, *Babylonisch-assyrische Lesestücke*, II, p. 193). In any case, the fact that the attack on the walled cities of Pargâ and Ada (= Adennu), as well as Qarqar, was depicted on Balawat Bronze Band IX may suggest that these two cities were no less significant than Argana.

Qarqar is generally identified with Tell Qarqur on the right (east) bank of the Orontes river, 7 km south of Jisr esh-Shughur.[263] If this location of Qarqar is accepted, the three other cities destroyed before Qarqar[264] must have been situated on a road between Aleppo and Jisr esh-Shughur, but their exact location is in dispute.[265]

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[263] For example, Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 242; Noth, *ZDPV* 71, p. 39 and *ZDPV* 72, pp. 81f.; Astour, *Or.* 38 (1969), p. 412; Klengel, *GS* III, pp. 53 and 65, n. 14. The site was excavated and Iron II remains were uncovered (J.M. Lundquist, *ASOR Newsletter* 5/3 [1984], pp. 1–3; R. Dornemann, *ASOR Newsletter* 43/3 [1993], pp. 5f.). However, H.S. Sader and W.T. Pitard have suggested alternative sites for the location of ancient Qarqar. Sader proposed that Qarqar be identified with modern Tell Hama, while rejecting the identification of Tell Hama with the ancient city of Hamath (*Berytus* 34 [1986], pp. 129–134; *Les états*, pp. 223–225). Her suggestion, however, cannot be accepted, since Tell Hama was certainly called *Hamat* in Shalmaneser's time, as proved by the reference to URU *Ha-ma-ti* in the recently published Babylonian letter uncovered at the site (for more details, see below, 8.2, n. 344). Pitard, on the other hand, prefers to equate a large tell on the Orontes at the modern town of Jisr esh-Shughur with Qarqar (*Ancient Damascus*, pp. 126–128, n. 79). Although this is a possible alternative, the site could also be a good candidate, as M. Liverani has suggested (*SAATA*, pp. 76f. with n. 368), for Aribua, the southernmost city of Patin, which Ashurnasirpal II took and turned into an Assyrian outpost (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 81f.; cf. above, Part I, 3).

[264] K. Elliger (*FS Eissfeldt*, p. 82, n. 42) deduced from the pertinent passage that Shalmaneser approached and subjugated two cities, Adennu and Parga, without giving battle, and then attacked Argana, the royal city. This interpretation is based on the incorrect copy of G. Smith, so it must be abandoned. "II" before "*ālāni ša* ^{m}*Irhuleni* ^{kur}*Amatāya*" (ii 87f.), copied by Smith in *III R*, 7–8 and followed by Elliger and others (e.g. Astour, *Or.* 38, pp. 412f.), is non-existent, as shown by the collation of J.A. Craig (*Hebraica* 3 [1886/7], pp. 218 and 232; cf. RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 87). Furthermore, such an interpretation contradicts the evidence from Balawat Bronze Band IX, upper register, which depicts the attack on Parga and Ada (= Adennu); see below for this.

[265] It has been suggested that Adennu be identified with Dana, 38 km west of Aleppo (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 58; Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 245); with another Dana, 6 km north of Maʿaret en-Naʿman (Elliger, in *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 82; Astour, *Or.* 38, p. 412, n. 3); with a third place of the same name, 4 km south-west of Turmanin (Elliger, *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 82); with Tell Danit, south-east of Idlib (Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 73; cf. S. Shaath, *AfO* 28 [1981/2], p. 216, and Sader, *Les états*, p. 222); with Khanedan, 12 km north-west of Idlib (Elliger, *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 82, n. 42); and with Kufr Atin, 2 km west of Riha (Abu Taleb, *IHNS*, p. 159). Parga was identified with Barqum near Zeitan and Zirbe, south-west of Aleppo, by Dussaud (*Topographie*, pp. 243 and 513; cf. Elliger, *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 82), but it has also been suggested that it lies further south (Astour, *Or.* 38, p. 412; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 73; cf. also Sader, *Les états*, p. 222). Argana was identified with Riha, 15 km south of Idlib, by Kraeling (*op. cit.*; cf. Sader, *op. cit.*). On the other hand, Dussaud has linked it with the name of the swamp er-Ruj, north-west of Qarqar (*Topographie*, p. 243; cf. Elliger, *op. cit.*). M. Abu Taleb mentioned a tell bearing this name (Tell Arguni) near Maʿaret en-Naʿman (*IHNS*, p. 160).

Scenes of the attack on the Hamathite cities are depicted on the upper and lower registers of Balawat Bronze Band IX.[266] The upper register of the band depicts an Assyrian attack on two walled cities with a siege engine and ladders, and bears an epigraph for each scene, reading "I conquered Parga (uru*Pa-ar-ga-a akšud*)" and "I conquered Ada of Urhileni (= Irhuleni)[267] the Hamathite (uru*A-da-a ša* m*Urhilēni* kur*Hamatāya akšud*)", respectively.[268] Ada should apparently be identified with Adennu, mentioned in the above-cited passage of the Kurkh Monolith, following Parga. Both Parga and Ada are depicted in the relief as standing on a low mound along the water. This shows that they were located near a river or swamp. Using this geographical information, two possible routes taken by Shalmaneser may be suggested. The first possibility is a route through Aleppo down along the Quweiq river in the direction of As-Siha (el-Math), c. 40 km south of Aleppo—either Parga and Adennu/Ada or both may have been located on this road—and then westwards to the Orontes river to reach Qarqar.[269] The other possible route is westwards from Aleppo to the lower part of the Orontes river and the three cities of Irhuleni, all located along the river, before continuing further southwards against Qarqar. It is, however, difficult to determine which of these two possibilities is the correct one.

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[266] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XLVIII–LIII; cf. the analysis of the scene by Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 49–55. For the Balawat Bronze Bands in general, see above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4.

[267] *Urhileni* appears to reflect the name of the Hamathite ruler faithfully, although it is attested in various spellings in Shalmaneser's inscriptions: m*Ir-hu-le-e-ni*: Ann. 3, ii 88, 91; Balawat Band XIII, upper register; m*Ir-hu-le-na*: Ann. 5, ii 27, 61, iii 4, 27; Ann. 7, iii, 2; Ann. 13, l. 60; Ann. 14, l. 32; Summ. 6, l. 29; Summ. 9, l. 22; m*Ir-hu-le-*[*na*]: Ann. 14, l. 78'; m*Ir-hu-le-ni*: Ann. 6, ll. 71, 87, 92, 100; Ann. 7, ii 18, iii 18; Summ. 7a, l. 21; m*Ur-hi-le-e-ni*: Balawat Band IX, lower register; m*Ur-hi-le-ni*: Balawat Band IX, upper register. The native spelling is *U+ra/i-hi-li-na-*, as preserved in his Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions, HAMATH 4, RESTAN, QALAT-EL-MUDIQ (Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie II, pp. 245ff. [no. 312]; serie II, pp. 13ff. [nos. 5 and 6]), those of his son Uratamis, HAMATH 1, 2 and 3 (Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie I, pp. 17ff., [no. 8]), as well as those on the shell fragments uncovered from Nimrud (R.D. Barnett, *Iraq* 25 [1963], pp. 81–85). The name is apparently Hurrian, and is also attested from Ugarit as *urhln* (C.H. Gordon, *Ugaritic Textbook*, Glossary, no. 348; F.Q. Gröndahl, *PNTU*, pp. 204 and 210) and from Nuzi as *Urhal-enni* (I.J. Gelb *et al.*, *NPN*, p. 273); it may mean "steadfast is the god" (P.M. Purves in Gelb, *NPN*, pp. 188f.; cf. Gröndahl, *PNTU*, p. 210).

[268] The edition of these epigraphs is: Michel, *WO* 4 (1967), p. 36 (I, o. R.); recently re-edited by Grayson in RIMA 3, A.0.102.74 and 75.

[269] Astour, *Or.* 38, pp. 411–414.

The lower register of the same bronze band bears the epigraph "I conquered Qarqar of Urhileni, a man of Hamath (*uru Qa-ar-qa-ra ša m Urhileni Hamatāya akšud*)".[270] The relief on this register shows the Assyrians carrying off captives and booty from the conquered and burning (?) walled city. Another band Band P depicts an open battle between the Assyrians and Hamathites, with an epigraph on its upper register: "the battle with the Hamathites (*tidūku ša kur? Ham-[at]āya*)".[271] This scene has been interpreted by several scholars as illustrating the battle of Qarqar,[272] but since the scene contains no specific datable detail, its historical context remains uncertain.[273]

As described in the passage of the Kurkh Monolith quoted above, Shalmaneser destroyed and plundered Argana, the royal city of Irhuleni, apparently without being checked by the anti-Assyrian coalition. He then approached Qarqar, another royal city, besieged and destroyed it. The text continues with an account of how he encountered the forces of the central Syrian coalition and defeated them from Qarqar to Gilzau (ii 90b–97). The Assyrian army seems to have had a clear logistical advantage in this operation, since the battlefield lay close to the southern border of Bit-Agusi and Patin, which no doubt sided with Assyria and were integrated in Assyrian strategic planning. In this connection, it should be noted that the Assyrian outpost of Aribua, established by Ashurnasirpal II and probably located on the Orontes only some 10 km north of Qarqar, must have been held by the Assyrians at this time.[274]

The coalition which faced Shalmaneser near Qarqar consisted of the following allies (according to the Kurkh Monolith, ii 90b–95a):

1200 chariots, 1200 cavalry, 20,000 footsoldiers of Adad-idri "of Aram-Damascus ([*šá* KUR]-ANŠE-*šú*)";

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[270] Michel, *WO* 4, p. 36 (I, u. R.) and recently Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.76.

[271] Band P has been reconstructed from three fragments by E. Unger (*Zum Bronzetor*, pp. 30–34 and pl. II = "Wiederherstellung", pp. 14–19 and pl. II). For the epigraph on one of the fragments (de Clercq 22–25), see Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, p. 88; Michel, *WO* 4, p. 36; and recently RIMA 3, A.0.102.86.

[272] Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, p. 89; E. Unger, *MVAG* 21 (1916), p. 190; Ikeda, *Hamath*, pp. 172f.

[273] I am inclined to follow E. Unger ("Wiederherstellung", p. 81), who modified his previous view that the scene represents the battle of Qarqar (see above, n. 272), and concluded that it is a general illustration of several battles with Hamathites. Cf. above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4.

[274] For the location of the city near modern Jisr esh-Shughur, see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 76f.; see also above, n. 263.

700 chariots, 700 cavalry, 10,000 footsoldiers of Irhuleni, "the Hamathite (KUR *A-mat-a-a*)";
2,000 chariots, 10,000 footsoldiers of Ahab (m*A-ha-ab-bu*) "the Israelite (KUR *Sir-'-la-a-a*)";[275]
500 footsoldiers "of Byblos (KUR *Gu-<bal>-a-a*)";
1,000 footsoldiers "of Egypt (KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a-a*)";
10 chariots, 10,000 footsoldiers "of Irqata (KUR *Ir-qa-<<na>>-ta-a-a*)";[276]
200 footsoldiers of Matinu-Ba'ali, "the Arwadite (URU *Ar-ma-da-a-a*)";
200 footsoldiers "of Usanat (KUR *Ú-sa-na-ta-a-a*)";
30 chariots [x],000 ([x] LIM) footsoldiers of Adunu-Ba'ali, "the Shianite (KUR *Ši-a-na-a-a*)";
1,000 camels of Gindibu'u, "the Arab (KUR *Ar-ba-a-a*)";
[x],000 or [x]00 ([x L]IM or [x] ME) footsoldiers of Ba'asa "son of Rehob, of Am(m)ana (DUMU *Ru-hu-bi* KUR *A-ma-na-a-a*)".

As stated in the text (ii 95), the coalition was composed of 12 kings, who came to assist Irhuleni. This statement, however, should be critically qualified, since the list includes only 11 members, not 12.[277] I shall discuss this problem below.

Let us now examine the composition and identification of the coalition members. The first three, Adad-idri of Damascus,[278] Irhuleni of Hamath and Ahab of Israel represent the largest powers in central and southern Syria.

As for the following two toponyms, KUR *Gu-a-a* and KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a-a*, H. Tadmor suggested that the former is a scribal error for *Gu-<bal>-a-a*, gentilic of Byblos, rather than an unusual spelling of Que (Cilicia),[279] and that the latter refers to Egyptian auxiliary troops sent to help this Phoenician city.[280] It is indeed unlikely that Que

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[275] The spelling *Sir-'-la-a-a* is apparently the result of metathesis in the first sounds (E. Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27 [1979], p. 74, n. 77).

[276] The text emendation was proposed by H. Tadmor (in C. Rabin [ed.], *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, p. 245, n. 49); cf. J.D. Hawkins, "Irqata", *RlA* 5, pp. 165f.

[277] Note also that Irhuleni is counted in the list of the coalition members, whom he himself is oddly said to have brought. Cf. later texts, where Adad-idri (and Irhuleni) lead(s) 12 kings; thus, the total is 13 or 14 (see above, 5.1). The problem was fully discussed by de Odorico (*Numbers*, pp. 134f.).

[278] He is generally equated with the biblical Ben-Hadad (1 Kgs 20 and 22, and 2 Kgs 5–8). See further Appendix A, p. 311, n. 13.

[279] Que is spelled in Shalmaneser's texts as follows: KUR *Qa-a-ú-e*: Ann. 13, l. 101. KUR *Qa-ú-a-a*: Ann. 1, obv. 54; Ann. 7, iv 25; Ann. 13, ll. 128, 132, 133; Ann. 14, ll. 145', 217'. [KUR *Qa?*]-*ú-e*: Ann. 14, l. 151'. KUR *Qu-a-ia*: Ann. 9, l. 32. KUR *Qu-i*: Summ. 18, l. 11. KUR *Qu-ú-a-a*: Ann. 1, r. 27. KUR [*Qu*]-*ú-a-a*: Ann. 2, l. 68. KUR *Qu-ú-e*: Summ. 19, iii 5. URU *Qa-ú-e*: Ann. 7, iv 34. For the attestation of Que in the inscriptions of later Assyrian rulers, see Parpola, *NAT*, pp. 288f.

[280] The emendation *Gu-<bal>-a-a* was first suggested by A. Schott (*apud* P. Jensen,

participated in the military organization of the central Syrian states, in which neither Patin nor Sam'al, located at the entrance to Cilicia, were involved. The involvement of Egypt, the country definitely referred to in other contexts in Shalmaneser's texts,[281] is of course also possible, although it cannot be ruled out that a Phoenician city state is referred to by KUR *Mu-uṣ-ra-a-a*.[282]

The next four, Irqa<<na>>ta, Armada (Arwad), Usanat and Shian are northern Phoenician city states.[283] Thus, the six toponyms from

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ZA 42 [1934], p. 234). Tadmor (*IEJ* 11 [1961], pp. 143–150) reached the same conclusion independently and discussed the historical background of the involvement of Byblos and Egypt in the coalition in detail, while pointing out the lack of evidence for any reference to Anatolian *Muṣri*. His conclusion has been generally accepted (e.g., A.K. Grayson, *CAH* III/1, p. 261; J.D. Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, p. 393; K.A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 325; F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *Studia Phoenicia* XII, pp. 82–85; D.B. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel in Ancient Times*, pp. 339f.); but cf. the criticism of P. Garelli, in A. Caquot *et al.* (eds.), *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer*, pp. 37–48, esp. 38–42 (on both of the toponyms).

[281] KUR *Mu-uṣ-ri* found in the caption on the relief of the Black Obelisk, Scene C, certainly refers to Egypt, since the exotic animals depicted there are of African origin (see below, Part III, 3). Another reference is KUR *Me-eṣ-ri* on the Calah Throne Base (Summ. 6, l. 36). The toponym appears in the following sentence: *ina 13 palêya 10-šú* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir namrurat bēlūtīya eli* ^{kur}*Hatti* ^{kur}*Meṣri* ^{kur}*Ṣūri* ^{kur}*Ṣidūni* ^{kur}*Hanigalbat atbuk* "In my 13th *palû*, I have (already) crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time, (and) I poured my lordly splendour over the lands of Hatti, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon and Hanigalbat" (see below, Appendix C, for the translation). In this context, Meṣri must be an important geo-political entity in the west; no country but Egypt could fit this description (see below, Part III, 3). Diplomatic relations between Egypt and Assyria in Shalmaneser's time are discussed below in Part III, 3.

[282] Two points deserve comments. The first is the word *mṣr* in the Aramaic Sefire treaty from the eighth century (*KAI*, no. 222, A, l. 5), which could be interpreted as a geographical name in northern Syria not far from Arpad, but by no means as Egypt (Garelli, in *Hommages à A. Dupont-Sommer*, pp. 37–48, esp. 38–42; see, however, further H. Tadmor, in S. Abramski [ed.], *Sefer Yeivin*, pp. 397–401 [translating the word as "border"]; N. Na'aman, *WO* 9 [1977/78], p. 225 and Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 75, n. 79 [both interpreting it as a personal name]). The other is the attestation of KUR *Mu-ṣu-ru-na* in the account of the 21st *palû* on the Calah Statue (Ann. 14, l. 162'). This place is probably located on the Phoenician coast, since it is mentioned immediately after the reference to the tribute of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos (see below, Part II, 15). It is not impossible that this toponym is another form of the *Muṣri* mentioned on the Monolith and should be sought somewhere in northern Phoenicia, close to Byblos. Another attractive possibility was recently suggested by A. Lemaire: KUR *Muṣrāya* of the Monolith is a mistake for KUR *Ṣumurāya*, i.e. the gentilic of *Ṣumur/Ṣimirra*, one of the major city-states on the northern Phoenician coast (*Eretz-Israel* 24 [1993], pp. 148*–157*, esp. 151*f.; cf. F. Briquel-Chatonnet, in *FS Röllig*, pp. 60f.). In this connection, it should be noted, as pointed out by Lemaire (*op. cit.*, p. 152), that *Ṣumur* is referred to in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (*ITP*, Ann. 13*, l. 9) together with Arqa, Sianu and Usnu, the cities mentioned with KUR *Muṣrāya* in Shalmaneser's Kurkh Monolith.

[283] Irqata/Arqa (Parpola, *NAT*, pp. 31 and 176) has been identified with Tell

Byblos to Shian grouped in the middle of the list all have a Phoenician connection; and the five city-states, setting aside the problematic *Muṣrāya*, are arranged here from south to north.

The penultimate member of the list is the camel troop of Gindibu, the leader of the Arabs, apparently from the Syrian desert.[284]

As for the identity of the last member, Ba'asa "son of Rehob of Am(m)ana (*mār Ruhubi* KUR *A-ma-na-a-a*)", different opinions have been expressed. One of them, advanced in the early days of Assyriological research, is to equate KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* with the biblical Ammon, which is usually attested in NA sources as *Bīt-Ammān*.[285] Another widely-held view claims that *mār Ruhubi* is the dynastic name of the biblical Aram-Beth-Rehob[286] and, consequently, that KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* refers to the biblical Amana (*'amānāh*) or NA *Ammanāna*, i.e. Anti-Lebanon, where Beth-Rehob was settled.[287]

KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* is an infrequent spelling, if not defective, either for Ammon or for Mt. Amana, so that the orthography does not point explicitly to one of the two.[288] The name Ba'asa is, no doubt, identical with west Semitic *b'š'*, known as the name of the Israelite king from the tribe of Issachar (1 Kgs, 15:16 etc.) and also found in an Ammonite Heshbon ostracon (c. 600 B.C.)[289] and a late Punic

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Arqa, 20 km north-west of Tripoli (Dussaud, *Topographie*, pp. 80ff.; W. Helck, *Beziehungen*, p. 177). Usanat/Usnu (*NAT*, pp. 376f.) and Shian/Siannu (*NAT*, pp. 308 and 334) are known as the dual kingdom in the Late Bronze Age (M.C. Astour, *UF* 11 [1979], pp. 13–28). Shian is identified with Tell-Siyanu, between Tripoli and Latakia, 7 km east of Gablah (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 58; Astour, *UF* 11, p. 18 with n. 48), and Usanat probably lies south of Shian (Astour, *ibid.*, p. 19).

[284] I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs*, p. 76.

[285] F. Delitzsch, *Wo lag das Paradies?*, p. 294; cf. most recently G.A. Rendsburg, *JANES* 20 (1991), pp. 57–61. For further extensive references, see Rendsburg, *ibid.*, p. 57, nn. 2, 3 and 4; U. Hübner, *Die Ammoniter*, p. 183, n. 116. For the variant spellings of *Bīt-Ammān*, see Parpola, *NAT*, p. 76.

[286] Cf. biblical Hadadezer, "son of Rehob, king of Zoba" (2 Sam. 8:3 and 12).

[287] E. Forrer, "Ba'asa", *RlA* 1, p. 328; cf. most recently Hübner, *Die Ammoniter*, pp. 182f. For further bibliography, see Rendsburg, *JANES* 20, p. 58, n. 6; Hübner, *op. cit.*, p. 183, n. 117. For the attestation of NA *Ammanāna*, see Parpola, *NAT*, p. 16.

[288] The issue has been fully discussed by G.A. Rendsburg (*JANES* 20, pp. 58f.). He has pointed out the fluidity of the Akkadian scribal tradition in writing geographical names, and noted that the difference between *-m-* and *-mm-* is not consistently indicated in the spelling and that the element *Bīt-* may sometimes be dropped.

[289] K.P. Jackson, *The Ammonite Language of the Iron Age*, pp. 51–52 (Heshbon Ostracon 1, l. 6). Rendsburg (*JANES* 20, p. 60) noted this evidence to support the Ammonite identification of Ba'asa, while admitting the unfairness of using it against the Amana identification when the onomastic evidence from the latter region is scanty.

document.[290] This, however, does not allow us to specify the ethnic identity of this Ba'asa, whether Aramaean or Ammonite.

However, it may be noted that *Ba'asa* on the Kurkh Monolith is accompanied by the two attributes "*mār Ruhubi*" and "KUR *A-ma-na-a-a*"; this is exceptional in the list, where all the other rulers are only followed by the name of a country. I suspect that this deviation is connected to the above-mentioned fact that the list only includes 11 allies, not 12 as expected. It appears that the editor prepared 12 names of allies to be registered in the list, but failed to include all of them.[291] If this assumption is correct, one of the allies was omitted from the list by a scribal error. One country name, with its force, was perhaps entirely skipped over, and no trace of this now survives.[292] I, however, am inclined to think that traces of the error do remain in the unusual double attribute of Ba'asa: *mār Ruhubi* KUR *A-ma-na-a-a*. Thus, I believe, with E. Weidner, that the original draft referred to the force of Ba'asa "son of Ruhubi" and to another military unit of KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* separately at the end of the list, but that the scribe, when inscribing it on the monolith, accidentally omitted the name and/or the details about the force of the latter member.[293] Consequently, I consider that Ba'asa was the ruler of Beth-Rehob, located from Biqa to the foot of Mt. Hermon,[294]

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[290] Thus S. Löwenstamm, *Ency. Bib.*, vol. 2, cols. 303f.; cf. F.L. Benz, *PNPPI*, p. 101 (BŠ').

[291] It does not seem that 11 kings were listed and then erroneously summarized as "12 kings," as claimed by Grayson (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, footnote on ii 90–95). I assume that the editor made up the ideal list with the typological number (i.e. 12) of allies by selecting them from a longer list of major and minor coalition participants. For the possibility of the participation of additional countries, such as Judah and Ṣimirra, in the coalition, cf. below, n. 296.

[292] Such omission of *Ṣimirra* by mistake was suggested by M.C. Astour (see *JAOS* 91, p. 384, n. 8).

[293] Weidner *apud* Michel, *WO* 1 [1947], p. 70, n. 13; cf. N. Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 3 (1976), p. 98, nn. 19 and 20 (but note his recent modification, in an article cited below); H. Klengel, *Syria 3000 to 300 B.C.*, p. 198. A slightly different suggestion was presented by A. Malamat (in J. Liver [ed.], *Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times*, p. 258, n. 22 [Hebrew]; in D.J. Wiseman (ed.), *People of Old Testament Times*, pp. 144 and 152 [n. 26]). He saw in *Ba'asa mār Ruhubi* KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* two separate political entities which fought together in one unit; one is Aram-Beth-Rehob in Biqa, and the other Mt. Amana. Thus, he interprets the passage, without emendation, as "[x]000 soldiers of Ba'asa son of Rehob (and) Mt. Amanah"; cf. Y. Ikeda, *Hamath*, pp. 167f. and N. Na'aman, *UF* 27 (1995), pp. 385f.

[294] This location of Beth-Rehob is indicated by Judges 18:28, where Laish/Dan (Tell Dan) is said to have been in the valley which belonged to Beth-Rehob. Cf. E. Forrer, *RlA* 1, p. 328 and A. Malamat, *Ency. Bib.*, vol. 1, col. 577.

and that KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* is intended to mean "the Ammonite", rather than Mt. Amana, which is never attested as a state in any other source. As a result, the forces of Gindibu the Arab, of Ba'asa of Beth-Rehob, and of the Ammonites appear to have been placed in succession as a single group representing the Transjordanian region facing the Syrian desert.[295]

In any event, the geographical extent of the coalition is quite large, including the countries of the whole of central and southern Syria.[296] All these countries were united against Assyrian aggression, which menaced their political and economic independence.[297]

Another subject which deserves comment is the credibility of the numerical details of the force contributed by each ally. The numbers have often been taken at their face value,[298] but have been criticized by several scholars. A.T. Olmstead already suspected that the numbers of Ahab's force, 2,000 chariots and 10,000 troops, were exaggerated.[299] Later, N. Na'aman devoted extensive discussion to the issue, suggesting that the number of Ahab's chariots be emended from 2,000 to 200.[300] Similarly, H.J. Katzenstein pointed out that the numbers of the foot soldiers sent by two Phoenician cities, Irqata and Shianu (10,000 for each), are too high in comparison to the contribution of the other Phoenician cities, and suspected that "10,000" is an error for "100".[301] Recently, M. de Odorico treated all the

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[295] They could perhaps also have been grouped from the viewpoints of their cultural-commercial relations. For the close contact of Ammon with Arabs in the desert seen in onomastics and material culture, see Rensburg, *JANES* 20, p. 61 and the bibliography cited there (esp. nn. 31f.). On Beth-Rehob, it may be noted that Beth-Rehob sent auxiliary troops to Ammon for its war against Israel in the days of David (2 Sam. 10:6)—an episode illustrating the connection between the two.

[296] On the basis of biblical passages, A. Malamat has suggested that Ahab, king of Israel, could have assembled forces from his neighbours which were under all his influence, including Judah, Moab, Edom, part of Philistia, and Tyre (in J. Liver [ed.], *Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times*, p. 249 [Hebrew]); cf. J.K. Kuan, *NHISP*, pp. 39–47.

[297] H. Tadmor has argued that the common interest of the coalition members was to defend their economic independence, based on the trade network centred on Damascus (in C. Rabin [ed.], *Scripta Hierosolymitana* 8, p. 246).

[298] For example, M. Elat used the numerical evidence as it appears, for his historical study, defending its credibility (*IEJ* 25 [1975], pp. 25–35).

[299] *JAOS* 41 (1921), p. 366.

[300] *Tel Aviv* 3 (1976), pp. 97–102. Cf. however, arguments against this emendation by M. Elat (in E. Lipiński [ed.], *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, II, p. 542, n. 61) and by F. Briquel-Chatonnet (*Studia Phoenicia XII*, pp. 80f.)

[301] *Tyre*, p. 168. The number of the foot soldiers of Shianu, however, is read only as [x] LIM, according to my recent collation (see below, Appendix E [ii 93]).

numerical data in a comprehensive manner.[302] He argued that some of the numbers of our text, which look excessive, were deliberately exaggerated. He also suggested, with a certain reserve, that the original numbers relating to the first three contingents, i.e. Damascus, Hamath and Israel, as well as those referring to the camels of the Arabs and to the troops of Irqata, were all intentionally multiplied by a factor of ten.

Indeed, the numbers of the allied force at Qarqar should be somehow qualified, but given the present state of research, I prefer not to attempt to reconstruct the exact numbers. The degree of inaccuracy—if any—of each number, and the possibility of scribal error, must remain an open question.

The results of the battle must now be discussed. Annals 3 (ii 96b–102) describes the battle as follows:

> *ina emūqē ṣīrāte ša Aššur bēlī iddina ina kakkē dannūte ša Nergal āli[k pānīya]* (97) *išruka ittīšunu amdahhiṣ ištu* ^{uru}*Qarqara adi* ^{uru}*Gilzau abiktašunu lū aškun 14,000 ṣābē* (98) *tidūkīšunu ina kakkē ušamqit kīma* ^{d}*Adad eltīšunu rihilta ušaznin umaṣṣi šalm[āt]šunu* (99) *pān namê ušamli rapšāte ummānātēšunu ina kakkē ušardi dāmēšunu* HAR PA LU? ŠÁ NA ⌜GU⌝ (100) *imēṣ ṣēru ana šumqut napšātīšu<nu> nabrarû rapšu ana qubburīšunu ihliq ina šalmātšunu* (101) ^{id}*Arantu kīma titurri aksir ina qereb tamhāri šuāti* ^{giš}*narkabātēšunu pēthallašunu* (102) *sisêšunu ṣimdāt-nīrīšunu ēkimšunu*
>
> In the exalted might which Ashur my lord gave me (and) with the strong weapons which Nergal, who goes before me, presented to me, I fought with them. I defeated them from Qarqar to Gilzau. I slew 14,000 of their soldiers with the weapons (and) rained, like the god Adad, the destructive flood upon them. I spread their corps[es] (and) filled up the face of the steppe (with them). I (felled) with weapons their huge armies and made their blood flow . . . The plain became too small to let all their bodies fall (on it). The broad countryside was consumed in burying them. I dammed the Orontes river with their corpses as with a causeway. In that battle, I took from them their chariots, cavalry (and) horses broken to harness.

Although the text emphasizes the Assyrian victory, we are given few details of the course of the battle. "From Qarqar to Gilzau"[303] is given as the geographical range of the defeat of the coalition, but we cannot be entirely sure whether the Assyrians actually advanced or retreated, since the location of Gilzau is unknown.[304] Some later

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[302] *Numbers*, pp. 104f.

[303] Dilziau instead of Gilzau in Summ. 6, l. 32.

[304] Cf. the completely contradictory assumptions of E. Kraeling (*Aram and Israel*,

texts mention the enemy's escape as the result of the battle.[305] However, it seems wrong to regard this brief statement in later sources as proof of a decisive Assyrian victory. It is more likely that the Assyrian force was successfully halted by the coalition, since the Assyrians apparently failed to advance further into the territory of Hamath. It is claimed in Annals 3 (ii 97) that Shalmaneser killed 14,000 of the enemy soldiers; higher figures are given in the later texts (25,000; 20,500; 29,000).[306] However, even the lowest number given in Annals 3 may be exaggerated.[307] The coalition's success in effectively checking Shalmaneser's force is also implied by later incidents. Shalmaneser did not cross the Euphrates in the next three years (852–850), and when he returned to Syria in Year 10 (849), he had to attack the towns of Carchemish and Bit-Agusi, preceding his second encounter with the coalition led by Damascus and Hamath. This may suggest that after the battle of Qarqar in Year 6, Shalmaneser even lost his dominion over the northern Syria (see below, 7.2). In the subsequent years, Years 11, 14 and 18 (848, 845 and 841), he was obliged to march against the same coalition (see below, 8.2, 10.2 and 12.2).

After the episode of the major battle at Qarqar, two later versions of the Annals add that the king embarked on a boat and went out to the sea.[308] It thus seems that Shalmaneser, on his return march, took the Jisr esh-Shughur–Latakia road and went out to the Mediterranean, where he enjoyed a boat ride.

6. *The Seventh Year (852): to Til-abne*

In the seventh regnal year (852), the year after the major military confrontation with the Syrian coalition at Qarqar, Shalmaneser marched against the city of Til-abne, located between the Balih and the Euphrates, and then turned to the north-east to continue the

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pp. 74f.) and of Y. Ikeda (*Hamath*, p. 173). Kraeling considers that the fighting Assyrian army advanced until Gilzau and then was halted there by the coalition. On the contrary, Ikeda postulates that Gilzau is located north of Qarqar and that the retreating Assyrians passed Gilzau and went further westwards in the direction of the Mediterranean Sea.

[305] Ann. 5, ii 32; Ann. 6, l. 74; Summ. 19, i 22–24.

[306] 25,000 in Ann. 5, ii 30 and Ann. 6, l. 73; 20,500 in Ann. 7, ii 24 and Ann. 13, l. 66; 29,000 in Ann. 14, l. 36 and Summ. 19, i 16. Cf. above, 5.1.

[307] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 74.

[308] Ann. 5, ii 33; Ann. 6, l. 74. Cf. above, 5.1.

campaign to the source of the Tigris and the land of Nairi. The discussion will be limited to the incidents at Til-abne, which had a significant bearing upon the conquest of the lands west of the Euphrates.

6.1. *Accounts of the Seventh Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The account of the seventh year is included in the later annalistic texts, all dated by *palû* (Ann. 5, ii 34–40; Ann. 6, ll. 75–78a; Ann. 7, ii 13–25; Ann. 13, ll. 67–72; Ann. 14, ll. 38b–44a). Apart from these texts, two summary inscriptions from the source of the Tigris include a passage referring to the king's visit to the Tigris source during the campaign of this year (Summ. 3a, ll. 16b–17 and 3b, ll. 12b–13).[309] Here, however, only the narrations of the conquest of Til-abne, included in the annalistic texts, are our concern.[310]

The conquest of Til-abne is briefly narrated in all the above-mentioned versions of the Annals. The longest account of this year is that of Annals 5 (= the 16 Year Annals). It opens: "In my seventh *palû*, I went to the cities of Habini, the Til-abnean. I conquered and set on fire Til-abne, his fortified city, together with towns in its environs" (ii 34–36). This is followed by the description of the king's departure from the city, his visit to the source of the Tigris, the attack on certain insubordinate cities, and the tribute brought from the Land of Nairi. The entire account was duplicated by Annals 6 (the Bull Inscription). This was then abridged in the subsequent versions (Ann. 7, 13 and 14), though the part relating to Til-abne remained the same, except for the omission of the sentence: "I set (them) on fire (*ina išāti ašrup*)", and the itinerary formula: "I departed from Til-abne (*ištu* ^{uru}*Til-abne attumuš*)".

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[309] In addition to these, Balawat Bronze Band X probably represents events assigned to this year (see above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4); it includes two epigraphs in its lower register: one refers to the placing of a royal image at the source of the Tigris, and the other records the conquest of Kulisi, the royal city of a certain Gizuata—a detail otherwise unknown. In the upper register of the same band, a ruler is depicted bowing down before Shalmaneser. A. Billerbeck identified this ruler with Habinu of Til-abne (*Palasttore*, p. 57; cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, pp. 367f.). This identification is, however, doubtful, since neither Habinu nor Til-abne is mentioned in any epigraph. The submissive ruler should rather be equated with Gizuata, who is explicitly mentioned in the epigraph.

[310] Shalmaneser's ceremonial-commemorative acts at the source of the Tigris are discussed below in Part IV.

6.2. *Historical Analysis of the Seventh Year Campaign*

According to the annals, Til-abne was the only military target on the way to the west during the campaign. It was probably a small city-state composed of the walled city of the same name and the surrounding villages. Apart from the present context, the city and its ruler Habinu are attested in the account of Year 1 (858). As already discussed (above II.1.2), it may have been located to the north of Til-barsip, probably in the area between modern Urfa and the Euphrates.

The destiny of the city after the conquest is not recorded in Shalmaneser's inscriptions. Later evidence, however, sheds some light on this question. Shamshi-Adad V (824–811), the son and successor of Shalmaneser III, reports that Ashur-da'in-aplu, another royal son, rebelled against Shalmaneser by "bringing the people of Assyria, above and below, to his side".[311] The text lists the names of 27 cities which followed Ashur-da'in-aplu, including Til-abne.[312] This would imply that it was regarded as an Assyrian city at the time of the rebellion. Hence, we may conclude that as the result of the present campaign Shalmaneser replaced the ruler of Til-abne with an Assyrian governor and ultimately absorbed it into the Assyrian provincial organization.[313]

7. *The Tenth Year (849): to Carchemish and Bit-Agusi*

In his eighth and ninth regnal years (851–850), Shalmaneser abstained from his yearly expeditions to the west. He devoted these two years to assisting the Babylonian king Marduk-zakir-shumi in suppressing the internal rebellion which had arisen in Babylonia.[314] Only after the successful conclusion of this venture, in his tenth regnal year (849), did Shalmaneser again turn his steps to the west.

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[311] RIMA 3, A.0.103.1, i 39–43.

[312] *Ibid.*, ii 45–50.

[313] For the re-organization of annexed lands by Shalmaneser in general, see below, Part V, 1.

[314] Ann. 4, iv 1–vi 8; Ann. 5, ii 41–54; Ann. 6, ll. 78b–84a; Ann. 7, ii 31–44; Ann. 13, ll. 73–84; Ann. 14, ll. 44b–65'; Summ. 6, ll. 45–49; Summ. 7a, ll. 19b–20; Summ. 7b, ll. 11–14a; Summ. 9, ll. 28b–32a; Summ. 12, ll. 42b–48; Summ. 13, ll. 12'b–16'; Summ. 14, ll. 12–16a; Summ. 17, ll. 5–6a; Summ. 18, ll. 14–20. This Assyrian intervention in Babylonian politics was apparently requested by the Babylonian

7.1. *Accounts of the Tenth Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The earliest version of the Annals which includes an account of the campaign in Year 10 is Annals 5 = the 16 Year Annals (ii 55–67); its account was reproduced in Annals 6 = the Bull Inscription (ll. 84b–89). The contents of these two versions may be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my tenth *palû* (*ina 10 palêya*)"; the king crossed the Euphrates for the eighth time.[315]
B) The king destroyed and burned the cities of Sangara of Carchemish. The king departed from those cities.
C) The king approached the cities of Arame (of Bit-Agusi), conquered Arne, his royal city, destroyed and burned it with 100 towns of its environs, killed the people and plundered them.
D) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)", Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhulina of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the sea shore, came out to engage in battle; the king defeated them, and took booty; the enemies escaped.

This account was abridged in the subsequent versions, Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (ii 45–50), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 85–86) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 66'–71'a). In these three later versions, the part describing the encounter with the central Syrian coalition (Episode D) was omitted altogether. In addition to this, in the accounts of Annals 7 and 13, the episodes about the cities of Sangara (Episode B) and those of Arame (Episode C) were shortened by replacing the longer verbal expressions with a single word, *akšud* "I conquered".[316] Annals 13 also omits the itinerary formula: *ištu ālāni ša* ^{uru}*Gargamišāya attumuš* "I departed from the towns of Carchemish" from Episode B. In contrast to this, Annals 14 expands the account of Annals 7 in Episode C, adding at its end

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ruler, according to the bilateral peace treaty made between the Assyrian and Babylonian royal houses (see A.K. Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 167, ll. 22–36 [Synchronistic History]). This is, in fact, commemorated by a relief on the front face of Shalmaneser's Calah Throne Base, which depicts the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchs shaking each other's hands (Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 447). For a detailed analysis of the related incidents, see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 193–199; cf. also Grayson, *CAH*, III/1, pp. 266f.

[315] This is the first of a series of notations on the number of the Euphrates crossings in Shalmaneser's Annals. For this phenomenon, see Appendix C.

[316] *akšud* is omitted by mistake from the episode of Sangara in Ann. 7 (ii 46) but should certainly be restored on the basis of the parallel passage of Ann. 13 (l. 85).

appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup "I destroyed and burned", as in Annals 5/6.

E. Kraeling, basing his ideas on the Black Obelisk (Annals 13), where the narration of the battle against the coalition (Episode D) is lacking, argued that Shalmaneser devoted the whole campaign exclusively to the war with Carchemish and Bit-Agusi. Thus, he rejected the historicity of Shalmaneser's encounter with the Syrian coalition narrated in a previous version (the Bull Inscription = Annals 6), regarding it as an erroneous inference made by the editor.[317] As seen above, however, the passage describing the encounter with the Syrian coalition (Ann. 5/6, Episode D) was omitted, for the first time, in Annals 7 and continued to be neglected in the subsequent versions, Annals 13 and 14.[318] One of the clear features of Annals 7 is that the editor, in abridging the *Vorlage* represented by Annals 5, often omits the last lines from the account of the latter text, without paying attention to the significance of the incidents described.[319] Therefore, the silence of Annals 7 and subsequent versions about the battle with the Syrian coalition was, in all probability, the result of such simple editorial abridgement of the *Vorlage*. There is no cogent reason to reject the historicity of the battle by preferring the later "silent evidence" to the record of the earlier documentation.[320]

7.2. *Historical Analysis of the Tenth Year Campaign*

Shalmaneser seems to have reached the Euphrates without encountering any obstacle on the way, although the Annals start the account with the crossing of the river, keeping silence on the preceding part of the campaign. On the western side of the river, the king destroyed towns belonging to Carchemish and Bit-Agusi, conquering Arne, the royal city of the latter state.[321]

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[317] *Aram and Israel*, p. 77.

[318] Ann. 5 and 7, whose complete exemplars were published only in the 1950s, were practically not available to Kraeling.

[319] This is seen in the accounts of the first, second, fourth, 11th and 15th years. (For the cases of the first, second and 11th years, cf. above, 1.1, .2.1 and below, 8.1) The omission of concrete historical details in the last part of the campaign is especially clear in the accounts of the fourth, 11th, and 15th years (the pursuing of the enemy on the sea [Mazamua campaign], the visit to the Amanus, and the visit to the lands of Suhni, Enzi and Melid, respectively).

[320] Cf. the comment of W.T. Pitard on this problem; he has defended the historicity of the battle (*Ancient Damascus*, p. 129, n. 84).

[321] Ann. 5, ii 55–60; Ann. 6, ll. 85–87; cf. Ann. 7, ii 45–50; Ann. 13, ll. 85–86; Ann. 14, ll. 66'–71'a.

We have no information on what might have prompted this campaign against Carchemish and Bit-Agusi, which had already been subjugated in Year 2 (see above, 2.2). It may be conjectured, however, that during Years 7–9 (852–850), when there were no Assyrian expeditions to the west, Shalmaneser lost his previous prestige in the west; the payment of the annual tribute imposed upon the northern Syrian countries (see 2.2) presumably ceased, and the Assyrian cities established in Year 3 (856) to the west of the Euphrates, such as Nappigi and Pitru, were endangered by hostility from the Syrian states. This political situation could have been the cause of Shalmaneser's new aggression against northern Syria.

Arne should probably be identified with [']*rnh* mentioned in the Sefire inscriptions (I A: 35) as one of the cities of Arpad.[322] Two different sites have been suggested for the location of this city. One is Erine (or el-Areime), a site with ruins on a spur in the hills 17 km north-west of Aleppo and 20 km south-west of Tell Rifat (ancient Arpad),[323] and the other is Tell Arane, a large tell located 17 km south-east of Aleppo, 10 km north-west of Jabbul Lake.[324]

Balawat Bronze Band XII bears scenes of the Assyrian attack on the cities of Bit-Agusi, with the epigraphs "I conquered the city Arne of Arame (uru*Arnē ša* m*Arame akšud*)" (upper register) and "I conquered the city [. . .]*agdā* of Arame son of (A)gusi (uru[. . .]*-ag-da-a ša* m*Arame mār* m*Gūsi akšud*)" (lower register).[325] These are commonly assigned to the present year. In the upper register, the walled city of Arne is depicted being attacked from both sides by Assyrian archers and chariots. The lower register is composed of two scenes: In the left half, the booty and captives are carried off from a conquered city (depicted at the left end of the band) rightwards to the Assyrian camp. The identity of the city is not indicated, but perhaps the scene represents an advanced stage of the conquest of Arne, depicted on

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[322] A. Dupont-Sommer *apud* J.A. Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, p. 52.

[323] Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 468; Fitzmyer, *Sefire*, p. 52.; cf. M.V. Seton-Williams, *Iraq* 23 (1961), p. 72, n. 19.

[324] Seton-Williams, *Iraq* 23, p. 72, n. 19; J. Matthers, *Iraq* 40 (1978), p. 144; A. Lemaire and J.-M. Durand, *Sfiré*, p. 77.

[325] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, p. 33 and pls. LXVI–LXXI; cf. Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 66–71. The editions of the epigraphs are Michel, *WO* 4, p. 36 (L, o. R. and u. R.) and recently RIMA 3, A.0.102.80 and 81.

the upper register.[326] In the second scene, placed in the right half of the register, the city [. . .]agda—the name is inscribed on the city itself—is attacked from both sides with the participation of the king himself. The fragmentary name [. . .]agda cannot be identified with any specific toponym known from the Annals. We may assume that it was conquered with Arne in the same year. Alternatively, however, one might suggest that the fragmentary epigraph be read as URU [*Pa-ā*]*r!-ra!-za!*, instead of generally accepted URU [*x*]*-ag-da-a*, and equate it with Apparazu conquered in the next year (Year 11) when Bit-Agusi was attacked again (see below, 8.2).

After the attack on Bit-Agusi, Shalmaneser encountered the central Syrian coalition headed by Aram-Damascus and Hamath, as in Year 6 (853). The account of Annals 5 (ii 60–67) and Annals 6 (ll. 87–89) relates "at that time, Adad-idri of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath, with 12 kings of the sea coast (*12 šarrāni ša šiddi tâmdi*), trusted in each other's strength, came against me to engage a battle; I fought with them, defeated them, and took from them their chariots, cavalry and (other) military equipment; they fled to save their own lives". This claim of Assyrian victory cannot be taken at face value. First, it should be noted that this passage almost duplicates the stereotyped narration of the battle with the coalition in Year 6 (Ann. 5, ii 27–32; Ann. 6, ll. 71–74), which was, as discussed, not a decisive Assyrian victory. Secondly, Shalmaneser does not appear to have conquered any city in the land of Hamath before the encounter with the coalition. Thus, it would seem that his army was halted by the coalition before invading Hamathite territory. Thirdly, Shalmaneser needed to fight the same coalition in the following years, Year 11 (848) and then Year 14 (845).

Considering that large-scale military organization was a necessary condition for the coalition's success in halting the Assyrian army, it is likely that the major participants in the coalition in Year 6 continued to co-operate in this year's battle.

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[326] A. Billerbeck maintains that the city is different from the other two cities depicted in the same band (*Palasttore*, pp. 66f.). J.E. Reade, however, considers the possibility that the captives in the lower register are associated with the victory shown in the upper register (*Bagh. Mitt.* 10 [1979], p. 65); this implies the identification of the city with Arne at an advanced stage of the conquest.

8. *The 11th Year (848): to Hamath*

8.1. *Accounts of the 11th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

In the 11th regnal year (848), Shalmaneser marched against the land of Hamath and again encountered the central Syrian coalition. The account of the present campaign is included in five versions of the Annals (Annals 5, 6, 7, 13 and 14), as well as in some summary texts. The accounts of Annals 5 (= the 16 Year Annals [ii 68–iii 15]) and Annals 6 (= the Bull Inscription [ll. 90–96a]) duplicated each other. Their contents can be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my 11th *palû* (*ina 11 palêya*)"; the king departed from Nineveh and crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time.
B) The king conquered 97 towns of Sangar(a).
C) The king conquered and destroyed 100 towns of Arame.
D) The king took the way along the foot of Mt. Amanus and crossed over Mt. Yaraqu.
E) The king descended to the cities of Hamath, conquered the city of Ashtammaku with 89/99[327] towns in its environs, caused their loss and plundered them.
F) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)" Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhuleni (Irhulina/i) of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the sea shore, came out to engage in battle. The king fought with them, defeated them, killed 10,000 enemy soldiers, and took the booty.
G) "On the return march (*ina tayyartīya*)", the king conquered Ap(p)arazu, a fortified city of Arame.
H) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)", the king received the tribute of Qalparunda of Patin[328] (the items of the tribute are given).
I) The king climbed the Amanus and cut cedar timber.

It appears that the editor of Annals 5/6 avoided the verbatim reproduction of the account of the previous year (Year 10), although similar events took place in both years. Thus, he related the conquest of the cities of Sangara and Arame (Episodes B and C) more briefly

[327] "89" in Ann. 5 (iii 2); "99" in Ann. 6 (l. 92); cf. also "89" in Ann. 7 (ii 57), Ann. 13 (l. 88) and Ann. 14 (l. 76'); "86" in the epigraph of Balawat Bronze Band XIII, upper register (Michel, *WO* 4 [1967], p. 36:18 = RIMA 3, A.0.102.82).

[328] KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a* is indicated only in Ann. 6 (l. 95) but is lacking in Ann. 5 (iii 12).

than the counterpart in the tenth year account (cf. above, 7.1) and added Episode D after them, an element not found in the account of the previous year.

This account was abridged by half in the next version, i.e. Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (ii 51–iii 5) (c. 60 words vs. c. 120). The contents of this abridged account may be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my 11th *palû* (*ina 11 palêya*)"; the king crossed the Euphrates for the ninth time.
B) The king conquered 97 towns of Sangar(a) and 100 towns of Arame.
C) The king took the way along the foot of Mt. Amanus and crossed over Mt. Yaraqu.
D) The king descended to the cities of Hamath, conquered the city of Ashtammaku with 89 towns in its environs.
E) "At that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)" Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath, together with 12 kings of the sea shore, came out to engage in battle. The king fought with them, defeated them, killed [10],000 enemy soldiers.

The main features of the abridgement in this account are as follows: (1) The indication of the point of departure, i.e. Nineveh (Ann. 5/6, Episode A), was omitted. (2) The episodes of the conquest of the cities of Sangara and those of Arame (Ann. 5/6, Episodes B and C) were bound together in one short sentence relating the capture of their cities, indicating the same numbers, 97 and 100, respectively (Ann. 7, Episode B). (3) In the description of the conquest of Ashtammaku and 89 towns in its environs (Ann. 5/6, Episode E), the statement of the enemy's loss and plunder was omitted (Ann. 7, Episode D).[329] (4) In the narration of the battle with the coalition (Ann. 5/6, Episode F), the enemies' coming against the king (*ana epēš qabli u tahāzi itbûni*) was omitted before the statement that the king fought with them, and the reference to the taking of booty does not appear (Ann. 7, Episode E). (5) The incidents on the return march (Ann. 5/6, Episodes G, H and I) were completely omitted.

The accounts of two subsequent versions, Annals 13 (the Black Obelisk) and Annals 14 (the Calah Statue), are clearly connected to the text of Annals 7. The account of Annals 13 is a considerably abridged version of that of Annals 7. On the other hand, that of Annals 14 remained largely parallel to Annals 7.

[329] Note also that the name of the city is given as Abshimaku in Ann. 7. For this variant see below, n. 333.

The following variants can be observed: Annals 13: (1) In Episode B, the numbers of the destroyed towns of Sangar and Arame were omitted and generalized by substituting the phrase "countless (*ana lā manê*)". (2) Episode C was entirely omitted. (3) In Episode D, Ashtammaku is no longer referred to by name, although the conquest of 89 towns of Hamath was still mentioned. (4) Episode E starts without "at that time". In the same episode, from "Adad-idri of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath together with 12 kings of the sea coast", the second leader Irhuleni was omitted as well as "together with (*adi*)" preceding the "12 kings"; the 12 kings are called "of the land of Hatti". In addition, the result of the battle is reported only briefly, as "I defeated them", without mentioning the killing of the enemy.

Annals 14: (1) In Episodes B and D, Annals 14 added the phrase "destroyed and burned (*appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup*)", non-existent in Annals 7, after "I conquered (*akšud*)"; (2) In Episode E, Annals 14 lacks the number of the enemy killed in the battle (10,000) which was indicated in Annals 7; the 12 kings are called "of the land of Hatti (and) of the sea shore".

Finally, a mention should be made of a passage of Summary Inscription 12 (the Calah Stone Slab), describing a battle with the central Syrian coalition (ll. 12b–20). It can be safely assigned to Year 11, since at the end of the narration, we find the statement: "I fought with them for the third time (and) defeated them"; this must be the fight which followed the two preceding ones in Years 6 and 10. The passage resembles Episode E of Annals 7. It is, however, unique in mentioning Irhuleni as the first leader of the coalition before Adad-idri, and in calling the other coalition partners "12 kings of the sea coast and the Euphrates"; there is no parallel to these features in any counterpart in the annalistic texts.[330]

8.2. *Historical Analysis of the 11th Year Campaign*

The course of events in the present year is quite similar to that of Year 10, when Shalmaneser attacked the towns belonging to Carchemish and Bit-Agusi before his encounter with the central Syrian

[330] A fragmentary passage in Summ. 5 = the Amulet Shaped Tablet (r. 1–7), describing a battle and the ascent to the Amanus on the return march, may be an account of the incidents in Year 11. Six summary texts from Calah refer to the third visit to the Amanus, i.e. Summ. 8 (ll. 7c–8a), Summ. 10a (ll. 8b–9a), Summ. 10b (l. 5b), Summ. 10c (ll. 7b–8a), Summ. 11a (l. 5c) and Summ. 12 (ll. 22–23). This third visit should perhaps be equated with the incident in Year 11 (see above, Part I, 1.2.2, Summ. 8, esp. n. 77). Another possible reference to the events of Year 11 is the tribute of Qalparunda mentioned in Summ. 6, l. 48. For this, see above, Part I, 1.2.2 (Summ. 6) and below, Part III, 3.

coalition.[331] The historicity of the repeated incursions into Carchemish and Bit-Agusi in two successive years was doubted by E. Kraeling.[332] In my opinion, however, the statement of the Annals can be accepted as it is, recording Shalmaneser's new attack on these two countries. Probably Carchemish and Bit-Agusi maintained an anti-Assyrian policy under the influence of the central Syrian coalition, which had successfully halted the Assyrian army in the previous year (see above, 7.2).

Moving on from Bit-Agusi, Shalmaneser took the route along the foot of Mt. Amanus, traversed Mt. Yaraqu, and descended to the cities belonging to Hamath. He is said to have conquered Ashtammaku with 89/99 towns and "at that time" (according to the Annals' terminology), encountered the coalition led by Adad-idri of Damascus and Irhuleni of Hamath and defeated them.[333]

Besides this context, Mt. Yaraqu is attested in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II[334] and those of Tiglath-pileser III.[335] Two proposals have been advanced for the identification of the mountain: one is Jebel Barisha, east of the middle course of the Orontes,[336] and the other is Jebel Quseir, south of the lower course of the river and south-east of Antakia.[337] However, the itinerary of Ashurnasirpal II's campaign lends strong support to the latter as the approximate location of Mt. Yaraqu.[338] The city of Ashtammaku should probably be identified with modern Stuma (Syriac Ishtamak) between Riha and Idlib.[339]

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[331] Ann. 5, ii 68–71; Ann. 6, ll. 90f.; cf. Ann. 7, ii 51–53; Ann. 13, l. 87; Ann. 14, ll. 71'–73'.

[332] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 77.

[333] Ann. 5, ii 71–iii 10; Ann. 6, ll. 91–94; cf. Ann. 7, ii 54–iii 5; Ann. 13, ll. 87–89; Ann. 14, ll. 73'–81'. In Ann. 7 (ii 56) and Ann. 14 (l. 75'), the name of the conquered Hamathite city is written *Ab-ši-ma-ku* and *Ab-ˀtaˀ-ma-ku*, respectively. These variants should perhaps be read *Èš-tam*/(for *ši*)*-ma-ku* and *Èš-ˀtaˀ-ma-ku*. For AB = *èš*, see W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, p. 17. For the variants in the number of the conquered cities, see above, n. 327.

[334] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 80.

[335] *ITP*, pp. 62 and 89, Ann. 19*, l. 8 = Ann. 26, l. 3.

[336] Dussaud, *Topographie*, pp. 238–141; W. Röllig, *RlA* 5, p. 267; Sader, *Les états*, p. 225, n. 99.

[337] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 67; Elliger, in *FS Eissfeldt*, pp. 72f, and 83, n. 44; J. Lewy, *Or.* 21, p. 399, n. 2; Abu Taleb, *IHNS*, pp. 141f.; Ikeda, *Iraq* 41, p. 79, n. 36; Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 75.

[338] See the most recent discussion by Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 75.

[339] Dussaud, *Topographie*, p. 239; Elliger, in *FS Eissfeldt*, p. 83, n. 44; Astour, *JNES* 22, p. 236, n. 135; Abu Taleb, *IHNS*, p. 159; Ikeda, *Hamath*, p. 47; idem, *Iraq* 41, p. 79; Sader, *Les états*, pp. 225f.

Accordingly, the course of Shalmaneser's march can be reconstructed as follows: after leaving the territory of Bit-Agusi, he advanced westwards, through the region around Hazazu (modern Azaz), towards the mountain ridge of the Amanus; he then turned southwards, took the road along the foot of the Amanus, crossed the Orontes near Antakia, traversed Mt. Yaraqu (Jebel Quseir), and crossed the Orontes again now from west to east, in order to enter the territory of Hamath. It thus seems that by taking the long way around, Shalmaneser avoided a confrontation with the central Syrian coalition on the northern frontier of Hamath, as in the previous year, Year 10 (see above, 7.2). In other words, by passing through the territory of friendly Patin, which had displayed no hostility to Shalmaneser from Year 2 (857) onwards, he was able to reach a point close to Ashtammaku without being checked by the coalition. To do this, Shalmaneser must have made the most of the logistic support from the Assyrian outpost of Aribua, presumably located on the west bank of the Orontes, north of modern Jisr esh-Shughur.[340]

Few details of the battle between the Assyrians and the coalition are given in the Annals. The exact site of the battle is not clear, although it must have been somewhere in the territory of Hamath and not far from Ashtammaku. The round and probably exaggerated number of the enemy soldiers killed (10,000) does not unequivocally prove that the Assyrians decisively defeated the enemy.

Iconographic evidence from Balawat Bronze Band XIII[341] raises further complicated questions regarding Shalmaneser's campaign in the land of Hamath. The epigraph engraved on its upper register reads: "I conquered Ashtammaku, the royal city of Irhuleni, the Hamathite, with 86 towns (^{uru}*Aštammaku āl šarrūtīšu ša* ^{m}*Irhulēni* ^{kur}*<Ha>matāya adi 86 ālāni akšud*)". The upper register includes three scenes. On the left, two Hamathite chariots are being pursued by Assyrian chariots and cavalry advancing from the left to the right and trampling the Hamathite soldiers; the Hamathite chariots are fleeing to a walled city, which is being attacked from the right by the Assyrian army. The city must be identified with Ashtammaku,

[340] For the Assyrian outpost of Aribua, see above, Part I, 3 (its conquest by Ashurnasirpal II) and Part II, 5.2, (its role in the Battle of Qarqar in Year 6).

[341] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. LXXII–LXXVII; cf. Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 71–78; Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pp. 78–80. The editions of the epigraph on this band are Michel, *WO* 4 (1967), p. 36: 18 (M, o. R.), and recently RIMA 3, A.0.102.82.

since the above-mentioned epigraph is engraved right above the scene. Another scene, to the right of the first one, at the centre of the register, depicts a walled city being attacked from both sides by Assyrian archers and chariots under the direction of Shalmaneser, who is standing on his chariot; two Assyrian soldiers are using ladders to scale the walls of a city from both sides to invade into it. The third scene, at the right end of the upper register, illustrates a walled city being attacked from the left by Assyrian archers and chariots; on the wall of the city, a despairing Hamathite noble lies on a couch, attended by his servants, and making a gesture of supplication. The lower register, which bears no epigraph, shows the transportation of captives from a conquered city. Here, the captives are carried off to the left from the city (at the right end of the band) by Assyrians, towards Shalmaneser and his attendants. This scene includes a man bowing down to the ground in front of Shalmaneser, accompanied by two standing Assyrian officials. Some scholars have claimed that this man, as well as the noble lying on the couch in the upper register, represents Irhuleni submitting to Shalmaneser.[342]

Interpreting these scenes, A. Billerbeck argued that after the fall of Ashtammaku, Irhuleni was repeatedly defeated, lost many of his towns, and finally decided to surrender at his last fortress, depicted at the right end of the upper register as well as in the lower register; thus, Irhuleni prostrated himself before Shalmaneser, as illustrated in the lower register.[343] A.T. Olmstead and Y. Ikeda agreed with this view and considered that this year's battles in the land of Hamath ended with the total subjugation of Hamath after the defeat of the coalition.[344] However, neither the subjugation of Irhuleni nor

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[342] Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 75–77 and 119f.; Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 370. Cf. Ikeda, *Hamath*, pp. 190f.; he identifies the old noble lying on the couch with Irhuleni, but the man in the lower register with the Hamathite crown prince Uratamis.

[343] Billerbeck, *Palasttore*, pp. 75–77.

[344] Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 370; Ikeda, *Hamath*, pp. 190f. Ikeda also suggests that the last fortress should be identified with the other royal city of Hamath, modern Tell Hama, whose ancient name was, in Ikeda's opinion, Hamath Rabbah, as mentioned in Amos 6:2 (*ibid.*, pp. 47–49 and 191). However, Tell Hama was definitely called *Hamat* in the period of Uratamis, son of Irhuleni, as proved by the attestation of URU *Ha-ma-ti* in the recently published Babylonian letter of Marduk-aplaušur to Rudamu (= Uratamis) (S. Parpola, in P.J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Hama* II/2, pp. 257–265). The inflation of Hamathite royal cities (*āl šarrūti*) mentioned in Shalmaneser's inscriptions has also been discussed by Ikeda (*Iraq* 41, pp. 82f.). He suggested that the role of administrative centres was transferred from Argana and Qarqar, destroyed in Year 6, to Ashtammaku and Hamath Rabbah (see above).

the conquest of so many walled cities is explicitly mentioned in the Annals.[345] Thus, we get the impression that Shalmaneser did not penetrate Hamathite territory much further than Ashtammaku, which was located in the northern district of the kingdom of Hamath.[346] The 86 (variants: 89 or 99) towns said to have been conquered with Ashtammaku were probably no more than small settlements in the vicinity of the city, so that this does not prove the capture of other large walled cities.

In my opinion, it is not necessary to regard the four cities depicted in Band XIII (three on the upper register, one on the lower) as different cities. It could be suggested that Ashtammaku is illustrated here in four stages of a single battle; the scenes flow from left to right in the upper register[347] and then down to the lower register. The four cities do indeed look different in several details, but the city may have been drawn from various angles or depicted differently in order to illustrate the specific details which the artist wished to add to each of the scenes.[348] Furthermore, it is unlikely that the subjugation of Irhuleni is depicted in the lower register of the band. It is most unlikely that such a significant detail would not have been explained by an epigraph. The man lying on the couch in the upper register and the figure prostrating itself in the lower register could be a Hamathite governor or governors, and need not be identified with Irhuleni, who fought as a leader of the coalition.[349] To sum up, it is indeed possible that all the scenes on Band XIII relate to the conquest of Ashtammaku.[350] It should be noted that three years after

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However, see above, 5.2, n. 262 for the possibility that Adennu and Parga are also assigned the status of royal cities in the Annals.

[345] It is probably not accidental that the Annals do not mention a subjugation gift from Hamath while referring to the tribute of Patin (see below).

[346] This district was probably called Luhute, which is mentioned as the land conquered by Shalmaneser in Summ. 18 (l. 10) between the lands of Hatti and Imeri (= Aram-Damascus). For its location, see Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 77, with the bibliography cited there.

[347] Cf. Reade, *Bagh. Mitt.* 10, p. 65.

[348] Cf. R. Jacoby, *IEJ* 41 (1991), pp. 112–131, esp. 117f. She has discussed the possibility that adjacent representations of the same city are not identical in the reliefs of the Balawat Bronze Bands.

[349] E. Unger suggested that the man prostrating himself is an Assyrian soldier or official reporting to the king ("Wiederherstellung", pp. 78–80). The gesture is, however, best interpreted as that of submission, at least in the present context.

[350] An alternative, though less likely, possibility is that some of the scenes of Band XIII do not depict the events of Year 11 but reflect later events. In other words,

the present encounter, when Shalmaneser returned to the region in Year 14 (845), Irhuleni fought again as a leader of the anti-Assyrian coalition. This circumstantial evidence, corroborating the silence of the Annals about the subjugation of Hamath, may indicate that Hamath was not subjugated in Year 11.[351] Thus, it appears that Hamath, with its allies, again somehow endured the Assyrian attack, though losing Ashtammaku.

On the return march, Shalmaneser is said to have conquered Apparazu, the fortified city of Arame of Bit-Agusi,[352] received tribute from Qalparunda of Patin, and climbed Mt. Amanus to cut cedar timber.[353] It seems that the Assyrian army turned northwards, passed the region around Aleppo, conquered Apparazu, and then entered the realm of Patin and crossed the Afrin river in order to reach the southern part of the Amanus ridge. The suggested location of Apparazu at the village of Tatmarash north-west of Tell-Rifat (ancient Arpad)[354] agrees well with the supposed route taken by Shalmaneser.

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the capture of Ashtammaku in Year 11 and the later subjugation of Irhuleni (see below, 10.2 and 12.2) are illustrated in conflation on the band. In any case, Band XIII includes the latest of all the events depicted on the Balawat Bronze Bands, which are actually later than the supposed date of the composition of the Gate Inscription (Ann. 4), i.e. Year 9 = 850 (see above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4). It is possible, therefore, that Band XIII was made after the completion of the original series, replacing one of the original bands, in order to update the series with the king's new achievements. This idea may be corroborated by the following two observations: first, accepting the plausible reconstruction of Unger ("Wiederherstellung", pp. 96–105), the band was set in the lowest level—the easiest position for replacement—on the gate; the same is true of Band XII, which illustrates the events of Year 10 (see above, 7.2). Second, the different spellings of the Hamathite king (*Ur-hi-le-ni* vs. *Ir-hu-le-ni*) and of the toponym (KUR *Ha-ma-ta-a-a* vs. KUR *Ma-ta-a-a*) in Band IX, Band P, and Band XIII suggest that the scribe of Band XIII, who spelled *Ir-hu-le-ni* and KUR *Ma-ta-a-a*, was not the same as the one responsible for the first two bands.

[351] Cf. however, Ikeda's view that Irhuleni was subjugated once in Year 11, but rebelled again in Year 14 (*Hamath*, pp. 189–191).

[352] For the possibility that the city name appears in the epigraph on Balawat Band XII, see above, 7.2.

[353] Ann. 5, ii 10–15; Ann. 6, ll. 94–96. For the contents of his tribute, see below, Part III, 2.1 and 3 with Tables 6 (Incident 25) and 7 (Cases x and y).

[354] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 78. E. Forrer's identification with Baraja, 24 km east of Killiz on the eastern bank of Quweiq river (*Provinzeinteilung*, p. 26), is also possible but this forces us to assume a longer course for the campaign.

9. *The 12th Year (847): to Paqar(a)hubuni*

9.1. *Accounts of the 12th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The account of the campaign in Year 12 is included in five versions of the Annals (Ann. 5, 6, 7, 13 and 14). The first two versions contain an identical account, i.e. Annals 5 (iii 16–20) and Annals 6 (ll. 96b–98a). The contents are as follows:

A) Date: "in my 12th *palû* (*ina 12 palêya*)"; the king departed from Nineveh and crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time.
B) The king went to the land of Paqarhubuni.
C) The people became scared and took refuge on a steep mountain.
D) The king surrounded and conquered the mountain peak, and killed them.
E) The king brought down their captives and property from the mountain.

The account of the next version, Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (iii 6–10a), was abridged from that of Annals 5/6; this was reproduced in Annals 14 = the Calah Statue Inscription (ll. 82'–84').

The omissions and changes in this account are as follows: (1) The departure from Nineveh was omitted from Episode A; (2) Paqarhubuni (Episode B) is mentioned as a city name in Ann. 7, not as a land name as in the other texts (Ann. 5/6, Ann. 13 [see below], and Ann. 14);[355] (3) The verb "became scared (*igdurrū* [*garāru* pf.])" was omitted from Episode C; (4) The encirclement and conquest of the mountain peak was omitted in Episode D, and only the killing of the people was mentioned.

Annals 13 has a very brief account (ll. 89b–90a), even shorter than that of Annals 7 and 14, which reads "in my 12th *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time, went to the land of Paqarhubuni (and) took their captives/booty". Here, the passage about the attack on Paqarhubuni has been drastically abridged, with the complete omission of Episodes C and D, and only the sentence "I took their captives/booty (*šallassunu ašlula*)" remaining from Episode E.

[355] In Ann. 14 (l. 82'), read KUR (so Hulin's copy) for RIMA 3's URU.

9.2. *Historical Analysis of the 12th Year Campaign*

The land of Paqar(a)hubuni is the only military target mentioned in the accounts of the 12th year campaign.[356] This toponym is also attested in the first year account of Annals 1 and 3 as a city name.[357] In Year 1 (858), Shalmaneser destroyed this city with other towns in its environs, which were under the control of Bit-Adini (see above, 1.2). The land was probably located in the mountainous terrain stretching to the north of Gaziantep, the area facing the territory of Kummuh, Gurgum and Carchemish.

Even after the final reduction of Bit-Adini in Year 4 (855) (see above, 4.2), the land of Paqarhubuni appears to have remained under a local Aramaean government. It was presumably loosely organized, with the city of the same name at its centre, maintaining its independence of the neighbouring Neo-Hittite kingdoms.

There is no doubt that Paqarhubuni, lacking any allies, was an easy prey for the Assyrians. In fact, its inhabitants did not even attempt to resist Shalmaneser's force, and sought refuge on a mountain. The Annals do not provide us with the course of the campaign before and after the incidents, so the exact circumstances remain unclear.[358]

10. *The 14th Year (845): to Central Syria*

In the 13th regnal year (846), Shalmaneser advanced through "the pass of the goddesses (*nēreb ša Ištarāti*)" to conquer Matyatu, located in the Kashiyari mountain region.[359] A year later (845), the king returned to central Syria for another confrontation with the Syrian coalition.

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[356] As noted above, the account of Ann. 7 gives the city determinative instead of the land determinative for this geographical name.

[357] Spelled as URU *Pa-qar-(ru-)uh-bu-ni* (Ann. 1, r. 4 and 7; Ann. 3, i 37 and 40).

[358] It might be that the expedition continued further but was neglected by the editor of the Annals, since no significant achievements were made.

[359] For the reading of the toponym Matyatu, see Grayson, *BiOr* 33, pp. 144f.; cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 58, n. 250.

10.1. *Accounts of the 14th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

Five versions of the Annals include the report of the 14th year campaign: Annals 5 = the 16 Year Annals (iii 24–33), Annals 6 = the Bull Inscription (ll. 99b–102a), Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (iii 14–25), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 91b–92a), and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 87'b–95'). The accounts of the first two versions, Annals 5 and 6, duplicate each other. The subsequent version, Annals 7, largely follows the preceding text, as apparently does the fragmentary text of Annals 14.[360] The contents of the accounts of these four versions may be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "in my 14th *palû* (*ina* 14 *palêya*)"; the king mustered the widespread land, and crossed the Euphrates with 120,000 troops.
B) "At that time", Adad-idri of Damascus and Irhuleni (Irhulena) of Hamath with "12 kings of the entire seashore (12 *šarrāni ša šiddi tâmdi eliš u šapliš* [AN.TA *u/ù* KI.TA])"[361] mustered their numberless armies and came against Shalmaneser.
C) Shalmaneser fought with them, defeated them, "destroyed their chariots and cavalry and took off their weapons (Annals 7: took off their chariots, cavalry and weapons)".
D) The enemies fled.

Annals 13 has a much shorter account, which reads: "In my 14th *palû*, I mustered the land and crossed the Euphrates; 12 kings came against me; I fought with them and defeated them".

Two summary inscriptions engraved at the Tigris tunnel, Summ. 7a (ll. 21–27) and 7b (ll. 14–17), include accounts of the 14th regnal year that closely resemble each other. They are not dated either by the *limmu* or by the *palû*, but can definitely be assigned to the present year; the statement "I fought with them (i.e. the central Syrian coalition) for the fourth time" must refer to the battle of Year 14, which was preceded by the encounters in Years 6, 10, and 11. The accounts are in close textual contact with those of Annals 5, 6 and 7, but are shorter than the latter versions.

Primary differences between the accounts of these summary inscriptions and those of the Annals are as follows: (1) Episode A of the Annals is nonexistent in the summary inscriptions. (2) The introduction of Episode B,

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[360] However, Ann. 14, ll. 91'f.: [. . . *it*]-*tàk-lu-*⌜*ma*⌝ [. . .] *lu-bù*[*l*]-⌜*ti*(?)⌝ (RIMA 3, A.0.102.16), if correctly read, deviates from the other texts.

[361] Read so, with W. Schramm (*Einleitung*, p. 73), not *tâmdi elīti u šaplīti*.

"at that time", is absent from the summary inscriptions. (3) The coalition members are indicated in Summ. 7a as: "Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath with 15 cities of the [sea]coast (*15 ālāni ša šiddi* [*tâmdi*])", and in Summ. 7b "Adad-idri of Damascus with 12 kings of the [land] of Hatti (*12 šarrāni ša* [*māt*] *Hatte*)"; both are different from the version in the Annals: "Adad-idri of Damascus and Irhulena of Hamath with 12 kings of the seashore above and below". (4) The enemy's military mobilisation (in Episode B of the Annals) is not mentioned in the summary inscriptions. (5) The above-mentioned indication of the battle as "for the fourth time" is unique to the summary inscriptions.

10.2. *Historical Analysis of the 14th Year Campaign*

The details of the encounter with the Syrian coalition in this year (845) are even more vague than those of the previous battles in Years 6, 10 and 11 (see above, 5.1–2, 7.1–2 and 8.1–2). Although it may be safely assumed that the military confrontation took place in the territory of Hamath, as in the previous years, the exact site of the encounter, as well as the course taken by the Assyrian army, cannot be determined.

A special piece of information is the large size of the Assyrian army—120,000 troops—said to have been mustered from throughout the land of Assyria for the present campaign.[362] This detail may indicate Shalmaneser's enlarged scale of military mobilisation in order to put an end to the repeated war against the coalition. However, the number of the Assyrian troops, evidently typological rather than genuine,[363] is probably exaggerated. As shown by M. de Odorico's recent study, apart from the hyperbolic numbers of the Persian host given in the Greek traditions,[364] the 120,000 of Shalmaneser's force, if accepted, would have been exceptionally large in the military history of the ancient world.[365] It is almost twice as large as the sum

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[362] *mātī/mātu rapaštu ana lā manê/î adki itti* 120,000 *ummānātīya* ^{id}*Puratta ina mīlīša ēbir* "I mustered (my) extensive land, in countless numbers, (and) crossed the Euphrates in flood with 120,000 (1 ME LIM 20 LIM) of my troops" (Ann. 5, iii 24b–26a; Ann. 6, ll. 99b–100a; Ann. 7, iii 14b–17a; Ann. 14, ll. 88'ff. [fragmentary]). Taking this sentence at its face value, these 120,000 troops did not include the forces of the North Syrian vassals.

[363] For the categories of "typological" ("round") numbers and "exact" numbers, see de Odorico, *Numbers*, p. 5.

[364] See H. Delbrück, *Numbers in History*; cf. de Odorico, *Numbers*, pp. 108f., with extensive bibliography.

[365] *Numbers*, pp. 107–112.

total of the forces of the Syrian coalition in the battle of Qarqar, which itself is thought to be exaggerated (see above, 5.2). Furthermore, the size of the army with which Alexander the Great began his conquest of Asia—30,000–32,000 infantry and 4,500–5,600 cavalry[366]—makes the 120,000 troops of Shalmaneser look implausible.

In any case, the result of the battle remains unclear, since the Annals only report the destruction of the enemies' military machines and their flight, and do not offer any concrete proof of the Assyrian conquest of cities in central Syria or of the subjugation of the enemies. However, some circumstantial evidence linked to the battle's outcome deserves comment.

Four years later, in Year 18 (841), when Shalmaneser marched against Damascus, he no longer encountered the anti-Assyrian coalition or the Hamathite army barring his way (see below, 12.2). In this connection, a later inscription of Sargon II provides us with further information about the Hamathites' secession from the anti-Assyrian war. The text (ll. 5–11) reads as follows:

> 6 LIM 3 ME ^{lú}*Aššurāya bēl hiṭṭi gillassunu amīsma rēma aršīšunūtīma ina qereb* ^{kur}*Hamatti ušēšibšunūti biltu maddattu zabāl kudurri alāk girri kī ša šarrāni abbēya ana* ^{m}*Irhulena* ^{kur}*Amatāya ēmidū ēmidsunūti*
>
> 6,300 guilty Assyrians, I (= Sargon) disregarded their crime, showed mercy on their sins, and settled them in the land of Hamath. I imposed upon them tax and tribute, corvée work and the obligation to join expeditions as the kings my forefathers had imposed on Irhulena of Hamath.[367]

If this later testimony is reliable, it would seem that Irhuleni had submitted to Assyria at some point and now bore the duties of a vassal.[368] The Assyrian king responsible for this can only be Shalmaneser III, since Irhuleni barely survived until the time of Adad-nerari III (811–783), who resumed the Assyrian campaigns against Syria after a lull during the reign of Shamshi-Adad V (824–811).[369] On the

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[366] According to Diodorus. See P.A. Brunt, *JHS* 83 (1963), p. 46, Table I; cf. de Odorico, *Numbers*, p. 110.

[367] W.G. Lambert in O.W. Muscarella (ed.), *Ladders to Heaven*, p. 83; cf. A. Finet, in A. Finet (ed.), *La voix de l'opposition en Mésopotamie*, p. 12, n. 48.

[368] J.D. Hawkins, however, doubts the authenticity of this later evidence (*CAH* III/1, p. 393). On the other hand, Y. Ikeda (*Hamath*, p. 192) and N. Na'aman (*FS Tadmor*, p. 83) accept the evidence as plausible.

[369] Thus Ikeda, *Hamath*, p. 192; cf. Na'aman, *FS Tadmor*, p. 83. The mention of *šarrāni abbēya* "the kings my fathers" in the plural does not, however, support the

basis of this evidence, it has been suggested that Hamath finally surrendered to Shalmaneser as a result of the Assyrian victory over the coalition in the 14th year itself.[370] An obstacle to this view, however, is the failure of the Annals to mention such Hamathite subjugation. Although the available accounts are not very detailed, the complete omission of such a significant achievement is unlikely. I would therefore prefer to consider that the Hamathite subjugation and reduction to a vassal state took place only later. This would thus imply that Hamath endured the Assyrian aggression for a fourth time with the support of the coalition. This may mean that in the ninth century B.C. the organized effort of the Syrian states was still able to halt the Assyrian armies. Further Assyrian penetration into southern Syria was achieved only after the disintegration of the coalition due to internal developments in Syria, which took place in the period between Year 14 and Year 18 (845–841) (see below, 12.2).

11. *The 17th Year (842): to Mt. Amanus*

Shalmaneser was absent from the region to the west of the Euphrates for the next two years, Years 15 and 16 (844 and 843). In the 15th year, the king, directing his attention to the north, undertook a campaign to the western part of the territory of Urartu. In this campaign, he travelled eastwards from the source of the Tigris to the source of the Euphrates, then turned to the west to reach the east bank of the Euphrates at the point opposite Melid (Malatia); there he received tribute from Lalli of Melid and set up a monument bearing his royal image.[371] After another year devoted to a campaign to

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idea that the Hamath was an Assyrian vassal state only in the time of Irhuleni and Shalmaneser III. As pointed by Ikeda (*ibid.*), Sargon II is apparently claiming here that Hamath remained an Assyrian vassal state from the time of Irhuleni onward, during the reigns of several Assyrian kings.

[370] Ikeda, *Hamath*, p. 192. In his opinion, Irhuleni had already surrendered to Shalmaneser in Year 11 (848) (*ibid.*, pp. 189–191) but had rebelled in Year 14 (845), at the instigation of Damascus. As for the battle of Year 11, which, in my opinion, ended without the subjugation of Hamath, see the discussion above (8.2).

[371] Ann. 6, ll. 102b–107; cf. Ann. 5, iii 34–57; Ann. 7, iii 26–33a; Ann. 12, ll. 1'–2'a; Ann. 13, ll. 92f.; Summ. 8, ll. 4b–5 and 10b–11; Summ. 9, ll. 18b–20a; Summ. 10a, ll. 6–7a and 9b–12a; Summ. 10b, ll. 3b–4a and 6–7a; Summ. 10c, ll. 5–6a and 8b–10a; Summ. 11a, ll. 4–5a; Summ. 11b, ll. 6–7; Summ. 12, ll. 27–34a; Summ. 13, l. 7'a.

the east, to the Zagros mountains,[372] Shalmaneser returned to the west in Year 17 (842) to visit Mt. Amanus.

11.1. *Accounts of the 17th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The account of the 17th year campaign is included in four versions of the Annals. The earliest among them is Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (iii 37b–45a). This account was reproduced in two later versions, Annals 12 = Stone Fragment, Ass. 1120 (ll. 4'b–9'a) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 116'–122'a).[373] A much shorter account is found in Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 96–97a). The contents of the account common to Annals 7, 12 and 14 may be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "In my 17th *palû* (*ina* 17 *palêya*)"; Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates.
B) He received the tribute of the kings of the land of Hatti.
C) The king climbed the Amanus, cut cedar timber, and brought it to the city of Ashur.
D) "On his (lit. my) return from the Amanus", the king went hunting at the city of Zuqarri on the other (west) side of the Euphrates.

The shorter account of Annals 13 reads briefly: "In my 17th *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates, climbed the Amanus, and cut cedar timber", thus entirely omitting Episodes B and D.

11.2. *Historical Analysis of the 17th Year Campaign*

The annals report only peaceful events, i.e. tribute-bearing, timber-cutting, and hunting, without any military confrontation. This may reflect the stability of Assyrian hegemony over the region from the bank of the Euphrates to the Amanus.

The first event narrated after the king's crossing of the Euphrates river is the receipt of tribute from the "kings of the land of Hatti (*šarrāni ša māt Hatti*)". This must have occurred at one of the Assyrian cities on the west bank of the Euphrates, probably at Pitru/Ana-

[372] Ann. 5, iii 58–iv 25; Ann. 7, iii 33b–37a; Ann. 12, ll. 2'b–4'a; Ann. 13, ll. 93b–95; Ann. 14, l. 115'; cf. Summ. 13, ll. 10'b–13'a.

[373] The end of the account of Ann. 14 (ll. 119'b–121' corresponding to Episode D [see below]) is illegible.

Ashur-uter-aṣbat, where Shalmaneser had received tribute, in Year 6 (853), from the "kings of the land of Hatti" (see above, 5.2). No specific names of tribute-bearers are recorded. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to assume that Kummuh, Gurgum, Carchemish, Bit-Agusi, Sam'al and Patin, the states that had accepted the duty of paying tribute in Year 2 (857; see above, 2.2), were included.[374]

The Assyrians advanced westwards to the Amanus and cut cedar timber there; then, on the return march, Shalmaneser went hunting "at the city of Zuqarri, on the other (i.e. west) bank of the Euphrates".[375] No identification of this city has been suggested so far. The name is, however, perhaps preserved in modern Zoungour, c. 15 km northwest of Membij.[376]

12. *The 18th Year (841): to Aram-Damascus*

12.1. *Accounts of the 18th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

The narration of the 18th year campaign is included in six versions of the Annals: Annals 6 = the Bull Inscription (ll. 41–52), Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (iii 45b–iv 15a), Annals 9 = the Kurbail Statue (ll. 21–30a), Annals 10 = Squeeze, *III R*, 5, no. 6 (ll. 1–26), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 97–99), Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 122'–137').[377] Although Annals 6 was apparently composed in the 18th regnal year (see above, Part I, 1.2.1, under Ann. 6), its 18th

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[374] It cannot be excluded that Hamath and the cities of the northern Phoenician coast also brought tribute, if the central Syrian coalition had indeed already disintegrated at about this time (see below, 12.2).

[375] The hunting report in the account of the present year, as well as in that of Year 19 (13.1), was probably included to compensate for the lack of military achievements (de Odorico, *Numbers*, p. 164; Schneider, *New Analysis*, p. 87). The royal hunt itself is not unique for the time of Shalmaneser III, as it is known also from the reigns of his predecessors; the relevant data are conveniently assembled by de Odorico (*Numbers*, pp. 143–147). General totals of Shalmaneser's hunting exploits over a long period are reported in Ann. 5 (iv 40–44) and Ann. 14 (ll. 341'b–347'). This suggests that royal hunts often took place during the king's reign. Therefore, there is no cogent reason to consider, as does de Odorico (*Numbers*, p. 164), that one of two similar passages mentioning a royal hunt, in the accounts of Years 17 and 19 (see below, 13.1), was merely an invention.

[376] According to Map XIII (B, 2) of Dussaud, *Topographie*.

[377] Ann. 12 (Stone Fragment Ass 1120) only preserves the beginning of the account: "[in my 1]8th *palû*", the following part being broken off (9'b–10'). Cf. further above, Part I, 1.2.1, under Ann. 12.

year account is much shorter than its counterparts in four later texts, Annals 7, 9, 10 and 14. Two of these longer accounts, Annals 9 and 10, duplicate each other. Annals 7 and 14 contain a slightly variant account. The contents of these four accounts may be summarized together, as follows:

A) Date: "In his (lit. my) 18th *palû* (*ina* 18 *palêya*)"; the king crossed the Euphrates for the 16th time.
B) Hazael of Damascus mustered a large army and established Saniru, the mountain peak facing Mt. Lebanon, as his fortress; the king (fought with him, defeated him) felled 16,000/16,020 enemy soldiers, took off 1,121 chariots and 470 cavalry with his camp; Hazael fled to save his life.
C) Shalmaneser pursued Hazael, confined him in Damascus, his royal city, cut down its orchards and burned its sheaves (*kurillašu*).[378]
D) The king marched as far as the mountains of Hauran; destroyed countless number of towns and took (countless) booty and/or captives from them.
E) The king went to the mountain of Ba'ali-ra'si "on the sea coast (facing the land of Tyre)", and placed therein his royal image.
F) ("At that time") the king received "the tribute of Ba'ali-manzeri/manzi of Tyre and of Jehu of Israel" (in Ann. 7 and 14)/"the tribute of Tyrians and Sidonians and of Jehu of Israel" (in Ann. 9 and 10).
G) "On his (lit. my) return march (*ina tayyartīya*)", the king climbed the Lebanon and placed his royal image alongside that of his predecessor Tiglath-pileser (only in Ann. 7 and 14).

The variants between the account of Annals 7/14 and that of Annals 9/10 are as follows: (1) In Episode B: The sentence "I fought with him and defeated him (*ittīšu amdahhiṣ dabdâšu aškun*)" is non-existent in Annals 7 (Ann. 14 is fragmentary and unclear). Annals 7 gives the number of the enemy soldiers killed as 16,020, as against 16,000 of Annals 9 and 10; the number is broken in Annals 14. The terminology for the enemy soldiers is *ṣābē*

[378] For *kurullu/kurillu* "pile of sheaves, shock", see *CAD* K, pp. 572 and *AHw*, p. 517. An alternative reading of the word, *ku-tal-la*, interpreting it as "hinterland" or "*retaguardia*", was, however, proposed by J.M. Peñuela for Ann. 7, iv 4 (*Sefarad* 13 [1953], p. 218, n. 13). J.A. Brinkman has also suggested reading *kutallu* in the parallel line of Summ. 16 = the Walters Art Gallery Stela (r. 12') and translating it "hinterland" (*JNES* 32 [1973], pp. 43f.).

tidūkīšu in Annals 7 and 14 as against *mundahhiṣīšu* in Annals 9 and 10. (2) Episode C: The burning of the sheaves (*kurillašu*) is mentioned in Annals 7 (Ann. 14 is broken here), but not in Annals 9 and 10. (3) Episode D: Annals 9 and 10 add the phrase "countless (*lā mani*)", which is not in Annals 7 (Ann. 14 is broken), in reference to "booty/captives (*šallassunu*)". (4) Episode E: Annals 7 specifies the location of Ba'ali-ra'si not only as "on the sea coast (*ša pūt*(SAG) *tâmdi*)" (broken in Ann. 14) but also as "facing the land of Tyre (*ša pūt māt Ṣurri*)", a phrase absent from the other versions. The verb for the setting up of a monument is *izuzzu-Š* in Annals 7 (broken in Ann. 14) as against *zaqāpu* in the others. (5) Episode F: The introductory formula "at that time (*ina ūmēšūma*)", found in Annals 9 and 10, is lacking in Annals 7 (broken in Ann. 14). Annals 7 and 14 give the name of the Phoenician tribute-bearer and describe him as a Tyrian (gentilic "Tyrian" is broken in Ann. 14), but Annals 9 and 10 give "Tyrians and Sidonians" with no personal name. (6) Episode G is included only in Annals 7 and 14 and omitted in Annals 9 and 10; the phrase "on my return march" appears in Annals 7 but not in Annals 14.

As stated at the beginning, Annals 6 contains a shorter account. This duplicates verbatim Episodes A and B of Annals 9 and 10, but the last phrase of Episode B—"he (= Hazael) fled to save his life"—and the following episodes (C–G) do not appear.

The account of Annals 13 only relates the crossing of the Euphrates and the battle with Hazael, like Annals 6, but is even shorter than the latter. It reads only: "In my 18th *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates; Hazael of Damascus (lit. *māt imērīšu*) came against me to fight; I took off his 1,121 chariots and 470 cavalry with his camp."

Two summary inscriptions include a passage probably relating to Year 18. One of them, Summary Inscription 16 (= Walters Art Gallery Stela) contains very fragmentary lines which may describe the battle with Hazael (right side 1'–15'). The account does not exactly duplicate any other text of Shalmaneser, although it may contain phraseology found in the annalistic texts, as well as Summary Inscription 19 (see below), as already noted above in Part I, 1.2.2 (under Summ. 16).

The other inscription is Summary Inscription 19 (= the Ashur Royal Statue). It contains a brief passage describing the battle with Hazael (i 27b–ii 1), following a narration of the battle with Adad-idri in Year 6 (i 14–24; see above, 5.1) and a unique passage relating to the Damascene dynastic change (i 25–27a; see below, 12.2). The relevant part reads: "He (= Hazael) mustered his large army and came against me to fight. I fought with him, defeated him, took off the wall of his camp. He fled. I pursued (him) as far as Damascus,

his royal city, [cut down his] orchards [. . . . .]."[379] Although the chronological context of the account is not clearly indicated, the passage is definitely in contact with the 18th year accounts of the Annals. A particularly interesting detail is the reference to the "wall of the camp (*dūr ušmānīšu*)"; this phrase is not found in any versions of the Annals, but is attested in Summary Inscription 16.

12.2. *Historical Analysis of the 18th Year Campaign (841)*

As shown by the Annals, the confrontation between Shalmaneser and the central Syrian coalition which had taken place four times between 853 and 845 was not repeated in this year. Upon invading Syria, Shalmaneser found Hazael, the new king of Aram-Damascus, as his sole opponent; the powerful coalition of Syrian kings had disintegrated. The primary cause of this major political development in Syria was probably the dynastic change in Aram-Damascus, attested by two sources: Shalmaneser's inscription on the royal statue from Ashur (Summ. 19) on the one hand, and biblical tradition (2 Kings 8:7–15) on the other. The inscription of Shalmaneser (Summ. 19, i 14–35) describes the rise of Hazael, among other incidents concerning Aram-Damascus, as follows:

> (14) ^{md}*Adad-idri ša māt imēr*[*īšu*] (15) *adi* 12 *malkī rēṣīšu* (16) *dabdâšunu aškunma* 20 LIM 9 L[IM] (17) *ālilī mundahhiṣīšu* (18) *unīli kīma šūbi* (19) *siltāt ummānīšunu ana* (20) ^{id}*Arante* (21) [*a*]*tbuk* (22) *ana* (23) *šūzub* (24) *napšātīšunu ēlū* (25) ^{md}*Adad-idri šadâšu ēmid* (26) ^{m}*Haza'il mār lā mammāna* (27) ^{giš}*kussâ iṣbat ummānšu mā'du* (28) *idkâ ana epēš* (29) *qabli u tāhāzi ana irtīya itbâ* (30) *itlīšu amdahhiṣ dabdâšu* (31) *aškun dūr ušmānīšu ēkimšu* (32) *ana šūzub napšātīšu* (33) *ēli adi* (34) ^{uru}*Dimašqi* (35) *āl šarrūtīšu ardi*
>
> I defeated Adad-idri of Damascus with 12 kings, his helpers, and laid down 29,000 of his brave fighters like reeds. The remainder of his army, I cast down into the Orontes river. They fled to save their life. Adad-idri died.[380] Hazael, son of a nobody, took the throne. He mustered his large army and came against me to wage war. I fought with

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[379] The end of the account remains unclear because of the fragmentary state of the following lines (ii 2–6), which contain either the continuation of the narration of Year 18 or the description of events from other years, perhaps from Years 20 and 21 (cf. above, Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 19).

[380] *šadâ*(*šu*) *ēmid* is an expression usually used as an euphemism for "to die". The basic study of the phrase was made by E. Weidner, *AfO* 13 (1939/41), pp. 233f.; cf. also *CAD* E, p. 140a (1, d, 3'); W.G. Lambert, *BWL*, p. 32; M. Cogan, *JCS* 25 (1973), pp. 98f., n. 17; Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, p. 135, n. 98.

> him and defeated him (and) took off the wall of his camp. Hazael fled to save his own life. I pursued (him) as far as Damascus, his royal city.

This passage describes four historical events in succession: (1) i 14–24: the battle with Adad-idri and his allies in Year 6 (853); (2) i 25: the death of Adad-idri; (3) i 26–27a: the rise of Hazael; (4) i 27b–35: the battle with Hazael in Year 18 (841). It thus summarizes events relating to Aram-Damascus during the period from 853 to 841, while omitting the battles fought between Shalmaneser and the coalition led by Adad-idri in Years 10, 11 and 14 (849, 848 and 845). In this historiography, the chronological distance and the relationship between the death of Adad-idri and the rise of Hazael are too vague to prove unequivocally that Adad-idri was directly replaced by Hazael.[381] Nevertheless, the attribute attached to Hazael in Assyrian historiography, *mār lā mammāna* "son of a nobody", is a term referring to a usurper or upstart.[382] This strongly suggests that Hazael was not first in the line of succession and had seized the throne in an unusual manner. The biblical account of the rise of Hazael (2 Kgs 8:7–15) gives a more explicit description of his unusual replacement of Ben-Hadad, king of Aram-Damascus, who is generally equated with the Adad-idri of Shalmaneser's inscriptions.[383] The Assyrian and biblical sources thus concur with each other, suggesting that Hazael was a usurper. The enthronement of Hazael must have taken place in the period between Shalmaneser's 14th year, in which Adad-idri still led the coalition, and the 18th year, in which Hazael appeared as the king of Aram-Damascus; hence, 845–841.[384]

It is plausible that, before Hazael usurped the Damascene throne, Adad-idri and his allies had been bound to each other by an oath

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[381] In this connection, it should be noted that the death of Adad-idri was not the result of the battle of Qarqar in 853, as might be understood from this telescoping text. Cf. the discussion about this ambiguity by A. Jepsen, *AfO* 14 (1941/44), p. 158; and Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 132–138, esp. 136.

[382] The expression, common in historical documents from Assyria and Babylonia, indicates someone whose father was not a legal member of the major branch of the contemporary royal family, and expresses a value judgment with negative connotations, i.e. "a usurper" or "an upstart". For the attestation of the term, see M.-J. Seux, *RlA* 6, p. 152.

[383] For problems associated with this identification, see Appendix A, esp. p. 311, n. 13.

[384] E. Lipiński (*Acta Antiqua* 27 [1979], p. 76) and A. Lemaire (in *FS Garelli*, p. 97) provisionally proposed 843 as the date of Hazael's enthronement.

of loyalty, according to ancient Near Eastern practice. If so, they must have been required to maintain loyalty to the royal family of Adad-idri and to oppose any usurper.[385] We would assume, therefore, that the Damascene dynastic change seriously damaged the ties between the coalition members. This new political situation must have offered Shalmaneser a chance of succeeding in his military operation in Syria.

In the 18th year campaign, the Assyrian army must have passed through the realm of Hamath before attacking the territory of Aram-Damascus. No encounter with Hamathite forces is mentioned in the Annals, however. This has been interpreted by some scholars as indicating that Hamath had made a bilateral agreement with Assyria and thus allowed Shalmaneser to pass through its territory.[386] This assumption, however, appears doubtful in the light of the above-mentioned evidence from the inscription of Sargon II, which shows that Irhuleni of Hamath had submitted to Shalmaneser (see above, 10.2). I believe that Hamath submitted without battle to Assyria, after the coalition collapsed as a result of the Damascene dynastic change.[387] Considering that Hamath had survived the previous campaign in Year 14 (845) while maintaining its independence (see above, 10.2), the date of Hamath's subjugation should be placed in the period between Hazael's rise and Shalmaneser's campaign of the present year, Year 18 (c. 844–841).

Shalmaneser's inscriptions inform us that his army first encountered Hazael at Mt. Sanir, killing 16,000/16,020 of his soldiers there and capturing his military equipment, including his camp.[388] Mt. Sanir, called "the mountain peak facing Mt. Lebanon (*ubān šadê ša pūt* ^{kur}*Labnāna*)" in the Annals, is the counterpart of the biblical Senir

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[385] Cf. the stipulation of the duty to take revenge on the usurper in the Aramaic Sefire treaty (*KAI*, no. 224, ll. 9–14) and the Akkadian treaty of Esarhaddon's succession (*SAA* 2, Text 6, ll. 302–317).

[386] M.C. Astour, *JAOS* 91 (1971), p. 384; A.R. Green, *PEQ* 111 (1979), p. 36 with n. 10.

[387] Hamath's submission without battle was assumed by N. Na'aman (in *FS Tadmor*, p. 83). In the inscription of Sargon II, it is said that he imposed tribute, corvée and the obligation of participating in the Assyrian campaign upon the people settled in Hamath, as his predecessors had done with Irhuleni (see above, p. 182). If we take this statement at its face value, it could perhaps be assumed that Hamath sent an army to assist Shalmaneser's expedition against Damascus.

[388] Ann. 7, iii 46–iv 1; Ann. 9, ll. 21–25; Ann. 10, ll. 2–13; Ann. 14, ll. 122'–128'. cf. also Ann. 6, ll. 42–52; Ann. 13, ll. 97–99; Summ. 19, i 26–31; Summ. 16, r. 1'–7'.

and has been identified with the Anti-Lebanon range.[389] Shalmaneser probably took the route through the Biqa Valley between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon, and encountered Hazael's force somewhere on a road in this great valley, close to the southern mountain ridge of the Anti-Lebanon.[390] An alternative, though less likely, possibility is that he marched along the eastern foot of the Anti-Lebanon range. In any case, there is no doubt about the Assyrian victory in the battle, since the Assyrians deprived Hazael of his camp and pursued him southwards as far as his capital, Damascus. Shalmaneser contented himself with destroying the hinterland of the strong fortifications of Damascus, into which Hazael had retreated, and then continued southwards to raid the towns in Hauran, the modern Jebel ed-Druz which rises to the east of the biblical Bashan.[391]

The continuation of the campaign is laconically related in the Annals: Shalmaneser went from Hauran to the mountain of Ba'ali-ra'si, set up his image there, received the tribute of Ba'ali-manzeri/manzi of Tyre and of "Jehu son of Omri (*Yau(a) mār Humri*)"; then, on the return march, he placed another image in the Lebanon alongside one of Tiglath-pileser (I).[392]

Ba'ali-ra'si is described as a mountain "which is on the sea coast (and) facing the land of Tyre (*ša pūt*(SAG) *tâmdi ša pu-ut* ^{kur}*Ṣurri*)".[393] Three identifications of the mountain have been suggested. The oldest proposal, first advanced at the beginning of the twentieth century, is to equate it with the ridge near Nahr el-Kalb, about 10 km north of Beirut, where a number of Assyrian and Egyptian monuments were discovered engraved on the cliff.[394] This was suggested on the basis of *III R*, pl. 5, no. 6 (= Ann. 10), which indicates the

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[389] For this toponym, see Y. Ikeda, *AJBI* 4 (1978), pp. 32–44, esp. 36f.

[390] E. Kraeling (*Aram and Israel*, pp. 79f.), Y. Aharoni (*MBA*, p. 86) and H.S. Sader (*Les états*, p. 265) have already suggested that Shalmaneser took the route through the Biqa. This route was certainly taken by Shalmaneser in the next Damascus campaign(s) in the 21st *palû* (see below, Part II, 15).

[391] Ann. 7, iii 53–iv 7; Ann. 9, ll. 25–28; Ann. 10, ll. 14–21; Ann. 14, ll. 128'–132'. Cf. also Summ. 19, i 32–ii 1; Summ. 16, r. 7'–15'. For the location of Hauran, see Y. Aharoni, *LB*, p. 37.

[392] Ann. 7, iv 7–15; Ann. 14, ll. 132'–137'; cf. Ann. 9, ll. 28–30; Ann. 10, ll. 21–26.

[393] Ann. 7, iv 7f.; Ann. 14, ll. 132'f. (fragmentary).

[394] H. Winckler, *Das Vorgebirge am Nahr-el-Kelb und seine Denkmäler*, p. 16 ; idem, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament*, p. 24, n. 4; Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 80; M.F. Unger, *Aram-Damascus*, p. 77; Michel, *WO* 1, p. 267, n. 6; Katzenstein, *Tyre*, p. 176; Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 190.

location of the mountain merely as "on the sea coast (*ša pūt tâmdi*)". However, the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7), published in 1951, offers a more detailed description, with the additional phrase "facing the land of Tyre (*ša pūt* ^{kur}*Ṣurri*)." Nahr el-Kalb is too far (80 km north) from Tyre and thus does not match the newer evidence.[395] The second proposal is to identify the mountain with the headland of Mt. Carmel, the site of the famous encounter of the prophet Elijah with the priests of Baal (1 Kgs 18).[396] It is reasonable to compare this apparent centre of the Baal cult with Ba'ali-ra'si, meaning "Baal of the Head". The third suggestion is to identify it with Ras en-Naqura, the mountain demarcating the modern Lebanese-Israeli border.[397] Both of the last two possibilities must be taken seriously, although the definition "facing the land of Tyre (*ša pūt* ^{kur}*Ṣurri*)" may fit the third proposal best. At any rate, Shalmaneser, departing from Hauran, entered the Transjordanian part of the territory of Israel, crossed the Jordan river, traversed the northern territory of Israel either through the Jezreel valley[398] or a northern route in the lower Galilee,[399] and went out to the Mediterranean Sea and the land of Tyre.

The tribute bearer *Yau(a) mār Humri* is identified, as generally accepted, with the biblical Jehu, king of Israel.[400] His tribute-bearing

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[395] Some scholars, however, have maintained the identification with Nahr el-Kalb even after the publication of Ann. 7 (see above, n. 394, Katzenstein and Börker-Klähn). Katzenstein argued that the expression "facing the land of Tyre" indicates the northern border of the Tyrian mainland territory. I find it unlikely that the Assyrian scribe used the phrase in such a geographically vague sense in order to indicate the location of the mountain.

[396] Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, pp. 345–382; R. Dussaud, *Syria* 29 (1952), p. 385; A. Malamat, *FS Landsberger*, p. 372; B. Mazar, *Biblical Israel: State and People*, pp. 127–133, esp. 131; Aharoni, *LB*, p. 341; Astour, *JAOS* 91, pp. 385f.

[397] Eloquently advanced by E. Lipiński (*RB* 78 [1971], pp. 84–92; idem, in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, p. 276, n. 4); the idea was suggested earlier by A. Malamat (*FS Landsberger*, p. 372) as an alternative to Mt. Carmel. Cf. also M. Cogan and H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 121, n. 11, supporting the identification with Ras en-Naqura. Lipiński also identifies Ba'ali-ra'si with *r-i-š q-d-š* or *r-š q-d-š* in the topographical lists of Thutmosis III and URU *Ba-'-li* of the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle (803), but both of these identifications are disputed. For *Rā'ši-qodšu*, see S. Aḥituv, *Canaanite Toponyms in Ancient Egyptian Documents*, pp. 162ff. As far as concerns URU *Ba-'-li*, URU is hardly interchangeable with KUR when used for the mountain name, as A.R. Millard and H. Tadmor have pointed out (*Iraq* 35 [1973], p. 63 n. 23; but cf. the counter argument of Lipiński [*Proceedings*, p. 276, n. 4]).

[398] Astour, *JAOS* 91, pp. 383f.

[399] For the northern route passing through the Galilee out to the plain of Akko, see B. Oded, *Eretz Israel* 10 (1971), pp. 191–97 and Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 87, n. 126; cf. Lemaire, in *FS Garelli*, p. 99.

[400] P.K. McCarter suggested that *Yau(a)* consists of the divine element *Yaw* and

is depicted on the Black Obelisk.[401] *Mār Humri* "son of Omri" clearly means the king of *Bīt-Humri(a)*, i.e. "the house of Omri", the term first attested here and consistently used for the kingdom of Israel in the inscriptions of the subsequent Assyrian kings.[402] According to the biblical account in 2 Kgs 9–10, the army commander Jehu rebelled and killed his royal master Jehoram, who had returned wounded from the battle with Hazael at Ramoth-Gilead and stayed at Jezreel; Jehu subsequently seized the throne.[403] As will be discussed in detail in Appendix A, the battle at Ramoth-Gilead, Jehu's coup d'état and Shalmaneser's attack on Damascus all probably took place in succession in the same year, Year 18 of Shalmaneser (841). Thus, it seems that Hazael, despite his initial military advantage against Jehoram in the battle at Ramoth-Gilead, was obliged to abandon the fortress in order to go back to defend his northern border from the approaching army of Shalmaneser. Jehu, on the other hand,

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is the hypocoristic form of Joram (*BASOR* 216 [1974], pp. 5–7), but this hypothesis has been refuted by E.R. Thiele (*BASOR* 222 [1976], pp. 19–23) and M. Weippert (*VT* 28 [1978], pp. 113–118); cf. also Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 78, n. 90; B. Halpern, *BASOR* 265 (1987), pp. 81–85; Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, p. 148, n. 5; Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 106; and most recently N. Na'aman and R. Zadok, *NABU* 1997, no. 1, pp. 19f.

[401] *ANEP*, p. 120, fig. 351; Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, pl. 152, A 2. The scene was most recently discussed by O. Keel and C. Uehlinger (*ZKTh* 116 [1994], pp. 391–420).

[402] Even though the Omride dynasty ended with the revolution of Jehu in c. 841. This was correctly noted by A. Ungnad (*OLZ* [1906], cols. 224–226); cf. also B. Landsberger, *Sam'al*, p. 19, with n. 37; Michel, *WO* 1, p. 267, n. 9; T. Ishida, *The Royal Dynasties in Ancient Israel*, p. 124; Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 78, n. 91; Cogan and Tadmor, *II Kings*, p. 106. For the attestations of KUR *Bīt-Humri(a)* see Parpola, *NAT*, pp. 82f. Note, however, that KUR *Sir-'i-la-a-a* (Israel) is attested as the nationality of Ahab on the Kurkh Monolith = Ann. 3, ii 92 (see above, 5.2, p. 157 with n. 275). The indication of a single state by two alternative names is not unusual in the inscriptions of Shalmaneser, as witnessed also in the alternations between Patin and Unqi, between Sam'al and Bit-Gabbar, and between (Y)ahan and Bit-Agusi; the alternation between the land name and the dynastic name in the last two examples is especially relevant here. Recently, T.J. Schneider has argued that *mār Humri* in Shalmaneser's Annals should be taken literally to indicate that Jehu was the biological son (or descendant) of Omri (*Biblica* 77 [1996], pp. 100–107). It is difficult to accept this view, which necessitates the rejection of Jehu's filiation "son of Jehoshaphat son of Nimshi" in the biblical tradition (2 Kgs 9:2 and 14). N. Na'aman suggests that Jehu's designation as *mār Humri* was deliberately made by Shalmaneser in order to legitimize the new Israelite king who adopted a pro-Assyrian policy (*IEJ* 48 [1998], pp. 236–238).

[403] In a recently published Aramaic inscription from Tel Dan, the author-king, probably Hazael, claims that he "killed" Jehoram, contradicting the biblical testimony. For this problem, see Appendix A.

seized the throne of Israel by taking advantage of Jehoram's defeat and Hazael's enforced absence from the northern border of Israel. He then probably watched the course of the war between Assyria and Damascus and accepted the presence of the victorious Assyrian army within Israelite territory, submitting to Shalmaneser. Consequently, it may be supposed that Shalmaneser traversed the northern part of Israel, with the full consent of Jehu, and reached Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si on the Mediterranean coast.

As already noted, the Annals mention the tribute brought by Ba'li-manzeri of Tyre and by Jehu of Israel, following the reference to the setting up of a royal image at Ba'ali-ra'si. However, the circumstances of these tribute-bearings are not entirely clear. It is plausible that the king of Tyre brought his tribute close to the border of his own territory at Ba'ali-ra'si. As for Jehu, it is possible that he brought his tribute to Shalmaneser without waiting until Shalmaneser had traversed the entire northern territory of Israel to reach Ba'ali-ra'si.

The king of Tyre, Ba'li-manzeri/Ba'il-manzi,[404] must be identified with Balezoros son of Ethbaal, mentioned in Josephus' *Against Apion*.[405] Some versions of Shalmaneser's Annals indicate the tribute-bearers as "Tyrians (and) Sidonians" without the name of the king.[406] This probably reflects the unification of Tyre and Sidon under the rule of the Tyrian king.[407]

The last event recorded in the Annals is the setting up of a royal image on Mt. Lebanon on the return march; the image is said to have been placed alongside that of Tiglath-pileser "the mighty king my predecessor (*šarri danni ālik pānīya*)".[408] This is certainly intended

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[404] ^{m}*Ba-'-li-ma-an*-NUMUN: Ann. 7, iv 10f.; ^{m}*Ba-'-il-ma-an-zi*: Ann. 14, ll. 134'.

[405] The identification was first proposed by J.M. Peñuela (*Sefarad* 13 [1953], pp. 217–237) and J. Liver (*IEJ* 3 [1953], p. 119); cf. further E. Lipiński, *RSO* 45 (1970), pp. 59–65; Katzenstein, *Tyre*, pp. 118f. *Ba'li-mān-zērī* is apparently an Akkadian etymological interpretation "O Baal, who is my seed?", derived from a Phoenician name. The original was probably *b'l-m'zr*, meaning "Baal is a help" (see F. Gröndahl, *PNTU*, pp. 33 and 116; cf. also F.L. Benz, *PNPPI*, p. 142 [M'ZRLK] for the element *m'zr*), as suggested by Lipiński (*op. cit.*), rather than *b'l-ḥmn-'zr* "O Baal-Hamon, help me" (Peñuela, *Sefarad* 13, pp. 222–228). The same king is perhaps referred to with the hypocoristic form *Ba'il* in the account of Year 21/22 (= the 21st *palû*) (see below, Part II, 15).

[406] Ann. 9, l. 29; Ann. 10, ll. 24–25.

[407] First explained thus by Peñuela (*Sefarad* 13, pp. 228–230). For Tyrian hegemony over southern Phoenicia in the ninth century B.C., see Katzenstein, *Tyre*, pp. 129ff.

[408] Ann. 7, iv 12–15. In the parallel passage of Ann. 14 (ll. 135'–137'), the king's title is [NUN(?)]-*ú* [*ālik pānīya*(?)].

to refer to Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1076).[409] His inscriptions record that he cut timber in the Lebanon, preceding his conquest of the land of Amurru and his subsequent boat-ride from Arwad to Ṣamuru.[410] It was probably in this campaign that Tiglath-pileser I set up the monument bearing his image in the Lebanon, although this is not explicitly mentioned. Since Tiglath-pileser I only reached the northern Phoenician coast around Arwad and Ṣamuru, his image must have been placed somewhere in the northern part of the Lebanon. Shalmaneser's erection of his image must also have taken place in the same region.[411] Consequently, Shalmaneser probably returned northwards from the land of Tyre on the coastal strip along the western foot of the Lebanon range, in order to reach its northernmost part.

13. *The 19th Year (840): to Mt. Amanus*

13.1. *Accounts of the 19th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

Accounts of the 19th year campaign undertaken to the Amanus are preserved in five versions of the Annals: Annals 7 = the 20 Year Annals (iv 15b–22a), Annals 8 = Stone Tablet Ass. 20739 (r. 1'–2'), Annals 9 = the Kurbail Statue (ll. 30b–31a), Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 99b–100a), and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 137'b–143'a). The accounts of Annals 7, 8 and 14 duplicate each other.[412] A shorter account is found in Annals 9 and 13.

The account common to Annals 7, 8 and 14 may be summarized as follows:

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[409] There is no reason to equate this Tiglath-pileser with Tiglath-pileser II (966–935), the fifth predecessor of Shalmaneser III, as proposed by E. Michel (*WO* 2 [1954], p. 38, note o).

[410] RIMA 2, A.0.87.3, ll. 16–25; A.0.87.4, ll. 24–30; A.0.87.10, ll. 28–35. In another context, Tiglath-pileser I is said to have defeated *Aḫlamû*-Aramaeans "from the foot of the Lebanon, the city of Tadmar of the land of Amurru, Anat of the land of Suhu, as far as Rapiqu of Karduniash" (RIMA 2, A.0.87.3, ll. 29–35). This passage, however, merely indicates the geographical extent of the king's repeated battles with *Aḫlamû*-Aramaeans and thus cannot be taken as a reference to the king's visit to the mountain itself.

[411] Y. Aharoni's suggestion (*LB*, p. 341) that the site of the second image be identified with Nahr el-Kalb thus seems to place it too far south to be the place that Tiglath-pileser I reached.

[412] In Ann. 8, however, the beginning of the account is broken off, and only part of the narration of the hunt (= Episode D [see below]) is preserved.

A) Date: "In my 19th *palû* (*ina* 19 *palêya*)"; the king crossed the Euphrates for the 17th (variants: 18th or 20th) time (see below for variants).
B) The king received the tribute of the kings of the land of Hatti.
C) The king climbed the Amanus, cut cedar and juniper timber, and brought it to the city of Ashur.
D) "On his (lit. my) return from the Amanus", the king went hunting at the city of Zuqarri on the other (west) side of the Euphrates.

This account is largely parallel to the 17th year account of Annals 7 and 14 (see above, 11.1). For this reason, it was suspected that one of the two accounts, that of the 17th year or the 19th year, was merely invented and not historical.[413] As already stated, however, I believe that the literary similarity of the two accounts need not rule out their historicity.[414]

The shorter account of Annals 9 and 13 merely relates the king's crossing of the Euphrates and his ascent of the Amanus to cut cedar timber (juniper is not mentioned), omitting other details such as the tribute and hunting (Episodes B and D in the longer account).

A particular point on which the texts curiously contradict each other is the number of Euphrates crossings: Annals 7 and 14: "for the 17th time (17-*šú*/[1]7-*šú*)"; Annals 9: "for the 20th time (20<-*šú*>)"; Annals 13: "for the 18th time (18-*šú*)". This discrepancy is discussed in Appendix C, with the entire phenomenon of the counting of the Euphrates crossings in Shalmaneser's texts.[415]

13.2. *Historical Analysis of the 19th Year Campaign*

It is plausible that Shalmaneser's dominion over Syria was strengthened as the result of the successful campaign against Aram-Damascus in the previous year (841). In the present year, he contented himself with a peaceful expedition to the Amanus. He may have exploited this expedition to plan the next wave of military operations to the remote and still unsubdued countries in east Anatolia and to central Syria.

The goal of the campaign in the 19th year is fragmentarily recorded

[413] De Odorico, *Numbers*, pp. 148f. and 164.
[414] See above, 11.2, n. 375, specifically for the hunting report.
[415] See especially pp. 336. (with n. 3) and 339 in Appendix C.

in the two manuscripts of the Eponym Chronicle, as [. . . . . ER]EN (B 4, l. 2') or [. . . . .] *e-re-na* (B 10, l. 1).[416] These should be restored as [*ana šadê*] *erēna* "to the cedar mountain", and, as already discussed (above, Part I, 2), this should be identified with Mt. Amanus.

The names of the kings who offered tribute to Shalmaneser after his crossing of the Euphrates are again unrecorded. However, it seems likely that all the major states of Syria, except for Aram-Damascus, had submitted to Assyria and paid tribute. The states on the route to the Amanus undoubtedly co-operated with the Assyrian expedition.

14. *The 20th Year (839): to Que*

The 20th year campaign marked a new phase of Shalmaneser's military expeditions to the western front. In this campaign, he traversed the Amanus and invaded the land of Que in the Cilician plain for the first time.

14.1. *Accounts of the 20th Year Campaign: Textual Variants*

Accounts of the present campaign have survived in six versions of the Annals: Annals 7 (the 20 Year Annals), Annals 8 (Stone Tablet Ass. 20739), Annals 9 (the Kurbail Statue), Annals 12 (Stone Tablet Ass. 1120), Annals 13 (the Black Obelisk) and Annals 14 (the Calah Statue). Annals 7 (iv 22b–34a) contains the longest account, and this was reproduced in Annals 8 (r. 3'–16'a), Annals 12 (r. 1'–4'), and Annals 14 (ll. 143'b–151').[417] The contents of the account common to these four versions may be summarized as follows:

A) Date: "In his (lit. my) 20th *palû* (*ina* 20 *palêya*)"; the king crossed the Euphrates for the 20th time.[418] He mustered all the kings of the land of Hatti, traversed the Amanus and descended to the cities of Kate of Que.

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[416] For the goals of Shalmaneser's campaigns recorded in the Eponym Chronicle, see above, Part I, 2.

[417] In Ann. 12, only the latter part of the account is preserved.

[418] The number of the crossings here has apparently been artificially matched with the number of the *palû*. This manipulation of numbers is discussed in Appendix C.

B) The king conquered the cities of Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni, with countless other towns, defeated them and plundered them.
C) The king made two royal images and placed them in the nearest and remotest of Kate's cities and established "his (lit. my) victory and might (*līlī u danānī*)" over the land of Que.

The account of Annals 9 (ll. 31b–34a) is approximately half the length (c. 35 words vs. c. 70 words). Its contents may be summarized as follows:

A) In his (lit. my) 20th *palû*, the king crossed the Euphrates for the 20th time, traversed the Amanus and descended to the cities of Kate of Que.
B) The king destroyed countless cities, caused them heavy losses and plundered them.
C) The king received the tribute from Kate.

The present account opens with phraseology similar to the opening of the longer account, but lacks the reference to the mobilisation of the kings of Hatti (Episode A). It has also omitted several details contained in the longer account, such as the names of Kate's three fortified cities (Episode B), the setting up of the two royal images and the concluding statement about the establishment of "victory and might" (the entire Episode C of the longer account). Instead, Annals 9 (Episode C) records the tribute of Kate, a detail not included in the longer account.

The shortest account is that of Annals 13 (ll. 100–102), which merely reads: "In my 20th *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates for the 20th time, went down to the land of Que, conquered their cities, and plundered them."

As will be discussed below (14.2), Summary Inscription 19 (the Ashur Statue) seems to contain a passage describing the incidents of Year 20, with some unique details.

14.2. *Historical Analysis of the 20th Year Campaign*

The Annals' description of Shalmaneser's first expedition to Que opens with a statement unparalleled in the accounts of other years, recording that Shalmaneser mustered all the kings of the land of Hatti to assist him in the campaign.[419] This may indicate that

[419] Ann. 7 (iv 22b–24a); Ann. 8 (r. 3'–4'); Ann. 14 (ll. 143'b–144'a).

Shalmaneser occasionally resorted to the mobilisation of vassal states in order to attack distant and unsubdued lands. It should be noted that his predecessor Ashurnasirpal II had already forced several north Syrian rulers to offer armed troops for his Mediterranean campaign.[420] We may speculate that Shalmaneser intensified this obligation of the Syrian states, especially after the breakdown of the anti-Assyrian coalition and the establishment of firm Assyrian dominion over the extensive lands of Syria (see above, 10.2 and 12.2).[421]

The reason for the present campaign to Que is unknown. However, information in the contemporary Phoenician inscription of Kilamuwa, king of Sam'al (*KAI*, no. 24), might be relevant. Kilamuwa states in the inscription that he called for Assyrian military aid against an aggressive king of Danunians (*mlk d[n]nym*), to be equated with the king of Que who ruled over the Cilician plain.[422] Such pressure from Que on Sam'al, situated at the eastern entrance to the major Amanus pass leading to Que (see below), is not surprising. If this was indeed the case, the "obligatory" protection of the Assyrian vassal would have provided Shalmaneser with a pretext to march against the new target,[423] which was still ruled by his old opponent Kate.[424]

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[420] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 56–77. The countries which offered armed troops were Bit-Bahian, Bit-Adini, Carchemish and Patin; cf. Part I, 3, esp. p. 73.

[421] For a vassal's duty to assist Assyrian military expeditions, see below, Part V, 2.

[422] For *dnnym*, see E. Laroche, *Syria* 35 (1958), pp. 263–275; A. Goetze, *JCS* 16 (1962), pp. 50–54. The only king of Sam'al mentioned in Shalmaneser's inscriptions is Hayanu (in the accounts of Years 1, 2 and 6). The inscription of Kilamuwa from Zincirli, however, records the five kings of Sam'al in succession as Gabbar—BMH—Hayanu—Š'L (son of Hayanu)—Kilamuwa (son of Hayanu). Assuming that Kilamuwa's statement that he hired an Assyrian king to defend his country from the aggression of the king of *dnnym*, i.e. the king of Que, reflects the historical background of Shalmaneser III's Que campaigns, Kilamuwa must have been on the throne of Sam'al in the period of the Que campaigns (Shalmaneser's Years 20, 26–28). Consequently, three kings of Sam'al—Hayanu, Š'L and Kilamuwa—were the contemporaries of Shalmaneser III. The end of Hayanu's reign and the enthronement of Š'L should be dated after 853 (Shalmaneser's Year 6); Š'L was probably replaced, after a short reign, by Kilamuwa, before Shalmaneser's first campaign to Que in Year 20, i.e. 839, or less probably, at some time in the period between the first Que campaign and the fourth and last one (839–831). Cf. Landsberger, *Sam'al*, p. 57 (the beginning of Kilamuwa's reign some time before 830); Abu Taleb, *IHNS*, pp. 91–93 (Kilamuwa's reign ca. 835–816).

[423] For the protection of a protégé as a reason for war in the Assyrian royal inscriptions in general, see B. Oded, *War, Peace and Empire*, pp. 61–68.

[424] Kate is mentioned in association with all the campaigns in which Que was involved, in Years 1, 20, 26/27 (= the 25th *palû*) and 28 (= the 26th *palû*). Thus, he ruled the country at least from Year 1 of Shalmaneser (858) (see above, 1.2) until he was apparently replaced by his brother Kirri in Year 28 (see below, Part II, 18).

The annals describe Shalmaneser's conquest of Que in the present campaign as follows:[425]

> ^{kur}*Hamanu attabalkat ana ālāni ša* ^{m}*Katei* ^{kur}*Qauāya attarad(a)* ^{uru}*Lusanda* ^{uru}*Abarnani* ^{uru}*Kisuatni ālāni(šu) dannūte adi ālāni ana lā manî ištu rēš*(SAG) *ālānīšu adi qanna/i ālānīšu akšud dīktašunu adūk šallassunu ašlula II ṣalam šarrūtīya ēpuš tanatti kiššūtīya ina libbi alṭur ištēn ina rēš*(SAG) *ālānīšu šanû ina qanni ālānīšu ina pūt*(SAG) *tâmdi azqup lītī danānī eli* $^{uru/kur}$*Que altakan*
>
> I crossed the Amanus and descended to the cities of Kate, the Quean. I conquered Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni, (his) fortified cities, together with countless towns, from the nearest of his cities to the remotest, defeated them and plundered them. I made two royal images of myself, inscribed thereon 'the praise for my power', placed one (of them) in the nearest of his cities and the other in the remotest of his cities, facing the sea. I established my victory and might over the land of Que.

The eastern border of Que was well defended by the formidable natural barrier of the Amanus mountain ridge. For the aggressor from the east, there were only a few passes by which he could cross this natural border. The most popular pass is at Bahçe, facing Sam'al (Zincirli) at the eastern foot of the mountain range. This route was apparently the shortest way for the Assyrian army to reach the Cilician plain.[426] However, the place names mentioned in the above-quoted passage raise complicated problems as to Shalmaneser's route into Cilicia. Kisuatni and Lusanda, two of the three conquered major cities, certainly correspond linguistically to Hittite Kizzuwatna and La(hu)wazantiya. Kizzuwatna appears in the Hittite texts as the name of a country located between the Hittite heartland and Syria; and the city of Kummanni, a significant cultural centre of the region, was also called by the name Kizzuwatna, with the city determinative (URU) attached to it. The city of Kizzuwatna/Kummanni is generally identified with the classical Comana (modern Şahr) located on the upper stream of the Seyhan (classical Saros) river.[427] La(hu)wazantiya

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[425] Ann. 7 (iv 24b–34a); Ann. 8 (r. 5'–16'a); Ann. 14 (ll. 144'b–151').

[426] Another major route is the southern Beilan pass, coming from the direction of Antakia and leading to Iskenderun. However, M.V. Seton-Williams is convinced that the Beilan pass was never used as much as the Bahçe, since there are no early sites in the region along the coast between the Amanus and the sea (*AnSt* 4 [1954], p. 144). As for a secondary route passing from Hassa (east) to Dörtyol (west), see U.B. Alkim, *AnSt* 15 (1965), p. 30.

[427] For the land and city of Kizzuwatna in general, see A. Goetze, *Kizzuwatna*; M.C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 22–32; J. Garstang and O.R. Gurney, *Geography*,

is attested as a city closely associated with the land of Kizzuwatna and generally located at Elbistan on the upper stream of the Ceyhan (classical Pyramos) river.[428] M.C. Astour suggested that the other city mentioned, Abarnani, should be equated with *i-b-r-n-n*, mentioned in the great Karnak list of Thutmosis III (Simons, *Handbook*, list I: 287), together with many other toponyms located around Alalakh.[429] Although its exact location remains unclear, the place was probably close to the Syro-Cilician border.

If Shalmaneser's Kisuatni and Lusanda did indeed stand at the accepted locations of Hittite Kizzuwatna and La(ḫu)wazantiya, we must conclude that the territory of Que extended not only on the Cilician plain but also to the north in the Taurus mountains between the upper Seyhan (Saros) and Ceyhan (Pyramos) rivers.[430] Thus, Shalmaneser may have bypassed Mt. Amanus to the north near Maraş, and advanced along the Ceyhan river northwards to conquer first Lusanda and then Kisuatni, before going down southwards to the Cilician plain.[431] However, this does not match the Annals' statement that Shalmaneser "crossed the Amanus (and) went down to the cities of Kate, the Quean (*kur Hamanu attabalkat ana ālāni ša m Katei kur Qauāya attarad*)". Furthermore, the control of such a distant mountainous area by the kingdom of Que is unlikely, since the area appears to have been under the influence of Gurgum, Melid and/or Tabal.

Consequently, the words of the Annals "I crossed the Amanus (and) went down to the cities of Kate, the Quean" should be taken at face value, implying that Shalmaneser crossed the Amanus at the principal pass of Bahçe in order to enter the Cilician plain. If so, we must assume, with M.C. Astour and J. Bing, that Kisuatni and Lusanda were located together with Abarnani in the eastern part of the Cilician plain or its vicinity, not very far from the Amanus.[432]

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pp. 50–62; H.M. Kümmel, "Kizzuwatna", *RlA* 5, pp. 627–631; G.F. del Monte and J. Tischler, *RGTC* 6, pp. 211–216 (s.v. Kisuwatna); cf. Kümmel, "Kummanni", *RlA* 6, pp. 335f.

[428] H. Hirsch and I. Wegner, "La(ḫu)wazantija", *RlA* 6, pp. 433–436; del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (Hittite), pp. 237f. (La(ḫu)wazantija) and K. Nashef, *RGTC* 4 (OA), pp. 78–80 (Luḫuzatia).

[429] M.C. Astour, *JNES* 22 (1963), p. 231, no. 98; idem, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 31; cf. J. Bing, *Cilicia*, p. 41, n. 19.

[430] Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 19; cf. also Goetze, *JCS* 16, p. 51, n. 19.

[431] Cf. Goetze, *JCS* 16, p. 51, n. 19. He assumed that the three cities lay on the road that leads northwards from Maraş to Kayseri.

[432] Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, pp. 30–32; Bing, *Cilicia*, pp. 40f.

In other words, as long as the proposed locations of Kizzuwatna and La(hu)wazantiya of the second millennium B.C. are accepted, we must conclude that the Kisuatni and Lusanda in Shalmaneser's Annals were named after the historical cities but were located far away from them.[433]

The geographical extent of Shalmaneser's military activities cannot be determined from the above-quoted passage of the Annals alone.[434] This question will be discussed further below, taking additional evidence into account. In any case, Shalmaneser apparently subjugated Que as the result of this campaign, since he exacted tribute from Kate, as noted in the text of the Kurbail Statue (Ann. 9, l. 34).[435] I believe that the claim of the standard annals (Ann. 7, etc.) quoted above: "I established my power and might over the land of Que" also implies that Shalmaneser has reached such a political achievement in Que.

Further information about the campaign may be provided by the inscription on the royal statue from the city of Ashur (Summ. 19). This summary text includes a passage which describes the king's expeditions to Que and Tabal as follows (iii 2b–8):

> *ana* ^{kur}*Tunni šadê kaspi* (3) ^{kur}*Mulī šadê* ^{na4}*parūte*(GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL) *ēli ṣalmu gešrūtīya* (4) *ina qerbīšunu ulziz* ^{na4}*parūte*(GIŠ.NU$_{11}$.GAL) *ma'du ana lā manî* (5) *aššâ ana* ^{kur}*Que* ^{kur}*Tabali allik mātātēšunu* (6) *anērma ana tilli u karme utēr* ^{m}*Katī nakru* (LÚ.KÚR.<<MEŠ>>) *šapṣu* (7) *ina* ^{uru}*Pahri* <*āl*> *šarrūtīšu ēsiršu melammē bēlūtīya ishupūšūma mārassu* (8) *itti nudunnîša ana* ^{uru}*Kalhi ubla šēpēya iṣbat*
>
> (2b–5a) I climbed Mt. Tunni, the mountain of silver, and Mt. Muli, the mountain of alabaster (and) placed therein the image(s) of my supremacy. I carried out so much alabaster that it could not be reck-

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[433] Astour, *Hellenosemitica,* pp. 30–32.

[434] Bing has, however, suggested on the basis of the pertinent passage that Shalmaneser set up one of his monuments at the western end of the Bahçe Pass near the destroyed fortress of Lusanda and the other near the destroyed site of Kisuatni at the head of the Gulf of Alexandretta near Iskenderun (*Cilicia,* pp. 40f.). I believe that Shalmaneser advanced further westwards than Bing has postulated (see below).

[435] J. Bing has rejected this piece of evidence by arguing that the inscription is not a reliable public document and that such an early subjugation of Que is improbable (*Cilicia,* p. 41, n. 22). However, it cannot be claimed that the text, engraved on the royal statue set in a temple, was not a public document. I believe that it is also reliable; the pertinent part of this text is composed in a clear annalistic style with the *palû* dating, thus avoiding chronological ambiguity, and the text was probably edited shortly after Year 20 (see above, Part I, 1.2.1, under Ann. 9).

> oned. (5b–8) I went to the lands of Que (and) Tabal. I defeated their lands and turned them into heaps of ruins. I confined Kate, the formidable enemy, in Pahri, his royal city. The radiance of my lordship overwhelmed him, and he brought his daughter with her dowry to the city of Calah and seized my feet.

The king's visit to Mts. Tunni and Muli (2b–5a) is known from the Annals to be an incident of the 22nd *palû*, i.e. Year 23 (see below, 16.1–2). The text continues in iii 5b–8 with details unknown from any other inscription, i.e. the confinement of Kate at Pahri (probably modern Misis [see below]) and his dispatch of his daughter to Assyria. I shall attempt to demonstrate that this incident should be ascribed to the 20th *palû* with which we are dealing here.

In Summary Inscription 19, historical events are summarized in geographical order—north, west, east and then far west (Anatolia)—without any clear chronological context (see above, Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 19). We are informed by the Annals that after the Que campaign of the present (20th) *palû*, Shalmaneser undertook further campaigns against Tabal in the 22nd and 23rd *palû*s (836, 835) and against Que in the 25th and 26th *palû*s (833–831). Since Summary Inscription 19 was certainly edited some time after the 24th *palû* (see above, Part I, 1.2.2), iii 5b–8 of the text could theoretically conflate the campaigns to Que and Tabal of the 20th, 22nd and 23rd *palû*s (839, 836, 835), if not also the later campaigns against Que. Therefore, the date of the "confinement" of Kate in Pahri could be anywhere within this time span, from the 20th *palû* to the 23/26th *palû*s.

J. Bing considered Summary Inscription 19, iii 2b–8 (the entire passage quoted above) should be ascribed to a single year, regarding the subjugation of Kate as an event which took place in the 22nd *palû* (836) together with the king's Tabal campaign, in which he reached Mts. Tunni and Muli, both located in the Bolkar Dağ (see below, Part II, 16).[436] However, the 22nd *palû* account of the Annals (Ann. 7 and 14), as well as the relevant entry of the Eponym

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[436] Bing, *Cilicia*, pp. 44f. and 179f. (dated as 837 B.C. according to a different chronological reconstruction rejected here [see above, Part I, 2]). He assumes that in the 22nd *palû*, while part of the Assyrian army threatened the northern frontier of the kingdom of Que at the Cilician Gates, Shalmaneser attacked Cilicia from the east by crossing the Amanus to entrap Kate in the city of Pahri in the eastern part of the plain. Cf. P. Naster, *L'Asie mineure*, p. 8, n. 45; he states that the submission of Kate mentioned in *KAH* 1, no. 30 (= our Summ. 19) probably preceded the campaign against Melid in 835.

Chronicles (see above, Part I, 2), show that the only military target of that *palû* was Tabal, with no mention of Que at all. It is thus improbable that Shalmaneser attacked the cities of Kate in the 22nd *palû*.[437]

A different position, held by several scholars, would assign the passage in question (specifically iii 5b–8) to the 26th *palû*, in which the last Que campaign was undertaken.[438] However, the 26th *palû* account of the Annals, although it is detailed, mentions neither Pahri nor Kate's dispatch of his daughter. On the contrary, it relates that Kirri, brother of Kate, was placed on the throne at Tarzi (Tarsus) by Shalmaneser; thus, Kate had presumably been removed from the throne (see below, Part II, 18). This contradicts the description of Summary Inscription 19, iii 5b–8 that Kate, apparently surviving as king, submitted to Shalmaneser sometime after the former's confinement at Pahri.

To solve the problem, the confinement of Kate in Pahri should be associated with the campaign of the 20th *palû*. In the 20th *palû* account of the Annals, only the cities conquered during the royal campaign, i.e. Lusanda, etc., are mentioned by name—thus excluding Pahri which somehow survived this royal campaign. The statement of the Annals "I established my power and might over the land of Que" should stand for the later subjugation of Kate, which took place under the siege continued by a part of the Assyrian army after Shalmaneser himself returned to Calah.[439]

To sum up, I propose that in the 20th *palû* campaign, Shalmaneser conquered the major cities of Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni, located in the eastern part of the Cilician plain, and confined Kate in the royal city of Pahri, thus forcing him later to pay homage at the Assyrian capital Calah. This historical reconstruction may be placed within a probable geographical context. The eastern part of the Cilician plain is divided from its western part by mountain ridges,

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[437] It seems that on the return march from Mts. Tunni and Muli, Shalmaneser marched peacefully through the Cilician plain with the consent of Kate (see below, Part II, 16).

[438] W. Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 84; Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 117.

[439] Subsequently, it may be concluded that Summ. 19 conflates the campaigns to Tabal and Que in the 20th, 22nd and perhaps 23th *palûs*, but not the later Que campaigns in the 25th–26th *palûs*. This implies that the text was edited before the start or completion of the final Que campaigns in the 25th–26th *palûs* (833–831). Cf. above, Part I, 1.2.2, Summ. 19.

the Anti-Taurus in the north and Misis Dağ in the south, except for a narrow gorge cut by the Ceyhan river.[440] Pahri, called the royal city (<*āl*> *šarrūti*) of Kate, is apparently identical with Phoenician *pʿr* and Luwian hieroglyphic *pa-há+ra/i-wa/i-ní-zi*(URBS) (an adjectival form) in the bilingual inscription from Karatepe.[441] The place appears as a major city in the Cilician plain in the inscription, and is generally identified with modern Misis, whose Greek name, Mopsouhestia, reflects the fact that the place served as the seat of *bt mpš* (Phoenician) or *mu-ka-sa-sa-na* DOMUS-*ní-i* (Luwian), the ruling dynasty of the region mentioned in the same inscription.[442] Pahri/Misis was located at the western end of the natural pass connecting the eastern and western parts of the plain. Thus, Shalmaneser attacked the eastern part of the plain and perhaps also the surrounding mountainous regions,[443] advanced to Pahri, located at the entrance to the western half, and concluded his military activities at that point.

In the following five years, Shalmaneser did not undertake repeated campaigns against Que but attacked other targets such as Damascus, Tabal and Namri. This probably implies that he did not need to attack Que, as long as Kate remained subservient.

15. *The 21st and 22nd Years = the 21st* palû *(838–837): to Aram-Damascus*

Only three versions of the Annals include a record of the years after the king's 20th regnal year (839)—Annals 12 (Stone Fragment Ass. 1120), Annals 13 (the Black Obelisk) and Annals 14 (the Calah Statue). The accounts of the 21st *palû* in these three texts (Ann. 12, r. 5'–11'; Ann. 13, ll. 102b–104a; Ann. 14, ll. 152'–162'a) record that Shalmaneser marched on Aram-Damascus again. As discussed above (Part I, 2), however, comparison between the Annals and the

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[440] For the geographical description, see Seton-Williams, *AnSt* 4, pp. 121–174.

[441] *KAI*, no. 26, A, l. 6 (Phoenician); Meriggi, *Manuale*, II, serie 1, no. 24, fr. VII (Luwian).

[442] *KAI*, no. 26, A, l. 16; Meriggi, *Manuale*, II, serie 1, no. 24, fr. XXI. The identification was first suggested by H.T. Bossert (*JKF* 1 [1951], pp. 290f.); cf. idem, *AfO* 18 (1957/8), pp. 186–189 and 461–463; F. Bron, *Recherches sur les inscriptions phéniciennes de Karatepe*, pp. 176f.

[443] The relief of an Assyrian king found at Uzunuglantepe may perhaps have been set up by Shalmaneser and mark the northernmost limit of his advance in this campaign. For this relief, see below Part II, 1.1, Case 16.

Eponym Chronicle leads us to believe that the 21st *palû* of the Annals actually corresponds to two years, i.e. the king's 21st and 22nd years (838–837). The Eponym Chronicle records the destination of the campaigns for these two years as "to/in Malahi (*a-na* KUR ⌜*Ma*⌝-⌜*la*⌝-*hi*/[*ina* URU] ⌜*Mala*⌝-*hi*)" and "to/in Danabi (*a-na* KUR *Da-na-bi*/[*ina* URU] ⌜*Da*⌝-*na*-⌜*bi*⌝)", respectively; both of these toponyms refer to cities belonging to Aram-Damascus (see below). Thus, if we accept the credibility of the Eponym Chronicle, the 21st *palû* account of the Annals evidently conflates the incidents of the two successive years into a single account. However, it remains unclear whether a single campaign continued two years, or whether two separate consecutive campaigns were involved.[444]

The brief narrative of the Black Obelisk reads: "In my 21st *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates for the 21st time, went to the cities of Hazael of Damascus (*māt imērīšu*), conquered four of his major cities (IV *māhāzīšu*); I received tribute from the people of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos." A longer account, once known only from the poorly preserved lines of Annals 12, has now become much clearer thanks to the parallel text, Annals 14, whose improved decipherment by the late P. Hulin was only recently made available (see above, Part I, 1.2.1, under Ann. 14). The text of Annals 14 (ll. 152'–162'a) reads as follows:

> (152') [*ina 21 pa*]*lêya* [*21–šú* ^{id}]*Puratta* [*ēbir madda*]*ttu ša šarrā*[*ni*] (153') [*ša māt Hal*]*ti kalīšunu amhur ištu* [*māt Hatti*? *al*]*tumuš šiddi* (154') [^{kur}*Lab*]*nāni aṣba*[*l*] ^{kur}*Saniru attab*[*alkat ā*]*na ālā*[*ni*] (155') [*ša* ^{m}]*Haza'il šá m*[*āt*] *imērīšu attar*[*ad*] *ālāni* [*x x x x x*] (156') *igdurū* ⌜*šadê*⌝([KU]R-⌜*e*⌝(?))*a*[*na*] *dannūte iṣṣablū* ^{uru}*Ia-x-x* [*x x x*] (157')^{uru}[*x x x* (*x*)] ^{uru}*Danabu* ^{uru}*Malaha ālāni dannūte* (158') *i*[*na pilši nāp*]*ili ṣābīte akšud dīktašunu adūk šallassunu* (159') *a*[*šlula ālā*]*ni appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup* ^{m}*Ba'il* (160') *ša* ^{kur}Z[Ī](?)-[*x*]-[*r*]*a-a-a*(text: II) *šēpēya iṣbat maddattušu amhur ṣalam šarrūtīya* (161') *ina* ^{uru}*Laruba* [*ā*]*l dannūtīšu ina ekurrīšu ušezziz u maddattu ša* ^{kur}*Ṣurrāya* ^{kur}*Ṣidūnāya* (162') ^{kur}*Gubalāya amhu*[*r*] *adi* ^{kur}*Muṣuruna allik*

> (152') [In] my [21st *pa*]*lû* [I crossed] the Euphrates [for the 21st time]. I received the [trib]ute of all the kings (153') of [the land of Hat]ti. From [the land of Hatti?] I departed. (154') I took the route (along) the [Leba]non, trave[rsed] Mt. Saniru and (155') descended to the cities [of] Hazael of Damascus. The cities [. . .] (156') feared and they (= the inhabitants) took to the difficult mountain. Ya[. . .] (157') [. . .],

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[444] Cf. J.E. Reade, *ZA* 68 (1978), p. 254; J.K. Kuan, *NHISP*, pp. 21 and 64.

> Danabu, Malaha, the fortified cities, (158') I conquered by [mine, battering]-rams and towers. I defeated and (159') plundered them. I destroyed the [town]s and set them on fire. Ba'il (160') of [Ty]re(?) seized my feet. I received his tribute. My royal image (161') I placed in the temple in Laruba (error for Maruba? [see below]), his fortified city, and received the tribute of the people of Tyre, Sidon (162') and Byblos. I went as far as the land/mountain of Muṣuruna.

Shalmaneser, receiving tribute from the kings of Hatti on the western side of the Euphrates, advanced southwards towards Damascus. Shalmaneser's movement—his advance along the Lebanon and crossing of Mt. Sanir (Anti-Lebanon)—strongly suggests that he advanced along the route of Baalbek-Zabedani-Damascus through the Biqa, the great valley between the parallel mountain ridges of the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine which year—the 21st year (838) or the 22nd year (837)—the king took this route.

The course of the battles remains rather vague. Mt. Sanir, which Hazael fortified for his first encounter with Shalmaneser in Year 18 (841), is now merely described as being crossed by Shalmaneser. Hazael may have abandoned the plan to block Shalmaneser's army at Mt. Sanir. A clear Assyrian military achievement during these two years is the conquest of several major cities of Hazael. From the end of l. 156' to l. 157', the names of four fortified cities (*ālāni dannūte*) which fell to Shalmaneser were recorded; the fragmentary URU *Ia-x-x-*[*x x x*] and URU [*x x x* (*x*)] are followed by Danabu and Malaha. This concurs with the statement of the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13, l. 103) that Shalmaneser conquered "four of his (Hazael's) major cities (IV *māhāzīšu*)".

Malaha is mentioned as "a royal city of Hazael of Damascus (*āl šarrūtīšu ša* ^{m}*Hazaili ša māt imērīšu*)" in the text inscribed on a marble cylinder from the city of Ashur (Misc. 2). According to the inscription, the object formed part of the booty taken by Shalmaneser from the temple of the god Sher (*kišitti bīt* ^{d}*Šēri*) in Malaha to be brought to the city of Ashur. Malaha must have been conquered in Year 21 (838), the year for which the Eponym Chronicle records the target of the royal campaign as "to/in Malahi" (see above), unless the city survived under siege until the following year. The location of Malaha is uncertain. H.S. Sader noted several sites whose names resemble Malaha, and suggested two sites as the most likely candidates: Almaliha, several kilometres east of Damascus, and Safiyet-Melah, 17 km east

of Salhad.[445] Another fortified city, Danabu, apparently fell in Year 22 (837), as it is recorded in the Eponym Chronicle as the target of that year (see above). Several scholars have suggested that the city be identified with modern Sedanaya (some 20 km north of Damascus), which was known as Danaba in the classical age.[446]

Whether the capital city of Damascus was attacked or not, it certainly survived the Assyrian aggression, for the Assyrian records keep silence about the city. Unable to win the submission of Damascus, Shalmaneser abandoned further confrontation with Aram-Damascus in the following years in favour of campaigns to other fronts. This presumably enabled Hazael not only to endure his political isolation from the other Syrian states, now under Shalmaneser's suzerainty, but also to re-establish Damascene hegemony over his neighbours, especially after the start of the domestic revolt in Assyria in Year 33 of Shalmaneser (826) (see below, Part II, 19).[447]

Following the destruction of the cities of Hazael, the Annals report the tribute-bearing of a certain Ba'il (*Ba-'-il*) and the setting up of a monument in his city, Laruba (ll. 159'b–161'a). The name of the country of Ba'il is unfortunately not clearly preserved. *Ba-'-il*, however, no doubt reflects the hypocoristic form of a Phoenician name which includes the divine name *Ba'al* as its first element.[448] A further point is that the passage is connected by the conjunction *u* with the following sentence: "and I received the tribute of the people of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos" (ll. 161'b–162'a). This implies the closeness of the country of Ba'il to Tyre, Sidon and Byblos. On these grounds, it seems safe to regard Ba'il as a ruler on the south Phoenician coast. One may go one step farther and to identify him with Ba'ali-manzeri of Tyre, attested in Year 18, who probably held sway over extensive

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[445] Sader, *Les états*, p. 266. Besides these two sites, she notes other sites in the Hauran region, such as Maliha Sharqia, Maliha Garbia, and Malihat el-Atash. For these sites, cf. also Dussaud, *Topographie*, pp. 358 and 366.

[446] Kraeling, *Aram and Israel*, p. 80; E. Honigmann, "Danabi", *RLA* 2, p. 116; Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, p. 150; cf. Sadar, *Les états*, pp. 265f. Another possibility is to identify it with Daniba in Bashan, 18 km east of Naveh. This site was identified by S. Aḥituv (*Canaanite Toponyms*, p. 89) with Dunubu of the list of Amenhotep III; cf. also Dussaud's reference to the same place (*Topographie*, p. 332). The earlier attempt to locate Danabu in northern Syria around Azaz or Aleppo (see Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 374, n. 62) is unlikely, since the suggested location is too far north to be included in the territory of Hazael.

[447] For this advance of Hazael, see Appendix A, esp. p. 320, with n. 38.

[448] Cf. Benz, *PNPPI*, p. 234.

territory in southern Phoenicia, including Sidon (see above, 12.2).[449] If this is indeed the case, we may read the name of his fortified city as *Ma-ru-ba*, instead of the otherwise unattested *Laruba* (emending the first sign LA to the graphically similar MA) to equate it with *Ma'rubbu*, mentioned in the inscription of Esarhaddon as a city located between Sidon and Tyre.[450]

Accordingly, in one or both of the two years, Shalmaneser, after his attack on Aram-Damascus, marched to the Mediterranean coast to reach a point near Tyre, as he had already done in Year 18. He, then, returned home, presumably marching northwards along the Phoenician coast. The land/mountain of *Muṣuruna*, mentioned at the end of the account, must be located on the Phoenician coast,[451] whether it was the southernmost point reached by the king or a point to the north of Tyre that the king passed on his return march.

16. *The 23rd Year = the 22nd* palû *(836): to Tabal*

In the 23rd year (= the 22nd *palû* of the Annals),[452] Shalmaneser undertook a campaign to the land of Tabal, located in the Taurus mountains. This campaign is narrated in two late versions of the Annals, i.e. Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 104b–107a) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 162'b–181'a). Summary Inscription 19 (Ashur Statue) also contains a short passage apparently relevant to this campaign (iii 2–5). The account of Annals 14 is much more detailed than that of Annals 13 and serves as the primary source.

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[449] However, it is difficult, as Grayson notes (RIMA 3, p. 79, note on l. 159'), to see how one can restore *Ṣurrāya* with traces copied by Hulin at the beginning of l. 160'. Now, Lipiński has suggested to restore the land name as *Ṣimirra* (in K. Radner [ed.], *The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire*, 1/II: B–G, p. 242b); this is duly possible.

[450] R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 49, Nin. A, iii 15. The city was transferred by Esarhaddon to Ba'al, king of Tyre, from the realm of Sidon, following the punishment of the rebellious Sidon. E. Forrer (*Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 65f.) identified it with modern Adlûn, 6 km south of Sarafand, but this was recently criticized by E. Lipiński (*Eretz-Israel* 24 [1993], p. 161*), who persuasively suggested that it should be identified with Mʿarūb, 14 km north-east of Tyre and 3 km south of Nahr el-Qasimiye.

[451] Cf. Tadmor, *IEJ* 11, p. 148, n. 30.

[452] See above, Part I, 2, for the lack of agreement between the number of the *palû* indicated in the Annals and that of the king's regnal year from Year 22 (837) onwards.

According to the account, Shalmaneser received the tribute of the kings of Hatti on the west side of the Euphrates as usual; then, he traversed a mountain called [. . .]*inzini* and exacted tribute from the inhabitants of the land of Melid (Malatia).[453] Whether Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates near Carchemish or at a more northerly point near Kummuh, he must have entered the realm of Melid by crossing part of the mountain ridge of Malatia Dağlari, demarcating the southern border of Melid. Although the ruler of Melid is not mentioned here, he is known to have been called Lalla/i, and may have been involved in this tribute-bearing.[454]

Advancing further, Shalmaneser crossed Mt. Timur, and went down to the towns of Tuatti of Tabal.[455] The location of the territory of Tuatti may be suggested by the find spots of later (eighth century) Luwian hieroglyphic inscriptions presumably relating to the descendants of Tuatti, i.e. inscriptions of the vassals of Wasu-Sarmas[456] (SULTANHAN, KAYSERI and SUVASA), one of his own (TOPADA), and two other inscriptions referring to Tuwatis, the father of Wasu-Sarmas and a namesake of our Tuatti (KULULU 1 and ÇIFTLIK).[457] The distribution of these inscriptions shows that Wasu-Sarmas controlled a territory roughly equivalent to the modern *vilayet*s of Kayseri and Nevshehir.[458] This may have roughly agreed with the territory of our Tuatti. Therefore, Shalmaneser must have marched from the area around Melid westwards in the direction of Kayseri, either on the road along the valley of Tohma Su via modern Gürün,[459] or

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[453] Ann. 14, ll. 162'b–165'a. For Melid in general, see J.D. Hawkins, "Melid", *RlA* 8, pp. 35–41.

[454] Lalla/i must have been on the throne in this year, since he was attested in the Annals in preceding and following years (Years 6, 15 and 23); cf. Hawkins, *RlA* 8, p. 37. Note also that Lalla/i brought his tribute to Shalmaneser in Year 6 (853) with other kings of the land of Hatti (see above, 5.2), and that in Year 15 (844) too, he offered tribute to Shalmaneser, when the latter reached the east bank of the Euphrates facing the land of Melid (see above, Part II, 11).

[455] Ann. 14, ll. 165'f. The passage is quoted below.

[456] He is identified with Wassurme of Tabal, mentioned in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor, *ITP*, pp. 68 [Ann. 14*: 1], 170 [Summ. 7: r. 9' and 14']).

[457] SULTANHAN: Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie I, no. 84; KAYSERI: *ibid.*, serie II, no. 67; SUVASA: *ibid.*, serie III, no. 36; TOPADA: *ibid.*, serie I, no. 35.; KULULU 1: *ibid.*, serie I, no. 18; ÇIFTLIK: *ibid.*, serie II, no. 34; cf. further J.D. Hawkins, *AnSt* 29 (1979), pp. 163f. and J.D. Hawkins and J.N. Postgate, *SAAB* 2 (1988), pp. 38f.

[458] Hawkins, *AnSt* 29, pp. 163f.; idem, *CAH* III/1, p. 413; M. Wäfler, *Or.* 52 (1983), p. 191.

[459] This route was suggested by Wäfler, *Or.* 52, p. 191 with n. 21; cf. Hawkins, in *NAG*, p. 89 (along the modern Malatia-Kayseri road). As noted by Wäfler and

through the plain of Elbistan. In any case, as suggested by M. Wäfler, Mt. Timur, demarcating the border between Melid and Tabal, should be identified with Tahtali Dağ at the north-eastern end of the Anti-Taurus mountain range.[460]

The incidents in the land of Tabal are described in Annals 14 (ll. 165'b–172'a) as follows:

> ^{kur}*Timu*[*r*] *attabalkat ana ālāni ša* ^{m}*Tuatti* (166') ^{kur}*Tabalāya attarad ālānī* ([UR]U.MEŠ)-*šunu appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup* (167') ^{m}*Tuatti pulhē melammē ša Aššur bēlīya ishupūšūma ana šūzub* (168') *napšātīšu ina ālīšu innesir* ^{uru}*Artulu āl šarrūtīšu altime* (169') ^{m}*Kikki māršu tāhāzu ēdurma šēpēya išbat* (170') *maddattušu amhur ša 20 šarrāni* (171') *ša* ^{kur}*Taballi igisûšunu amdahar*
>
> I crossed Mt. Timur (and) went down to the towns of Tuatti the Tabalian. I destroyed their towns and set them on fire. As for Tuatti, the awe-inspiring radiance of the god Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him, and he confined himself in his city. I surrounded Artulu, his royal city. Kikki his son became afraid of the battle and seized my feet. I received his tribute. From 20 princes of the land of Tabal, I received gifts.

J.D. Hawkins has suggested that Artulu, the royal city of Tuatti should be identified with Kululu (65 km east-north-east of Kayseri), where impressive Iron Age remains were discovered.[461] Although the description of the Annals contains some ambiguities, it seems that Tuatti and Kikki resisted together in the besieged city Artulu, until Kikki left the fortifications to surrender to Shalmaneser.[462] In any case, the house of Tuatti and Kikki was subjugated by Shalmaneser, together with 20 other princes of Tabal, apparently vassals ruling small territories under the feudal dominion of the house of Tuatti.[463] As for the number of Tabalian princes subjugated, Annals 13 gives "24 princes of Tabal", instead of the "20" of Annals 14, and does

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Hawkins, Melidite control over the route along Tohma Su in the post-Hittite period is shown by the spread of hieroglyphic Luwian monuments along the route, such as KÖTÜKALE (Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie II, no. 104), ISPEKÇÜR (*ibid.*, serie II, no. 103), DARENDE (*ibid.*, serie II, no. 98) and GÜRÜN (*ibid.*, serie II, no. 97).

[460] Wäfler, *Or.* 52, p. 191.

[461] Hawkins, in *NAG*, p. 99.

[462] There is, however, room for alternative interpretations: that Tuatti fled behind the fortifications of Artulu, and the Assyrians advanced to another place to subjugate Kikki; or else, that Tuatti confined himself in an unnamed city, and Kikki guarded the royal city Artulu until he submitted to Shalmaneser.

[463] For later (eighth century) evidence about the political geography of Tabal, see Hawkins, *AnSt* 29, pp. 162–167; idem, *NAG*, pp. 98f.; Wäfler, *Or.* 52, pp. 181–193; Hawkins and Postgate, *SAAB* 2, pp. 36–39.

not refer to Tuatti and Kikki by name. Both these numbers are apparently typological; thus, it may indicate, at the best, merely an approximate number.

Following these incidents, Shalmaneser climbed Mt. Tunni, "the mountain of silver (*šadê kaspi*)", and then went down to the towns of Puhame of the land of Hubushna(!) (text: erroneously Hubushka)[464] and approached Hubushni, Puhame's royal city.[465] From this point onwards, only fragments of the primary text Annals 14 (ll. 176'b–181'a) have been preserved. The edition of RIMA 3 reads as follows:

> *a-na* URU *hu-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-h*[*ur-ma* KUR *m*]*u-li-*[*i šadê gišnugalli*] (179') *e-li* NA_4.GIŠ.N[U_{11}.GAL . . .] (180') *ma-a'-du* DÙ [. . .] (181') MAN-*ti-ia ina* KU[R *mulî*(?) *ušēziz*]
>
> I approached the city Hubušnu his royal [city]. I received the tribute of [. . .] the land Iauṣa[. . .]. I ascended [Mount M]ulû, [the mountain of alabaster]. [. . .] alabaster [. . .] (180') much, I made. [I erected] my royal [statue] on Mount [*Mulû*] (as translated in RIMA 3).

This fragmentary text can be supplemented by the two briefer accounts of Annals 13 (ll. 106f.) and Summary Inscription 19 (iii 2–3). Both texts show that Shalmaneser went to Mt. Tunni, the mountain of silver, and Mt. Muli, the mountain of "alabaster (NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL)". Summary Inscription 19 further records that Shalmaneser placed his image in the midst of (each of) the mountains (*ṣalmu gešrūtīya ina qerbīšunu ulziz*) and carried off great amounts of alabaster. Therefore, as seen in the edition of RIMA 3 cited above, the erection of a monument bearing the royal image (not necessarily a statue)[466] at Mt. Muli and the carrying off of alabaster from the same mountain should be restored in ll. 178'–180' of Annals 14. The interpretation of line 177', reading a land name unattested elsewhere—*Iauṣa*[. . .]—is questionable, however. I propose to read ll. 176'b–177' as: *a-na* URU *Hu-bu-uš-ni* URU MAN-*ti-šú aq-ṭí-r*[*ib x* M]U-*ia ú ṣa-*[*lam* MAN-*ti-ia ul/ú-še*]-*ziz*(BAD) "I approached the city Hubushna, his (Puhame's) royal city; I [ere]cted (there) [. . . of] my [na]me and [my royal]

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[464] The emendation was first suggested by P. Hulin (*Iraq* 25 [1963], p. 66); cf. Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, p. 394, n. 188; idem, *SAAB* 2, p. 36, n. 2; Wäfler, *Or.* 52, p. 192, n. 25. The emendation is inevitable, since Hubushkia, located south of Lake Urmia, has nothing to do with the present context.

[465] Ann. 14, ll. 172'b–177'a.

[466] For the object intended by the term *ṣalmu*, see the discussion below in Part IV, 1.2.

ima[ge]". If this is correct, the tribute ([*m*]*a-da-tu-šú*) mentioned in the next line (l. 178') is probably that offered by Puhame of Hubushna.[467]

The city of Hubushna has been convincingly identified with Hittite *Hipišna* and with classical Kybistra near modern Ereğli.[468] Mt. Tunni, whose name is probably associated with Hittite Dunna and Ptolemy's Tynna, is securely located on the north side of the Bolkar Dağ massif with its silver mines.[469] As for Mt. Muli, there are several hints, besides the Annals, that it was located near Hubushna and Mt. Tunni. First, alabaster (NA_4.GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL), characteristic of Mt. Muli, is equated in a trilingual text (RS 25.421, 26) with the "stone of Hubishna (Hittite *Hubišnaš* NA_4-*aš*)".[470] This testifies to the close geographical relation between Hubushna and Mt. Muli. Furthermore, the stone of which Shalmaneser's Calah Throne Base was fashioned is called *aban* ^{kur}*Tunnu*(*Tu-nu*) ^{na4}*parūte*(*pa-ru-te*) *šuātu* "this Mt. Tunnu alabaster" in the text engraved on the object itself (Summ. 6, l. 50).[471] This association of Mt. Tunni/u with the alabaster suggests that Mt. Tunni is close to or includes Mt. Muli, called "the alabaster mountain" in the Annals.[472] Therefore, Mt. Muli must have been located together with Mt. Tunni on the north side of Bolkar Dağ.[473]

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[467] The number of monuments set up in the region and their exact location are problematic. For these questions, see the discussion below in Part IV, 1.1, Case 18.

[468] Naster, *L'Asie mineure*, p. 21, n. 42; del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, pp. 117–119 (s.v. Hupišna); K. Kessler and L.D. Levine, *RlA* 4, p. 500f. (s.v. Hupišna); Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, p. 394, n. 188; idem, *NAG*, p. 99.

[469] A. Erzen, *Kilikien*, p. 6; P. Hulin, *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 66f.; L. Franck, *RHA* 24 (1966), p. 35, n. 59; Bing, *Cilicia*, p. 177; O.R. Gurney, *apud* Hawkins, *AnSt* 29, p. 167; Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, p. 384; idem, *NAG*, p. 99. For the attestation of Hittite Dunna, see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, p. 439 (s.v. Tuna).

[470] E. Laroche, *RHA* 24 (1966), p. 178; cf. del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, p. 119.

[471] The stone of the throne base is reported to be "yellowish-brown limestone" (Hulin, *Iraq* 25, p. 48). It seems that this stone could have been called GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL = *gišnugallu*/*parūtu* (usually translated "alabaster") by the Assyrians. In late Assyrian texts, *gišnugallu* and *parūtu* are sometimes used as synonyms (*CAD* G, p. 106, *gišnugallu* discussion section), and GIŠ.NU_{11}.GAL could have been read either *gišnugallu* or *parūtu* (cf. *AHw*, p. 837, *parūtu*).

[472] Thus Hulin, *Iraq* 25, p. 67.

[473] In this context, it is reasonable to associate, as did Hulin (*Iraq* 25, p. 67), the Mt. Muti mentioned in the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription BOLKAR MADEN (Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie I, no. 25) with Mt. Muli (with *t-l* alternation) and to suggest that Mt. Muli must have been close to the place where this monument was found. This inscription, composed for a certain Tarhunazas, mentions the donation of Mt. Muti by his lord Warpalawas (= Urballa of Tuhana, attested in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III); for Urballa, see M. Weippert, *ZDPV* 89 (1973), pp. 26–53; Hawkins, *AnSt* 29, pp. 164f.; idem, *CAH* III/1, p. 413.

The course of Shalmaneser's return march is not recorded in any text. It seems most likely, however, that he passed through the Cilician gates and then travelled eastwards across the Cilician plain.[474] It would thus appear that relying on his political pact with Kate (see above, 14.2), Shalmaneser traversed the Cilician plain in order to cross the Amanus.

17. *The 24th Year* = *the 23rd* palû *(835): to Melid*

The main target of the expedition in the 24th regnal year (= the 23rd *palû* of the Annals) was the land of Melid.[475] Two versions of the Annals, Annals 13 (the Black Obelisk, ll. 107b–110a) and Annals 14 (the Calah Statue, ll. 181'b–194'), contain the account of this campaign. The former text briefly reads: "In my 23rd *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates; I conquered Uetash, the fortified city of Lalla of Melid; the kings of Tabal came to me, (and) I received their tribute." The much longer account of Annals 14 is severely damaged. Nevertheless, the narration can be restored, since we can safely assume that the text was composed in formulaic language common to Shalmaneser's Annals when describing the king's activities, such as his movement from one place to another, the destruction of towns, subjugation of enemies and receipt of tribute, etc. The text may be read with extensive restorations, as follows:

> [*ina* 23 *palêya*] (182') ÍD.A.RAD *e-*⌜*bir*⌝ [*maddattu ša šarrāni ša māt Hatti*] (183') *at-ta-har* TA URU.ME[Š *ša māt Hatti attumuš*] (184') [KU]R *pa-la-*[*x* B]AL-*at a-*[*na ālāni ša* m*Lalla* KUR *Melidāya*] (185') *at-t*[*a-r*]*ad* URU *Ú-e-*[*ta-áš* URU *dannūtīšu assibī*] (186') [*ak-t*]*a-šad šal-la-su* [*ašlula ištu* URU *Uetaš attumuš*] (187') *a-na* URU *Ta-ga-ri-*[*im-mu āl dannūtīšu aqṭirib* . . . . .] (188') *a-na* GABA-*ia il-li-k*[*a!-am-ma šēpēya iṣṣabat maddattašu*] (189') *at-ta-har* GÚN *ma-da-*[*tu ina muhhīšu aškun ištu* URU *Tagarimmu*] (190') *at-tu-muš a-na* URU [. . . .] (191') *aq-ṭí-rib pu-ul-hi me-*[*lam-me ša Aššur bēlīya ishupūšunūti āla/ālāni*] (192') *ú-maš-še-ru a-na š*[*u-zu-ub napšātīšunu ana šadê ēlû*] (193') URU.MEŠ-*ni-šú-nu ap-pù*[*l aqqur ina išāti ašrup*] (194') *šá* 20 LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni šá* KUR [*Ta-ba-li maddattašunu amhur*]
>
> [in my 23rd *palû*] I crossed the Euphrates (and) received [the tribute of the kings of Hatti]. (183') I departed from the towns [of the land of Hatti], (184') traversed Mt. Pala[. . .] and went down to [the towns

[474] Hawkins, *CAH* III/1, pp. 394f.; idem, *NAG*, p. 98, n. 123.
[475] For the chronology, see Part I, 2.

of Lalla of Melid.] (185') I [besieged and conq]uered the city of Ue[tash, his fortified city (and)] (186') [took] the booty of it. [I departed from Uetash] (187') [and approached] the city of Tagari[mmu, his fortified city . . . . .] (188') came to me [and seized my feet. His gift] (189') I received [and imposed upon him] tax and tribute. (190') I departed from [Tagarimmu] (and) approached the city/tow[ns] [of . . . . .] (191') The awe-inspiring radia[nce of the god Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them.] (192') They abandoned [the town(s) and fled to the mountain] to sa[ve their lives] (193') I destroyed their towns [and set them on fire.] (194') From the 20 kings of the land of [Tabal, I received their gifts.]

NOTES

182'f.: [*maddattu ša šarrāni ša māt Hatti*] *at-ta-har*: The tribute-bearing of the kings of Hatti is a regular event, which occurred almost every time that Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates. The restoration in RIMA 3 [*maddattu ša* ^{m}*lalla*(?) KUR *melidāiia*(?)] is unlikely, since in the following line Uetash, the fortified city of Lalla, is said to have been attacked and conquered by Shalmaneser (ll. 184'–186'; see below, the note on ll. 184f.); Melid must have been the major military target of this campaign, according to the Eponym Chronicle (see Part I, 2). Consequently, Melid, though it is a Neo-Hittite country, seems to be treated separately from "the kings of Hatti" here. It should be noted that in a similar context in the 22nd *palû* account, Shalmaneser is said to have received tribute from the king of Hatti and then moved on to receive the tribute of Melid (ll. 163'–165'); cf. above, Part II, 16.

183': TA URU.ME[Š *ša māt Hatti attumuš*]: Instead of TA URU *me-*[*li-di*(?) *attumuš* . . .] in RIMA 3. This restoration is necessary in order to match the contents of the preceding lines.

184'f.: *a-*[*na ālāni ša* ^{m}*Lalla* KUR *Melidāya*] *at-t*[*a-r*]*ad*: A new restoration. This is apparently required by the following lines which mention Uetash, that certainly belonged to Lalla.

185'f.: URU *Ú-e-*[*ta-áš* URU *dannūtīšu assibi ak-t*]*a-šad*: To be restored thus according to Ann. 13, ll. 108f.: URU *Uetaš āl dannūtīšu ša* ^{m}*Lalla* ^{kur}*Melidāya akšud*.

186'f.': The restoration is based on the assumption that the text consistently includes the standard itinerary formula, *ištu* GN1 *attumuš ana* GN2 *aqṭirib*. Traces of this formula are also found in other lines: *ana* URU *Tagari*[*immu* . . .] (l. 187'), [. . .] *attumuš ana* URU [. . .] *aqṭirib* (ll. 190'f.); see my restorations.

187': URU *Ta-ga-ri-*[*im-mu āl dannūtīšu*: A new restoration. See below our discussion.

188': The subject of *a-na* GABA-*ia il-li-k*[*a!-am-ma*] is perhaps Lalla, king of Melid. The expression is frequently used in NA royal inscriptions in the context of the enemy's marching against the Assyrian

king to engage him in battle (cf. *CAD* I/J, p. 187a), and occasionally also for submission to the Assyrian king (e.g., F. Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne*, l. 307); cf. also *ina* GABA-*ia ú-ṣa* for the emergence of Asau the Gilzanean to submit to Shalmaneser III (Ann. 3, ii 61). Since the lacuna is too small to restore the description of a battle, it seems likely that this passage recorded that the enemy submitted to Shalmaneser without resistance.

188'f.: [*maddattašu*] *at-ta-har* GÚN *ma-da-*[*tu ina muhhīšu aškun*]: The restoration is purely conjectural. It is also possible, as Grayson did, to take GÚN *ma-da-*[*tu*] as the object of the preceding verb *at-ta-har*, but such word order is unusual in the prosaic text of Shalmaneser's Annals.

194': KUR [*Ta-ba-li maddattašunu amhur*]: Restored through comparison to the account of Ann. 13 (ll. 109f.).

According to this restored version of Annals 14, Shalmaneser received tribute from the kings of Hatti on the west bank of the Euphrates, and then approached the towns of Lalla, king of Melid. Mt. Pala[x x], the mountain that he crossed to enter the Melidite territory, is probably different from the mountain crossed in the previous year, whose name is fragmentarily preserved as [x]inzini, but like the latter mountain, it must form part of the mountain ridge of Malatia Dağlari, demarcating the southern border of the land of Melid.

Shalmaneser's first military target was Uetash, the fortified city of Lalla. Shalmaneser conquered this city and moved to another city, which probably belonged to the king of Melid (see below). The name of the city is preserved as URU *Ta-ga-ri-*[. . .] (l. 187'). This may be restored as URU *Ta-ga-ri-*[*im-mu*] and identified with Tegarama in the Old Assyrian and Hittite documents,[476] *Lá-kar-ma*(URBS) of the Luwian hieroglyphic inscription KARAHÖYÜK/ELBISTAN,[477] Til-garimmu of late Assyrian documents,[478] and biblical Togarma (Gen. 10:3 and 1 Chron. 1:6).[479]

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[476] For references, see K. Nashef, *RGTC* 4 (OA), p. 117 (Tegarama); del-Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6 (Hittite), pp. 383f. (Takarama).

[477] Meriggi, *Manuale*, serie III, no. 101, fr. 10.

[478] Parpola, *NAT*, pp. 353f. (TIL-GARIMMU).

[479] A.T. Olmstead, *Western Asia in the Days of Sargon of Assyria*, p. 92 with n. 40; Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 84; N. Na'aman, "Togarma", *Ency. Bib.*, vol. 8, col. 430 (Hebrew). Neo-Assyrian spelling of Til-garimmu was apparently formulated in Semitic *Volksetimologie* with *til-* "a hill" as the first element; cf. Til-barsip, Til-abne, Til-bashere, Til-turahi, etc. The original Anatolian toponym probably had **tl-* at its beginning; see Na'aman, *ibid.*

In the Old Assyrian and Hittite documents, Tegarama is attested as a city in Cappadocia, located on a road between Syria and the Old Assyrian colony of Kanesh (Kültepe) or the Hittite heartland.[480] Later, in the inscriptions of Sargon II, Til-garimmu appears as the city of asylum of Tarhunazi, king of Melid, when he was attacked and fled from the Assyrians.[481] Further, Til-garimmu is called "a city of the border of the land of Tabal (*ālum ša pāṭ(i)* ^{kur}*Tabali*)" in the inscriptions of Sennacherib.[482] This location of Tegarama/Til-garimmu on the Melid-Tabal border suits this context perfectly. The city has generally been identified with classical Gauraena, modern Gürün, located on the route from Malatia to Anatolia along Tohma Su, or has been located in its vicinity.[483] Alternatively, however, J.D. Hawkins has suggested that it might be located at Elbistan, the site of Melidite colonisation in the post-Hittite period.[484] In any case, it seems, the city which belonged to the king of Melid submitted to Shalmaneser without battle and offered tribute. Although the subjugation of Lalla cannot be unequivocally proven from this fragmentary text, it is plausible that Melid was finally reduced at this time to an Assyrian vassal state and had to pay an annual tribute.

The exact identity of the city or towns which Shalmaneser approached after the subjugation of Tagarimmu remains unclear due to the break in the text. However, the context definitely has some association with settlements on the Melid-Tabal border. In all probability, as a result of the destruction of these places, Shalmaneser exacted tribute from the "20 kings of Tabal", apparently the same princes who were led by Tuatti and had brought tribute the previous year (see above, Part II, 16).

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[480] See Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 46–48; P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce*, pp. 117f.; K.R. Veenhof, *Akkadica* 18 (1980) pp. 42f.; cf. Nashef, *RGTC* 4, p. 117, and del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, p. 384.

[481] Fuchs, *ISK*, pp. 125–128 and 324 (*Annalen*, ll. 204–220).

[482] Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*, pp. 62 (v 2), 77 (l. 24), 86 (l. 14).

[483] Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 75; Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, pp. 46–48. For further bibliography, see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, p. 384.

[484] Hawkins, "Melid", *RlA* 8, p. 36; idem, in *NAG*, p. 90. The suggestion is corroborated by the reference to *Lakarma* in the afore-mentioned Luwian hieroglyphic inscription, KARAHÖYÜK/ELBISTAN, in which the city is said to have been given to the author of the inscription from his overlord with other two cities, whose reading is unknown.

18. *The 26th, 27th and 28th Years = the 25th and 26th* palûs *(833–831): to Que*

In Year 25 (834), Shalmaneser interrupted his successive campaigns to the west, while he marched to the eastern front, against the land of Namri, located in the Zagros mountains.[485] After this pause, he returned to the west and devoted himself to three successive campaigns against Que during Years 26–28 (833–831).

As noted above (Part I, 2), the Annals include only two *palû*s, the 25th and 26th *palû*s, for these three successive Que campaigns. The accounts of these two *palû*s are contained in duplicate in Annals 13 = the Black Obelisk (ll. 126b–141a) and Annals 14 = the Calah Statue (ll. 215'–227' [fragmentary]). The campaign described in the account of the 26th *palû* is explicitly described as the fourth campaign to Que, as follows:

> *ina* 26 *palêya* 7-*šú* ^{kur}*Hamanu attabalkat* 4-*šú ana ālāni ša* ^{m}*Katî* ^{kur}*Qauāya allik*
>
> In my 26th *palû*, I crossed Mt. Amanus for the seventh time (and) went to the towns of Kate of the land of Que for the fourth time.[486]

As already suggested (Part I, 2), this campaign must be identified with that of Year 28 (831), which was preceded by three campaigns to Que in Years 20, 26 and 27. Consequently, the account of the preceding *palû*, i.e. the 25th *palû*, either reports only one of the two campaigns of Years 26 and 27 (830 and 829) or conflates both into a single *palû*. The lack of one *palû* and the comparative brevity of the 25th *palû* account[487] prevent us from describing the precise course of events in these two campaigns.

The account of the 25th *palû* (Ann. 13, ll. 126b–131; cf. Ann. 14, ll. 215'–216'a [fragmentary]) reads as follows:

> *ina* 25 *palêya* (127) ^{id}*Puratta ina mīlīša ēbir maddattu ša šarrāni ša* ^{kur}*Hatti kalīšunu amhur* ^{kur}*Hamanu* (128) *attabalkat ana ālāni ša* ^{m}*Katei* ^{kur}*Qauāyā attarad* ^{uru}*Tīmur āl dannūtīšu* (129) *assibi aktašad dīktašu adūk šallassu assalla ālāni ana lā manî appul aqqur* (130) *ina išāti ašrup ina tayyartīya* ^{uru}*Mūru āl*

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[485] Ann. 13, ll. 110b–126a; Ann. 14, ll. 195'–201'; cf. also Summ. 19, iii 1–2a.

[486] Ann. 13, ll. 132–133a (// Ann. 14, ll. 216'b–217'a [fragmentary]). The figure of seven Amanus crossings is probably reached by counting two crossings (entering and leaving Cilicia) in each of Years 20, 26, 27 and one in the present year.

[487] It occupies less than six full lines, as against 17 lines for the 24th *palû* and 11 lines for the 26th *palû* (the number of lines according to Ann. 13).

damūtīšu ša ^{m}*Arame mār*(A) ^{m}*Agūsi* (131) *birtu ana ramānīya aṣbat sippīša akṣur ekalla šubat šarrūtīya ina libbi addi*

In my 25th *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates in flood. I received the tribute of all the kings of Hatti. I crossed the Amanus (and) went down to the towns of Kate, the Quean. I besieged (and) conquered Timur, his fortified city; I defeated it (and) plundered it. I destroyed and burned towns without number. On my return march, I took Muru, the fortified city of Arame of Bit-Agusi, as a fortress for myself. I founded its gateways and built therein a palace (for) my royal residence.

Shalmaneser does not specify the immediate reason for this campaign. However, six or seven years earlier, in Year 20 (839), Kate had submitted to Shalmaneser offering him tribute and his daughter, and thus established a peace pact with Assyria (see above, 14.2). It would seem that Kate broke this pact and rebelled. The city of Timur, conquered by Shalmaneser, is not attested elsewhere,[488] and its location is difficult to specify. In any case, it appears that Shalmaneser had to be satisfied with a limited military achievement during this *palû*, without winning the subjugation of Kate.

The integration of the city of Muru in the land of Bit-Agusi into the Assyrian administration was probably intended to reinforce the Assyrian front in the west, beyond the Euphrates.[489] Since no attack on Muru is mentioned, it stands to reason that the Assyrians occupied the city with the consent of the ruler of Bit-Agusi, a loyal Assyrian vassal. Although the location of Muru is in dispute, it was probably located somewhere north of Aleppo.[490]

In Year 28 (831), as described in the 26th *palû* account (Ann. 13, ll. 132–141a; Ann. 14, ll. 216'b–227'), Shalmaneser invaded Cilicia again to subjugate Que finally. The first stop after crossing the Amanus was Tanakun, the fortified city of a certain Tulli, probably a vassal of Kate. Shalmaneser besieged the city, and Tulli surrendered.

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[488] This city Timur should not be associated with the Mt. Timur mentioned in the 22nd *palû* account (836) as the mountain between Melid and Tabal (*contra* Houwink Ten Cate, *LPG*, p. 19). The contexts in which these two Timurs appear suggest that they were definitely different places (Bing, *Cilicia*, p. 47, n. 31).

[489] For the annexation of lands in the west by Shalmaneser III in general, see below, Part V, 1.

[490] Cf. Sader, *Les états*, pp. 147f. (north-west of Aleppo). The city is apparently identical to Murua, mentioned in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (*ITP*, p. 148: ii 14), as suggested by H. Tadmor (in *Unity and Diversity*, p. 45, n. 15). E. Forrer suggested that it lay north of Jabboul swamp (*Provinzeinteilung*, p. 26); but this seems too far south, as observed by Sader (*op. cit.*).

After taking hostages and tribute from Tulli, Shalmaneser advanced to the land of Lamena(sh). He pursued the fleeing people of Lamena into a nearby mountain, brought down their property, and destroyed their settlements. Finally, he reached the city of Tarzi, modern Tarsus.

The general route of Shalmaneser's army evidently ran from east to west, traversing the Cilician plain to reach Tarsus. The local topography makes it almost certain that the Assyrians passed by the mounds of Sirkeli and Misis, the Iron Age sites guarding each end of the narrow defile by the Ceyhan river.[491] The land of Lamena is believed to be associated with Hittite Luwana, a city mentioned in the treaty between Sunassura of Kizzuwatna and Suppiluliuma of Hatti.[492] According to the treaty, it was located in the general vicinity of Ataniya (modern Adana),[493] probably in the mountainous terrain north of Adana.[494] Consequently, Tanakun must have been situated farther east.

The campaign culminated in the fall of Tarsus, which is described briefly:[495]

> *ana* ^{uru}*Tarzi allik šēpēya iṣṣabtū kaspa hurāṣa maddattašunu amhur* ^{m}*Kirrī ahušu ša Katî ana šarrūti ina muhhīšunu aškun*
>
> I went to the city of Tarsus. They seized my feet (and) I received silver and gold as their tribute. I placed Kirri, the brother of Kate, as king over them.

As the text does not mention any battle, it seems that Tarsus fell to Shalmaneser without resistance. The political status of Tarsus at this point is unclear. Perhaps it was a royal city like Pahri (Misis) in eastern Cilicia, where Kate was surrounded by the forces of Shalmaneser III in Year 20 (see above, 14.2). The fate of Kate is not mentioned in the text. It would seem that the rebellious Kate was deported to Assyria to be replaced by his brother.[496] Satisfied with this result,

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[491] Seton-Williams, *AnSt* 4, p. 144.

[492] Weidner, *PDK*, p. 110 (iv 55); cf. *RGTC* 6, p. 252 (Luwana).

[493] Garstang and Gurney, *Geography*, p. 60. For Ataniya, see del Monte and Tischler, *RGTC* 6, p. 54 (Atanija). Alternatively, M.C. Astour (*Hellenosemitica*, p. 26, n. 1) has suggested identifying Shalmaneser's Lamena with the Lamiya mentioned in the same treaty between Suppiluliuma and Sunassura (iv 40 and 42), while locating it in the eastern part of Cilicia.

[494] One might associate the land of Lamena with Velican Tepe, 12 km north of Adana. The site was inhabited from the Chalcolithic to the Iron Age (according to Seton-Williams, *AnSt* 4, pp. 171f.).

[495] Ann. 13, ll. 138b–140a // Ann. 14, ll. 224'b–226'a.

[496] As assumed by A.K. Grayson, *CAH* III/1, p. 263. A completely different inter-

Shalmaneser returned to Assyria via the Amanus range, where he cut cedar timber.[497]

With the success of this fourth and final Que campaign, Shalmaneser's dominion over the west reached its zenith. By the subjugation of Melid, Tabal, Hubushna and Que, Assyria secured direct and indirect access to the natural resources of Anatolia, so vital to the economy of the ancient Near East.[498]

19. *The 30th Year = the 28th* palû *(829): to Patin*

The last campaign to Que in Year 28 (831) was also the last campaign which Shalmaneser conducted in person. In the following year, the *turtānu* Dayyan-Ashur commanded the army instead of the king, who was apparently not able to carry out his basic responsibility in the most significant national enterprise. The *turtānu* marched northwards via Bit-Zamani (Diyarbakir region) and crossed the river Arṣania (Murat Su) to fight Sarduri I of Urartu.[499] From this campaign until the 31st *palû* (Year 33, 826), Dayyan-Ashur continued to lead the annual Assyrian campaigns.[500]

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pretation was proposed by A.T. Olmstead (*JAOS* 41, p. 377). He considered that Tulli disposed of Kate but, shortly after this, was replaced in his turn by Kirri, brother of the former ruler. Such a quick change of ruler, however, is unlikely.

[497] Ann. 13, ll. 140b–141a; Ann. 14, ll. 226'b–227'.

[498] The economic aspects of Shalmaneser's expeditions are discussed in Part III.

[499] Ann. 13, ll. 141b–146a; Ann. 14, ll. 228'–267'.

[500] Ann. 13, ll. 141b–190; Ann. 14, ll. 228'–341'. Dayyan-Ashur is always mentioned by name as the commander of these campaigns, except for that of the 29th *palû*. In the 29th *palû*, however, the king is said to have sent his army; thus, it is obvious that in this case too the king stayed at Calah while sending Dayyan-Ashur to lead the army. The frequent mention of Dayyan-Ashur in the accounts of the last *palû*s bear witness to the surprising privileges he enjoyed in Shalmaneser's last years. A.T. Olmstead (*JAOS* 41, pp. 380f.) proposed that the unusual eminence given to the commander-in-chief caused the jealous royal sons to stir up a rebellion in the king's last days; cf. A.K. Grayson, *CAH* III/1, pp. 268f. and idem, *SAAB* 7 (1993), p. 27. It is, however, far-fetched to assume, as did Olmstead (*op. cit.*), that Shalmaneser stayed at home, and that Dayyan-Ashur was the actual sovereign of the empire, to whom all military success is to be ascribed; cf. Grayson in *CAH* III/1, pp. 268f. It seems that the heroic prerogative of leading the yearly campaign was not only a literary leitmotif but an essential role required of the Assyrian monarch in the relevant period. I believe, therefore, that Shalmaneser personally conducted all the campaigns, as described in his Annals, up to the 27th *palû*. In any case, we must regard the late Annals, especially the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13), as a memorial to Dayyan-Ashur as well as to the king. For this point, see the discussion in Appendix B.

In Year 30 (829), Dayyan-Ashur led the Assyrian army for the second time, this time to the west in order to suppress the rebellion in the land of Patin. The account of this campaign survives in duplicate in Annals 13 (ll. 146b–156a) and Annals 14 (ll. 268'–286'a) as the 28th *palû*.[501]

The account starts by describing how a report reached Shalmaneser at Calah that the people of Patin had killed Lubarna, their lord, and appointed a certain Surri, "one not of the royal throne (*lā bēl kussî*)",[502] as their king. Shalmaneser despatched *turtānu* Dayyan-Ashur against the land of Patin. Dayyan-Ashur, leading the army, crossed the Euphrates and set up camp at Kinalua (probably Tell Taynat), the royal city of Patin.[503] The text describes the incident at Kinalua as follows (Ann. 13, ll. 150b–156a // Ann. 14, ll. 274'–286'; line number below according to Ann. 13):

ina ^{uru}*Kinalua āl šarrūtīšu* (151) *mādaktu iškun*(Ann. 14: *aškun*) ^{m}*Surri lā bēl kussî pulhī melammē ša Aššur bēlīya* (152) *ishupūšūma mūt šīmtīšu illik amēlē* ^{kur}*Patināya ištu pān nanurrat kakkēya dannūte* (153) *iplah(ū)ma mārē* ^{m}*Surri adi ṣābē bēl ḫiṭṭi uṣṣabbitū ittannūni* (154) *ṣābē šunūti ina gaššīšī uratti* ^{m}*Sāsi mār Kuruṣṣā šēpēya iṣbat ana šarrūtī* (155) *ina*(Ann. 14: *ana*) *muhhīšunu aškun kaspa hurāṣa annaka siparra parzilla šinni pīli ana lā manî amhuršunūti* (156) *ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ ēpuš ina* ^{uru}*Kunalua āl šarrūtīšu ina bīt-ilānīšu ušezziz*

He (var.: I) set up camp at Kinalua, his royal city. The splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed Surri, 'one not of the royal throne', (and) he died. The people of Patin became afraid of the radiance of my strong weapons, and arrested the sons of Surri with the rebels; they handed (them) over to me. I hung those people on stakes. Sasi, 'son of Kuruṣṣa' seized my feet. I placed him as the king over them. I received from them silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron (and) ivory, without number. I made a splendid royal image of myself, (and) placed (it) in Kinalua (text: Kunalua), his royal city, in the temple of his gods.

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[501] See above, Part I, 2, for the chronology of the campaigns.

[502] The phrase *lā bēl kussî* expresses a value judgment with a negative connotation, as seen, for example, in a sentence well attested in omen texts: *lā bēl kussî kusssâ iṣabbat* "one who is not suitable to the throne will seize the throne". The expression implies that Surri was an upstart who did not belong to the main branch of the royal line. For reference, see *CAD* K, p. 591b; *AHw*, p. 119a; cf. Seux, *RlA* 6, pp. 151f.

[503] In the account, the scribe fluctuates between the first person (the king) and the third person (Dayyan-Ashur, the actual commander of the campaign). For this issue, see below, Appendix B. Kinalua is attested in Assyrian texts in different forms, such as Kinalia, Kullani(a), Kulnia etc. (*NAT*, pp. 206 and 213 [KINALUA, KULANIA]), and has been equated with biblical Calneh. See Hawkins, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 82ff.; idem, "Kinalua", *RlA* 5, pp. 597f.; N. Na'aman, *BASOR* 214 (1974), p. 37, n. 51.

Obviously, the Patin rebellion started when the anti-Assyrian party in Patin seized political power by assassinating Lubarna (II), a loyal vassal of Assyria.[504] As for the death of Surri, the rebel, it seems likely that when Assyrians surrounded the city, the pro-Assyrian party killed him and arrested his followers in order to hand them over to the Assyrians.[505]

Curiously enough, the new ruler was not from the royal house of Lubarna, as might have been expected, but a certain Sasi called "son of *Kuruṣṣā* (DUMU *Kur-uṣ-ṣa-a*)".[506] Presumably, the descendants of Lubarna had been killed by the rebels, so that no appropriate successor of his house remained. Sasi was apparently the leader of the pro-Assyrian party, which was responsible for the counter-rebellion.

The cause of the rebellion in Patin is unknown. Perhaps it was an internal problem, as the rebellion seems to have lacked support from any neighbouring state.[507] At this time Assyria held several military outposts in northern Syria, such as Aribua and Muru, not very far from the Patinean capital.[508] This situation must have prevented the north Syrian states from forming a regional anti-Assyrian alliance. At any rate, there is no clear indication of any decline in Assyrian control over Syria at this moment.

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[504] The deposed Lubarna was probably the successor of Qalparunda, who was on the Patinite throne in Years 2, 6, and 11 (857, 853, 848); see above (2.2, 5.2 and 8.2); he must thus be differentiated from his namesake known from the first regnal year of Shalmaneser (858); see above, 1.2, esp. p. 107.

[505] The expression used for the death of Surri, *mūt šīmti alāku*, as well as the similar expression *ana šīmti/šīmāti alāku*, is often used in the narrow sense of a natural death (cf. Olmstead, *JAOS* 41, p. 378), but it can apparently mean death in general, including a violent death (for references *CAD* M/II, pp. 318f., Š/III, pp. 16f.).

[506] *Kur-uṣ-ṣa-a* has been interpreted either as a toponym (i.e. indicating the origin of Sasi), e.g. the city *Kuruṣṣa* (Michel, *WO* 2, p. 227, n. 28), the land *Uṣṣa/Uzza* (Schiffer, *Die Aramäer*, p. 59, n. 1), the land *Kuruṣṣa* (Grayson, RIMA 3), or as the paternal name (Tallqvist, *APN*, p. 193 [*Uzza*]). Michel compares the name to the city of *Kuruṣṣa* attested in the inscription of Tiglath-pileser III (Tadmor, *ITP*, p. 83, Ann. 23:15') as a city in the district of Damascus (*op. cit.*); cf. Parpola, *NAT*, p. 219 (KURUṢṢĀ).

[507] Olmstead raised the possibility that the Urartian king Sarduri had defeated the Assyrians in the previous year and induced the people of Patin to rebel against Assyria (*JAOS* 41, p. 378). This suggestion seems difficult to accept after the full decipherment of the Calah Statue (Ann. 14); the text contains fragments of a detailed account of the Urartian campaign in the 27th *palû* (ll. 228'–267') and claims the defeat of Urartu, while reporting the concrete achievement of the Assyrians, i.e. Sarduri's flight to the mountain and the capture of his large citi(es).

[508] For Aribua, situated on the upper Orontes, which had already been taken by Ashurnasirpal II, see above Part I, 3. Muru, in the land of Bit-Agusi, was taken and transformed into an Assyrian outpost in the king's 26th or 27th year (833 or 832); for this, see above, Part II, 18.

The Patinean campaign was the last Assyrian military expedition to the lands west of the Euphrates during Shalmaneser's reign. In the following three years (Years 31–33, 828–826), Assyrian campaigns were directed to the northern and eastern fronts, against Ulluba/Habhu, Mannai and Parsua/Namri, respectively.[509] In Year 33, in which the last campaign took place, internal strife broke out in Assyria (see above, I.2). According to the Eponym Chronicles, this rebellion (*sihu*) continued until the fourth year of the succeeding king, Shamshi-Adad V (820).[510] The revolt, originating in the struggle for the succession to the throne, spread over most of Assyria, involving the western cities such as Huzirina, Amedu and Til-abne.[511] Although Shamshi-Adad V continued to hold the western territory of Assyria as far as Kar-Shalmaneser (Til-barsip) on the east bank of the Euphrates,[512] this disorder, at the end of Shalmaneser III's reign, must have released the states west of the Euphrates from immediate Assyrian pressure.

[509] Ann. 13, ll. 156b–190; Ann. 14, ll. 286'b–341'a (the 29th, 30th and 31st *palûs*); the first two military aims are also recorded in the Eponym Chronicle (Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 30 and 57 [B4, ll. 14'f.]; cf. above, Part I, 2).

[510] Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 30f. and 57.

[511] *I R* 29–34 = RIMA 3, A.0.103.1, i 39ff. Cf. Grayson, *CAH* III/1, pp. 268–270.

[512] Shamshi-Adad V refers to Kar-Shalmaneser as the border of his kingdom (*I R* 29–34 = RIMA 3, A.0.103.1, ii 7–9).

PART III

BOOTY, TRIBUTE AND OTHER ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION

One of the ultimate aims of Assyrian military expeditions was to gain valuable goods from the countries outside Assyria as booty and tribute. Such forcible acquisition of property from subjugated countries is attested in the royal inscriptions from the Middle Assyrian period onwards.[1] In the inscriptions from the eleventh to the beginning of the ninth centuries B.C. (i.e. those of Tiglath-pileser I, Ashur-bel-kala, Ashur-dan II, Adad-nerari II, and Tukulti-Ninurta II), we start finding occasional references to the composition of the booty and tribute which they carried off in the course of their campaigns. Systematic and detailed recording of booty and tribute, however, was first introduced in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II[2] as one of the primary topics in the accounts of his campaigns. The king very often recorded the items of booty and tribute for every reported campaign; they are arranged in a fixed order, the quantity of each item being occasionally given. This detailed recording of booty and tribute was adopted and standardized by the scribe(s) of Shalmaneser III.[3] Furthermore, some iconographic sources on booty and tribute have

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[1] The fundamental studies on booty and tribute in the Assyrian empire are as follows: W.J. Martin, *Tribut und Tributleistungen bei den Assyrern* (the terminology and concept of tribute); N.B. Jankowska, "Some Problems", pp. 253–276 (the provenance of the commodities taken); M. Elat, *Economic Relations*, pp. 15–97, 227–254 (typology, the structure of the booty and tribute lists, the provenance of commodities, the impact of tribute and booty on the Near Eastern economy); idem, in *AfO* Beiheft 19, pp. 244–251 (the impact on the Assyrian economy); J.N. Postgate, *Taxation* (the terminology and concept of tribute); M. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 155–162 with figs. 21–29 (typology, the provenance of commodities; specifically for the data in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II); J. Bär, *Tribut* (the iconographic evidence on tribute).

[2] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1.

[3] For a general review of booty and tribute lists in the Assyrian royal inscriptions, see Elat, *Economic Relations*, pp. 15–28. The references to tribute (without booty) in the Assyrian inscriptions (from Ashurnasirpal II to Ashurbanipal) have been assembled by J. Bär (*Tribut*, pp. 29–56), though very incompletely (the epigraphs on reliefs are treated separately in pp. 57ff.). As for Shalmaneser III, our own comprehensive lists of tribute and booty are given below (Tables 5, 6 and 7).

survived on Shalmaneser's monuments to supplement the inscriptional evidence. In this section, these pieces of evidence will be investigated and the economic aspects of Shalmaneser's campaigns will be discussed, as well as several other issues relating to the same group of sources.

1. *Booty*

Fifty-two occasions when booty was taken during Shalmaneser's expeditions are attested in his inscriptions, as arranged in chronological order in Table 5 (below, following 1.4).[4] These can be divided into three categories, according to circumstances: (1) booty taken from cities after their conquest (Incidents 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 32, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 46, 51, 52); (2) booty taken after battles in the open field (Incidents 4, 5, 19, 26, 28, 31, 35, 37, 48); (3) booty taken after the pursuit of enemies (Incidents 2, 11, 15, 16, 29, 43, 47, 50).[5] As will be demonstrated below, in each of these categories, distinct sorts of goods were gained, and characteristic verbal expressions were used to describe the spoiling.[6]

1.1. *Booty Taken from Cities after Their Conquest*

Most references to booty-taking belong to this category. This sort of booty consists of every type of valuable goods, as well as domestic animals and people, sometimes including the members of the royal family and palace women.

In two cases, we are explicitly informed of the plundering of the palace treasuries. The first case is Sahlala and Til-(sha-)turahi, the

[4] In addition, ten scenes of Assyrian booty-taking are depicted on the reliefs of the Balawat Bronze Gate. Most of them may be associated with a specific historical incident known from the Annals. For more details, see below, Part III, 3, with Table 7.

[5] Similar categories have been proposed by M. Liverani for the cases of booty-taking mentioned in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, i.e. "booty after plunder", "booty after siege" and "booty after battle" (*SAATA*, p. 155).

[6] One incident, where the plundering is reported only as a result of the conquest of an extensive region (Incident 30), cannot be assigned with certainty to any of the three categories.

cities of Giammu, prince of the Balih region (Incident 17).[7] Annals 3, ii 81 reads:

> *nakkamtēšu lū apti niṣirtušu lū āmur makkūršu bušâšu ašlula ana ālīya Aššur ubla*
>
> I opened his treasure house, saw his treasure; I took his goods and property, (and) brought (them) to my city Ashur.

The other case is the sack of the palaces of Marduk-mudammiq, king of Namri, in his fortified cities (Incident 36: Ann. 5, iv 18–21a):

> *miše' ta ina ekallātīšu aškun ilāni makkūršu bušâšu sekrēti* (MUNUS.ÉRIN.MEŠ) *ekallātīšu sīsê ṣimdat nīrīšu ana lā manî ašlula*
>
> I plundered his palaces, took (the statues of) the gods, his property, goods, palace women, his horses broken to the yoke without number.

In some other cases too (Incidents 14, 18, 34 and 45), the palace property (*makkūr ekalli*) is mentioned, although the plunder of palaces is not explicitly narrated. In this sort of plundering, the Assyrians must have seized vast amounts of valuable items which had been gathered and stocked in local administrative centres. Thus, the economic impact of such a raid must have been especially great, like that of the tribute of surrender, which will be discussed later (2.1).

The standard verb used for the booty-taking, especially for that following the conquest of cities and lands, is *šalālu* "to plunder, to take (as booty)". In many cases, the description is restricted to the phrase *šallata šalālu* "to take booty", without enumerating the specific items taken. In such cases, the term *šallatu* appears to be used in the general sense of "booty". However, when the same term appears in association with a number, it must refer specifically to human booty, e.g. the 4,600/14,600 captives (*šallatu*) taken from the cities of Patin (Incident 6) or the 3,000 captives from the city of Shilaya in the land of Hubushkia (Incident 12); note also the use of *ummānāte* (ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ), instead of *šallatu* for the 17,500/22,000 deportees of Bit-Adini (Incident 14). All these cases of large-scale deportation are a result of the reduction of large cities, as expected. The cases in which *šallatu* appears without an associated number, but introduces a list of other objects such as goods, property, oxen, sheep,

[7] It seems that the cities were then annexed to an Assyrian province (see above, Part II, 5.2).

horses, etc. are problematic (Incidents 5, 6, 10, 11, 12, 18, 24, 29, 43, 47 and 51).[8] In such cases, it is difficult to determine whether the term specifically designates "human booty, captives", differentiated from other, non-human items (the likelier possibility), or whether it is a generic term for booty, functioning as the heading of the following items.[9]

Other verbs are rarely used to express the taking of booty and/or captives from the conquered cities: *leqû* "to take" (Incident 10), *târu*-D "to bring back" (Incident 14),[10] *waṣû*-Š "to bring out" (Incident 18), *našû* "to carry (away)" (Incident 17), *nasāhu* "to remove from" (Incidents 14 and 45; the object being mainly people), *wabālu* "to transport" (Incidents 14 and 45 [to the city of Ashur]; mostly used in combination with other verbs [*târu*-D, *nasāhu*]).

1.2. *Booty Taken after Battles*

The booty taken after battles is always enumerated. It consists almost exclusively of military equipment, such as chariots, horses harnessed to the yoke, cavalry, weapons and camps.[11] The usual verb which Shalmaneser's historiographer(s) employed for the taking of booty after open battles is *ekēmu* "to take away (by force)".[12]

1.3. *Booty Taken after the Pursuit of Enemies*

It is often related that the enemies fled to a mountain, pursued by the Assyrian army. In such cases, we find a distinctive description, in which the verbs *târu*-D "to bring back" or *(w)arādu*-Š "to bring

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[8] Such cases are also found in the lists of booty from the other two categories. See below, Part III, 1.2–3.

[9] Cf. B. Oded, *Mass Deportations*, p. 7, for this terminological problem in general. For the same problem specifically in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, see E. Badali (*et al.*), *Vicino Oriente* 5 (1982), p. 34.

[10] *târu*-D is apparently used to express the carrying down of the booty from the mountain fortress of Shitamrat to the plain. Cf. below, 1.3, for the taking of booty after the mountain pursuit.

[11] The only exception is the *šallatu kabittu* in Table 5, Incident 5, which may indicate captives (see above, 1.1). However, this case reports the result of both the battle and the subsequent conquest of the city of Alimush. Therefore, it may be counted twice, once in the present category and once in the category of booty taken from cities (see above, Part III, 1).

[12] The only exception is *šalālu*, again in Incident 5 (see the preceding note).

down" are used to describe the transportation of the booty from the mountain down to the plain (Incidents 2, 11, 15, 29, 43, 47, 50, though in Incident 11 *ekēmu* is also used). An exceptional case is the booty taken after pursuing the enemy into the sea (Incident 16), where the verb *šalālu* is used. The main items taken are captives (with the ambiguous word *šallatu*, see above, 1.1), domestic animals and property (Incidents 2, 29, 43, 47, 50), as well as military equipment (chariots, horses, cavalry, weapons, and pack animals); military equipment was usually recorded in cases where the enemy king retreated with a part of his army intact (Incidents 2, 11).[13]

1.4. *The Amount of Booty*

The data available for the booty taken by Shalmaneser are obviously incomplete. In many cases, no plundering is reported after the destruction of cities and settlements, although booty was presumably taken. Furthermore, we can safely assume that some of the towns which were actually looted were not mentioned at all in the Annals, especially when the text includes only a brief, abridged narrative. Most regrettable is the fact that the numerical details of the booty from specific incidents are only rarely noted, i.e. the above-mentioned cases (1.1) of the captives taken from Patin (4,600/14,600 [Incident 6]),[14] Hubushkia (3,000 [Incident 12]), Bit-Adini (17,500/22,000 [Incident 14]), and the 1,121 chariots and 470 cavalry of Aram-Damascus (Incident 37). Otherwise, we find sum totals of the loot from one or several campaigns. Annals 1, r. 46 gives the sum total of people taken from the land of Hatti in the campaign of Year 1 as 22,000. Annals 4, ii 3 and Summary Inscription 6, ll. 25f. record 44,400 and 87,500, respectively, as the sum total of the captives deported from the land of Hatti, though it is unclear how many years this covers.[15] Another significant piece of evidence is the statement of Annals 7, iv 34–40, recording the sum total of "the loot

[13] Note also the mention of the royal treasure (*niṣirti šarri*) in Incident 11.

[14] 4,600 must be taken as authentic, rather than 14,600 (see above, Part II, 1.1 [p. 82]).

[15] The numbers are perhaps to be understood as the sum total of deportees taken during the period from the beginning of the king's reign until the time of the composition of the text, i.e. the ninth and 13th regnal years, respectively (see above, Part II, 1.1).

from the accession year to the 20th regnal year (*hubtu ša ištu rēš šarrūtīya adi* 20 *palêya*)": "110,610 captives (*šallutu* [sic, NA form]), 82,600 killed (*dīktu*), 9,920 horses and mules (*sīsê kūdinī*), 35,565 oxen (*alpē*), 19,690 donkeys (*imērē*), and 184,755 sheep (*immerē*)".

Table 5: *Booty-Taking in Shalmaneser III's Campaigns in Chronological Order*

"Contents" lists first the items of booty, and then the verbal expression used.

ACCESSION YEAR

1) **Place and context:** at the city of Aridi, after its siege and conquest (Ann. 1, obv. 21; Ann. 3, i 16; Ann. 5, i 30).
   Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*
2) **Place and context:** in mountains near the city of Hubushkia, after the pursuit of Kakia, king of Nairi, and his army (A: Ann. 1, obv. 32f.; Ann. 3, i 22f.; B: Ann. 2, ll. 26f.; C: Ann. 5, i 37f.).
   Contents: A: chariots, troops, horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *utēra.*[16]
   B: chariots, troops; . . . *utēra.*
   C: property (*makkūru*); . . . *ušērida.*
3) **Place and context:** at the city of Sugunia, after its siege and conquest (Ann. 1, obv. 36; Ann. 2, l. 31; Ann. 3, i 25; cf. also Table 7, Incidents a, b and c).
   Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

(Summ. 6, l. 15 reports the incidents 1, 2 and 3 together, after the conquest of Aridu, Hubushkia and Sugunia; *šallassu ašlula*).

YEAR 1

4) **Place and context:** at the city of Lutibu (in Sam'al), after the battle with the north Syrian states (Ann. 1, r. 18f.; Ann. 2, l. 61'; Ann. 3, i 47f.).
   Contents: chariots, horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *ēkimšu.*
5) **Place and context:** at the city of Alimush (in Patin), after the battle with the north Syrian states and the conquest of Alimush (Ann. 1, r. 30f.; Ann. 2, l. 70' [fragmentary]; Ann. 3, ii 2f.).
   Contents: heavy booty (*šallassunu kabittu*), chariots, horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *ašlula.*
6) **Place and context:** at the cities of Taya, Hazazu (Nulia and Butamu [only in Ann. 3]) (in Patin), after their destruction (A: Ann. 1, r. 42; B: Ann. 3, ii 11; cf. Table 7, Incident e).
   Contents: A: 4,600 captives (*šallassunu*); . . . *ašlula.*
   B: 14,600 captives (*šallassunu*); . . . *ašlula.*

[16] An ellipsis represents the items of booty enumerated.

YEAR 2

7) **Place and context:** A: at the six fortified cities of Bit-Adini, after their conquest (Ann. 3, ii 18; cf. also Table 7, Incident f); B: at [. . .]ra, a city of Bit-Adini (Ann. 2, l. 88' [fragmentary]).[17]
Contents: A: item unrecorded; *šallassunu ašlula.*
B: the royal [. . .] and military equipment ([. . .] ⌜*šarrūti unūt tāhāzīšu*⌝); . . . *ašlula.*

8) **Place and context:** at the city of Sazabe (in Carchemish), after its conquest (Ann. 3, ii 20).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassunu ašlula.*

YEAR 3

9) **Place and context:** in the land of Enzite, after the conquest of cities (Ann. 3, ii 43f.).
Contents: captives (*šallassunu*), goods and property; . . . *ašlula.*

10) **Place and context:** at the land of Dayeni, after the conquest of cities (Ann. 3, ii 47).
Contents: captives (*šallassunu*), goods and property; . . . *alqâ.*

11) **Place and context:** at Mt. Adduri near the city of Arzashkun, after the pursuit of Arame, king of Urartu (A: Ann. 3, ii 50f.; B: Ann. 4, iii 2; C: Ann. 5, i 68; D: Summ. 6, l. 41; cf. also Table 7, Incidents b and c).
Contents: A: army camp (*ušmānu*), chariots, cavalry, horses, mules (*parî*), donkeys (*agālī*), property, captives, goods; . . . *ēkimšu . . . ištu qereb šadê utēra.*
B: military equipment (*unūt tāhāzi*), royal treasure (*niṣirti šarrūti*), cavalry; . . . *ēkimšu.*
C: cavalry, military equipment; . . . *ēkimšu.*
D: chariots, horses, mules, donkeys, military equipment, royal treasure, camp; . . . *ēkimšu.*

12) **Place and context:** at the fortified city of Shilaya (in Hubushkia) after its conquest (Ann. 3, ii 64f.).
Contents: 3,000 captives (*šallassunu*), oxen, sheep, horses, mules and donkeys; . . . *ašlula ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*

13) **Place and context:** at the royal city of Arzashkun (in Urartu) after its conquest (Ann. 5, i 72).
Contents: property and goods; . . . *ušēṣia.*

YEAR 4

14) **Place and context:** at the mountain fortress of Shitamrat, after the subjugation of Ahuni, king of Bit-Adini (A: Ann. 3, ii 74; B: Ann. 4, iii 5–6; C: Ann. 5, ii 7–9 // Ann. 7, ii 3–6; D: Ann. 13, ll. 48–50; E: Ann. 14, ll. 22–24; F: Summ. 6, ll. 26–28; G: Summ. 2, l. 18; H: Summ. 8, ll. 6–7; I: Summ. 19, i 10–13; J: Summ. 9, ll. 20f.).

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[17] The fragmentary city name should perhaps be restored as [Til-bashe]ra See above, Part II, 2.1 (n. 121).

Contents: A: Ahuni himself, troops (ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ), chariots, cavalry, palace property (*makkūr ekalli*); . . . *ana pānīya utēra* . . . *ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*
B: 17,500 troops (ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ), Ahuni, gods, chariots, horses; . . . *assuha* . . . *ana pānīya utēra ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*
C: Ahuni himself, gods, chariots, horses, 22,000 people; . . . *assuhaššu* . . . *ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*
D: Ahuni himself, gods, chariots, horses, Ahuni's sons and daughters, people; . . . *assuhaššu* . . . *ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*
E: Ahuni himself, gods, chariots, horses, Ahuni's sons and daughters, 22,000 troops; . . . *assuhaššu* . . . *ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*
F: Ahuni himself, troops, gods, chariots, horses; . . . *assuhaššu ana nišēya amnūšu.*
G: people;[18] . . . *assuhaššunu* . . . *ana nišē mātīya amnūšunu.*
H: Ahuni, troops, gods; . . . *assuha ana nišē mātīya amnūšu.*
I: Ahuni himself, gods, "troops, horses(?) (ÉRIN.HI<A>-*šú* KUR-*šú*)",[19] pa[lace] property; . . . [*as*]*suh*[*a*(-*šu*)] *ana nišē mātīya a*[*m*]*nūšu.*
J: Ahuni, troops, gods, palace property; *assuha ana nišē mātīya amnūšu.*

15) **Place and context:** at a mountain when pursuing Anare of the land of Bunisa and Niqdera of the land of Ida (Summ. 6, l. 43).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassunu ištu šadê utēra.*

16) **Place and context:** at sea, when pursuing the army of Anare of the land of Bunisa and Niqdira of the land of Ida (Summ. 6, l. 43 mentions both Anare and Niqdira; Ann. 5, ii 15 only the latter).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassunu ištu tâmāti ašlula.*

YEAR 6

17) **Place and context:** in the Balih region, after the subjugation of the cities of Sahlala and Til-(sha-)turahi (A: Ann. 3, ii 81; B: Ann. 14, ll. 29f.).
Contents: A: property and goods (from treasuries); . . . *ašlula.*
B: palace personnel (ÉRIN.MEŠ É.GAL-*šú*); . . . *aššâ.*

18) **Place and context:** in the land of Hamath after the conquest of the cities of Adennu, Parga, and Argana (Ann. 3, ii 88f.).
Contents: captives (*šallassu*), goods and palace property (*makkūr ekalli*); . . . *ušēṣâ.*

19) **Place and context:** in the battle with the central Syrian coalition near Qarqar (A: Ann. 3, ii 101f.; B: Ann. 5, ii 31f. // Ann. 6, ll. 74f.; C: Ann. 14, ll. 35f.; cf. also Table 7, Incident m).

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[18] The object is absent in the pertinent sentence, but the people of Ahuni is implied.

[19] Grayson, RIMA 3, p. 118, note on i 12.

Contents: A: chariots, cavalry, horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *ēkimšunu.*
B and C: chariots, cavalry, military equipment (*unūt tāhāzi*); . . . *ēkimšunu.*

YEAR 8

20) **Place and context:** at the city of Meturnat after its conquest (Ann. 4, iv 3).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

YEAR 9

21) **Place and context:** at the city of Lahiri after its conquest (Ann. 4, iv 6).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

22) **Place and context:** at the city of Gannanate, after its conquest (Ann. 4, v 2).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

23) **Place and context:** at the city of Arman, after its conquest (Ann. 4, v 2–3).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

24) **Place and context:** at the city of Baqani (in Bit-Dakkuri), after its conquest (Ann. 4, vi 6; cf. also Table 7, Incident s).
Contents: heavy booty/captives (*šallassunu kabittu*), oxen and sheep; . . . *ašlula.*

YEAR 10

25) **Place and context:** in the land of Bit-Agusi, after the conquest and destruction of cities including Arne, the royal city (Ann. 5, ii 60 // Ann. 6, l. 87; cf. also Table 7, Incident p).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

26) **Place and context:** in the land of Hamath, after the battle with the central Syrian coalition (Ann. 5, ii 65f. // Ann. 6, l. 89).
Contents: chariots, cavalry, military equipment; . . . *ēkimšunu.*

YEAR 11

27) **Place and context:** at the city of Ashtammaku (in Hamath), after its conquest with towns in its environs (Ann. 5, iii 2f. // Ann. 6, l. 92; cf. also Table 7, Incident q).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

28) **Place and context:** in the land of Hamath, after the battle with the central Syrian coalition (A: Ann. 5, iii 9f. // Ann. 6, l. 94; B: Summ. 5, r. 2–4 [ambiguous context]).
Contents: A: chariots, cavalry, military equipment; . . . *ēkimšunu.*
B: chariots, cavalry; . . . *ēkimšunu.*

YEAR 12

29) **Place and context:** in the land of Paqarhubuni, after pursuing the people of that land into the mountains (A: Ann. 5, iii 19f. // Ann. 6, l. 98; B: Ann. 7, iii 9f. // Ann. 14, l. 84'; C: Ann. 13, l. 90).

Contents: A and B: booty/captives (*šallassunu*), goods (NÍG.ŠU); . . . *ušērida.*
C: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

YEAR 13

30) **Place and context:** in the land of Matyatu, after its conquest (Ann. 5, iii 23; Ann. 6, l. 99; Ann. 7, iii 13; Ann. 13, l. 91; Ann. 14, l. 87'). **Contents:** items unrecorded; *šallassu ana lā manê ašlula.*

YEAR 14

31) **Place and context:** in the land of Hamath, after the battle with the central Syrian coalition (Ann. 5, iii 31–33 // Ann. 6, l. 102; Ann. 7, iii 23f.; fragmentarily in Ann. 14, ll. 94'f., Summ. 7a, ll. 23f. and Summ. 7b, ll. 16f.).
Contents: chariots, cavalry, military equipment; (. . . *aṣṣe'* [< *naṣû*, only in Ann. 5]) . . . *ēkimšunu.*

YEAR 15

32) **Place and context:** in the land of Suhni, after its conquest (Ann. 5, iii 49).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

33) **Place and context:** in the land of Enzi, after the conquest of two cities (Ann. 5, iii 53).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

YEAR 16

34) **Place and context:** at Shurdira, the fortified city of Yanziburiash, king of Allabria, after its conquest (Ann. 5, iv 1f.).
Contents: door(s) of gold (*dalat hurāṣi*), palace women (*sekrēt ekallāti*), palace property (*makkūr ekalli*); . . . *ašlula.*

35) **Place and context:** on the bank of the Namrite river, after the battle with Marduk-mudammiq, king of Namri (Ann. 5, iv 12).
Contents: cavalry; . . . *ēkimšu.*

36) **Place and context:** at Shumurza, Bit-Nergal and Niqqu, the fortified cities of Marduk-mudammiq, king of Namri, after his abandonment of these cities (A: Ann. 5, iv 18–21; B: Ann. 13, l. 95; cf. the booty inscription from Namri = Misc. 3).
Contents: A: (plundering his palaces) gods, property and goods, palace women, horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *ašlula.*
B: property, people, gods; . . . *ana māt Aššur ubla.*

YEAR 18

37) **Place and context:** in the territory of Aram-Damascus, after the battle with Hazael, king of Damascus (A: Ann. 6, ll. 50–52 // Ann. 7, iii 52–iv 1 // Ann. 9, l. 24 // Ann. 13, ll. 98f. // Ann. 14, ll. 127'f. [fragmentary]; B: Summ. 19, i 31 and a fragmentary passage in Summ. 16, right side, ll. 6'f.).
Contents: A: 1,121 chariots, 470 cavalry, camp (*ušmānu*); . . . *ēkimšu.*
B: a wall of the camp (*dūr ušmāni*); . . . *ēkimšu.*

38) **Place and context:** after the destruction of towns in Hauran region (Ann. 7, iv 7; Ann. 9, l. 28).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu (ana lā manî) ašlula.*

YEAR 20

39) **Place and context:** in the land of Que, after the conquest of the fortified cities of Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni (Ann. 7, iv 30; Ann. 13, l. 102; Ann. 9, l. 34; Ann. 14, l. 148').
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu (ana lā manî) ašlula.*

YEAR 21/22 (= *palû* 21)

40) **Place and context:** at the fortified cities of Hazael, king of Damascus, including Danabu and Malaha, after their conquest (Ann. 14, ll. 158'f.; cf. the stone cylinder from Malaha = Misc. 2).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu [ašlula].*

YEAR 24 (= *palû* 23)

41) **Place and context:** at Uetash, a fortified city in Melid, after its conquest (Ann. 14, l. 186').
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu [ašlula].*

YEAR 25 (= *palû* 24)

42) **Place and context:** at Sihishalah, Bit-Tamul, Bit-Shakki and Bit-Shedi, the fortified cities of Yanzu, king of Namri, after their conquest (Ann. 13, l. 116).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

43) **Place and context:** at the mountains in the land of Namri, after the pursuit and defeat of the army of Namri in the mountains (Ann. 13, ll. 118f.).
Contents: booty/captives (*šallassunu*) and goods; . . . *ušērida.*

44) **Place and context:** at the cities of Kuakinda, Hazzanabi, Esamul and Kinablila after their conquest with villages in their environs (Ann. 13, l. 124).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

45) **Place and context:** after the capture of the cities of Yanzu, king of Namri/Bit-Hamban (A: Ann. 13, ll. 125f.; B: Summ. 19, iii 1–2).
Contents: A: Yanzu, king of Bit-Hamban, his property, gods, sons, daughters, people; . . . *assuha ana māt Aššur ubla.*
B: Yanzu, king of Namri, gods, captives from his land (*šallat mātīšu*), palace property (*m[ak]kūr ekallī*); . . . *ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*

YEAR 26/27 (= *palû* 25)

46) **Place and context:** at Timur, the fortified city of Kate, king of Que, after its conquest (Ann. 13, l. 129).
Contents: items unrecorded; *šallassu ašlula.*

YEAR 28 (= *palû* 26)

47) **Place and context:** at mountains near the land of Lamena(sh) (in Que), after the pursuit of the inhabitants into the mountains (Ann. 13, l. 137).
Contents: booty/captives (*šallassunu*), oxen and sheep; . . . *ušērida.*

48) **Place and context:** in Urartu, after the battle with Sarduri (I), king of Urartu (Ann. 14, ll. 236'f.).
Contents: cavalry, military equipment (*unūt tāhāzi*); . . . *ēkimšu.*
49) **Place and context:** in Urartu (Ann. 14, ll. 260'f. [broken context]).
Contents: chariots ([GIŠ].ˀGIGIR(?)ˀ[. . .]), property; verb broken.

YEAR 32 (= *palû* 30)
50) **Place and context:** in the land of Mannai, after pursuing Udaki, leader of Mannai (Ann. 13, l. 167; Ann. 14, l. 305').
Contents: oxen, sheep, goods; . . . *utēra.*
51) **Place and context:** in the land of Parsua, after the conquest of cities in the land (Ann. 13, l. 174, Ann. 14, l. 320').
Contents: booty/captives (*šallassunu*), goods; . . . *ana māt Aššur ubla.*

YEAR 33 (= *palû* 31)
52) **Place and context:** at Pushtu, Shalahamanu, Kinihamanu, fortified cities in the land of Parsua after their conquest (Ann. 13, l. 187; Ann. 14, l. 337').
Contents: items unrecorded: *šallassunu ašlula.*

2. *Tribute*

Like his father, Shalmaneser bore the title *māhir bilti u igisê ša kalîšina/kalîš kibrāte* "one who receives the tribute (and) gifts of the entire world" (Ann. 5, i 17; Ann. 6, ll. 12f.; Summ. 6, ll. 5f.; Summ. 9, l. 7).[20] This self-definition is authenticated by the 56 incidents of tribute received or imposed in the course of his campaigns. These are chronologically arranged in Table 6 (following 2.2). In addition, 16 scenes of tribute-bearing are represented on the reliefs of his monuments; many of them may be associated with specific incidents recorded in the historical inscriptions (this evidence is treated separately in Part III, 3 [with Table 7]).

As is generally recognized, the tribute mentioned in the historical texts can be divided into two categories: (1) the tribute received by the king (or his representative) at a particular place or spot in the course of a campaign, henceforth referred to as "spot tribute"; (2) the tribute imposed on local rulers, to be delivered annually to the Assyrian capital, i.e. "annual tribute".[21]

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[20] Cf. M.-J. Seux, *Epithètes*, pp. 155f. The same title is also found on l. 6 of the inscription engraved on the under surface of the eastern block of the Calah Throne Base (see Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 6 [p. 32, n. 67]).

[21] M. Elat, treating the evidence of the Assyrian empire as a whole, categorised

2.1. *Spot Tribute*

The great majority of references to tribute received by Shalmaneser fall into this category. They are usually formulated in one of the following ways: (1) *maddattu ša* PN/GN . . . *amhur* "I received X (as) the tribute of PN/GNŠ; (2) *maddattašu(nu) amhur* "I received his/their tribute (without enumerating commodities)"; (3) . . . *amhur/attahar* (with suffix *-šu/-šunūti*) "I received X (from him/them)". Apart from the common term *maddattu* for "gift, tribute", other terms are occasionally attested: *biltu* (Incident 23+24, G), *biltu maddattu* (in hendiadys; Incident 26), *igisû* (Incidents 39, 38+39). It seems, however, that in these specific cases, all the terms are used merely as literary variants for *maddattu*, without representing distinct sorts of tribute.[22]

Two different situations for tribute-bearing at a particular spot may be distinguished. The first is when a local ruler offers tribute as a sign of his subjugation directly following a military or political confrontation. This type of tribute can be defined as "tribute of surrender" or "subjugation gifts". The second situation is when tribute is offered by a local ruler without any immediately preceding struggle, in order to display his loyalty to the Assyrian overlord. This sort of tribute may be called "audience gifts".[23] It may be assumed that

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tribute into two sorts: "tribute of surrender" and "annual tribute" (*AfO Beiheft* 19, pp. 245 and 249, n. 9); the former corresponds to my "spot tribute". I prefer the term "spot tribute" to "tribute of surrender", since tribute of this category was sometimes offered in order to confirm the relationship already established between Assyria and a vassal, and not as the direct result of surrender; such tribute must have been quantitatively less than the tribute paid immediately following surrender. Thus, as will be discussed below, I perceive two sub-categories of "spot tribute"; one is indeed "tribute of surrender" and the other "audience gifts". M. Liverani differentiated three sorts of tribute in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, i.e. "tribute on the spot", "tribute from afar" and "periodical tribute" (*SAATA*, pp. 155f.); the last type is the exact counterpart of my "annual tribute". Liverani distinguished between the first two sorts of tribute on terminological grounds: *maddatta mahāru* vs. *maddatta wabālu* (though also pointing out some differences in their contents). However, such a division is not applicable to the Shalmaneser corpus, since *mahāru* is used for both cases (see below). Nor can any clear difference be observed between these two categories with regard to the contents of the tribute. Thus, I define the term "spot tribute" as including Liverani's "tribute on the spot" as well as his "tribute from afar".

[22] Cf. also the above-mentioned royal title, *māhir bilti u igisê* etc. (above, Part III, 2), in which *biltu* and *igisû* appear to be in hendiadys, signifying "tribute" in a general sense.

[23] This apparently corresponds to the moderate amount of *nāmurtu*-gifts gathered by Tukulti-Ninurta II in the Middle Euphrates region (RIMA 2, A.0.100.5, esp. ll. 69–73, 76–79, 85–89, 90–94, 98–103, 105–107, 109–111). At some time in

the monetary value of "tribute of surrender" was higher than that of "audience gifts" (see below), but the available data are too sparse to prove the quantitative and qualitative difference between the two. Moreover, it is not always possible to classify the cases clearly in one of these two sub-categories. "Audience gifts" can be regarded as tribute offered under the threat of potential Assyrian aggression; hence, it was a kind of "tribute of surrender". In practice, the evidence in Shalmaneser's inscriptions is often too general to allow an exact definition of a given case of tribute as "tribute of surrender" or "audience gifts".

The items of "spot tribute" are not consistently recorded for all the incidents. As expected, the more detailed the campaign account, the more elaborately described are the contents of the tribute. Thus, in the detailed account of the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3), the items of tribute are carefully recorded in numerous incidents from the accession year up to and including Year 6 (Incidents 1–6, 8–12, 14–17, 19–21); this is further supplemented by the other detailed texts of the One Year Annals (Ann. 1) and the Two Year Annals (Ann. 2). The Balawat Gate Inscription (Ann. 4), which places special emphasis on the two Babylonian campaigns in Years 8 and 9, contains detailed lists of the items of tribute received in the course of the latter campaign (Incidents 23 and 24). The 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5) and the Bull Inscription (Ann. 6) offer short lists of items for some cases of tribute-bearing (Incidents 23+24, 25, 26, 27). Subsequent versions of the Annals, which include a comparatively short account for each campaign, are not usually informative about the items of tribute. The 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7), although recording some cases of tribute-bearing, offer no information about the commodities received. The Black Obelisk (Ann. 13) and the Calah Statue (Ann. 14) generally follow this pattern, but occasionally mention the items of tribute received in the later years, i.e. from the 28th to the 33rd years (Incidents 46, 47, 49, 52, 56). The sparse

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Neo-Assyrian history, perhaps later than the reign of Shalmaneser III, the *nāmurtu*-gift was standardized as a fixed tribute and, rather than being paid on the occasion of the campaigns of the Assyrian monarch, was brought annually to the Assyrian capital, together with another fixed tribute called *maddattu*. For the evidence for, and a discussion of the term *nāmurtu*, see Postgate, *Taxation*, pp. 146–162. In Shalmaneser's inscriptions, however, all the attested terms for tribute (*biltu, maddattu, igisû*) seem to be used only in a generic sense, without representing any administratively distinct type of tax or tribute, as noted above.

data offered by the summary inscriptions do not significantly change this picture. In sum, it is especially notable that the items of tribute are recorded in detail in the first years, up to and including Year 6; in contrast, we are completely ignorant of the items of tribute received from Year 16 to Year 27.

Tribute was largely composed of goods of high value (i.e. metals, special textiles, ivory, precious wood, etc.) and livestock, which were essentially of low value but were easily transported in large numbers.[24]

The economic impact of "spot tribute", more specifically that offered as a sign of surrender, is perceptible in the exceptionally informative lists of the tribute from four Syrian kings—Qalparunda of Patin, Hayanu of Sam'al, Arame of Bit-Agusi, and Sangara of Carchemish (Incidents 9–12); the lists record not only the items but also their quantities.[25] The tribute of the highest value was delivered by Qalparunda of Patin (Incident 9). It contained a remarkably large amount of precious metals: 3 talents (90 kg) of gold, 100 talents (3,000 kg) of silver, 300 talents (9,000 kg) of bronze and 300 talents (9,000 kg) of iron.[26] The sum total of the precious metals in the spot tribute from the four rulers was: 5 talents and 10 minas (155 kg) of gold, 186 talents (5,580 kg) of silver, 360 talents (10,800 kg) of bronze and 430 talents (12,900 kg) of iron. It appears that such a vast quantity of valuable goods was paid only once, as the result of formal surrender; the "audience gift" repeatedly paid by the Syrian kings in the following years (Incidents 15, 20, 25, 29, 31, 33, 36, 41?, 45) must have been composed of more moderate amounts of precious metals, though its contents are unrecorded.

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[24] So M. Liverani, with regard to the tribute received by Ashurnasirpal II (*SAATA*, pp. 155f.).

[25] A detailed analysis of these lists, as well as those of the annual tribute given in the same context (see below, Part III, 2.2), was made by J. Peñuela (*Sefarad* 9 [1949], pp. 12–25); cf. also I.J. Winter, *AnSt* 33 (1983), pp. 187f. For the historical circumstances of this tribute-bearing, see above, Part II, 2.2.

[26] It is usually accepted that one talent is equivalent to c. 30 kg, but the heavy standard of c. 60 kg is also known. See M.A. Powell, "Mass und Gewichte", *RlA* 7, p. 510, and F.M. Fales, *SAAB* 10 (1996), pp. 12ff. The Carchemishite tribute was next in quantity to that of Patin. On the basis of the quantities given, especially of the precious metals, we may assume that the economic power of Patin and Carchemish was, roughly speaking, about ten times greater than that of Bit-Agusi and Sam'al.

2.2. *Annual Tribute*

"Annual tribute" is attested in only eight cases (Table 6, Incidents 3, 9, 10, 12, 13, 18, 42? and 52).[27] The standard terminology is: . . . . . (*biltu*) *maddattu ina muhhīšu/elīšu aškun/ukīn/ēmid* "I imposed X as (tax and) tribute upon him", and this is occasionally followed by *šattišamma* (*ina ālīya Aššur*) *amhur* "I received (it) annually (at my city Ashur)". This full formula explicitly indicates that the tribute was fixed on a yearly basis and had to be delivered to the Assyrian capital.[28]

The reason for the comparative rarity of references to "annual tribute" is that this sort of tribute is mentioned almost exclusively when it was imposed for the first time, whereas its subsequent annual delivery is not recorded.[29] "Annual tribute" is said to have been imposed on Patin (Incident 9), Sam'al (Incident 10), Carchemish (Incident 12), Kummuh (Incident 13), Enzi, Dayeni, Suhme, Urartu, Gilzanu (Incident 18), Hubushkia (Incidents 3 and 18) and Harna (Incident 52)—all outside the zone where Ashurnasirpal II imposed "annual tribute".[30] Limiting our scope to the west, it may be assumed that other countries subjugated by Shalmaneser III, such as Bit-Agusi, Gurgum, Hamath, Tabal, Melid and Que, also paid "annual tribute", though this is not explicitly stated in his inscriptions.[31]

The "annual tribute" imposed on Patin, Sam'al, Carchemish and Kummuh in Year 2 (Incidents 9, 10, 12, and 13) is especially informative, as both the items and quantities are recorded. Moreover, in the first three cases, the contents of the "annual tribute" are reported alongside those of the "tribute of surrender" from the same countries (discussed above, 2.1).[32] This provides us with an ideal opportunity to compare the nature of the tribute in these categories. As

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[27] Another case to be noted is the dispatch by Kate, king of Que, of his daughter and her dowry to Calah (Summ. 19, iii 7f. = Table 6, Incident 32 [B]). This may have been accompanied by the annual tribute, although it is not explicitly mentioned. For the assignment of this undated incident to Year 20 (839), see above, Part II, 14.2.

[28] For the place of receipt of tribute, see below, Part III, 4., esp. n. 73.

[29] The increase of the amounts of "annual tribute", occasionally mentioned in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, 0.101.1, ii 10f., 78f., 90f., iii 47f.), is never referred to in Shalmaneser's inscriptions.

[30] For the situation in the time of Ashurnasirpal II, see Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 111–115 and Fig. 13.

[31] See above, Part II, 2.2 (Bit-Agusi and Gurgum), 10.2 (Hamath), 16 (Tabal), 17 (Melid), 18 (Que).

[32] Only "annual tribute" is reported for Kummuh (Incident 13). For this issue, see above, Part II, 2.2.

a rule, the quantity and items of "annual tribute" are much more moderate than those of "tribute of surrender".[33] In the three relevant cases, the value of the "annual tribute" is less than one percent of that of the "tribute of surrender". The items in the "annual tribute" are limited to silver, gold (without any cheaper metals) and a few other commodities typical of the region (cedar logs, cedar resin, dyed wool, etc.). As M. Elat concluded from a Sargonid letter (*ABL* 568 = SAA 1, no. 34), "annual tribute" appears to have been designed to provide the Assyrian court and high officials with luxury items, in contrast to the booty and "tribute of surrender", which supplied the needs of the Assyrian imperial economy.[34] Despite its comparatively moderate monetary value, "annual tribute" must have had special importance in the political sphere, as a procedure to determine the loyalty of vassals; being delivered every year to the Assyrian capital, it served as a system of annual reconfirmation of the relationship between the overlord and his vassals.

Table 6: *Tribute Received or Imposed by Shalmaneser III in Chronological Order*

"Contents" first lists the items offered and then the verbal expression used. "PN (collective)" stands for the collective name of a group of rulers ("the kings of the land of Hatti", etc.).

ACCESSION YEAR

1) **Tributary:** the people of the lands of Harga, Harmasa, Simesa, Simera, Sirisha and Ulmani (A: Ann. 3, i 17f.; B: Ann. 2, ll. 17–19).
Place and context: at the city of Aridi, after its conquest.
Contents: A: horses harnessed to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine; *maddattu ša* GN . . . *amhur.*[35]
B: horses harnessed to the yoke: *maddattu ša* GN . . . *amhur.*

2) **Tributary:** Asu of the land of Gilzanu (A: Ann. 1, obv. 41f. // Ann. 3, i 28; B: Ann. 2, ll. 38–40; C: Ann. 5, i 41; cf. Table 7, Incident t).
Place and context: at a certain place on the return march from the "Sea of Nairi".
Contents: A: horses, oxen, sheep, wine, two camels with two humps (*udrāte ša* II *gungulipī*); *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur ana ālīya Aššur ubla.*
B: horses harnessed to the yoke, camels with two humps (*tamarāte* (sic!) *ša šunna ṣērīšina*); verbal expression as in A.
C: items unrecorded; verbal expression as in A.

[33] This has already been noted by J. Peñuela (*Sefarad* 9, pp. 3–25) and by M. Elat (*Economic Relations*, p. 17; *AfO Beiheft* 19, p. 244, with n. 9).
[34] *AfO Beiheft* 19, p. 245.
[35] An ellipsis represents the items of tribute enumerated.

1+2) Summ. 6, ll. 16–18 reports Incidents 1 and 2 together in one sentence:
Tributary: the people of Harga, Harmasa, Ulmani, Simesa, Simera, Sirisha and Gilzanu.
Place and context: following the conquest and plunder of the cities of Aridu, Hubushkia and Sugunia.
Contents: horses harnessed to the yoke, camels with two humps (*udurē ša šunna guggalipēšina*); *maddattu ša* GN . . . *amhur.*

3) **Tributary:** the people of the city of Hubushkia (A: Ann. 2, ll. 28f.; B: Ann. 3, i 23).
Place and context: at the city of Hubushkia after its subjugation.
Contents: Annual tribute (imposition): A: horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *elīšunu aškun.*
B: items unrecorded; *biltu u maddattu elīšunu ukīn.*

YEAR 1

4) **Tributary:** Habini of the city of Til-abne, and Ga'uni of the city of Sarug, Giri-Adad of the city of Immerina (A: Ann. 1, obv. 51–r. 1 // Ann. 3, i 35f.; B: Ann. 2, ll. 43–45).
Place and context: following the conquest of Burmaranna.[36]
Contents: silver, gold, (tin, bronze [only in B]), oxen, sheep, wine; *maddattu ša* PNS . . . *amhur*(A)/*attahar*(B).

5) **Tributary:** Qatazili of the land of Kummuh (Ann. 1, r. 3 // Ann. 3, i 37f.).
Place and context: after the crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine; *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*

6) **Tributary:** Mutalli of the city of Gurgum (Ann. 1, r. 8f. // Ann. 3, i 40f.).
Place and context: in the land of Gurgum.
Contents: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, his daughter with her dowry; *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*

7) **Tributary:** (all) the kings of the sea coast (A: Ann. 3, ii 7; B: Ann. 4, ii 4; C: Summ. 6, l. 20; cf. Table 7, Incidents d and r).
Place and context: on the Mediterranean coast.
Contents: unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) *amhur.*

8) **Tributary:** Arame of Bit-Agusi (A: Ann. 1, r. 44–46; B: Ann. 3, ii 13).
Place and context: after the conquest of the cities of Patin.
Contents: A: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine, a bed of gold (GIŠ.NÁ GUŠKIN), ivory (ZÚ AM.SI) and boxwood (GIŠ.TÚG);[37] *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*

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[36] For the historical context of this tribute-bearing, see above, Part II, 1.2 (esp. pp. 90f.).

[37] Probably a bed made of gold, ivory and boxwood (GIŠ.TÚG = *taskarinnu*) is meant. However, it cannot be excluded that the ivory and boxwood are separate items. GIŠ.TUKUL "weapon (sg.)" for GIŠ.TÚG is possible, but unlikely.

B: the same items, but "ivory" is defectively written as ZÚ<AM.SI> followed by GIŠ.TÚG (on erasure);[38] *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*

YEAR 2

9) **Tributary:** Qalparunda of the land of Patin (Ann. 3, ii 21ff.; cf. Table 7, Incidents g, h, x and y).
Place and context: after the conquest of the cities in the lands of Bit-Adini and Carchemish and the subjugation of all the kings of the land of Hatti.[39]
Contents: Spot tribute: 3 talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 1,000 bronze cauldrons (*diqārāt siparri*) 1,000 multi-coloured linen garments (*lubulti birme kitê*), his daughter with much of her dowry, 20 talents of red-purple wool; . . . *amhuršu.*
Annual tribute: 1 talent of silver (defectively written KÙ.<BABBAR>), 2 talents of red-purple wool, 100 logs of cedar; . . . *maddattu ina muhhīšu aškun šattišamma ina ālīya Aššur amdahar.*

10) **Tributary:** Hayanu, son of Gabbar (of the land of Sam'al) (Ann. 3, ii 24ff.).
Place and context: the same as Incident 9.
Contents: Spot tribute: 10 talents of silver, 30(?) talents of bronze, 30 talents of iron, 300 multi-coloured and linen garments, 300 oxen, 3,000 sheep, 200 logs of cedar, [x]+2 ass(loads) of cedar resin, his daughter with her dowry; . . . *amhuršu.*
Annual tribute: 10 minas of silver, 100 logs of cedar, 1 ass(load) of cedar resin; . . . *maddattu ina muhhīšu aškun šattišamma amdahar.*

11) **Tributary:** Arame of Bit-Agusi (Ann. 3, ii 27).
Place and context: the same as Incident 9.
Contents: Spot tribute: 10 minas of gold, 6 talents of silver, 500 oxen, 5,000 sheep; . . . *amhuršu.*

12) **Tributary:** Sangara of the city of Carchemish (Ann. 3, ii 27ff.; cf. also Table 7, Incidents i and j).
Place and context: the same as Incident 9.
Contents: Spot tribute: 2 talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of red-purple wool, 500 (logs of) boxwood (GIŠ.TÚG.MEŠ), his daughter with her dowry and 100 daughters of his magnates, 500 oxen, 5,000 sheep; . . . *amhuršu.*
Annual tribute: 1 mina of gold, 1 talent of silver, 2 talents of red-purple wool; . . . *ina muhhīšu aškun šattišamma amdaharšu.*

13) **Tributary:** Qatazilu of the land of Kummuh (Ann. 3, ii 29f.).
Place and context: the same as Incident 9.
Contents: Annual tribute: 20 minas of silver, 300 logs of cedar; . . . *šattišamma amdahar.*

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[38] For the reading, see Appendix D, ii 13, footnote.
[39] For the exact timing of the receipt of the spot tribute, see the discussion above in Part II, 2.2 (esp. p. 118).

(Ann. 5, i 55f. records Incidents 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 together as the tribute of "all the kings of the other side of the Euphrates" without indicating its contents; verbal expression: *maddattu ša* PN (collective) *amhur*)

14) **Tributary:** Qalparunda of Unqi, Mutallu of Gurgum, Hayani of Sam'al, Arame of Bit-Agusi (Ann. 2, ll. 93'–95'); cf. Incidents 9–13 above. However, Mutallu of Gurgum is not attested in those cases.[40]
Place and context: when the king stayed at the city of Dabigu after its conquest.
Contents: silver, gold, tin, bronze, iron, bronze (sic), red-purple wool (SÍG.ZA.GÍN.SA$_5$), ivory, boxwood (GIŠ.TÚG),[41] multi-coloured linen garments, oxen, sheep, wine and large birds (MUŠEN.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ); *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*

YEAR 3

15) **Tributary:** the kings of the sea coast and the kings of the Euphrates (Ann. 3, ii 39ff.; cf. also Table 7, Incidents g, h, i, j, x and y).
Place and context: when Shalmaneser was staying at Kar-Shalmaneser.[42]
Contents: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze cauldrons (ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ), iron, oxen, sheep, multi-coloured linen garments; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) . . . *amhur.*

16) **Tributary:** the king of the city of Zanziun (his name is broken) (Ann. 3, ii 57f.).
Place and context: at the city of Zanziun, after the subjugation of its king without battle.
Contents: horses harnessed to the yoke, oxen, sheep; . . . *amhuršu.*

17) **Tributary:** Asau, king of the land Gilzanu, with his brothers and sons (A: Ann. 3, ii 61f.; B: Summ. 3a, ll. 15f.; C: Summ. 3b, l. 12; cf. also Table 7, Incidents k and t).
Place and context: A and B: in the land of Gilzanu; C: the place unrecorded.
Contents: A: horses harnessed to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine, seven camels with two humps (VII *udrāte ša* II *gungulipīšina*); . . . *amhuršu.*
B and C: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* GN (gentilic) . . . *amhur.*

18) **Tributary:** the lands of Enzi, Dayeni, Suhme, Urartu, Gilzanu and Hubushkia (Summ. 9, ll. 17f.).
Place and context: unrecorded; the date is not indicated, but assumed.
Contents: the imposition of annual tribute, its contents unknown; *biltu maddattu* [. . .] *ēmissunūti.*

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[40] For further analysis of the relations between Incident 14 and Incidents 9–13, see above, Part II, 2.1 and 2.2.

[41] Reading GIŠ.TÚG <TÚG >. *lu-bul-ti.* . . . Note the attestation of GIŠ.TÚG = *taskarinnu* (boxwood) in the tribute of Bit-Agusi and Carchemish (Incidents 8 and 12). Cf. RIMA 3, A.0.102.1, l. 95; it does not translate GIŠ.TÚG, perhaps taking it as the determinative of the following word *lubulti*; this is unlikely.

[42] For the historical circumstances, see above, Part II, 3.2.

YEAR 5

19) **Tributary:** Anhitti of the land of Shubria (A: Ann. 5, ii 18; B: Ann. 7, ii 12; C: Ann. 13, ll. 53f.; D: Ann. 14, l. 27; E: Summ. 6, l. 44; cf. also Table 7, Incident l).
Place and context: at the city of Ibume (the city name noted only in E), after its siege and subjugation.
Contents: A, B, C and D: items unrecorded; *maddattušu ma'attu amhuršu.*
E: his sons, his daughters with tribute (items unrecorded): . . . . . *itti maddattīšu<amhur>.*

YEAR 6

20) **Tributary:** the kings of the other side of the Euphrates/the kings of the land of Hatti, Sangara of Carchemish, Kundashpi of Kummuh, Arame of Bit-Agusi, Lalli of Melid, Hayani of Sam'al, Qalparunda of Patin and Qalparunda of Gurgum (A: Ann. 3, ii 82–86; B: Ann. 5, ii 24 // Ann. 6, ll. 69f.; C: Ann. 13, ll. 58f.; D: Ann. 14, l. 31; the names of the kings are given only in A; cf. also Table 7, Incidents g, h, i, j, x and y).
Place and context: at the city of Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat (noted only in A), after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: A: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze cauldrons; *maddattu ša* PNS . . . *amhur.*
B, C, and D: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) . . . *amhur.*

21) **Tributary:** the people of the city of Aleppo (Ann. 3, ii 86f.).
Place and context: at Aleppo, after the subjugation of the people without battle.
Contents: silver, gold; . . . *maddattašunu amhur.*

YEAR 7

22) **Tributary:** the land of Nairi (Ann. 5, ii 40 // Ann. 6, ll. 77f.).
Place and context: after the attack on the rebellious cities (of Nairi).
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* GN . . . *amhur.*

YEAR 9

23) **Tributary:** Adini of Bit-Dakkuri (Ann. 4, vi 7; cf. also Table 7, Incidents n, o and z).
Place and context: at Huradi, the royal city of Adini, after his subjugation without battle; but cf. contradictory evidence below, Incident 23+24.
Contents: silver, gold, bronze, tin, iron, [*ušū*-wood?], *mesukkannu*-wood, ivory and elephant hide (ZÚ.MEŠ KUŠ AM.SI); . . . *amhuršu.*

24) **Tributary:** Yakin of the Sea Land and Mushallim-Marduk of Bit-A(m)ukani (Ann. 4, vi 7–8; cf. also Table 7, Incidents o and z).
Place and context: when Shalmaneser was staying at the conquered city of Huradi.
Contents: silver, gold, tin, bronze, [*ušū*-wood?], *mesukkannu*-wood, ivory and elephant hide (ZÚ.MEŠ KUŠ AM.SI); *maddattu ša* PNS . . . *amhur.*

23+24) There are eight texts reporting Incidents 23 and 24 together. They can be roughly divided into two different versions: Version I mentions specific names of tributaries, and Version II refers to them by the generic term "kings of Chaldea".

VERSION I

Tributary: Adini of Bit-Dakkuri and Mushallim-Marduk of Bit-A(m)ukani (A: Ann. 5, ii 52–54 // Ann. 6, ll. 83f.).

Place and context: at Babylon, after conquering the cities of Chaldea and going to the "Bitter Sea (*marratu*)"; the location (i.e. at Babylon), however, contradicts the evidence cited above in Incidents 23 and 24.

Contents: silver, gold, *ušū*-wood, ivory; *maddattu ša* PNS . . . *amhur.*

VERSION II

Tributary: "kings of Chaldea" ("as far as the sea" [only in G and H]) (B: Ann. 7, ii 43f.; C: Ann. 13, l. 84 // Ann. 14, ll. 63'f.; D: Summ. 7a, l. 20; E: Summ. 7b, l. 13; F: Summ. 14, ll. 19f.; G: Summ. 6, l. 47; H: Summ. 9, ll. 30–32).

Place and context: B: at Babylon, after conquering the cities of Chaldea; C, D, E: after conquering the cities of Chaldea; F: after going down to Chaldea; G: after the conquest of all of Chaldea; H: at Babylon after the conquest of all of Chaldea.

Contents: items unrecorded; B, C, E, F: *maddattu ša* PN (collective) (*ina* ^{uru}*Bābili* [only in B]) *amhur*; D: *maddattušunu amhur*; G: *ša* PN (collective) *bilatšunu amhur*; H: *ša* PN (collective) *maddattušunu* [*ina* ^{uru}]*Bābili amhur*

YEAR 11

25) **Tributary:** Qalparunda (of the land of Patin/Unqi) (Ann. 5, iii 12–14 // Ann. 6, ll. 95f.; cf. Table 7, Incidents x and y [= Summ. 6, l. 48]).

Place and context: after the conquest of Aparazu, the fortified city of Arame (of Bit-Agusi).

Contents: silver, gold, tin, horses, asses, oxen, sheep, blue coloured wool (SÍG.ZA.GÌN.MEŠ), linen garments (TÚG.*lu-búl-ti* TÚG.GAD); *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*

YEAR 15

26) **Tributary:** Asia of the land of Dayeni (Ann. 5, iii 44 // Ann. 6, l. 106).

Place and context: after his subjugation, without battle.

Contents: horses; *biltu maddattu . . . amhuršu.*

27) **Tributary:** Lalli of the land of Melid (A: Ann. 5, iii 55f.; B: Summ. 12, ll. 29–31 [only the gentilic "the Melidian", without PN]).

Place and context: A: when Shalmaneser arrived at the bank of the Euphrates, opposite Melid; B: on the bank of the Euphrates, opposite his (= Lalli's) city.

Contents: A: silver, gold, tin, bronze; *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhur.*
B: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* GN (gentilic) *amhur.*

YEAR 16

28) **Tributary:** Baru of the land of Ellipi (Ann. 5, iv 21–23).
Place and context: in the pass of the land of Tugliash, after the plunder of Tugliash.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN *ina* GN *amhur.*

YEAR 17

29) **Tributary:** the kings of the land of Hatti (Ann. 7, iii 38f.; Ann. 14, ll. 116'f. [fragmentary]; cf. Table 7, Incident x)
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) *amhur.*

YEAR 18

30) **Tributary:** A: Ba'ali-manzeri/manzi of Tyre and Jehu of Israel (Ann. 7, iv 11f. // Ann. 14, ll. 133'f. [fragmentary]); B: the people of Tyre and Sidon, and Jehu of Israel (Ann. 9, ll. 29f.); cf. Table 7, Incident u.
Place and context: following(?) the setting up of the royal image at Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si near the land of Tyre.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PNS . . . *amhur.*

YEAR 19

31) **Tributary:** the kings of the land of Hatti (Ann. 7, iv 16f. // Ann. 14, l. 138' [fragmentary]; cf. Table 7, Incident x).
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) . . . *amhur.*

YEAR 20

32) **Tributary:** Kate of the land of Que (A: Ann. 9, l. 34; B: Summ. 19, iii 7f.).
Place and context: A: after the destruction and plunder of the cities of Kate; B: at the city of Calah, as the result of the subjugation of Kate at the city of Pahri.[43]
Contents: A: items unrecorded; *maddattašu amhuršu.*
B: a royal daughter with her dowry: . . . *ana* ^{uru}*Kalhi ubla.*

YEAR 21/22 (= *palû* 21)

33) **Tributary:** the kings [of all the land of Ha]tti (Ann. 14, ll. 152'f.; cf. Table 7, Incident x).
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: items unrecorded; [*madda*]*ttu ša* PN (collective) *amhur.*

34) **Tributary:** Ba'il, king of Tyre(?)[44] (Ann. 14, ll. 159'–160').
Place and context: after his subjugation without battle.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattušu amhur.*

35) **Tributary:** the people of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos (A: Ann. 14, ll. 161'f.; B: Ann. 13, ll. 103f.).

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[43] For the association of this passage with this year, see above, Part II, 14.2.
[44] For his identity, see the discussion above (Part II, 15, esp. p. 208).

Place and context: A: after the setting up of a royal image at the city of Maruba (read so for Laruba);[45] B: after the conquest of four cities of Hazael, king of Damascus.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* GNS (gentilic) *amhur.*

34–35) Broken context (Summ. 19, ii 5f.). Tributary, place, date and context are all uncertain. If, however, the lines are read [IGI].SÁ-*e* [. . . *a*]*m-hu*[*r*], this passage may relate to Incidents 34 or 35 above.

YEAR 23 (= *palû* 22)

36) **Tributary:** all the kings of the land of Hatti (Ann. 14, l. 163'; cf. Table 7, Incident x).
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu* [*ša*] PN (collective) *amhur.*

37) **Tributary:** the people of the land of Melid (Ann. 14, ll. 164'f.).
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of Mt. [. . .]inzini.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* GN (gentilic) *amhur.*

38) **Tributary:** Kikki, son of Tuatti, king of the land of Tabal (Ann. 14, l. 170').
Place and context: after the siege of Artulu, the royal city of Tuatti, and the subsequent subjugation of Kikki, his son.[46]
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattušu amhur.*

39) **Tributary:** 20 kings of the land of Tabal (Ann. 14, ll. 170'–172').
Place and context: after the subjugation of Kikki, son of Tuatti.
Contents: items unrecorded; *igisûšunu amdahar.*

38+39) **Tributary:** 24 kings of the land of Tabal (Ann. 13, l. 106).
Place and context: after Shalmaneser went down to the land of Tabal.
Contents: items unrecorded; *igisîšunu amdahhar.*

40) **Tributary:** Puhame, king of Hubushna (text: Hubushka) (Ann. 14, ll. 177'f.).
Place and context: at Hubushni, the royal city of Puhame, after the setting up of a royal image there.[47]
Contents: items unrecorded; [*m*]*addattušu amh*[*ur*].

YEAR 24 (= *palû* 23)

41) **Tributary:** [the kings of the land of Hatti?] (Ann. 14, ll. 182'f. [broken context]).[48]
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: items probably unrecorded; [*maddattu ša . . .*] *attahar.*

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[45] For this text emendation, see above, Part II, 15, esp. pp. 207–209.
[46] For the historical circumstances of the tribute-bearing, see the discussion above, Part II, 16.
[47] For my restoration of the passage, see above, Part II, 16.
[48] For my restoration of the passage, see above, Part II, 17.

42) **Tributary:** [Lalla, king of Melid?] (Ann. 14, l. 189')[49]
Place and context: after the conquest of the city of Tagari[mmu].
Contents: the receipt of "spot tribute" and imposition of "annual tribute"(?); items probably unrecorded; [*maddattušu*(?)] *attahar biltu madda*[*ttu ina muhhīšu aškun*(?)].

43) **Tributary:** 20 kings of the land of Tabal (A: Ann. 13, l. 110; B: Ann. 14, l. 194' [fragmentary]; the number "20" is only attested in Ann. 14).
Place and context: A: after the conquest of Uetash, the fortified city of Lalla, king of Melid; B: after the conquest of Uetash, Tagari[mmu] and other cities.
Contents: items unrecorded; A: *maddattašunu amhur*; B: broken.

YEAR 25 (= *palû* 24)

44) **Tributary:** 27 kings of the land of Parsua (Ann. 13, l. 119).
Place and context: in the land of Parsua, following the conquest of the land of Namri.
Contents: items unrecorded: *maddattu ša* PN (collective) *attahar*.

YEAR 26/27 (= *palû* 25)

45) **Tributary:** all the kings of the land of Hatti (Ann. 13, l. 127; cf. Table 7, Incident x).
Place and context: after Shalmaneser's crossing of the Euphrates.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) *amhur*.

YEAR 28 (= *palû* 26)

46) **Tributary:** Tulli, a prince of the land of Que (Ann. 13, ll. 134f. // Ann. 14, ll. 219'f.).
Place and context: at Tanakun, the fortified city of Tulli, after the subjugation of the city.
Contents: hostages (*līṭīšu*), silver, gold, iron, oxen, sheep; *līṭīšu aṣbat . . . maddattušu amhuršu*.

47) **Tributary:** the people of the city of Tarsus (Ann. 13, ll. 138f.; Ann. 14, ll. 224'f.).
Place and context: at Tarsus, after the subjugation of the city.
Contents: silver, gold; . . . *maddattašunu amhur*.

YEAR 29 (= *palû* 27)

48) **Tributary:** broken (Ann. 14, l. 263').
Place and context: somewhere in Urartu.
Contents: unknown (broken); *maddattu ša* [. . . .].

YEAR 30 (= *palû* 28)

49) **Tributary:** the people of Kinalua, the royal city of the land of Patin (Ann. 13, l. 155; Ann. 14, ll. 283f.).
Place and context: at Kinalua, after the repression of the rebellion.
Contents: silver, gold, tin, bronze, ivory; . . . . *ana lā manî amhuršunūti*.

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[49] For the restoration of the passage, see above, Part II, 17.

YEAR 32 (= *palû* 30)

50) **Tributary:** Datana of the city of Hubushkia (Ann. 13, ll. 161f.; Ann. 14, ll. 296'f.).
Place and context: when the Assyrian army approached the towns of Hubushkia.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN *attahar.*

51) **Tributary:** Magdubi of the land of Madahisa/[M]alhisa (Ann. 13, ll. 163f.; Ann. 14, l. 299').
Place and context: when the Assyrian army approached the cities of Magdubi.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu(šu) amhur.*

52) **Tributary:** Shullusunu of the land of Harna (Ann. 13, ll. 170f.; Ann. 14, ll. 314'–316').
Place and context: after the conquest of his cities.
Contents: Annual tribute (imposition): horses harnessed to the yoke; . . . *biltu maddattu elīšu aškun.*

53) **Tributary:** Artasari of the city of Paddira (Ann. 13, ll. 171f.; Ann. 14, ll. 316'f.).
Place and context: when the Assyrian army approached Paddira.
Contents: items unrecorded: *maddattu ša* PN *attahar.*

54) **Tributary:** the kings of the land of Parsua (Ann. 13, ll. 172f.; Ann. 14, l. 318').
Place and context: when the Assyrian army went down to the land of Parsua.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattu ša* PN (collective) *attahar.*

YEAR 33 (= *palû* 31)

55) **Tributary:** Data of the land of Hubushkia (Ann. 13, l. 177; Ann. 14, l. 324').
Place and context: when the Assyrian army approached the cities of Data.
Contents: items unrecorded; *maddattušu amhuršu.*

56) **Tributary:** Upu of the land of Gilzanu, the people of the lands of Manna, Gaburisa, Harrana, Shashgana, Andia, [. . .]bira (Ann. 13, ll. 180–183; Ann. 14, ll. 328'–331' [fragmentary]).
Place and context: when the Assyrian army went down from Urartu to the land of Gilzanu.
Contents: oxen, sheep, horses harnessed to the yoke; *maddattu ša* PN, GNS(gentilic) . . . *amhur.*

3. *Booty and Tribute Described in Reliefs and Their Captions*

As already noted, in addition to the documentary evidence discussed so far, a number of reliefs on Shalmaneser's monuments—usually

accompanied by captions[50]—depicting scenes of tribute-bearing or booty-taking are extant; these are listed below in Table 7. A total of 16 scenes of tribute-bearing are known; nine of them appear on the reliefs of the Balawat Bronze Bands (Incidents d, g, h, i, j, k, n, o and r), five on the Black Obelisk (Incidents t-x) and two on the Calah Throne Base (Incidents y and z); the Balawat Bronze Bands include ten other scenes depicting the transportation of booty and captives (Incidents a, b, c, e, f, l, m, p, q and s).[51] These scenes, whose historical-chronological context is not always clear, are treated here separately from the evidence found in the historical inscriptions. The possible association of each scene with a specific historical incident is indicated in Table 7, in the form of cross-references to Tables 5 and 6. Several notes on problems involved in the relevant source material will follow here.

In the Balawat Bronze Bands, the scenes of booty-taking and tribute-bearing are mostly represented in combination with battle scenes, so that those incidents found on the same band appear to be historically connected with each other. This feature, as well as the accompanying captions, help us to date several of the scenes (see above, Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4). Consequently, we can assign eight scenes of booty-taking (Incidents a, e, f, l, m, p, q and s) and four scenes of tribute-bearing (Incidents d, k, n and r) to specific campaigns. Nevertheless, the dates of the other scenes (two of booty-taking [Incidents b and c] and five of tribute-bearing [Incidents g, h, i, j and o]) remain uncertain, as they could be associated with more than one historical incidents.

In contrast to the Balawat Bronze Bands, the reliefs of the Black Obelisk and the Calah Throne Base depict rows of tribute-bearers alone, without any battle scenes. As a result, they are less informative as to the historical context; only two scenes—the tribute of Jehu on the Black Obelisk (Incident u) and that of the Chaldeans on the Calah Throne Base (Incident z)—can be definitely dated to a specific year. On the other hand, for example, the scene of the tribute-bearing of

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[50] Appropriate captions are sometimes absent from the Balawat Bands.

[51] For these reliefs, see King, *Bronze Reliefs* (Balawat Bronze Bands I–XIII), and Unger, *Wiederherstellung*, pls. I–II (Bands N, O, P); Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, pp. 447–449 (the Calah Throne Base); *ANEP*, figs. 351–355 (the Black Obelisk). Further bibliographical references may be found above in Part I, 1.2.3, Misc. 4, 5 and 6.

Qalparunda of Patin, engraved on both of these monuments (Incidents x and y), could in theory correspond to any of ten cases of such "spot tribute" on the Black Obelisk and four cases on the Throne Base.[52] One might be tempted to assume that the scenes describe the latest occasion of tribute-bearing, i.e. Year 25 for the scene of the Black Obelisk, and Year 11 for that of the Throne Base. However, such an assumption would contradict the fact that it is the tribute of Sua (*alias* Asau/Asu) of Gilzanu (Table 6, Incidents 2 and 17) and not the latest tribute of Gilzanu brought by Upu, Sua's successor (Table 6, Incident 56), that is depicted on the Black Obelisk (Table 7, Incident t).[53] It appears that these reliefs were intended primarily to illustrate exotic scenes of tribute-bearing and to demonstrate Shalmaneser's power over distant lands, rather than to record recent historical events.[54]

The two most problematic scenes of tribute-bearing on the Black Obelisk must now be discussed—that of Muṣri, i.e. Egypt (Incident v)[55] and of Suhu (Incident w). Shalmaneser's inscriptions do not contain any reference to these cases of tribute-bearing, nor to the king's visits to these countries. It is thus reasonable to assume that the trib-

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[52] The tribute of Qalparunda of Patin is explicitly mentioned only in Years 2 and 11 in the Annals (Table 6, Incidents 9 [= 14] and 25), but Qalparunda was apparently also involved in the other occasions when tribute was brought by "the kings of Hatti", etc.; his reign must have ended before Year 30, in which year Lubarna is recorded on the throne of Patin (see above, Part II, 19). All of these possibilities are shown as cross-references in Table 7, under Incidents x and y. In theory, it is also possible that the scene represents the annual tribute brought to the Assyrian capital.

[53] Most recently, N. Na'aman has suggested that Asau/Asu/Sua was deliberately selected and that his name was intentionally rendered Sua in order to form a pair with *Ia-ú-a* (Jehu) of Israel (*NABU* 1997, p. 20; cf. also R. Zadok, *NABU* 1997, p. 20).

[54] It has been suggested that the scenes on these monuments place particular emphasis on the geographical extent of Shalmaneser's campaigns. See M.I. Marcus, *Iraq* 49 (1987), pp. 77–90; specifically for the Black Obelisk, see also A.R. Green, *PEQ* 111 (1979), pp. 35–39; and most recently O. Keel and C. Uehlinger, *ZKTh* 116 (1994), pp. 391–420.

[55] Almost all the exotic animals from Muṣri illustrated in the relief and mentioned in the caption point to an African origin, and one of them, *sūsu* "bubalis antelope", is an Egyptian loan-word. See M. Müller, *ZA* 8 (1893), pp. 209–214; idem, *OLZ* 5 (1908), cols. 218f.; cf. Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 143. This strongly suggests that the Muṣri referred to here is Egypt, and should not be sought in Syria or the Upper Zab region. See Müller, *op. cit.*; H. Tadmor, *IEJ* 11 (1961), p. 147; M. Elat, *JAOS* 98 (1978), pp. 22; K.A. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, p. 327; W. Röllig, *RlA* 8, p. 268 (s.v. Miṣir etc.). An exception to the African fauna in the gifts listed here is the camels with two humps, i.e. the Bactrian type, which were probably an exotic curiosity in Egypt too. For a possible reason for the inclusion of Bactrian camels, see below, 5.3.

ute of Suhu and of Egypt was brought to Assyria, but was not received in the course of a campaign.[56] Assyria's relations with these countries in the time of Shalmaneser should be considered in this context.

Since Egypt lay outside the area over which Shalmaneser had established his suzerainty, its "tribute" must have actually been a diplomatic gift brought by Egyptian emissaries to show Pharaoh's friendly intentions, but not to convey a message of subjugation or subordination.[57] This is also implied by the nature of the Egyptian gifts, which consisted of exotic animals, with no precious metals or other goods of high economic value. Such animals must have been intended to satisfy the curiosity of the Assyrian public, as seen in a similar Egyptian delivery of exotic animals for public display in Assyria in the days of Ashur-bel-kala.[58]

The Calah Throne Base Inscription (Summ. 6, l. 36) reads: *ina 13 palêya 10-šú* ^{id}*Puratta ēbir namrurat bēlūtīya eli* ^{kur}*Hatti* ^{kur}*Meṣri* ^{kur}*Ṣūri* ^{kur}*Ṣidūni* ^{kur}*Hanigalbat atbuk* "In (the point of time of) my 13th *palû*, I have (already) crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time, (and) I poured my lordly splendour over the lands of Hatti, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon and Hanigalbat".[59] Shalmaneser is emphasizing the establishment of his influence over all the lands of the west here, listing the toponyms representing the major geopolitical entities in the west. Hanigalbat refers to the region between the Habur and the Euphrates, Hatti stands for all of Syria, and Tyre and Sidon represent the Phoenician coast. In this context, Meṣri must be an important geopolitical entity in the west; no country but Egypt could fit this description. Egypt was probably included here because of these very gifts

[56] Believing that the five scenes on the Obelisk are arranged in chronological order, S. Parpola proposed that the tribute of Egypt and Suhu was received during Shalmaneser's campaigns; that of Egypt on the Phoenician coast from 841–838 and that of Suhu on the way to Damascus in 838, respectively (in P.J. Riis and M.-L. Buhl, *Hama*, II/2, p. 261). On the latter campaign against Damascus, Parpola suggested that Shalmaneser took the shortest road to Damascus, via Suhu on the middle Euphrates, and then the caravan route traversing the Syrian desert. However, this theory has now become untenable after the improved reading of the Calah Statue Inscription (Ann. 14), whose detailed account shows that Shalmaneser took the route along the Lebanon mountain range (probably through the Biqa) to reach Damascus (see above, Part II, 15). I prefer to assign an earlier date to the gifts from Suhu and Egypt, as will be discussed below.

[57] Elat, *JAOS* 98, pp. 22f.

[58] RIMA 2, A.0.89.7, iv 29f. The passage explicitly reads: *nišē mātīšu ušebri* "He (= Ashur-bel-kala) displayed (the animals) to the people of his land".

[59] For the translation of the passage, see below, Appendix C.

of exotic animals illustrated on the Black Obelisk. Thus, the delivery of the gifts must have taken place before Year 13, i.e. the date of the Throne Base Inscription (see above, Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 6). If the Muṣri mentioned in the battle of Qarqar does indeed refer to Egypt (see above, Part II, 5.2), we must assume that Egypt changed her hostile attitude to Assyria some time after this battle in Year 6, probably at the start of the reign of Takeloth II (c. 850–825), who succeeded Osorkon II.[60]

The relations between Shalmaneser and Suhu are similarly obscure. The Assyrian suzerainty over Suhu claimed by Shalmaneser's predecessor Ashurnasirpal II was probably nominal.[61] Nor does Shalmaneser seem to have imposed his suzerainty on Suhu, which had traditionally been under Babylonian influence.[62] Suhu's gifts may have been sent as a response to the settling of the Babylonian internal disorder, in which Shalmaneser was involved in order to help his ally, Marduk-zakir-shumi, king of Babylon (Year 9, 850).[63]

Table 7: *Booty and Tribute Depicted on Reliefs and Mentioned in Captions*

"Historical context" gives the cross-references to Tables 5 and 6, with "=" indicating clear association, and "cf." indicating ambiguous association. "Contents", unless otherwise stated, lists the commodities, based on the iconographic evidence of the relief. For the identification of the objects depicted on the reliefs, cf. Billerbeck and Delitzsch, *Palasttore*; King, *Bronze Reliefs*.

BALAWAT BRONZE BANDS

"-a" and "-b" following the sigla of the bands (I, II, III, etc.) refer to the upper and lower registers respectively.

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[60] H. Tadmor has commented upon the relations between Assyria and Egypt in the time of Shalmaneser III (*IEJ* 11, p. 147); cf. Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period*, pp. 325–327. Tadmor suggested the date of the Egyptian gifts as some time after 845, i.e. after the last battle with the central Syrian coalition, in which Egypt was allegedly involved. This conclusion, however, must be modified in the light of the new evidence from the Throne Base. As discussed above, the text implies that Egypt was on good terms with Assyria as early as Year 13 (846), and consequently it must have been absent from the anti-Assyrian coalition at least by Year 14 (845).

[61] For detailed discussion of Ashurnasirpal's political attitudes towards Suhu, see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 185–187; cf. Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976), p. 137; Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 114.

[62] In this connection, cf. the Babylonian influence over Suhu witnessed in the recently published inscriptions of Suhian rulers from the eighth century B.C. (A. Cavineaux and B.K. Ismail, *Bagh. Mitt.* 21 [1990], pp. 321–456 and pls. 35–38).

[63] For Shalmaneser's involvement in Babylonian affairs, see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 193–199.

a) **Booty:** from the city of Sugunia in the land of Urartu (Band I-b).
Historical context: = Table 5, Incident 3 (Year 0).
Contents: captives (soldiers, youths, and boys).

b) **Booty:** from a city of Urartu (Band II-a).
Historical context: cf. Table 5, Incidents 3 (Year 0) and 11 (Year 3).
Contents: a massive jar on a four wheel cart.

c) **Booty:** from a city of Urartu (Band II-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 5, Incidents 3 (Year 0) and 11 (Year 3).
Contents: horses and male captives.

d) **Tribute:** from Tyre and Sidon (Band III-a).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incident 7 (Year 1).
Contents: Bales of goods, cauldrons, trays of small tusks[64] and other small unidentified objects carried by hand (perhaps precious metal).

e) **Booty:** from the city of Hazazu in Patin (Band III-b).
Historical context: = Table 5, Incident 6 (Year 1).
Contents: male and female captives.

f) **Booty:** from a Syrian city, probably of Bit-Adini (Band IV-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 5, Incidents 7 (Year 1).
Contents: male and female captives, a mule and camels with one hump.

g) **Tribute:** from Unqi (Band V-a).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incidents 9 [= 14] (Year 2), 15 (Year 3) and 20 (Year 6).
Contents: a large jar, trays of small tusks, cauldrons, vessels of different shapes, sacks and tusks of ivory.

h) **Tribute:** from a city (probably in Unqi/Patin) (Band V-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incidents 9 [= 14] (Year 2), 15 (Year 3) and 20 (Year 6).
Contents: a royal daughter, horses, oxen, cauldrons, vessels of different shapes, a sack and a tray of small tusks (fragmentary).

i) **Tribute:** from Sangara of Carchemish (Band VI-a).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incidents 12 (Year 2), 15 (Year 3) and 20 (Year 6).
Contents: a tray of small objects, small logs, vessels, tusks of ivory, cauldrons, sacks, sheep and goats.

j) **Tribute:** from a city (probably Carchemish) (Band VI-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incidents 12 (Year 2), 15 (Year 3) and 20 (Year 6).
Contents: a royal daughter, horses, oxen, trays of small objects, cauldrons, other vessels, a small log.

k) **Tribute:** from Gilzanu (Band VII-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incident 17 (Year 3).
Contents: camels with two humps, oxen, many horses, goats, sheep, small vessels and sacks.

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[64] For the identification of the small tusks, see below, 5.6, n. 113.

l) **Booty:** from Shubria (Band VIII-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 6 (treated as "tribute" in the annals), Incident 19 (Year 5).
Contents: male and female captives, horses.

m) **Booty:** from Qarqar (Band IX-b).
Historical context: = Table 5, Incident 19 (Year 6).
Contents: male and female captives, chariots, horses and unidentified small and large objects.

n) **Tribute:** from Adini of Bit-Dakkuri, the Chaldean (Band XI-a).
Historical context: = Table 6, Incident 22 (Year 9).
Contents: small vessels, a tray of small tusks, cauldrons, bales of goods, and a log of middle size carried by two men.

o) **Tribute:** probably from Chaldeans (Band XI-b).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incidents 22 and 23 (Year 9).
Contents: oxen, small vessels, trident staffs, and other unidentified objects borne on the shoulder.

p) **Booty:** from [. . .]agda, probably a city of Bit-Agusi (Band XII-b).
Historical context: = Table 5, Incident 25 (Year 10).
Contents: male and female captives, oxen, goats.

q) **Booty:** from a city in the land of Hamath (Band XIII-b).
Historical context: = Table 5, Incident 27 (Year 11).
Contents: male and female captives.

r) **Tribute:** from Tyre and Sidon (Band N-b).
Historical context: = Table 6, Incident 7 (Year 1).
Contents: (caption): silver, gold, tin, bronze, blue-purple and red wool; *maddattu ša* GNS (gentilic) . . . *amhur.*
(relief): small vessels, sacks, trays of small tusks, bales of goods, textiles, little trays of unidentified objects.

s) **Booty:** perhaps from Chaldea (Band O-b, fragment de Clercq 6).
Historical context: = Table 5, Incident 24 (Year 9).
Contents: large unidentified objects borne on the shoulder.

BLACK OBELISK

t) **Tributary:** Sua of the land of Gilzanu (Row I).
Historical context: cf. Table 6, Incidents 2 (Year 0) and 17 (Year 3).
Contents: (caption): silver, gold, tin, bronze cauldrons, staffs for the king's hand (*huṭārāte ša qāt šarri*), horses, camels whose backs are two humps (ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *ša šunâ ṣērīšina*); *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhuršu.*
(relief): a horse, two camels with two humps, bundles of staffs(?), cauldrons, a tray of round objects.

u) **Tributary:** Jehu of Israel (Row II).
Historical context: = Table 6, Incident 30 (Year 18).
Contents: (caption): silver, gold, *saplu*-bowls of gold, *zuqutu*-beakers of gold, *qabūtu*-bowls of gold, buckets (*dālāni*) of gold, tin, a staff for the king's hand (*haṭārtu ša qāt šarri*), *puašhu*-lances; *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhuršu.*
(relief): small vessels of various shapes, a long staff, bundles of staffs(?), sacks, a tray of round objects.

v) **Tributary:** the land of Muṣri, i.e. Egypt (Row III).
Historical context: see discussion above.
Contents: (caption): camels whose backs are two humps, river ox (*alap nāri*), a rhinoceros? (*sa-de-e-ia*),[65] bubalis antelope (*su-ú-su*),[66] she-elephants (*pīrāte*), she-monkeys (*ba-gi*(for *zi*)-*a-ti*),[67] black apes (*ú-qupu* GE_6.MEŠ);[68] *maddattu ša* GN . . . *amhuršu.*
(relief): camels with two humps, an ox with long horns, a rhinoceros, an elephant, monkeys, larger apes.

w) **Tributary:** Marduk-apla-uṣur of the land of Suhu (Row IV).
Historical context: see discussion above.
Contents: (caption): silver, gold, buckets (*dālāni*) of gold, ivory, *puašhu*-lances, byssus (*bu-ú-ṣi* (for: *-ia*)),[69] multicoloured and linen garments; *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhuršu.*
(relief): large jars, textiles, buckets, another small vessel, sacks, tusks of ivory, bundles of staffs(?).[70]

x) **Tributary:** Qalparunda (text: Qarparunda) of the land of Patin (Row V).
Historical context: Cf. Table 6, Incidents 9 (= 14) (Year 2), 15 (Year 3), 20 (Year 6), 25 (Year 11), 29 (Year 17), 31 (Year 19), 33 (Year 21/22 = the 21st *palû*), 36 (Year 23 = the 22nd *palû*), 41 (Year 24 = the 23rd *palû*) and 45 (Year 25 = the 24th *palû*).
Contents: (caption): silver, gold, tin, "fast bronze (ZABAR *ar-hu*)", bronze cauldrons, ivory, *ušû*-wood; *maddattu ša* PN . . . *amhuršu.*
(relief): a tray of unidentified objects, buckets, tusks of ivory, a bundle of staffs(?), a lance or staff, sacks, a cauldron.

CALAH THRONE BASE

y) **Tributary:** Qalparunda of the land of Unqi (= Patin).
Historical context: Cf. Table 6, Incidents 9 (= 14) (Year 2), 15 (Year 3), 20 (Year 6) and 25 (Year 11).
Contents: (caption [l. 48]): silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze cauldrons, ivory, *ušû*-wood, logs of cedar, multicoloured and linen garments, horses harnessed to the yoke; *maddattu ša . . . amhur.*
(relief): buckets, textiles, large ingots(?), a tusk of ivory, a small log, cauldrons, vessels of various shapes, a trident, trays of unidentified objects, a huge log (apparently cedar), pairs of horses harnessed to the yoke.

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[65] Collation E. Sollberger (*CAD* S, p. 176).
[66] Müller, *OLZ* 5, p. 219; *AHw*, p. 1064a; *CAD* S, p. 418.
[67] The emendation suggested by K. Deller (*Assur* 3/Issue 4 [1983], pp. 31f.).
[68] The reading proposed by Deller (*op. cit.*); cf. an alternative reading *ú-qup-pu* (for GE_6) (Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.89).
[69] *CAD* B, p. 350; cf. RIMA 3, A.0.102.90.
[70] Two lions, one of which is attacking a gazelle, and date palms are depicted on the first of the four panels relevant to Suhu. These animals and trees are probably not part of the tribute, as they are not mentioned in the caption. This is probably an artistic description of the landscape of Suhu, whence tribute was delivered to Assyria.

z) **Tributary:** Adini of Bit-Dakkuri and Mushallim-Marduk of Bit-A(m)ukani.
Historical context: Cf. Table 6, Incidents 23 and 24 (Year 9).
Contents: (**caption** [l. 49]): silver, gold, tin, bronze, ivory, elephant hide, *ušû*-wood, *mesukkannu*-wood; *maddattu ša* PNS . . . *amhur.*
(**relief**): trays of bowls and rings, a pair of horses (without harness), models of city, trays of unidentified objects, rectangular packages, bows, a helmet, staffs, a cauldron, shallow vessels, small logs, buckets, tusks of ivory.

4. *Other Economic Exploitation during Campaigns*

Apart from the acquisition of goods by means of booty and tribute, Shalmaneser is known to have exploited natural resources (timber and stone) during his campaigns.[71]

The cutting of cedar (*erēnu*) and juniper (*burāšu*) from the Amanus in Shalmaneser's campaigns is reported in five or six cases in his inscriptions (see Table 8).[72] In three cases of them, the city of Ashur is mentioned as the goal of timber transportation.[73]

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[71] The reaping of harvests in foreign lands to be stocked in Assyrian outposts is not attested in Shalmaneser III's texts, but it was presumably practised, as done by his predecessors, Adad-nerari II and Ashurnasirpal II; for example, see RIMA 2, 0.99.2, ll. 43f. (Adad-nerari II); 0.101.1, ii 117f., iii 82 (Ashurnasirpal II). The uprooting of harvests (*ebūra nasāhu*) and felling of orchards (*kirâte nakāsu/kašāṭu*) are attested in Shalmaneser's inscriptions: Ann. 4, iii 4 (at Til-barsip in Year 2); Ann. 4, iv 4f. (at Gannanate on the Diyala in Year 8); Ann. 7, iv 3f.; Ann. 9, l. 26; Ann. 10, l. 16; Summ. 16, right side, ll. 11'–13'; Summ. 19, ii 1 (at Damascus in Year 18); cf. also Balawat Band II, upper register, illustrating Assyrian soldiers hewing down date plantations in Urartu (King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. VIII). However, these were destructive acts against enemies, as appears from the terminology and contexts. See S. Cole, in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 29–40 for various aspects of such destruction, especially as a strategic means of encouraging enemies under siege to surrender. Similarly, the hunting exploits, mentioned in Shalmaneser's texts (see above, Part II, 11.2, esp. n. 375) were performed apparently not for economic purposes, but as a manly sport for the king and his warriors during a pause in the campaign.

[72] A scene of timber transportation appears on Balawat Band N, upper register (Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pl. I [Fragment Nb]); it probably illustrates the timber-cutting of Year 1.

[73] Year 17: Ann. 7, iii 40; Year 19: Ann. 7, iv 18f.; Ann. 12, ll. 5f. [fragmentary]; Year 28: Ann. 13, ll. 140f.; Ann. 14, l. 227'. The city of Ashur is also mentioned as the destination of spoil and tribute in several cases (Table 5 [booty]: Incident 12: from Hubushkia [Year 3], Incident 14: from Bit-Adini [Year 4], Incident 45: from Namri [Year 25]; Table 6 [tribute]: Incident 2: Gilzanu [Year 0], Incident 9: Patin [Year 2]); Calah, however, is mentioned as the place where the Quean princess was brought (Table 6, Incident 32 [Year 20]). The frequent references to Ashur are not made because it was the king's seat, but presumably because the spoil and tribute were brought to the city to be dedicated to the tem-

Table 8: *Timber-Cutting from the Amanus in Shalmaneser III's Inscriptions*

YEAR 1: cedar and juniper (Ann. 1, r. 38; Ann. 3, ii 9; Ann. 5, i 44; Ann. 7, i 27f.; Ann. 11, l. 30 [= Ass 2919, r. 6f.]; Ann. 13, l. 30; Ann. 14, l. 10 [the names of the wood broken]; Summ. 6, ll. 21f.).

YEAR 11: cedar (Ann. 5, iii 15).

YEAR x (in the visit "for the third time"):[74] cedar (Summ. 8, ll. 7f.; Summ. 10a, ll. 8f.; Summ. 10b, ll. 5f.; Summ. 10c, ll. 7f.).

YEAR 17: cedar (Ann. 7, iii 40; Ann. 13, ll. 96f.; Ann. 14, ll. 117'f.).

YEAR 19: cedar and juniper (Ann. 7, iv 18f.; Ann. 14, l. 139' [fragmentary]); other three texts (Ann. 9, l. 31; Ann. 12, ll. 5'f.; Ann. 13, l. 100) only mention cedar.

YEAR 28 (= the 26th *palû*): cedar (Ann. 13, ll. 140f.; Ann. 14, l. 227').

In Year 23 (= the 22nd *palû*), Shalmaneser visited Mts. Tunni and Muli, which were called "the mountain of silver" and "the mountain of alabaster" respectively,[75] and were presumably located on the northern side of Bolkar Dağ, part of the Taurus mountain ridge (see above, Part II, 16). The exploitation of large quantities of alabaster at this time is explicitly mentioned.[76]

5. *The Goods Gained by Shalmaneser III and Their Provenance*

A general picture of the geographical distribution of the commodities which reached Assyria by means of booty, tribute and other kinds of exploitation, has been outlined by N.B. Jankowska and M. Elat.[77] Nevertheless, as demonstrated by M. Liverani's recent work on the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, closer investigation of the data

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ple of the chief national god. As for the question of Shalmaneser's residence, A.K. Grayson has suggested that Shalmaneser resided in Nineveh in the first half of his reign, as he frequently departed from that city for his campaigns (*CAH* III/1, pp. 267f.). It seems to me, however, that Nineveh was chosen as the departure point for the sake of its convenient location, i.e. close to the road to the west. It should be noted in this connection that the cities of Ashur and Arbail are mentioned as the departure point of the campaigns against Zamua in Years 4 and 16 respectively (Ann. 5, ii 10 and iii 58). I believe that Shalmaneser followed his predecessor and used Calah as his main abode from the beginning of his reign.

[74] This may be Year 11. See above, Part I, 1.2.2, Summ. 8 (esp. p. 36, n. 77).

[75] Ann. 13, ll. 106f.; Ann. 14, ll. 172'–181'; Summ. 19, iii 2f.

[76] Summ. 19, iii 4f.

[77] Jankowska, "Some Problems"; Elat, *Economic Relations*, esp. pp. 29–97.

from the reign of a single monarch may clarify issues distinct to his reign.[78] Clearly, the Shalmaneser corpus permits a similar investigation. In the following, the provenance of the commodities taken by Shalmaneser and some other questions relating to the evidence will be discussed, with their provenance illustrated by maps.

5.1. *People* (cf. Map 6-A)

The ambiguous term *šallatu*, meaning either booty in general or captives in particular (see above, 1.1), greatly hinders us from reconstructing the distribution of the places where captives were taken. The following observations are made on a limited number of cases for which there exists clear evidence on the deportation of captives.

Captives were taken to Assyria from the west: the Balih region (Table 5: 17), Bit-Adini (Table 5: 14 and Table 7: f), Patin (Table 5: 6, and Table 7: e), Bit-Agusi (Table 7: p) and Hamath (Table 7: m and q); from the north: Shubria (Table 7: l), Urartu (Table 7: a and c), and Hubushkia (Table 5: 12); and from the east: Namri (Table 5: 36 and 45) and Allabria (Table 5: 33). Although large-scale deportation for which numerical data are available is documented only in the cases of Bit-Adini, Patin and Hubushkia (see above, 1.4), the cases of Bit-Agusi, Hamath, Shubria, Urartu and Namri (specifically Table 5: 45) may have included mass deportation, as the iconographic or inscriptional data indicate that the common people were carried off.[79] In the cases of Bit-Adini and Namri (Table 5: 14 and 45, respectively), the deportation of the king and members of the royal family is explicitly noted; the palace women were also taken from Namri (Table 5: 36). In contrast, accepting the inscriptional evidence as it stands, deportation in the Balih region and Allabria was limited to people of high rank, i.e. palace personnel and palace women respectively.

Some members of royal families were sent with the tribute to Assyria to be held there as political hostages to guarantee the vassal's loyalty. Royal daughters were taken mainly from the countries in the west: Carchemish (Table 6: 12 and Table 7: j), Gurgum (Table 6:

[78] Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 155–162 and figs. 21–29.

[79] However, there is only iconographic evidence for the cases of Bit-Agusi, Hamath, Shubria and Urartu, which does not reveal whether the captives were carried off to be killed or to be transported to Assyria or elsewhere.

6), Sam'al (Table 6: 10), Patin/Unqi (Table 6: 9 and Table 7: h) and Que (Table 6: 32), but in the north, Shubria offered royal sons and daughters with tribute (Table 6: 19). A unique detail is the dispatch of one hundred daughters of Carchemishite magnates (LÚ.GAL.MEŠ) with the royal daughter to Assyria (Table 6: 12). The taking of hostages (*līṭī*) from Tulli, a prince in the land of Que, with his tribute (Table 6: 46), is also attested.[80]

5.2. *Horses, Chariots and Cavalry* (cf. Map 6-B)

Three versions of Shalmaneser's Annals record the large numbers of horses and chariots recruited for the national forces (Ann. 5, iv 47 [2,002 and 5,542, respectively]; Ann. 7, left edge [2,001 and 5,242]; Ann. 14, l. 348' [2,00[x] and 5242 (?)]). To obtain expensive horses and military vehicles was certainly a primary concern of the military state of Assyria, achieved through booty and tribute.[81] The provenance of the horses should be considered separately in terms of the two different sets of evidence, i.e. that of tribute on one hand and of booty on the other, as they show different distributions. The tribute-bearers who offered horses came from the lands around the territory of Urartu: Zanziun to its south-east (Table 6: 16) and Dayeni to its west (Table 6: 26); from the valleys in the Zagros mountains: Gilzanu (Table 6: 2, 17, 56; Table 7: k, t), Harga, Harmasa, Simesa, Simera, Sirisha, Ulmani (Table 6: 1) and Harna (Table 6: 52 [annual tribute]); and from the west: Patin/Unqi (Table 6: 25; Table 7: h, y). According to the evidence from reliefs, the tribute of the Chaldean tribes Bit-Dakkuri and Bit-Amukani (Table 7: z), and of Carchemish (Table 7: j) included horses, but these iconographic data, lacking the support of textual evidence, raise some doubt as to whether or not these lands were indeed important sources of horses for Shalmaneser. Horses are almost always placed at the beginning of the tribute lists of the Zagros countries, proving their special importance. This is

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[80] For hostages (*līṭu*) in Assyrian royal inscriptions in general, see S. Zawadzki, in *FS Lipiński*, pp. 449–458.

[81] According to *ADD* 252 (= *ARU* 633 = T. Kwasman, *NALD*, No. 45), ll. 2'–4', a horse was sold in the NA period for three young slaves, which must have cost c. 3–5 minas = 180–300 shekels of silver; cf. Elat, *Economic Relations*, p. 69. For further data on the high price of horses and chariots in the ancient Near East, see Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 3, pp. 99f.; Y. Ikeda, in T. Ishida (ed.), *Studies in the Period of David and Solomon and Other Essays*, pp. 225f.

further corroborated by the inclusion of horses in the annual tribute imposed on Harna.[82] The inclusion of horses in the tribute of Patin, a country outside the classic horse-breeding areas, such as the Zagros and Taurus regions, may point to the accumulation of horses in Patin by means of trade with neighbouring horse-breeding countries, probably Tabal and Melid, and perhaps also with Nubia.[83]

The lack of references to Anatolian horses is no doubt due to the incompleteness of our sources. It is plausible that Shalmaneser received horses from Tabal and Melid as part of their tribute in his 22nd and 23rd *palû*s (Table 6: 37, 38, 39, 42 and 43), although its contents are unrecorded. The same is true of the tribute of Parsua, Hubushkia and other Zagros countries, whose contents are completely ignored by the Annals (Table 6: 44, 50, 51, 53, 54 and 55).

The distribution pattern revealed by the evidence on booty must now be considered. Horses were taken as booty from the north and north-eastern mountainous countries: Shubria (Table 7: l), Nairi (Table 5: 2), Urartu (Table 5: 11; Table 7: c), Hubushkia (Table 5: 12) and Namri (Table 5: 36); and from the west: Bit-Adini (Table 5: 14) and other members of the Syrian coalitions, in the battles at Lutibu (in Sam'al), Alimush (in Patin) and Qarqar (in Hamath) (Table 5: 4, 5, 19; Table 7: c). Chariots and/or cavalry (*pīthallu*)[84] were taken exclusively as booty[85] from the same regions, i.e. from Nairi (Table 5: 2; chariots), Urartu (Table 5: 11; both), Namri (Table 5: 35; cavalry), Bit-Adini (Table 5: 14; chariots), the north Syrian coalition (Table 5: 4 and 5; chariots), the central Syrian coalition (Table 5: 19, 26, 28, and 31; both), and Aram-Damascus (37; both). These two

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[82] Note also the ten horses depicted as part of the tribute of Gilzanu on Balawat Band VII, lower register (King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. XXXVIII–XXXIX = my Table 7, Incident k).

[83] For horse-breeding countries in the ancient Near East, see Jankowska, "Some Problems", pp. 266f. and Elat, *Economic Relations*, pp. 69–82. See also S. Dalley, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pp. 43f., specifically for the use of Nubian horses for Syrian chariots; the most recent article about Nubian horses is by L.A. Heidorn, *JNES* 56 (1997), pp. 105–114.

[84] The term *pīthallu* can be interpreted as either cavalry man, cavalry horse or cavalry unit (trained horse with equipment and a rider). See A. Salonen, *Hippologica Accadica*, pp. 42f. and 222; *AHw* 858b (*pēthallu*). In the evidence considered here, the term, attested without the determinative LÚ or ANŠE, seems to mean a cavalry unit, but costly trained horses and their equipment, rather than their riders, must have been of special interest to the Assyrians.

[85] But note that Ashurnasirpal II received chariots as tribute from Nairi, Bit-Bahian, Izalla, Carchemish and Patin (see Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 162 and Fig. 29).

commodities are often listed together with horses, as well as other military equipment (military camp [*ušmānu*]; weapons [*unūt tāhāzi*] etc.). However, even when only chariots and cavalry appear in lists of booty (Table 5: 26, 28, 37), it may be safely supposed that the horses, which formed an essential part of them were actually taken. The areas from which chariots, cavalry and/or horses were taken as booty are not always horse-breeding countries. It appears that the rulers of the Syrian countries in particular assembled large stocks of horses through trade in order to reinforce their military power. As stated above, such a stock of horses is implied by the inclusion of horses in the tribute brought by Patin.

5.3. *Livestock and Exotic Animals*[86] (Map 6-C)

Oxen (*alpu*) and sheep (*immeru*)[87]—the most common type of property in the ancient Near East—were taken as tribute or booty from all the regions which became Shalmaneser's military targets. The following countries are specifically mentioned as sources of oxen and sheep: in the west: Til-abne, Sarug and Immerina (Table 6: 4); Kummuh (Table 6: 5), Gurgum (Table 6: 6), Bit-Agusi (Table 6: 8, 11; Table 7: p), Sam'al (Table 6: 10), Carchemish (Table 6: 12; Table 7: i, j) and Patin/Unqi (Table 6: 25; Table 7: g, h); in the far west: the Que region (Table 5: 47; Table 6: 46); in the north-east: Zanziun (Table 6: 16), Hubushkia (Table 5: 12), Gilzanu and its environs (Table 6: 1, 2, 17, 56; Table 7: k) and Mannai (Table 5: 50); and in the south: Bit-Dakkuri (Table 5: 24; Table 7: o). Because of the abundance and low value of these domestic animals, they were carried off in large numbers, in the hundreds and thousands, in the standard ratio of 1:10 of oxen to sheep, as attested in the tribute of Sam'al, Bit-Adini and Carchemish (Table 6: 10, 11 and 12 respectively).[88]

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[86] Horses are discussed separately in 5.2.

[87] *alpē immerē* may rather mean "cattle; sheep and goats", though we translate it here "oxen (and) sheep", for the sake of convenience. See *CAD* A/I, pp. 370f. and *CAD* I/J, pp. 133f.

[88] Oxen and sheep are never referred to in the available lists of annual tribute, i.e. those of Patin, Sam'al, Carchemish, Kummuh and Harna (in the Mazamua region) (Table 6: 9, 10, 12, 13, 52 respectively), whereas they are found in the spot tribute from the same four western countries; no spot tribute is recorded from Harna. This may perhaps suggest that oxen and sheep did not normally form part of annual tribute during Shalmaneser's reign. In this connection, however, it should be noted that Ashurnasirpal II included oxen and sheep in the annual tribute

Mules (*parû*) and donkeys (*agālu*) were taken as booty from Urartu (Table 5: 11) and Hubushkia (Table 5: 12), and asses (*imēru*) as tribute from Patin (Table 6: 25). Camels with two humps (UD-*ra-a-te ša* II *gunguliptī*(*šina*)/ *ta-ma-ra-te*[sic!] *ša šunna ṣēnīšina*/ ANŠE.A.AB.BA.MEŠ *ša šunâ ṣēnīšina*, etc.), i.e. Bactrian camels, were received as tribute or a gift from Gilzanu (Table 6: 2, 17; Table 7: t) and Egypt (Table 7: v).[89] An Arabian camel with one hump and an equid (probably a mule) are depicted on a relief as a part of the booty taken from Bit-Adini (Table 7: f). The small number of Bactrian camels (two in Table 6: 2; seven in Table 6: 17) suggests that camels of this sort were not needed by Assyrians for intensive practical use either as pack animals or as military vehicles, but were rather sought in order to satisfy the curiosity of Assyrian citizens by public display.[90] The large birds (MUŠEN.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ) included in the tribute of the north Syrian rulers (Table 6: 14) were perhaps also offered for this purpose. The same kind of delivery of exotic animals is best illustrated by the Egyptian gifts (Table 7: v) discussed above (Part III, 3), which included river ox (*alap nāri*), rhinoceros? (*sadēya*), bubalis antelope (*sūsu*), she-elephants (*pīrāte*), female monkeys (*ba-gi*(text: *zi*)-*a-ti*), black apes (*ú-qupu* GE_6.MEŠ) and Bactrian camels.[91] As already stated (above, n. 55), these animals, except for the Bactrian camels, were probably of African origin and easily obtainable by Egyptian pharaohs. The Bactrian camel—if it is not an error for the dromedary common in north Africa and Arabia[92]—may have been transferred from the stock of imported animals in Egypt.

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imposed on the rulers of Mazamua (Annals [= RIMA 2, A.0.101.1], ii 78f.) and sheep in the tribute imposed on Bit-Zamani (Ashurnasirpal II's Kurkh Monolith [= RIMA 2, A.0.101.19], l. 92).

[89] For camels in the ancient Near East in general, see B. Brentjes, *Klio* 38 (1960), pp. 23–52; W. Heimpel, "Kamel", *RlA* 5, pp. 330–332. The Assyrian word for Bactrian camels is most frequently spelled as UD-*ra*(-*a*)-*te*, and this is usually normalized *udrate* on accout of the occasional attestation of *ú-du-re* (see *AHw*, p. 1401b). However, another spelling *ta-ma-ra-te*, which appears in the recently published Ann. 2 (l. 39), raises the question whether *ta-ma-ra-te* represents the correct reading of UD-*ra-a-te* (reading *tam-* for UD), or whether it is an error due to the scribe who was ignorant of the word and incorrectly rendered the UD-*ra*(-*a*)-*te* found in a forerunning text.

[90] The display of exotic animals, including Bactrian camels, to the people of Assyria is known from the time of Ashur-bel-kala. See RIMA 2, A.0.89.7, iv 26–30.

[91] For the reading and identification of these animals, see above, nn. 65–68.

[92] W.M. Müller has argued that the scribe and artist of the relief (the Black Obelisk) was not familiar with the appearance and names of the exotic animals, and provided an incorrect name and picture for the camel, as well as for some

5.4. *Metals and Metal Objects* (cf. Map 6-D)

Metals are frequently attested in tribute lists, almost always at the beginning. Silver and gold were received from almost all the regions, evidently without being limited to the vicinity of their ultimate origins (see below). This shows that precious metals were collected as the most convenient form of concentrated wealth by every ruler who possessed a palace treasury. On the other hand, metals are never mentioned in the lists of booty, with the exception of the door(s) of gold from Allabria (Table 5: 34). The lack of metals in booty lists, however, must be due to the typological nomenclatures adopted in the lists and does not faithfully reflect reality. It is beyond doubt that precious metals were included in general terms such as "palace property (*makkūr ekalli*)", "royal treasure (*niṣirti šarrūti*)", "goods (and) property (*bušû makkūru*)", etc. Thus, even in cases when no details of booty are recorded, it is plausible that metals were actually taken, especially from wealthy royal palaces and treasuries. This sort of plunder of palace property is recorded in the following lands: Urartu (Table 5: 11), Bit-Adini (Table 5: 14), Balih (Table 5: 17), Hamath (Table 5: 18), Allabria (Table 5: 34) and Namri (Table 5: 36 and 45).

Turning back to the lists of tribute, it can be seen that silver and gold were delivered by many countries in the west: Til-abne (Table 6: 4), Kummuh (Table 6: 5 and 13), Gurgum (Table 6: 6), Bit-Agusi (Table 6: 8 and 11), Patin (Table 6: 9, 25, 49, Table 7: x and y), Carchemish (Table 6: 12), Aleppo (Table 6: 21), Israel (Table 7: u), Tyre and Sidon (Table 7: r), Melid (Table 6: 27) and Que (Table 6: 46 and 47); in the north-east: Gilzanu (Table 7: t); and in the south: Suhu (Table 7: w) and Chaldea (Table 6: 23, 24 and Table 7: z). Sam'al offered only silver, and no gold (Table 6: 10), perhaps because of its proximity to the Taurus silver mines.[93] The complete lack of silver and gold, as well as other metals, in the tribute of the people of the Zagros region, i.e. Harga, Harmasa, Simesa, Simera, Sirisha and Ulmani (Table 6: 1), might be interpreted in a similar manner, as suggested by M. Liverani for the same area in the time

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other animals (*ZA* 8, pp. 209–218; *OLZ* 5, cols. 218–220); cf. Landsberger, *Fauna*, p. 143; Elat, *Economic Relations*, p. 125; idem, *JAOS* 98, p. 22, n. 12.

[93] For Mt. Tunni, called the "silver mountain" in Shalmaneser's texts, see above, Part II, 16 and Part III, 4. Though it is not specifically recorded, I believe that Anatolian countries such as Tabal and Hubushna near the same mountain also offered silver as tribute (see Table 6: 38, 39, 40 and 43).

of Ashurnasirpal II:[94] these polities had not yet started accumulating precious metals in an intensive fashion.

Bronze (*siparru*, an alloy of copper and tin)[95] and tin (*annaku*)[96] are closely associated with each other in tribute lists. Both of them came mainly from the west: Melid (Table 6: 27), Tyre and Sidon (Table 7: r), Patin (Table 6: 9, 25, 49, Table 7: x "fast bronze",[97] y) and perhaps other north Syrian countries (Table 6: 14, 15 and 20); and from the south: Chaldea (Table 6: 23, 24 and Table 7: z). Carchemish (Table 6: 12) and Sam'al (Table 6: 10) offered bronze but no tin. In contrast, Israel (Table 7: u) and Gilzanu (Table 7: t) delivered tin, but no bronze, though the latter offered bronze cauldrons (see below).

Iron (*parzillu*) is included in tribute lists more rarely. It is found in the tribute of Patin (Table 6: 9), Sam'al (Table 6: 10), Carchemish (Table 6: 12) and Que (Table 6: 46), the countries closely associated with the route of the iron trade which originated in the Taurus iron mines.[98] The relatively large amount of iron included in the tribute lists of Patin, Sam'al and Que (iron vs. bronze: 300:300 talents, 90:90 talents, and 100:30 talents respectively) testifies to the widespread use of iron in Syria and Cilicia.[99]

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[94] *SAATA*, p. 160 (commodities); cf. also *ibid.*, p. 20–22 (geography).

[95] *siparru* (ZABAR), which usually means "bronze", is occasionally used for copper (which is usually called *erû* [URUDU]), so that its exact metallurgical identity remains obscure. For this terminological problem, see C. Zaccagnini, *OA* 10 (1971), pp. 123–144; J.A. Brinkman, "Textual Evidence for Bronze", in *Bronzeworking Centers*, pp. 135–138; F.M. Fales, *SAAB* 10 (1996), pp. 17–19.

[96] For the identification of *annaku* with tin, not lead, see B. Landsberger, *JNES* 24 (1965), pp. 285–296. Tin was only produced in a few countries far away from Assyria (Afghanistan and perhaps Anatolia). See J.D. Muhly, *RlA* 8, pp. 129f.; idem, in J.M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, vol. 3, pp. 1507b–1511a; cf. also I.J. Winter, "North Syria as a Bronzeworking Centre", in *Bronzeworking Centers*, pp. 202–204 (on the access of north Syrian countries to copper and tin).

[97] For "fast bronze (*siparru arhu*)", which was a fast-acting colouring compound used to produce blue glass, see W. von Soden, *apud* Michel, *WO* 2 (1955), p. 143, n. 14a; *CAD* A/II, p. 259a.

[98] Iron may also have come from Gurgum; see Table 6, Incident 14. For the Assyrian source of iron in Anatolia and Syria, see K.R. Maxwell-Hyslop, *Iraq* 36 (1974), pp. 139–154. Another source of iron, in the south, was Chaldea (Table 6: 23), a rich country benefiting from trade. For the history of iron in Assyrian civilisation in general, see R. Pleiner and J. Bjorkman, *PAPS* 118 (1974), pp. 283–313; cf. further J.A. Brinkman, in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 7f. with bibliography.

[99] Cf. Pleiner and Bjorkman, *PAPS* 118, p. 292; Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 161 (who states on the basis of data in Ashurnasirpal II's Annals that iron is never mentioned in the area east of the Habur ["west of the Habur" must be a slip], with fig. 29).

According to the inscriptional evidence, bronze cauldrons (*diqārāt siparri*), a popular form of tribute,[100] were included in the tribute lists of Patin (Table 6: 9, 25, Table 7: x, y) and possibly other north Syrian countries (Table 6: 15 and 20), as well as of Gilzanu (Table 7: t). If the "bronze cauldron"[101] is equated with the large bowl with a round base which is often depicted in reliefs being carried by tribute-bearers on their head or shoulders,[102] this would provide iconographic evidence for the inclusion of bronze cauldrons in the tribute of other countries, i.e. Tyre-Sidon, Carchemish and Chaldea. The large quantity of bronze cauldrons (1,000) delivered by Patin on a single occasion (Table 6: 9) may suggest the existence of developed bronze manufacture in the country.[103]

Gold products are mentioned only in the tribute of Israel (Table 7: u: various vessels), Suhu (Table 7: w: buckets) and Bit-Agusi (Table 6: 8: a bed).

5.5. *Textiles* (cf. Map 6-E)

Textiles are attested exclusively in the lists of tribute, and never as a part of booty.[104] "Multicoloured (and) linen garments: (TÚG) *lu-bul/ búl/ bùl-ti bir-me* (*u*) (TÚG).GADA. (MEŠ)" are mentioned in the tribute of Patin (Table 6: 9 and Table 7: y), Sam'al (Table 6: 10), the "kings of the sea coast and kings of the Euphrates" (Table 6: 15) and Suhu (Table 7: w). Another tribute list of Patin (Table 6: 25), however, includes only "linen garments (TÚG *lu-búl-ti* TÚG.GADA.(MEŠ))", and a list of the tribute of the north Syrian countries (Table 6: 14) mentions *lu-bùl-ti bir-me lu-bùl-ti* GIŠ.GADA.MEŠ,[105] repeating *lubulti* twice before both *birme* and *kitê* (GIŠ.GADA.MEŠ). On the basis of

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[100] Cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 161ff. for the frequent references to this commodity in tribute lists in the time of Ashurnasirpal II. He stresses the ceremonial connotations of the cauldrons. In any case, the bronze cauldrons must have had a purely economic value.

[101] Cf. *CAD* D, pp. 157b–159a (a bowl with round base).

[102] They are consistently indicated in my Table 7 as "cauldron(s)". See Table 7: g, h, x and y (Patin); k and t (Gilzanu); d (Tyre and Sidon); i (Carchemish); n and z (Chaldea).

[103] I.J. Winter (*AnSt* 33, p. 188, n. 58) suggests that Patin may have acquired access to Cypriote copper.

[104] It cannot be excluded, however, that they were suppressed in the typological recording of the booty lists, as in the case of metals (see above, 5.4).

[105] Not GIŠ.TÚG.*lu-bùl-ti bir-me lu-bùl-ti* GIŠ.GADA.MEŠ. See above, n. 41.

such attestations, it has been questioned whether a single sort of garment, i.e. linen garments decorated with coloured wool, or two distinct sorts, i.e. multicoloured garments of wool and white linen garments, were involved.[106] The countries which delivered such garments were mainly in northern Syria (see above), where flax was grown,[107] and possibly in Phoenicia.[108]

Red-purple wool (SÍG.ZA.GÌN.SA_5 = *argamannu*) was delivered as tribute from Carchemish (Table 6: 12), Patin (Table 6: 9) and Tyre and Sidon (Table 7: r), and blue-purple wool (SÍG.ZA.GÌN = *uqnâtu*) is attested once in the tribute of Patin (Table 6: 25). In this case, the value was apparently attached not to the wool, a material found all over the ancient Near East, but to the colours. The coloured wool was probably imported from Phoenicia where the famous dying industry based on murex flourished. Unique is the inclusion of byssus (*būṣi*), probably a high quality of linen, listed in the tribute from Suhu (Table 7: w).[109]

5.6. *Ivory and Elephant Hide* (cf. Map 6-E)

Ivory was received as tribute from north Syrian countries: Patin (Table 6: 44, Table 7: g, x and y), Bit-Agusi (Table 6: 8),[110] Carchemish (Table 7: i)[111] and possibly others (see Table 6: 14); as well as from Suhu on the Middle Euphrates (Table 7: w) and Chaldea (Table 6: 23, 24; Table 7: z). Chaldea also offered elephant hide, which seems to have come from the Indian region. The tribute from northern Syria and the middle Euphrates appears to be associated with the

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[106] The former position was held by A.L. Oppenheim, *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 246f.; cf. also B. Landsberger, *JCS* 21 (1967), pp. 160f., n. 106; Elat, *Economic Relations*, pp. 83f. An example of the two elements being counted together with one number, i.e. 300 TÚG *lu-búl-ti bir-me* TÚG.GADA (Table 6: 10) perhaps favours this interpretation. M. Liverani (*SAATA*, p. 159), however, prefers the second interpretation.

[107] Cf. Jankowska, "Some Problems", pp. 258f. and Elat, *Economic Relations*, p. 85.

[108] This is implied by the expression "kings of the sea coast and the Euphrates". The delivery of textiles is also confirmed by iconographic evidence in the cases of Tyre and Sidon (Table 7: r), Suhu (Table 7: w) and Patin (Table 7: y). Ashurnasirpal II also received the same sort of garments from Phoenician cities (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 85–88; cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 159 and fig. 25).

[109] This is the first attestation of the word *būṣu* in Akkadian sources. See *CAD* B, p. 350 (*būṣu* D); Oppenheim, *JCS* 21, p. 249; cf. Elat, *JAOS* 98, pp. 25f.

[110] Perhaps not ivory as a raw material, but a bed decorated with it.

[111] Only iconographic evidence is available for this tribute of Carchemish. For the identification of ivory in the iconographic evidence, see below, n. 113.

origin of elephants, i.e. Syrian elephants, now extinct.[112] The lack of ivory in the tribute lists of Tyre and Sidon (Table 7: r) is curious in the light of the well-known Phoenician ivory workshops. However, this phenomenon is also observed in the tribute list of Phoenician cities in Ashurnasirpal II's annals,[113] and thus may be not accidental.[114]

5.7. *Wood* (cf. Map 6-F)

Wood was obtained either by means of direct Assyrian exploitation on the Amanus (cedar and juniper) (see above, Part III, 4) or as tribute. Logs of cedar, the most frequently required building material, were delivered as tribute by three north Syrian countries: Patin (Table 6: 9 and Table 7: y), Sam'al (Table 6: 10) and Kummuh (Table 6: 13). Sam'al and Patin were located near the Amanus, the principal source of cedar. Sam'al also offered cedar resin (*dām erēni*) for ritual and medical use (Table 6: 10).[115]

ušû (GIŠ.ESI[= KAL]), probably "ebony",[116] is included in the tribute of Patin (Table 7: x and y) and the Chaldean tribes (Table 6: 23+24 and Table 7: z). The Chaldeans also offered *mesukkannu* (GIŠ.MES.MÁ.GAN.NA), "sisso-tree",[117] which had been planted in

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[112] For Syrian elephants, see B. Brentjes, *Klio* 39 (1961), pp. 8–33, esp. 14–22; Mallowan, *Nimrud*, II, p. 479. Cf. also R.D. Barnett, *Ancient Ivories in the Middle East and Adjacent Countries*, pp. 3–8; Winter, *AnSt* 33, pp. 185f.

[113] RIMA 2, 0.101.1, iii 87f. ZÚ.MEŠ *na-hi-ri*, mentioned in this passage, is apparently the "teeth of a sea creature *nāhiru*" and not intended to refer to "elephant ivory and *nāhiru*", as often understood. See Y. Ikeda, *Abr-Nahrain* 23 (1984/5), pp. 25–27 and G. Bunnens, in E. Lipiński and E. Gubel (eds.), *Studia Phoenicia* III, p. 127; now correctly translated in RIMA 2. Ikeda suggested that the small tusks carried on trays in the scene of Phoenician tribute on Balawat Band III (= our Table 7, Incident d) were teeth of *nāhiru*, while pointing out that ivory tusks were usually carried one by one on the shoulder of a single man (*ibid.*, p. 27); cf. our Table 7: d, g, h, n and r (including ivory); g, i, w, x, y and z (small tusks). Ikeda's identification of the small tusks with the teeth of *nāhiru*, however, still lacks epigraphic support (see especially Table 7, r, where small tusks are depicted but the teeth of *nāhiru* is not mentioned in the caption, which enumerates the commodities).

[114] On the absence of Phoenician workmanship (ivory and metals) from ninth-century trade, see I.J. Winter, *Iraq* 38 (1976), pp. 15–21.

[115] For references, see *CAD* E, p. 278a.

[116] For the botanical identification, see K. van Lerberghe *apud* M. Stol, *On Trees, Mountains, and Millstones in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 34–49; cf. J.N. Postgate, *BSA* 6 (1992), p. 185.

[117] For the botanical identification of *mesukkannu*, see R. Campbell Thompson, *DAB*, pp. 316f. (mulberry); I. Gerschevitch, *BSOAS* 19 (1957), pp. 317–320 (Dalbergia sisso); cf. Postgate, *BSA* 6, p. 183 (follows Gerschevitch).

Chaldea.[118] "Boxwood", *taskarinnu* (GIŠ.TÚG),[119] was brought to Assyria from Carchemish (Table 6: 12), Bit-Agusi (Table 6: 8; probably as part of a bed) and possibly from other Syrian countries (Table 6: 14); it must have originated in the mountains of Syria.[120]

In several reliefs (Table 7: i, j, n, y and z), different sorts of wood are discernible. The largest log, carried by several men and found in the tribute of Unqi/Patin (Table 7: y), is probably cedar. The log of middle size carried by two men in a scene in Chaldea (Table 7: n) is perhaps *mesukkannu*, for which Chaldea is the only provenance proved by the inscriptional evidence (see above). The smallest one, held by a single man, is found in the scenes of the tribute of Carchemish (Table 7: i and j), Patin (Table 7: y) and the Chaldeans (Table 7: z). The logs belonging to the tribute of Patin and the Chaldeans should be *ušû*-tree, which are mentioned in the epigraphs for these scenes. There are no epigraphs to help us identify the logs in the Carchemishite tribute scenes, but they may perhaps be equated with *taskarinnu*-tree included in one of the tribute lists of this country (Table 6: 12).

5.8. *Wine* (cf. Map 6-F)

Wine, which was apparently not produced in Mesopotamia, is included in the lists of tribute.[121] It was received from the following countries—in the north-east: Harga, Harmasa, Simesa, Simera, Sirisha, Ulmani (Table 6: 1) and Gilzanu (Table 6: 2 and 17); and in the west: Tilabne (Table 6: 4), Kummuh (Table 6: 5), Gurgum (Table 6: 6) and

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[118] The etymology of the *mesukkannu*-tree, "*mes*-tree of the land of Magan", points to the Babylonian belief that its ultimate origin was Oman or a more remote place in that direction, i.e. India (Campbell Thompson, *DAB*, p. 317; Postgate, *BSA* 6, p. 183). However, in the Neo-Assyrian period, the tree was found in Chaldea, as Tiglath-pileser III is said to have felled this tree around the city wall of Shapiya in Bit-Amukani (*ITP*, p. 162, obv. 24); cf. Campbell Thompson, *DAB*, p. 316; Postgate, *BSA* 6, pp. 179, 183 and 188.

[119] For the identification, see B. Landsberger, *WO* 1/5 (1950), pp. 368–371; cf. Postgate, *BSA* 6, p. 183.

[120] Tiglath-pileser I seems to have found *taskarinnu*, with cedar, on the Lebanon (see RIMA 2, A.0.87.4, ll. 59f. and 72) and Tiglath-pileser III called the Anti-Lebanon (*Ammanana*) "the mountain of *taskarinnu*" (*ITP*, p. 60, Ann. 19*, l. 6); cf. Malamat, in *FS Landsberger*, pp. 367f.; Postgate, *BSA* 6, pp. 184 and 189. See also M.B. Rowton, *JNES* 26 (1967), pp. 269–271 for the origins of *taskarinnu* in Syria.

[121] Cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 158; Jankowska, "Some Problems", pp. 256f.

Bit-Agusi (Table 6: 8). Thus the Zagros valley and the highlands of northern Syria were the two main sources of this commodity.[122]

6. *Conclusion*

Shalmaneser's economic exploitation of the lands west of the Euphrates should be viewed as a new phenomenon in the history of the ancient Near East. Since the decline of the empires in the Near East in c. 1200 B.C.,[123] the countries of Syria had enjoyed independence and had amassed much wealth, benefiting from the trade routes passing through their territory. It is this accumulated wealth that Shalmaneser systematically exploited. The comparison between the "spot tribute" or "tribute of surrender" which Patin and Carchemish offered to Shalmaneser III, and that received by Ashurnasirpal II from the same countries suggests that Shalmaneser requested larger amounts of tribute from the Syrian countries than did his father.[124] In addition,

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[122] Especially famous were the wine of Izalla—not far from Til-abne—and that of Helbon in the vicinity of Damascus, both referred to in Neo-Assyrian administrative texts (*SAA* 7, no. 184, ll. 1f.; no. 185, l. 1; no. 186, l. 1). The wine of Helbon, and probably that of Izalla (Uzzal) as well, is also mentioned in the Book of Ezekiel (27:18f.); see A.R. Millard, *JSS* 7 (1962), pp. 201–203 for this biblical passage.

[123] See H. Tadmor, in F.M. Cross (ed.), *Symposia Celebrating the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, pp. 1–14.

[124] Shalmaneser received from Patin three talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron etc. (Table 6: 9), as against Ashurnasirpal II's 20 talents of silver and one talent of gold, 100 talents of tin, 100 talents of iron etc. (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 73–76). From Carchemish, Shalmaneser took two talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron etc. (Table 6: 12), as against Ashurnasirpal's: 20 talents of silver, a gold ring, a gold bracelet, gold daggers, 100 talents of bronze, 250 talents of iron etc. (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 65–68). These are the only examples which enable us to make a quantitative comparison of the tribute received by the two Assyrian kings from the same countries. The higher value of the tribute obtained by Shalmaneser is clear in the case of Patin, as indicated by the weight of the precious metals. In the case of the tribute of Carchemish, the quantity of bronze and iron taken by Ashurnasirpal II exceeds that taken by Shalmaneser. However, the quantity of gold and silver (at least 1000 and 100 times more expensive than the other metals) gained by Shalmaneser is considerably larger than that taken by Ashurnasirpal II. (A systematic study of the relative value of metals in the Neo-Assyrian periods is still wanting. For the time being, see the following two studies dealing with the Neo-Babylonian evidence: B. Meissner, *Warenpreise in Babylonien*, pp. 26–31 and W.H. Dubberstein, *AJSL* 56 [1939], pp. 33f.)

he repeatedly marched against the west to plunder cities and to receive "spot tribute" and, for the first time in Assyrian history, he imposed "annual tribute" on almost all the countries in Syria and, in the latter part of his reign, on some states in south-eastern Anatolia as well.

PART IV

CEREMONIAL-COMMEMORATIVE ACTS

In his inscriptions, Shalmaneser III is often said to have set up his monument, mostly his image (*ṣalmu*), in the course of his campaigns. In the present part, this phenomenon, as well as some other ceremonial-commemorative acts performed by the king in foreign lands, will be investigated.

1. *Setting-Up of Royal Monuments during Campaigns*

The setting-up of royal monuments in the course of kings' expeditions is a phenomenon familiar from the early periods of Mesopotamian history.[1] The earliest example of such a commemorative act goes back to Sargon of Akkad, who is said in a later chronicle to have placed his images (*ṣalmēšu*) "in the west (*ina ereb šamši*)".[2] In the nineteenth century B.C., Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari, is reported in his Foundation Inscription to have entered a mountain near the Mediterranean and erected a stela (*hamūṣam ihmuṣ*).[3] Shortly afterwards in the same century, Shamshi-Adad I is also known to have set up an inscribed stela (*narû*) in the land of Lebanon (*ma-a-at Labnān*).[4] From the twelfth century B.C. onwards, several Assyrian kings, predecessors of Shalmaneser III, are reported to have set up their monuments in the course of their campaigns, i.e. Tiglath-pileser I (1115–1076),

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[1] The evidence for Assyrian stelae and rock reliefs set up either in the Assyrian homeland or in foreign lands has been assembled and discussed by J. Börker-Klähn (*Bildstelen*, esp. pp. 54–60 and 177–224); cf. also the investigation of D. Morandi, *Mesopotamia* 23 (1988), pp. 105–155 (based on the evidence gathered by Börker-Klähn). As far as concerns the reign of Shalmaneser III, however, the documentary evidence they used is almost entirely restricted to the texts included in Luckenbill, *ARAB*, and is therefore incomplete.

[2] Grayson, *Chronicles*, p. 153, l. 5.

[3] G. Dossin, *Syria* 32 (1955), pp. 13f., ii 14–20 = RIME 4, E.4.6.8.2, ll. 52–58. For *hamūṣam hamāṣu*, meaning "to set up a commemorative stela", see J.-M. Durand, *NABU* 1987, No. 3, p. 45.

[4] RIMA 1, A.0.39.1, ll. 81–87. See A. Malamat, in *FS Landsberger*, pp. 365–373; J.-R. Kupper, *OA* 10 (1971), pp. 91–106.

Ashur-bel-kala (1074–1056), Tukulti-Ninurta II (891–884) and Ashurnasirpal II (884–859).[5] The most remarkable among them is the case of Ashurnasirpal II. His annals record the setting-up of nine monuments in the course of his campaigns, i.e. in the land of Habhu,[6] at the cities of Tushha[7] and Matyatu,[8] both in the upper Tigris region, at the source of the Subnat river (at Babil near Cizre),[9] at the cities of Hindanu[10] and Suru,[11] both on the middle Euphrates, and on Mt. Amanus.[12]

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[5] **Tiglath-pileser I**: In his inscription (RIMA 2, A.0.87.1, vi 15–21), an inscribed bronze lightning bolt (NIM.GÍR ZABAR) is said to have been placed in the ruins of the city of Hunusu in Qumanu, north-east of Nineveh. A relief of his image, with an inscription, is engraved on the rock face at the source of the Tigris (Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 177, no. 130; for the inscription, see RIMA 2, A.0.87.15). His image (*ṣalmu*) at the source of the Subnat river is referred to by Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 104f.); Börker-Klähn (*Bildstelen*, p. 180, T 24_{132}) tentatively ascribes this reference to Tiglath-pileser II, but Tiglath-pileser I is apparently the better candidate. Another image (*ṣalmu*) of Tiglath-pileser I was found by Shalmaneser III in Mt. Lebanon (see below, 1.1, Case 15). **Ashur-bel-kala**: The erection of his image(s) (*ṣalmu*) is mentioned in his inscriptions, but in a broken context (RIMA 2, A.0.89.2, iii 13'–14' and A.0.89.3, ll. 1'–5'; cf. Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 179, T 22_{131}, T 23_{131}). **Tukulti-Ninurta II**: Stela fragments probably belonging to him were found in *situ* at Babil (Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 180, no. 133). This may be identified with the image (*ṣalmu*) at the source of the Subnat river mentioned by Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 104f.; cf. Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 180, T 25_{133}). For **Ashurnasirpal II**, see the following notes.

[6] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 68–69 (royal image, *ṣalmu*). The image is said to have been placed, after the conquest of the city of Nishtun in Habhu, at the "*ēqi*-mountain (*ina šadê ēqi*)" in a city called by his name (URU ^{m}*Aššur-nāṣir-apli*) near the source of a river; URU ^{m}*Aššur-nāṣir-apli* seems to be the new name of Nishtun, as suggested by A.T. Olmstead (*JAOS* 38 [1918], p. 221; but cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 27f. who locates this city at the source of the Habur, while differentiating it from Nishtun). The term *šadê ēqi* here apparently means a cultic mound in the city (Schramm, *Einleitung*, p. 72 [*ēqu*-Berg]; Grayson, RIMA 2 [*ēqu*-mountain]), as against the view that it is the name of a mountain (Olmstead, *JAOS* 38, p. 221; recently followed by Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 27f.). It should be noted that the place of *ēqu* was also chosen by Shalmaneser III to set up the royal monument (see below, 1.1 [Case 6], and 1.4).

[7] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, ii 5–7 (a royal image *ṣalmu* and an inscribed stela *narû*).

[8] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, ii 91; A.0.101.19, ll. 51–52 (a royal image, *ṣalmu*).

[9] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 104–105 (a royal image, *ṣalmu*, at the side of the image of Tiglath-pileser [I] and Tukulti-Ninurta [II]). This is identified with the fragmentary inscribed stela found *in situ*. See Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, pp. 181f., no. 134; for its inscription, see RIMA 2, A.0.101.20.

[10] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 98–99 (a royal image, *ṣalmu*, and inscribed stelae, *narû* [in pl.]).

[11] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 25–26 (a royal image, *ṣalmu*).

[12] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 89–90 (a stela, *asumettu*). Another inscribed stela bearing Ashurnasirpal II's royal image, not noted in his Annals, has been discovered at Kurkh on the upper Tigris. See Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, pp. 181f., no. 135; for the inscription, see RIMA 2, A.0.101.19.

Following this trend in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II, Shalmaneser III included an impressive number of references to the monuments he set up in his inscriptions. In what follows, this evidence will be reviewed and the location and types of the monuments, as well as the ideological background of their erection, will be discussed.

1.1. *Evidence*

More than 50 references to the erection of monuments are found in various inscriptions of Shalmaneser III. However, as some of these references are found in parallel contexts and deal with identical monuments, only 20 cases actually need to be discussed.[13] The monument is referred to as the "image (*ṣalmu*)" of the king in all cases but one, where the word *asumettu* "slab" is used (see below, Case 5); these terms will be discussed in 1.2. In the following, the relevant evidence is presented in chronological order with comments on the location of each monument and other related matters.

Case 1: Accession Year (859) at "the Sea of Nairi"

i) Ann. 1, obv. 37–40 // Ann. 2, ll. 33–37 // Ann. 3, i 26f.: *ana tâmti/di ša* ^{kur}*Nairi attarad kakkēya ina tâmti/di ullil niqêti ana ilānīya aqqi ina ūmēšūma ṣalam bunnannîya ēpuš tanatti/tanitti Aššur bēli rabê* (*var. rubê*) *bēlīya u līti kiššūtīya ina qerebšu alṭur ina muhhi tâmti/di ušezziz* "I went down to the Sea of Nairi, washed the weapons in the sea, (and) made offering to my gods; at that time, I fashioned the image of my likeness, inscribed on it the praise of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might, (and) placed (it) by the sea."

ii) Summ. 6, ll. 11–13: *ana tâmti ša* ^{kur}*Na'iri allik kakkēya ina tâmti ullil niqêti ana ilānīya aqqi ṣalam šarrūtīya mukīn šumīya ina muhhi tâmti ušezziz* "I went to the Sea of Nairi, washed my weapons in the sea, made offering to my gods, (and) placed my royal image establishing my name by the sea."

iii) Balawat Bronze Band I (Misc. 4), upper register: *ṣalma*(ALAM) *ina muhhi tâmti ša* ^{kur}*Nairi ušazziz niqêti ana ilāni aqqi* "I placed an image by the Sea of Nairi, and made offering to the gods."

iv) Cf. also Ann. 5, i 39f., which mentions the washing of weapons and the offering to the gods at the Sea of Nairi, but does not refer to the royal image.

[13] Some of these examples (below Cases 11, 16 and 18) refer to the erection of two or more monuments together, so that the sum total of the monuments mentioned should be slightly larger than 20.

According to the Annals, after the conquest of the cities of Aridi, Hubushkia and Sugunia (a stronghold of Arame of Urartu), the king reached the "Sea of Nairi" and then went down to Assyria, receiving tribute from Gilzanu on the way. The identification of the "Sea of Nairi" as either Lake Van or Lake Urmia has long been disputed.[14] However, recent studies have convincingly placed Gilzanu on the southern or western coast of Lake Urmia.[15] This strongly suggests that the "Sea of Nairi" mentioned here is Lake Urmia and that the monument was located on its western or southern coast.[16]

Case 2: Year 1 (858), at the source of the Saluara river

i) Ann. 1, r. 20–23 // Ann. 2, ll. 63'f. // Ann. 3, i 49–51: (*ina ūmēšūma adlul narbût ilāni rabûti ša Aššur u* ^{d}*Šamaš qurdīšunu ušāpi ana ṣâti/e) ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ ēpuš a/ilkakat qurdīya epšēt tašnintīya ina qerebšu alṭur ina rēš* ^{id}*ēni* ^{id}*Saluara ša šēp šadê* ^{kur}*Hamani ušezziz* "(at that time, I praised the greatness of the great gods, manifested the valour of the gods Ashur and Shamash in perpetuity and) fashioned a splendid royal image of myself. I inscribed on it my heroic deeds and praiseworthy acts (and) placed (it) at the origin of the Saluara river located at the foot of Mt. Amanus." (The part in parentheses is absent from Ann. 2).

ii) Summ. 6, l. 22: *ṣalam šarrūtīya ina muhhi* ^{kur}*Hamani ušezziz* "I set up my royal image on (in front of?) Mt. Amanus."

The source of the Saluara river (Kara Su) lies to the east of Zencirli (the ancient city of Sam'al). For the circumstances of the erection of the monument, see above, Part II, 1.2. The monument said to have been set up "on Mt. Amanus" in Summ. 6 (above ii) is apparently the same monument, as discussed above in Part II, 1.1.

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[14] See M. Streck, *ZA* 13 (1898), pp. 67f.; J.V. Kinnier Wilson, *Iraq* 24 (1962), pp. 102 (with n. 81), 108 (with n. 121), and 111, n. 135.; H.F. Russell, *AnSt* 34 (1984), pp. 191–194 and 197; Liverani, *SAATA*, p. 24, n. 58; M. Salvini, *Geschichte*, pp. 27f.

[15] See Russell, *AnSt* 34, p. 198; Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 23f. The location of Hubushkia is still in dispute; the two alternatives are the upper valley of the Lower Zab (recently G.B. Lanfranchi, in *NAG*, pp. 127–137; J.E. Reade, in *NAG*, pp. 31–41, esp. 33–38) or on the Upper Zab near Hakkari (recently I. Medvedskaya, in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 197–206); cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 24f.

[16] M. Salvini, in *AfO* Beiheft 19, p. 387 and *Geschichte*, pp. 27f. (identified the lake with Urmia); Reade, in *NAG*, p. 39 (specified the location of Shalmaneser's monument as the south-western corner of Urmia).

Case 3: Year 1 (858), at the Mediterranean Sea coast

i) Ann. 1, r. 34–37: *ana tâmti ša šulmu* ^{d}*Šamši attarad kakkēya ina tâmti ullil niqêti* [*an*]*a ilānīya aqqi ṣalam bēlūtīya šurbâ ēpuš tanatti* [*Aš*]*šur bēli rabî bēlīya u līti kiššūtīya ša ina* ^{kur}*Hatti ētappašu ina qerebšu altur ina muhhi tâmti ušezziz* "I went down to the Sea of the Setting-Sun, washed my weapons in the sea (and) made offering to my gods. I made a splendid lordly image of myself, inscribed thereon the praise of the god Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might which I achieved in the land of Hatti, (and) set (it) up by the sea."

ii) Ann. 3, ii 7–8 // Ann. 2, l. 76' (fragmentary):[17] *ina ahāt tâmdi rapašte mēšeriš šalṭiš lū attalak ṣalam bēlūtīya mukīn šumīya ana dārâti ēpuš ina muhhi tâmdi* [*ušezziz*] "In the broad sea coast, I marched justly and victoriously. I made my lordly image establishing my name forever, [and set it up] by the sea."

iii) Ann. 4, ii 4–5: [*ana tâmti*] *rabīte allik kakkēya ina tâmti rabīte ullil niqêti ana ilānīya aṣbat maddattu ša šarrāni ša šiddi tâmtim kalīšunu amhur ṣalam bēlūtīya šurbâ ēpuš t*[*anatti Aššur bēlīya u līti kiššūtīya ša ina ahāt*][18] *tâmti ētappaš ina qerebšu aštur ina muhhi tâmti ušezziz* "I went [to] the great [sea], washed weapons in the great sea, (and) made offerings to my gods. I received the tribute of the kings of the sea coast. I made a splendid lordly image of myself, inscribed thereon [the praise of the god Ashur, my lord, and the victory of my might, which] I achieved [on] the sea [coast], and set (it) up by the sea."

iv) Summ. 6, ll. 19–20: *ana tâmti ša* ^{kur}*Amurri allik kakkēya ina tâmti ullil ṣalam šarrūtīya ina muhhi tâmti ušezziz* "I went to the Sea of Amurri (and) washed my weapons in the sea. I set up my royal image by the sea."

v) Balawat Bronze Band N (Misc. 4), upper register:[19] *ṣalam šarrūtīya* [. . .] "my royal image . . ."

vi) Cleansing of weapons (and making offerings) on the Mediterranean coast are also mentioned in Ann. 5, i 43; Ann. 7, i 25; Ann. 11, ll. 28–30; Ann. 13, ll. 28–30; Ann. 14, ll. 9f., but without reference to the royal image.

The exact location of the monument is indicated in none of these texts. As known from Annals 1 and Annals 3, the king first conquered the city of Alimush (in the Antakia region) and then reached the Mediterranean Sea, so it may be deduced that the image was placed on the sea coast, either near the mouth of the Orontes or near the modern city of Latakia (see above, Part II, 1.2).

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[17] For the relationship between Ann. 3 and Ann. 2 on this part, see above, Part II, 1.1.

[18] Cf. RIMA 3, A.0.102.5, ii 5: *t*[*a-nāti aššur bēli rabê bēlūia līti kiššūtīya ša ina*].

[19] The scene at the right end of the band depicts a stela set up on a hill. For this scene, see the comment above in Part II, 1.2, n. 83.

Case 4: Year 1 (858), at Mt. Atalur/Lallar

i) Ann. 1, r. 39–40: *ana šadê* ^{kur}*Atalur ēli ašar ṣalmu ša* ^{m}*Anum-hirbe zaqpu allik ṣalmī itti ṣalmēšu ušezziz* "I climbed Mt. Atalur, went to the place where the image of Anum-hirbe is standing, (and) placed my image together with his one."

ii) Ann. 3, ii 9–10 // Summ. 6, ll. 23f. // Summ. 8, ll. 9–10 // Summ. 12, ll. 24–26: *ana (šadê)* ^{kur}*Atalur/Lallar ašar ṣalmu ša* $^{(m)}$*Anum-hirbi/e zaqpu allik ṣalmī itti ṣalmēšu ušezziz*: "I went to Mt. Atalur/Lallar, where the image of Anum-hirbe is standing, (and) placed my image together with his one."

iii) Ann. 4, ii 3: *ina mētaqtīya ša tâmti ṣalam bēlūtīya šurbâ ēpuš itti ṣalmi ša* ^{m}*Anum-hirbe ušezzizi* "On my march from (lit. of) the sea, I made a splendid lordly image of myself, (and) set it up with the image of Anum-hirbe."

iv) Ann. 5, i 45 // Ann. 7, i 29f. // Ann. 11, l. 31 // Ann. 13, l. 31 // Ann. 14, l. 11: *ana šadê* ^{kur}*Lallar ēli ṣalam šarrūtīya ina libbi azqup/ušezziz* "I climbed Mt. Lallar (and) placed therein my royal image."

As already discussed in detail (Part II, 1.1 and 1.2), the recent publication of Annals 1 has made it clear that Mt. Atalur/Lallar should be located between the Amanus and Hazazu (modern Azaz); it should probably be identified with Kurt Dağ, a mountain range east of the Amanus.

Case 5: Year 1 (858), at the city of Urime (in Patin)

Ann. 1, r. 42–44: *ana* ^{uru}*Urime āl dannūtīšu ša* ^{m}*Lubarna* ^{kur}*Patināya aqṭirib āla appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup ākulšu* ^{na4}*asunetta alṭur ina muhhīšu azqup* "I approached Urime, the fortified city of Lubarna the Patinean. I destroyed the city, set (it) on fire, (and) consumed it. I inscribed a stela (and) set (it) up in (in front of?) the city."

Urime is mentioned immediately after Hazazu (Ann. 1, r. 40–42); following the destruction of Urime, belonging to the state of Patin, the king received tribute from its southern neighbour Bit-Agusi (*ibid.*, r. 44–46). Accordingly, as already stated (Part II, 1.2), Urime should be sought south of and not far from Hazazu.

Case 6: Year 3 (856), at the city of Saluria (in Enzite)

Ann. 3, ii 42–44: *ana* ^{kur}*Enzite ša* ^{kur}*Išua attarad* ^{kur}*Enzite ana sihirtīšu qātī*(ŠU) *ikšudu ālānīšunu appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup šallassunu bušâšunu makkūršunu ana lā menî ašlula ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ ēpuš tanatti Aššur bēli rabî bēlīya u līti kiššūtīya ina qerebšu alṭur ina* ^{uru}*Saluria* KI.TA *ina qaqqiri ēqi ušezziz* "I went down to

the land of Enzite which is of the land of Ishua. I conquered the entire land of Enzite, destroyed their cities, set (them) on fire, (and) carried off their captives and property without number. I made a splendid royal image of myself, inscribed thereon the praise of Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might (and) set (it) up in the lower city of Saluria, in the place of *ēqu*."[20]

Enzite is located in the modern Elazig region, east of the Upper Euphrates,[21] and it marks the most north-westerly point reached in this campaign of Shalmaneser.

Case 7: Year 3 (856), at Mt. Eritia

Ann. 3, ii 54–56: *ana šadê* [^{kur}*Eritia ēli ṣalam šarrū*]*tīya šurbâ ēpuš tanatti* [*ša*] *Aššur bēlīya u līti kiššūtīya ša ina* ^{kur}*Ura*[*r*]*ṭi ētappašu ina qerebšu* [*alṭur ina šadê* ^{kur}*Eri*]*tia ušazziz*[22] "[I went up] to Mt. [Eritia], made a splendid ro[yal image] of myself, [inscribed] thereon the praise of Ashur, my lord, and the victory of my might which I made in the land of Urartu, (and) placed (it) [in Mt. Eri]tia."[23]

In this campaign, Shalmaneser traversed the entire land of Urartu from west to east along the following route: Enzite (see above, Case 6)—the river Arṣania (Murat Su, crossed)—the lands of Suhme and Dayeni—Arzashkun (the capital of Arame, king of Urartu)—Mt. Eritia (the site of the monument)—the cities of Aramale and Zanziun—the Sea of Nairi—Gilzanu—Hubushkia—Kirruri—Arbail. The location of the toponyms between Dayeni (probably north of Lake Van [see below, Case 12]) and Gilzanu (south or west of Lake Urmia [see above, Case 1]) has long been disputed.[24] However, Mt. Eritia, Aramale and Zanziun must be equated, as pointed out by several scholars, with three place names attested in the narrative of Sargon II's eighth campaign, i.e. Mt. Ertia, the land of Armarili/Armariali

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[20] For *ēqu*, a cultic object, see below, 1.4, n. 66.

[21] Russell, *AnSt* 34, pp. 178–184.

[22] The blanks can be restored on the basis of the following line (l. 56), which describes the departure from the place: TA KUR.*E-ri-ti-a at-tu-*[*muš*]; this restoration has already been made in previous editions (most recently in RIMA 3, A.0.102.2, ii 55f.).

[23] Cf. Misc. 1 (= *STT* 1, no. 43), l. 54: *ṣalmāni*(ALAM.MEŠ-*ni*) *kiššūtīya ina šadê u tâmāte ukīn* "the images of my might I placed by mountains and seas". This statement, relating to Shalmaneser's third year campaign to Urartu (see above, Part I, 1.2.3, under Misc. 1), must correspond to our Cases 7 and 8.

[24] For a detailed examination of the problem, see Russell, *AnSt* 34 (1984), pp. 185–194.

and the city of Daiazuna (in the land of Ayadi).[25] Shalmaneser reached these places from the direction of Lake Van, then continued to the "Sea of Nairi", apparently Lake Urmia, before visiting Gilzanu and then Hubushkia (cf. above, Case 1). Sargon, leaving the lands of Subi and Sangibuti, passed the same places on his way to the shore of a sea and continued on to Uayais, Hubushkia and Muṣaṣir, before returning to Assyria. As demonstrated by M. Liebig, the relationship of the two itineraries may best be understood if we situate Mt. Eritia/ Ertia, the first point common to by the two itineraries, north-west of Lake Urmia, and suggest that Shalmaneser, coming eastwards from the Van region, passed Mt. Eritia on the way to Lake Urmia, and that Sargon must have come from the north of the lake to reach the same mountain before going down to the western shore of the lake.[26]

Case 8: Year 3 (856), at the Sea of Nairi

i) Ann. 3, ii 58–60: [*ina tayyart*]*īya ana tâmdi ša* ^{kur}*Nairi attarad kakkē Aššur ezzūte ina libbi tâmdi ullil niqêti* [*ana ilānīya aqqi ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ*] *ēpuš tanatti Aššur bēli rabî bēlīya alkakāt qurdīya u epšiti tašnintīya ina qerebšu alṭur* [*ina muhhi tâmdi ušezziz*] "[On] my [return], I went down to the Sea of Nairi. I washed the terrible weapons of Ashur in the sea (and) [made] offering [to my gods]. I made [a splendid royal image of myself], (and) inscribed thereon the praise of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, my heroic deeds and acts of triumph, [and I set it up by the sea]."

ii) Summ. 6, l. 42 mentions the washing of weapons and offering to the gods by the "Sea of the Setting Sun (*tâmti ša šulme šamši*)" without referring to the royal image. This may refer to the visit to Lake Urmia in 856 (see above, Part I, 1.2.2, Summ. 6, n. 71).

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[25] Kinnier-Wilson, *Iraq* 24, p. 107; Salvini, in *AfO Beiheft* 19, p. 387; idem, *Geschichte*, pp. 28f.; M. Liebig, *ZA* 81 (1991), p. 32, n. 7; idem, *ZA* 86 (1996), pp. 207–210.

[26] Liebig, *ZA* 81, pp. 31–36; idem, *ZA* 86, pp. 207–210. This "circum-Urmia route" of Sargon's campaign was first suggested by J.E. Reade (*Iran* 16 [1978], p. 141). P.E. Zimansky (*JNES* 49 [1990], pp. 1–21) also reached the same conclusion using a different argument. However, see the recent argument against the "circum-Urmia route" by I. Medvedskaya (in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 197–206); she suggests that Sargon reached Lake Van. As for the route of Shalmaneser III's third year campaign, M. Salvini has proposed that Shalmaneser's account of this campaign conflates two separate campaigns, i.e. one to the western part of Urartu ending with Dayeni on the upper Euphrates, and the other to its eastern part, from Arzashkun, which he equated with Muṣaṣir, to Lake Urmia (*AfO Beiheft* 19, pp. 387f.; *Geschichte*, pp. 30f.). This assumption is, however, not followed here.

As discussed above (Case 7), the "Sea of Nairi" must be Lake Urmia, rather than Lake Van.[27] The mention of the sea between Mt. Eritia—north-west of the lake—and Gilzanu on its south-western bank (see above, Case 7) suggests that the monument was set up on its western shore.

Case 9: Year 3 (856), at a city in the land of Gilzanu

Ann. 3, ii 60–63: *ana* ^{kur}*Gilzāni aqtirib* ^{m}*Asāu šar* ^{kur}*Gilzāni adi ahhēšu mārēšu ina irtīya uṣâ . . . . . amhuršu ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ ēpuš tanatti Aššur bēli rabê bēlīya u līti kiššūtīya ša ina* ^{kur}*Na'iri ētappaš ina qerebšu alṭur ina qabal ālīšu ina ekurrīšu ušezziz* "I approached the land of Gilzanu. Asau, king of Gilzanu, with his brothers (and) children, went out to me. I received from him. . . . . I fashioned a splendid royal image of myself, inscribed thereon the praise of Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might which I achieved in the land of Nairi (and) placed (it) in the midst of his city, in his temple."

Gilzanu was probably situated on the southern or western bank of Lake Urmia (see above, Cases 1 and 7). (For the practice of placing the royal image in a sanctuary in subjugated cities, see below, 1.4)

Case 10: Year 7 (852), at the source of the Tigris

i) Ann. 13, ll. 69–72 // Ann. 14, ll. 40–44: *adi rēš* ^{id}*ēni ša* ^{id}*Idiqlat ašar mūṣû ša mê šaknu allik kakki Aššur ina libbi ullil niqêti ana ilānīya aṣbat naptan hudûtu aškun ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ ēpuš tanatti Aššur bēlīya alk*[*akāl*] *qurdīya mimma ša ina mātāte ēteppuša*(sic) *ina qerbīša ašṭur ina libbi ušezziz* "I went as far as the source of the Tigris where the origin of the water is located. I washed therein the weapon of Ashur, made offering to my gods (and) held a celebration banquet. I fashioned a splendid royal image of myself, inscribed thereon the praise of Ashur, my lord, (and) all the heroic deeds which I achieved in the lands, (and) set (it) up therein."

ii) Summ. 3a, l. 17 // Summ. 3b, l. 13: *ina rēš* (*ēni ša*) ^{id}*Idiqlat šumu alṭur* "I inscribed (my) name at the source of the Tigris river."

iii) Balawat Bronze Band X (Misc. 4), lower register:[28] *ina piatte ša nāri ērub niqête ana ilāni aqqi ṣalam šarrūtīya ušazziz* "I entered the opening of the river, made offering to the gods (and) set up my royal image."

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[27] The same term "Sea of Nairi (*tâmtu ša* ^{kur}*Nairi*)" also means Lake Urmia in the account of the campaign of Year 1 (see above, Case 1).

[28] For the scene depicted on the band, see below, 1.2.

Four inscriptions of Shalmaneser (Summ. 3a, 3b, 7a and 7b), as well as one of Tiglath-pileser I,[29] were discovered on the rock face in the vicinity of a tunnel through which the Berkilin Çay flows.[30] The location of these inscriptions evidently points to the source of the Tigris, which Shalmaneser reached. Two of the four inscriptions of the king (Summ. 3a and 3b, cited in part above as ii) must have been engraved on his first visit to the site in Year 7, and the other two (Summ. 7a and 7b) later in Year 15 (see below, Case 11).[31] In C. Lehmann-Haupt's record of the discovery, the two earlier inscriptions are not reported as being accompanied by royal images, whereas the two later inscriptions are said to have had a royal image engraved alongside them.[32] This contradicts the above-mentioned documentary evidence, especially the passage in Annals 13 and Annals 14 which elaborately describes the erection of a royal image in Year 7. It may be that a royal image (or images) engraved alongside the inscription(s) in Year 7 was not properly recognized and/or reported by Lehmann-Haupt, as it was presumably severely eroded.[33] Otherwise, we may assume that the image, with an inscription, was set up at a different site and that it has not been preserved or has not yet been discovered. In any case, there is no cogent reason to refuse the detailed statement of Annals 13 and 14, while the earlier versions of annals (Ann. 5, 6 and 7) neglect the erection of such a monument in their account of Year 7.

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[29] RIMA 2, A.0.87.15.

[30] A full account of the discovery of the site and its monuments can be found in C. Lehmann-Haupt, *Armenien Einst und Jetzt*, I, pp. 430–462. The inaccuracy of the sketch map of the site of the inscriptions in the same book (p. 451) is noted by H.F. Russell, *AnSt* 34, pp. 171–201.

[31] For the dates of these inscriptions, see above, Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 3a/b and Summ. 7a/b.

[32] Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien*, pp. 31–43. Cf. the statement of Börker-Klähn (*Bildstelen*, p. 188) that the royal images accompanied the Inscriptions "III" (my Summ. 3a) and "IV" (my Summ. 7a); this must be a slip.

[33] If so, the statement in Ann. 13 and 14: . . . *ina qerbīša ašṭur* "I inscribed . . . therein (i.e. on the image)", not "alongside the image", should be taken as a loose description. However, a similar loose description may be also attested in the case of the two later inscriptions, at whose side royal images are found (see below, Case 11 and note the cited passages in Ann. 5 and Ann. 6).

Case 11: Year 15 (844), at the source of the Tigris

i) Ann. 5, iii 34–38 // Ann. 6, ll. 103–104: *ina rēš* ^{id}*ēni ša* ^{id}*Idiqlat ṣalam šarrūtīya ina* ^{kur}*kāpi ša šadê ina ṣīt nagabbīša abni tanatti kiššūtīya alkakāt qurdīya ina qerebšu aḫṭur* "At the source of the Tigris, on the cliff of the mountain where its spring comes out, I fashioned my royal image, (and) inscribed thereon the praise of my might (and) my heroic deeds."
ii) Ann. 7, iii 27–29: *ina rēš* ^{id}*ēni ša* ^{id}*Idiqlat ṣalam šarrūtīya ina kāpi ša šadê ušezziz* "At the source of the Tigris, on the mountain cliff, I placed my royal image."
iii) Ann. 13, ll. 92f.: *ina rēš ēni ša* ^{id}*Idiqlat* ^{id}*Puratti allik ṣalam šarrūtīya ina kāpīšina ulziz* "I went to the source(s) of the Tigris (and) Euphrates, (and) placed my royal image on their cliff."

The image referred to in the relevant passages can be identified with the two rock reliefs found alongside the inscriptions (Summ. 7a and b) which were engraved upon the king's second visit to the site in Year 15 (see above, under Case 10); hence, two images are actually involved. The expression "on the mountain cliff (*ina kāpi ša šadê*)" faithfully describes the engraved rock relief, rather than a stela or statue.[34]

In Annals 13 (above, iii), the monument discussed here is mentioned together with the image of Case 12.

Case 12: Year 15 (844), at a city in the land of Dayeni / at the source of the Euphrates

i) Ann. 5, iii 41–45 // Ann. 6, ll. 105f.: *ana rēš* ^{id}*ēni ša* ^{id}*Puratti allik niqête ana ilānīya aṣbat kakki Aššur ina libbi ullil* ^{m}*Asia šar* ^{kur}*Dayeni šēpēya iṣbat biltu maddattu sīsē amhuršu ṣalam šarrūtīya abni ina qabal ālīšu ušezziz* "I went to the source of the Euphrates, made offering to my gods, (and) washed the weapon(s) of Ashur therein. Asia, king of the land of Dayeni, seized my feet. I received from him horses as tribute. I fashioned my royal image (and) set (it) up in his city."
ii) Ann. 13, ll. 92f.: cited above in Case 11, iii.
iii) Summ. 12, ll. 32–34: ^{m}*Asia šar* ^{kur}*Dayeni šēpēya iṣbat ṣalam šarrūtīya ina qabal ālīšu ušezziz* "Asia, king of the land of Dayeni, seized my feet. I placed my royal image in the midst of his city."

We cannot specify the exact place which the Assyrians regarded as the source of the Euphrates, as well as the location of the city in

[34] However, the engraving of inscriptions upon the image (*ina qerebšu aḫṭur*), as described in the relevant passages of Ann. 5 and 6 (above, i), is not strictly accurate.

the land of Dayeni, but it should almost certainly be located north of Lake Van.[35] The reference in Annals 13 to the image placed at the source of the Euphrates (above, ii [= Case 11, iii]) seems a vague description which actually refers to the monument set up in the city.

Case 13: Year 15 (844), on the bank of the Euphrates opposite Melid

Ann. 5, iii 54–57: *ana muhhi* ^{id}*Puratti ina pūt* ^{kur}*Melidi aqtirib maddattu ša* ^{m}*Lalli* ^{kur}*Melidāya kaspa hurāṣa annaka amhur ṣalam šarrūtīya abni ina muhhi* ^{id}*Puratti ušezziz* "I approached the Euphrates in front of the land of Melid, (and) received the tribute of Lalli of the land of Melid, silver, gold (and) tin. I fashioned my royal image (and) placed (it) at (the bank of) the Euphrates river."

Since Shalmaneser came from the land of Enzi(te) (the Elazig region, see above, Case 6) to the bank of the Euphrates facing Melid (Malatia), the image must have been located on the east bank of the river on the Elazig-Malatia road.[36]

Case 14: Year 18 (841), at Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si

i) Ann. 7, iv 7–10 // Ann. 14, ll. 132'–134' (fragmentary): *ana šadê* ^{kur}*Ba'li-ra'si ša pūt*(SAG) *tâmdi ša pūt* ^{kur}*Ṣurri allik ṣalam šarrūtīya ina libbi ušezziz*(text: *ú-te*(an error)-*ziz* [Ann. 7]; Ann. 14 broken) "I went to Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si, which is (located) in front of the sea and facing the land of Tyre, (and) placed therein my royal image."

ii) Ann. 9, ll. 28f. // Ann. 10, ll. 21–23: *adi šadê* ^{kur}*Ba'li-ra'si ša pūt*(SAG) *tâmdi allik ṣalam šarrūtīya ina libbi azqup* "I went as far as Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si, which is (located) in front of the sea, (and) placed therein my royal image."

Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si should be identified either with Ras en-Naqura or with Mt. Carmel (see the discussion above, Part II, 12.2).

Case 15: Year 18 (841), at Mt. Lebanon

Ann. 7, iv 12–15: *ana* ^{kur}*Labnāna lū ēli ṣalam šarrūtīya itti ṣalme ša* $^{m.giš}$*Tukultī-apil-Ešarra šarri danni ālik pānīya ušezziz* "I went up to Mt. Lebanon (and)

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[35] For the location of "the source of the Euphrates" and the land of Dayeni, see Russell, *AnSt* 34, pp. 185–187.

[36] It is thus unlikely that this monument could be identified with the rock relief of the Kenk gorge (more than 150 km south of the suggested point), as proposed by Börker-Klähn (*Bildstelen*, p. 189, no. 151).

placed my royal image with the image of Tiglath-pileser (I), the mighty king, my predecessor."

As previously discussed (above, Part II, 12.2), the site of the image should be sought in the northern part of the Lebanon mountain range.

Case 16: Year 20 (839), at two cities in Que

Ann. 7, iv 25–33 // Ann. 8, r. 6'–14' // Ann. 14, ll. 145'–150' (fragmentary): *ana ālānī ša* ^{m}*Katei* ^{kur}*Qauāya attarad(a)* ^{uru}*Lusanda* ^{uru}*Abarnani* ^{uru}*Kisuatni ālāni(šu) dannūte adi ālāni ana lā manî ištu rēš*(SAG) *ālānīšu adi qanna/i ālānīšu akšud dīktašunu adūk šallassunu ašlula* II *ṣalam šarrūtīya ēpuš tanatti kiššūtīya ina libbi alṭur ištēn ina rēš*(SAG) *ālānīšu šanû ina qanni ālānīšu ina pūt*(SAG) *tâmdi azqup* "I went down to the cities of Kate, the Quean. I conquered Lusanda, Abarnani and Kisuatni, (his) fortified cities, with countless cities, from the nearest of his cities to the remotest. I defeated (and) plundered them. I made two royal images of mine, inscribed thereon the praise of my power, placed one in the nearest of his cities (and) the other in the remotest of his cities facing the sea."

I have suggested that in the relevant campaign, Shalmaneser conquered the eastern half of the Cilician plain (see above, Part II, 14.2). Accordingly, the two monuments bearing the royal image must have been placed within this geographical area, though their exact location remains unclear. The relief of an Assyrian king engraved at Uzunuglantepe, 20 km north-east of Kozan, was tentatively attributed by O.A. Taşyürek to Shalmaneser III.[37] Although the Uzunuglantepe rock relief is not reported as bearing any inscription, it may well be identified with one of the two monuments which Shalmaneser set up in this campaign and mark the northernmost point of his advance.

Case 17: Year 21/22 (= the 21st *palû*; 838/7), at the city of Maruba(?)

Ann. 14, ll. 159'–161': ^{m}*Ba'il ša* ⌜KUR⌝ *x-*[*x-x-r*]*a*(?)*-a-a*(text: II) *šēpēya iṣbat maddattušu amhur ṣalam šarrūtīya ina* ^{uru}*Ma*(text:*La*)*-ru-ba* [*ā*]*l dannūtīšu ina ekurrīšu ušezziz u maddattu ša* ^{kur}*Ṣurrāya* ^{kur}*Ṣidūnāya* ^{kur}*Gubalāya amhu*[*r*] "Ba'il of [Tyre] seized my feet. I received his tribute. I placed my royal image in Maruba, his fortified city, in its temple, and I received the tribute of the people of Tyre, Sidon and Byblos."

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[37] *AnSt* 25 (1975), pp. 169–172; cf. Hawkins, *CAH*, III/1, p. 394, n. 183; idem in *NAG*, p. 98.

I have suggested (above, Part II, 14.2) that the name of the city in which the image was placed should be read as Maruba (emending its first sign from LA to MA) and be identified with the *Ma'rubbu* mentioned in the inscription of Esarhaddon, located between Sidon and Tyre.

Case 18: Year 23 (= the 22nd *palû*; 836), in Mts. Tunni and Muli

i) Summ. 19, iii 2–4: *ana* ^{kur}*Tunni šadê kaspi* ^{kur}*Mulī šadê gišnugalli ēli ṣalmu gešrūtīya ina qerbīšunu ulziz* "I went up to Mt. Tunni, the silver mountain, (and) Mt. Muli, the alabaster mountain. I placed therein my heroic image(s)."

ii) Ann. 14, ll. 172'–181': *ana* ^{kur}*Tunni šadê kaspi ēli ištu* ^{kur}*Tunni attumuš ana ālāni* ^{m}*Puhame* ^{kur}*Hubuškāya attarad ana* ^{uru}*Hubušni āl šarrūtīšu aqṭir*[*ib x x* M]U-*ia ú ṣa*-[*lam* MAN-*ti*-*ia ú*-*šē*]-*ziz* [*m*]*addattušu amh*[*ur ana* ^{kur}*M*]*ulī* [*šadê gišnugalli*] *ēli* ^{na4}*gišnu*[*gallu . . .*] *ma'adu ēpuš*(DÙ) [*ṣalam*] *šarrūtīya ina* ^{ku}[^{r}*Mulī ušezziz*] "I ascended Mt. Tunni, the mountain of silver. I departed from Mt. Tunni and descended to the cities of Puhame of Hubushna (text: Hubushka). I approached Hubushni, his royal city. [I se]t up (there) [. . . of] my [na]me and [my royal] ima[ge]. I received his tribute. I ascended [Mt. M]uli, [the mountain of alabaster]. [. . .] alabaster [. . .] much, I made. [I placed] my royal [image] on Mt. [Muli]."

Mts. Tunni and Muli should be located on the northern side of Bolkar Dağ, and Hubushna lies near modern Ereğli in the vicinity of the mountain range (see above, Part II, 16). The description of Summary Inscription 19 (above, i) is ambiguous; it is unclear whether one monument was set up at a certain place in the general region of Bolkar Dağ, which includes the two summits, or whether two images were erected, one in Mt. Tunni and the other in Mt. Muli.[38] If my restoration of the relevant passage of Annals 14 (above, ii) is correct,[39] Shalmaneser placed one of his two images in the city of Hubushna and the other in Mt. Muli. If this is indeed the case, it would seem that Summary Inscription 19 vaguely summarizes the setting-up of these two images. Alternatively, it could be assumed that

[38] In any case, the translation of D.D. Luckenbill, "between them" (*ARAB*, I, § 682; followed by Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 190, T44$_{15}$) "zwischen den Gebirgen TUNNI und MULI") is unlikely. For "between them", *birītīšunu*, not *ina qerbīšunu*, would be expected.

[39] For the restorations, see above, Part II, 16 (esp. p. 212).

Shalmaneser placed three images in the city of Hubushna, Mt. Tunni and Mt. Muli respectively.[40]

Case 19: Year 25 (= the 24th *palû*; 834), at the city of Harhara

Ann. 13, ll. 120–125: *ana* ^{kur}*Messi* ^{kur}*Amadaya* ^{kur}*Araziaš* ^{kur}*Harhar attarad* ^{uru}*Kuakinda* ^{uru}*Hazzanabi* ^{uru}*Esamul* ^{uru}*Kinablila adi ālāni ša limētušunu akšud dīktašunu adūk šallassunu ašlula ālāni appul aqqur ina išāti ašrup ṣalam šarrūtīya ina* ^{uru}*Harhara azqup* "I went down to the lands of Messi, Amadaya, Araziash (and) Harhara. I conquered the cities of Kuakinda, Hazzanabi, Esamul (and) Kinablila with towns of their environs, defeated them, spoiled them, destroyed the cities and set them on fire. I placed my royal image in Harhara."

The city of Harhara, where the royal image was placed, was probably located on the Great Khorasan road in central or eastern Mahidasht, roughly in the area of modern Kermanshah and Hamadan.[41]

Case 20: Year 30 (= the 28th *palû*; 829), at Kinalua in Patin

Ann. 13, ll. 150–156 // Ann. 14, ll. 274'–286': *ina* ^{uru}*Kinalua āl šarrūtīšu mādaktu i/aškun . . . . . ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ ēpuš ina* ^{uru}*Ku/inalua āl šarrūtīšu ina bīt ilānīšu ušezziz*(text: *ú-še-<<ši>>-ziz* / [. . .]*-ziz*) "He (= the Assyrian *turtānu*)/I set up camp at Kinalua, his (= the Patinite king's) royal city . . . (after the conquest of the city) . . . I fashioned a splendid royal image of myself (and) placed (it) in Kinalua, his royal city, in the house of his gods."

Kinalua, capital of Patin, is generally identified with modern Tell Taynat (cf. above, Part II, 19). (For the image placed in the temple, see below, 1.4).

In addition to the documentary evidence reviewed so far, four images of Shalmaneser have been discovered *in situ* at some distance from the Assyrian heartland.[42] One is the monolith from Kurkh, a stela bearing the relief of a royal image with divine insignia and an

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[40] Shalmaneser may have set up two monuments in Hubushna—the royal image and another type of monument like an inscribed stela (*narû/asumettu*), which should be restored in the relevant passage of Ann. 14, preceding *ṣa-*[*lam* MAN-*ti-ia*].

[41] See L.D. Levine, *Iran* 12 (1974), pp. 116f.; Reade, *Iran* 16, pp. 137–143, esp. 141f.; cf. idem, in *NAG*, pp. 31–41.

[42] The relief of a royal image at Nahr el-Kalb and that at Uzunuglantepe, suggested as representing Shalmaneser III, are not included here, since the identification is uncertain. For discussion of these reliefs, see above, Part II, 12.2 and here, Case 16, respectively.

inscription (= Ann. 3). Another monument is the relief of a royal figure, engraved with an inscription (= Summ. 2) on the cliff of Kenk gorge along the Euphrates. The other two are a pair of royal images, engraved next to inscriptions (Summ. 7a and 7b) on the rock face at the source of the Tigris; their construction is referred to in the Annals (see above, Case 11). The setting-up of the monuments at Kurkh and Kenk gorge is not mentioned in any text. This deserves some consideration.

The Kurkh Monolith must have been fashioned shortly after the Syrian campaign in Year 6, but the exact circumstances of its erection remain unclear (see the discussion above, Part I, 1.2.1, under Ann. 3). In any case, we should note that the monument was placed in an area under Assyrian administrative control, but not in a newly conquered country. It probably did not rate a reference in the Annals for this reason.[43]

The rock relief at Kenk gorge was, as already discussed (in Part I, 1.2.1, under Summ. 2), probably engraved in Year 4 on the king's return march from Shitamrat, where Ahuni of Bit-Adini was finally subjugated (see above, Part II, 4.2). The monument located at the crossing-point of the Euphrates does not mark the remotest place reached by Shalmaneser in the campaign. Therefore, it seems that it was not regarded as worthy of note by the historiographer, who was not accustomed to describe the full details of the return march.

As for the incompleteness of the available sources, a further note should be added. Detailed accounts of campaigns, such as Annals 1 and 3, are available only for the early years of the reign up to and including Year 6, but not beyond it. It is hardly credible that the brief accounts of later versions of the Annals refer exhaustively to every monument erected during the period from Year 7 onwards; in fact, these texts often fail to mention the monuments known to have been set up during Years 0–6 (Cases 1–9) (see below, Table 9).[44]

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[43] Thus already Na'aman, *Tel Aviv* 3, p. 90. The Kurkh Monolith may be regarded as a monument set up in Assyria proper, like other monuments of Shalmaneser III placed in Assyrian capitals, such as the Kurbail Statue, the Black Obelisk, the Calah Statue (all from Calah) and the Ashur Statue (bearing Ann. 9, 13, 14 and Summ. 19 [see above, Part I, 1.2.1 and 1.2.2], respectively). These monuments, which were not erected in the course of the king's expeditions and thus are not recorded in the campaign accounts, are excluded from our discussion.

[44] Note, however, that even Ann. 3, defined here as a detailed text, omits one monument (Case 5), which is referred to in Ann. 1.

Table 9: *Distribution of References to the Monuments in Shalmaneser III's Texts*

A = A(nnals); S = S(ummary inscription); + indicates that the monument is referred to in the text; B indicates that the reference is expected to have been mentioned, though now broken off and not extant.

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	A6	A7	A8	A9/10	A13	A14	S6	S8	S12
Case 1	+	+	+									+		
Case 2	+	+	+									+		
Case 3	+	+	+	+								+		
Case 4	+	B	+	+	+	B				+	+	+	+	+
Case 5	+													
Case 6			+											
Case 7			+											
Case 8			+											
Case 9			+											
Case 10										+	+			
Case 11					+	+	+	B		+	B			
Case 12					+	+				+	B			+
Case 13					+						B			
Case 14							+	B	+		+			
Case 15							+	B			B			
Case 16							+	+			+			
Case 17											+			
Case 18											+			
Case 19										+	B			
Case 20										+	+			

Table 10: *The Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns*

In "Accompanying ritual", W is intended for W(ashing weapons), and O for O(ffering to the gods).

No./Place	Year	Area	Location	Evidence for inscription	Accompanying ritual	Type of Monument
1. Sea of Nairi	0	North	non-r(esidential)	+	+ (W and O)	Stela
2. Saluara River	1	West	non-r.	+	–	
3. Mediterranean Sea	1	West	non-r.	+	+ (W and O)	Stela
4. Mt. Atalur	1	West	non-r.	–	–	
5. Urime (in Patin)	1	West	r(esidential)	+	–	Stela (*asumettu*)
6. Saluria (in Enzite)	3	North	r.	+	–	
7. Mt. Eritia	3	North	non-r.	+	–	
8. Sea of Nairi	3	North	non-r.	+	+ (W and O)	Stela
9. A city in Gilzanu	3	North	r.	+	–	
10. Tigris source	7	North	non-r.	+	+ (W and O)	Rock relief
11. Tigris source	15	North	non-r.	+	(+ [O])	Rock relief

Table 10 (*Cont.*)

No./Place	Year	Area	Location	Evidence for inscription	Accompanying ritual	Type of Monument
12. A city in Dayeni	15	North	r.	–	+ (W and O)	
13. Bank of Euphrates	15	North	non-r.	–	–	
14. Mt. Ba'ali-ra'si	18	West	non-r.	–	–	
15. Mt. Lebanon	18	West	non-r.	–	–	
16. Two cities in Que	20	West	r.	+	–	
17. Maruba(?) near Tyre	21/22	West	r.	–	–	
18. Mts. Tunni & Muli	23	West	r./non-r.	–	–	
19. Harhara (in Media)	25	East	r.	–	–	
20. Kinalua (in Patin)	30	West	r.	–	–	
x. Kenk	4	West	non-r.	+	–	Rock relief
y. Kurkh	6	North	r.	+	–	Stela

1.2. *Setting Up the Monument*

The passages describing the setting-up of monuments consist of three elements: (1) the fashioning of the monument (with the verb *epēšu* or *banû* "to make, build"); (2) the engraving of an inscription on it (with *šaṭāru* "to write, inscribe"); (3) the setting-up of the monument (with *izuzzu*-Š or *zaqāpu* "to set up"). In some cases, all three are included, but in others only an incomplete sequence is presented, i.e. Elements 1 and 2, Elements 1 and 3, Elements 2 and 3, or Element 3 alone.[45]

As noted at the beginning (1.1), the monument is referred to as *ṣalmu* "an image" in all cases but one. The exception is *asumettu* in Case 5, which represents a commemorative stela with an inscription and/or reliefs;[46] in this specific case, it is said to have borne an inscription.[47] The term *ṣalmu* "image" is attested either alone or with attributes: *ṣalam šarrūtīya* (*šurbâ*/*mukīn šumīya*) "a (splendid) royal image

[45] The set of Elements 2 and 3 is only attested with the setting-up of *asumettu* (Case 5), not with that of *ṣalmu*.

[46] *CAD*, A/II, p. 348.

[47] Another well-attested term for a monument, though not found in Shalmaneser's inscriptions, is *narû*, which means an inscribed monument, either a stela or a rock inscription (with or without a relief) (see *CAD*, N/I, pp. 364–367, for references).

of myself (establishing my name)";[48] *ṣalam bēlūtīya* (*šurbâ*/*mukīn šumīya*) "a (splendid) lordly image of myself (establishing my name)"; *ṣalam bunnannîya* "an image of my likeness"; *ṣalam gešrūtīya* "my heroic image". It is impossible to determine the exact type of monument from the term *ṣalmu* alone, since it can denote three types of object, as known from archaeological finds, i.e. (1) a three-dimensional royal statue, (2) a round-headed stela bearing a relief of the royal figure with divine insignia (i.e. a free-standing stela) or (3) a two-dimensional stela-like relief engraved on a rock face (i.e. a rock relief).[49]

The type of monument, however, can be verified in several specific cases by archaeological or iconographic data. In one unique case, the monument referred to in Shalmaneser's texts has been identified with an object found *in situ*: the above-mentioned pair of royal images discovered on the rock face at the source of the Tigris, which must have been engraved in Shalmaneser's Year 15 (Case 11). On these two rock reliefs, the king is represented in the typical gesture of communicating with the gods, holding out his right arm with extended forefinger—the pose defined as *ubāna tarāṣu* "extending a finger".[50]

Three reliefs from the Balawat Bronze Bands provide us with iconographic data for the shape of some specific monuments. On Band I, upper register, a free-standing stela is depicted by the Sea of Nairi, with the king and his officials performing a ritual. It has a round top and bears an image of the king making the gesture described above.[51] This scene should be dated either to the accession year (Case 1) or to Year 3 (Case 8). Another scene is found on Band X,

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[48] The adjective *šurbû* usually expresses the greatness of divinities or rulers; for references, see *CAD*, Š/III, pp. 341f. In *ṣalam šarrūtīya*/*bēlūtīya šurbâ*, the *šurbâ*, while grammatically congruent with *ṣalmu* (masculine, singular), probably modifies the entire construct chain *ṣalam šarrūtīya*/*bēlūtīya*, expressing the greatness of the kingship/lordship, rather than the large size of the monument.

[49] For discussions of this issue, see E.D. van Buren, *Or.* 10 (1941), pp. 65–92, esp. 70–75; D. Morandi, *Mesopotamia* 23 (1988), pp. 105–155, esp. 105f.; cf. *CAD*, Ṣ, pp. 78–85. For three-dimensional Neo-Assyrian statues in general, see E. Strommenger, *Die neuassyrische Rundskulptur*. For the free-standing stelae and rock reliefs, see Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, pp. 54–60 and 177–224. The verbs used for "setting-up" (*izuzzu*-Š, *zaqāpu*) seem, at first glance, more suitable for the setting-up of a stela or statue than for engraving a rock relief, but in its broader sense the expression appears to denote the latter as well. Note the case of the rock relief engraved at the source of the Tigris in Years 7 and 15 (Cases 10 and 11), whose erection is described by *izuzzu*-Š.

[50] For this gesture, see U. Magen, *Königsdarstellungen*, pp. 45–55 and 94–103.

[51] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. I. Börker-Klähn considers that it is a rock relief (*Bildstelen*, p. 186, T 33_{145}); this seems unlikely to me.

lower register. It shows an image of the king, again making the same gesture, encircled by a stela-like framework round its top, on the rock face at the source of the Tigris.[52] The scene should be dated to Year 7 (= Case 10). The third scene, on Band N, upper register, illustrates a round-headed free-standing stela bearing a royal image making the same gesture, standing on rocky terrain.[53] The historical background of this scene remains unclear, but if E. Unger's suggestion of identifying the place with the Mediterranean coast is accepted,[54] it may be dated to Year 1, i.e. Case 3.

Shalmaneser's monuments depicted on the Balawat Bronze Bands and those actually discovered *in situ* (at the source of the Tigris and Kenk) were either stelae or rock reliefs. Indeed, around the periphery of Assyria, only stelae and rock reliefs of Assyrian rulers have so far been discovered, with no statues.[55] This would indicate that the monuments set up in the course of Shalmaneser's campaigns, especially in the open air, were usually stelae and rock reliefs, rather than statues in the round. However, the monuments placed in the cities subjugated by Shalmaneser, specifically in their sanctuaries (see below, 1.4), may have been different. In such cases, the king could have set up either stelae or statues, like those found in major cities in Assyria proper.[56]

1.3. *Inscriptions Engraved on Monuments*

Inscriptions on the monument are noted for 11 examples (Cases 1–3, 5–11 and 16).[57] With the exception of one example (Case 5 dealing

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[52] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. LIX.

[53] Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pl. I. For the reconstruction of Band N, see *ibid.*, pp. 19–24.

[54] Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pp. 67f.

[55] The evidence is conveniently summarized by Morandi, *Mesopotamia* 23, pp. 144–146, Tables B and C.

[56] Cf. Magen, *Königsdarstellungen*, pp. 41f.; she gathered evidence for the Assyrian royal images placed in sanctuaries in Assyria and the subjugated lands. For Shalmaneser III's statues found in Assyrian capitals (Calah and Ashur), see above, n. 43. The rock relief, suitable to an open air place, is most unlikely form of monument to be set up inside the subjugated cities (cf. a similar comment by Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*, p. 69b).

[57] In Case 1, the engraving of the inscription is mentioned in some texts but not in others. This proves that the reference to an inscription is not always included. Thus some, if not all, of the monuments, for which no text is recorded, may have actually borne an inscription.

with *asumettu*, not *ṣalmu*), the other ten cases bear a typological definition of the contents of the inscription; it comprises two elements, often in combination: (1) the praise of the god Ashur (*tanitti/tanatti Aššur bēli rabî bēlīya*) and (2) the king's heroic, victorious or mighty deeds (*ilkakāt/alkakāt qurdīya; epšēt tanittīya/tašnintīya; līt/tanatti kiššūtīya*).[58]

In some cases, more concrete details about the inscription are noted, following the typological definition. For Case 3 (the monument on the Mediterranean coast), it is stated that "I inscribed thereon the praise of the god Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might, which I achieved in the land of Hatti" (Ann. 1) or "I inscribed thereon [the praise of the god Ashur, my lord, and the victory of my might, which] I achieved [on] the sea [coast]" (Ann. 4). Similarly, for the inscription of Case 9 (the monument in Gilzanu), its contents are noted as "the praise of Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might which I achieved in the land of Nairi". These suggest that the inscriptions were focused on the military achievement in a certain land immediately preceding the setting-up of the monument. In other words, those texts were not "standard annals", in which several campaigns were narrated in chronological order, but narrated a single campaign, like the inscription engraved on the Kenk Rock Relief (Summ. 2). Case 10 (the monument at the source of the Tigris) is different; the contents of its text are noted as "all that I did in the lands (*mimma ša ina mātāte ēteppuša*[sic, var.: *ētappa*[. . .]])" (Ann. 13 and 14). This matches the two inscriptions actually found *in situ* (Summ. 3a and 3b), which briefly report selective military achievements in various lands in geographical order (see above, Part I, 1.2.2, under Summ. 3a and 3b). One might assume, on the basis of these examples, that other texts of Shalmaneser's monuments set up in the course of his campaigns also dealt with selective topics, rather than being "annals" with a full chronological record of every regnal year.[59]

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[58] Cf. Magen, *Königsdarstellungen*, p. 52, for the second element. Further similar expressions defining the contents of Assyrian commemorative inscriptions may be found in *CAD*, K, pp. 461f. (*sub kiššūtu*), L, p. 222 (*sub līt*), M/II, pp. 232f. (*sub musarû*), Q, p. 318b (*sub qurdu*).

[59] The annalistic text on the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3) should be considered separately from these examples, since the monument was set up in an Assyrian city, though remote from the Assyrian heartland. Cf. above n. 43.

1.4. *The Ideological Background of the Location of Monuments*

Shalmaneser's commemorative monuments, mentioned in his campaign accounts, were usually set up at the remotest points on the king's march, mainly in the areas west and north of Assyria (there was one in the east; see above, Table 10, under "Area"). Obviously, this distribution reflects the frequency of Shalmaneser's military expeditions in these directions: twenty-one campaigns to the west, ten to the north, three to the east and two to the south.[60] It is hardly accidental that no monument was erected in the south (i.e. Babylonia)—though Shalmaneser undertook two campaigns at the request of the king of Babylon to help to suppress a domestic revolt.[61] In all probability, he regarded Babylonia as a state of equal status, and thus avoided claiming sovereignty by setting up his monument in its territory.

From a different viewpoint, the locations of the monuments can be classified into two categories: (1) at conspicuous geographical features with no associated settlements, i.e. on a mountain, at a seashore or lakefront, on a riverbank (especially at the source of major streams); (2) in cities, after their subjugation and/or conquest (cf. Table 10, under "Location").

The monuments with a royal image set up in a conspicuous geographical location appear to have been aimed at commemorating the king's contact with the quasi-divine landmark symbolizing the world border, and at displaying such achievements to a "future prince (*rubû arkû*)" visiting the site.[62] The Mediterranean Sea, Lake Urmia, Mts. Amanus, and Lebanon, as well as the Anatolian mountains, were in fact the remotest places which the Assyrian kings had reached until the days of Shalmaneser III, although some of them had previously been reached by his predecessors, Tiglath-pileser I and Ashurnasirpal II.[63] These places, therefore, appear to have signified the

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[60] Some of these campaigns (one to the west, two to the north and two to the east) were actually conducted by the commander-in-chief Dayyan-Ashur. See above, Part II, 19.

[61] For these campaigns, see Brinkman, *PKB*, pp. 193–199.

[62] The ideological aspect of such monuments marking the world border was recently discussed by D. Morandi (*Mesopotamia* 23, pp. 120–124) and M. Liverani (*Prestige and Interest*, pp. 59–65); H. Tadmor discussed the evidence for the intended audience of these monuments (in *Assyria 1995*, pp. 330f.).

[63] Tiglath-pileser I reached Mt. Lebanon and the Mediterranean Sea (RIMA 2, A.0.87.3, ll. 16–25) and, according to Shalmaneser III, he placed his image on Mt. Lebanon (see above, 1.1, Case 15). Ashurnasirpal II reached the Mediterranean and Mts. Lebanon and Amanus (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 84–92); as noted (above, n. 12), he erected a stela (*asumettu*) in the Amanus.

extreme end of the world to the Assyrians. Other elevations and streams, which seem minor in the context of our modern topographical knowledge, such as the Saluara river (Case 2) and Mt. Atalur (Case 4), might also have been regarded as conspicuous landmarks in remote foreign lands.

Another aspect of the images located at such prominent landmarks is the erection of Shalmaneser's image alongside that of his predecessors. Two such cases are attested: one is the monument set up in Mt. Atalur with the image of Anum-hirbe, king of Mama, from the Old Assyrian period (Case 4),[64] and the other is that placed on Mt. Lebanon alongside the image of Tiglath-pileser (I) (Case 15). With such statements, Shalmaneser probably claimed that he entered the ranks of his famous predecessors. Moreover, by paying respect to their monuments, hope was expressed that a future prince would treat his own monument in similar way.

We turn now to monuments set up in subjugated cities. In four out of eight cases (Cases 5 [*asumettu*], 6, 9, 12, 16, 17, 19 and 20 [all *ṣalmu*]), a specific location in the city is given for the monument:[65]

Case 6: "in the lower city of Saluria at the place of *ēqu* (*ina qaqqiri ēqi*)".

Case 9: "in the midst of his (Asau, king of Gilzanu's) city, in his temple (*ina ekurrīšu*)".

Case 17: "in Maruba, his (Ba'il's) fortified city, in his temple (*ina ekurrīšu*)".

Case 20: "in Kinalua, his (the Patinean king's) royal city, in his house of the gods (*ina bīt ilānīšu*)".

These four instances all point to a cultic site in the cities, a temple or place of *ēqu*.[66] Comparable evidence is found in the inscriptions of other Assyrian kings. Ashurnasirpal II is said to have placed his image in the "*ēqu*-mountain (*ina šadê ēqi*)" in a city in the land of Habhu. He is also known to have placed his image (*ṣalmu*) in the palace of the city Hindanu on the Middle Euphrates, as well as inscribed stelae (*narê*) at the gate.[67] Tiglath-pileser III states that he placed his image (*ṣalmu*) made of gold in the palace of the conquered city of Gaza and "counted it among the gods of the people of Gaza

[64] For this king, see above, Part II, 1.2, esp. p. 107, n. 99.

[65] Case 5 is a stela (*asumettu*), which perhaps did not bear an image.

[66] For *ēqu* as a cultic object, see *CAD*, E, pp. 243f.; *AHw*, p. 232. Cf. also B. Landsberger, *Der kultische-Kalender der Babylonier und Assyrer*, p. 14, n. 1.

[67] For references, see above, n. 6 (Habhu) and n. 10 (Hindanu).

(*ana ilāni mātīšunu amnûma*)".[68] Thus, the Assyrian royal image—whether a relief on a stela or a statue in the round—was placed together with images or symbols of local gods in a sanctuary in subjugated cities, just as at temples in Assyria proper,[69] and represented the Assyrian monarch as a worshipper. The Assyrian king was thus associated with every act of worship performed in the sanctuary, both as an earthly representative of Assyrian and local gods and as a participant in every favour they might vouchsafe to grant.[70]

I would like to go one step further and consider the legal and political role of the royal image situated in the sanctuary. It is well known that in the ancient Near East, oaths were taken by the various symbols of the gods.[71] However, the royal image was also occasionally involved in such ceremonies. One of the seventh-century legal documents from the Assyrian province of Guzana shows that a contract was made before a royal image (*ṣalam šarri*) as well as the gods Nabu and Shamash, i.e. their statues or symbols, as witnesses.[72] Similarly, "Esarhaddon's Succession Treaty" was sworn before the images (*ṣalmu*) of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal, alongside the god

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[68] The text was reconstructed from several parallel inscriptions by H. Spieckermann (*Juda unter Assur in der Sargonidenzeit*, pp. 325–327) and recently by H. Tadmor (*ITP*, pp. 222–225 [Excursus 4]). The monument is described as *ṣalam ilāni* (*rabûti*) *bēlēya* (*u*) *ṣalam šarrūtīya ša hurāṣi* "the image(s) of the (great) gods and (or: that is) my royal image of gold". It remains unclear whether the royal image was engraved on a stela or was a statue, and whether divine images or insignia were engraved on the same object or formed separate statues or other symbols. Cf. Tadmor's comment (*ITP*, p. 177, note on Summ. 8, l. 16') for the opinion that the object was a single golden royal statue with symbols of the gods upon its breast.

[69] For the erection of the image of the Assyrian monarch and crown prince close to divine images in temples, see e.g. RIMA 2, A.0.101.30, ll. 76–78 (the image of Ashurnasirpal II in front of the statue of Ninurta); R. Borger, *Asarhaddon*, p. 87, r. 3f. (the images of Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal in the temple of Ashur); *ABL* 36 (= *LAS* 7 = *SAA* 10, no. 13), r. 2–8 (the images of Esarhaddon and his sons around the statue of Sin at Harran); *ABL* 257 (*SAA* 10, no. 358), r. 4–6 (the images of Esarhaddon or Ashurbanipal around the statue of Tashmetu); *ABL* 951, l. 20 (royal images before the statues of Bel and Nabu). Cf. Magen, *Königsdarstellungen*, pp. 41f.

[70] C.J. Gadd, *The Assyrian Sculptures*, p. 16; cf. M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, p. 58. It was once hypothesized that the Assyrian kings encouraged worship of themselves as gods by placing their image in foreign countries (e.g. A.T. Olmstead, *The American Political Science Review* 12 [1918], pp. 69 and 72). This was, however, refuted by Gadd (*op. cit.*) and most definitely by Cogan (*op. cit.*, pp. 56–60).

[71] See e.g. A. Walther, *Das Altbabylonische Gerichtwesen*, pp. 191–195; R. Harris, in *FS Landsberger*, pp. 217–224; S. Dalley, *Iraq* 48 (1986), pp. 92f.

[72] A. Ungnad, *AfO Beiheft* 6, pp. 62f. and table 23, no. 112; cf. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 57–60. Dalley (*Iraq* 48, pp. 91 and 97f.) regards the *ṣalam šarri* as a distinct deity.

Ashur and other great gods.[73] If a similar custom was practised in the cities subjugated by Shalmaneser III, the royal image, functioning as a witness together with the symbols of the gods, impressed on the local élite who came to take oaths that their world was bound to the Assyrian empire, and perhaps reminded them of the vassal treaty which they had sworn before the gods and their overlord.[74]

2. *Washing of Weapons and Other Rituals on the Seashore*

When Shalmaneser's army reached the sea, the purificatory washing of weapons (*kakkēya/kakkē Aššur* (*ezzūte*) *ullil*) and the offering to the gods (*niqête ana ilānīya aqqi/aṣbat*[75]) were duly performed. Such rituals are mentioned together with the erection of royal images, as attested in some of the passages assembled above in 1.1, i.e. at the Sea of Nairi (Lake Urmia, Cases 1 and 8) and the Mediterranean Sea (Case 3). Similar rituals were also practised at the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates (Cases 10 and 12).[76]

The washing of weapons and the offering to the gods were also performed by Ashurnasirpal II when he reached the Mediterranean coast.[77] The historical antecedents of this ceremony can be found in the inscriptions of several Mesopotamian rulers from the third and second millennia B.C. Two great kings of Akkad record a similar ceremony they performed in the Persian Gulf in their inscriptions. Sargon, who conquered the territory of Lagash as far as the sea, is said to have "washed his weapons in the sea (giš-tukul-ni a-ab-ba-ka ì-luh // GIŠ.TUKUL-*ki-šu in ti-a-am-tim* Ì.LUH)".[78] Naram-Sin likewise

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[73] *SAA* 2, pp. 44f. (no. 6, ll. 397–409).

[74] The oath of vassaldom was presumably imposed on the subjugated countries in the time of Shalmaneser III, although it remains questionable where and by which deities the oath was taken. For this issue, see below, Part V, 2.

[75] Reading *az-be* for *aṣ-bat*, *CAD* (Z, p. 84a) accepts the existence of a verb *zebû*. This is doubtful. See *AHw*, p. 1519a, which rejects this; cf. W.G. Lambert, in J. Quaegebeur (ed.), *Ritual and Sacrifice in the Ancient Near East*, p. 193.

[76] In the second visit to the source of the Tigris (Case 11), no ritual is mentioned in any text. No reference to such rituals is made in connection with the image at the source of Saluara river (Case 2), but the statement "I praised the greatness of the great gods . . ." (Ann. 1 and 3) may imply a thanks-giving ritual for the gods.

[77] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 84f.

[78] RIME 2, E.2.1.1.1, ll. 50–52 (Sumerian) // ll. 56–58 (Akkadian); cf. also E.2.1.1.2, ll. 59–61; E.2.1.1.3, ll. 44–46.

marched against Magan, located in the midst of the sea, and "washed his weapons in the Lower Sea (GIŠ.TUKUL-*ki-šu*$_4$ *i*[*n*] *ti-a-am-tim ša-píl-tim* Ì.LUH)."[79] In his foundation inscription, Yahdun-Lim, king of Mari, describes with special enthusiasm his campaign to the Mediterranean. Varying slightly from the rituals of the Neo-Assyrian rulers and kings of Akkad, he "made a great royal offering to the ocean (*ana* A.A.AB.BA *niqî šarrūtīšu rabiam iqqi*)"—not to the gods (pl.) in general—and "purified his army in it (*ṣabûšu ina qirib* A.A.AB.BA *mê irmuk*)"—not only his weapons.[80] The relevant cases attested in Shalmaneser's inscriptions, however, demonstrate that this type of ceremony was not limited to the two most prominent oceans.[81]

For Case 10 (at the source of the Tigris), it is reported (Ann. 13 and 14) that a celebration banquet (*naptan hudûti*) was held, following the washing of weapons and the offering to the gods. This appears to represent the complete set of rituals performed by the Assyrians when they reached major bodies of water. The standard order of such elements is: i. washing weapons; ii. making an offering; iii. the celebration banquet; this is usually followed by the erection of an image.[82] The sequence might reflect the actual order.

The documentary evidence can again be reinforced by the above-mentioned three scenes engraved on the Balawat Bronze Bands (1.2). Band I, upper register, bears a ritual scene set by the Sea of Nairi.[83] At its left end, two Assyrian soldiers are depicted by the lake, one of them throwing the legs of an ox into the lake, the other dragging the ox's head towards the water; this may be the offering of an ox to the divine waters, as seen in a similar act of Yahdun-Lim on the Mediterranean coast (see above). To the right of this scene, a stela bearing a royal image is depicted with two divine standards,[84]

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[79] RIME 2, E.2.1.4.3, iv 29–32.

[80] Dossin, *Syria* 32, pp. 1–28, ii 8–13 = RIME 4, E.4.6.8.2, ll. 46–51. Cf. Malamat, in *FS Landsberger*, p. 367; idem, in G.D. Young (ed.), *Mari in Retrospect*, pp. 211–215. Malamat, especially in his second article, discussed the divine nature of the Mediterranean as originating in early West Semitic-Canaanite concepts.

[81] The offering to the gods was performed also in prominent mountains, as reported by Ashurnasirpal II who carried it out in the Amanus (RIMA 2, 0.101.1, iii 89).

[82] However, the caption of Balawat Band I, upper register, refers first to the image and then the offering (see 1.1, Case 1).

[83] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pls. I–II.

[84] For the divine standard in general, see B. Pongratz-Leisten, K. Deller and E. Bleibtreu, *Bagh. Mitt.* 23 (1992), pp. 291–356 and pls. 49–69. For the scenes of Bands I and N, see esp. Bleibtreu, *ibid.*, p. 350 and pl. 55.

a low table for offerings, an incense-burner, and a tall table with a round pot on it; at the side of these objects on the right stand the king and two priests, followed by musicians and animals prepared for sacrifice. In this scene, the king appears to be offering a libation, pouring wine into the round pot,[85] with the priests carrying offerings on a plate and wine in rhytons. Another scene on Band N, upper register, also includes two divine standards and an incense burner standing in front of a stela which bears a royal image.[86] The third relief (Band X, lower register) depicts a scene at the source of the Tigris.[87] At its right end are three Assyrians holding torches and exploring the inside of the tunnel; on the cliff by the entrance to the tunnel, an artist, accompanied by another official, is engraving a royal image, and soldiers(?) are coming towards them, leading animals to be sacrificed. In accordance with the documentary evidence, these scenes depict a series of rituals, and show some additional concrete details: offerings and animal sacrifices to the holy waters and before the divine symbols, libations, incense and music.[88] However, the exact contents of these rituals remain unclear, with no surviving textual description of the cultic programme and prayers.

[85] For libation-pouring into a vessel, see C. Watanabe, in T. Mikasa (ed.), *Cult and Ritual in the Ancient Near East*, pp. 91–104, esp. 95f.

[86] Unger, "Wiederherstellung", pl. I.

[87] King, *Bronze Reliefs*, pl. LIX.

[88] For libations and offerings in general, see W.G. Lambert, in *Ritual and Sacrifice*, pp. 191–201; Watanabe, in *Cult and Ritual*, pp. 91–104.

PART V

CONCLUDING REMARKS: SHALMANESER III'S DOMINION OVER THE COUNTRIES IN THE WEST

Shalmaneser inherited from his predecessors the political-ideological motivation to reconstitute the lost "Land of Ashur" as far as the Euphrates (see Part I, 3). At the beginning of his reign, he concentrated his efforts on this goal and practically achieved it with the subjugation of Bit-Adini in Year 4 (855). He then aimed at extending his imperial power beyond the traditional Assyrian boundary, with a series of campaigns to central Syria and Anatolia, to the territory still regarded as Hittite, i.e. the "Land of Hatti". This military enterprise was also motivated by economic interests, as Shalmaneser systematically exploited the accumulated wealth of the kingdoms in the west by taking significant amounts of booty and tribute (see Part III). This final section will summarize the political-administrative methods employed by Shalmaneser in this enterprise. Two types of dominion will be discussed: 1. dominion over lands under direct Assyrian control, i.e. provinces and outposts; 2. dominion over vassal kingdoms.

1. *Provinces and Outposts*

In later Assyrian royal inscriptions, especially those from the reign of Tiglath-pileser III (745–727) onwards, the re-organization of conquered lands into Assyrian provinces is clearly recorded. The creation of new provinces is normally expressed as "I annexed (the land) into the Assyrian border (*ana miṣir māt Aššur utirra*)" or "I re-organized (*ana eššūti aṣbat*)", with clear references to the appointment of Assyrian governors (*bēl pīhāti* or *šaknu*) over the provinces. The addition of new territories to existing provinces is also noted unambiguously, as "I added (the district) to the province X (*ina muhhi pīhat X uraddi*)", etc. As for the earlier period, however, it is not so easy to detect the expansion of Assyrian provincial rule, since the formation of provinces is not referred to in an unequivocal manner, while the transformation of individual cities into Assyrian cities is reported.

In a recent study, based on the records of Assyrian campaigns to the Habur and Middle Euphrates area in the ninth century B.C. (specifically by Adad-nerari II, Tukulti-Ninurta II and Ashurnasirpal II), M. Liverani proposed a new paradigm of the growth of Assyria in this problematic period.[1] Observing that in the course of these campaigns the Assyrianized places alternate with places ruled by local princes who pay tribute, he concluded that "the Assyrian empire is not a spread of land but a network of communications over which material goods are carried", and that Assyrian control was extended and/or consolidated "by a thickening of pre-existing networks or by setting up other networks".[2] This view, however, has been criticized by J.N. Postgate.[3] He emphasized the constant existence of Assyrian provinces as the basic components of Assyrian territory from the middle Assyrian period onwards, and argued that Liverani's paradigm underemphasized the "spreading territories" within the provinces. Thus, he preferred to regard the survival of local dynasties in places like the Habur basin as transitional cases preceding their final absorption into the provincial system. Keeping these discussions in mind, the evidence from the time of Shalmaneser III will now be examined.

As already stated, royal inscriptions before the time of Tiglathpileser III lack clear statements about the creation of provinces. In the inscriptions of Shalmaneser III, we find instead the transformation of occupied cities into Assyrian cities, expressed by the statement: "I took (the cities) for my royal citi(es) (*ana āl šarrūtīya aṣbat*)"[4] or "I took (the city) for myself (*ana ramānīya aṣbat*)".[5] The list of cities transformed into Assyrian cities reads as follows:

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[1] *SAAB* 2 (1988), pp. 81–98.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

[3] *World Archaeology* 23 (1991), pp. 247–263, esp. 255–257.

[4] Ann. 3, ii 33f. (Til-barsip, Al(l)igu, Nappigi, Rugulitu [in Year 3]). The phrase is only found in this passage, but the city of Damdammusa in Nairi is called *āl šarrūtīya* by Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 103). Cf. Y. Ikeda, *Iraq* 41 (1979), p. 75 with n. 5.

[5] Ann. 5, i 59–61 (Til-barsip, Pitru [Year 3]), ii 22 (Til-turahi [Year 6]); Ann. 6, l. 69 (Til-turahi); Ann. 7, i 43 (Pitru); Ann. 13, l. 41 (Pitru), l. 131 (Muru [Year 26/27]); Ann. 14, ll. 16f. (Pitru), l. 30 (Til-turahi). The same terminology is also used in the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II: RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, ii 8f. (Tushhan), iii 82 (Aribua), iii 101 (Mallanu [land]), and iii 113 (Udu). Other expressions of annexation used by Shalmaneser's predecessors from the ninth century are "*ana eššūte aṣbat*" (A.0.101.1, ii 3 [Tushhan] and ii 85 [Atlila/Dur-Ashur]) by Ashurnasirpal II; "*ana miṣir mātīšu uterru*" (A.0.99.2, l. 26 [the land of Kadmuhu], l. 34 [Idu, Zaqqu, etc.]), "*ana eššūte abni*" (*ibid.*, l. 37 [Apqu]), and "*ana ramānīya lū ammu*" (*ibid.*, l. 44 [Saraku] and l. 47 [palaces in the cities in Kashiyari]) by Adad-nerari II. Cf. also a general statement by Tukulti-Ninurta II: *eli māt Aššur māta eli nišēša nišē uraddi* (A.0.100.5 l. 133).

Year 3 (856): Til-barsip, Al(l)igu, Nappigi, Rugulitu, Pitru and Mutkinu from the former territory of Bit-Adini on both sides of the Euphrates (see above, Part II, 3.2).
Year 6 (853): Til-(sha-)turahi and Sahlala along the Balih river (see Part II, 5.2).
Year 7 (852): Til-abne located between the Balih and Euphrates[6] (see Part II, 6.2).
Year 26/27 (= the 25th *palû*): Muru, the former fortified city of Bit-Agusi (see Part II, 18).

The construction of Assyrian cities is known only from the western front—reflecting Shalmaneser's aim of extending Assyrian boundaries particularly in this direction. The procedure of constructing the Assyrian cities, either as provincial centres or as outposts, is characterized by the following elements as documented in Shalmaneser's texts: restoration of the fortification system;[7] construction of Assyrian royal palaces;[8] settling of Assyrians;[9] introduction of Assyrian "gods", i.e. divine images and/or other symbols.[10] Assyrian settlement must have been achieved by removing part of the local population, forcing them to flee, or by forcibly deporting them to Assyria.[11] Obviously, this was aimed at securing the Assyrian hold on the annexed territory by bringing about demographic change.[12] The new Assyrian cities are referred to in the Annals as "(my) royal city (*āl šarrūtīya*)",[13] and in some cases, they were given new Assyrian ceremonial names, e.g. *Kār-Šulmānu-ašarēd* "the quay of Shalmaneser" for Til-barsip; *Līt(a)-*

[6] This annexation, not explicitly described in the Annals, is conjectural.
[7] Ann. 3, ii 38 (*ana ašrīšunu utēra*; Pitru, Mutkinu); Ann. 13, l. 131 (construction of doorway [*sippu*] at Muru).
[8] Ann. 3, ii 34 (Til-barsip, Al(l)igu, Nappigi, Rugulitu); Ann. 13, l. 131 (Muru).
[9] Ann. 3, ii 34 (Til-barsip, Al(l)igu, Nappigi, Rugulitu), 38 (Pitru, Mutkinu).
[10] Ann. 3, ii 80 (Til-sha-turahi). Particularly important must have been the symbols connected with the cult of the god Ashur (see M. Cogan, *Imperialism*, pp. 49–55). Offerings to this Assyrian chief deity were contributed according to a rota by the provincial components of the Land of Ashur. See Postgate, *World Archaeology* 23, pp. 251f.
[11] The evidence for large-scale deportation from the territories occupied by Assyrians is sparse. Such deportation is, however, recorded for Bit-Adini (Ann. 4, iii 5f.; Ann. 5, ii 7–9; Ann. 7, ii 3–6; Ann. 14, ll. 22–24) and for Til-(sha-)turahi (Ann. 14, l. 30; only the palace women). Cf. above, Part III, 5.1.
[12] Cf. B. Oded, *Mass Deportations*, pp. 43–45. However, the exchange of deportees between two distant conquered lands, as attested from the time of Tiglathpileser III onwards, was not yet practised in this period. See *ibid.*, pp. 27–32.
[13] For this designation, cf. Ikeda, *Iraq* 41, p. 75.

Aššur "the might of the god Ashur" for Nappigi; *Aṣbat-lakūnu*[14] "I took (this city); may I be firm (upon it)" for Alligu; *Qibīt*-[. . .] "the command of [DN]" for Rugulitu.[15]

Though Shalmaneser's records lack evidence for the appointment of Assyrian governors over specific cities or provinces, there is a general statement relevant to this point. It is a passage in the concluding part of Annals 5 (iv 37–39): *ina mātāti u huršāni ša abīlušināni šaknūtīya altakkan biltu maddattu zābil kudurri elīšunu aškun* "In the lands and mountains over which I gained dominion, I always appointed governors and imposed upon them tax, tribute (and) corvée". Similar statements are also found in the inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal II: *ina mātāte (u huršāni) ša apēlušināti/šunūni šaknūtēya altakkan (maddattašunu amhur) urudūti uppušū* (var.: *urudūti uppušu kudurru ēmissunūti*) "In the lands (and mountains) over which I gained dominion, I always appointed my governors; (I received their tribute;) they are doing servitude (var.: I imposed upon them servitude and corvée)".[16] In my opinion, these statements deal with territories integrated in various ways into the Assyrian administration, including provinces and outposts, as well as lands ruled by local dynasts regarded as Assyrian governors (see below).

The first and most intensive Assyrian settlement in the reign of Shalmaneser took place on both banks of the Euphrates (see above). As already discussed (Part II, 3.2), the considerable extent of the area, in which a number of Assyrianized cities were constructed, strongly suggests that the area was re-organized under provincial administration. When this incident is considered in its historical context, it is clear this province with its centre Til-barsip served as a basis for the subsequent expansion of imperial dominion. From this new bridgehead, Shalmaneser undertook further campaigns to subjugate more distant countries in central Syria and south-eastern Anatolia. During these, he consolidated his control of roads in Syria by building new outposts, as exemplified by the occupation of Muru in Bit-Agusi

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[14] Assyrian precative of *kânu* with an excessive vowel *u* at the end (thus B. Pongratz-Leisten, in *FS Röllig*, p. 333, n. 52).

[15] Ann. 3, ii 31. The Assyrian renaming of occupied cities attested in Assyrian royal inscriptions has recently been discussed by B. Pongratz-Leisten (*FS Röllig*, pp. 325–343, esp. 332f. for the relevant cases of Shalmaneser III).

[16] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 125f. // A.0.101.3, ll. 45f. // A.0.101.26, ll. 30–32; A.0.101.23, ll. 11f. // A.0.101.28, iv 11–13; A.0.101.53, l. 6.

(see above). This may be viewed as a continuation of the policy of Ashurnasirpal II, who had already constructed the outpost of Aribua on the lower Orontes in order to secure the route to the Mediterranean and central Syria. Thus, Shalmaneser "thickened the pre-existing network of communication" (in Liverani's terminology) in the area ruled by Aramaean and Hittite states. In this area, however, he never attempted to create Assyrian provinces. It appears that he regarded the region as a foreign land, the "Land of Hatti", situated beyond the traditional boundary of the "Land of Ashur". In other words, the "Land of Hatti" had to be subjugated to bear the "yoke of Ashur", but was not absorbed into Assyria proper.[17]

To the east of the new province of Til-barsip, in the area between the Euphrates and Balih, Shalmaneser conquered several cities which had remained independent, e.g. Sahlala, Til-turahi and Til-abne, and turned them into Assyrian cities (see above). Within this area, as discussed in Part I, 2, he had inherited several Assyrian centres from his predecessors (Huzirina and Harran on the upper Balih, Kar-Ashurnasirpal and Nibarti-Ashur close to the mouth of the Balih). We may deduce, therefore, that the newly conquered cities were annexed to the earlier Assyrian territory and re-organized together into provinces. Consequently, it appears that Shalmaneser consolidated provinces spread around the central piedmont road passing the Habur and Balih basins, as far as the Euphrates.

However, the exact extent and division of provinces in this period is unclear.[18] Moreover, there is the question of administrative uniformity within the provinces. In all probability, Shalmaneser still tolerated some enclaves ruled by local dynasts in the Habur and Balih basins, as long as they co-operated with provincial rule, either as vassals or as governors authorized by Assyria. Such a survival of local dynasts may be illustrated by two cases in the Habur basin.[19] In Shadikanni (Tell Ajaja/Arban), the local dynast Mushezib-Ninurta, a grandson of Samanuha-shar-ilani who paid tribute to Ashurnasirpal II, remained as the ruler, as his name is found inscribed on a winged

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[17] Such a contrast between Assyria proper and the zone of the client (*alias* vassal) kingdoms has been definitively illustrated by J.N. Postgate (*World Archaeology* 23, pp. 251–255).

[18] For a review of the eponym lists and some other inscriptional evidence on the early Neo-Assyrian provinces, see J.N. Postgate, in *NAG*, pp. 1–17, esp. 5–10.

[19] Cf. the previous discussion of the survival of local dynasts in general by M. Liverani (*SAAB* 2, pp. 85–89) and J.N. Postgate (*World Archaeology* 23, pp. 256f.).

bull colossus uncovered *in situ*.[20] In the bilingual inscription found at Tell Fekherye (ancient Sikani), Adad-it'i, probably the contemporary of Shalmaneser III, called himself "king (*mlk*)" in the native language, i.e. Aramaic, but "governor (*šaknu*)" in Akkadian.[21] This may suggest that he was a "governor" for Assyria, while still regarding himself as the local "king".[22] In the present state of research, however, the exact relations of these local rulers with the entire system of Assyrian provincial administration remain unclear.

2. *Dominion over Vassals*

Outside the "Land of Ashur", i.e. the proper territory of Assyria composed of provinces, a belt of vassal states was created.[23] At the zenith of Shalmaneser's power, the extent of Assyrian suzerainty reached as far as Hamath, Patin and all of Phoenicia in the southern part of Syria, Melid and Gurgum in its northern part, Tabal, Hubushna and Que in Anatolia. Many of these countries became vassals of Assyria after military confrontation. Others, however, had submitted without being involved in dangerous conflict with Assyria, in the hope of gaining Assyrian political support in order to survive local rivalries.[24] The submission of these states is described in the Annals by the symbolic act of seizing the feet of the Assyrian monarch (*šēpē ṣabātu*) and/or by the payment of tribute, while more elaborate details of vassalage normally remained unrecorded.

I believe that the imposition of vassalage upon the subjugated states was constitutionalized by some form of political agreement

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[20] See A.H. Layard, *Discoveries among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, pp. 235 and 242; A. Mahmoud, *Assur* 4, Issue 2, p. 3. Mushezib-Ninurta is also attested on the inscriptions of two cylinder seals, one from Tarbiṣu and the other from Babylon (E. Unger, *BASOR* 130 [1953], pp. 15–21), and is known as the grandson of Samanuha-shar-ilani from the genealogy given on the former seal. Cf. Liverani, *SAAB* 2, p. 89; H. Kühne, in *NAG*, p. 76.

[21] See A. Abou Assaf, P. Bordreuil, and A. Millard, *La statue de Tell Fekherye*.

[22] Cf. Liverani, *SAAB* 2, pp. 88f. This situation probably continued from the time of his father, Sharnash-nuri, who is to be identified with the eponym of 866 and the governor of the Assyrian province of Guzana, the city just opposite Sikani (see above, Part I, 3, n. 165).

[23] J.N. Postgate prefers the term "client" to "vassal", to avoid feudal connotations (*World Archaeology* 23, p. 252). Here I have adopted "vassal" as the prevailing term, while admitting the truth of Postgate's caveat.

[24] Typical cases include Kummuh, Gurgum, Hubushna, Tyre, and perhaps Israel under Jehu.

between the kings. Vassal treaties, whose stipulations were formulated with unilateral concessions to Assyria from the weaker state, are best known from some examples of the *adê*-treaty/oath from the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[25] However, a few relevant pieces of evidence also survive from the period preceding Shalmaneser III's reign: for instance, Adad-nerari I (1305–1273) brought Shattuara, king of Hanigalbat, to the city of Ashur to make him take an oath (*utammīšu*);[26] and Tukulti-Ninurta I (1243–1206) brought Abule, king of Uqumenu, and his retainers to the city of Ashur, caused them to take an oath (*utammīšunūti*) by the great gods of heaven and earth, and imposed vassalage (*nīr bēlūtīya ukīn*).[27] Tiglath-pileser I (1114–1075) is said to have made 60 kings of Nairi swear an oath of eternal servitude by the Assyrian gods (*māmīt ilīya rabûti ana arkat ūmē ana ūm ṣâte ana ardutte utammīšunūti*);[28] Adad-nerari II (911–890) reports that Muquru of Tamannu breached the oath of the great gods (*māmīt ilāni rabûti ētiqma*) and declared war against Assyria;[29] Tukulti-Ninurta II (890–884), after the subjugation of Amme-Baal, king of Bit-Zamani, forced him to swear by the god Ashur (*māmīt Aššur bēlīya ina muhhi* [. . .] *utammēšu*) not to provide an enemy of Assyria with horses.[30] Though such a practice is not documented in Shalmaneser's texts, it can be safely deduced that he too forced subjugated countries to take the oath of vassalage. Such oaths were presumably put in writing, perhaps with a general statement promising to keep loyalty or with even more elaborate stipulations.[31]

The established overlord-vassal relationship was occasionally reinforced by diplomatic marriages. Vassals' daughters were sent to Assyria, but never *vice versa*, as can be observed in the cases of Gurgum (Year 1), Carchemish, Sam'al, Patin (all in Year 2) and Que

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[25] For extant treaties, see S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, SAA 2 (especially texts nos. 2, 5, 6, 10 and 13). For references in Assyrian royal inscriptions to treaties sworn by vassals in the eighth and seventh centuries, see S. Parpola, *JCS* 39 (1987), pp. 184f.

[26] RIMA 1, A.0.76.3, ll. 9–11.

[27] RIMA 1, A.0.78.1, iii 2–5.

[28] RIMA 2, A.0.87.1, v 14–16.

[29] RIMA 2, A.0.99.2, ll. 49f.

[30] RIMA 2, A.0.100.5, ll. 24f. Another reference is probably attested in an Assyrian Chronicle (Grayson, *Chronicles*, pp. 185f.: Assyrian Chronicle Fragments 2, l. 17), which seems to record the taking of an oath by the people of the city Aruna in the time of Arik-den-ili.

[31] For this problem, cf. the discussion by H. Tadmor, in G.M. Tucker and D.A. Knight (eds.), *Humanizing America's Iconic Book*, pp. 149f.

(Year 20). These princesses must have served as political hostages in practical terms.

To deliver "annual tribute" to Assyria and to pay "audience gifts" (above, Part III, 2.1) were the basic duties imposed upon vassals, as attested in Shalmaneser's texts.[32] As noted above, however, the other obligations of vassals are not consistently documented. Obviously, the duties of vassalage varied in each case, but there are few data which might enable such variation to be detected. These duties will be discussed here in general terms on the basis of the evidence from Shalmaneser's texts and comparable data from other periods.

The mobilization of vassal states to participate in Assyrian campaigns is attested in only one case, i.e. the campaign against Que in Year 20 (Ann. 7, iv 23f.; see above, Part II, 14.2), for which "all the kings of Hatti (*šarrāni ša* KUR *Hatti kalīšunu*)" were mustered.[33] Comparable cases are known from the time of Ashurnasirpal II, as well as from Sargonid Assyria.[34] Such military assistance was probably required as the implementation of part of the politico-military "cooperation" agreed upon between the overlord and the vassal, as illustrated in some Hittite and late Assyrian treaties.[35] It seems that vassals were requested to fulfill this duty particularly in Assyrian

[32] The evidence is fully discussed above in Part III, 2ff. Here it is sufficient to note that in the west, payment of annual tribute is attested only for Patin, Sam'al, Carchemish and Kummuh, though many other countries must have delivered it.

[33] Note, however, Sargon II's statement which implies that Shalmaneser III imposed such a duty on Irhuleni of Hamath; this evidence has been discussed above in Part II, 10.2.

[34] In his Mediterranean campaign, Ashurnasirpal II mobilized troops from Bit-Bahian, Bit-Adini, Carchemish and Patin (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, iii 56–77). In the Sargonid period, Ashurbanipal, for example, mustered Phoenician and Palestinian vassals for his Egyptian campaign (R. Borger, *BIWA*, pp. 18–20, Prisma A, I 68–74; Prisma C, II 37–67).

[35] For the Hittite treaties, see D.J. McCarthy, *Treaty and Covenant*, pp. 57f. and 81. Extant Assyrian treaties are less informative, but the participation of the vassal in Assyrian campaigns is found as a stipulation in the treaty between Ashur-nerari V and Mati'il of Arpad (SAA 2, no. 2, iv 1–3) and in that between Ashurbanipal and the Babylonians (SAA 2, no. 9, ll. 23'–26'a). It should be emphasized that the military support was mutual in principle; Assyria sometimes offered military aid to vassal states, when their security was threatened by local rivalries. See, for example, the case of Kilamuwa, king of Sam'al, who called for Assyrian help against aggression from a Cilician king (above, Part II, 14.2). For the protection of vassals as a reason for Assyrian military campaigns in general, see B. Oded, *War, Peace and Empire*, pp. 61–68; cf. also G.B. Lanfranchi, in H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten*, pp. 81–93 (discussing the mutual assistance between Sargon II and his vassals).

expeditions to remote countries, for which Assyria needed logistic support from the vassal kingdoms located on the campaign route.

There is no direct evidence for the imposition of corvée work on vassal states during the reign of Shalmaneser. It is plausible, however, that he imposed such a duty upon vassals in the west, especially for the construction of Assyrian cities in the region, as Ashurnasirpal II had already done with the countries of the Zagros and of Nairi, which were the objectives of intensive Assyrian colonization.[36]

It appears that Shalmaneser usually did not intervene in the internal political affairs of his vassal states. In some specific circumstances, however, he appointed a new ruler as the overlord (PN *ana šarrūti ina muhhīšunu aškun*). Two cases are attested for the states in the west, both following the removal of the previous ruler who had rebelled against Assyria, i.e. the replacement of Kate, king of Que, by his brother Kirri (see above, Part II, 18); and the placing of Sasi on the throne of Patin after the death of Surri, a usurper (see above, Part II, 19).[37] In the former case, the removal of the rebellious ruler must have been justified legally by sanctions specified in the loyalty oath which the vassal had taken (see above).

To sum up, Shalmaneser's western expansion was not merely a series of campaigns for plunder but a systematic attempt to establish dominion over the countries in the west. This dominion was lost toward the end of Shalmaneser's reign due to internal strife in Assyria. Nevertheless, the province of Til-barsip created by Shalmaneser survived as the permanent western boundary of Assyria until the renewal of territorial expansion by Tiglath-pileser III in the second half of the eighth century B.C.

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[36] RIMA 2, A.0.101.1, i 56 (Kirruri etc.), 67 (Habhu), ii 15 (Nairi), 47, 50, 79 (Zamua). Cf. Liverani, *SAATA*, pp. 111–113 and fig. 13.

[37] Another replacement of the ruler, not in the west, took place in Namri in Year 16 of Shalmaneser (Ann. 13, l. 95; curiously, this detail is not given in Ann. 5 and 7).

APPENDIX A

ARAM-ISRAEL RELATIONS AS REFLECTED IN THE ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION FROM TEL DAN*

Introduction

It is uncommon in the study of the history of the ancient Near East for historians to have an opportunity to examine a historical incident with the aid of two sources of different origin. The recent discovery of the Aramaic stela from Tel Dan (henceforth referred to as the Dan inscription),[1] however, has created a rare situation in which we can review Aram-Israel relations in the middle of the ninth century B.C. via three distinct historical documents: the biblical tradition, Assyrian annals, and the commemorative inscription of a king of Aram. My purpose here is to review the historical implications of the Dan inscription in combination with the other historical sources. Because of the defective state of the new Aramaic inscription and the difficulties in evaluating the biblical prophetic narratives accurately (see below), the historical reconstruction proposed here should remain hypothetical. I believe, however, that such an attempt is certainly timely with the appearance of new evidence.

The publishers of the Dan inscription, A. Biran and J. Naveh, reconstructed a text of 13 preserved lines by joining Fragments A and B1+B2, which were discovered in 1993 and 1994 respectively.[2] One of the most important features of their restoration is the two royal names: Jehoram son of Ahab, king of Israel ([*yhw*]*rm. br.* [*'h'b.*]/ *mlk. ysr'l*) and Ahaziah son of Jehoram, king of Judah (lit. of the House of David) ([*'hz*]*yhw. br*[*. yhwrm. ml*]/*k. bytdwd*), restored in ll. 7–9.[3] As they have aptly noted, the only Israelite and Judaean

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* This appendix is a revised version of my article published in *UF* 27 (1995), pp. 611–625.

[1] A. Biran and J. Naveh, *IEJ* 43 (1993), pp. 81–98; idem, *IEJ* 45 (1995), pp. 1–18. Cf. the new philological discussion on the inscription by A. Lemaire, *JSOT* 81 (1998), pp. 3–14.

[2] *IEJ* 45, pp. 1–17.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 9–13 and 16f.

royal name ending in *resh* and *mem* is Jehoram, and Ahaziah(u) is the only Judaean king whose name ends with the theophoric element *-yahu* in the ninth century B.C. Consequently, Biran and Naveh reached the inevitable conclusion that the author of the inscription was none other than Hazael, who according to biblical tradition fought against Jehoram and Ahaziah at Ramoth-Gilead before they were killed in the revolution of Jehu (2 Kings 8:28–9:28).[4] To be sure, the physical join between Fragments A and B1+B2 is based on a rather tenuous point of contact,[5] and the reason for the discrepancy in the number of letters supposedly missing at the end of certain lines remains perplexing.[6] Nevertheless, the proposed correspondence between the fragments seems tenable.[7] I shall thus base my discussion of the historical implications of the Dan inscription on the assumption of the general accuracy of the proposed reconstruction.

According to this general understanding of the text, its content can be summarized as follows:

a) The "father" of Hazael fought with a certain enemy at/in '[. . .][8] (l. 2').
b) The "father" died (l. 3'a).
c) A certain king of Israel had previously entered the territory of Aram (lit. "the land of my father") (ll. 3'b–4'a).
d) Hazael was enthroned by the god Hadad (ll. 4'b–5'a).
e) Under the protection of Hadad, Hazael "killed" kings, owners of many chariots and horsemen (ll. 5'b–7'a).[9]
f) Hazael "killed" Jehoram, king of Israel, and Ahaziah, king of Judah. The details of his military achievement are not well preserved, but the destruction of territory belonging to the enemies is certainly described (ll. 7'b–10').
g) The rise of another king of Israel, probably Jehu, as restored by Biran and Naveh[10] (ll. 11'–12'a).

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[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 9f.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 11.
[6] Cf. *ibid.*, p. 17.
[7] Cf. W.M. Schniedewind, *BASOR* 302 (1996), p. 78, defending the proposed join.
[8] The blank may be restored as '[*pq*] (Aphek). See below, n. 21.
[9] A. Lemaire interpretes *ml*[*k*]*n* in l. 6' as dual (rather than pl.) and rendered it "two kings", associating it with the kings of Israel and Judah mentioned in ll. 7'–9' (*JSOT* 81, pp. 4 and 7f.).
[10] Biran and Naveh, *IEJ* 45, pp. 12 and 17.

h) Hazael besieged a city, probably in the territory of Israel (ll. 12'b–13').

The preserved text can be divided into two parts, one describing the days of the "father" of Hazael (episodes a–c) and the other those of Hazael himself (episodes d–h). The main topic is a series of military conflicts between Aram-Damascus and her southern neighbour Israel, apparently in accordance with the location of the monument. A significant point in Hazael's claims is his military success as a king chosen by the god Hadad, in contrast to his predecessor's failure. The negative evaluation of the reign of the predecessor and the claim of divine election may reflect the "apologetic" character of a composition commissioned by a king who assumed his throne in an irregular manner (as did Hazael, see below).[11]

Aram-Israel Relations before the Rise of Hazael

Biran and Naveh have left the identification of the "father" of Hazael in the Dan inscription open to question.[12] It should, however, be admitted that the direct predecessor of Hazael is the best candidate for the "father". This is supported by the fact that the death of the "father" of Hazael and his own enthronement occur in rapid succession. The biblical account of the rise of Hazael (2 Kings 8:7–15) tells of his assassination of Ben-Hadad, king of Aram-Damascus. This Ben-Hadad is generally identified with Adad-idri, attested in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions as the leader of the anti-Assyrian coalition which fought against the king of Assyria in 853, 849, 848 and 845.[13]

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[11] For royal apologetic literature in the ancient Near East, see H.A. Hoffner in *Unity and Diversity*, pp. 49–62 (Hittite historiography); H. Tadmor in H. Tadmor and M. Weinfeld (eds.), *History, Historiography and Interpretation*, pp. 36–57 (the Mesopotamian royal inscriptions); T. Ishida, *VTSup* 36 (1985), pp. 145–153 (the inscription of Kilamuwa, king of Sam'al, and the biblical succession narrative).

[12] Biran and Naveh, *IEJ* 45, pp. 17f.

[13] Adad-idri/Hadadezer was probably the actual name of the Aramaean king at the time of Ahab and Jehoram. I follow the view that in 1 Kings 20 and 22, and 2 Kings 5–8, the name Ben-Hadad was erroneously attributed to the same king or that the historical-chronological context of the biblical narrative is inaccurate. See A. Jepsen, *AfO* 14 (1941/44), p. 158; E. Lipiński in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 172f.; idem, *Acta Antiqua* 27 (1979), p. 76; W.T. Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 132–138; A. Lemaire in *FS Garelli*, pp. 95f. Although theoretically there is room to postulate the brief reign (no more than three years)

The mention of the predecessor as "father (*'b*)" is problematic, because Hazael is described as a usurper both in the afore-mentioned biblical account and in an Assyrian inscription which refers to him as "son of a nobody (*mār lā mammāna*)" (see above, Part II, 12.2). However, the *'b* of Semitic languages has a wide semantic range and may signify not only a biological father but also the previous head of an extended household. Hazael may have belonged to a subsidiary line of the royal family of Aram-Damascus, while not being first in the line to the throne, and could have regarded his predecessor Adad-idri as his "father" in such a broad sense.[14]

The Dan inscription (ll. 3'b–4'a) shows that in the reign of the "father" of Hazael, a king of Israel invaded the territory of Aram.[15] When was this period of Israel's military superiority over Aram and who was the enemy of Hazael's predecessor described in the Dan inscription?

The relations between Israel and Aram-Damascus as depicted in Assyrian and biblical sources should be reviewed at this point. The Annals of Shalmaneser III testify to the battles fought in central Syria as follows. In the first encounter between Shalmaneser III and the central Syrian coalition at Qarqar (Tel Qarqur) in 853, Adad-idri, king of Damascus, and Ahab, king of Israel, as well as ten other kings, fought together against Shalmaneser (see above, Part II, 5.2). More battles between the Assyrians and the central Syrian coalition occurred in 849, 848 and 845, and each time Adad-idri led the coalition and succeeded in halting the Assyrian army on the north-

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of a king called Ben-Hadad (II) between Adad-idri and Hazael (Jepsen, *op. cit.* and Pitard, *op. cit.*), it seems unnecessary to attempt to defend the biblical attestation of the name Ben-Hadad as the name of Hazael's predecessor (Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 76, n. 81; Lemaire, *FS Garelli*, p. 95, n. 39). For the problem of the historicity of the biblical narrative in 1 Kings 20 and 22, and 2 Kings 5–7, see below (with n. 17).

[14] Biran and Naveh, *IEJ* 45, p. 18, n. 26; cf. Lemaire, *JSOT* 81, pp. 5f. However, a completely different view has been proposed by N. Na'aman (*UF* 27 [1995], pp. 381–394). He suggested that Hazael was the son of Ba'asa of Beth-Rehob, referred to in Shalmaneser III's Kurkh Monolith inscription as a member of the coalition which fought against the Assyrian army at Qarqar in 853 (see above, Part II, 5.2). Accordingly, he identified the "father" mentioned in the Dan inscription with this Ba'asa of Beth-Rehob, rather than with Adad-idri, king of Damascus.

[15] Lemaire, however, suggests that the lines deal with Israelite aggression immediately after the death of Hazael's "father", with interpreting *qdm* in l. 4 as a local adverb "forward" rather than as temporal adverb "previously" (*JSOT* 81, p. 5; cf. also Na'aman, *UF* 27, p. 389).

ern front, in the territory of the kingdom of Hamath (above, Part II, 7.2, 8.2 and 10.2). The participation of Israel in the latter three battles is, however, not explicitly proven, because of the vagueness of the formulaic expression in the Assyrian annals: "Adad-idri of Damascus, Irhuleni of Hamath together with 12 kings of the sea coast (or 12 kings of the land of Hatti, etc.)". At the time of the next Assyrian invasion of central Syria in 841, Hazael was the king of Aram-Damascus, replacing Adad-idri; he fought alone against Shalmaneser without the support of the coalition. Hazael was defeated and retreated to the safe fortifications of his capital, Damascus; at that time Jehu, king of Israel, offered tribute to Shalmaneser (see above, Part II, 12.2).

Biblical chronological tradition attributes two regnal years to Ahab's direct successor, Ahaziah, and 12 regnal years to his second successor, Jehoram. Taking this tradition at its face value, the calendar years of the reigns of Ahab's two successors total 12 years, assuming that the regnal years are counted by the ante-dating system (according to which the year of the royal succession was counted twice—both as the last year of the deceased king and as the first year of his successor). If the biblical chronology is combined with the afore-mentioned Assyrian evidence for Ahab surviving until 853 (inclusive) and for Jehu holding the throne in 841, it would seem that Ahab's reign must have ended soon after his involvement in the battle of Qarqar in 853. Ahaziah must have reigned from 853–852, and Jehoram from 852–841. Accordingly, the revolution of Jehu and the death of Jehoram must have taken place in the very year of the Assyrian invasion of 841, in which Hazael fought alone against the Assyrians.[16]

According to the biblical tradition, there were repeated battles between Aram and Israel during the reigns of Ahab and his second successor Jehoram. Both Ahab and Jehoram fought against Ben-Hadad, king of Aram (1 Kings 20 and 22; 2 Kings 5–7), and Jehoram waged war against Hazael at Ramoth-Gilead before he was killed in the revolution of Jehu (2 Kings 9–10). The authenticity of the

[16] The same chronological reconstruction has been adopted by M.C. Astour (*JAOS* 91 [1971], pp. 383–389) and E. Lipiński (*Acta Antiqua* 27, pp. 75–78). For the problems involved in the chronology of this period see, for example, H. Tadmor, *Ency. Bib.*, vol. 4, cols. 245–310, esp. 289–294 (Hebrew); idem, in A. Malamat (ed.), *The World History of the Jewish People*, 4/1, pp. 44–60 and 318–320, esp. 58f.

battles of Ahab and Jehoram against Ben-Hadad (1 Kings 20 and 22; 2 Kings 5–7) is disputed, however. I follow the view that these narratives, primarily derived not from royal records but from prophetic legends, did not originally refer to a particular Israelite or Judaean king by name, but rather referred in generic terms to "the king of Israel" and "the king of Judah" and consistently called the king of Aram Ben-Hadad. Hence, the chronological setting presently given to the narratives is not entirely reliable and may be misleading.[17]

Let us return to the question as to who was the Israelite king claimed in the Dan Inscription to have invaded the territory of Hazael's predecessor. As mentioned above, in 853 Hazael's predecessor, Adad-idri, and Ahab of Israel fought together at Qarqar on the same side against Shalmaneser III. It is thus clear that, at that time, they were on good terms. Is it possible that Ahab's successors, Ahaziah and/or Jehoram, invaded the territory of Aram? If there had been open hostility between Israel and Aram on Aram's southern border after 853 in which Israel had the advantage, it would be hard to understand how Adad-idri could have succeeded, as the leader of the coalition, in halting the Assyrians in the north in the battles of 849, 848 and 845. There is no indication in the biblical tradition that Ahaziah and/or Jehoram were victorious over Aram in the period in question.[18] The decline of Israel's international status in the days of Ahab's successors is reflected in the liberation of Moab from Israelite domination after the death of Ahab, as recounted

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[17] It has been argued that the battles fought by Ahab and Jehoram, narrated in 1 Kings 20 and 2 Kings 5–7, should actually be ascribed to the days of the Jehu dynasty, more specifically to the reigns of Jehoahaz and Jehoash, and that Ahab's battle at Ramoth-Gilead, in which he was fatally wounded (1 Kings 22), was actually a battle(s) fought by Jehoram and/or Jehoahaz (Jepsen, *AfO* 14, pp. 155–158; C.F. Whitley, *VT* 2 [1952], pp. 137–152; J.M. Miller, *JBL* 85 [1966], pp. 441–454.; idem, *VT* 17 [1967], pp. 307–324; idem, *ZAW* 80 [1968], pp. 337–342; Lipiński, in *Proceedings of the Fifth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 157–173; idem, *Acta Antiqua* 27, pp. 75f.; Pitard, *Ancient Damascus*, pp. 114–125). On the other hand, some scholars hesitate to accept these proposed historical backgrounds. For example, M. Noth (*The History of Israel*, p. 243) argues against the wholesale transfer of 1 Kings 20 and 22, and 2 Kings 5–7 to the Jehu dynasty, and M. Elat (*IEJ* 25 [1975], p. 30) sees authentic history in Ahab's battle at Ramoth-Gilead. I am inclined to admit the historicity of part of these biblical accounts, specifically that of 1 Kings 20:1–34, as will be discussed below.

[18] On the contrary, the biblical prophetic story relates that Aram penetrated deep into Israelite territory in the reign of Jehoram (2 Kings 5–7). It seems, however, that this story actually reflects the incident from the time of the Jehu dynasty. See above, n. 17.

in the biblical tradition (2 Kings 1:1 and 3:4–27) and alluded to in the inscription of Mesha, king of Moab.[19] On these grounds, the invasion of the territory of Aram by the king of Israel recounted in the Dan inscription can scarcely be dated to the period after the battle of Qarqar (853), and Ahab's successors, Ahaziah and Jehoram, can hardly be the enemy of Hazael's "father" mentioned in the inscription.

On the other hand, Ahab is a good candidate for the enemy of Hazael's predecessor. It is known that Ahab was on good terms with the kingdoms of Tyre and Judah (1 Kings 16:31 and 22:44) and exercised sovereignty over Moab (2 Kings 3:4f. and the Mesha inscription).[20] Furthermore, Shalmaneser's Kurkh Monolith inscription illustrates that Ahab controlled a significant military force at the time of the battle of Qarqar (see above, Part II, 5.2). If Ahab's military success against Aram, related in 1 Kings 20:1–34, contains a grain of historical truth, he must have wrested from Damascus the territory in northern Transjordan, at least Gilead and Bashan—territory certainly held by Israel until it was lost to Hazael during the reign of Jehu (2 Kings 10:33).[21] Accordingly, Ahab's reconquest of the territory which had been lost to Aram in the days of his predecessor

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[19] Mesha claims in his inscription (*KAI* 181) that he revolted after the 40-year dominion of Israel which extended over "his (Omri's) days and half of the days of his son, 40 years (*ymh whsy ymy bnh 'rb'n št* [l. 8])". The chronological indication of the Mesha inscription, 40 years (a round number), is at variance with the sum of Omri's 12-year reign and half of Ahab's 22-year reign. Thus it must be questioned whether the Moabite revolt occurred during the reign of Ahab or after his death. As argued by several scholars, the statement of the Mesha inscription should not necessarily be understood as proof that Mesha liberated Moab from Israel during the reign of Ahab (E. Lipiński, *Or.* 40 [1971], pp. 325–340, esp. 330–332; J.M. Miller, *PEQ* 106 [1974], pp. 9–18). Even if we admit that Mesha claims to have rebelled against Ahab, it is quite unlikely that he rebelled before the last years of Ahab's reign (B. Mazar, *Ency. Bib.*, vol. 4, pp. 921f. [Hebrew]; J. Liver, *PEQ* 99 [1967], pp. 18–20).

[20] See above, n. 19.

[21] For the historicity of the account, see above, n. 17. If we accept the general reliability of the account of the second battle (1 Kings 20:26–34), we may restore '[*pq*] (Aphek), rather than A[bel], at the end of l. 2' of the Dan inscription (cf. Biran and Naveh, *IEJ* 45, pp. 13f.). As for the first war (1 Kings 20:1–21), Y. Yadin (*Biblica* 36 [1955], pp. 332–340) claims that Ben-Hadad (i.e. our Adad-idri), camping at the city Succoth in Transjordan, sent his messenger to Samaria without investing the capital of Israel, and that the heading of the account (verse 1) misleads us into believing that Ben-Hadad had already reached Samaria and besieged it. This interpretation may prove the account of the first war more credible than the story of the siege of the capital Samaria, which has often been regarded as historically impossible.

Omri (1 Kings 20:34) is presumably implied in ll. 2' and 3'b–4'a of the Dan inscription. This territorial conflict between Ahab and Adad-idri must have continued until a bilateral peace treaty was concluded between them on the eve of the anti-Assyrian battle in 853.

In several places in Part II, I have claimed that all-inclusive participation in the anti-Assyrian coalition was a necessary condition for the coalition's success in halting the Assyrian army in the land of Hamath and preventing its advance further south. Thus, historical circumstances favour the assumption that the major participants in the coalition of 853 continued their co-operation in the battles of 849, 848 and 845, and therefore, that Jehoram continued Ahab's policy, maintaining peaceful relations with Adad-idri and joining the anti-Assyrian coalition during these years.[22]

Given the peaceful relations between Aram and Israel from 853–845, the historicity of the biblical tradition concerning the Aram-Israel conflicts may be doubted on two points. The first is Ahab's battle against Aram at Ramoth-Gilead, in which he was fatally wounded (1 Kings 22), and the second is Jehoram's campaign against Aram, in the course of which the capital Samaria was besieged by Ben-Hadad, king of Aram (2 Kings 5–7). The historical setting of these stories belonging to the prophetic legend is probably inaccurate, as has been noted by several scholars.[23] This probably explains why the Dan inscription does not mention the victory of Hazael's predecessor over Ahab and/or Jehoram as related in these biblical stories. Such a remarkable success by Hazael's predecessor would surely have been mentioned had it actually taken place.

The Battle of Ramoth-Gilead, the Jehu Revolution, and the Assyrian Invasion in 841

Hostility between Aram and Israel began after Hazael's accession to the throne, between 845 and 841. This is illustrated by the battle fought at Ramoth-Gilead between Hazael and Jehoram, referred to in a biblical passage originating in the royal chronicle (2 Kings 8:28) as well as in a prophetic story (2 Kings 9:14–15), and in all prob-

[22] Jepsen, *AfO* 14, pp. 154f.; Astour, *JAOS* 91, p. 387; Elat, *IEJ* 25 (1975), pp. 30f.; Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, pp. 75f.; Na'aman in *FS Tadmor*, p. 82.

[23] See above, n. 17.

ability also mentioned in the Dan inscription (ll. 7'b–10' = our episode f).[24] As discussed above (Part II, 12.2), the usurpation of Hazael at Damascus caused the deterioration of the relations between Aram-Damascus and its neighbouring states. It is probable that Jehoram refused to co-operate with Hazael in the latter's anti-Assyrian military operation, the success of which would have looked less promising after the collapse of the coalition on the defection of another major state, Hamath, on the northern front (see Part II, 10.2 and 12.2). Jehoram's refusal was probably the main cause of the battle between him and Hazael immediately preceding the Assyrian invasion of 841.[25]

Biran and Naveh have pointed out an apparent contradiction between the Dan inscription and the biblical narrative in 2 Kings 9 regarding the circumstances of the deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah.[26] According to the biblical narrative, Jehoram and Ahaziah were killed by Jehu after their battle against Hazael at Ramoth-Gilead. The Dan inscription, on the other hand, seems to attribute their slaying to Hazael: *[qtlt. 'yt yhw]rm. br. ['h'b.]/ mlk. ysr'l. wqtl[t. 'yt. 'hz]yhw. br[. yhwrm. ml]k. bytdwd* "[I 'killed' Jeho]ram son of [Ahab], king of Israel, and [I] 'killed' [Ahaz]iah son of [Jehoram, kin]g of Judah" (ll. 7'f.). In this connection, it was suggested by E. Lipiński, before the discovery of the Dan inscription, that Jehoram was in fact fatally wounded at Ramoth-Gilead by the Aramaeans, as alluded to in 1 Kings 22:1–37—another alleged version of the same incident which is presently incorrectly ascribed to Ahab.[27] Thus, he concluded that the role of Jehu in 2 Kings 9 as the executioner of the apostate Israelite king is merely a literary invention of the prophetic story. If this proposal be accepted, the contemporary evidence from the Dan inscription may be adduced to support a claim that both Jehoram

[24] Hypothesizing that the destruction of Beth-Arbel (Irbid in Transjordan) by a certain Shalman referred to in Hosea 10:14 reflects Shalmaneser III's attack on Israel, M.C. Astour suggested that Jehoram was wounded at Ramoth-Gilead, while fighting the Assyrians, not the Aramaeans (*JAOS* 91, pp. 383–389). This view is not convincing, however, and the identification of Shalman in Hosea with Shalmaneser III should remain an open question. See Elat, *IEJ* 25, pp. 31f., n. 25; Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 76, n. 83; cf. Na'aman, in *FS Tadmor*, p. 83, n. 9.

[25] Na'aman, *FS Tadmor*, p. 83. Lipiński goes one step further to speculate that Jehoram actively co-operated with the Assyrians in their war against Damascus (in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, vol. 1, pp. 273–278).

[26] Biran and Naveh, *IEJ* 45, p. 18.

[27] Lipiński in *Proceedings of the Sixth World Congress of Jewish Studies*, pp. 274f.; idem, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 77.

and Ahaziah were killed or fatally wounded by Hazael at Ramoth-Gilead, and that the biblical story has tendentiously distorted the historical facts by presenting Jehu as chosen by divine will to kill both the Israelite and Judaean kings.[28] This is perhaps not impossible, but another solution can be proposed.

Since the king would have been well protected and would have only rarely died in open battle, it would be surprising or even unlikely if two kings were killed in one and the same battle. One might conclude that the Dan inscription is exaggerating the victory over Jehoram and Ahaziah by claiming that Hazael killed both of them. It is, however, appropriate to ask whether the Dan inscription is really unequivocally claiming the killing of the two kings. The verb *qtl* (with the dissimilation of *ṭ* into *t*) occurs twice in the extant text, once in a prefixed form (*'qtl*) with certain "kin[gs] (*ml[kn x x]x-n*)"[29] as the object (l. 6'), and once in a suffixed form (*qtl[t]*) with the royal name "[Ahaz]iah" as the object (l. 8'); another *qtlt* is probably to be restored in l. 7' with the royal name "[Jeho]ram" as the object. I would suggest that the verb *qṭl/qtl* is used in these places in the sense of "to strike, defeat". Akkadian *dâku* "to kill" is sometimes to be translated "to defeat" when the direct object is a king, an enemy (*nakru*), an army (*ummānu, ṣābu*) or a land (*mātu*).[30] The use of *qṭl* corresponding to Akkadian *dâku* in the sense of "to defeat" may be attested in Imperial Aramaic in the Aramaic version of the Bisitun inscription of Darius. One such passage reads: [*bṭlh zy 'hwrmzd hyl' zy*]*ḫy qṭlw lmrdy' b* 18 *l'yr 'bdw qrb qṭlw bhm* 5 *lp*(sic!) 04[6 *whyn 'ḥdw* 520] "[With the protection of Ahuramazda m]y [troops] 'killed' the rebels. On the 18th of Iyyar they joined battle. They killed 5,04[6] of them [and took alive 520]".[31] Both attestations of *qṭlw* here correspond to

[28] N. Na'aman has suggested that such an interpretation might be possible (*Biblica* 78 [1997], p. 170).

[29] This may be restored as *ml[kn tq]ṭm* "powerful kings" (A. Lemaire, *JSOT* 81, pp. 4 and 8) or *ml[kn 'd]rm* "mighty kings" (Na'aman, *UF* 27, p. 389, n. 29) rather than *ml[kn šb]'n* (A. Yardeni *apud* Biran and Naveh, *IEJ* 45, p. 16; followed by myself in *UF* 27, pp. 611–625, esp., pp. 612 and 619).

[30] See H. Tadmor, *JNES* 17 (1958), pp. 132f.; *CAD* D, pp. 41f. A similar observation can be made concerning another Akkadian verb *nêru*, meaning primarily "to kill, slay" but rarely also "to strike, destroy" (*CAD* N/II, pp. 178–182).

[31] J.C. Greenfield and B. Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version*, p. 28, ll. 12–14 (restoration according to parallel passages of the Aramaic and Akkadian versions).

iddūkū (*dâku*, G perf.) of the Akkadian version.[32] The first attestation of both *qṭl* and *dâku* may signify "to defeat" rather than "to kill", as suggested by the following reference to the actual killing of only some of the rebels and the capture of the remainder.

Traces of similar usages of this verb may also be found in later Aramaic. Targum Jonathan to Jeremiah 37:10 reads: *'ry 'm tqṭlwn kl mšyt ksd'y dmgyhyn qrb' 'mkwn wyšt'rwn bhwn gbryn mṭ'nyn gbr bmšknyh yqwmwn wywqdwn yt qrt' hd' bnwr'* "Even if you were to 'kill' all the troops of the Chaldeans who wage war with you, there would be left among them wounded men; each man in his tent would rise up and burn this city with fire".[33] It is likely that here too *qṭl* does not signify "to kill", for the text then speaks of the wounded among these "killed" troops; rather, as in the Bisitun inscription, the verb may be translated "to strike severely, defeat".[34] Mandaic *gṭl*, cognate to *qtl*/*qṭl*, can also mean "to beat, destroy", as well as "to kill, slay".[35] This would suggest the possibility that the semantic range of *qtl*/*qṭl* covers "to strike, defeat" in Old Aramaic as well. Thus, the word *qtl* appears to be used in the Dan inscription in order to convey a strong message about Hazael's victory, but not necessarily upon the killing *de facto*.

If the interpretation of *qtl*/*qṭl* as "to strike, defeat" is accepted, the contradiction between the biblical tradition and the Dan inscription are explained. Thus, Hazael probably defeated, rather than killed, Jehoram and Ahaziah at Ramoth-Gilead, and the biblical tradition and the Dan inscription concur in their description of this event.

According to both the biblical tradition and the Dan inscription, Hazael had the upper hand in the battle with Jehoram and Ahaziah. If the battle between Hazael and Jehoram at Ramoth-Gilead, the Jehu revolution, and the Assyrian attack on Aram-Damascus actually occurred in sequence in the same year (841), it would seem (as stated in Part II, 12.2) that Hazael, despite his initial military advantage

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[32] E.N. von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*, p. 25, l. 51.

[33] Translation by R. Hayward, *The Targum of Jeremiah*, p. 150.

[34] *qṭl* here translates Hebrew **nkh (hiphil)*, which can signify either "to smite non-fatally, strike, defeat" or "to smite fatally, kill" (see *BDB*, pp. 645f.). In Jeremiah 37:10, however, the verb has almost always been understood in the former sense (cf. *BDB*, p. 646; the Revised Standard Version and the New English Bible: "to defeat").

[35] E.S. Drower and R. Macuch, *A Mandaic Dictionary*, p. 87.

against Israel, was obliged to abandon Ramoth-Gilead in order to defend his northern border from the approaching Assyrian army; consequently, Israel was able to hold Ramoth-Gilead (2 Kings 9).[36]

After his two additional campaigns against Aram-Damascus in 838 and 837, Shalmaneser III continued to undertake western campaigns to Tabal, Melid, Que and Patin (836, 835, 833–831, 829; see above, Part II, 16–19) but never again reached central Syria. Assyrian control west of the Euphrates was no doubt greatly weakened during the latter days of Shalmaneser III's reign, and this situation continued until the resumption of the western campaigns by Adad-nerari III in 805.[37] During this decline of Assyrian influence over the west, Hazael evidently regained his strength, vanquishing Israel in Transjordan (2 Kings 10:32f.), subjugating Israel (2 Kings 13:3) and advancing on many fronts such as Judah, Philistia (2 Kings 12:17–18), Unqi/ *ʿmq*, and the Euphrates.[38] His military success, most likely his victory over Israel in Transjordan and around Dan, is recorded, I believe, in the fragmentary lines 12'–13' of the Dan inscription.

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[36] As suggested by Lipiński, *Acta Antiqua* 27, p. 77; cf. also Na'aman, in *FS Tadmor*, p. 83.

[37] For the chronology of the western campaigns of Adad-nerari III, see A.R. Millard and H. Tadmor, *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 61–64; cf. Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 33–35 and 57.

[38] Hazael's activity in Unqi/*ʿmq* and the Euphrates region is reflected in his inscription from Samos, as demonstrated by I. Ephʿal and J. Naveh, *IEJ* 39 (1989), pp. 192–200; cf. F. Bron and A. Lemaire, *RA* 83 (1989), pp. 35–44. Recently, however, N. Na'aman has interpreted *ʿmq* in Hazael's inscription to mean Biqa, as the origin of Hazael, rather than Unqi (Patin) in north Syria (*UF* 27, pp. 381–394). This proposal is not followed here.

APPENDIX B

THE COMMEMORATION OF DAYYAN-ASHUR'S SECOND EPONYMATE IN THE BLACK OBELISK AND THE CALAH STATUE*

Introduction

The 31st *palû* account of the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13) opens with an enigmatic sentence: *ina 31 palêya šanûtēšu pūru ina pān Aššur Adad akruru* (ll. 174f.), and it was recently revealed that the identical opening of the 31st *palû* is also attested in the Calah Statue Inscription (Ann. 14, ll. 320'f.).[1] Ever since Yahalu's cube-shaped *pūru* was published,[2] there has been general agreement that this heading of the Black Obelisk indicates the king's election to his second eponymate by means of casting lots, and the sentence has commonly been translated: "In my thirty-first regnal year, I cast the lot for the second time before the gods Ashur (and) Adad". Moreover, the interpretation of *pūru karāru* as casting lots has been taken to stand in perfect congruence with the first part of the heading: *ina 31 palêya*, by associating the phrase in question not with the actual term of office in the 32nd regnal year (827) but with the election ceremony which must have taken place in the year preceding his eponymate (828).[3]

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* The research for this appendix was done in collaboration with E. Weissert (Hebrew University of Jerusalem). We studied the material together and discussed the problems in depth, as we had originally planned to write a joint article with the main conclusions expressed here. The book of A. Fuchs, *Die Annalen des Jahres 711 v. Chr.* (SAAS 8), esp. pp. 89–95, which shares some conclusions with the present study at crucial points, reached me after this appendix manuscript was completed and submitted to the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as a part of the dissertation.

[1] A largely revised edition of the Calah Statue Inscription, prepared by the late P. Hulin, was published by A.K. Grayson in RIMA 3 (A.0.102.16). For this text, see further above in Part I, 1.2.1 under Annals 14.

[2] F.J. Stephens, YOS 9, pls. 27 and 45, no. 73 (YBC 7058); E. Michel, *WO* 1/4 (1949), pp. 261–264; most recently, A.R. Millard, *Eponyms*, frontispiece (photo) and p. 8, with bibliography.

[3] It has been suggested that the ceremony, in which the eponym was elected by lot (*pūru*), took place in the month of Addaru, close to the new year in Nisannu, and should thus be connected to the Jewish Purim festival. See S. Smith, *Early*

In my opinion, however, neither the translation of *pūru karāru* "to cast lots", nor its matching with the events of Shalmaneser III's 31st regnal year is correct. In this Appendix, I shall first attempt to show that even if the cube-shaped *pūru* played a role in the process of electing the eponym, *pūru karāru* does not stand for the casting of the *pūru* during the election ceremony, but for placing it as a votive object in front of the gods to report the result of the election to them. This will be followed by a discussion of two chronological phenomena on the Black Obelisk: (1) *ina 31 palêya* does not head the events of the king's 31st regnal year, but those of the 33rd; (2) The Black Obelisk, bearing the homogenic *palû*-dating, refers exceptionally, apart from the heading in question in the 31st *palû*, to only one further eponymate—the first eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur. Consequently, I shall suggest that the sentence *šanûtēšu pūru ina pān Aššur Adad akruru* does not refer to Shalmaneser III's second eponymate in Year 32 (827), but to that of Dayyan-Ashur, the most dominant commander-in-chief, in Year 33 (826). Finally, I shall examine the textual relations between the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue in order to explain why the latter, bearing the same *palû* datings as the former, does not mention the first eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur, as does the former.

The Meaning of pūru karāru

Since the usual understanding of *pūru karāru* as casting lots is closely connected with the method of the eponym election, I shall start my investigation with a review of the evidence for the procedure involved in the election. The process of the election of eponyms in which *pūru* took a role should theoretically have involved a certain degree of chance. On the other hand, as suggested first by E. Forrer[4] and confirmed more recently by I.L. Finkel and J.E. Reade,[5] it is highly probable that the order of the officials to serve as eponyms—the king, commander-in-chief, chief cup-bearer, herald, chamberlain, the governor of the city Ashur, and possibly governors of other provinces—was predetermined. As Finkel and Reade argued, many of the vari-

History of Assyria, p. 116; H. Tadmor, *Ency. Bib.*, vol. 6, col. 447 (Hebrew); W.W. Hallo, *BAr* 46 (1983), pp. 19–29.

[4] *Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 6f.

[5] *Iraq* 57 (1995), pp. 167–172.

ations in the order of the different officials who assumed the eponym office may be explained as being caused by historical circumstances, but not as the result of a genuine lottery. In any case, one point stands beyond any doubt: from the days of Shalmaneser III up to and including the reign of Tiglath-pileser III, the king and his commander-in-chief always held the first and second positions in the rotation. Consequently, the process of the election must have been open to manipulation, at least in the case of the election of these two senior figures.

If Yahalu's cube-shaped *pūru* may be used to provide evidence about the object which served as the lot, we may conclude that the eponym's lot was made of clay and represented only one candidate.[6] In the inscription on his *pūru*, Yahalu expresses the wish that his lot "may be chosen (*li-x-a*)" in front of the gods Ashur and Adad. The reading of the relevant verb *li-x-a* is in dispute. Some scholars read it as *li-l[i]-a*, "may it come up",[7] but others prefer the reading *li-˹da˺-a*, translating it "may it fall".[8] The trace of the second sign, however, resembles neither LI nor DA. As for the second reading, *liddâ*, in any case the suggested translation "may (Yahalu's lot) fall" would be unjustifiable, since *nadû* is a transitive verb which requires *pūru* to be the object, not the subject; in order to obtain the sense of "may it be cast (i.e. may it fall)", *linaddâ* would be expected.[9] On both epigraphic and syntactic grounds, the best restoration seems to be *li-l[a]-a*, i.e. *lūlâ*, the same verb as that suggested by W. von Soden, but with the contraction of *-ia* into *-â* in the final syllable.

Apart from the phrases *pūru karāru* and *pūru elû* in the discussed contexts, other verbs relating to the lot are attested in the context of the land tenures by lots. The use of such verbs (*pūru*) *ṣalā'u*, (*isqu*) *nadû*, as well as the Sumerian counterpart (giš.šub.ba) šub[10] may

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[6] The possibility that Yahalu's *pūru* is actually a votive object (Kessler, *Untersuchungen*, p. 170) will be discussed below. As will be argued there, the possibilities that the cube served as a lot and that it was a votive object need not be mutually exclusive.

[7] W. von Soden *apud* Michel, *WO* 1/4, p. 262, and in *AHw*, p. 882a; Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 8.

[8] Hallo, *BAr* 46, p. 20; Finkel and Reade, *Iraq* 57, p. 167.

[9] One may, however, translate the sentence with *liddâ* as "may he (a priest) cast/set the lot", before the gods, the theoretical subject of the verb not being indicated. This interpretation, which has not previously been considered, is not entirely impossible. One difficulty, however, of this hypothesis, apart from the unlikely reading of the damaged sign as DA, is that it would give too much credit to the influence of the human agent, rather than the divine one, on the election.

[10] For references, see *CAD* I/J, pp. 198f (s.v. *isqu* A); *AHw*, 881f. (s.v. *pūru(m)* II); cf. Hallo, *BAr* 46, p. 20.

suggest that lots were cast in those contexts. The biblical phrase *hip-pîl pûr* (Esther 3:7) may also point in the same direction. On these grounds, the action of casting may also be applied to the process of the eponym election.[11] Taking into consideration the widely accepted etymological association of Akkadian *pūru* with Sumerian bur "bowl",[12] we may suppose, with several scholars, that in the election ceremony, a cube of the eponym was thrown out from a bowl in which several candidates' cubes had been placed.[13] When a predetermined candidate had to be chosen, probably only his cube was set in the bowl and solemnly thrown out to be "chosen".

Let us now turn to the examination of the meaning of *pūru karāru* on the Black Obelisk. The semantic range of the Assyrian verb *karāru* is wide, like *nadû*, including a variety of acts intended to put an object in place, and not limited to the specific action of throwing.[14] If we discard the suggested method of election in which lots were thrown, another and, in my opinion, likelier meaning of *pūru karāru* can be reached. Among the various contexts in which *karāru* is attested are examples of the dedication of an object to the gods, e.g., *ṭābtu/massītu ša šikari* (or: *karāni*)/UZU.KA.NE *ina pān* DN *karāru* "to place salt/a goblet with beer (or wine)/roasted meat before DN".[15] Comparing this use of *karāru* to the *pūru karāru* on the Black Obelisk, I suggest that the heading of the 31st *palû* be translated "in my 31st *palû*, I placed (not 'cast') the *pūru* for the second time in front of Ashur (and) Adad" and that the passage should be associated not with the election by lot, but with the subsequent ceremony in which the elected lot was dedicated before the statues of the gods Ashur and Adad. Yahalu's cube must be a lot of this type, which played a role in both ceremonies, that of the election and that of the dedication. It is likely that such a dedication ceremony took place at the beginning of the new eponymate for the purpose of making a wish for the prosperity of the country during the new year, as implied

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[11] For the previous discussions, see Hallo, *BAr* 46, pp. 20f.; Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 8; cf. Finkel and Reade, *Iraq* 57, p. 167.

[12] W.W. Hallo, *HUCA* 33 (1962), p. 12, n. 94; idem, *BAr* 46, p. 21; A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier. 2. Teil: Gefässe*, p. 79.

[13] Hallo, *BAr* 46, p. 21; cf. Millard, *Eponyms*, p. 8; Finkel and Reade, *Iraq* 57, p. 167.

[14] See *AHw*, p. 447; *CAD* K, pp. 207–209.

[15] See W. von Soden, *ZA* 45 (1939), p. 44, ll. 32 and 45–47; A. Livingstone, SAA 3, no. 35, l. 26.

by the last lines of the text on Yahalu's cube: *ina līmīšu pūrīšu ebūr māt Aššur līšir lidmiq* "in his eponymate, his lot, may the crops of Assyria prosper and flourish!". Thus, it appears that the phrase *pūru karāru* is not connected with the year preceding the new eponymate but rather points forward to the new eponymate itself.

The Black Obelisk and the Second Eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur

As discussed in Part I, 2, the *palû*-datings in the Annals of Shalmaneser do not faithfully represent the king's actual regnal years, in particular from the 21st *palû* onwards, and the account of the 31st *palû* of the Black Obelisk should not be assigned to the 31st regnal year, as once believed, but to the 33rd regnal year (826). In this new chronological scheme (see Table 4 in Part I, 2), it appears impossible to associate the *pūru karāru* of the 31st *palû* with the king's second eponymate, i.e. his 32nd regnal year, whether the phrase is understood as a reference to the king's eponymate itself or whether it is taken as a reference to his election to the office in the previous year. Noticeably, it is Dayyan-Ashur, the commander-in-chief, who held his second office of eponym precisely in the 33rd year. Furthermore, as noted at the beginning, the Black Obelisk indicates the first eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur as *ina limme Dayyān-Aššur* for the heading of the fourth year account in place of the standard *palû* dating: *ina X palêya*. This raises the suspicion that the *pūru karāru* mentioned in the account of the 31st *palû* is intended to refer to the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur and that his two eponymates are consistently noted on the Black Obelisk. The idea may be further corroborated by the fact that Dayyan-Ashur is given an exceptional privilege in the same text, being mentioned by name several times as the real commander of the campaigns from the 27th *palû* onwards (see below).

There is, however, another point of complication: the assignment of the first eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur to the fourth *palû* (= the fourth regnal year) is erroneous, being two years earlier than his actual eponymate as known from the eponym list, i.e. the sixth regnal year (853). It was A.T. Olmstead who first attempted to solve this riddle.[16] Olmstead noted some unusual changes of high officials

[16] *JAOS* 34 (1915), pp. 346f.

in the eponym lists: Dayyan-Ashur appears as a new *turtānu* in Year 6 (853), replacing his predecessor Ashur-belu-ka'in (the eponym of Year 3), and three years later, in Year 9 (850), a new *nāgir ekalli* called Bel-bunaya is found instead of his predecessor Abi-ina-ekalli-lilbur (the eponym of Year 5).[17] On the base of this observation, Olmstead assumed that there had been a palace revolution in Year 5 (854), in which Dayyan-Ashur seized power. Using this "palace revolution theory", he argued that on the Black Obelisk, the first eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur was deliberately set in the incorrect position to give the impression that his political rise had occurred before the revolution and to conceal his seizure of power.[18] It is indeed likely that Dayyan-Ashur's occupation of the position of *turtānu* occurred in Year 5 and that some irregular changes of high officials took place simultaneously. However, there is no indication that Assyria was involved in a period of disorder so serious and prolonged[19] that Dayyan-Ashur needed a special excuse as late as Year 33 (826), 28 years after his rise. Furthermore, the manipulation of moving Dayyan-Ashur's eponymate from Year 6 to Year 4 would have no significance

[17] Millard, *Eponyms*, pp. 27 and 56. As noted by Olmstead, however, *rab šaqê* Ashur-bunaya-uṣur continued in his office until 825.

[18] Olmstead, *JAOS* 34, pp. 346f.; cf. also idem, *Assyrian Historiography*, p. 27.

[19] To strengthen the theory, in another article (*JAOS* 41 [1921], pp. 362f.), Olmstead further noted that the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3), which includes the account up to the sixth regnal year (853), skips the fifth regnal year (854), although the later annalistic texts commonly include the narration of a campaign against Shubria in this year. Assuming that the "highly reliable Kurkh Monolith" (so emphasized by Olmstead) deals with all the campaigns undertaken up to the sixth regnal year, he argued that the campaign to Shubria was actually carried out some time later than the sixth regnal year, but it had been moved forward in later annalistic texts in order to fill the gap in the fifth regnal year in which no campaign was undertaken. Consequently, he claimed that the palace revolution in the fifth regnal year prevented the king from going off on a campaign. However, the lack of the narration of the fifth regnal year on the Kurkh Monolith scarcely proves that the king did not go campaigning in that year. It was probably unimportant for the editor of the Kurkh Monolith to give the account for every year, since in contrast to the *palû*-dated text which exhibits the continuous numbers of the *palû* with every year, the omission of a regnal year in a *limmu*-dated text such as the Kurkh Monolith would not be so noticeable. Such effects of the different systems of dating in Shalmaneser's inscriptions were discussed by de Odorico (*Numbers*, pp. 163–166) and Schneider (*New Analysis*, pp. 231–234). The editor of the Kurkh Monolith may have possessed a forerunning text which only included the account up to the fourth year, and added to this the newly edited account of the sixth year; as the result, he skipped over the fifth regnal year. A similar editing procedure may also have been carried out in editing the Annals of Ashurnasirpal II (RIMA 2, A.0.101.1) in which the first years are continuously narrated, but later years appear piecemeal.

for concealing the palace revolution, since no such incident (if it actually occurred) was recorded on the Black Obelisk, and there was no need to "conceal" it any more.

We may explain the misplacement of Dayyan-Ashur's eponymate not as the result of manipulation with a particular political motive but as an error caused by the chronological misunderstanding of the scribe. In this connection, J.E. Reade already suspected that there is some connection between the two years' error in the placement of Dayyan-Ashur's eponymate and the fact that the *palû* datings in the latter section of the Black Obelisk are two years earlier than the actual regnal years.[20] If we consider the heading of the 31st *palû, šanûtēšu pūru ina pān Aššur Adad akruru*, as referring to the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur, we can neatly explain how these two phenomena are related to each other. What happened seems to be as follows: not knowing which regnal year corresponded to Dayyan-Ashur's first eponymate, the historiographer attempted to calculate it. He believed that the 31st *palû* is equal to Year 31 of Shalmaneser, exactly as modern scholars have done, although, as noted above, it is actually Year 33. Then, he found 27 years between the first and second eponymates of Dayyan-Ashur in the eponym list, so that he subtracted 27 from 31 (instead of the correct number 33) and arrived at 4 (instead of the correct 6). Hence, he erroneously placed Dayyan-Ashur's first eponymate in Year 4.

The inevitable question now is whether we can indeed regard the heading in question as referring to Dayyan-Ashur's second eponymate or not. Let us take a close look at the account of the 31st *palû* (the Black Obelisk, ll. 174ff.):

> *ina 31 palêya šanûtēšu pūru ina pān Aššur* ^{d}*Adad akruru ina ūmēšūma kī ina* ^{uru}*Kalhi usbākūni* ^{m}*Dayyān-Aššur* ^{lú}*turtānu rab ummānātēya rapšu*(DAGAL) [*ina*] *pānat ummānātēya karašēya uma'er ašpur ana ālāni ša* ^{m}*Dāta* ^{kur}*Hubuškâya iqṭirib maddattušu amhuršu ana* ^{uru}*Zapparia āl dannūtīšu ša* ^{kur}*Muṣaṣira allik . . .*
>
> In my 31st *palû*, I placed the lot for the second time in front of the gods Ashur and Adad. At that time, when I stayed at the city of Calah, I gave orders and sent Dayyan-Ashur, *turtānu*, the wise chief of my army,[21] at the head of my army and camp. He went to the cities of

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[20] *ZA* 68 (1978), pp. 254f.

[21] DAGAL (sg.) grammatically modifies *rab*(GAL) rather than *ummānāte* (ÉRIN.HI.A); cf. the title of Bel-luballit, LÚ.GAL ÉRIN.HI DAGAL-*šu* (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2002, l. 5). It was suggested to me by Prof. H. Tadmor that *rapšu* be interpreted as "of

> Data, the Hubushkaean. I received his tribute. I went to Zapparia, the fortified city of the land of Muṣaṣir . . .

In this context, the subject of the sentence *šanûtēšu pūru ina pān Aššur* ^{d}*Adad akrum* "I placed the lot for the second time in front of the gods Ashur and Adad" might appear to be no one but the king, who speaks in the first person in the preceding and following passages (*ina* 31 *palêya; uma'er ašpur*). However, examination of the account of the 27th to 31st *palû*s, in which Dayyan-Ahsur is mentioned as the actual commander of the campaigns, reveals that the issue is not so simple. In the relevant part of the Black Obelisk, as well as the parallel lines of the Calah Statue, the verbs alternate between the first and third person, apparently because of the involvement of Dayyan-Ashur as a real actor alongside the king, who stayed in the capital, Calah. This alternation can be tabulated as follows:

Verbs Attributed to Shalmaneser III and Dayyan-Ashur in the Black Obelisk's 27th 28th, 30th and 31st *palû*s[22]

palû/ Episode	Line	Sending the Army (attributed to the king; 1st pers. sg.)	Itinerary Actions (attributed to D.-A.; 3rd pers. sg.; otherwise underlined)	Fighting and Achievements (attributed to the king; 1st pers. sg.; otherwise underlined)
27th *palû*[23]				
	141	*ad-ki*		
	142	*ú-ma-'-er*		
	143	*áš-pur*		
	143		*it-ta-rad*	
	143		*e-bi*[*r*]	
	145			*am-dah-hi-iṣ*

wide understanding, wise". Alternatively, one might understand *rapšu* as modifying the whole construct chain *rab ummānāte,* expressing the large size of the army: hence, "the chief of my widespreading army", as usually translated.

[22] The counterpart of the Calah Statue (Ann. 14) is parallel to the text of the Black Obelisk, with a small number of variants which are noted in parentheses or footnotes.

[23] The account of the 27th *palû* of the Calah Statue is longer than that of the Black Obelisk, including additional lines following the counterpart of the latter texts. Verbs of actions (of fighting and achievement) in this additional lines (ll. 236'b–267') are all in the first person: *e-kim-šú* (l. 237'), *ap-*^{r}*pùl*^{1}, *a-qur, áš-ru-up* (l. 240'), *at-b*[*u-uk*] (l. 243'), KUR-*ud* (l. 244'), *ap-p*[*ùl*] (l. 257').

	146			*áš-kun*
	146			*ú-mal-li* (*ú-ma-*[*al-li*])
28th *palû*				
	147	*kī . . . us-ba-ku-ni*		
	150	*ú-ma-ʾ-er*		
	150	*áš-pur*		
	150		*e-bir*	
	151		*madaktu iš-kun* (*áš-kun*)	
	154			*ú-rat-ti*
	155			*áš-kun*
	155			*am-hur-šú-nu-ti*
	156			DÙ-*uš*
	156			*ú-še-*<<*ši*>>*-ziz*
29th *palû*[24]				
	157	*ú-ma-ʾ-er*		
	157	*áš-pur*		
	157		*e-li*	
	157			*at-ta-pa*[*l*]
	158			*at-ta-qar*
	158			*a-sa-rap*
	158			*áš-pun*
	159			*at-bu-uk*
30th *palû*				
Introduction	159	*kī . . . us-ba-ku-ni*		
	160	*ú-ma-ʾ-er*		
	160	*áš-pur*		
Episode 1	161		*e-bir*	
	161		*iq-ṭí-rib*	
	162			*at-ta-har*
Episode 2	163		*at-tu-muš*	
	163		*iq-ṭí-rib*	
	164			*am-hur*
Episode 3	164		*it-tu-muš*	
	165		*iq-ṭí-rib*	
	167			*ar-ṭe-di*
	167			*ú-ter-ra*
	168			*ap-pùl*
	168			*a-qur*
	168			*áš-ru-up*
Episode 4	168		*it-tu-muš*	
	169		*iq-ṭí-rib*	
	169			KUR-*ud*

[24] In the 29th *palû*, Dayyan-Ashur is not mentioned by name, but the king is said to have sent his army.

	170			*áš-ku-na-šú*
	170			*ú-tir-šú*
	171			*áš-kun*
Episode 5	171		*iq-ṭí-rib*	
	172			*at-ta-har*
Episode 6	172		*at-ta-rad*	
	173			*at-ta-har* (*a[ṭ]-ta-har*)[25]
	174			KUR-*ud*
	174			*ub-la*
31st *palû*				
Introduction	175	*kī . . . uṣ-ba-ku-ni*		
	176	*ú-ma-'-er*		
	176	*áš-pur*		
Episode 1	177		*iq-ṭí-rib*	
	177			*am-hur-šú*
Episode 2	178		*a-lik*	
	179			KUR-*ud*
Episode 3	180		*al-lik*	
	180			*ap-pùl*
	180			*a-qur*
	180			[*áš-ru*]-*up* (*áš-r*[*u-up*])
Episode 4	180		*at-ta-rad*	
	183			*am-hur*
Episode 5	183		[*a*]*t-ta-rad*	
	184			*ap-pùl*
	184			*a-q*[*ur*]
	185			*áš-ru-up*
	185			*at-bu-uk*
Episode 6	185		*il-l*[*ik*]	
	187			KUR-*ud*
	187			*a-duk*
	187			*áš-lu-la*
Episode 7	187		*at-ta-rad*	
	189			*at-ta-pal*
	189			*at-ta-qar*
	189			*a-sa-rap*
Episode 8	190		*ú-ri-da*	

We may observe here that verbs are in the first person, intended for the king, until the point at which the king sends the army off

[25] Read *a*[*ṭ*]*-ta-har* on Ann. 14, l. 318 rather than RIMA 3's *i-ta-har* (collated against Hulin's original hand copy).

with Dayyan-Ashur, the actual commander, and that the alternation between the first and third person starts with the first itinerary action of the commander. In the accounts of the 27th–30th *palû*s, the verbs of the itinerary actions are largely in the third person, Dayyan-Ashur being the agent, while the verbs of fighting and achievement (destruction, conquest, receiving tribute, etc.) always appear in the first person, being still reserved for the king. Thus, up to the 30th *palû*, there appears to be a *modus vivendi* between the king and the *turtānu*, acknowledging the fact that the latter actually conducted the campaign. In contrast, in the account of the 31st *palû*, not only the verbs of fighting and achievement but also those of itinerary actions appear in the first person, with a few exceptions. This might be interpreted as an attempt to show the king as more closely in control of the deeds than he actually was.[26] It is also possible, however, to take the first person speech as that of Dayyan-Ashur, considering that in the account of the final *palû*—that is, his own eponymate—Dayyan-Ashur gave himself a higher profile and took full credit for the military achievements. A comparable phenomenon may be found in the inscription on the Saba'a Stela, in which Nergal-eresh, the actual commissioner of the monument, added his speech in the first person after the royal record of his overlord Adad-nerari III, written in the king's first person speech.[27] Returning to the Black Obelisk, I suggest that the entire account of the 31st *palû* was originally designed as Dayyan-Ashur's speech, but was finally combined with the standard opening stylized as the king's speech and applied uniformly to the previous *palû*s (27th to 30th), i.e. *ina x palêya . . .* ^{m}*Dayyān-Aššur* ^{lú}*turtānu rab ummānātēya rapšu ina pānat ummānātēya (karašīya . . .) uma'er ašpur* "in my x *palû* . . . I gave orders and sent Dayyan-Ashur, *turtānu*, the wise chief of my army, at the head of my army (and camp)".[28] The result may be summarized as follows:

A) The king's speech: "In my 31st *palû*".
B) Dayyan-Ashur's speech: "I placed the *pūru* for the second time in front of the gods Ashur (and) Adad".
C) The king's speech: "At that time, when I stayed at the city of Calah,

[26] Schneider, *New Analysis*, p. 134.
[27] RIMA 3, A.0.104.6.
[28] Ann. 13, ll. 141b–143a (the 27th *palû*), 146b–150a (the 28th *palû*), 159b–160a (the 30th *palû*). The heading of the 29th *palû* has a shorter passage, reading: *ummānu karašu uma'er ašpur* (l. 157).

I gave orders and sent Dayyan-Ashur, *turtānu*, the wise chief of my army, at the head of my army and camp. He went to the cities of Data, the Hubushkaean".

D) Dayyan-Ashur's speech, reporting the campaign.

When the editor made the combination, he had no choice but to place B immediately after A, since B is a chronological note, which must precede the campaign account (C+D); hence, Dayyan-Ashur's speech (B) split the king's speech (A+C), which had originally been a single unit. In conclusion, it is most likely that the Black Obelisk inscription commemorates the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur in the final *palû*, which closes the text without any further report whatsoever. Mentioning the name of Dayyan-Ashur five times and noting his two eponymates, the text is effectively a memorial to him as well as to the king.[29] Moreover, considering the peculiarities of the text discussed above, the monument was probably commissioned by Dayyan-Ashur, rather than by the king.[30] His commission of the obelisk, destined to stand in the piazza of the capital city Calah, perhaps together with his own statue,[31] testifies to the special privilege which the *turtānu* had won on the eve of the great internal revolt in which Assyria became embroiled.

The Relationship between the Black Obelisk and the Calah Statue

The Calah Statue Inscription (Ann. 14) contains a campaign account up to and including the 31st *palû*, with an account of the final *palû* parallel to that of the Black Obelisk, thus including the heading relating to the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur, as noted above. The former text, however, does not refer to his first eponymate, as does the latter. In the following pages, I compare the two texts in order to investigate the editorial process which caused this variation.

The text of the Calah Statue differs from that of the Black Obelisk

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[29] Viewed thus by A.T. Olmstead (*Assyrian Historiography*, p. 27) and J.E. Reade (in *ARINH*, p. 159).

[30] The commission of the Black Obelisk by Dayyan-Ashur is also considered as possible by Reade (*ARINH*, p. 159).

[31] An unfinished statue of a court eunuch found in the piazza, where the Obelisk was discovered (see C.J. Gadd, *Stones*, pl. 8, no. 2) should perhaps be associated with Dayyan-Ashur, as suggested by Reade (*ARINH*, p. 159).

in its general structure. The opening of the latter is composed of the invocation of the gods, the royal name, titles and genealogy, whereas the Calah Statue lacks the invocation of the gods and contains royal titles quite different from those in the Black Obelisk. As for the ending, as already stated, the Black Obelisk ends abruptly with the account of the 31st *palû*; this makes the last *palû* with the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur particularly striking. The Calah Statue, in contrast, concludes with additional reports about royal hunting and the equipping of chariots and cavalry—an ending similar to that of the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5).[32]

The campaign account of the Calah Statue is in close textual contact with the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7) and the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13), but it is often more detailed than the latter two texts (in the account of the 8th, 9th, 21st, 22nd, 23rd and 27th *palûs*). Accordingly, the text of the Calah Statue cannot have been abridged or extracted directly from any one of these texts. It is theoretically possible that the entire campaign account of the Black Obelisk was directly abridged from the longer text of the Calah Statue. It seems to me, however, that the relationship between the two texts is more complex. The account of the 31st *palû*, commemorating the second eponymate of Dayyan-Ashur, plays an especially prominent role on the Black Obelisk; this monument referring to his first eponymate and concluding with the account of his second eponymate as its climax. It may be assumed, therefore, that the editor of the Calah Statue borrowed the account of the 31st *palû* from a text that emphasized the role of Dayyan-Ashur, like the Black Obelisk, but did not fully follow up its original intent. We may be allowed to conjecture further that the entire account of the last years in which Dayyan-Ashur is mentioned by name, i.e. the 27th–31st *palûs*, was composed especially for the Black Obelisk, and that it was borrowed for the almost simultaneously edited standard royal annals, i.e. the Calah Statue. An obstacle to this hypothesis, however, is that the account of the 27th *palû* of the Calah Statue continues further than its counterpart on the Black Obelisk. To explain this, we should suppose that the prepared draft was shortened specifically in the 27th *palû* when it was inscribed on the Obelisk due to the shortage of space, while it

[32] The equipping of the chariots and cavalry is also found in the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7, Ann. 8).

was copied in full on the Calah Statue, which had room for a longer text.

The account of the preceding *palû*s on the Black Obelisk and on the Calah Statue was presumably based on an earlier annalistic version which contained the account up to and including the 26th *palû* (= Year 28), which is probably represented by a damaged stone tablet, Assur 1120 (see above, Part I, 1.2.1, Ann. 12). It appears that the text of the Calah Statue, designed as detailed standard annals, fully reproduced the earlier text, while the Black Obelisk abridged it again due to the lack of space.

APPENDIX C

THE MANIPULATIVE COUNTING OF THE EUPHRATES CROSSINGS IN THE LATER INSCRIPTIONS OF SHALMANESER III*

After his campaign to the Mediterranean in Year 1 (858), Shalmaneser III repeatedly crossed the Euphrates to subjugate states in Syria and south-eastern Anatolia, as meticulously noted in the various versions of his Annals.[1] In the later versions of Shalmaneser's Annals, particularly the 16 Year Annals (Ann. 5) and subsequent versions, the historiographer(s) opens the account of each year with the heading: *ina X palêya* "in my Xth *palû*"; the term *palû* is practically equated with the regnal year.[2] From the tenth *palû* onwards, these texts often, although not always, add the number of the Euphrates crossings in the heading of the annual account, e.g. *ina X palêya Y-šu Puratta* (*ina mūlīša*) *ē(te)bir* "in my Xth *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates (in its flood) for the Yth-time". In this appendix, I shall review this phenomenon in order to clarify the methods used by the royal historiographer(s) for counting the Euphrates crossings, as well as the historiographical-ideological motives for the inclusion of these notations.

The attested notations of the counting of the Euphrates crossings can be tabulated as follows:

palû	16 Y. Ann. (Ann. 5)	Bull (Ann. 6)	20. Y. Ann. (Ann. 7)	Kurbail St. (Ann. 9)	Black Ob. (Ann. 13)	Calah St. (Ann. 14)
10	8-*šú*	8-*šú*	8-*šú*	—	8-*šú*	[8-*šú*]
11	9-*šú*	9-*šú*	9-*šú*	—	9-*šú*	9-*šú*
12	10-*šú*	10-*šú*	10-*šú*	—	10-[*šú*]	10-[*šú*]
18		16-*šú*	16-*šú*	16-*šú*	16-*šú*	[16-*šú*]

* The contents of this appendix were published in *JCS* 50 (1998), pp. 87–94, in a slightly different form.

[1] In all of his annalistic texts (see above, Part I, 1.2.1), except for the Balawat Gate Inscription (Ann. 4), which records no crossing of the Euphrates.

[2] Thus certainly up to and including the 20th *palû*; the number of the *palû* then starts deviating from that of the regnal year (see above, Part I, 2). This deviation, however, does not affect the present discussion.

Table (cont.)

palû	16 Y. Ann. (Ann. 5)	Bull (Ann. 6)	20. Y. Ann. (Ann. 7)	Kurbail St. (Ann. 9)	Black Ob. (Ann. 13)	Calah St. (Ann. 14)
19			17-*šú*	20-<*šú*>	18-*šú*	[1]7-*šu*
20			20-*šú*		20-*šú*	[20-*šú*]
21				21-*šú*[3]	21-<*šú*>	21-[*šú*]
22					22-<*šú*>	22-<*šú*>

These records of the Euphrates crossings were recently treated by M. de Odorico in his comprehensive work on the numbers in the Assyrian royal inscriptions.[4] He has shown that the counting cannot be understood systematically, whether we assume that only outward crossings were counted or that the return crossings were also consistently taken into account in the calculation. Furthermore, he suggested that this inconsistency "is due to the desire of making match the crossings with the *palê*". The most explicit example is the matching of the 20th *palû* with the 20th crossing in the 20 Year Annals (Ann. 7) and all the subsequent versions. This matching was apparently artificial, since it is impossible for the king to have crossed the river three times in the 20th *palû* following the 17th crossing in the 19th *palû*. This raises a serious doubt as to the authenticity of the numbers of the crossings of the Euphrates given in Shalmaneser's inscriptions. In the following discussion, I shall show that all the numbers given in the later annalistic texts were actually invented using consistent manipulative methods and do not faithfully reflect the historical reality.

It is easy to observe in the above table that there is clear correspondence in the numbers of crossings between the various texts. From the tenth *palû* up to and including the 19th *palû*, the number of the crossings is always two less than the number of the *palû*, with

[3] In the Kurbail Statue Inscription (Ann. 9), 21 *palêya* (l. 31) is erroneously assigned to the campaign account which is headed in all the other texts by 20 *palêya*. Probably in combination with this, the scribe also gave 21-*šú* for the number of crossings—thus in the copy by J.V. Kinnier Wilson (*Iraq* 24 [1962], pl. 35), although his transliteration (p. 94) gives 20-*šú* (as noted by Grayson in RIMA 3, A.0.102.12, footnote on l. 31)—not 20-*šú* as in the other texts. These errors were probably caused by another error in the preceding passage (ll. 30b–31a) in which the scribe mistakenly assigned the 20th crossing to the 19th *palû* instead of to the 20th *palû*. It would seem that the erroneous mention of the 20th crossing put him under the false impression that he was writing the account of the 20th *palû*, and he therefore took the subsequent account to be that of the campaign of the 21st *palû*.

[4] *Numbers*, pp. 136–138.

two exceptions, i.e. the Kurbail Statue (Ann. 9) and the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13), which, probably due to some confusion, assign the 20th and 18th crossings, respectively, to the 19th *palû*.[5] It is, however, difficult to accept these numbers of crossings as historical. The annalistic texts reveal that up to and including his sixth *palû* Shalmaneser crossed the Euphrates westwards four times, i.e. in Years 1, 2, 4 and 6 (see above, Part II, 1.2, 2.2, 4.2 and 5.2),[6] and then did not march against the west until his tenth *palû*.[7] Therefore, the actual number of the Euphrates crossing in the tenth *palû* must be just one more than the "fourth" crossing of the sixth *palû*, i.e. the fifth crossing.[8] This implies that the "eighth" recorded as the number of the crossing in the tenth *palû*, as well as the numbers for the crossings in the following *palû*s, is not historical. The method by which the editor reached the number "eight" for the crossing in the tenth *palû* may be surmised to have been as follows: he counted four crossings up

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[5] The confusion in the Kurbail Statue Inscription, which occurs successively in the accounts of the 19th and 20th *palû*s, is probably due to scribal error (see above, n. 3). For the deviation of the Black Obelisk, see my discussion below.

[6] In Year 3, Shalmaneser reached Til-barsip on the east bank of the Euphrates but probably did not cross the river; no text explicitly mentions a crossing in that year. For this, see my discussion above in Part II, 3.2, esp. p. 129, n. 187. Two further questions may be raised by the Kurkh Monolith (Ann. 3). The first is the failure of this text to mention the crossing in Year 4, which is nevertheless noted in the later texts. This appears to have been caused by the distinct structure of the text, as discussed above (Part II, 4.1, esp. p. 131 with n. 191). The other question is the meaning of a notation regarding the crossing of Year 6 (ii 82): *ša šanûtēšu* ^{id}*Puratta ina mēlīša ēbir* "I crossed the Euphrates 'for the second time' at its flood on rafts of (inflated) goatskins" (the alleged excessive <<II-⌜*šú*⌝>> following *ša šanûtēšu* [RIMA 3, A.0.102.2] is actually not attested; see Appendices D and E). As pointed out (above, Part II, 5.2, esp. p. 152, n. 258), if the expression *ša šanûtēšu* meant "for the second time", it would hardly be reconcilable with the historical number of the crossing, i.e. the fourth time, in the sixth regnal year. Unless one wishes to posit that II is a scribal error for IV, or that the scribe inexplicably, and contrary to the prevalent royal ideology, *reduced* the number of crossings of the Euphrates credited to the king, one arrives at the conclusion that the expression *ša šanûtēšu* means "another time, again", and that the Kurkh Monolith does not provide an exact counting of the Euphrates crossings here.

[7] In the seventh regnal year (852), the king marched against Til-abne, located east of the Euphrates, and then advanced to the source of the Tigris; during the next two years, i.e. the eighth and ninth regnal years (851 and 850), the king devoted himself to Babylonian affairs, helping Marduk-zakir-shumi, king of Babylon, suppress the rebellion which had broken out in Babylonia.

[8] If we count the Euphrates crossing in Chaldea in the ninth regnal year, mentioned in the Balawat Gate Inscription (iv 6), the crossing in the tenth *palû* becomes the sixth historical crossing. This does not affect the main point of our argument, however.

to the sixth *palû* and then applied this disparity between the number of the *palû* and that of the crossings to the tenth *palû*, thereby reaching the eighth crossing, with the number much higher than reality.

When did such a numerical manipulation occur? There is reason to believe that the present attribution of the eighth river crossing to the tenth *palû* was first introduced not in the 16 Year Annals, but in an unknown earlier annalistic text dated by *palû*. As I shall discuss below, it seems that the similar countings of the Euphrates crossings attested in several non-annalistic texts from Fort Shalmaneser, which were edited in the 13th and 15th regnal years and thus preceded the 16 Year Annals, were probably calculated on the basis of such an early *palû* text. If so, it seems most likely that the eighth crossing in the tenth *palû* was first invented for the final entry of a now lost Ten Year Annals as an observation on the sum total of crossings up to the time of the editing. This assumption may be further supported by the theory that the *palû* dating system was introduced under Babylonian influence not long after Shalmaneser's Babylonian campaign in his ninth regnal year (850).[9]

Be this as it may, starting with the fictional eighth crossing in the tenth *palû*, the ninth and tenth crossings were then assigned to the 11th and 12th *palû*s, respectively, as witnessed by the 16 Year Annals. This method of preserving a "disparity of two" between the number of the crossing and the number of the *palû* was likewise adopted by the editor(s) of the Bull Inscription (Ann. 6) and the 20 Year Annals up to the 19th *palû*. Thus, the Bull Inscription assigned the 16th crossing to the 18th *palû*; this number of crossings is six larger than the tenth crossing of the 12th *palû*, although only three western campaigns (in the 14th, 17th and 18th *palû*s) were undertaken during the six years from the 13th *palû* to the 18th *palû*.[10] The edi-

[9] H. Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958), p. 29, n. 60; T.J. Schneider, *New Analysis*, pp. 79 and 83. It may also be noted that Tadmor's theory that in the 11th–9th centuries the Assyrian annals were periodically re-edited after the fifth, tenth and twentieth regnal years also posits the existence of Shalmaneser's Ten Year Annals. See Tadmor, in M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein*, pp. 209f.

[10] For the 14th and 17th *palû*s, the crossing of the Euphrates is consistently mentioned in the various versions of Shalmaneser's Annals, but without any reference to the number of the crossing. During the remaining years, i.e. the 13th, 15th and 16th *palû*s, the king went to Matyatu (see below, n. 16), Nairi/the source of the Euphrates, and Namri, respectively. If the expedition to the source of the Euphrates

tor of the 20 Year Annals, however, deviated from this custom with regard to the final *palû* of his text, artificially matching the number of the crossing with that of the *palû*, as already stated; hence the 20th crossing in the 20th *palû*. The later annalistic texts, such as the Black Obelisk (Ann. 13) and the Calah Statue (Ann. 14), followed this new custom and assigned the 21st and 22nd crossings to the 21st and 22nd *palû*s, respectively. We can thus observe two stages of numerical manipulation: first the adoption of a number of crossings consistently two less than the number of the *palû* from the tenth to the 19th *palû*s, and then the complete matching of the number of crossings with the number of the *palû* from the 20th *palû* onwards. As a result, the reported number of crossings became further and further removed from reality with advance of the regnal year.

As noted above, the Black Obelisk assigns the 18th crossing, instead of the expected 17th crossing, to the 19th *palû*. We may understand this deviation either as the result of confusion caused by the change of counting method between the 19th and 20th *palû*s, or as an attempt by the editor to bridge the two different methods.[11]

This manipulative counting in Shalmaneser's later annalistic texts was definitely motivated by the ideological aim of presenting the image of Shalmaneser as the king who conquered the west by his unremitting yearly campaigns. In this respect, we may find a functional similarity between the counting of the Euphrates crossings and the *palû* dating system, which expresses the king's constant military activities by including a separate military account for each of the successive regnal years, numbered without interruption.[12] It seems hardly accidental that both the notations of the number of crossings of the Euphrates and the *palû* dating system characterize precisely the same group of texts, and one may conclude that both these

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in the 15th *palû* is considered as an additional crossing—as is actually done, it seems, in non-annalistic inscriptions from Fort Shalmaneser (see below)—we may count four crossings during the six years. It should also be noted that when considering each of the three western expeditions as a round trip composed of two crossings, one can reach the 16th crossing in the 18th *palû* on the basis of the 10th crossing in the 12th *palû*, as pointed out by de Odorico (*Numbers*, p. 138, n. 101). The editor was perhaps aware of this, but it seems that it was in any case important to him to maintain the fixed disparity of two.

[11] For the deviation in the Kurbail Statue Inscription, see above, n. 3.

[12] This effect of the *palû*-dated texts, in contrast to *limmu*-dated texts, where the omission of a regnal year would not be so easily noticeable, was discussed by M. de Odorico (*Numbers*, pp. 163–166) and T.J. Schneider (*New Analysis*, pp. 231–234).

features were simultaneously introduced into Shalmaneser's later annalistic texts for the same ideological purpose.[13]

Finally, I shall conclude my investigation with a discussion of the numbers of the Euphrates crossings noted in the king's summary inscriptions from Fort Shalmaneser of Calah, engraved on a throne base, door sills and a door socket (Summ. 6, 8, 9, 10a/b/c, 11 a/b). These texts, without holding chronological arrangement in the content, summarize the events in the west, noting only one number for the Euphrates crossings.

The inscription on the throne base (Summ. 6) mentions the tenth crossing of the river in connection with the king's 13th *palû*: *ina 13 palê*(BALA.MEŠ)*-ia 10-šú* ÍD *Puratta*(A.RAD) *e-bir*. This is followed by a claim of the establishment of Assyrian influence over lands west of Assyria: *nam-ru-rat bēlū*(EN)*-ti-ia eli*(UGU) KUR *Hat-ti* KUR *Me-eṣ-ri* KUR *Ṣu-ri* KUR *Ṣi-du-ni ù* KUR *Ha-ni-gal-bat at-bu-uk* "I poured out my lordly splendour over the lands of Hatti, Egypt, Tyre, Sidon and Hanigalbat" (ll. 34b–36).[14] The former sentence may theoretically be rendered "in my 13th *palû*, I crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time", as usually done for similar expressions in the annals. This rendering, however, is problematic, as noted by P. Hulin.[15] First, according to the Annals, the 13th *palû* was devoted to the campaign against Matyatu, *alias* Yatu, located in the Kashiyari mountain region, west of the Tigris, and the Assyrian army certainly did not cross the Euphrates in this year.[16] Second, the tenth Euphrates crossing is indicated unanimously in the various annalistic texts as an event of the 12th *palû* (see above). Therefore, assuming, with Hulin, that the text was edited on the basis of an early *palû* text essentially parallel to the known standard *palû* text, and that the indi-

[13] As noted above, this probably occurred first in the postulated Ten Year Annals, presumably the first *palû*-dated annalistic text. Cf. Tadmor, *JCS* 12, p. 29, n. 60, who suspected some connection between the counting of the Euphrates crossings recorded first in the tenth *palû* and the introduction of the *palû* dating system.

[14] As already discussed (above, Part III, 3), Meṣri, in this context, cannot be identified with any country but Egypt, since the list here includes only major countries west of Assyria and appears to represent the entire world of the west from the Assyrian viewpoint. For the problem of the identification of Miṣri/Meṣri/Muṣri in Assyrian sources, see further above, Part II, 5.2, esp. pp. 157f. with nn. 280–282.

[15] *Iraq* 25 (1963), pp. 61f.

[16] Ann. 5, iii 21–23; Ann. 6, ll. 98b–99a; Ann. 7, iii 10b–13; Ann. 13, ll. 90b–91a; Ann. 14, ll. 85'–87'a. For the reading of the toponym Matyatu, see A.K. Grayson, *BiOr* 33 (1976), pp. 144f.

cation of the tenth crossing in the 13th *palû* is not a scribal error, we must translate the passage in question as "in (the point of time of) my 13th *palû*, I have (already) crossed the Euphrates for the tenth time".[17] If this interpretation is correct, "*ina* 13 *palêya*" would indicate the date of the composition of the text, serving as the heading of a summary of the king's achievements in the west up to that point, i.e. the sum total of the crossings of the Euphrates and the establishment of the king's influence over the west.

The same interpretation should apparently be applied to a similar notation found in the inscriptions on door-sills and a door-socket (Summ. 8, 9, 10a/b/c, 11 a/b): *ina* 15 *palê*(BALA.MEŠ)-*a* 12-*šú* ÍD *Puratta*(A.RAD) *e-bir* KUR *Hat-ti a-na pat gim-ri-šá a-bíl*.[18] I believe that "*ina* 15 *palêya*" points to the date of composition and that the sentence should be rendered "in (the point of time of) my 15th year, I have (already) crossed the Euphrates for the 12th time (so that) I ruled the land of Hatti altogether".[19] Here too the editor probably based his counting of the crossings on data provided by an annalistic record. Thus, he seems to have added to the tenth crossing of the 12th *palû*, as indicated in the Annals, the crossing of the 14th *palû* and the expedition to the source of the Euphrates in the 15th *palû*.[20] In conclusion, it seems that the editor(s) of these summary inscriptions faithfully followed the data found in the available annalistic text, which fictitiously assigned the eighth to the tenth crossings to the tenth to the 12th *palû*s, respectively.

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[17] Or, as suggested by P. Hulin (*Iraq* 25, pp. 61f.): "in my 13 years of reign I crossed the Euphrates ten times"; this is followed by A.K. Grayson, RIMA 3, A.0.102.28: "In my thirteen regnal years I crossed the Euphrates ten times"; cf. M. de Odorico's comment sceptical of Hulin's view, however (*Numbers*, p. 137, n. 97). In this connection, note that both BALA and BALA.MEŠ are attested as spellings of the word *palû* in the expression *ina X palêya*, when it certainly refers to a single year of a reign (Tadmor, *JCS* 12, p. 26 with n. 37); thus, theoretically, BALA.MEŠ can signify either a single year or a number of years of reign in our context.

[18] Summ. 8, ll. 4b–5; Summ. 9, ll. 18b–20a; Summ. 10a, ll. 6–7a; Summ. 10b, ll. 3b–4a; Summ. 10c, ll. 5–6a; Summ. 11a, ll. 4–5a; Summ. 11b, ll. 6–7.

[19] Cf. Hulin, *Iraq* 25, p. 62: "in my 15 years of reign I crossed the Euphrates 12 times". See also above, n. 17.

[20] For the 14th and 15th *palû*s, see above, n. 10. The possibility that the editor counted the expedition to the source of the Euphrates in the 15th *palû* as the 12th crossing was first suggested by Hulin (*Iraq* 25, p. 62). Cf. also de Odorico (*Numbers*, p. 137, n. 98).

APPENDIX D

THE EDITION OF ANNALS 1 AND ANNALS 3

The present edition of Annals 3 (the Kurkh Monolith) is based on photographs provided by the British Museum and on my collation based on the original object in the British Museum (September, 1996). The standard copy of G. Smith (*III R*, pls. 7f.) is unreliable, as shown by the collation of J.A. Craig (*Hebraica* 3 [1886/7], pp. 201–232; cf. also idem, *Hebraica* 10 [1893/4], p. 106) and the collation of W. Schramm (*Einleitung*, pp. 71f.). In 1996, A.K. Grayson provided us with a modern edition (RIMA 3, A.0.102.2 with microfilm), but my edition still includes minor points of improvement, most of which are noted in footnotes (now cf. also the collation of A. Fuchs, *BiOr* 55/1–2 [1998], cols. 191f.). The result of my collation is partly copied and presented in Appendix E. The edition of Annals 1 (the One Year Annals) was prepared based mainly on the hand copy (and barely legible photographs) published by M. Mahmud and J. Black in *Sumer* 44 (1985/6), pp. 143–149. For l. 32 of the obverse which was skipped over in the copy (as noted by the authors [*ibid.*, p. 136]), I have followed Black's transliteration (*ibid.*, p. 139) and that of Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 14, l. 22, with microfilm).

Transliteration

Synoptic transliteration for the portion common to Annals 1 (= A, obv. 1–r. 33a) and Annals 3 (= B, i 1–ii 5)

1: A 1: [^{d}]*Aš-šur* EN GAL MAN *gim-rat* DINGIR.MEŠ
B 1: ^{d}*A-šur* EN GAL-*ú* MAN *gim-*⌜*rat*⌝ ⌜DINGIR.MEŠ⌝

GAL.MEŠ-*te*
GAL.MEŠ

2: A 1: ^{d}*A-num* MAN ^{d}*Í-gì-gì*.MEŠ *ù* ^{d}*A-nun-na-*⌜*ki*⌝.[M]EŠ
B 1: ^{d}*A-nu* MAN ^{d}NUN.GAL.MEŠ *u** ^{d}*A-nun-na-ki*

EN KUR.KUR.MEŠ
EN KUR.KUR

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* 2: B 1: *u*: collated; *ù* in RIMA 3.

3: A 2: ^{d}BAD AD DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-šim* NAM.MEŠ *mu-ṣir*
B 1–2: ^{d}BAD *a-bu* DINGIR.MEŠ *mu-šim* NAM.MEŠ / *mu-ṣir*

GIŠ.HUR AN-*e* KI-*tim*
e-ṣu-rat [AN-*e* KI]-*tim*

4: A 2: ^{d}*É-a er-šu* MAN AB.ZU *ba-nu-ú kul-la-ti*
B 2: ^{d}*É-a er-šu* MAN ZU.AB *b*[*a-nu*]-*ú nik-*⌜*la*⌝-*ti*

5: A 3: ^{d}XXX *na-nàr* AN-*e u* KI-*te* DINGIR *e-tel-lu*
B 2: ⌜^{d}⌝*na-nàr** AN-*e* KI-*tim* DINGIR *e-tel-lu*

6: A 3: ^{d}*Šá-maš* DI.KUD UB.MEŠ *muš-te-šir te-né-še-te*
B 2–3: ^{d}*Šá-maš* / DI.KUD UB.MEŠ *muš-te-*⌜*šir*⌝? *te-*[*né*]-*še-e-ti*

7: A 3–4: ^{d}INNIN *be-lat* MURUB$_4$ *u* MÈ / *šá me-lul-ta-šá*
B 3: ^{d}INNIN *be-lat* MURUB$_4$ *u* MÈ *šá me-lul-ta-šá*

GIŠ.LÁ
GIŠ.LÁ

8: A 4: DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ-*te* ÁG-*ut* MAN-*ti-a*
B 3: DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ÁG-*ut* MAN-*ti-ia*

9: A 4: *šá kiš-šú-ti u ša-pì-ru-ti ú-šar-bu-ú šu-mì kab-ta u*
B 4: ⌜*šá*⌝ EN-*ti kiš-šu-ti u šá-pi-ru-ti ú-šar-bu šu-mì kab-tu*

siq-ri ṣi-ra
siq-ri ṣi-i-ra

10: A 5: UGU *nap-har* EN.MEŠ-*e iš-ku-nu-in-ni*
B 4: ⌜UGU⌝ *nap-har** EN.MEŠ-*e ma-ʾ-diš iš-ku-nu-in-ni*

11: A 5: ^{md}*Šùl-ma-nu*-MAŠ MAN *kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ NUN-*ú*
B 5: ⌜^{m}⌝^{d}<*Šùl*>-*ma-*⌜*nu*⌝-MAŠ* MAN *kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ NUN-*ú*

SANGA *Aš*+*šur*
SANGA *Aš*+*šur*

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* 5: B 2: ⌜^{d}⌝*na-nàr*: RIMA 3 reads ^{d}30 *na-nàr*, but "30" is not extant (so already Craig and Schramm). See my copy in Appendix E.
* 10: B 4: ⌜UGU⌝ *nap-har*: see my copy in Appendix E.
* 11: B 5: ⌜^{m}⌝^{d}<*Šùl*>-*ma-*⌜*nu*⌝-MAŠ: see copy.

12: A 5–6: MAN *dan-nu* MAN KUR *Aš+šur* / MAN *kúl-lat*
B 5: MAN *dan-nu* MAN KUR *Aš+šur* MAN *kúl-lat*

kib-rat LÍMMU-*i*
kib-rat LÍMMU-*i*

13: A 6: ^{d}*Šam-šu kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ *mur-te-du-ú* DÙ-*liš*
B 5–6: ^{d}*Šam-šu kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ / *mur-te-du-ú ka-liš*

KUR.KUR.MEŠ
KUR.KUR

14: A 6–7: MAN *ba-ʾ-it* DINGIR.MEŠ *ni*(text: *er*)-*šit* / *e-ni*
B 6: MAN *ba-ʾ-it* DINGIR.MEŠ *ni-šit* *e-ni*

^{d}BAD
$^{r d n}$BAD*

15: A 7: SANGA *Aš+šur šur-ru-hu* NUN-*ú na-a-du*
B 6: GÌR.NÍTA *Aš+šur pit-qu-du* NUN-*ú na-a-du*

16: A 7: *a-me-ru du-ur-gi ù šap-šá-qí*
B 6–7: *a-me-ru / du-ur-gi ù šap-šá-qi*

17: A 7–8: *mu-kab-bi-is / re-še-ti** *ša* KUR-*e* *hur-šá-ni*
B 7: *mu-kab-bi-is re-še-te$_9$-e šá* KUR-*e ka-liš hur-šá-a-ni*

18: A 8: *ma-hír* GUN *ù i-gi-si-i* *šá* DÙ-*ši-na*
B 7–8: *ma-hír* GUN <<IGI>> *ù i-gi-se-e**/ [*šá*] DÙ-*ši-na*

UB.MEŠ
UB.MEŠ

19: A 9: *mu-pat-tu-ú ṭu-da-ti šá e-liš ù šap-liš*
B 8: *mu-pat-tu-ú ṭu-da-ti šá e-liš ù šap-liš*

20: A 9: *šá a-na ti-ib* MÈ-*šú dan-ni* UB.MEŠ *ul-ta-nap-šá-qa*
B 8: *šá a-na ti-ib* MÈ-*šú dan-ni* UB.MEŠ *ul-ta-nap-šá-qa*

21: A 10: *i-hi-lu da-ád-mi*
B 9: *i-hi-lu* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *i-na me-tel*(or *-ziz*) *qar-du-ti-šú*

iš-da-ši-na

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* 14: B 6: *e-ni* $^{r d n}$BAD: RIMA 3 reads *e-ni*.MEŠ, but MEŠ is not attested. See my copy.
* 17: A 8: *re-še-ti*: RIMA 3 reads *re-še-te$_9$-e*, but *-e* is not extant (collated).
* 18: B 7: GUN <<IGI>> *ù i-gi-se-e*: see my copy.

22: A 10: NÍTA *qar-du šá ina* GIŠ.TUKUL-*ti Aš+šur u* ^{d}*Šá-maš*
B 9: NÍTA *dan-nu šá ina* GIŠ.TUKUL-*ti Aš+šur* ^{d}*Šá-maš*

23: A 10: DIMGIR.MEŠ *re-ṣi-šú* DU-*ma*
B 9: DIMGIR.MEŠ *re-ṣi-šu* DU.DU-*ku-ma*

24: A 10–11: *ina mal-*⌜*ki*⌝ *ša kib-rat* / LÍMMU-*i šá-nin-šú* NU
B 10: *ina mal-ki šá kib-rat* LÍMMU-*i šá-nin-šú* NU

TUKU-*ú*
TUKU-*ú*

25: A 11: MAN KUR.KUR *šar-hu šá ar-hi pa-áš-qu-ti*
B 10: LUGAL KUR.KUR* *šar-hu šá ar-hi pa-áš-qu-te*

DU.DU-*ku*
DU.DU-*ku*

26: A 11–12: *iš-tam-da-hu* KUR.MEŠ-*e* / *u* A.AB.BA.MEŠ
B 10: *iš-tam-da-hu* KUR.MEŠ-*e u* A.AB.BA.MEŠ

27: A 12: A *Aš-šur*-PAP-A GAR ^{d}BAD SANGA *Aš+šur*
B 11: DUMU ^{m}*Aš-šur*-PAP-A GAR ^{d}BAD SANGA *Aš+šur*

28: A 12: *šá* SANGA-*su* UGU DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ṭí-bu-ma*
B 11: *šá* SANGA-*su* UGU DINGIR.MEŠ *i-ṭí-bu-ma*

29: A 12–13: KUR.KUR.MEŠ / *nap-har-ši-na ana*
B 11: KUR.KUR.MEŠ *nap-har-ši-na a-na*

GÌR.II.MEŠ-*šú ú-šak-ni-šú*
GÌR.II-*šu ú-šak-ni-šú*

30: A 13: *nab-ni-tú* KÙ-*tu šá* ^{m}GIŠ.TUKUL-*ti*-^{d}MAŠ
B 11: *nab-ni-tu* KÙ-*tu šá* ^{m}TUKUL-MAŠ*

31: A 13–14: *šá kúl-lat za-i-ri-šú* / *i-né-ru-ú-ma iš-pu-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš*
B 12: *ša kul-lat za-i-ri-šu i-né-ru-ma is-pu-nu a-bu-ba-ni-iš*

32: A 14: *e-nu-ma Aš+šur* EN GAL-*ú ina ku-un lìb-bi-šú*
B 12: *e-nu-ma Aš+šur* EN GAL-*ú ina ku-un* [ŠÀ]-*šu*

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* 25: B 10: KUR.KUR: RIMA 3 reads KUR.KUR.MEŠ, but MEŠ is not extant (collated).

* 30: B 11: ^{m}TUKUL-MAŠ: see my copy.

33: A 15: *ina* IGI.II.MEŠ-*šú* KÙ.MEŠ *ud-da-ni-ma*
B 12: *ina* IGI.II.MEŠ-*šú* KÙ.MEŠ *ud-da-ni-*⌜*ma*⌝

34: A 15: *a-na re-*ʾ*-ut* KUR *Aš+šur ib-*<*ba*>*-an-ni*
B 13: ⌜*ana*⌝ *re-*ʾ*-ut* KUR *Aš+šur ib-ba-an-ni*

35: A 15–16: GIŠ.TUKUL *dan-nu / mu-šam-qit* NU *ma-gi-ri*
B 13: GIŠ.TUKUL *dan-nu* [*mu*]*-šam-qit la ma-gi-ri*

ú-šat-me-ha-ni-ma
ú-šat-me-ha-ni-ma

36: A 16–17: *a-ga-a* MAH *ú-pi-ra* EN-*ti / nap-har*
B 13: *a-ga-a* [MAH] *ú-pi-*[*ra*] EN-*ti nap-har*

KUR.KUR.MEŠ
KUR.KUR.MEŠ

37: A 17–18: *la ma-gi-ru-tu Aš+šur a-na pe-li ù šuk-nu-še ag-giš /*
B 14: *la* [*m*]*a-*[*gi*]*-ru-ut Aš+šur a-na pe-li ù šuk-nu-še ag-giš*

*ú-ma-*ʾ*-ra-an-ni*
*ú-ma-*ʾ*-ra-an-ni*

38: A 18: *ina* u_4*-me-šu-ma ina šur-rat* MAN(text: *u*)*-ti-a ina mah-re-e*
B 14: *ina* UD-*šu-ma ina šur-rat* MAN-*ti-ia ina mah-re-e*

BAL.MEŠ-*ia*
BAL.MEŠ-*ia*

39: A 19: *ina* GIŠ.GU.ZA MAN-*ti-ia* GAL-*iš ú-ši-bu*
B 15: *ina* GIŠ.AŠ.TI MAN-*ti* GAL-*iš ú-še-bu*

40: A 19: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *u* ERÍN.HÁ.MEŠ *ad-ki*
B 15: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ERÍN.HÁ.MEŠ-*ia ad-ki*

41: A 19–20: *ina né-reb / ša* KUR *Si-me-si e-ru-bu*
B 15: *ina né-re-bi šá* KUR *Si-me-si* KU_4*-ub*

42: A 20–21: *a-na* URU *A-ri-di* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá*
B 15–16: *a-na* URU *A-ri-di* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú / šá*

^{m}*Ni-in-ni / aq-ṭí-rib*
^{m}*Ni-in-ni aq-ṭí-rib*

43: A 21: URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* HÁ *a-duk*
B 16: URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-*šú* HÁ.MEŠ *a-duk*

44: A 21–22: *šal-<la>-su-nu áš-lu-la / di-im-tu šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ
B 16: *šal-la-su áš-lu-la a-si-tu šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ

45: A 22: *ina pu-ut* URU-*šú ar-ṣip* LÚ ⌜*ba*⌝-⌜*tu*⌝-[*l*]*i-šú-nu*
B 16–17: *ina pu-ut* URU-*šú** *ar-ṣip* / LÚ.KAL.TUR.MEŠ-*šú-nu*

46: A 23: MUNUS *ba-tu-la-ti-šú-nu a-na ma-aq-lu-ti aq-lu*
B 17: MUNUS *ba-tu-la-te-šú-nu a-na ma-aq-lu-te* GÍBIL

47: A 23–24: *ki-i ina* URU *A-ri-di-ma / us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tu ša*
B 17: *ki-i ina* URU *A-ri-di-ma us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tu šá*

KUR *Har-ga-a-a*
KUR *Har-ga-a-a*

48: A 24–25: KUR *Har-ma-sa-a-a* KUR
B 17–18: KUR *Har-ma-sa-a-a* / KUR *Si-me-sa-a-a* KUR

Si-me-ra-a-a / KUR *Si-reš-a-a*
Si-me-ra-a-a KUR *Si-reš-a-a*

50: A 25: KUR *Ul-me-na-a-a* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LÁ-*at*
B 18: KUR *Ul-ma-ni-a-a* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LÁ-*at*

GIŠ.<GIŠ>-*šú*
GIŠ.GIŠ

51: A 25–26: GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ / <<GUD.MEŠ
B 18: GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ

UDU.MEŠ>> GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-hur*
GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-hur*

52: A 26–27: TA URU *A-ri-di at-tu-muš ar-hi pa-áš-qu-ti* /
B 18–19: TA URU *A-ri-di* / *at-tu-muš ar-hi pa-áš-qu-te*

KUR.MEŠ-*e mar-ṣu-ti*
KUR.MEŠ-*e** *mar-ṣu-ti*

* 45: B 16: *ina pu-ut* URU-*šú*: RIMA 3 omits *-šú*. See my copy.
* 52: B 19: KUR.MEŠ-*e*; RIMA 3 omits *-e*.

53: A 27: *šá ki-ma še-lu-ut* GÍR *ana* AN-*e zi-qip-tú*
B 19: *šá* GIM *še-lu-ut* GÍR AN.BAR *a-na* AN-*e zi-qip-ta*

GAR-*nu*
šak-nu

54: A 27–28: *ina* NÍG.GUL URUDU *aq-qur* /
B 19: *ina* NÍG.GUL URUDU ZABAR *aq-qur*

GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
GIŠ.GIGIR.<MEŠ>*

55: A 28: *u** ERÍN.HÁ.MEŠ *ú-še-tiq ana* URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a*
B 20: ERÍN.HÁ.MEŠ *ú-še-tiq a-na* URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a*

aq-ṭí-rib
aq-ṭí-rib

56: A 28–29: URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a* / *a-di* 1 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni*
B 20: URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a* *a-di* 1 ME URU.DIDLI

šá li-me-tú-šú ina IZI.MEŠ
šá li-me-tu-šu ina IZI

57: A 29–30: *aš-ru-up* ^{m}*Ka-a-ki* MAN URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a* / *ù*
B 20–21: *áš-ru-up* ^{m}*Ka-ki-a* / MAN KUR *Na-i-ri* *ù*

si-ta-at ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ-*šú*
si-te-et ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ-*šú*

58: A 30: TA IGI *na-mu[r]-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a ip-láh-ú-ma*
B 21: TA *pa-an na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ip-la-hu-ma*

59: A 31: KUR.MEŠ-*e dan-nu-te iṣ-ba-tú* EGIR-*šú-nu ana* KUR-*e*
B 21: KUR.MEŠ-*e dan-nu-ti iṣ-ba-tu* EGIR-*šú-nu ana* KUR-*e*

e-lì
e-li

60: A 31–32: MÈ *dan-nu ina qé-reb* KUR-*e aš-kun* /
B 22: MÈ *dan-nu ina qé-reb* KUR-*e áš-ku-un*

$BAD_5.BAD_5$-*šú-nu am-ha-aṣ*
$BAD_5.BAD_5$-*šú-nu am-ha-aṣ*

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* 54: B 19: RIMA 3 reads GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ, but MEŠ is not attested.
* 55: A 28: RIMA 3 mistakenly omits *u*.

61: A 32: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ HI.A.MEŠ
B 22: GIŠ.GIGIR ÉRIN.HI.<A>.MEŠ*

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ-*šú*
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ

62: A 32–33: TA *qé-reb* KUR-*e* / *ú-te-ra púl-hi me-lam-me*
B 22–23: TA *qé-reb* KUR-*e* *ú-te-ra púl-hi me-lam-me* /

šá Aš+šur EN-*a*
šá Aš+šur EN-*ia*

63: A 33: *is-hu-pu-šú-nu-ti ur-du-u-ni* GÌR.II.MEŠ-*a iṣ-ba-tú*
B 23: *is-hu-pu-šu-nu-ti* ⌜*ur-du*⌝*-ni* GÌR.II.MEŠ-*ia iṣ-ba-tu*

64: A 34: GUN *ma-da-tú* UGU-*šú-nu ú-kín*
B 23: GUN *u ma-da-tu* UGU-*šú-nu ú-kín*

65: A 34–35: TA URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a at-tu-muš* *ana* URU
B 23–24: TA URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a at-tu-muš* / *a-na* URU

Su-gu-ni-a / URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*
Su-gu-ni-a URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*

66: A 35: *šá* ^{m}*A-ra-me* KUR *Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* URU
B 24: *šá* ^{m}*A-ra-me* KUR *Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a** *aq-ṭí-rib* URU

a-si-bi ak-ta-šad
a-si-bi ak-ta-šad

67: A 36: GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* HÁ *a-duk* *šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la*
B 24–25: GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ma-*ʾ*-tu a-duk* / ⌜*šal*⌝*-la-su* *áš-lu-la*

68: A 36: 3 *di-ma-te šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina* SAG.KI URU-*šú ar-ṣip*
B 25: *a-si-tú* *šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina pu-ut* URU-*šú ar-ṣip*

69: A 37: 4 URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tú-šú ina* IZI *aš-ru-up*
B 25: 14 URU.MEŠ-*ni ša li-me-tu-šú ina* IZI *áš-ru-up*

70: A 37–38: TA URU *Su-gu-ni-a* *at-tu-muš ana* *tam-ti* / *šá*
B 25–26: TA URU *Su-gu-ni-a* / *at-tu-muš a-na tam-di* *šá*

KUR *Na-i-ri at-ta-rad*
KUR *Na-i-ri at-ta-rad*

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* 61: B 22: ÉRIN.HI.<A>.MEŠ: so rightly Craig (collated), but RIMA 3 gives HI.A.
* 66: B 24: *Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a*: so rightly Craig (collated), not *-a-a* (RIMA 3).

71: A 38: GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a* *ina tam-ti* *ú-lil*
B 26: GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia* *ina tam-di* *ú-lil*

72: A 38: UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ-*ti* *ana* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-a* BAL-*qí*
B 26: UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ *ana* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia* BAL-*qí*

73: A 39: *ina* u_4-*me-šú-ma* *ṣa-lam* *bu-na-ni-ia* DÙ-*uš*
B 26–27: *ina* u_4-*me-šu-ma* *ṣa-lam* *bu-na-ni-ia* / DÙ-*uš*

74: A 39–40: *ta-na-ti* *Aš-šur* EN GAL-*e* EN-*a* *u* *li-ti* *kiš-šú-ti-a* /
B 27: *ta-nit-ti* *Aš-šur* EN NUN-*e* EN-*ia* *u* *li-ti* *kiš-šu-ti-ia*

ina *qé-reb-šú* *al-ṭùr*
ina *qé-reb-šú* *al-ṭùr*

75: A 40: *ina* UGU *tam-ti* *ú-še-ziz* *ina* *ta-ia-ar-ti-a* *šá* *tam-ti*
B 27–28: *ina* UGU *tam-di* *ú-še-ziz* *ina* *ta-ia-ar-ti-ia* / *šá* *tam-di*

76: A 40–41: *ma-da-tú* *šá* ^{m}*A-su-ú* / KUR *Gíl-za-na-a-a*
B 28: *ma-da-tu* *šá* ^{m}*A-su-ú* KUR *G*[*íl*]-*za-na-a*-KUR(for -*a*)*

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ
ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ

77: A 41: GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ *ud-ra-a-te* *šá*
B 28: GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ 2 *ud-ra-a-te* *ša*

2 *gu-un-gu-li-pi*
2 *gu-un-gu-li-pi*

78: A 42: *am-hur* *ana* URU-*ia* *Aš-šur* *ub-la*
B 28–29: *am-hur* / *a-na* URU-*ia* *Aš-šur* *ub-la*

79: A 42: *ina* ITI GUD UD.13.KAM TA URU NINA *at-tu-muš*
B 29: *ina* ITI GUD UD.13.KÁM TA URU NINA *at-tu-muš*

ÍD HAL.HAL *e-te-bir*
ÍD HAL.HAL *e-te-bir*

80: A 43: KUR *Ha-sa-mu* KUR *Di-ih-nu-nu* *at-ta-bal-kát*
B 29: KUR *Ha-sa-mu* KUR *Di-ih-nu-nu* *at-ta-bal-kàt*

81: A 43: *ana* URU *La-'-la-'-te* *šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni* *aq-ṭí-rib*
B 30: *ana* URU *La-'-la-'-te* *šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni* *aq-ṭí-rib*

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* 76: B 28: KUR *G*[*íl*]-*za-na-a*-KUR(for -*a*): see copy.

82: A 44: *púl-hi me-lam-me šá Aš-šur* EN-*a is-hu-pu-šú-nu*
B 30: *pu-ul-hi me-lam-me šá Aš-šur* EN-*ia is-hu-pu-*⌜*šú*⌝*-nu*

83: A 44–45: *ana šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú-nu e-lu-ú* /
B 30–31: *a-*[*na** *šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú-nu*] / *e-lu-ú*

URU *ap-púl aq-qur*
URU *ap-pu-ul aq-qur*

84: A 45: *ina* IZI.MEŠ *aš-ru-up* TA URU *La-*ʾ*-la-*ʾ*-te at-tu-muš*
B 31: *ina* IZI *áš-ru-up iš-tu* URU *La-*ʾ*-la-*ʾ*-ti at-tu-muš*

85: A 46: [*ana*] URU DU_6-*bar-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*
B 31–32: ⌜*a*⌝-[*na** URU DU_6-*bur-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú*] /

šá ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU ^{m}*A-di-ni*
šá ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni*

86: A 46–47: *aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* / DUMU ^{m}*A-di-ni ana gi-piš*
B 32: *aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni a-na gi-piš*

ÉRIN.HI.A.MEŠ-*šú*
⌜ÉRIN⌝.HI.[A.MEŠ-*šú*]

87: A 47: *it-ta-kil-ma ana e-peš* $MURUB_4$ *u*
B 32: ⌜*it*?⌝-⌜*ta*?⌝-[*kil*]-*ma* ⌜*ana*⌝ <*e-peš*> $MURUB_4$ *u*

MÈ *ig-ra-an-ni*
M[È *ig-ra*]-*a-ni**

88: A 48: *ina* GIŠ.TULUL-*ti Aš-šur u* DINGIR.MEŠ
B 32–33: *i-na* GIŠ.TULUL-*ti Aš-šur* / *u* DINGIR.MEŠ

GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*a*
GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ia*

89: A 48–49: KI-*šú am-da-hi-iṣ a-bi-ik-ta-šú aš-kun* / *ina*
B 33: *it-te-šú am-dah-hi-iṣ a-bi-ik-ta-*[*šú*] *áš-kun i-na*

URU-*šú e-sir-šú*
URU-*šú e-sir-šú*

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* 82–83: B 30: *is-hu-pu-*⌜*šú*⌝*-nu a-*[*na . . .*]: see copy.
* 84–85: B 31: *at-tu-muš* ⌜*a*⌝-[*na . . .*]: see copy.
* 86–87: B 32: *gi-piš* ⌜ÉRIN⌝.HI.[A.MEŠ-*šú*] ⌜*it*?⌝-⌜*ta*?⌝-[*kil*]-*ma* ⌜*ana*⌝ <*e-peš*> $MURUB_4$ *u* M[È *ig-ra*]-*a-ni*: see copy.

90: A 49: TA URU DU_6-*bar-si-ip* *at-tu-muš* *ana* URU
B 33–34: TA URU DU_6-*b*[*ur-si-i*]*p** *at-tu-muš* / *a-na* URU

Bur-mar-an-na
Bur-mar-ʾ-na

91: A 49–50: *šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni-ma* *aq-ṭí-rib* / URU *a-si-bi* *ak-ta-šad*
B 34: *šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni-*⌜*ma*⌝ [*aq-ṭí-rib* UR]U* ⌜*a*⌝*-si-bi* *ak-ta-šad*

92: A 50: 5 *šu-ši* *mun-dah-ṣi-šú-nu* *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit*
B 34: 5 *šu-ši* *mun-dah-ṣi-šú-nu* *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-*[*qit*]

93: A 51: *di-im-tú* *šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina* SAG.KI URU-*šú*
B 34–35: *a-si-tu* *šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ / [*ina pu*]-⌜*ut* URU-*šú*⌝

ar-ṣip
a[*r-ṣip*]*

94: A 51–52: *ina me-tàq-ti-a* *ma-da-tú* *šá* ^{m}*Ha-bi-ni* / [UR]U
B 35: [*ina me-tàq-ti-a*] ⌜*ma*⌝*-da-tu* *šá* ^{m}*Ha-pi-ni* URU

DU_6-NA_4.MEŠ-*a-a*
DU_6-*ab-na-a**

95: A 52: *šá* ^{m}*Ga-ʾ-na* URU *Sa-ru-ga-a-a* *šá* ^{m}*Gi-ri-*^{d}IŠKUR
B 35: *šá* ^{m}*Ga-ʾ-ú-ni* URU *Sa-r*[*u-ga-a-a šá*]* ^{m}*Gi-ri-*^{d}IŠKUR

96: A r. 1: URU *Im-me-ri-na-a-a* KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI.MEŠ
B 36: [URU *Im-me-ri-na-a-a*] KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI

GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ
GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ

97: A r. 1–2: GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-hur* / TA URU *Bur-mar-an-na*
B 36: GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-hur* TA URU *Bur-mar-ʾ-na*

at-tu-muš
at-tu-muš

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* 90: B 33: URU DU_6-*b*[*ur-si-i*]*p*: rather than URU DU_6-*bar-*[*x x*] (RIMA 3). See the author's note in *NABU* 1995, no. 2, pp. 24f.; see also copy in Appendix E.

* 91: B 34: ^{m}*A-hu-ni-*⌜*ma*⌝ [*aq-ṭí-rib* UR]U: cf. RIMA 3 (with footnote): ^{m}*a-hu-ni* ⌜DUMU *a*⌝-[*di-ni*]. See copy.

* 93: B 35: [*ina pu*]-⌜*ut* URU-*šú*⌝ *a*[*r-ṣip*]: see copy.

* 94: B 35: DU_6-*ab-na-a*: collated; RIMA 3 reads: URU DU_6-*ab-na-*⌜*a*⌝-*a* with an excessive -⌜*a*⌝-.

* 95: B 35: URU *Sa-r*[*u-ga-a-a šá*]: RIMA 3 reads: *Sa-r*[*u*? . . .] *x ša*(?).

98: A r. 2: *ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *šá* KUŠ.DUH.ŠI-*e* ⌜ÍD⌝
B 36–37: *ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUŠ.DUH.ŠI-*e* ÍD

A.RAD *e-bir*
A.RAD / [*e*]-⌜*te*⌝-*bir**

99: A r. 3: *ma-da-tú šá* ^{m}*Qa-ta-zi-li* KUR *Ku-mu-ha-a-a*
B 37: *ma-da-tu ša* ^{m}*Qa-ta-zi-*⌜*li*⌝* KUR *Ku-mu-ha-a-a*

KÙ.BABBAR
KÙ.BABBAR

100: A r. 3: KÙ.GI.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ
B 37: KÙ.GI GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ

GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-hur*
GEŠTIN.MEŠ *am-hur*

101: A r. 4: *a-na* URU *Pa-qar-uh-bu-ni* URU.MEŠ-*ni*
B 37–38: *a-na* KUR [*Pa-qar-r*]*u-uh-bu-ni** / URU.MEŠ-*ni*

šá ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni*
šá ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni*

102: A r. 4–5: *šá* GÌR *am-ma-ti* / *šá* ÍD A.RAD *aq-ṭí-rib*
B 38: *šá* GÌR.II.MEŠ *am-ma-te* *šá* ÍD A.RAD *aq-ṭí-rib*

103: A r. 5: *a-bi-ik-ti* KUR-*šú aš-kun* URU.DIDLI-*šú*
B 38–39: *a-be-ek-ti* KUR-[*šú aš-k*]*un** URU.DIDLI-*šú*

na-mu-ta *ú-šá-lik*
na-mu-ta / *ú-šá-lik*

104: A r. 6: $BAD_5.BAD_5$ *qu-ra-di-šú* EDIN *rap-šú ú-mal-li*
B 39: $BAD_5.BAD_5$ *qu-ra-di-šú* EDIN *rap-šu ú-mal-li*

105: A r. 6: 1 LIM 3 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina*
B 39: 1 LIM 3 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina*

GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit*
GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-*[*qit*]*

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* 98: B 37: [*e*]-⌜*te*⌝-*bir*: RIMA 3: *e-te-bir*, but *e-* is completely broken.
* 99: B 37: ^{m}*Qa-ta-zi-*⌜*li*⌝: so rightly Craig (collated); RIMA 3 gives ⌜*lu*⌝ instead of ⌜*li*⌝.
* 101: B 37: KUR [*Pa-qar-r*]*u-uh-bu-ni*: collated. RIMA 3 reads URU *Pa-qar-uh-bu-ni*.
* 103: B 38: KUR-[*šú aš-k*]*un*: collated; RIMA 3 reads KUR-*šú aš-kun*.
* 105: B 39: *ú-šam-*[*qit*]: RIMA 3, with Craig, reads *ú-šam-qit*.

106: A r. 7: TA URU *Pa-qar-uh-bu-ni* *at-tu-muš ana*
B 40: TA URU *Pa-qar-ru-uh-bu-ni* *at-tu-muš a-na*

URU.MEŠ-*ni*
URU.MEŠ-*ni*

107: A r. 7–8: *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ta-li* URU *Gúr-gu-ma-a-a* / *aq-ṭí-rib*
B 40: *šá* ^{m}*Mu-tal-li* URU *Gúr-gu-ma-a-a* *aq-ṭí-rib*

108: A r. 8: *ma-da-tu* *šá* ^{m}*Mu-ta-li* URU *Gúr-gu-ma-a-a*
B 40–41: *ma-da-tu* / *šá* ^{m}*Mu-tal-li* URU *Gúr-gu-ma-a-a*

KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI.MEŠ
KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI

109: A r. 8–9: GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ / GEŠTIN.MEŠ
B 41: GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ

DUMU.MUNUS-*su*
MUNUS.DUMU-*su*

110: A r. 9: *it-ti* *nu-du-ni-šá* *ma-ʾ-di* *am-hur* TA URU
B 41–42: *iš-tu* *nu-du-ni-šá* *ma-ʾ-di* *am-hur* TA URU

Gúr-gu-me *at-tu-muš*
Gúr-gu-me / *at-tu-muš*

111: A r. 10: *ana* URU *Lu-ti-bu* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú* *šá* ^{m}*Ha-a-a-ni*
B 42: *ana* URU *Lu-ti-bu* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú* *šá* ^{m}*Ha-a-ni*

KUR *Sa-am-ʾ-la-a-a*

112: A r. 10–11: *aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*Ha-a-a-nu* / KUR *Sa-am-ʾ-la-a-a*
B 42: *aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*Ha-a-nu* KUR *Sa-am-ʾ-*⌜*la-a-a*⌝*

^{m}*Sa-pa-lu-ul-me*
^{m}*Sa-pa-lu-ul-me*

113: A r. 11–12: KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni* /
B 43: KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni*

^{m}*Sa-an-ga-ra*
^{m}*Sa-an-ga-ra*

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* 112: B 42: RIMA 3 reads: KUR *sa-*<*am*>*-ʾa-la-a-a*, but *-am-* is extant.

114: A r. 12: URU* *Gar-ga-miš-a-a ana re-ṣu-ti a-ha-meš*
B 43: KUR *Gar-ga-miš-a-a a-na re-ṣu-ut a-ha-miš*

it-ta-kal-lu-ma
*i[t-t]àk-lu-ma**

115: A r. 13: *ik-ṣu-ru* MÈ *ana e-peš tuq-ma-ti ana*
B 43–44: *ik-ṣu-ru* / MÈ *a-na e-peš túq-ma-ti** *a-na*

GABA-*ia it-bu-ni*
GABA-*ia it-bu-ni*

116: A r. 13–14: *ina* Á.MEŠ MAH.MEŠ / *šá* ^{d}ÙRI.GAL
B 44: *ina* Á.MEŠ *ṣi-ra-a-ti* *šá* ^{d}ÙRI.GAL

a-lik pa-ni-ia
a-lik IGI-*ia*

117: A r. 14: *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *dan-nu-ti šá Aš-šur*
B 44–45: *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ez-zu-te** / *šá Aš-šur*

EN *iš-ru-ka*
EN *iš-ru-ka*

118: A r. 15: *it-ti-šú-nu am-da-hi-ṣi a-bi-ik-ta-šú-nu aš-kun*
B 45: *it-te-šú-nu am-dah-hi-iṣ a-bi-ik-ta-šú-nu áš-kun*

119: A r. 15–16: *mun-dah-ṣi-šú-nu* / *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ
B 45–46: *mun-dah-hi-ṣi-šú-nu* / *ina* TUKUL.MEŠ*

ú-šam-qit
ú-šam-qit

120: A r. 16–17: GIM ^{d}IŠKUR UGU-*šú-nu ri-hi-íṣ-tu ú-šá-az-nin* /
B 46: GIM ^{d}IŠKUR UGU-*šú-nu ri-hi-il-ta ú-šá-az-nin*

ina hi-ri-ṣi
ina hi-ri-ṣi

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* 114: A r. 12: URU: RIMA 3 reads KUR, but Black's copy has URU (also visible in photograph).
* 114: B 43: *i[t-t]àk-lu-ma*: RIMA 3 reads: *i-tak-lu-ma*, but see my copy.
* 115: B 44: *túq-ma-ti*: so rightly Schramm (collated); RIMA 3 gives *tuq* for *túq* [= KU].
* 117: B 44: *ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ez-zu-te*: see copy.
* 119: B 46: TUKUL.MEŠ: RIMA 3 reads GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ, with non-existent GIŠ. See copy.

121: A r. 17: *ad-da-bu-uk-šú-nu šal-mat qu-ra-di-šú-nu* EDIN
B 46–47: *at-bu-uk-šú-nu šal-mat / qu-ra-di-šú-nu* EDIN

rap-šú ú-mal-li
rap-šu ú-mal-li

122: A r. 18: ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ki-ma na-pa-si* KUR-*a aṣ-ru-up*
B 47: ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* GIM *na-pa-si* KUR-*a aṣ-ru-up*

123: A r. 18–19: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ
B 47–48: GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ *ma*]-ʾ-*tu*

ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ / LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ
ANŠE.K[UR.RA.MEŠ]* / LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ-*šú*

124: A r. 19: *e-kim-šú di-im-tu šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina* SAG.KI
B 48: *e-kim-šú a-si-tu šá* SAG.DU.MEŠ *ina pu-ut*

URU-*šú ar-ṣip*
URU-*šú ar-ṣip*

125: A r. 19–20: URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-púl / aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ
B 48: URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-pu-ul aq-qur ina* IZ[I]

aš-ru-up
[*áš-ru*]-*up**

126: A r. 20: *ina* u_4-*me-šú-ma ad-lu-ul nar-bu-ut* DINGIR.MEŠ
B 49: *ina* u_4-*me-šu-ma ad-lu-ul nar-bu-ut* DINGIR.MEŠ

GAL.MEŠ
GAL.MEŠ

127: A r. 20–21: *šá Aš-šur u* ^{d}*Šá-maš / qur-di-šú-nu ú-šá-pi a-na*
B 49: *šá Aš-šur u* ^{d}*Šá-maš qur-di-šú-nu ú-šá-pa a-na*

ṣa-a-ti
ṣa-a-te

128: A r. 21–22: *ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia šur-ba-a* DÙ-*uš al-ka-kát /*
B 49–50: *ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia / šur-ba-*⌜*a*⌝ DÙ-*uš il-ka-kàt*

qur-di-ia
qur-di-ia

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* 123: B 47: ANŠE.K[UR.RA.MEŠ]: collated; RIMA 3 reads ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ.

* 125: B 48: [*áš-ru*]-*up*: collated; RIMA 3 reads *áš-ru-up*.

129: A r. 22: *ep-šet taš-nin-ti-a ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭùr ina* SAG ÍD *e-ni*
B 50: *ep-šet taš-nin-ti-ia ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭùr ina* SAG *e-ni*

130: A r. 22–23: ÍD *Sa-lu-a-ra* / *šá* GÌR KUR-*e* KUR *Ha-ma-ni*
B 50–51: ÍD *Sa-lu-a-ra* / *šá* GÌR KUR-*e* KUR *Ha-ma-ni*

ú-še-ziz
ú-še-ziz

131: A r. 23–24: TA KUR *Ha-ma-ni at-tu-muš* ÍD *A-ra-an-tu* /
B 51: *iš-tu* KUR *Ha-ma-ni at-tu-muš* ÍD *A-ra-an-t*[*u*]

e-ti-bir
⌜*e*⌝*-te-bir*

132: A r. 24: *a-na* URU *A-li-muš* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá*
B 51–52: *a-na* URU *A-li-muš* / URU *dan-nu-ti-šu šá*

^{m}*Sa-pa-lu-ul-me*
^{m}*Sa-pa-lu-ul-me*

133: A r. 25: KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*Sa-pa-lu-ul-me*
B 52: KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*Sa-pa-lu-ul-*⌜*me*⌝

KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a*
URU *Pa-ti-na-a-a*

134: A r. 25–26: *ana šu-zu-ub* / ZI.MEŠ-*šú* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU
B 52–53: *ana šu-zu-*[*ub*] / ZI-*šú* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU

A-di-ni ^{m}*Sa-an-ga-ra*
A-di-ni ^{m}*Sa-*<*an*>*-ga-ra*

135: A r. 26–27: URU *Gar-ga-miš-a-a* / ^{m}*Ha-a-a-nu* KUR
B 53: URU *Gar-ga-miš-a-a* ^{m}*Ha-a-a-nu* KUR

*Sa-am-*ʾ*-la-a-a*
*Sa-ma-*ʾ*-la-a-a*

136: A r. 27–28: ^{m}⌜*Ka*⌝*-te-a* KUR *Qu-ú-a-a* ^{m}*P*[*i*]*-hi-ri-im* /
B 53–54: ^{m}*Ka-te-*⌜*a*⌝ / KUR *Qu-ú-a-a* ^{m}*Pi-hi-ri-im*

KUR *Hi-lu-ka-a-a*
KUR *Hi-lu-ka-a-a*

137: A r. 28–29: ^{m}*Bur-an-na-ti* KUR *Ia-as-bu-qa-a-a* ^{m}*A-da-a-nu* /
B 54: ^{m}*Bur-a-na-te* KUR *Ia-as-bu-qa-a-a* ^{m}*A-*⌜*da*⌝*-*[*a*]*-*⌜*nu*⌝

KUR *Ia-ha-na-a-a*
⌜KUR *Ia-ha-na*⌝*-*[*a-a*]*

138: A r. 29–30: *a-na e-mu-qí-šu il-qa-a ina qí-bit Aš-šur* EN-*ia* /
B ii 1–2: [*a-na e-mu-qí-šu i*]*l-qa-*⌜*a*⌝ [*ina qí-bit Aš-šur* EN-*ia*] /

UKKIN-*šú-nu*
x-x-⌜*šú-nu*⌝

139: A r. 30: *ú-*⌜*pár-ri-ir*⌝* ⌜URU⌝ *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad šal-la-su-nu*
B ii 2: *ú-pár-ri-ir** URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-*[*šad šal-la-su-nu*

DUGUD-*tu*
DUGUD-*tu*]

140: A r. 31: ⌜GIŠ.GIGIR⌝.[MEŠ].⌜HÁ⌝ ⌜ANŠE.KUR⌝.RA.MEŠ
B ii 3: [*x* (*x*)]*-x.** HÁ.MEŠ ANŠE.KUR.⌜RA⌝ [(*x*)

LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ-*šú*
LÁ]-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ-*šú*

141: A r. 31–32: *áš-lu-la* 7 ME *mun-dah-ṣi-šú-nu* / *ina*
B ii 3–4: [*áš-l*]*u*?-[*la*] *x* ME ⌜*mun*?⌝-[*dah-ṣi-šú-nu**/ *ina*]

GIŠ.TUKUL *ú-šam-qit*
⌜GIŠ⌝.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit*

142: A r. 32–33: *ina qé-reb tam-ha-ri šu-a-tú* ^{m}*Bur-an-na-ti* / KUR
B ii 4: *ina qé-reb tam-ha-ri šu-a-ti* ^{m}*Bur-a-*⌜*na*⌝*-*[*te* KUR

Ia-as-bu-qa-a-a
Ia-as-bu-qa-a-a]

143: A r. 33: ŠU *lu ik-šú-du*
B ii 5: *qa-a-ti lu ik-šu-du*

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* 137: B 54: ^{m}*A-*⌜*da*⌝*-*[*a*]*-*⌜*nu*⌝ ⌜KUR *Ia-ha-na*⌝*-*[*a-a*]: See copy.
* 139: A r. 30: *ú-*⌜*pár-ri-ir*⌝: RIMA 3 has *-par-* instead of *-*⌜*pár*⌝*-*.
* 139: B ii 2: *ú-pár-ri-ir*: RIMA 3 has *-par-* for *-pár-*, but see copy.
* 140: B ii 3: [*x* (*x*)]*-x.*: RIMA 3 reads: [*x x*]*-šú*. The trace read as *šú* (which indeed looks right) might be a part of GIGIR? See copy.
* 141: B ii 3: [*áš-l*]*u*?-[*la*] *x* ME ⌜*mun*?⌝-[*dah-ṣi-šú-nu*]: RIMA 3 reads: [. . .] *áš-lu-la* [. . .]. See copy.

Annals 1: r. 33b–47

r. 33b: TA URU *A-li-muš at-tu-muš*

34: *a-na tam-ti šá šùl-mu* ^{d}*Šam-ši at-ta-rad* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*a ina tam-ti ú-lil*

35: UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ [*a-n*]*a* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ni-a* BAL-*qí ṣa-lam* EN-*ti-a šur-ba-a* DÙ-*uš*

36: *ta-na-ti* [*Aš*+*š*]*ur* EN GAL EN-*ia u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-a šá ina* KUR *Hat-ti*

37: *e-tap-pa-šú ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭùr ina* UGU *tam-ti ú-še-ziz ina ta-ia-ar-ti-a*

38: *šá tam-ti a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *Ha-ma-ni e-li* GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni* GIŠ *bu-ra-ši ak-kis*

39: *a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *A-ta-lu-ur e-li a-šar ṣal-mu šá* ^{m}AN-*hír-be zaq-pu a-lik*

40: *ṣal-mì it-ti ṣal-me-šú ú-še-ziz* URU *Ta-ia-a* URU *Ha-za-zu ma-ha-zi*

41: GAL.MEŠ-*ti ša* KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a ak-šud* GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* HÁ *a-duk*

42: 4 LIM 6 ME *šal-la-su-nu aš-lu-la* TA URU *Ha-za-zi at-tu-muš a-na* URU *Ú-ri-me*

43: URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* ^{m}*Lu-bar-na* KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* URU *ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *aš-ru-up*

44: *a-kul-šú* NA_4 *a-su-me-ta al-ṭur ina* UGU-⌜*šú*⌝ *az-qu-up ma-da-tu šá* ^{m}*A-ra-me*

45: DUMU ^{m}*Gu-ú-si* KÙ.BABBAR.MEŠ KÙ.GI.MEŠ [GUD].MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ GIŠ.NÁ KÙ.GI

46: ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.TÚG *am-hur* 20 LIM 2 LIM ERÍN.HI.A KUR *Hat-ti a-su-ha*

47: *a-na* URU-*ia Aš*+*šur ub-la*

Annals 3: ii 5b–102

ii 5b: URU *ma-ha-zi*.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ *šá* URU *Pa-ti-na-a-a ak-*[*šud* URU.MEŠ-*ni ša a-hat tam-di*]

ii 6: *e-li-ni-te šá* KUR *A-mur-ri u tam-di* <SILIM>-*um* ^{d}*Šam-ši** GIM *ti-lu a-bu-be lu ás-*⌜*hu*⌝-[*up-šu-nu-ti*]

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* ii 6: *šá* KUR *A-mur-ri u tam-di* <SILIM>-*um* ^{d}*Šam-ši*: see copy in Appendix E and my discussion on the passage, above Part II, 1.2 (esp. pp. 100f.).

ii 7: *ma-da-tu šá* MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá a-hat tam-di am-hur ina a-hat tam-di ra-pa-áš-te* ⌜*me*⌝-*še-riš šal-ṭí-*⌜*iš*⌝

ii 8: *lu at-ta-lak ṣa-lam* EN-*ti-ia mu-kín* MU-*ia a-na da-ra-a-ti* DÙ-*uš ina* UGU *tam-di* ⌜*ú*⌝-[*še-ziz*]

ii 9: *a-na* KUR-*e* KUR *Ha-ma-ni e-li* GIŠ *ga-šu-ri* GIŠ *e-ri-ni* GIŠ *bu-ra-*⌜*še*⌝ ⌜*a*⌝-*kis a-na* KUR-*e**

ii 10: KUR *A-ta-lu-ur a-šar* NU *šá* AN-*hi-ir-bi zaq-pu a-lik* NU KI NU-*šú ú-še-ziz* TA *tam-di at-t*[*u-muš*]*

ii 11: URU *Ta-ia-a* URU *Ha-za-zu* URU *Nu-li-a* URU *Bu-ta-a-mu šá* ^{m}*Pa-ti-na-a-a* KUR-*ud* 2 ⌜LIM⌝ 8 ME* GAZ.[MEŠ-*šú-nu*]

ii 12: *a-duk* 14 LIM 6 ME *šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la ma-da-tu šá* ^{m}*A-ra-me* DUMU *gu-ú-si* KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI GUD.[MEŠ]

ii 13: UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ GIŠ.NÁ* KÙ.GI ZÚ.<AM.SI> GIŠ.TÚG (on erasure)* *am-hur ina li-me* MU MU-*ia-ma ina* ITI.GUD UD 13 KÁM TA URU [NINA]

ii 14: *at-tu-muš** ÍD HAL.HAL *e-te-bir* KUR *Ha-sa-mu* KUR *Di-ih-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kàt a-na* URU DU_6-*bur-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni*

ii 15: DUMU *A-di-ni aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni a-na gi-piš* ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ-*šú it-ta-kil-ma a-na* GABA-*ia it-ba* ⌜*a-bi*⌝-*ik-ta-*⌜*šu*(or: *šú*)⌝ ⌜*áš*⌝-*kun ina* [URU-*šu*]

ii 16: *e-sir-šú* TA URU DU_6-*bur-si-ip at-tu-muš ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ *ša* KUŠ.DUH.ŠI-*e* ÍD A.RAD *ina me-li-šá e-bi*[*r*] UR[U *x*]-*ga-a* URU *Ta-g*[*i*]*

ii 17: URU *Su-ú-ru-nu* URU *Pa-ri-pa* URU ⌜DU_6⌝-*ba-še-re-e* URU *Da-bi-gu* 6 URU.MEŠ-*šú dan-nu-ti šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni* ⌜*a*⌝-[*si*]-*bi ak-ta-šad** GAZ.MEŠ-[*šu-nu*]

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* ii 9: GIŠ *bu-ra-*⌜*še*⌝ ⌜*a*⌝-*kis a-na* KUR-*e*: see copy.

* ii 10: *at-t*[*u-muš*]: see copy.

* ii 11: 2 ⌜LIM⌝ 8 ME: see copy.

* ii 13: GIŠ.NÁ: so rightly Craig (collated); RIMA 3 omits GIŠ.

* ii 13: ZÚ.<AM.SI> GIŠ.TÚG: see copy. RIMA 3 reads *ka-sap* for ZÚ GIŠ.TÚG, regarding it as a pseudo logogram for "silver", usually spelled as KÙ.BABBAR. The parallel text of Ann. 1 (r. 46), however, presents ZÚ.AM.SI GIŠ.TÚG and supports my text emendation, which was already suggested by Schramm; cf. above, Part III, 2.2, Table 6, Case 8.

* ii 14: *at-tu-muš*: RIMA 3 mistakenly gives *a-* for *at-*.

* ii 16: UR[U *x*]-*ga-a* URU *Ta-g*[*i*]: see copy. RIMA 3: URU *ta-gi-*[. . .], but there is no space for additional signs.

* ii 17: ⌜*a*⌝-[*si*]-*bi ak-ta-šad*: read so instead of RIMA 3's ⌜*lu*⌝ *ak-ta-šad*. See copy.

ii 18: HÁ.MEŠ *a-duk šal-la-su-nu áš-lu-la* 2 ME URU.MEŠ-*ni šá li-me-tu-šú-nu ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up* [T]A URU *Da-bi-gi at-*[*tu-muš*]

ii 19: *a-na* URU *Sa-za-bé-e* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú ša* ^{m}*Sa-an-ga-ra* URU *Gar-ga-miš-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* URU *a-si-bi ak-*[*ta-šad*] [G]AZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* HÁ *a-duk*

ii 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 *H*[*at-ti*] [*a*]-*na si-hír-ti-šú-nu*

ii 21: TA IGI *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia dan-nu-ti u* MÈ-*ia šit-mu-ri ip-làh-ú-ma** GÌR.II.MEŠ-*ia iṣ-ba-tu* ^{m}*Q*[*àl-pa-r*]*u-un-*^{r}*da*^{1}* KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a*

ii 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-*^{r}*ti*^{1} *bir-me* TÚG.GADA.MEŠ DUMU.MUNUS-*su*

ii 23: *it-ti nu-du-ni-šá* HÁ 20 GUN SÍK.ZA.GÌN.SA_5 5 ME GUD.MEŠ 5 LIM UDU.MEŠ *am-hur-šu* 1 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 2 GUN SÍK.ZA.[GÌN.SA_5] 1 ME GIŠ.ÙR GIŠ *e-re*(text: *šú*)-*ni*

ii 24: *ma-da-tu ina* UGU-*šú áš-kun* MU-*šàm-ma ina* URU-*ia Aš+šur am-da-har* ^{m}*Ha-ia-a-nu* DUMU *Gab-ba-ri šá* GÌR KUR *Ha-ma-*[*ni x*] GUN KÙ.BABBAR 30? GUN

ii 25: ZABAR* 30 GUN AN.BAR* 3 ME TÚG *lu-búl-ti bir-me* TÚG.GADA 3 ME GUD.MEŠ* 3 LIM UDU.MEŠ 2 ME GIŠ *ga-šu-re* GIŠ *e-re-ni* [x]+2? ANŠE ÚŠ.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni*

ii 26: DUMU.MUNUS-*su it-ti nu-du-ni-šá am-hur-šu* 10 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 1 ME GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni* 1 ANŠE ÚŠ.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-nu ma-da-tu ina* UGU-*šú áš-kun* MU-*šàm-ma*

ii 27: *am-da-har* ^{m}*A-ra-mu* DUMU *A-gu-ú-si* 10 MA.NA KÙ.GI 6 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 5 ME GUD.MEŠ 5 LIM UDU.MEŠ *am-hur-šu* ^{m}*Sa-an-ga-ra* URU *Gar-ga-miš-a-a* 2 GUN

ii 28: KÙ.GI 70 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 30 GUN ZABAR 1 ME GUN AN.BAR 20 GUN SÍK.ZA.GÌN.SA_5 5 ME GIŠ.TÚG.MEŠ*

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* ii 21: *ip-làh-ú-ma*: RIMA 3 with erroneous *-lah-* (collated).

* ii 21: ^{m}*Q*[*àl-pa-r*]*u-un-*^{r}*da*^{1}: see copy.

* ii 24–25: 30? GUN ZABAR: the number is not entirely clear. Cf. RIMA 3: 90.

* ii 25: 30 GUN AN.BAR: so rightly read by Craig (collated), not 90 as in RIMA 3.

* ii 25: 3 ME GUD.MEŠ: RIMA 3 omits MEŠ.

* ii 28: GIŠ.TÚG.MEŠ: RIMA 3 omits GIŠ. See copy.

DUMU.MUNUS-*su it-ti nu-du-ni ù* 1 ME DUMU.MUNUS GAL.MEŠ-*šú*

ii 29: 5 ME GUD.MEŠ* 5 LIM UDU.MEŠ *am-hur-šu* 1 MA.NA KÙ.GI 1 GUN KÙ.BABBAR 2 GUN SÍK.ZA.GÌN.SA$_5$ *ina* UGU-*šú áš-kun* MU-*šàm-ma am-da-har-šu* ^{m}*Qa-ta-zi-lu*

ii 30: KUR *Ku-mu-ha-a-a* 20 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR 3 ME GIŠ.ÙR.MEŠ GIŠ *e-re-ni* MU-*šàm-ma am-da-har ina li-me* ^{m}*Aš+šur*-EN-*ka-in ina* ITI.G[UD]* UD 13 KÁM TA URU NINA *at-tu-muš*

ii 31: ÍD HAL.HAL *e-te-bir* KUR *ha-sa-mu* KUR *Di-ih-nu-nu at-ta-bal-kàt a-na* URU DU$_6$-*bar-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú šá* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni* <*aqṭirib* URU>* *ak-ta-šad* ^{m}*A-hu-ni*

ii 32: DUMU *A-di-ni* TA IGI *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ez-zu-te u* MÈ-*ia šit-mu-ri* <*iplahma*> *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú* U[RU-*šu ú-ma-áš*-SI]R?* ÍD A.RAD *e-bir*

ii 33: *a-na* KUR.KUR.MEŠ *šá-ni-a-ti ib-bal-kit ina qí-bit Aš+šur* EN GAL EN-*ia** URU DU$_6$-*bar-si-ip* URU *A-li-gu* URU [*Nappigi* UR]U ⌜*Ru*⌝-*gu*-⌜*li*⌝⌟*tú*⌝ *a-na* URU MAN-*ia*

ii 34: *aṣ-bat* LÚ.MEŠ-*e* LÚ *Áš-šu-ra-a-a ina lìb-bi ú-še-šib* É.GAL.MEŠ-*te a-na šu-bat* MAN-*ia ina qé-reb-šú ad-di* [MU] URU DU$_6$-*bar-si-ip* URU *Kar*-^{d}*Šùl-ma-nu*-MAŠ

ii 35: MU URU *Nap-pi-gi* URU *Li-ta-Aš-šur* MU URU *Al-li-gi* URU *Aṣ-bat-la-ku-nu* MU URU *Ru-gu-li-ti* URU *Qí-bi-it*-[*x x* MU]-⌜*šú-nu*⌝ *ab-bi ina* UD-*šú-ma*

ii 36: *A-na*-URU-*Aš-šur-ú-ter-aṣ-bat** *ša* LÚ.MEŠ-*e* KUR *Hat-ta-a-a* URU *Pi-it-ru i-qa-bu-šú-ni ša* UGU ÍD *Sa-gu*-[*ra*] ⌜*šá*⌝ [*šēpē ammâte*]* *ša* ÍD A.RAD

ii 37: *ù* URU *Mu-ut-ki-i-nu ša* GÌR *an-na-te ša* ÍD A.RAD *ša* ^{m}GIŠ.TUKUL-*ti*-A-*É-šár-ra* AD NUN-*ú* DU IGI-*ia ú-šá-*⌜*aṣ-bit-ú-ni*⌝ *ina tar-ṣi* ^{m}*Aš-šur*-GAL-*bi*

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* ii 29: GUD.MEŠ: RIMA 3 omits MEŠ.

* ii 30: *ina* ITI.G[UD]: see copy.

* ii 31: <*aqṭirib* URU>: emendation suggested by Schramm; cf. RIMA 3's <*aqṭirib*>. For this emendation, see above, Part II, 3.2 (esp. p. 124, n. 165).

* ii 32: U[RU-*šu ú-ma-áš*-SI]R?: The restoration of RIMA 3: [*ina mēlī*]-*šá* is too short to fill the lacuna. See my copy below in Appendix E and comment above in Part II, 3.2 (p. 124, n. 167).

* ii 33: EN-*ia*: RIMA 3 erroneously reads <EN>-*ia*. See my copy.

* ii 36: *A-na*-URU-*Aš-šur-ú-ter-aṣ-bat*: An error for URU *A-na-* . . ., as noted by Grayson (RIMA 3, p. 19, note on the line).

* ii 36: *Sa-gu*-[*ra*] ⌜*šá*⌝ [*šēpī ammâte*]: see copy. ⌜*šá*⌝ is followed by a lacuna of four to five signs.

ii 38: MAN KUR *Aš-šur* 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 lìb-bi ú-še-šib*

ii 39: *ki-i ina* URU *Kar-*^{d}*Šùl-ma-nu-*MAŠ *us-ba-ku-ni ma-da-tú šá* MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá a-hat tam-di ù* MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá a-hat* ÍD A.RAD KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR

ii 40: ÚTUL.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ AN.BAR.MEŠ GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ TÚG *lu-búl-ti bir-me u* TÚG.GADA.MEŠ *am-hur* TA URU *Kar-*^{d}*Šùl-ma-nu-*MAŠ *at-tu-muš* ⌜KUR⌝ [*x*]-*su-mu** *at-ta-bal-kàt*

ii 41: *a-na* KUR É-*Ža-ma-a-ni at-ta-rad* TA KUR* É-*Ža-ma-a-ni at-tu-muš* KUR *Na-am-da-a-nu* KUR *Me-er-*⌜*hi*⌝*-su a-ta-bal-kàt ar-hi pa-áš-qu-te* KUR.MEŠ-*e*

ii 42: *mar-ṣu-ti ša* GIM *še-lu-ut* GÍR *a-na* AN-*e zi-qip-ta* GAR-*nu ina ak-kul-lat* URUDU *aq-qur* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ *ú-še-tiq a-na* KUR *En-zi-te ša* KUR *I-šu-a*

ii 43: *at-ta-rad* KUR *En-zi-te a-na si-hír-ti-šá* ŠU *ik-šú-du* URU.MEŠ-*šú-nu ap-pùl 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*

ii 44: *áš-lu-la ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia šur-ba-a* DÙ-*uš ta-na-ti Aš+šur* EN GAL EN-*ia u li-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭùr ina* URU *Sa-lu-ri-a* KI.TA *ina qaq-qi-ri e-qi ú-še-ziz*

ii 45: TA KUR *En-zi-te at-tu-muš* ÍD *Ar-ṣa-ni-a e-te-bir a-na* KUR *Su-uh-me aq-ṭí-rib* URU *Ú-áš-ta-al* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú ak-t*[*a-ša*]*d* KUR *Su-uh-me a-na si-hír-ti-šá*

ii 46: *ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up* ^{m}*Su-ú-a* EN URU-*šú-nu ina* ŠU-*ti aṣ-bat* TA KUR *Su-uh-me at-tu-muš a-na* KUR *Da-ie-e-ni a-ta-rad* URU(sic) *Da-ie-e-ni*

ii 47: *a-na si-hír-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-*ʾ*-du al-qa-a* TA KUR *Da-ie-e-ni at-tu-muš*

ii 48: *a-na* URU *Ar-za-áš-ku* URU MAN-*ti-šú šá* ^{m}*Ar-ra-me* KUR *Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*Ar-ra-mu* URU(sic) *Ú-ra-ar-ṭa-a-a* TA *pa-an na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia* KAL.MEŠ-*te*

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* ii 38: KUR *A-ru-mu*: RIMA 3 reads MAN KUR *A-ru-mu* (thus also Smith and Craig) but MAN is non-existent (collated); this is already noted by A. Fuchs (*BiOr* 55, col. 192). Cf. above, Part II, 3.2, p. 127, n. 177.

* ii 40: ⌜KUR⌝ [*x*]-*su-mu*: RIMA 3 suggests K[UR *ha*(?)]-*su-mu*.

* ii 41: KUR É-*Ža-ma-a-ni*: KUR is clear (collated), though URU is given in RIMA 3.

ii 49: *u* MÈ-*ia šīt-mu-ri ip-lah-ma* URU-*šú ú-maš-šîr 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

ii 50: *mun-dah-hi-ṣi-šú ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit* GIM ^{d}IŠKUR *ina* UGU-*šú-nu ri-h*[*i-i*]*l-tu ú-šá-az-nin* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* GIM *na-pa-si* [KUR]-⌜*a*⌝ *aṣ-ru-up uš-ma-*⌜*ni*⌝-⌜*šú*⌝ *e-ki-im-šu*

ii 51: GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú pit-hal-lu-šu* ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú* ANŠE *pa-ri-šú a-ga-li* NÍG.GA-*šú šal-la-su bu-šá-šú ma-*ʾ*-du* TA *qé-reb* KUR-*e ú-te-ra* ^{m}*Ar-ra-mu a-na šu-zu-ub*

ii 52: ZI.MEŠ-*šú a-na* KUR-*e mar-ṣi e-li ina ki-ṣir* NÍTA-*ti-ia* KUR-*su* GIM GUD.AM *a-di-iš* URU.URU.MEŠ-*šú na-mu-ta ú-šá-lik* URU *Ar-za-áš-ku* EN URU.MEŠ-*ni*

ii 53: *ša li-me-tu-šu ap-púl* ⌜*aq-qur*⌝ [*ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš*]-⌜*ru*⌝-[*up*] ⌜3⌝ *a-si-*⌜*ta*⌝*-a-te* ša* SAG.DU.MEŠ* *ina pu-ut* KÁ.GAL-*šú ar-*⌜*ṣip*⌝ *a*[*n*(!)*-nu-t*]*i* GAL.MEŠ-*te ina lìb-bi**

ii 54: [*asitāte umaggig a*]*n-nu-te ina ba-tu-*[*bat-ti ša*] *a-si-ta-a-te ina zi-qi-pi ú-za-qip* TA URU *Ar-za-áš-ku at-tu-muš a-na* KUR-*e*

ii 55: [KUR *E-ri-ti-a e-li* NU M]AN-*ti-ia* šur-ba-a* DÙ-*uš ta-na-ti* [*ša*] *Áš+šur* EN G[AL] ⌜EN⌝-*ia* u li-ti kiš-šu-ti-ia šá ina* KUR *Ú-ra-*[*ar*]*-ṭí e-tap-pa-šu ina qé-reb-šú*

ii 56: [*alṭur ina šadê* KUR *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-ṭí-rib* URU.MEŠ-*šú ap-púl aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš-ru-up*

ii 57: TA URU *A-ra-ma-le-e at-tu-muš a-na* URU *Za-an-zi-ú-na a*[*q-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*x-x*]*-x-ú-*⌜*te?*⌝ MAN U[RU *Za*]-⌜*an-zi*⌝*-ú-na* MÈ *e-du-ur* GÌR.II-*ia iṣ-bat*

ii 58: ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ *am-hur-šu re-mu-tu áš-ku-na-áš-*[*šu x x x x x x x x x x x x*]*-ia a-na tam-di*

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* ii 53: ⌜*aq-qur*⌝ [*ina* IZI.MEŠ *áš*]-⌜*ru*⌝-[*up*] ⌜3⌝ *a-si-*⌜*ta*⌝*-a-te*: RIMA 3 reads: *aq-qur ina* IZI.MEŠ-*šu* GÍBIL-*up a-si-ta-a-te*. However, the pertinent part is very fragmentary. See my copy.

* ii 53: SAG.DU.MEŠ: so rightly Craig (collated); RIMA 3 has SAG.DU.MEŠ-*šú* with excessive *-šú*.

* ii 53: *ar-*⌜*ṣip*⌝ *a*[*n*(!)*-nu-t*]*i* GAL.MEŠ-*te ina lìb-bi*: see copy.

* ii 55: [KUR *E-ri-ti-a e-li* NU M]AN-*ti-ia*: RIMA 3 gives [*eritia ēli*] *ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia*, but sign(s) for *ṣalam* is completely broken off, and only the right wedge of MAN is visible. The broken space at the beginning of the line is for *c.* seven signs.

* ii 55: EN G[AL] ⌜EN⌝-*ia*: see copy. RIMA 3 omits EN G[AL], while giving only EN-*ia*.

ii 59: *ša* KUR *Na-i-ri at-ta-rad* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *Aš-šur ez-zu-te ina lìb-bi tam-di ú-lil* UDU.SISKUR.MEŠ [*ana ilānīya aqqi ṣalam šarrūtīya šurbâ*] DÙ-*uš ta-na-ti*

ii 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-*[*ṭùr ina muhhi tâmdi ušezziz ištu tâmdi at-ī*]*u-muš a-na* KUR *Gil-za-a-ni*

ii 61: *aq-ṭí-rib* ^{m}*A-sa-a-ú* MAN KUR *Gil-za-a-ni a-di* ŠEŠ.MEŠ-*šú* DUMU.MEŠ-*šú ina* GABA-*ia ú-ṣa* Ú* [*x x x x x x x x x*] *x* MAN?-*ti* ⌜ANŠE.KUR⌝.[RA.MEŠ]*

ii 62: LÁ-*at* GIŠ.GIŠ GUD.MEŠ UDU.MEŠ GEŠTIN.MEŠ 7 *ud-ra-te šá* 2 *gu-un-gu-li-pi-ši-na am-hur-šu ṣa-lam* MAN-*ti-ia šur-ba-a* DÙ-*uš ta-na-ti Aš-šur* EN GAL-*e* EN-*ia*

ii 63: *u li-ti kiš-šú-ti-ia ša ina* KUR *Na-ʾ-ri e-tap-pa-áš ina qé-reb-šú al-ṭùr ina* MURUB$_4$ URU-*šú ina é-kur-ri-šú ú-še-ziz* TA KUR *Gil-za-a-ni at-tu-muš*

ii 64: *a-na* URU *Ši-la-ia* URU KAL-*ti-šu šá* ^{m}*Ka-a-ki* MAN URU *Hu-bu-uš-ki-a aq-ṭí-rib* URU *a-si-bi ak-ta-šad* GAZ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* HÁ *a-duk* 3 LIM *šal-la-su-nu* GUD.MEŠ-*šú-nu*

ii 65: *ṣe-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$_4$-*ub ina né-re-be šá* KUR *Kîr-ru-*⌜*ri*⌝

ii 66: *ina* SAG URU LÍMMU.DINGIR *ú-ṣi-a* ^{m}*A-hu-ni* DUMU *A-di-ni ša* TA MAN.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia ši-ip-ṣu* [*u*] *dan-na-ni il-ta-kan-nu ina šur-rat* MAN-*ti-ia ina li-me*

ii 67: MU MU-*ia-ma* TA URU NINA *at-tu-muš* URU DU$_6$-*bur-si-ip* URU *dan-nu-ti-šú a-si-bi qu-ra-di-ia* ⌜*ú-šá*⌝-*al-me-šu** *mit-hu-ṣu ina lìb-bi-šú áš-kun*

ii 68: GIŠ.KIRI$_6$.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-láh-ma** URU-*šú ú-maš-šir*

ii 69: *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-*šú* ÍD A.RAD *e-bir ina* II-*te* MU-*te ina li-me* ^{m}*Aš+šur*-DÙ-*a-a*-PAP EGIR-*šú ar-te-di* KUR *Ši-i-ta-am-rat* ŠU.SI KUR-*e šá a-hat* ÍD A.RAD

ii 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* ^{d}ÙRU.GAL *a-lik* IGI-*ia a-na* KUR *Ši-ta-am-rat aq-ṭí-rib*

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* ii 61: *ina* GABA-*ia ú-ṣa* Ú: see copy.
* ii 61: *x* MAN?-*ti* ⌜ANŠE.KUR⌝.[RA.MEŠ]: see copy.
* ii 67: ⌜*ú-šá*⌝-*al-me-šu*: see copy.
* ii 68: *ip-láh-ma*: collated. RIMA 3 gives *-lah-*.

ii 71: *ša ina* MAN.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia mu-um-ma ina qé-reb-šú** *la iṭ-hu-ú ina* 3 u_4-*me qar-ra-du* KUR-*ú i-hi-ṭa ga-ap-šu* ŠÀ-*šu tu-qu-um-ta ub-la e-li ina* GÌR.II.MEŠ-*šú* KUR-*ú*

ii 72: *ú-sah-hi-ip* ^{m}*A-hu-ni a-na* DAGAL ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ-*šú it-ta-kil-ma ina* GABA-*ia ú-ṣa-a si-dír-tu lu iš-kun* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *Aš+šur* EN-*ia ina* ŠÀ-*šú-nu ú-tar-ri-ṣi* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-nu*

ii 73: *áš-kun* SAG.DU.MEŠ *muq-tab-li-šu ú-na-kis* ÚŠ.MEŠ *mun-dah-ṣi-šú* KUR-*ú aṣ-ru-up ma-ʾ-du-ti-šú a-na ka-a-pi šá* KUR-*e i-ta-na-qu-tu-ni* MÈ *dan-nu ina* ŠÀ URU-*šú*

ii 74: *áš-kun pu-ul-hi me-lam-me šá Aš+šur* EN-*ia iṣ-hu-pu-šú-nu ú-ri-du-ni* GÌR.II.MEŠ-*ia iṣ-bu-ú-tu* ^{m}*A-hu-ni it-ti* ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ-*šú* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ *pit-hal-lu-šu* NÍG.GA É.GAL-*lì-šu ma-ʾ-du**

ii 75: *šá* KI.LÁ-*šu la ṣab-ta-at a-na* IGI-*ia ú-te-ra* ÍD HAL.HAL *ú-še-bir a-na* URU-*ia Aš+šur ub-la a-na* UN.MEŠ KUR-*ia am-nu-šu-nu ina* MU-*ma ši-a-ti a-na* KUR *Ma-za-mu-a al-lik ina né-re-bi*

ii 76: *šá* KUR *Bu-na-is lu* KU_4-*ub a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni šá* ^{m}*Nik-de-me* ^{m}*Nik-de-e-ra aq-ṭí-rib* TA IGI *na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia* KAL.MEŠ *u* MÈ-*ia šit-mu-ri ip-la-hu-ma*

ii 77: *ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ GIŠ *ur-ba-te a-na tam-di it-tab-ku ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUŠ.DUH.ŠI-*e* EGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu lu aṣ-bat* MÈ *dan-nu ina* $MURUB_4$ *tam-di lu* DÙ-*uš* BAD_5.BAD_5-*šú-nu lu áš-kun*

ii 78: *tam-di ina* ÚŠ-*me-šú-nu** GIM *na-pa-a-si lu aṣ-ru-up ina li-me* ^{md}DI.KUD-*Aš+šur ina* ITI.GUD* UD 14 KÁM TA URU NINA *at-tu-muš* ÍD HAL.HAL *e-te-bir a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni*

ii 79: *ša* ^{m}*Gi-am-mu* ÍD KASKAL.KUR.A *aq-ṭí-rib púl-ha-at* EN-*ti-ia na-mur-rat* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ez-zu-te ip-la-hu-ma ina* GIŠ.TUKUL *ra-ma-ni-šú-nu* ^{m}*Gi-am-mu* EN-*šú-nu*

ii 80: *i-du-ku a-na* URU *Sah-la-la u* URU DU_6-*ša-tur-a-hi lu* KU_4-*ub* DINGIR.MEŠ-*ia ana* É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú lu ú-še-ri-ib ta-ši-il-tu ina* É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú lu áš-kun*

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* ii 71: *qé-reb-šú*: *-šú* as Craig (collated), not *-šu* as in RIMA 3.

* ii 74: É.GAL-*lì-šu*: this phrase is engraved on the left side and then, exceptionally, continues to the front side. RIMA 3's É.GAL-*lì-ši-na* is an error, apparently due to the double reading of sign IGI once as *li*, then as *ši*, thereafter ŠU was read as a similar sign NA. See my copy.

* ii 78: *tam-di ina* ÚŠ-*me-šú-nu*: see copy.

* ii 78: *ina* ITI.GUD: see copy.

ii 81: *na-kám-te-šú** *lu ap-ti ni-ṣir-tú-šu lu a-mur* NÍG.GA-*šú* NÍG.ŠU-*šú áš-lu-la a-na* URU-*ia Aš+šur ub-la* TA URU *Sah-la-la at-tu-muš a-na* URU *Kar-*^{d}*Šùl-ma-nu-*MAŠ

ii 82: *aq-ṭí-rib ina* GIŠ.MÁ.MEŠ KUŠ.DUH.ŠI-*e šá* II-*te-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 *šá* ^{m}*Sa-an-gar**

ii 83: URU *Gar-ga-miš-a-a šá* ^{m}*Ku-un-da-áš-pi* URU *Ku-mu-ha-a-a šá* ^{m}*A-ra-me* DUMU *Gu-si ša* ^{m}*Lal-li* URU *Me-li-da-a-a ša* ^{m}*Ha-ia-ni* DUMU *Ga-ba-ri*

ii 84: *šá** ^{m}*Qàl-pa-ru-da* KUR *Pa-ti-na-a-a ša* ^{m}*Qàl-pa-ru-da* KUR *Gúr-gu-ma-a-a* KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI AN.NA.MEŠ ZABAR.MEŠ ÚTUL.MEŠ* ZABAR

ii 85: URU *Anà-Aš+šur-ut-ter-aṣ-bat šá* GÌR *am-*<*ma*>*-te šá* ÍD A.RAD *šá* UGU ÍD *Sa-gu-ri šá* LÚ.MEŠ-*e* KUR *Hat-ta-a-a* URU *Pi-it-ru*

ii 86: *i-qa-bu-šú-ni ina lìb-bi am-hur* TA UGU ⌜ÍD⌝ A.RAD *at-tu-muš a-na* URU *Hal-man aq-ṭí-rib* MÈ *e-du-ru* GÌR.II-<*ia*> *iṣ-bu-tú*

ii 87: KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI *ma-da-ta-šú-nu am-hur* UDU.SISK[UR].SISKUR.MEŠ *ana* IGI ^{d}IŠKUR *ša* URU *Hal-man* DÙ-*uš* TA URU *Hal-man at-tu-muš a-na* URU.MEŠ-*ni*

ii 88: *ša* ^{m}*Ir-hu-le-e-ni* KUR *A-mat-a-a aq-ṭí-rib* URU *A-de-en-nu* URU *Pár-ga-a* URU *Ar-ga-na-a* URU MAN-*ti-šú* KUR-*ud šal-la-su* NÍG.ŠU-*šú*

ii 89: NÍG.GA É.GAL.MEŠ-*šú ú-še-ṣa-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-ṭí-rib*

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* ii 81: *na-kám-te-šú*: RIMA 3's *-kam-* is erroneous.

* ii 82: *šá* II-*te-šú*: RIMA 3 reads *šá* II-*te-šú* <<II-⌜*šú*⌝>>, but the allegedly excessive <<II-⌜*šú*⌝>> is actually not attested. The sign following *šá* II-*te-šú* is certainly not "II" but "A" whose third vertical on the lower right side is still visible (see my copy in Appendix E). Although there is a space for one sign (*c.* 2.5 cm) between the sign A and the following sign ENGUR, we read them together as the river determinative ÍD (= A+ENGUR), as this space probably contains original damage to the stone which the engraver skipped. This is supported by the following lines (ll. 83–88), where the engraver clearly inscribed signs while skipping original damage on the stone (see copy); hence read in l. 83: . . . URU *ku-mu-*(space)*-ha-a-a* . . .; in l. 84: *ša* ^{m}(space)$^{<<m>>}$*Qàl-pa-ru-da* . . .; in l. 85: . . . *šá* ⌜ÍD⌝ (space) A.RAD . . .; in l. 86: . . . TA UGU (space) ⌜ÍD⌝ A.RAD . . .; in l. 87: UDU.SISK[UR].(space)SISKUR.MEŠ . . .; in l. 88: . . . *aq-ṭí-rib* (space) URU *A-de-en-nu* . . .

* ii 82: *šá* ^{m}*Sa-an-gar*: not *ša* as in RIMA 3, but *šá* (so Craig, collated).

* ii 84: *šá*: so rightly Craig (collated); RIMA 3 has *ša*.

* ii 84: ZABAR.MEŠ ÚTUL.MEŠ: according to the collation of Fuchs, *BiOr* 55, col. 192 (not collated by myself); RIMA 3 reads ZABAR.ÚTUL.

ii 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-hal-lu* 20 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ* *ša* ^{md}IŠKUR-*ʾ-id-ri*

ii 91: [*ša* KUR] ANŠE-*šú* 7 ME GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 7 ME *pit-hal-lu* 10 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ir-hu-le-e-ni* KUR *A-mat-a-a* 2 LIM GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ 10 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*A-ha-ab-bu*

ii 92: KUR *Sir-ʾ-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*

ii 93: 2 ME ÉRIN.MEŠ *šá* ^{m}*Ma-ti-nu-ba-ʾ-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*

ii 94: *šá* ^{m}*A-du-nu-ba-ʾ-li* KUR *Ši-a-na-a-a* 1 LIM ANŠE *gam-ma-lu šá* ^{m}*Gi-in-di-bu-ʾ* KUR *Ar-ba-a-a* [(*x x*) *x*] ME/[L]IM ÉRIN.MEŠ*

ii 95: *šá* ^{m}*Ba-ʾ-sa* DUMU *Ru-hu-bi* KUR *A-ma-na-a-a* 12 MAN.MEŠ-*ni an-nu-ti a-na* ÉRIN.TAH-*ti-šú il-qa-a a-n*[*a epēš*]

ii 96: MURUB$_4$ *u* MÈ *ana* GABA-*ia it-bu-ni ina* Á.MEŠ MAH.MEŠ *ša Aš+šur* EN SUM-*na ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ KAL.MEŠ *šá* ^{d}ÙRI.GAL *a-li*[*k* IGI-*ia*]*

ii 97: *iš-ru-ka it-ti-šú-nu am-dah-hi-iṣ* TA URU *Qar-qa-ra a-di* URU *Gíl-za-ú* BAD$_5$·BAD$_5$—*šú-nu lu áš-kun* 14 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ

ii 98: *ti-du-ki-šú-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šam-qit* GIM ^{d}IŠKUR UGU-*šú-nu ri-hi-il-ta ú-šá-az-nin ú-ma-ṣi* ⌜*šal-ma*⌝-[*at*]-*šú-nu**

ii 99: *pa-an na-me-e ú-šam-li* DAGAL.MEŠ ÉRIN.HÁ.MEŠ-*šú-nu ina* GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ *ú-šar-di* ÚŠ.MEŠ-*šú-nu* HAR PA LU? ŠÁ NA ⌜GU⌝*

ii 100: *i-mí-iṣ* EDIN *a-na šúm-qut* ZI.MEŠ-*šú-<nu> nab-ra-ru-ú rap-šu a-na qub-bu-ri-šú-nu ih-li-iq ina* LÚ.BAD.MEŠ-*šú-nu**

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* ii 90: 20 LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ: see copy.

* ii 93: 30 GIŠ.GIGIR.[MEŠ x] LIM ÉRIN.MEŠ: see copy.

* ii 94: [(*x x*) *x*] ME/[L]IM ÉRIN.MEŠ: see copy.

* ii 96: ^{d}ÙRI.GAL *a-li*[*k* IGI-*ia*]: RIMA 3 reads ÙRI.GAL *a-lik* IGI-*ia* (without DINGIR sign preceding ÙRI.GAL), but the end is not so visible. See copy.

* ii 98: ⌜*šal-ma*⌝-[*at*]-*šú-nu*: RIMA 3 reads *šal-mat-šú-nu*, but the traces are not so clear. See my copy.

* ii 99: Grayson suggests an emendation: GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ <*ušamqit*> *ú-šar-di* . . . (RIMA 3, p. 24, footnote on ii 99). See my copy for the end of the line, which is not intelligible.

* ii 100: *ina* LÚ.BAD.MEŠ-*šú-nu*: see copy.

ii 101: ÍD *A-ra-an-tu* GIM *ti-tur-ri ak-sir ina qé-reb tam-ha-ri šu-a-ti* GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ-*šú-nu pit-hal-la-šú-nu*
ii 102: ANŠE.KUR.RA.MEŠ-*šú-nu* LÁ-*at* GIŠ *ni-ri-šú-nu e-kim-šú-nu*

Translation

Annals 1, obv. 1–r. 33a // Annals 3, i 1–ii 5 (Specifically for this part common to the two texts, the numbers are given according to those of the synoptic transliteration, but are not the actual line numbers of the texts).

(1) Ashur, great lord, king of all the great gods. (2) Anu, king of the Igigi and Anunnaki, lord of the lands. (3) Bel, father of the gods, who determines destinies, who has designed the heaven and earth. (4) Ea, the wise, king of the *apsû*, creator of everything (var.: of clever devices). (5) (Sin,) light of heaven and earth, the prince. (6) Shamash, judge of the (four) quarters, who leads mankind aright. (7) Ishtar, mistress of battle and fight, whose delight is warfare. (8) The great gods, who love my kingship, (9–10) who have made great my lordship, power and sovereignty (and) established for me my honorable name and lofty command far above that of all (other) lords.

(11) Shalmaneser, king of all people, prince, vice-regent of the god Ashur, (12) mighty king, king of Assyria, king of all the four quarters, (13) sun of all people, ruler of all lands, (14) the king sought by the gods, favourite of Bel, (15) the magnificent priest (var.: trustworthy governor) of the god Ashur, attentive prince, (16) who finds the remote and rugged regions, (17) who treads (all) the mountain peaks, (18) who receives tribute and gifts of all the (four) quarters, (19) who opens trails everywhere (lit. above and below), (20) at whose strong fight the (four) quarters become threatened, (21) the habitations are shaken (var.: at the vigor of whose bravery, the lands are shaken to their foundations) (22–23) valiant (var.: mighty) man who (always) acts with trust in Ashur (and) Shamash, the gods his helpers, and (24) has no rival among the princes of the four quarters, (25–26) magnificent king of lands, who keeps advancing by difficult roads (and) marches across mountains and seas; (27) son of Ashurnasirpal (II), appointee of Bel, vice-regent of Ashur (28) whose priesthood was pleasing to the gods and (29) who subdued all lands at his feet, (30) pure offspring of Tukulti-Ninurta (II) (31) who slew all his enemies and overwhelmed them like a flood.

(32–33) When Ashur, the great lord, designated me in his steadfast

heart (and) with his holy eyes and (34) called me for the shepherdship of the land of Ashur, (35) he gave to me the strong weapon, which casts down the insubordinate, and (36–37) he crowned me with the lofty diadem. He angrily bid me dominate and subdue all the lands insubordinate to Ashur.

(38–39) At that time, at the beginning of my reign, in my first *palû*, (when) I solemnly seated myself on the royal throne, (40) I mustered my chariots and troops. (41) I entered into the pass of Simesi. (42) I approached Aridi, the fortified city of Ninni. (43) I besieged the city (and) conquered (it). I killed many of them (var.: his (people)). (44–46) I carried off booty from them (var.: him). I reared the tower (var.: pile) of heads in front of his city, (and) burned in the flames their adolescent boys (and) girls. (47–51) When I was staying in Aridi, I received the tribute of the people of Harga, Harmasa, (Simesa,) Simera, Sirisha, Ulmana/i: (his) horses broken to the yoke, oxen, sheep, (and) wine. (52) I departed from Aridi. Narrow roads (in) steep mountains, (53) which rise perpendicularly towards the sky like a blade of an (iron) dagger, (54–55) I cut out with picks of copper (and bronze), moved (my) chariots (and) troops (over them, and) approached Hubushkia. (56–58) I burned Hubushkia, with 100 towns in its environs. Kaki(a), king of Hubushkia (var.: Nairi) and the remainder of his troops became frightened in front of the brilliance of my weapons and (59) took to difficult mountains. I climbed the mountains after them, (60) I waged mighty battle in the midst of the mountains (and) defeated them. (61–63) I brought back (numerous) chariots, (troops), horses broken to the yoke from the mountains. The awe-inspiring radiance of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. They came down (and) seized my feet. (64) I imposed upon them tribute and tax. (65–66) I departed from Hubushkia (and) approached Sugunia, the fortified city of Arame, the Urartian. I besieged the city and conquered it. (67) I killed many of them, (and) carried off booty from them (var.: him). (68) I reared the tower (var.: pile) of heads in front of his city. (69) I burned four (var.: 14) towns in its environs. (70) I departed from Sugunia (and) went down to the Sea of Nairi. (71–72) I cleansed my weapons in the sea, (and) made offering to my gods. (73) At that time, I made an image of my appearance. (74) I inscribed thereon the praises of Ashur, the great (var.: noble) lord, my lord, and the victory of my might. (75) I set (it) up by the sea. On my return from the sea, (76–78) I received the tribute of Asu, the Gilzanean: horses, oxen, sheep, wine, (two)

camels with two humps, (and) brought (them) to my city Ashur.

(79) In the month Ayyaru, the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris, (80) traversed Mts. Hasamu (and) Dihnunu, (81) (and) approached the city of La'la'te, of Ahuni, son of Adini. (82) The awe-inspiring radiance of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. (83–84) They fled to save their lives. I destroyed and burned the city. I departed from La'la'te. (85–86a) I approached Til-barsip, the fortified city of Ahuni, son of Adini. (86b–87) Trusting in the strength of his troops, Ahuni of Bit-Adini came out against me to make battle. (88) With trust in Ashur and the great gods, my lords, (89) I fought with him (and) defeated him. I confined him in his city. (90–91) I departed from Til-barsip to Burmaranna (var.: Burmar'ana), a city of Ahuni. I besieged and conquered (it). (92) I felled 300 of their soldiers with the weapon(s). (93) I reared a tower (var.: pile) of heads in front of his city. (94–97) In (the course of) my march, I received the tribute of Habini (var.: Hapini), the Til-abnean, of Ga'una/i, the Sarugaean, (and) of Giri-Adad, the Immerinaean: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine. I departed from Burmaranna/mar'ana. (98) I crossed the Euphrates on rafts of (inflated) goatskins. (99–100) I received the tribute of Qatazili, the Kummuhite: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine. (101–102) I approached Paqar(r)uhbuni (and other) towns of Ahuni of Bit-Adini[1] on the other side of the Euphrates. (103) I defeated his land, devastated his cities. (104) I filled the wide field with the corpses of his soldiers. (105) I felled 1,300 of their troops with the weapon(s). (106–107) I departed from Paqar(r)uhbuni (and) approached the cities of Mutalli, the Gurgumite. (108–110) I received the tribute of Mutalli, the Gurgumite: silver, gold, oxen, sheep, wine (and) his daughter with a large amount of her dowry. I departed from Gurgum. (111–114) I approached Lutibu, the fortified city of Hayanu (the Sam'alite). Hayanu the Sam'alite, Sapalulume the Patinean, Ahuni son of Adini, Sangara the Carchemishite – they trusted in each other's help, and (115) prepared for war. They came out against me to fight. (116) In the exalted might of Nergal who goes before me, (and) (117) with the strong (var.: raging) weapons which Ashur, my lord, gave me, (118) I fought them (and) defeated them. (119) I felled their warriors with the weapons. (120–121) Like

[1] *ana* URU/KUR *Paqaruhbuni ālāni ša* ^{m}*Ahuni mār Adini*. For the interpretation, see above, Part II, 1.2, esp. p. 93, n. 55.

the god Adad, I rained (destructive) flood upon them. I piled them up in ditches (and) filled the wide plain with the corpses of their warriors. (122) With their blood, I dyed the mountain red like red wool. (123–124) I took from him (sic) (numerous) chariots (and) horses broken to the yoke. I reared a tower (var.: pile) of heads in front of his city. (125) I destroyed and burned his cities. (126–127) At that time, I praised the greatness of the great gods (and) manifested the valour of Ashur and Shamash in perpetuity. (128–130) I made a splendid royal image of myself (and) inscribed thereon my heroic deeds and praiseworthy acts. I erected (it) at the source of the Saluara river which is at the foot of Mt. Amanus. (131) I departed from Mt. Amanus (and) crossed the Orontes river. (132–138a) I approached Alimush, the fortified city of Sapalulme, the Patinean. Sapalulme, the Patinean, to save his life, took for his aid Ahuni son of Adini, Sangara the Carchemishite, Hayanu the Sam'alite, Katea the Quean, Pihirim the Hilukaean, Bur-Anate the Yasbuqean (and) Adanu the Yahanean. (138b–141) By the command of Ashur, my lord, I scattered their assembled forces. I besieged the city, conquered (it), (and) carried off their heavy booty: chariots, horses broken to the yoke. I felled 700 of their soldiers with the weapon(s). (142–143) In the midst of that battle, I captured Bur-Anate, the Yasbuqean.

Annals 1: r. 33b–47 (From here onwards, the numbers given indicate the line numbers in the text)

(33b) I departed from Alimush. (34) I went down to the Sea of the Setting Sun (and) cleansed my weapons in the sea. (35) I made offering to my gods. I made a splendid lordly image of myself. (36–37a) I inscribed thereon the praise of [Ash]ur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my power, which I achieved in the land of Hatti, (and) erected (it) by the sea. (37b–38) On my return from (lit. of) the sea, I ascended Mt. Amanus (and) cut the timber of cedar and juniper. (39) I ascended Mt. Atalur, went to the place where the image of Anum-hirbe stands (and) (40a) erected my own image with his one. (40b–41a) I conquered Taya (and) Hazazu, great cities which belong to the Patinean. (41b) I killed many of them, (42a) (and) carried off from them 4,600 captives. I departed from Hazazu. (42b–43) I approached Urime, the fortified city of Lubarna, the Patinean. I destroyed the city, burned (and) (44) consumed it. I inscribed a stela and set (it) up in his city. The tribute of Arame,

(45) son of Gusi: silver, gold, [oxe]n, sheep, wine, a bed made of gold, (46) ivory (and) boxwood, I received. I carried off 22,000 people of the land of Hatti (and) (47) brought (them) to my city Ashur.

Annals 3: ii 5b–102

(ii 5b–6) I defe[ated] the great cities of the Patinean(s). I overwhel[med the towns of the shore of] the Upper [Sea] of Amurri, (that is also called) the Sea of the Setting Sun, like the hills of ruins. (7–8a) I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast. I marched "justly" and triumphantly on the extensive seashore. (8b) I made my lordly image, which establishes my name for eternity, (and) ere[cted] (it) by the sea. (9a) I ascended Mt. Amanus (and) cut timber of cedar and juniper. (9b–10) I went to Mt. Atalur, where the image of Anumhirbe stands, (and) erected my image alongside his one. I depa[rted] from the sea. (11a) I conquered the cities of Taya, Hazazu, Nulia (and) Butamu, which belonged to the Patinean. (11b–12a) I killed 2,800 [of them] (and) carried off 14,600 captives. (12b–13a) I received the tribute of Arame, son of Gusi: silver, gold, ox[en], sheep, wine, a bed (made of) gold, ivory (and) boxwood.

(ii 13b–15a) In the eponym year of my own name, in the month Ayyaru, the 13th day, I departed from [Nineveh], crossed the Tigris, traversed Mts. Hasamu (and) Dihnunu, (and) approached Til-barsip, the fortified city of Ahuni, son of Adini. (15b–16a) Ahuni, son of Adini, trusted in the strength of his army and came out against me. I defeated him (and) confined him [in his city]. I departed from Til-barsip (and) crossed the Euphrates in its flood on rafts of (inflated) goatskins. (16b–17a) I [be]sieged (and) conquered [. . .]ga, Tagi, Surunu, Paripa, Til-bashere, Dabigu, six fortified cities of Ahuni, son of Adini. (17b–18a) I killed many [of them], (and) carried off their booty. I destroyed and burned 200 towns in their environs. (18b–19a) I de[parted fr]om Dabigu (and) approached Sazabe, the fortified city of Sangara, the Carchemishite. I besieged the city (and) con[quered it]. (19b–20a) I killed many of them (and) carried off their booty. I destroyed (and) burned the towns in its environs. (20b–21a) All the kings of the land of H[atti] became afraid of the radiance of my strong weapons and my raging battle, and seized my feet. (21b–23a) I received from Q[alpar]unda the Patinean three talents of gold, 100 talents of silver, 300 talents of bronze, 300 talents of iron, 1,000 bronze cauldrons, 1,000 multi-coloured linen garments, his daughter

with a large amount of her dowry, 20 talents of red purple wool, 500 oxen, (and) 5,000 sheep. (23b–24a) I imposed upon him as (annual) tribute one talent of silver, two talents of [red] purple wool, (and) 100 beams of cedar, (and) I received (them) annually in my city Ashur. (24b–26a) I received from Hayanu, son of Gabbar, who (resided) at the foot of Mt. Ama[nus], [x] talent(s) of silver, 30(?) talents of bronze, 30 talents of iron, 300 multi-coloured linen garments, 300 oxen, 3,000 sheep, 200 beams of cedar, [x]+2 ass-loads of cedar resin, (and) his daughter with her dowry. (26b–27a) I imposed upon him as (annual) tribute ten minas of silver, 100 beams of cedar, one ass-load of cedar resin, (and) I received (them) annually. I received from Aramu, son of Agusi, ten minas of gold, six talents of silver, 500 oxen, (and) 5,000 sheep. (27b–29a) I received from Sangara the Carchemishite two talents of gold, 70 talents of silver, 30 talents of bronze, 100 talents of iron, 20 talents of red-purple wool, 500 (beams of) boxwood,[2] his daughter with (her) dowry, and 100 daughters of his magnates, 500 oxen (and) 5,000 sheep. I imposed upon him as (annual) tribute one mina of gold, one talent of silver, two talents of red-purple wool, (and) I received (them) from him annually. (29b-30a) I annually received from Qatazilu the Kummuhite 20 minas of silver (and) 300 beams of cedar.

(ii 30b) In the eponym year of Ashur-belu-ka'in, in the month Ayyaru, the 13th day, I departed from Nineveh. (31a) I crossed the Tigris, traversed Mts. Hasamu (and) Dihnunu. I <approached> Til-barsip, the fortified city of Ahuni, son of Adini, conquered <the city>. (31b–33a) Ahuni son of Adini <became afraid> of the splendour of my raging weapons and fierce battle, [abandoned his ci]ty, crossed the Euphrates to save his life. He moved into other countries. (33b–34a) By the command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, I took Til-barsip, Alligu, [Nappigi] and Rugulitu to be my royal citi(es), settled Assyrians therein (and) founded therein palaces as my royal abode(s). (34b–35a) I changed the name of Til-barsip to Kar-Shalmaneser, Nappigi to Lita-Ashur, Alligu to Aṣbat-lakunu, Rugulitu to Qibit-[DN]. (35b–38) At that time, the city of Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat, which the people of Hatti call Pitru (and) which is on the

[2] GIŠ.TÚG.MEŠ "boxwood" is preferred here to GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ "weapons" (Luckenbill, *ARAB*, I, p. 217), since the latter seems too general for the tribute list. RIMA 3's TÚG.MEŠ (without GIŠ) "garments" must be corrected anyway.

Sajur river, [on the other side] of the Euphrates, and the city of Mutkinu, which is on this side of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-pileser (I), a forefather, a prince, my predecessor, had occupied, but (which) at the time of Ashur-rabi (II), king of Assyria, the Aramaeans had seized by force; those cities I restored (and) settled Assyrians therein. (39–40a) When I was staying in Kar-Shalmaneser, I received the tribute of the kings of the seacoast and the kings of the banks of the Euphrates: silver, gold, tin, bronze, bronze cauldrons, iron,[3] oxen, sheep, multi-coloured linen garments. (40b) I departed from Kar-Shalmaneser. I traversed Mt. [. . .]sumu. (41a) I went down to Bit-Zamani. I departed from Bit-Zamani (and) traversed Mts. Namdanu (and) Merhisu. (41b–42a) Narrow roads (in) steep mountains, which rise perpendicularly towards the sky like a blade of a dagger, I cut out with picks of copper, moved (my) chariots and troops (over them). (42b–44a) I went down to the land of Enzite (that is) of the land of Ishua. I conquered the entire land of Enzite, destroyed and burned their towns, carried off their booty, property and goods without number. (44b) I made a splendid royal image of myself, inscribed thereon the praise of Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my power, (and) erected (it) in the lower city of Saluria, in a cultic site (lit. the place of *ēqu*). (45–46a) I departed from Enzite, crossed the Arṣania river, (and) approached the land of Suhme. I conquered Washtal, its fortified city, (and) destroyed and burned the entire land of Suhme. I captured Sua, the lord of their city. I departed from Suhme. I went down to the land of Dayeni. (46b–47) I conquered the entire land (text: city) of Dayeni, destroyed and burned their towns, (and) took off their booty, property and goods in large quantities. I departed from Dayeni. (48a) I approached Arzashkun, the royal city of Arrame, the Urartian. (48b–49a) Arrame, the Urartian, became afraid of the radiance of my strong weapons and my raging battle, and abandoned his city. He fled up into Mt. Adduri. I ascended the mountain (pursuing) after him, (and) fought a strong battle in the midst of the mountain. (49b–50) I felled 3,400 of his soldiers by weapons. I rained upon them a destructive flood like Adad. I dyed [the moun]tain with their blood like red wool. I took his camp from him. (51a) I brought from the midst of the mountain

[3] Alternatively, "bronze (and) iron cauldrons" (RIMA 3). However, cauldrons of iron are otherwise not attested in the lists of tribute in Shalmaneser III's inscriptions.

his chariots, cavalry, horses, mules, donkeys (bearing) goods, captives (and) property in large quantities. (51b–52a) Arrame, to save his life, took to a steep mountain. I trampled his country underfoot in my heroic strength, like a wild bull, (and) laid waste his towns. (52b–53a) I destroyed (and) b[urned] Arzashku, with towns in its environs. (53b–54a) I made three piles of heads before its gate. S[ome] of the nobles [I spread] within [the piles], others I erected on stakes around the piles. (54b–55a) I departed from Arzashku, (and) [I ascended] Mt. [Eritia]. (55b–56) I made a splendid roy[al image] of myself, [inscribed] thereon the praise [of] Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my power which I had achieved in the land of Urartu. I set (it) up [in Mt. Eri]tia. I depar[ted] from Mt. Eritia (and) approached [the city of] Aramale. I destroyed (and) burned its towns. (57) I departed from Aramale (and) ap[proached] the city of Zanziuna. [. . .]ute, the king of [Za]nziuna, feared the battle, (and) seized my feet. (58a) I received from him horses broken to the yoke, oxen, (and) sheep. I had mercy on him. [. . . .] (58b–59a) [On] my [return march?], I went down to the Sea of Nairi. I washed the furious weapons of Ashur in the sea, [and made] offering [to my gods]. (59b–60a) I made [a splendid royal image of myself], inscribed thereon the praise of Ashur, great lord, my lord, my heroic deeds, and victorious acts, [and erected it by the sea]. (60b–61a) I departed [from the sea], (and) approached the land of Gilzanu. Asau, the king of Gilzanu, together with his brothers (and) sons, came out to me. (61b–62a) [. . .] royal [. . .] horse[s] broken to the yoke, oxen, sheep, wine, seven camels with two humps, I received from him. I made a splendid royal image of myself. (62b–63a) I inscribed thereon the praises of Ashur, great lord, my lord, and the victory of my might which I achieved in the land of Nairi, (and) erected (it) in the midst of his city, in his temple. (63b–64a) I departed from Gilzanu, (and) approached Shilaya, the fortified city of Kaki, the king of Hubushkia. I besieged the city (and) conquered (it). I killed many of them. (64b–65a) I carried off from them 3,000 captives, oxen, sheep, horses, mules, (and) donkeys without number, (and) brought (them) to my city Ashur. (65b–66a) (To sum up the present Urartian expedition) I entered the pass of Enzite (and) I went out from the pass of Kirruri in front of the city of Arbail.

(ii 66b–67a) As for Ahuni, son of Adini, who since (the days of) the kings my fathers, had incessantly conducted himself with obduracy [and] violence; in the beginning of my reign, in the eponym

year of my own name, I departed from Nineveh (and) besieged Til-barsip, his fortified city. (67b–68a) I let my warriors surround it, set a battle in its midst, cut down its orchard (and) rained fire (and) arrows upon it. (68b) He became frightened before the brilliance of my weapons (and) the splendour [of] my lordship and abandoned his city. (69a) He crossed the Euphrates to save his life. In another year, in the eponym year of Ashur-bunaya-uṣur, I pursued after him. (69b–70a) He had made as his stronghold Mt. Shitamrat, the mountain peak on the bank of the Euphrates, which, like a cloud, hangs from the sky. (70b–71a) By the command of Ashur, the great lord, my lord, and Nergal who goes before me, I approached Shitamrat, into which none of the kings, my fathers, came. For three days the hero (= Shalmaneser) explored the mountain. His proud heart yearned for battle. (71b–72a) He climbed up (the mountain) and trampled (it) down with his (own) foot (lit. feet). Ahuni trusted in his wide-spreading hosts and came out against me. He drew up the battle line. (72b–73a) I hurled the weapons of Ashur, my lord, against them, (and) inflicted their defeat. I cut off the heads of his warriors. With the blood of his fighters, I dyed the mountain. Many of his (men) threw themselves off (lit. to) the cliffs of the mountain. (73b–74a) I fought a fierce battle in the midst of his city. The awesome splendour of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed them. They came down to me (and) seized my feet. (74b–75a) I brought to my presence Ahuni, with his armies, (his) chariots, his cavalry, and much property of his palace, the weight of which is immeasurable. I carried (them) off across the Euphrates (text: Tigris), brought (them) to my city Ashur, (and) counted them as the people of my land.

In that (same) year, I marched against the land of Mazamua. (75b–76a) I entered the pass of Bunais. I approached the towns of Nikdeme (and) Nikdera. (76b–77a) They became afraid of the brilliance of my strong weapons and my raging battle, and cast themselves upon the sea in boats of reed. (77b) I pursued them on rafts of (inflated) goatskins, fought a strong battle in the midst of the sea, (and) defeated them. (78a) I dyed the sea with their blood like red wool.

In the eponym year of Dayyan-Ashur, in the month Ayyaru, the 14th day, I departed from Nineveh, (and) crossed the Tigris. (78b–79a) I approached the towns of Giammu (on) the Balih river. (79b–80a) They became afraid of the fearfulness of my lordship (and) the brilliance of my raging weapons, and killed Giammu, their lord, by their own weapon. (80b) I entered the cities of Sahlala and Til-sha-turahi.

I brought my gods to his palaces, (and) held a banquet in his palaces. (81a) I opened his treasury, saw his treasure, carried off his property and goods, (and) brought (them) to my city Ashur. (81b–82a) I departed from Sahlala, (and) approached Kar-Shalmaneser. I crossed the Euphrates again (lit. for another time)[4] at its flood on rafts of (inflated) goatskins. (82b–86a) The tribute of the kings of the other (i.e. west) side of the Euphrates, of Sangar(a) the Carchemishite, of Kundashpi the Kummuhite, of Arame son of Gusi, of Lalli the Melidite, of Hayani son of Gabbar, of Qalparunda the Patinean, (and) of Qalparunda the Gurgumite: silver, gold, tin, bronze, (and) bronze cauldrons; the city of Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat, which is on the other bank of the Euphrates, on the Sajur river, (and) which the Hittite people call Pitru, therein I received (that tribute). (86b) I departed from the Euphrates, (and) approached the city of Aleppo (lit. Halman). They were afraid of the battle (and) seized <my> feet. (87a) I received their tribute: silver (and) gold. I made sacrifices before the god Adad of Aleppo. (87b–88a) I departed from Aleppo (and) approached the towns of Irhuleni, the Hamathite. I conquered Adennu, Parga, (and) Argana, his royal city/citi(es). (88b–89) I had his captives/booty, his property and the good of his palaces brought out (and) set fire to his palaces. I departed from Argana (and) approached Qarqar. (90a) I destroyed (and) burned Qarqar, his royal city. (90b–95a) 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalry, (and) 20,000 troops of Adad-idri of Aram-Damascus; 700 chariots, 700 cavalry, (and) 10,000 troops of Irhuleni, the Hamathite; 2,000 chariots, 10,000 troops of Ahab, the Israelite; 500 troops of Byblos; 1,000 troops of Egypt; 10 chariots, (and) 10,000 troops of Irqata; 200 troops of Matinu-Ba'ali, the Arwadite; 200 troops of Usanat; 30 chariots, (and) [x],000 troops of Adunu-Ba'ali, the Shianite; 1,000 camels of Gindibu'u, the Arab; [x],000 (or [x]00) troops of Ba'asa, son of Rehob (and troops of) Ammon;[5] these 12 kings, he brought as his allies. (95b–96a) They came against me to [wage] war and fight. (96b–97a) With the exalted might which Ashur, my lord, had given to me (and) with the strong weapons which Nergal, who goes before me, had granted to me, I

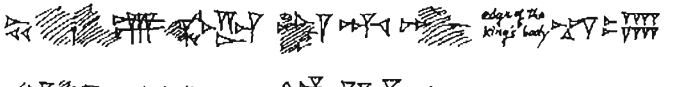
[4] Not "for the second time" in this context. See above, Part II, 5.2 (esp. p. 152, n. 258) and Appendix C (esp. p. 337, n. 6).

[5] Here, I assume that two different military units—that of Ba'asa son of Rehob and that of Ammon—are involved in ^{m}*Ba'asa mār Ruhubi* ^{kur}*Ammanāya*. See my discussion in Part II, 5.2 (esp. pp. 159–161).

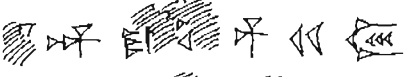
fought with them, (and) I defeated them from Qarqar as far as the city of Gilzau. (97b–98a) I felled 14,000 of their soldiers with weapons. I rained, like Adad, a destructive flood upon them. (98b–99) I spread their corpses, (and) filled the field (with them). Their extensive troops, I (felled them) with weapons, (and) made their blood flow. . . . . (100a) The plain had become too small to let their bodies fall (on it). The broad countryside had been used up in burying them. (100b–101a) I blocked the Orontes river with their corpses as with a causeway. (101b–102) In the midst of that battle, I took away from them their chariots, cavalry, (and) horses broken to the yoke.

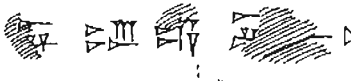
APPENDIX E

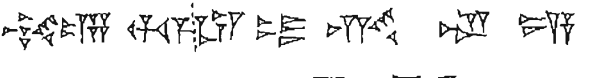
COLLATIONS OF THE KURKH MONOLITH INSCRIPTION (ANNALS 3)

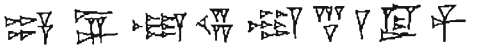
i 2 

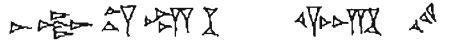
i 4

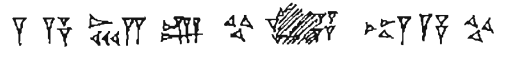
i 5 

i 6 

i 7 

i 11 

i 16 

i 28 

i 30

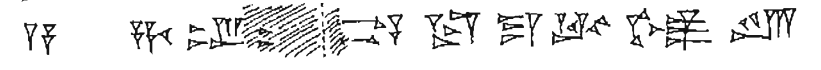
i 31

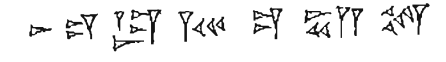
i 32

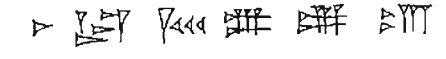
i 33

i 34

i 35

i 43 

i 44 

i 46 

i 54

ii 2

ii 3

ii 6

ii 9

ii 10

ii 11

ii 13

ii 16 No space for additional signs

ii 17 GAZ [MEŠ.

ii 21

ii 28

ii 30

ii 32 space for 5 ~ 6 signs

ii 33

ii 36

ii 53

ii 53 (end)

ii 55

ii 61 GABA-ia

ii 61 (end)

ii 67

ii 74 NIG.GA

ii 78 (beginning)

ii 78 (centre) ^{mk}DI.KUD-AŠ-šur

ii 81–88 (centre around the original damage)

ii 85

ii 90

ii 93

ii 94 ar-ba-

ii 96
dURU.GAL
ii 98
ii 99
no inscription on the edge
ii 100
crystal

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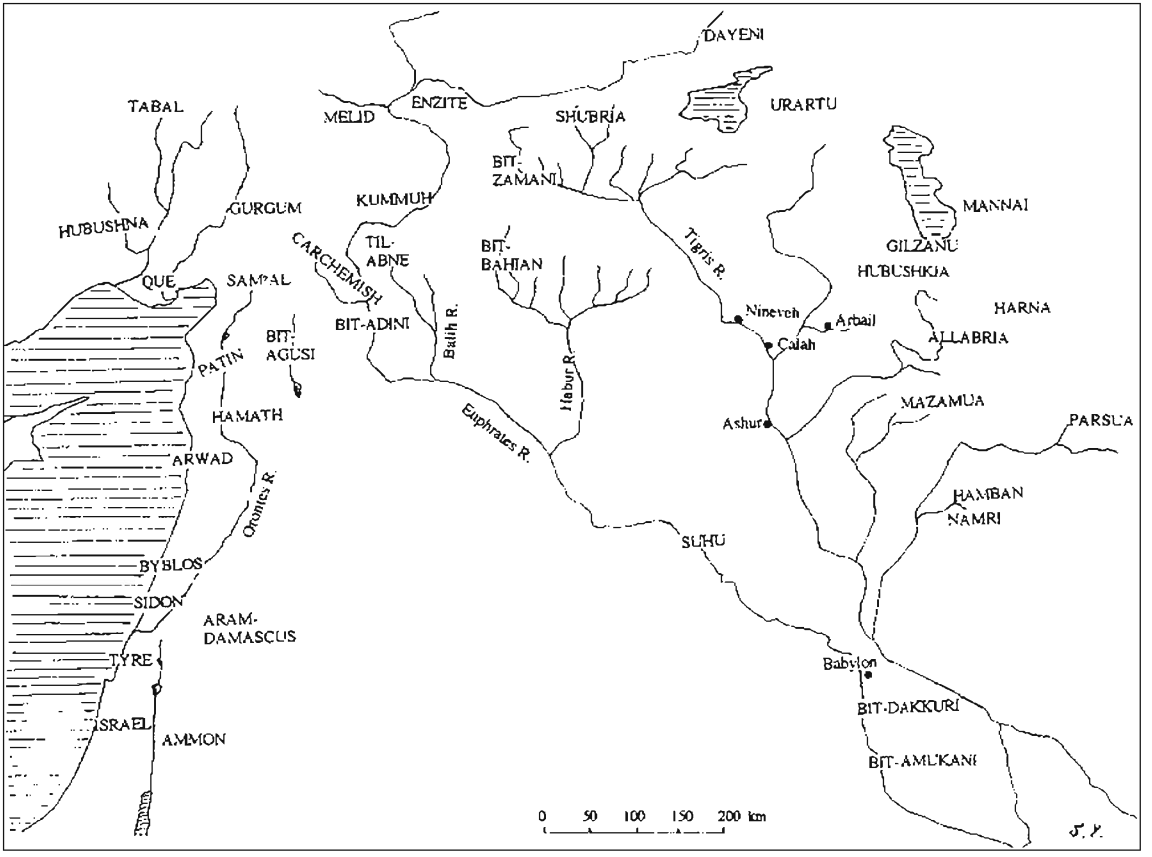
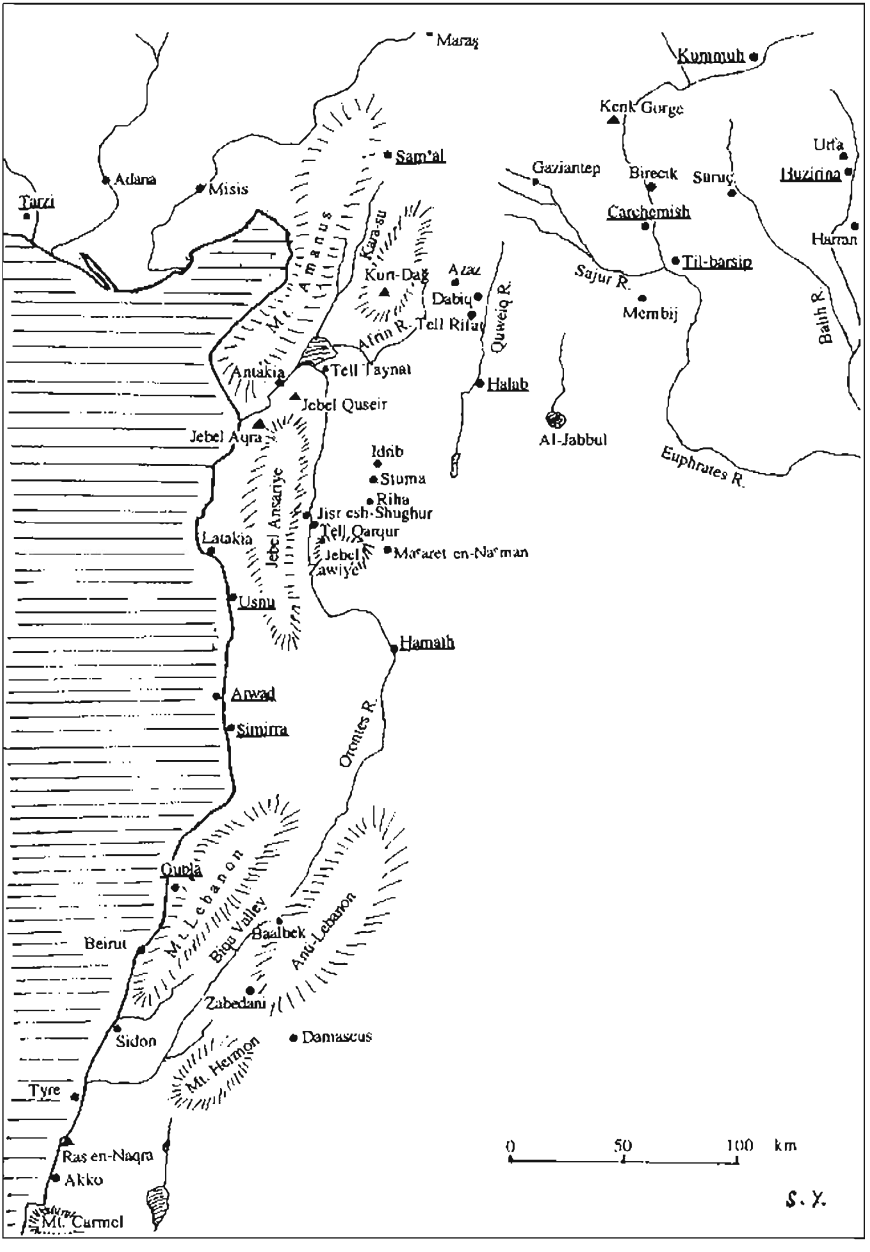


Map 1: Major Polities in the Near East in the Time of Shalmaneser III


Maraş
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Kenk Gorge
Sam'al
Adana
Misis
Tarzi
Gaziantep
Birecik
Suruç
Urfa
Buzfina
Carchemish
Harran
Til-barsip
Kara su
Mt. Amanus
Kurt-Dağ
Azaz
Dabiq
Afrin R.
Tell Rifa't
Quweiq R.
Sajur R.
Membij
Balih R.
Antakia
Tell Taynat
Halab
Jebel Quseir
Jebel Aqra
Idnib
Al-Jabbul
Euphrates R.
Stuma
Riha
Jisr esh-Shughur
Tell Qarqur
Jebel Ansariye
Latakia
Jebel Zawiyeh
Ma'aret en-Nu'man
Usnu
Hamath
Arwad
Simirra
Orontes R.
Qubla
Mt. Lebanon
Beirut
Biqa Valley
Baalbek
Anti-Lebanon
Zabedani
Damascus
Sidon
Mt. Hermon
Tyre
Ras en-Naqra
Akko
Mt. Carmel
0
50
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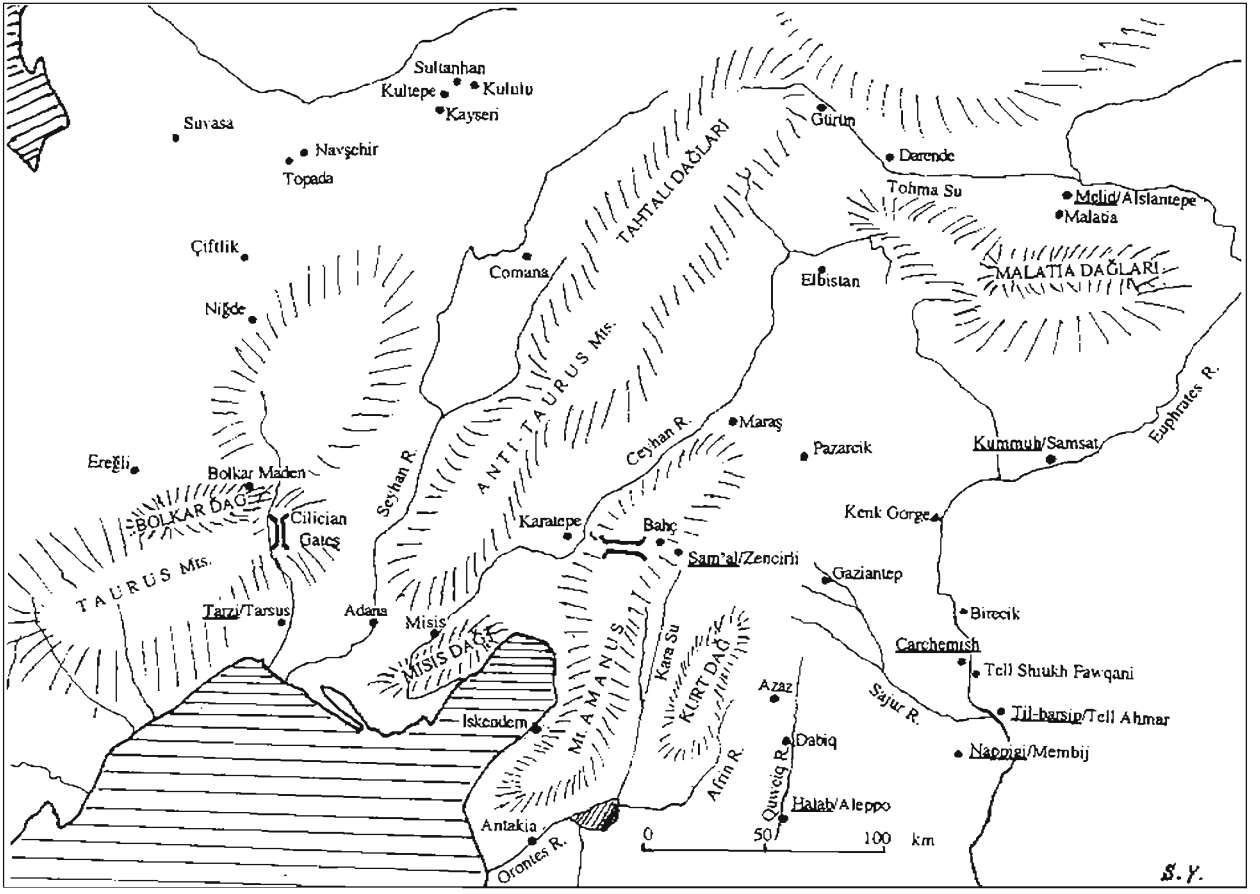
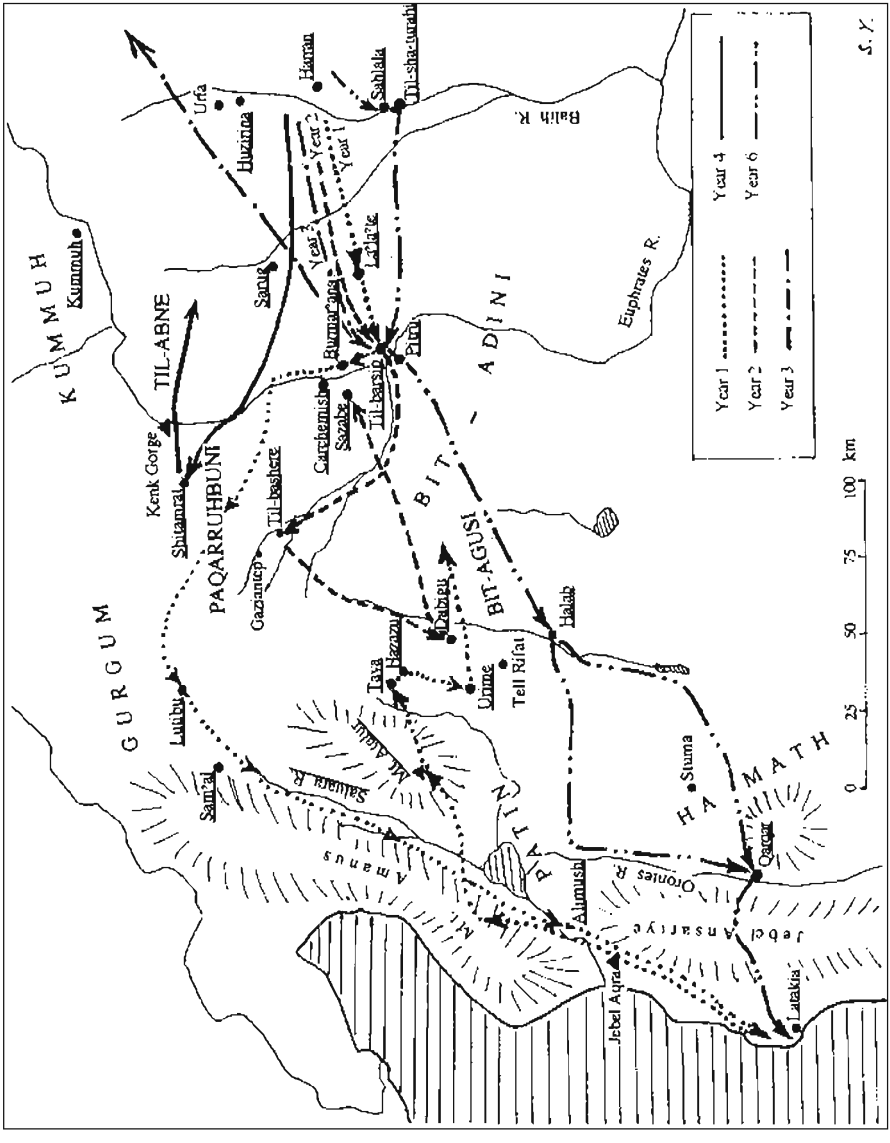
km
S. Y.

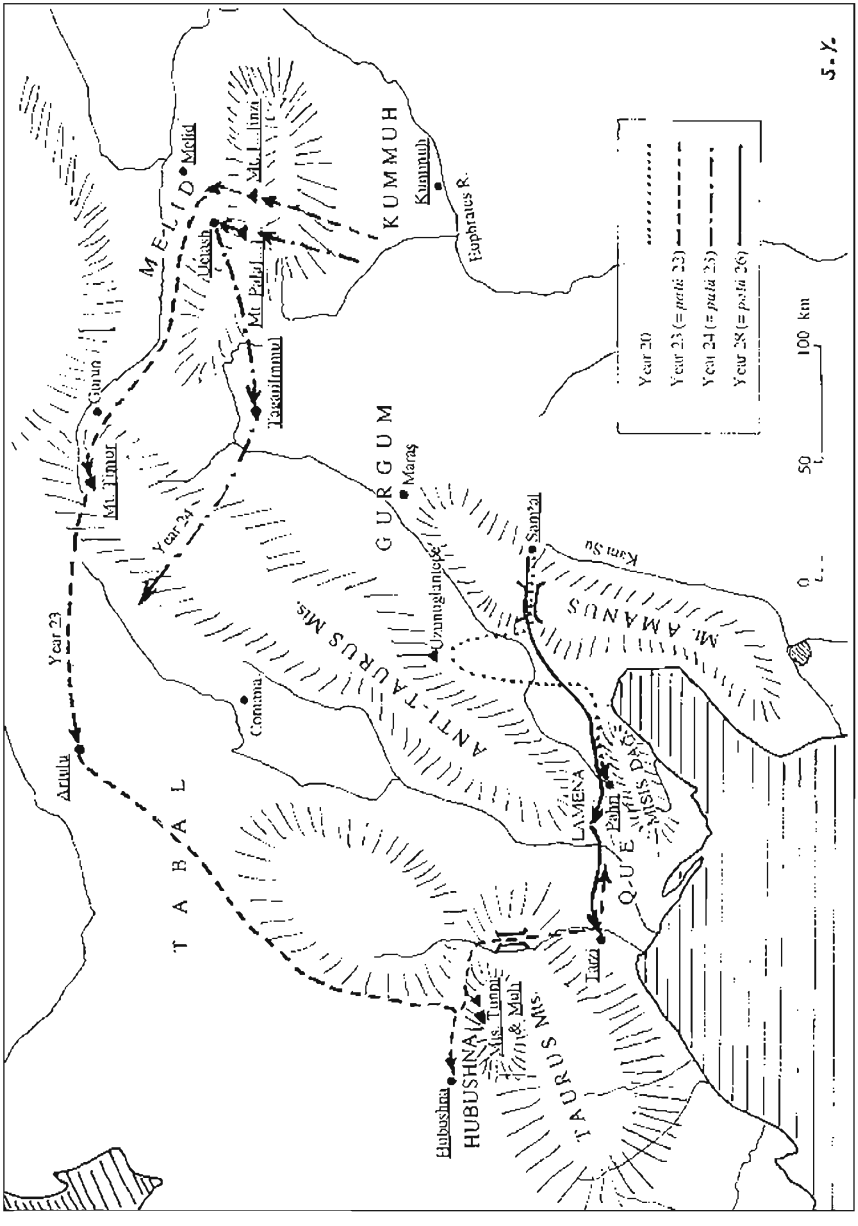
Map 2: Syria



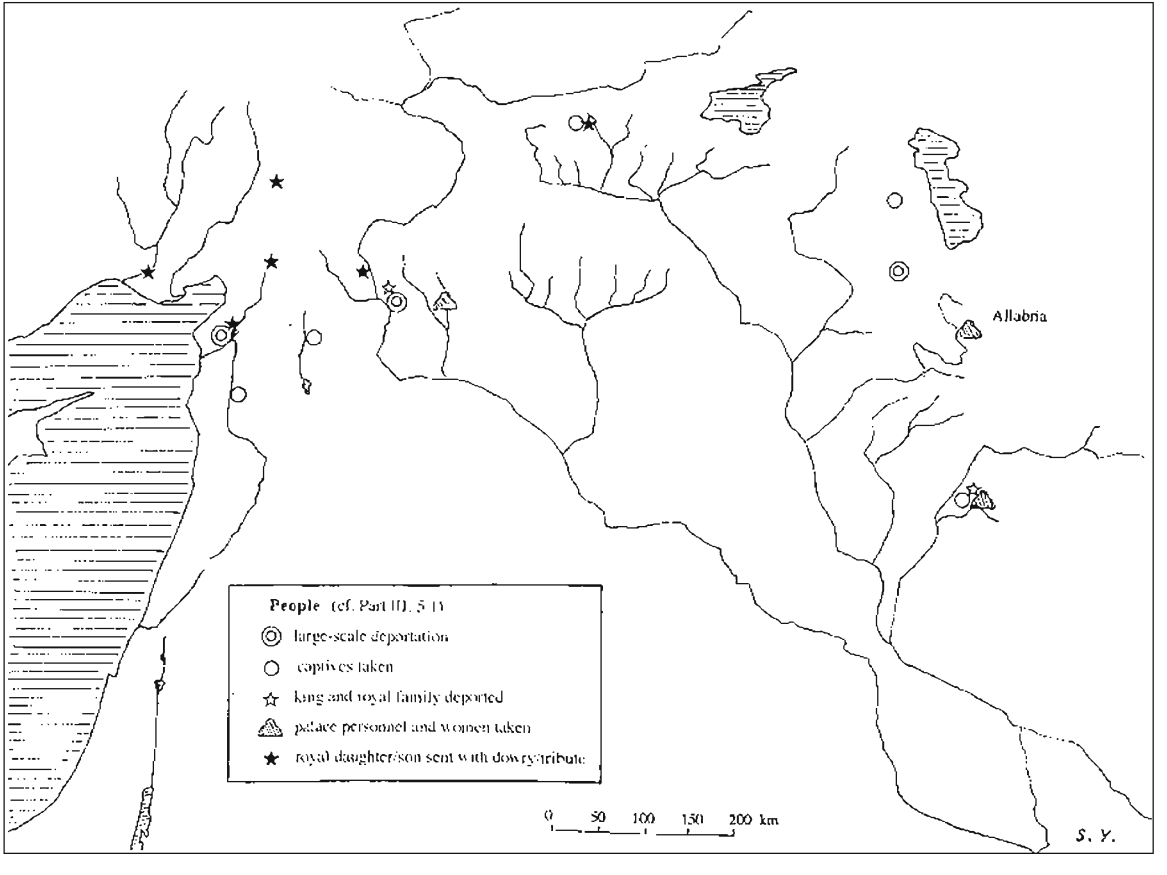
Map 3: Northern Syria and South-Eastern Anatolia



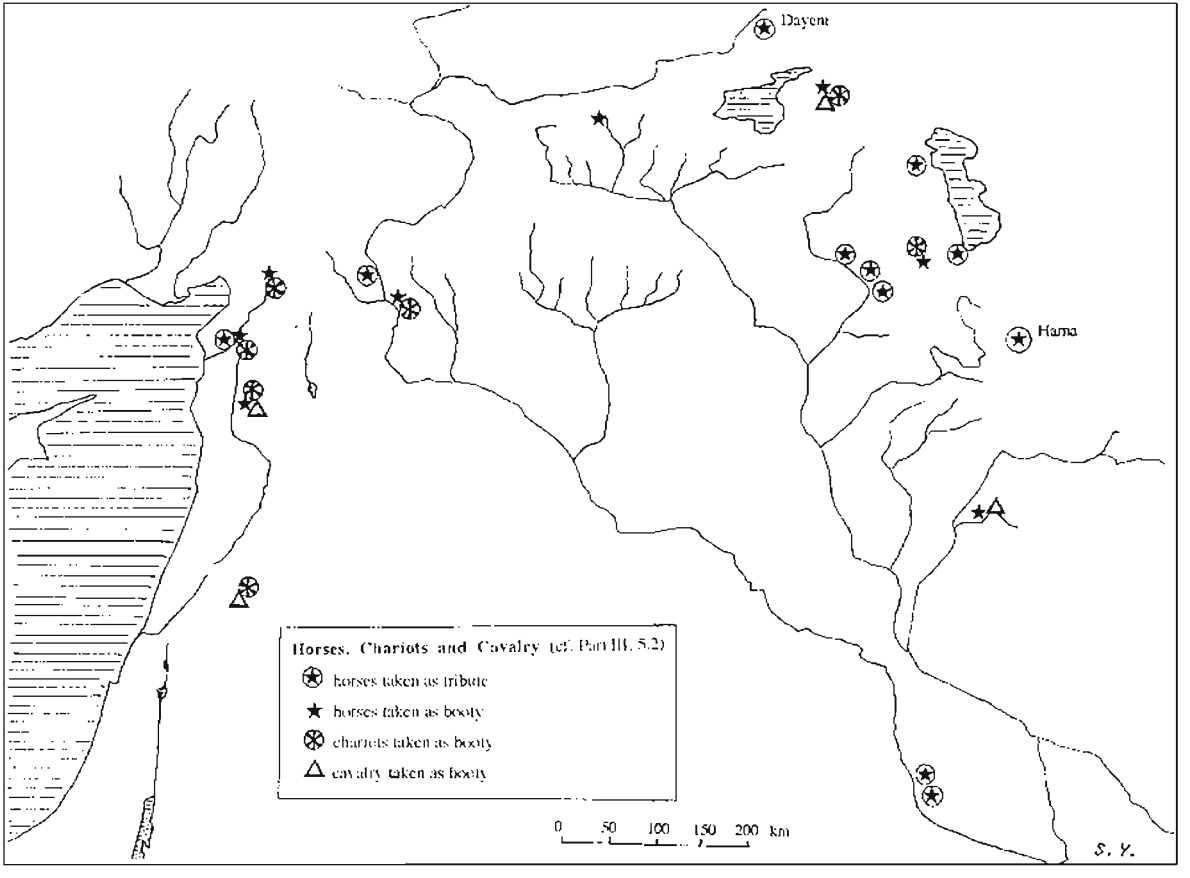
Map 4: Routes of Syrian Campaigns in Years 1, 2, 3, 4 and 6



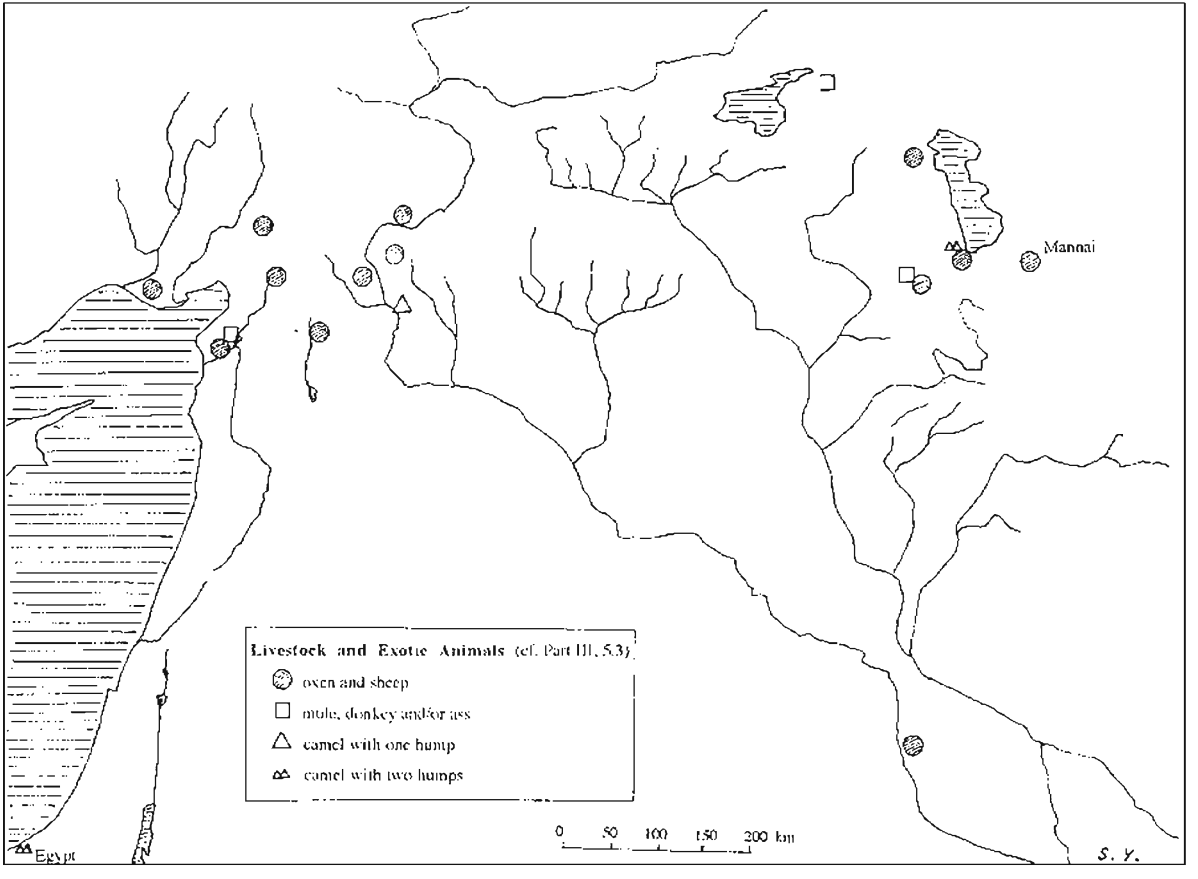
Map 5: Routes of Anatolian Campaigns in Years 20, 23, 24 and 28



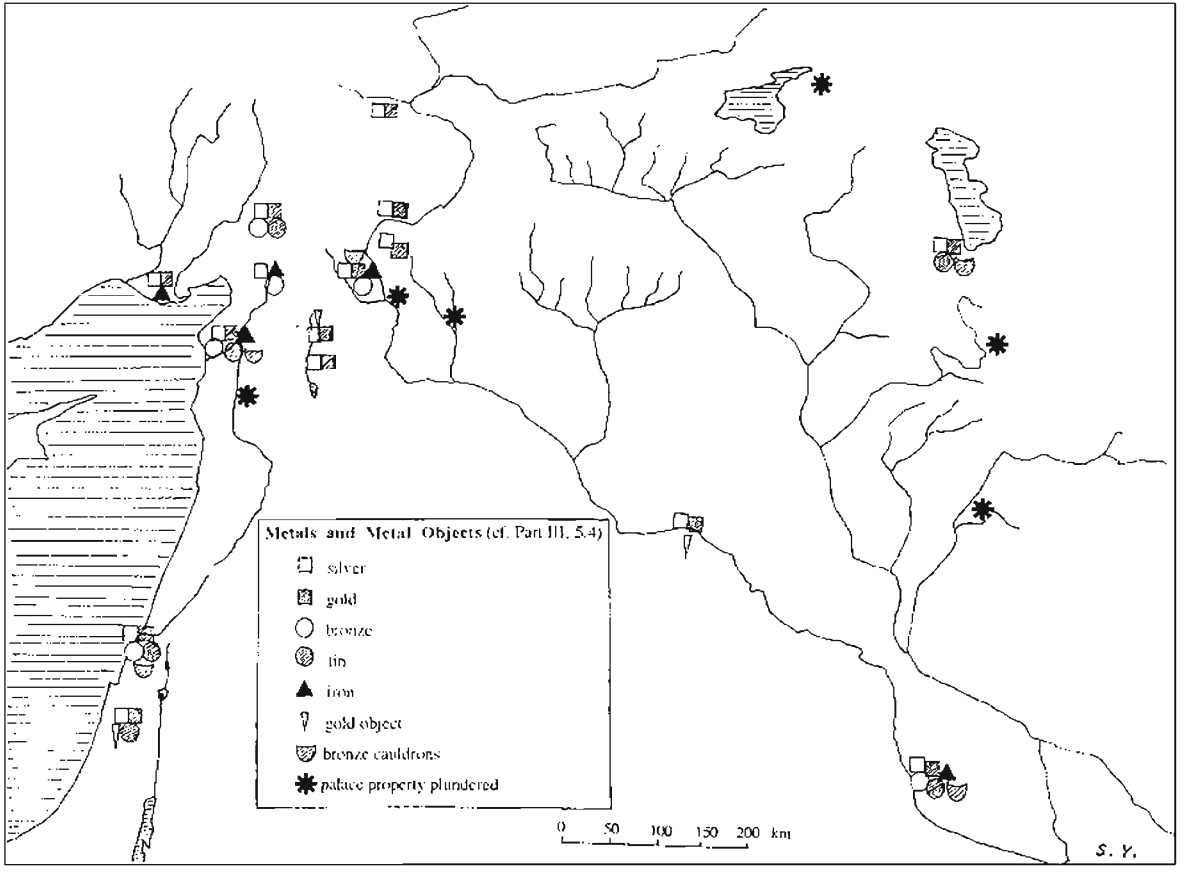
Map 6-A: Booty and Tribute: People



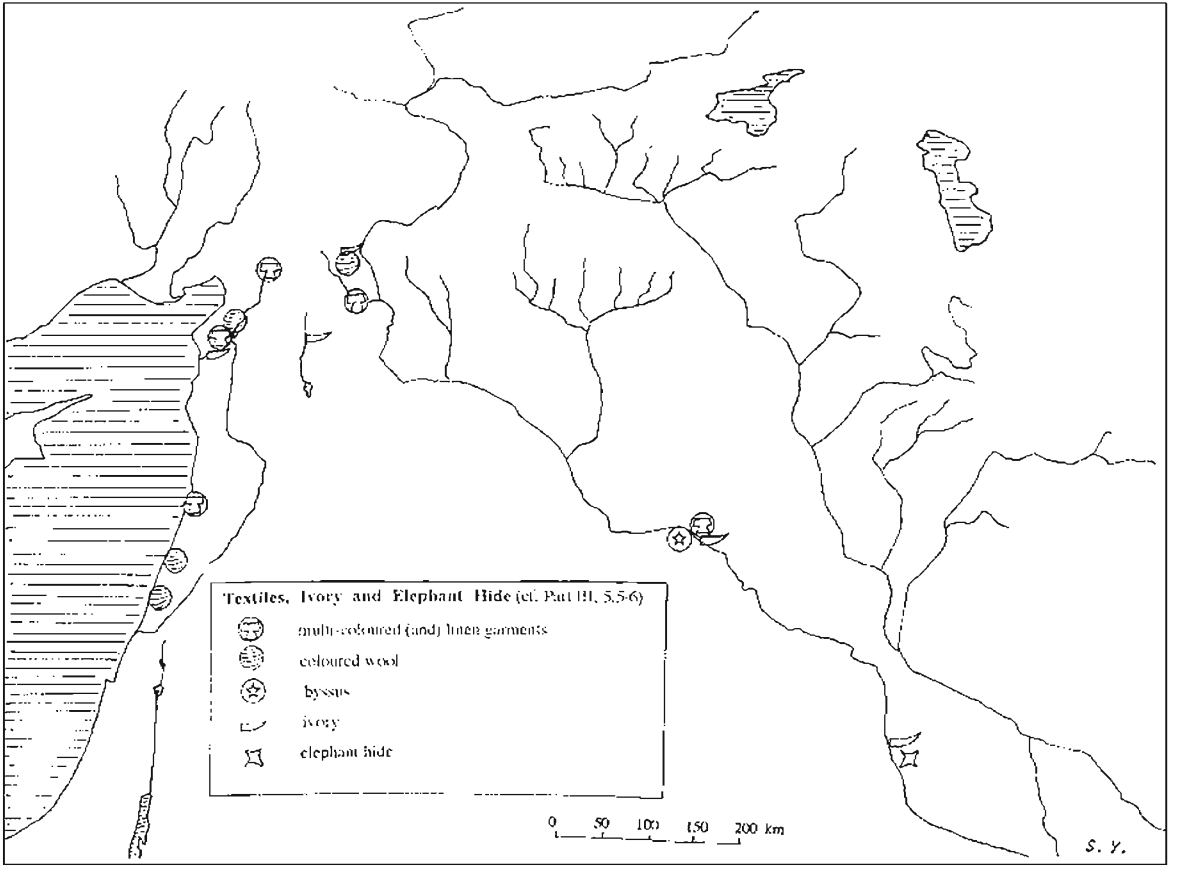
Map 6-B: Booty and Tribute: Horses, Chariots and Cavalry



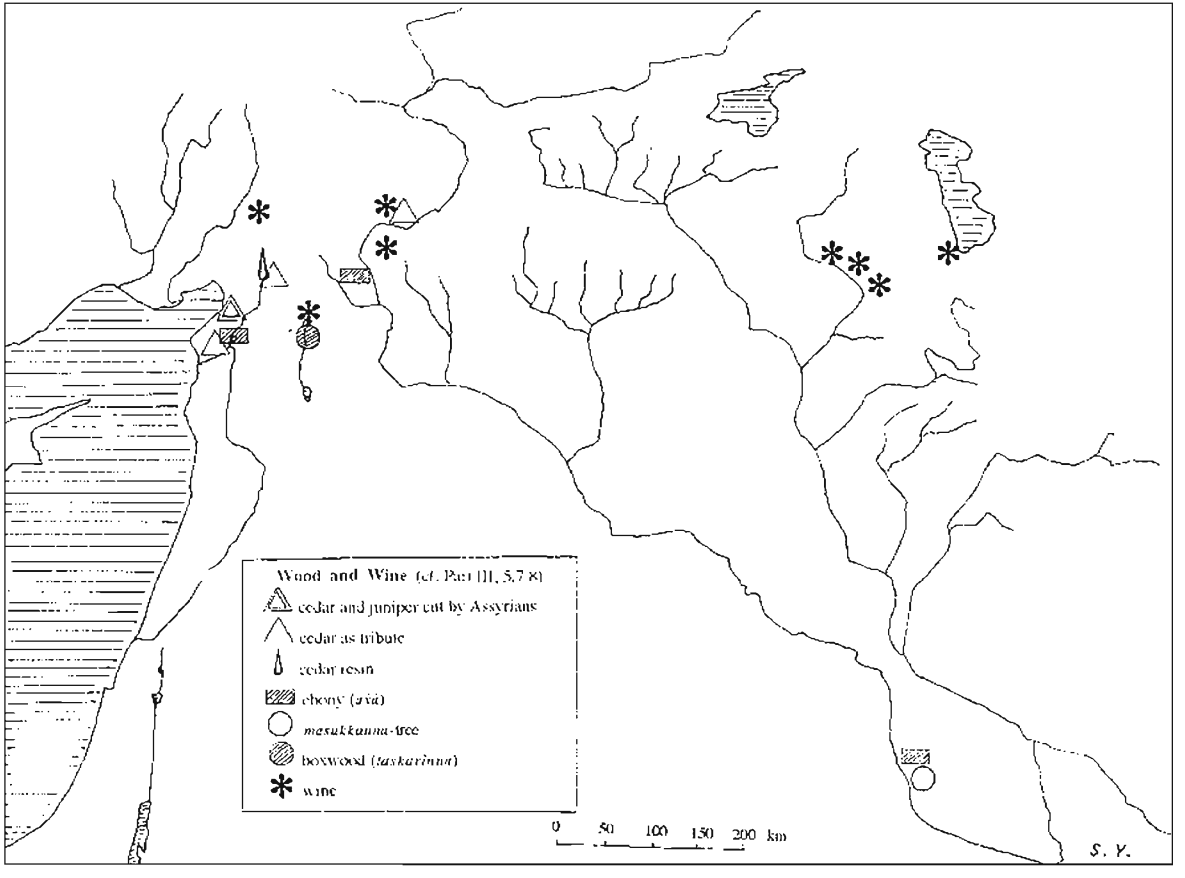
Map 6-C: Booty and Tribute: Livestock and Exotic Animals



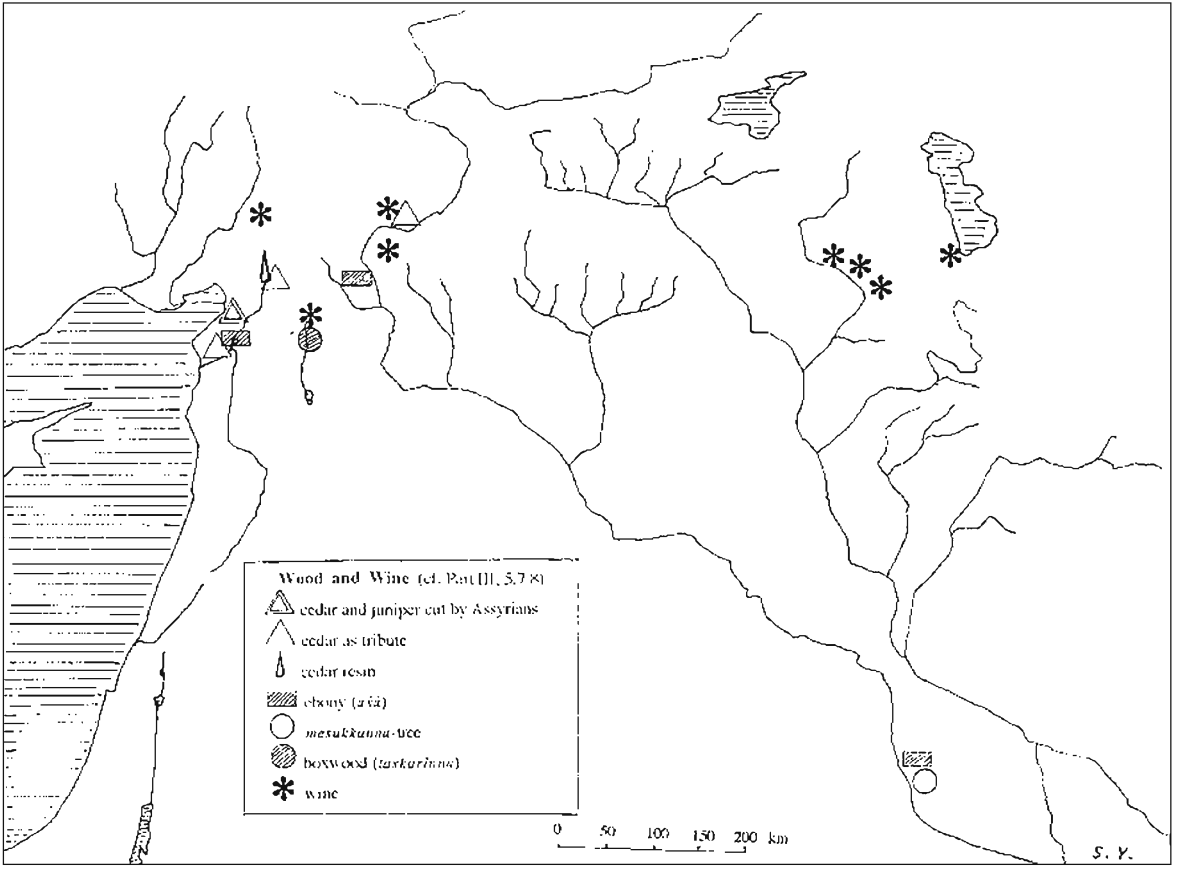
Map 6-D: Booty and Tribute: Metals and Metal Objects



Map 6-E: Booty and Tribute: Textiles, Ivory and Elephant Hide



Map 6-F: Booty and Tribute: Wood and Wine



Map 7: Monuments Set Up by Shalmaneser III during His Campaigns

GENERAL INDEX

Abarnani 198, 200, 201, 204, 235, 285
Abdadani 41
Abel 315n21
Abi-ina-ekalli-lilbur 66, 326
Abshimaku (see also Ashtammaku) 171n329
Abule 306
Ada 50, 153n262, 155
Adad 22, 162, 321, 323, 324, 327, 328, 331, 372, 375, 379
Adad of Aleppo/Halman 144, 145, 153, 153n261, 378
Adad-idri 144, 145, 147, 149, 156, 157, 157n277, 166, 169–173, 180, 181, 187–190, 189n381, 311–314, 311n13, 312n14, 315n21, 316, 378
Adad-it'i 305
Adad-nerari I 306
Adad-nerari II 67n152, 69, 70, 78n1, 225, 258n71, 301, 301n5, 306
Adad-nerari III 93, 182, 320, 320n37, 331
Adad-remanni 66
Adana 220, 220n494
Adanu 96, 98, 108, 372
Adduri, Mt. 141n222, 231, 375
Adennu 144, 145, 153, 153n262, 154n264, n265, 155, 176n344, 232, 378
Adini, see Ahuni and Bit-Adini
Adini (of Bit-Dakkuri) 34, 50, 52, 245, 246, 256, 258
Adunu-Ba'ali 157, 378
Afrin, river 81, 82, 107, 177
Ahab 157, 161, 161n296, 193n402, 309, 311n13, 312–317, 314n17, 315n19, 378
Ahan, see Yahan
Ahaziah(u) 309, 310, 313–315, 317–319
Ahi-yababa 71
Ahlamû-Aramaeans 195n410
Ahuni, son of Adini 2, 16, 16n20, 29, 30, 33, 36, 37, 40, 46, 71, 78, 85n25, 87–90, 87n25, 92n54, 93, 94n59, 95, 109–117, 109n121, 112n128, 120–122, 123n162, 124–126, 124n165, 125n168, 129, 129n187, 130–139, 139n211, n214, 140n220, 141, 141n226, 142, 142n227, n229, 148, 231, 232, 232n18, 288, 371–374, 376, 377
Ahuramazda 318
Akkad 31, 297, 298
Akko 192n399
Alalakh 105n104, 201
Alalakh tablets 96n73
Aleppo (see also Halab) 98, 104, 105, 106n111, n112, 108, 108n117, 115n141, 126, 144, 153–155, 153n261, 154n265, 168, 177, 208n446, 219, 219n490, 245, 265, 378
Alexander the Great 182
Aligu, see Alligu
Alimush 78–80, 95–100, 107, 108, 118, 228n11, 230, 262, 277, 372
A-li-ṣir 96n73
Allabria 234, 260, 265
Alligu, (Y)aligu 74, 121, 122, 124, 126, 301n4, 302, 302n8, n9, 303, 374
Amadanu, Mt. 91
Amadaya 287
Amana, Mt. 159, 159n289, 160n293, 161
^{kur}*A-ma-na-a-a* 157, 159, 160, 160n293, 161
Amanus, Mt. 19, 22, 31, 33, 36, 36n77, 38–40, 63, 64, 66, 78, 80–84, 86, 95–97, 103–105, 106n109, n112, 167n319, 170, 171, 172n330, 173, 174, 177, 183–185, 195–201, 200n426, 203n436, 214, 218, 218n486, 219, 221, 258, 259, 269, 274, 276, 278, 294n63, 298n81, 372–374
Amedu 72, 224
Amenhotep III 208n446
Amme-Baal 306
Ammi-li'ti 97
Ammon, Ammonite(s) 159–161, 159n289, 161n295, 378, 378n5

Amurru/i 16, 33, 34n71, 36–40, 42, 79, 80, 86, 99, 100, 102, 195, 195n410, 277, 372
Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat 121, 123, 127, 127n177, 144, 145, 152, 153n259, 184, 245, 374, 378
Anare 34, 232
Andia 250
Anhitti 34, 245
Antakia 96, 96n71, 106n112, 173, 174, 200n426, 277
Anti-Lebanon 159, 191, 207, 270n120
Anti-Taurus 205, 211
Anu 369
Anum-hirbe 40, 80, 83, 85, 86, 103, 104, 104n99, 278, 295, 372, 373
Anunnaki 369
Aphek 310n8, 315n21
Ap(p)arazu 169, 170, 177, 246
Apqu, *Apqū ša Balīha* 151, 301n5
Arab(s) 97, 157, 159, 161, 161n295, 162, 378
Arabia, Arabian 264
Aram, Aramaean(s) 4, 4n12, 68, 70, 89n38, 98, 121, 127, 127n177, 139–141, 140n220, 160, 179, 304, 309–317, 311n13, 314n18, 317n24, 375
Aram-Bet-Rehob 159, 160n293
Aram-Damascus (see also Imeri) 4, 44, 64, 67, 149n245, 156, 169, 176n346, 185, 188–190, 196, 197, 205, 206, 208, 209, 229, 234, 262, 311–313, 317, 319, 320, 378
Aram-Zoba 127n177
Aramale 279, 376
Arame/u, son of Gusi/Agusi 98, 103, 108–110, 117–119, 153, 166, 168, 170–172, 177, 219, 239, 242–246, 372–374, 378
Arame, Arrame, king of Urartu 34, 50, 120, 141n222, 231, 276, 279, 370, 375, 376
Araziash 287
Arbail 259n73, 279, 376
Arban, see Tell Ajaja
Argana 144, 145, 153, 153n262, 154n264, n265, 156, 175n344, 232, 378
Aribua 73, 73n184, 75, 76, 107, 154n263, 156, 174, 174n340, 223, 223n508, 301n5, 304
Aridi/u 33, 68, 230, 241, 242, 276, 370
Arik-den-ili 306n30
Ariyahinas 140
Armada, see Arwad
Arman 233
Armarili, Armariali 279
Arne 50, 166–169, 169n326, 233
Arpad 93, 93n58, n59, 98, 108, 115, 126, 158n282, 168, 177, 307n35
Arrame, see Arame
Arqa, see Irqata
Arqania 72
Arslan Tash 151n250
Arṣania, river 221, 279, 375
Artasari 250
Artulu 211, 211n462, 248
Aruna 306n30
Arwad, Arwadite, Armada 73, 102, 102n94, 157, 158, 195, 378
Arzaṣhku(n) 19, 34, 35, 37, 38, 40, 120, 141n222, 231, 279, 280n26, 375, 376
Asau, Asu 216, 241, 244, 252, 252n53, 295, 370, 376
Ashtammaku 50, 170–177, 175n344, 177n350, 233
Ashtata 105n105
Ashur, city 4, 9, 17, 19–21, 23, 25n47, 30, 31, 41, 42, 44–48, 80, 103, 110, 118, 118n153, 131, 133, 134, 135n198, 138, 139, 143, 151, 184, 196, 202, 207, 227, 228, 240, 258, 258n73, 292n56, 306, 322, 371, 373, 374, 376–378
Ashur, god 12, 13, 16, 47, 124, 136, 138, 148, 148n241, 149, 149n244, 162, 211, 215, 222, 275–277, 279–281, 283, 293, 296n69, 297, 302n10, 304, 306, 321, 323, 324, 327, 328, 331, 369–372, 374–378
Ashur, Land of 1, 1n1, 68, 300, 302n10, 304, 305, 370
Ashur-bel-kala 67n152, 127n177, 225, 253, 253n58, 264n90, 274, 274n5
Ashur-belu-ka'in 47, 66, 128, 129, 326, 374
Ashur-bunaya 66
Ashur-bunaya-uṣur 66, 130, 326n17, 377
Ashur-da'in-aplu 165
Ashur-dan II 67n152, 225
Ashur-nerari V 307n35
Ashur-rabi II 121, 375

Ashurbanipal 70, 74, 225n3, 296, 296n69, 307n34, n35
Ashurnasirpal II 6, 6n20, 11, 12, 14n12, 47, 69–77, 69n165, 70n165, 73n185, 78n1, 88, 88n34, 91, 93n58, 98, 101, 102, 107, 117n149, 126, 126n175, 137n204, 138n210, 146, 151, 154n263, 156, 173, 174n340, 199, 223n508, 225, 225n3, 226n5, 228n9, 237n21, 239n24, 240n29, n30, 254, 254n60, 258n71, 259, 262n85, 263n88, 266, 266n99, 267n100, 269, 271, 271n124, 274, 274n5, n12, 275, 294, 294n63, 295, 296n69, 297, 298n81, 301, 301n4, n5, 303, 304, 307, 307n34, 308, 326n19, 369
Asia 40, 246, 283
Assha 70, 70n167, 91
Astiruwas 128n182
Asu, see Asau
Aṣbat-lakunu 124, 303, 374
Atalur, Mt. (see also Lallar) 80–83, 85n23, 103–106, 106n109, n112, 278, 289, 295, 372, 373
Ataniya 220, 220n493
Atarshumki 93
Atlila, Dur-Ashur 301n5
Ayadi 280
Azalla, Izalla 70, 70n167, 262n85, 271n122
Azaz 97, 105, 106, 106n112, 115, 174, 208n446
Azmu 71

Baal, *Baʿal*, god 192, 194n405, 208
Baalbek 207
Baʾali-manzeri, Baʾali-manzi 186, 191, 194, 208, 247
Baʾali-raʾsi, Mt. 186, 187, 191, 192, 192n397, 194, 247, 284, 290
Baʾasa, son of Rehob/Ruhubi 157, 159–161, 159n289, 160n293, 312n14, 378, 378n5
Babil 274, 274n5
Babylon 52, 68n156, 246, 254, 294, 305n20, 337n7
Babylonia, Babylonian(s) 16, 31, 32n68, 34, 35, 37, 40–42, 41n87, 44, 46, 52, 66, 68n156, 154n263, 165, 165n314, 175n344, 189n382, 246, 254, 254n62, 270n118, 294, 307n35, 337n7, 338
Bahçe 200, 200n426, 201, 202n434
Baʾil 207, 208, 247, 285, 295
Balezoros, son of Ethbaal 194
Balih 69–71, 74, 91, 143, 144, 147, 150–152, 152n252, n257, 163, 227, 232, 260, 265, 302, 304, 377
Baqanu/i 31, 50, 233
Baru 247
Bashan 315
Beilan pass 200n426
Beirut 191
Bel (see also Marduk) 296n69, 369
Bel-bunaya 66, 326
Bel-liqbi 97
Bel-luballit 70n169, 326n21
Ben-Hadad 189 311, 311n13, 314, 315n21, 316
Berkilin Çay 282
Beth-Arbel 317n24
Beth-Rehob 160, 160n294, 161, 161n295, 312n14
Biqa 97, 160, 160n293, 191, 191n390, 207, 253n56, 320n38
Birecik 92, 92n54
Bit-Adini 2, 4, 16, 29, 33, 46, 49, 66, 70–76, 75n193, 78, 79, 85, 87, 88, 90–92, 91n49, 92n54, 94–96, 108, 111–113, 112n127, n128, 117, 120, 123, 126–128, 127n176, 130–132, 139–143, 140n220, 141n226, 148, 151, 179, 199n420, 227, 229, 231, 243, 255, 258n73, 260, 262–265, 288, 300, 302, 302n11, 307n34, 371
Bit-(A)gusi 4, 50, 66, 80, 81, 85, 88n35, 98, 99n82, 108–110, 112n128, 115, 115n142, 117–119, 128, 128n182, 153, 156, 163, 165–169, 172–174, 177, 185, 193n402, 219, 223n508, 233, 239, 239n26, 240, 240n31, 242–246, 244n41, 256, 260, 260n79, 263, 265, 267, 268, 270, 271, 278, 302, 303
Bit-A(m)ukani 34, 52, 245, 246, 258, 261, 270n118
Bit-Bahian 69, 199n420, 262n85, 307n34
Bit-Dakkuri 34, 50, 52, 233, 245, 246, 256, 258, 261, 263
Bit-Gabbar 193n402
Bit-Hamban 235
Bīt-Humri(a) 193, 193n402
Bit-Shakki 235
Bit-Shedi 235

Bit-Tamul 235
Bit-Zamani 72, 221, 264n88, 306, 375
BMH 199n422
Bolkar Dağ 203, 213, 259, 286
Borsippa 31
bt mps, mu-ka-sa-sa-na DOMUS-*ní-i* 205
Bunais 377
Bunisa 34, 232
Bur-Anate 96, 98, 372
Bur-Ramman 66
Burmar'ana, Burmaranna 74, 78, 79, 89–92, 89n38, 90n41, 242, 371
Butamu/e 81, 106, 106n112, 107, 230, 373
Byblos 73, 102, 157, 158n280, n282, 159, 206–208, 247, 285, 378

Calah 4, 9, 11, 11n5, 12, 17, 18, 21, 22, 22n36, 26, 27, 32, 34–38, 75, 203, 204, 221n500, 222, 240n27, 247, 258n73, 292n56, 327, 328, 331, 332, 340
Carchemish, Carchemishite 49, 51, 66, 69, 73–76, 78, 79, 85, 89, 89n38, 91, 92, 94–96, 94n61, 98, 108, 110, 112n128, 116–118, 117n149, 118n152, 120, 126, 126n172, 128, 128n182, 139, 140, 145n235, 153, 163, 165–168, 172, 173, 179, 185, 199n420, 210, 231, 239, 239n26, 240, 243, 244n41, 245, 255, 260, 261, 263, 263n85, n88, 265–268, 267n102, 268n111, 270, 271, 271n124, 306, 307n32, n34, 371–374, 378
Carmel, Mt. 192, 192n397, 284
Ceyhan, river 201, 205, 220
Chaldea, Chaldean(s) 19, 34, 35, 38, 40–42, 44, 50, 246, 251, 256, 261, 265–270, 266n98, 267n102, 270n118, 319, 337n8
Cilicia, Cilician 3, 97, 105n104, 157, 158, 197, 199–201, 203n436, 204, 204n437, 205, 214, 218n486, 219, 220, 220n493, 266, 285, 307n35
Cilician Gates 203n436, 214
Comana 200
Cypriote 267n103

Dabigu/i 49, 109–113, 109n122, 110n123, 111n125, 112n127, 113n129, 115–119, 244, 373
Dabiq 115
Dadi 61n130
Daiazuna 280
Damascus, Damascene 43, 48, 51, 63, 66, 144, 145, 147, 149, 157, 161n297, 162, 163, 166, 169–173, 180–182, 183n370, 186–191, 190n387, 191n390, 193, 194, 205–208, 223n506, 234, 235, 248, 253n56, 258n71, 271n122, 312, 312n14, 313, 315, 317, 317n25
Damdammusa 72, 301n4
Dan/Laish 160n294, 320
Danabi/u/a 63, 64, 66, 206–208, 208n446, 235
Danunians, *dnnym* 199, 199n422
Data 250, 328, 332
Datana 250
David 161n295, 309
Dayeni 19, 22, 30, 34, 35, 35n74, 37, 38, 40, 231, 240, 244, 246, 261, 279, 280n26, 283, 284, 284n35, 290, 375
Dayyan-Ashur 1n2, 26, 66, 135, 221, 221n500, 222, 222n503, 294n60, 321, 322, 325–329, 331–333, 332n30, n31, 377
Der 63, 63n133, 65n147, 66
Dihnunu, Mt. 78, 87, 88, 109, 113, 120, 371, 373, 374
Dilziau (see also Gilzau) 149, 162n303
Diyala 258n71
Diyarbakir 14n12, 72, 221
Dummetu 71
Dunna 213n469
Dur-Ashur, see Atlila

Ea 369
Edom 161n296
Egypt, Egyptian 33, 52, 157, 158, 158n280–n282, 191, 252–254, 252n55, 253n56, 254n60, 257, 264, 307n34, 340, 340n14, 378
Ehulhul 70
Elazig 279, 284
Elbistan 201, 211, 217
Elijah 192
Ellipi 247
Enzi, Enzite 19, 22, 30, 34, 35, 35n75, 37, 38, 40, 46, 167n319, 231, 234, 240, 244, 278, 279, 284, 289, 375, 376
Ereğli 213, 286

Ergani 72
Erine 168
Eritia, Ertia, Mt. 279–281, 289, 376
Esamul 235, 287
Esarhaddon 190n385, 209, 209n450, 286, 296, 296n69
Ethbaal I 103, 103n96, 194
Euphrates 1, 19, 22, 29, 32n68, 33, 35, 35n74, 36–40, 45, 66, 69–74, 69n157, 77, 78, 84, 85, 89–94, 90n41, 91n49, 93n59, 105n104, 109, 111, 112, 112n128, 114, 116, 117, 120–122, 123n162, 124–128, 127n179, 129n187, 130, 131n190, n191, 133, 134, 136–139, 136n202, 137n206, n207, 141, 143–145, 147, 150–152, 152n258, 163–168, 166n315, 170–172, 178, 180, 181n362, 183–187, 196–198, 206, 207, 210, 210n454, 214–216, 219, 222, 224, 237n23, 242, 244–249, 253, 253n56, 267, 268, 268n108, 271, 274, 279, 280n26, 283, 284, 284n35, 288, 290, 295, 297, 300–304, 320, 320n38, 335–341, 335n1, 337n6, n7, 338n10, 340n13, 341n17, n19, n20, 371, 373–375, 377, 378

Fort Shalmaneser 32, 33n69, 35–40, 136, 338

Gabbar 110, 153, 199n422, 243, 374, 378
Gaburisa 250
Galilee 192, 192n399
Gannanate 31, 233, 258n71
Ga'una/i 90, 242, 371
Gauraena 217
Gaza 295
Gaziantep 29, 93, 93n59, 105, 105n104, 115, 137, 179
Giammu 143–145, 147, 150, 151, 151n249, 152n254, 227, 377
Gilead 315
Gilzanu, Gilzanean 19, 22, 29, 29n60, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46, 50–52, 216, 240–242, 244, 250, 252, 255, 256, 258n73, 261, 262n82, 263–267, 267n102, 270, 276, 279–281, 289, 293, 295, 370, 376
Gilzau (see also Dilziau) 144, 146, 149, 156, 162, 162n303, 163n304, 378
Gindibu('u) 157, 159, 161, 378
Giri-Adad, Giri-dadi 90, 91, 242, 371
Gizuata 164n309
Gurgum, Gurgumite 75, 78, 90, 93–95, 94n60, 95n65, 109, 110, 117, 119, 128, 139, 153, 179, 185, 201, 240, 240n31, 242, 244, 245, 260, 263, 265, 266n98, 270, 305, 305n24, 306, 371, 378
Gürün 210, 217
Gusi (see also Arame/u) 98
Guzana 69, 69n165, 296, 305n22

Habhu, Haphu 63, 66, 72, 72n182, 91, 224, 274, 274n6, 295, 295n67, 308n36
Habinu/i 71, 90, 91, 142, 164, 164n309, 165, 242, 371
Habur, river 69, 69n157, 88, 253, 266n99, 274n6, 301, 304
Hadad 310, 311
Hadadezer 127n177, 159n286, 311n13
Hadi-lipushu, Ihtadi-libbushu 31, 66
Hakkari 276n15
Halab, Halman (see also Aleppo) 104, 105, 126, 144, 145, 147, 378
Halparuntiyas II 94n60
Hama (see also Hamath) 96n71
Hamadan 287
Hamath, Hamathite(s) 3, 4, 50, 51, 66, 106n112, 144, 145, 147, 149, 153, 154n263, 155–157, 155n267, 156n273, 162, 163, 166, 169–177, 173n333, 175n342, n344, 176n345, 177n350, 180–183, 183n369, n370, 185n374, 190, 190n387, 232–234, 240, 240n31, 256, 260, 260n79, 262, 265, 305, 307n32, 313, 316, 317, 378
Hamiyatas 140, 140n218
Hananu 129n188
Hanigalbat 69, 158n281, 253, 306, 340
Hapatila(s) 127n177, 140
Haphu, see Habhu
Harga 33, 241, 242, 261, 265, 270, 370
Harhara 287, 290
Harmasa 33, 241, 242, 261, 265, 270, 370

Harna 240, 250, 261, 262, 263n88
Harran 70, 70n169, n171, 88, 151, 296n69, 304
Harrana 250
Hasamu, Mt. 78, 87, 88, 109, 113, 120, 371, 373, 374
Hasshu(wa) 104, 105n104
Hatti 19, 22, 30, 33, 35–40, 42, 45–47, 74, 75, 80, 81, 83, 84, 86, 91, 103, 108, 110–113, 117, 127, 129, 135n198, 144, 145, 145n235, 147, 148, 152, 158n281, 172, 176n346, 181, 184, 185, 196–198, 206, 207, 210, 210n454, 214–216, 219, 220, 229, 241, 243, 245, 247–249, 252n52, 253, 277, 293, 300, 304, 307, 313, 340, 341, 372–374
Hattusili I 104
Hauran 186, 191, 191n391, 192, 208n445, 235
Hayanu/i 78, 95, 97, 109, 110, 117, 118, 118n153, 153, 199n422, 239, 243–245, 371, 372, 374, 378
Hazael 46, 48, 186–191, 189n384, 193, 193n403, 194, 206–208, 208n446, n447, 234, 235, 248, 310–320, 312n13–n15, 320n38
Hazazu 49, 80, 81, 97–99, 103, 104, 106–108, 106n111, 174, 230, 255, 278, 372, 373
Hazzanabi 235, 287
Helbon 271n122
Hermon, Mt. 160
Hilakku, Hiluka, Hilukaean 79, 96, 97, 372
Hindanu 274, 295, 295n67
Hittite 139, 140, 140n219, 200, 201, 216, 217, 220, 300, 304, 307, 307n35, 311n11, 378
Hubayu 66
Hubushka (error of Hubushna) 212, 248, 286
Hubushkia, Hubushkaean 19, 22, 29, 29n60, 30, 33, 35, 37, 38, 40, 41, 46, 66, 68, 142, 212n464, 227, 229–231, 240, 242, 244, 250, 258n73, 260, 262–264, 276, 276n15, 279, 280, 328, 332, 370, 376
Hubushna/i 212, 213, 221, 248, 265n93, 286, 287, 287n40, 305, 305n24
Hunusu 274n5
Huradi 245
Huzaza 97
Huzirina 46, 70, 91, 224, 304

Ibume (see also Upumu) 245
Ida 34, 232
Idlib 154n265, 173
Idrimi 105n104
Idu 301n5
Igigi 369
Ihtadi-libbushu, see Hadi-lipushu
Ilu-mukin-ahi 66
Imeri (see also Aram-Damascus) 44, 45, 176n346
Imgur-Enlil 15, 15n19
Immerina, Immerinaean 78, 79, 79n4, 90–92, 91n47, 242, 262, 371
India, Indian 268, 270n118
Irbid 317n24
Irhuleni/a, Irhulina, Urhileni 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 153, 155–157, 157n277, 166, 169–177, 175n342, n344, 177n350, n351, 180–182, 183n369, n370, 190, 190n387, 307n32, 313, 378
Irqata, Arqa 157, 158, 158n282, n283, 161, 162, 378
Ishtar 40, 41, 369
Ishtar of Arbela 47
Ishtar-emuqaya 72
Ishua 279, 375
Iskenderun 200n426, 202n434
Israel, Israelite 52, 157, 159, 162, 186, 192–194, 193n402, 247, 256, 265–267, 305n24, 309–318, 310n9, 312n15, 314n18, 315n19, n21, 317n24, 320, 378
Izalla, see Azalla

Jebel Ansariye 73n185
Jebel Aqra 101
Jehoahaz 314n17
Jehoash 314n17
Jehoram 193, 193n403, 194, 309, 310, 311n13, 313–319, 314n17, n18, 317n24, n25
Jehu 52, 186, 191–194, 193n402, 247, 251, 252n53, 256, 305n24, 310, 313, 314n17, n18, 315, 317–319
Jerablus (see also Carchemish) 89n38
Jezreel 192, 193
Jisr esh-Shughur 73n184, 154, 154n263, 156n274, 163, 174

Joram 193n400
Jordan, river 192
Judah, Judean 160n291, 161n296, 309, 310, 310n9, 314, 315, 317, 318, 320

Kadmuhu 69, 69n158, 301n5
Kaizu 102
Kaki(a) 230, 370, 376
Kanesh 104n99, 217
Kaprabi 71, 71n175, 75n193
Kar-Ashurnasirpal 71, 304
Kar-Shalmaneser (see also Til-barsip) 121, 124, 128, 129, 129n188, 143, 145, 152, 224, 224n512, 244, 374, 375, 378
Kara Su 95, 276
Karatepe 205
Kashiyari 69, 143, 179, 301n5, 340
Kate(a) 65, 96, 197–205, 199n424, 203n436, 204n437, 214, 218–220, 221n496, 235, 240n27, 247, 285, 308, 372
Katuwas 140
Kayseri 201n431, 210, 210n459, 211
Kenk Gorge 29, 92n54, 137, 137n205, 284n36, 288, 290, 292
Kermanshah 287
Kidudu 44, 45
Kikki 211, 211n462, 212, 248
Kilamuwa 199, 199n422, 307n35, 311n11
Kinablila 235, 287
Kinalia, Kinalua, Kullani(a), Kulnia, Kunulua 96, 98, 107, 222, 222n503, 249, 287, 290, 295
Kinihamanu 236
Kirri 199n424, 204, 220, 221n496, 308
Kirruri 279, 308n36, 376
Kisuatni 198, 200–202, 202n434, 204, 235, 285
Kit-la-la 151
Kizzuwatna 200–202, 200n427, 220
Kommagene (see also Kummuh) 70
Kuakinda 235, 287
Kulisi 50, 164n309
Kullani(a), Kulnia, see Kinalia
Kullar, Mt. 135n198
Kültepe 104n99, 217
Kululu 211
Kummanni 200
Kummuh, Kummuhite 70, 71, 78, 90, 92–94, 93n58, 95n65, 110, 118, 119, 126, 126n172, 128, 137, 139, 153, 179, 185, 210, 240, 240n32, 242, 243, 245, 263, 263n88, 265, 269, 270, 305n24, 307n32, 371, 374, 378
Kundashpi 153, 245, 378
Kunulua, see Kinalia
Kurbail 21, 22
Kurkh 14, 14n12, 15, 72, 72n179, 274n12, 287, 288
Kurt Dağ 105, 106n109, 278
Kuruṣṣā 222, 223, 223n506

Labnana (see also Lebanon) 45
Lagash 297
Lahiri 233
La(hu)wazantiya 200–202
Laish, see Dan
Lakarma, *Lá-kar-ma* 106n108, 216, 217n484
La'la'te 78, 79, 88, 90n41, 113n131, 371
Lalla/i 153, 183, 210, 210n454, 214–217, 245, 246, 249, 284, 378
Lallar, Mt. (see also Atalur) 33, 36, 40, 83–87, 85n23, 105, 105n107, 106n109, 278
Lamena(sh) 220, 220n493, n494, 235
Lamiya 220n493
Laqe 71, 151
Laruba 207–209, 248
Latakia 73n185, 101, 103, 159n283, 163, 277
Lebanon, Mt. (see also Labnana) 22, 73, 73n185, 74, 186, 190, 191, 194, 195, 195n410, 206, 207, 253n56, 270n120, 273, 274n5, 284, 285, 290, 294, 294n63, 295
Lita-Ashur, *Lit(a)-Aššur* 124, 302, 374
Lower Zab, river 276n15
Lubarna 73n184, 75, 80, 103, 107, 107n116, 222, 223, 223n504, 252n52, 278, 372
Luhute/u 45, 73, 176n346
Lusanda 198, 200–202, 202n434, 204, 235, 285
Lutibu 78, 95–97, 107, 230, 262, 371
Luwana 220

Ma'aret en-Na'man 154n265
Madahisa/[M]alhisa 250
Magan 270n119, 298

Magdubi 250
Mahallatu 102
Maizu 102
Malaha/i 47, 48, 63, 64, 66, 206, 207, 235
Malatia 71, 183, 210, 217, 284
Malatia Dağlari 210, 216
Mallanu 72, 72n182, 301n5
Mama 104n99, 295
Manna(i) 62, 63, 66, 224, 236, 250, 263
Maraş 94, 94n60, 104n99, 201, 201n431
Marduk (see also Bel) 68n156
Marduk-apla-uṣur 52, 175n344, 257
Marduk-bel-usate 34
Marduk-mudammiq 48, 227, 234
Marduk-zakir-shumi 33n68, 34, 165, 254, 337n7
Mari 273, 298
Marina 74, 75
Marqasi 94n60
Maruba, *Ma'rubbu* 207, 209, 285, 286, 290, 295
Masuwari 127n177, 140, 140n218, 141
Mati'il 307n35
Matinu-Ba'ali 157, 378
Matyatu/i 66, 179, 179n359, 234, 274, 338n10, 340, 340n16
Mazamua (see also Zamua) 66, 130, 131, 134, 135n198, 138, 167n319, 263n88, 377
Media 290
Mediterranean (sea) 28, 30, 34n71, 36, 36n77, 39, 42n88, 51n114, 66, 71–75, 73n185, 75n191, 77, 99–103, 99n83, 101n89, n90, 104n98, 117n149, 163n304, 192, 194, 199, 209, 242, 273, 277, 289, 292–294, 294n63, 297, 298, 298n80, 304, 307n34, 335
Melid, Melidite 19, 22, 35n75, 40, 44, 45, 63, 66, 71, 75, 153, 167n319, 183, 201, 203n436, 210, 210n453, n454, 211, 211n459, 214–217, 219n488, 221, 235, 240, 240n31, 245, 246, 248, 249, 262, 265, 266, 284, 305, 320, 378
Membij 115n142, 126, 137n207, 185
Merhisu, Mt. 375
Mesha 315, 315n19
Messi 287
Meturnat 233
Misis 203, 205, 220
Misis Dağ 205
Mişri, see Muṣri
Moab, Moabite 161, 161n301, 314, 315, 315n19
Muli, Mt. 46, 202, 203, 204n437, 212, 213, 213n473, 259, 286, 287, 290
Muquru 306
Murat Su 221, 279
Muru 219, 223, 223n508, 301n5, 302, 302n7, n8, 303
Murua 219n490
Mushallim-Marduk 34, 52, 245, 258
Mushezib-Ninurta 304, 305n20
Muṣaṣir 29, 29n60, 30, 280, 280n26, 328
Muṣri, Meṣri, Mişri (see also Egypt) 33, 52, 158, 158n281, n282, 159, 252–254, 252n55, 257, 340n14
^{kur}*Mu-ṣu-ru-na* 158n282, 209
Mutalli/u 90, 94, 94n60, 109, 117, 242, 244, 371
Mutkinu 121, 122, 127, 128, 302, 302n7, n9, 375
Muwatalis 94n60

Nabonidus 70
Nabu 296, 296n69
Nahr el-Kalb 191, 192, 192n395, 195n411, 287n42
Nairi 16, 19, 22, 28–31, 33, 34n71, 35, 37–40, 44, 49, 66, 68, 68n155, 71, 142, 164, 230, 241, 245, 262, 262n85, 275, 276, 279–281, 281n27, 289, 291, 293, 297, 298, 301n4, 306, 308, 308n36, 338n10, 376
Namdanu, Mt. 375
Namri 19, 22, 41, 45, 46, 48, 63, 65, 66, 205, 218, 224, 227, 234, 235, 249, 258n73, 260, 262, 265, 308n37, 338n10, 370
Namrite, river 234
Nappigi 121, 122, 124, 126, 137n207, 168, 301n4, 302, 302n8, n9, 303, 374
Naram-Sin 297
Naṣibina 69, 69n161
Neo-Hittite 3, 127n177, 139–141, 140n220, 179, 215
Nergal 48, 148n241, 162, 371, 377, 378
Nergal-alik-pani 66
Nergal-eresh 331

Nergal-ilaya 61n129, 66
Nergal-mudammiq 65n145, 66
Nibarti-Ashur 71, 304
Nikdeme 377
Nikdera 34, 232, 377
Nimet-Ishtar 17
Nimrud (see also Calah) 11
Nineveh 14n13, 17, 40, 60, 67n153, 69, 78, 87, 109, 111, 113, 114, 120, 122, 123, 125, 125n168, 130, 133–135, 138, 143, 144, 147, 150, 170, 171, 178, 259n73, 274n5, 371, 374, 377
Ninni 370
Ninuaya 139
Ninurta 11n5, 32, 148, 149n244, 296n69
Ninurta-ilaya 66
Ninurta-kibsi-uṣur 66
Ninurta-mukin-nishi 66
Ninurta-nadin-shumi 66
Niqqu 234
Nirbu 72
Nirdun 72
Nishtun 274n6
Nubia, Nubian 262, 262n83
Nulia 81, 106, 106n112, 107, 230, 373
Nusaibin 69
Nuzi 155n267

Oman 270n118
Omri 191, 193, 193n402, 315n19, 316
Omride dynasty 193n402
Orontes 79, 96, 97, 101, 103, 104, 144, 147–150, 154–156, 154n263, 162, 173, 174, 188, 223n508, 277, 304, 372, 379
Osorkon II 254

Paddira 250
Pahri, *pʿr*, *pa-há-ra/i-wa/i-ní-zi* 203–205, 203n436, 220, 247
Pala[. . .], Mt. 214, 216
palû, concept of 66
Paqar(a)hubuni, Paqar(r)uhbuni, Paqirahubna 66, 78, 90, 92–94, 93n55, n59, 128, 128n182, 137, 138n203, 139, 178, 179, 233, 371
Parga 144, 145, 153, 153n262, 154n264, n265, 155, 176n344, 232, 378
Paripa 109, 115n142, 373
Parsua 41, 63, 65, 66, 224, 236, 249, 250, 262
Patin, Patinean(s) 33n70, 49, 51, 52, 63n135, 66, 73, 73n184, 75, 78–82, 85, 95, 95n61, 96, 96n69, n71, 98–100, 103, 106–110, 106n111, 112n128, 117, 118, 118n152, n153, 128, 153, 154n263, 156, 158, 170, 174, 176n345, 177, 185, 193n402, 199n420, 221–224, 223n507, 227, 229, 230, 239, 239n26, 240, 242, 243, 245, 246, 249, 252, 252n52, 255, 257, 258n73, 260–263, 262n85, 263n88, 265–271, 267n102, n103, 271n124, 278, 287, 289, 290, 295, 305, 306, 307n32, n34, 308, 320, 320n38, 371–373, 378
Persian Gulf 42n88, 297
Philistia 161n296, 320
Phoenicia, Phoenician 51n114, 73, 75, 102, 157–159, 158n282, 161, 185n374, 187, 194n405, n407, 195, 199, 208, 209, 253, 253n56, 268, 268n108, 269, 269n113, n114, 305, 307n34
Pihirim 96, 372
Pitru (see also Ana-Ashur-uter-aṣbat) 121–123, 123n163, 127, 127n177, 168, 184, 301n5, 302, 302n7, n9, 374, 378
Puhame 212, 213, 248, 286
Puran(a), river 104, 105n104
Pushtu 236

Qalparunda, Qalparudda 33, 33n69, 34, 52, 52n118, 94n60, 107, 108n116, 109, 110, 117, 118, 118n153, 153, 170, 172n330, 177, 223n504, 239, 243–246, 252, 252n52, 257, 373, 378
Qarqar(a) 50, 143–150, 153–156, 153n262, 154n263, n265, 156n273, 162, 163, 163n304, 174n340, 175n344, 182, 189n381, 232, 254, 256, 262, 312–315, 312n14, 378
Qaruz 151n250
Qatazili/u 91, 110, 118, 119, 242, 243, 371, 374
Qibit-[. . .] 124, 303, 374
Qipani 70, 70n167

Que, Quean 3, 25, 43n89, 44–46, 45n100, 51, 62–67, 65n147, 79, 95n61, 96, 97, 157, 157n279, 197–205, 199n422, n424, 202n435, 203n436, 204n439, 218, 219, 221, 235, 240, 240n27, n31, 247, 249, 258n73, 261, 263, 265, 266, 285, 290, 305–308, 320, 372
Qumanu 274n5
Qurdi-Ashur 66
Quweiq, river 115, 116, 128, 128n182, 155, 177n354

Ramoth-Gilead 193, 310, 313, 314n17, 316–320, 317n24
Ras en-Naqura 192, 192n397, 284
Riha 154n265, 173
royal hunt(ing) 18, 67, 185n375
Rudamu 175n344
Rugulitu, Rugulutu 74, 121, 122, 124, 126, 301n4, 302, 302n8, n9, 303, 374

Sahlala 143, 145, 150, 151n250, 152n257, 226, 232, 302, 304, 377, 378
Sajur, river 91, 93, 93n59, 94, 115–117, 115n138, 121, 123, 126–128, 127n179, 128n182, 145n235, 375, 378
Sakçagözü 95, 95n65
Saluara, river 78, 86, 95, 97, 276, 289, 295, 297n76, 372
Saluria 278, 279, 295, 375
Sam'al, Sam'alite 4, 78, 79, 94–96, 94n61, 95n65, 108–110, 117, 118, 128, 153, 158, 185, 193n402, 199, 199n422, 230, 239, 239n26, 240, 243–245, 261–263, 263n88, 265–267, 269, 276, 306, 307n32, n35, 311n11, 371, 372
Samanuha-shar-ilani 304, 305n20
Samaria 315n21, 316
Samos 320n38
Samsat 70, 137
Sangar(a) 49, 74, 74n187, 92, 95, 110, 116–118, 117n149, 118n153, 153, 166, 166n316, 170, 171, 243, 245, 255, 371–374, 378
Sangibuti 280
Sanir(u), Mt. 186, 190, 206, 207
Sapalulme 79, 95, 96, 96n69, 107, 108n116, 371, 372
Saraku 301n5
Sarduri I 221, 223n507, 236
Sarduri II 93n58
Sargon II 67n153, 97, 190, 190n387, 217, 279, 280, 280n26, 307n32, n35
Sargon of Akkad 273, 297
Sarug, Sarugaean 70, 74, 78, 79, 79n4, 90–92, 91n42, 182, 183n369, 242, 263, 371
Saruj 70
Saruna 115
Sasi 222, 223, 308
Sattiwaza 115, 115n140
Sazabe/a 74, 110, 116–118, 231, 373
Sea Land 245
Senir, Mt. 190
Sennacherib 217
Seyhan, river 200, 201
Shadikanni 304
Shalahamanu 236
Shalman 317n24
Shalmaneser's residence 258n73
Shamash 276, 296, 369, 372
Shamash-abua 66, 69n162
Shamash-belu-uṣur 34, 37, 38, 66
Shamash/Sas-nuri 70n165, 305n22
Shamshi-Adad I 273
Shamshi-Adad V 165, 182, 224, 224n512
Shamshi-ilu 129, 129n188
Shapiya 270n118
Sharru-balti-nishi 66
Sharru-hatti-ipel 61n129, 66
Shashgana 250
Shattuara 306
Shep-sharri 66
Sher 47, 207
Shian(u), Shianite, Sian(n)u 157–159, 158n282, 159n283, 161, 161n301, 378
Shilaya 227, 231, 376
Shitamrat 29, 29n58, 92n54, 121, 126, 131, 131n191, 133–139, 137n205, n207, 138n208, 141, 141n226, 228n10, 231, 288, 377
Shubat-Enlil 87
Shubria, Shubre 34, 50, 66, 72, 143, 143n234, 245, 256, 260–262, 260n79, 326n19
Shullusunu 250
Shulmu-beli-lamur 66
Shumurza 234
Shura 72
Shurdira 234
Sian(n)u, see Shian(u)

Sidon, Sidonian(s) 33, 49, 50, 51n114, 73, 75, 102, 102n94, 158n281, n282, 186, 187, 194, 206–209, 209n450, 247, 253, 255, 256, 265–269, 267n102, 268n108, 285, 286, 340
Sihishalah 235
Sikanu/i 69, 70n165, 305, 305n22
Simera 33, 241, 242, 261, 265, 270, 370
Simesa/i 241, 242, 261, 265, 270, 370
Sin 296n69, 369
Sinabu 72
Sirish(a) 33, 241, 242, 261, 265, 270, 370
kur*Sir-ʾ-la-a-a* 157n275
Sua 52, 252, 252n53, 256, 375
Subi 280
Subnat river 274, 274n5
Succoth 315n21
Sugunia 33, 49, 68, 230, 242, 255, 276, 370
Suhis 140
Suhme, Suhni/a 19, 22, 30, 34, 35, 38, 40, 41, 167n319, 234, 240, 244, 279, 375
Suhu, Suhian 52, 195n410, 252–254, 253n56, 254n61, n62, 257, 257n70, 265, 267, 268, 268n108
Sultantepe 46, 60, 70, 91
Sunassura 220, 220n493
Suppiluliuma 115, 115n140, 220, 220n493
Surri 222, 222n502, 223, 223n505, 308
Suru 71, 274
Surunu 109, 115, 373
Syrian desert 253n56
Ṣimirra, Ṣumur, Ṣamuru 158n282, 160n291, n292, 195, 209n449
Ṣubat 97
Ṣumur, see Ṣimirra
Š'L 199n422

Tab-belu 59, 66
Tab-Ninurta 66
Tabal, Tabalian 44–46, 45n100, 63, 66, 201–205, 204n439, 209–211, 210n456, 211n463, 214, 215, 217, 219n488, 221, 240, 240n31, 248, 249, 262, 265n93, 305, 320
Tagarimmu, see Tegarama
Tagi 109, 115n142, 373
Tahtali Dağ 211
Taklak-ana-sharri 17, 66
Tamannu 306
Tanakun 219, 220, 249
Tarbiṣu 305n20
Tarhunazas 213n473
Tarhunazi 217
Tarsus, Tarzi 204, 220, 249
Tashmetu 296n69
Tatmarash 177
Taurus, Mts. 201, 209, 259, 262, 265, 266
Taya 80, 81, 99, 103, 230, 372, 373
Tegarama, Tagarimmu (see also Til-garimmu) 105n108, 215–217, 216n476, 249
Tel Dan 4, 193n403, 309
Tell Ahmar 28, 88, 89, 130n188, 139, 140, 140n218
Tell Ajaja (Arban) 304
Tell Arane 168
Tell Bashir 115, 115n138, n141
Tell Fekherye 69, 70n165, 305
Tell Halaf 69
Tell Hama 154n263, 175n344
Tell Leilan 87
Tell Qarqur 154, 312
Tell Rifat 93n59, 98, 108, 115, 126, 168, 177
Tell Shiukh Fawqani 89, 91
Tell Taynat 96, 96n71, 222, 287
Terah, father of Abraham 152n252
Thutmosis III 108n117, 192n397, 201
Tidu 14n12, 72, 72n179
Tiglath-pileser I 67n152, 68, 101, 121, 122, 127, 127n177, 186, 191, 194, 195, 195n409–n411, 225, 270n120, 273, 274n5, n9, 282, 285, 294, 294n63, 295, 306, 375
Tiglath-pileser II 195n409, 274n5
Tiglath-pileser III 67n153, 115, 115n140, n142, 126n174, 137n207, 158n282, 173, 210n456, 213n473, 219n490, 223n506, 270n118, n120, 295, 300, 301, 302n12, 308, 323
Tigris 14, 15, 19, 22, 30, 34–36, 38, 40, 45, 50, 66, 69, 71, 78, 87, 91, 109, 120, 131, 131n190, 137n202, 138, 143, 145, 150, 164, 164n309, n310, 180, 183, 274, 274n5, n12, 281–283, 288, 289, 291–293, 291n49, 297–299, 297n76, 337n7, 340, 371, 373, 374, 377

Til-abne, Til-abnean 66, 70–72, 70n168, 78, 79, 79n4, 90–92, 142, 163–165, 164n309, 216n479, 224, 242, 263, 265, 270, 271n122, 302, 304, 337n7, 371
Til-barsip (see also Kar-Shalmaneser) 28, 47, 78, 79, 88–92, 88n35, 94, 109, 111–116, 113n131, 114n136, 120–126, 124n165, 125n170, 126n173, 127n177, 128–134, 129n186, n188, 136, 136n201, 137–143, 141n226, 152, 165, 216n479, 224, 301n4, n5, 302–304, 302n8, n9, 308, 337n6, 371, 373, 374, 377
Til-bashere/a 109, 109n121, 110, 115, 115n138, 116n143, n148, 216n479, 231, 258n71, 373
Til-garimmu (see also Tegarama) 106n108, 216, 216n479
Til-(sha-)turahi 143–145, 147, 150, 152, 216n479, 226, 232, 301n5, 302, 302n10, n11, 304, 377
Tiluli 69
Timur, city 219, 219n488, 235
Timur, Mt. 210, 211
Togarma 106n108, 216
Tohma Su 210, 211n459, 217
Transjordan 315, 315n21, 317n24, 320
Tuatti 210–212, 211n462, 217, 248
Tugliash 41, 247
Tuhana 213n473
Tukulti-Ninurta I 306
Tukulti-Ninurta II 67n152, 78n1, 225, 237n23, 274, 274n5, n9, 301, 301n5, 306, 369
Tulli 219, 220, 221n496, 249, 261
Tumme 22
Tunni, Mt. 46, 202, 203, 204n437, 212, 213, 259, 265n93, 286, 287, 290
Tushha(n) 14n12, 72, 274, 301n5
Tyre, Tyrian(s) 33, 49, 50, 51n114, 73, 75, 102, 103, 103n95, n97, 158n281, n282, 161n296, 186, 187, 192, 192n395, 194, 194n407, 195, 206–209, 209n450, 247, 253, 255, 256, 265–269, 267n102, 268n108, 284, 285, 290, 305n24, 315, 340

Uayais 280
Udaki 236
Udu 72, 301n5
Uetash 214–216, 235, 249
Ugarit 155n267
Ulluba 63, 66, 224
Ulmani 241, 242, 261, 265, 270, 370
Ulmasa 33
Ululaya 66
Unqi (see also Patin) 33, 33n70, 34, 49, 51, 52, 63, 63n135, 66, 96, 96n71, 106n111, 109, 110, 117, 193n402, 244, 246, 255, 257, 261, 263, 270, 320, 320n38
Upper Zab, river 252n55, 276n15
Upu 250, 252
Upumu (see also Ibume) 50, 143n234
Uqumenu 306
Urartu, Urartian(s) 16, 16n20, 22, 29, 30, 34, 34n71, 46, 47, 49–51, 63, 66, 68, 93n58, 120–123, 125, 129, 131, 141n222, 183, 221, 223n507, 231, 236, 240, 244, 249, 250, 255, 258n71, 260–262, 260n79, 264, 265, 276, 279, 279n23, 280n26, 370, 375, 376
Uratamis 155n267, 175n342, n344
Urballa 213n473
Urfa 91, 91n49, 165
Urhileni, see Irhuleni/a
Urime 80, 81, 103, 107, 108, 108n117, 278, 289, 372
Urmia, lake 28, 34n71, 42n88, 68, 68n155, 276, 276n16, 279–281, 280n26, 281n27, 294, 297
URU ^{m}*Aššur-nāṣir-apli* 274n6
Urumu 72
Usanat 157, 158, 159n283, 378
Ushpilulme 93
Usnu 158n282, 159n283
Uzunuglantepe 205n443, 285, 287n42
Uzzal 271n122

Van, lake 34n71, 42n88, 276, 279–281, 280n26, 284

Warpalawas 213n473
Warshama 104n99
Washtal 375
Wasu-Sarmas, Wassurme 210, 210n456
wa/i-ta$_4$-sà-ti-ni(REGIO) 96n71

Yahalu 52, 62, 66, 321, 323–325, 323n6
Yahan, Yahanean, Ahan 73, 79, 96, 98, 98n80, 108, 118, 193n402, 372

Yahdun-Lim 273, 298
Yaligu, see Alligu
Yanziburiash 234
Yanzu 142, 235
Yaraqu, Mt. 170, 171, 173, 174
Yasbuq, Yasbuqean 79, 96–98, 98n78, n82, 372
Yatu, see Matyatu
Yaua, "son of Humri" (see also Jehu) 52
Yesemek 95, 95n65

Zab, river, see Lower Zab and Upper Zab
Zabedani 207
Zagros 184, 218, 261, 262, 265, 271, 308
Zalpah 151
Zamua (see also Mazamua) 35, 259n73, 308n36
Zamua, Inner 16, 38, 40
Zanziun(a) 244, 261, 263, 279, 376
Zapparia 328
Zaqqu 301n5
Zarunti, Zarna 104, 105n104
Zencirli 95, 95n65, n68, 276
Zuqarri 184, 185, 196

[. . .]agda 50, 169, 256
[. . .]bira 250
[. . .]ga 109, 373
[. . .]inzini, Mt. 210, 216, 248
[. . .]sumu, Mt. 375

INDEX OF SOURCES

A. *Inscriptions of Shalmaneser III*

(See above Part I, 1 [pp. 9–55] for references to RIMA 3 and other publications)

Annals 1 (Calah Stone Tablet, One Year Annals) 4, 7, 9, 11–14, 13n10, 17, 32, 43n91, 53–55, 67n153, 78–87, 78n2, 79n4, 82n11, 83n17, 88n35, 90n39, 91n42, n44, 99–101, 100n85, 101n90, 103, 105, 106, 106n109, 134n198, 142, 179, 238, 277, 288, 288n44, 289, 293, 342

- 1–14 28
- 1–r. 33a 342–358, 369–372
- 15–42 68n155
- 21 230
- 32–33 230
- 36 230
- 37–40 275
- 41–42 241
- 42–43 87n27
- 42b–r. 33a 78
- 42b–r. 46 77
- 44 88n33
- 46 88n35, 122n160, 142n228
- 46–49 89n36
- 49 132n193
- 49–51 89n37
- 51 90n41
- 51–r. 1 242
- 51b–r. 3 90
- 54 157n279
- r. 3 242
- r. 4 179n357
- r. 4–6 93n55
- r. 7 94n60, 179n357
- r. 7–9 94n60
- r. 8 94n60
- r. 8–9 242
- r. 9 94n60
- r. 9b–33a 79
- r. 10–20 95n62
- r. 18–19 230
- r. 20–23 95n67, 276
- r. 21 79n3
- r. 23–33 96n70
- r. 27 157n279
- r. 28–29 96n74
- r. 30–31 230
- r. 33ff. 14
- r. 33b–37a 99
- r. 33b–46 79
- r. 33b–47 359, 372, 373
- r. 34 101n89
- r. 34–37 277
- r. 37–47 103
- r. 38 259
- r. 38–40 82n11
- r. 39–40 278
- r. 40–42 107, 278
- r. 42 230
- r. 42–44 107, 278
- r. 44–46 242, 278
- r. 46 (= l. 98 in RIMA 3) 84n19, 108, 229

Annals 2 (Calah Stone Tablet, Two Year Annals) 4, 11n5, 12, 12n6, 13, 17, 32, 43n91, 53–55, 79, 79n3–n5, 82, 89, 108, 109n120, 110–112, 110n123, 111n126, 116n144, 238, 277n17, 289

- 14–40 68n155
- 17–19 241
- 26–27 230
- 28–29 242
- 31 230
- 33–37 275
- 38–40 241
- 39 264n89
- 41–42 100
- 41–45 78, 79
- 41–82'a 77
- 42–43 88n33
- 42–46 90n41
- 43–45 242
- 45 90n40
- 46–52' 79
- 53' 94n60
- 53'–62' 95n62

61' 230
63'–64' 95n67, 276
65'–72' 96n70
68' 157n279
70' 230
73'–75' 99n83, n84
73'–81' 79, 79n7
76' 277
78' 79n7
82'–84' 113n130
82'–85' 109
82'–95' 108
83'–84' 132n193
86'–89' 109, 116
86'–92' 115n137
86'–95' 109
88' 231
89' 116
89'b–90'a 109n121
90'–91' 109n122
90'–95' 117
93' 94n60
93'–95' 117, 244

Annals 3 (Kurkh Monolith) 2, 7, 9, 11n5, 13–15, 13n10, 17, 32, 43n91, 53–55, 72n179, 78, 79, 79n4, n7, 81–83, 85–87, 90n39, 91n44, 99, 100, 100n85, 105, 106, 106n109, n112, 108, 109n120, 110–112, 110n123, 114, 120–122, 123n163, 125, 127, 129n186, n187, 130, 132–136, 133n195, 134n198, 136n200–n203, 139n211, 142, 143, 143n234, 145, 146, 146n237, 148, 148n241, 149, 153n260, 155, 156, 179, 238, 277, 277n17, 288, 288n43, n44, 289, 293n59, 312n11, 315, 326n19, 337n6, 342, 380
i 1–12 28
i 1–ii 5 342–358, 369–372
i 14–29 68n155
i 16 230
i 17–18 241
i 22–23 230
i 23 242
i 25 230
i 26–27 275
i 28 241
i 29–30 87n27
i 29–ii 5a 78
i 29–ii 13 77
i 30–31 88n33
i 31 122n160
i 31–32 88n35
i 32–33 88n36
i 33 88n35, 114, 132n193
i 34–35 88n37
i 35 90n41, 91n42
i 35–36 242
i 35b–37 90
i 37 179n357
i 37–38 93n55, 242
i 40 179n357
i 40–41 94n60, 242
i 40–42 94n60
i 41b–ii 5a 79
i 42–48 95n62
i 43–45 14n13
i 47–48 230
i 49–50 79
i 49–51 95n67, 276
i 51–ii 5 96n70
i 54 96n74
ii 2–3 230
ii 5–6 100
ii 5–8 99
ii 5–12 79n7
ii 5–13 80
ii 5ff. 14
ii 5b–13 79
ii 5b–102 359–369, 373–379
ii 6 100n86
ii 6–8 99n83
ii 7 101, 242
ii 7–8 277
ii 9 259
ii 9–10 82n11, 278
ii 11 106, 230
ii 11–12 107
ii 13 242, 243n38
ii 13–15 113n130
ii 13b–16a 109
ii 13b–30a 108
ii 14 122n160, 142n228
ii 15 124n165
ii 15–16 114n132, 132n193
ii 16–18 115n137
ii 16b–30a 109
ii 17 109n121
ii 18 231
ii 18–19 116
ii 18–20 117n149
ii 20 231
ii 20–21 117
ii 21–30 118

ii 21ff. 243
ii 23–24 118n152
ii 24ff. 243
ii 26–27 118n152
ii 27 243
ii 27ff. 243
ii 29–30 118n152, 119n155, 243
ii 30 128n184
ii 30–66a 120
ii 30b–31 123n164
ii 31 122n160, 132n193, 142n228, 303n15
ii 31b 120n157
ii 31b–35 124
ii 33 126, 132n193
ii 33–34 301n4
ii 33–35 126n173
ii 33–36 14n13
ii 34 302n8, 302n9
ii 35–38 127n177
ii 36 127
ii 37 128
ii 38 121n159, 127n177, 302n7, 302n9
ii 39–40 128n183
ii 39ff. 244
ii 42–44 14n13, 278
ii 43–44 231
ii 47 231
ii 50–51 231
ii 54–56 279
ii 55–56 279n22
ii 57–58 244
ii 58–60 280
ii 60–63 281
ii 61–62 244
ii 62 216
ii 64–65 231
ii 66–69 125
ii 66b–69a 12n6, 114, 121, 124n166, 130
ii 67 114b134, 142n228
ii 69 141n224
ii 69–70 137n204
ii 69b–78a 130
ii 71–75 138
ii 73 141n223
ii 74 231
ii 75 131n190
ii 78–79 150n243
ii 78b–81a 150
ii 78b–102 143
ii 80 151n252, 302n10
ii 81 152n257, 227, 232
ii 81–86 152n258
ii 82 152n258, 337n6
ii 82–86 127, 245
ii 85 127n179
ii 86–87 153n261, 245
ii 87b–90a 153
ii 88 155n267
ii 88–89 232
ii 90–95 160n291
ii 90b–95a 156
ii 90b–97 156
ii 91 155n267
ii 92 193n402
ii 93 161n301
ii 95 157
ii 96b–102 162
ii 97 148, 163
ii 101–102 232

Annals 4 (Balawat Gate Inscription) 11n5, 15–16, 43n91, 48, 50, 53–55, 82–84, 83n17, 86, 87n25, 101, 114b133, 121, 130–136, 133n195, 136n200, n201, n203, 176n350, 238, 289, 293, 335n1
ii 2c–5a 83
ii 3 84n18, 108n118, 229, 278
ii 3b–5a 99n83
ii 4 102n92, 242
ii 4–5 277
ii 5–iii 3 120
iii 2 231
iii 3b–4 121, 132
iii 4 137n204, 141n224, 258n71
iii 5 139, 139n211, 141n225
iii 5–6 132, 231, 302n11
iii 6 139n211
iv 1–vi 8 165n314
iv 3 233
iv 4–5 258n71
iv 6 233, 337n8
v 2 233
v 2–3 233
vi 6 233
vi 7 245
vi 7–8 245

Annals 5 (16 Year Annals) 9, 12n6, 16–20, 18n25, 19n29, 25n47, 26, 43n91, 53–55, 67, 83n15, 84, 85, 85n23, 109n122, 111–113, 112n128, 113n129, 120–123, 125, 129n187, 130, 134, 134n197, 135, 136n203, 143, 145–150, 146n238, 148n241, 164, 167, 167n318, 170, 171, 178, 180, 238, 282, 282n33, 283n34, 289, 308n36, 333, 335, 336, 338
- i 17 236
- i 28–41 68n155
- i 30 230
- i 37–38 230
- i 39–40 275
- i 41 241
- i 42 101n89
- i 42–48 84
- i 42b–43 99n83
- i 43 277
- i 44 259
- i 45 278
- i 46–48 112n128
- i 49–51 113n130
- i 49–56 111
- i 51 114n132, 132n193
- i 51–52 115n137
- i 52 111n125
- i 55–56 244
- i 57–58 124n166
- i 57–59 125n168
- i 57–61 125
- i 57–ii 2 121
- i 58 142n228
- i 59–60 127n178
- i 59–61 132n193, 301n5
- i 59ff. 127n177
- i 68 231
- i 72 231
- ii 3–5 138n209
- ii 3–15 134
- ii 5 141n224, 277n18
- ii 5–6 137n204
- ii 7 139n211, 141n225
- ii 7–9 231, 302n11
- ii 8 139, 139n211
- ii 10 134n198, 258n73
- ii 10–15 177n353
- ii 16–18 143n234
- ii 18 245
- ii 19–33 144
- ii 22 151n252, 152n256, 301n5
- ii 23 152n257–258
- ii 24 245
- ii 25–26 153n261
- ii 27 155n267
- ii 27–32 169
- ii 30 163n306
- ii 31–32 232
- ii 32 163n305
- ii 33 163n308
- ii 34–36 164
- ii 34–40 164
- ii 40 245
- ii 41–54 165n314
- ii 52–54 246
- ii 55–60 167n321
- ii 55–67 166
- ii 60 233
- ii 60–67 169
- ii 61 155n267
- ii 65–66 233
- ii 68–71 173n331
- ii 68–iii 15 170
- ii 71–iii 10 173n333
- iii 2 170n327
- iii 2–3 233
- iii 4 155n267
- iii 9–10 233
- iii 12 170n328
- iii 12–14 246
- iii 15 259
- iii 16–20 178
- iii 19–20 233
- iii 21–23 340n16
- iii 23 234
- iii 24–33 180
- iii 24b–26a 181n362
- iii 27 155n267
- iii 31–33 234
- iii 34–38 283
- iii 34–57 183n371
- iii 41–45 283
- iii 44 246
- iii 49 234
- iii 53 234
- iii 54–57 284
- iii 55–56 246
- iii 58 258n73
- iii 58–iv 25 184n372
- iv 1–2 234
- iv 12 234
- iv 18–21a 227
- iv 18–21 234
- iv 21–23 247
- iv 37–39 303

iv 40–44 185n375
iv 47 261

Annals 6 (Bull Inscription) 11n5, 16n22, 17–20, 18n25, 22n35, 53–56, 120, 130, 134, 134n198, 135, 143, 145–150, 146n238, 164, 167, 170, 171, 178, 180, 185, 187, 238, 282, 282n33, 283n34, 289, 335, 336, 338
12–13 236
41–52 185
42–52 190n388
50–52 234
56–60 120, 122n161
60f. 134n197
60b–66a 134
61 141n224
62 141n225
63–64 134n198
66b–67a 143n234
67b–74 144
68 151n252
69 152n256, n257, 301n5
69–70 152n258, 245
71 155n267
71–74 169
73 163n306
74 163n305, n308
74–75 232
75–78a 164
77–78 245
78b–84a 165n314
83–84 246
84b–89 166
85–87 167n321
87 155n267, 233
87–89 169
89 233
90 173n331
90–96a 170
91–94 173n333
92 155n267, 170n327, 233
94 233
94–96 177n353
95 170n328
95 246
96b–98a 178
98 233
98b–99a 340n16
99 234
99b–100a 181n362
99b–102a 180
100 155n267
102 234
102b–107 183n371
103–104 283
105–106 283
106 246

Annals 7 (20 Year Annals) 9, 12n6, 17, 19–24, 19n29, 25n47, 26, 27, 41n87, 43, 43n91, 53–56, 67, 83n15, 84, 85, 120, 122, 123, 123n163, 125n168, n170, 129n187, 130, 134, 135, 143, 147–149, 164, 166, 167, 167n318, 170–172, 171n329, 178, 179n356, 180, 184, 186, 187, 192, 192n395, 195–197, 202, 203, 238, 282, 284, 289, 308n36, 333, 333n32, 335, 336, 338, 339
i 19–20 23n42
i 19–23 68n155
i 23 23n42
i 23b–30a 84
i 24 101n89
i 24–26a 99n83
i 25 277
i 27–28 259
i 29–30 278
i 30–33 113n130
i 30b–36a 113
i 33 114n132, 132n193
i 34–35 115n137
i 35 113n129
i 36b–48a 123
i 38–39 142n228
i 39–40 129n187
i 40ff. 127n177
i 41–42 127n178
i 43 301n5
i 48b–ii 9a 134
i 50 23n42
i 51 141n224
i 51–ii 1 137n204
ii 2 141n225
ii 3 139n211
ii 3–6 231, 302n11
ii 4 139, 139n211
ii 9b–12 143n234
ii 12 245
ii 13–24 146
ii 13–25 164
ii 14–15 147n239
ii 15 151n252
ii 16–17 152n258

ii 18 155n267
ii 24 163n306
ii 29–iii 10a 20n30
ii 31–44 165n314
ii 43–44 246
ii 45–50 166, 167n321,
ii 46 166n316
ii 51–53 173n331
ii 51–iii 5 171
ii 54–iii 5 173n333
ii 56 173n333
ii 57 170n327
iii 2 155n267
iii 6–10a 178
iii 9–10 233
iii 10b–13 340n16
iii 13 234
iii 14–25 180
iii 14b–17a 181n362
iii 18 155n267
iii 20–36 20n30
iii 23–24 234
iii 26–33a 183n371
iii 27–29 283
iii 33b–37a 184n372
iii 37b–45a 184
iii 38–39 247
iii 40 258n73, 259
iii 45b–iv 15a 185
iii 46–iv 1 190n388
iii 52–iv 1 234
iii 53–iv 7 191n391
iv 3–4 258n71
iv 4 186n378
iv 7 235
iv 7–8 191n393
iv 7–10 284
iv 7–15 191n392
iv 10–11 194n404
iv 11–12 247
iv 12–15 194n408, 284
iv 15b–22a 195
iv 16–17 247
iv 18–19 258n73, 259
iv 22b–24a 198n419
iv 23–24 307
iv 24b–34a 200n425
iv 25 157n279
iv 25–33 285
iv 30 235
iv 31–34 25n47
iv 34 157n279
iv 34–40 229
left edge 261

Annals 8 (Stone Fragment Assur 20739) 20, 21, 41n87, 43n91, 53–56, 83n15, 195, 195n412, 197, 289, 333n32
13'–18' 68n155
18'b–19' 84
r. 1'–2' 195
r. 3'–4' 198n419
r. 3'–16'a 197
r. 5'–16'a 200n425
r. 6'–14' 285

Annals 9 (Kurbail Statue) 21–23, 43, 53–56, 186, 187, 195–198, 202n435, 288n43, 289, 335–337, 337n5, 339n11
21–25 190n388
21–30a 185
24 234
25–28 191n391
26 258n71
28 235
28–29 284
28–30 191n392
29 194n406
29–30 247
30b–31a 195, 336n3
31 259, 336n3
31b–34a 198
32 157n279
34 202, 235, 247

Annals 10 (*III R*, pl. 5, no. 6) 18n25, 22, 23, 43, 53–56, 186, 187, 191, 289
1–26 185
2–13 190n388
14–21 191n391
16 258n71
21–26 191n392
24–25 194n406

Annals 11 (*KAH* 1, 77+) 11n5, 12n6, 23, 24, 43n91, 53–57, 83n15, 84n21, 85, 120, 122n161, 130, 134n196
21–23 284
22–26 68n155
26b–31 84
28–30 277
30 259
31 278
32–33 113n130
32–35a 113

33–35 115n137
34 113n129
35b–44 123
45–47 134

Annals 12 (Stone Fragment Assur 1120) 24, 25, 25n47, 53–57, 184, 185n377, 197, 197n417, 205, 206, 334
1'–2'a 183n371
2'b–4'a 184n372
4'b–9'a 184
5'–6' 258n73, 259
9'b–10' 185n377
r. 1'–4' 197
r. 5'–11' 205

Annals 13 (Black Obelisk) 1, 9, 11n5, 12n6, 23–27, 24n44, n46, 25n48, 27n54, 43n91, 52–57, 63n134, 67, 83n15, 85, 120, 122, 123, 125n168, n170, 130, 134, 135, 143, 147–149, 148n241, 149n244, 164, 166, 167, 170–172, 178, 180, 184, 187, 195–197, 205, 206, 209, 211, 218n487, 221n500, 222, 238, 254, 282–284, 282n33, 288n43, 289, 293, 298, 321–337, 328n22, n23, 337n5, 339
9 158n282
22–26 68n155
23 23n42
26b–31 84
27 23n42, 101n89
27b–29a 99n83
28–30 277
30 259
31 278
32–33 113n130
32–35a 113
33 114n132, 132n193
33–35 115n137
34 113n129
35b–44 123
36–37 142n228
37 129n187
38–39 127n178
38ff. 127n177
41 301n5
45–52a 134
46 23n42, 141n224
47 137n204
47–48 141n225
48 139n211
48–50 231
49 139n211
52b–54a 143n234
53–54 245
54b–66 146
55 147n239
56 151n252
57–59 152n258
58–59 245
60 155n267
66 163n306
67–72 164
69–72 281
73–84 165n314
84 246
85 166n316
85–86 166, 167n321
87 173n331
87–89 173n333
88 170n327
89b–90a 178
90 233
90b–91a 340n16
91 234
91b–92a 180
92–93 183n371, 283
93b–95 184n372
95 234, 308n36
96–97a 184
96–97 259
97–99 185, 190n388
98–99 234
99b–100a 195
100 259
100–102 198
101 157n279
102 235
102b–104a 205
103 207
103–104 247
104b–107a 209
106 212, 248, 259n75
107b–110a 214
108 215
109 216
110 249
110b–126a 218n485
116 235
118–119 235
119 249
120–125 287
124 235
125–126 235

126b–131a 218
127 249
128 157n279
129 235
131 301n5, 302n7, n8
132 157n279
132–133a 218n486
132–141a 219
133 157n279
134–135 249
137 235
138–139 249
138b–140a 220n495
140–141 258n73, 259
140b–141a 221n497
141–145 328
141b–143a 331n28
141b–146a 221n499
141b–190 221n500
146–169 329
146b–150a 331n28
146b–156a 222
150–156 287
150b–156a 222
155 249
157 331n28
159b–160a 331n28
161–162 250
163–164 250
167 236
170–171 250
170–190 330
171–172 250
172–173 250
174 236
174–175 321
174ff. 327
177 250
178–179 29
180–183 250
187 236

Annals 14 (Calah Statue) 4, 12n6, 24, 25n48, 27, 43, 43n91, 53–57, 63n134, 64, 67, 83n15, 85, 120, 122n161, 125n168, n170, 130, 134, 135, 143, 146n238, 147, 148, 148n240, n241, 149, 149n244, 150, 164, 166, 167, 170–172, 178, 180, 184, 186, 187, 195–197, 203, 205, 206, 209, 211, 214, 216, 222, 238, 253n56, 254, 282, 282n33, 284, 286, 287n40, 288n43, 289, 293, 298, 321, 321n1, 322, 328, 328n22, n23, 332–336, 332n30, 339
6 23n42
6–8 68n155
8 23n42
8–9 101n89
8b–10a 99n83
8b–11a 84
9–10 277
10 259
11 85n22, 278
11–13 113n130
11b–14a 113
13 113n129, 114n132, 132n193
13–14 115n137
14b–20a 123
15–16 129n187
16–17 127n178, 301n5
16ff. 127n177
20b–26a 134
21 23n42, 141n224
21–22 137n204
22 141n225
22–24 231, 302n11
23 139n211
26b–27 143n234
27 245
28 147n239
28–38a 146
29 151
29–30 147, 152n254, 232
30 152n256, 301n5, 302n11
30–31 152n258
31 245
32 155n267
35–36 232
36 163n306
38b–44a 164
40–44 281
44b–65' 165n314
63'–64' 246
66'–71'a 166, 167n321
71'–73' 173n331
73'–81' 173n333
75' 173n333
76' 170n327
78' 155n267
82' 178n355
82'–84' 178
84' 233
85'–87'a 340n16
87' 234

87'b–95' 180
88'ff. 181n362
91'–92' 180n360
94'–95' 234
115' 184n372
116'–117' 247
116'–122'a 184
117'–118' 259
119'b–121' 184n373
122'–128' 190n388
122'–137' 185
127'–128' 234
128'–132' 191
132'–133' 191n393
132'–134' 284
132'–137' 191n392
133'–134' 247
134' 194n404
135'–137' 194n408
137'b–143'a 195
138' 247
139' 259
143'b–144'a 198n419
143'b–151' 197
144'b–151' 200n425
145' 157n279
145'–150' 285
148' 235
151' 157n279
152'–153' 247
152'–159' 25n47
152'–162'a 205, 206
156'–157' 207
158'–159' 235
159'–160' 247
159'–161' 285
159'b–161'a 208
161'–162' 247
161'b–162'a 208
162' 158n282
162'b–181'a 209
163'–165' 215
163' 248
164'–165' 248
165'b–172'a 211
170' 248
170'–172' 248
172'–181' 259n75, 286
172'b–177'a 212
176'b–177' 212
176'b–181'a 212
177' 212
177'–178' 248
178' 213
178'–180' 212
181'b–194' 214
182'–183' 248
182'–188' 215
186' 235
187' 216
188'–189' 216
189' 249
190' 215
194' 216, 249
195'–201' 218n485
215'–216'a 218
215'–227' 218
216'b–217'a 218n485
216'b–227' 219
217' 157n279
219'–220' 249
224'–225' 249
224'b–226'a 220n495
226'b–227' 221n497
227' 258n73, 259
228'–267' 221n499, 223n507
228'–341' 221n500
236'–237' 236
236'b–267' 328n23
237' 328n23
240' 328n23
243' 328n23
244' 328n23
257' 328n23
260'–261' 236
263' 249
268'–286'a 222
274'–286' 222, 287
283'–284' 249
296'–297' 250
299' 250
305' 236
314'–316' 250
316'–317' 250
318' 250, 330n25
320' 236
320'–321' 321
324' 250
326' 29
328'–331' 250
337' 236
341'b–347' 185n375
348' 261

Summary 1 (Til-barsip Stone Slab) 28, 29, 53, 54

Summary 2 (Kenk Inscription) 29, 30, 53, 54, 57, 92n54, 114b133, 121, 130, 131, 135–137, 136n200, n203, 142, 288, 293
7b–13a 124n166
7b–15a 121, 135
13 141n224
15b–19 135
7b–19 135
9–10 142n228
13–15 137n204
16 141n225
17 141n223
18 231

Summary 3a/b (Tigris III/V) 30, 53, 54, 57, 282, 282n31, n32, 293
a: 15–16 244
a: 16b–17 164
a: 17 281
b: 12 244
b: 12b–13 164
b: 13 281

Summary 4 (Clay Cone E) 30, 31, 53, 54, 57

Summary 5 (Amulet-Shaped Tablet) 31, 32, 53, 54, 57,
r. 1–7 172n330
r. 2–4 233

Summary 6 (Calah Throne Base) 32–34, 36, 37, 52–54, 57, 85–87, 85n23, 101, 130, 136, 136n203, 148, 148n241, n243, 150, 172n330, 236n20, 276, 289, 340
5–6 236
10 34n71
10–11 32
10–18 68n155
11–13 275
15 230
16–18 242
18–26 86, 86n24
18b–20a 99n83
18b–36 32
18b–47 32
19 34n71
19–20 277
20 102n92, 242
21–22 259
22 276
23 278
25–26 108n118, 229
26–28 136, 231
27 139n211
28 139n211
29 155n267
29–34a 148
32 162n303
34–36 33
34b–36 340
36 157n279, 253
37–42 120
37–44 32
41 231
42 280
43 232
44 245
44b 143n234
45–47 32, 32n68
45–49 165n314
47 246
48 32, 33, 52, 172n330, 246, 257
49 258
50 213

Summary 7a/b (Tigris II/IV) 30, 34, 35, 53, 54, 57, 68n156, 181, 282, 282n31, n32, 283, 288
a: 19b–20 165n314
a: 20 246
a: 21 155n267
a: 21–27 180
a: 23–24 234
b: 11–14a 165n314
b: 13 246
b: 14–17 180
b: 16–17 234

Summary 8 (Door-sill, Læssøe) 33n69, 35–40, 53, 54, 57, 85, 130, 172n330, 259n74, 289, 340
3–4a 100n87
4 36
4b–5 183n371, 341n18
6 139n211
6–7 136, 231
7–8 36n77, 259
7b 150
7c–8a 172n330
8b–10a 87
9–10 278
10b–11 183n371

Summary 9 (Door-sill, longest) 33n69, 36–40, 53, 54, 57, 130, 340
7 236
12b–13 100n87
17–18 244
18b–20a 183n371, 341n18
20 139n211, 231
20–21 136
22 155n267
28b–32a 165n314
30–32 246

Summary 10a/b/c (Door-sill, middle) 33n69, 37–40, 53, 54, 58, 340
a: 3b–5 100n87
a: 6–7a 183n371, 341n18
a: 7b–8a 150
a: 8 36n77
a: 8–9 259
a: 8b–9a 172n330
a: 9b–12a 183n371
b: 2b–3a 100n87
b: 3b–4a 183n371, 341n18
b: 4b–5a 150
b: 5 36n77
b: 5–6 259
b: 5b 172n330
b: 6–7a 183n371
c: 3b–4 100n87
c: 5–6a 183n371, 341n18
c: 6b–7a 150
c: 7 36n77
c: 7–8 259
c: 7b–8a 172n330
c: 8b–10a 183n371

Summary 11a/b/c (Door-sill, short) 33n69, 38–40, 53, 54, 58, 340
a: 2b–3 100n87
a: 4–5a 183n371, 341n18
a: 5 36n77
a: 5b 150
a: 5c 172n330
b: 4–5 100n87
b: 6–7 183n371, 341n18
c: 3b–5a 100n87

Summary 12 (Calah Stone Slab) 39, 40, 53, 54, 58, 85, 130, 150, 289
4b–7a 100n87
8b–26 40
12b–20 172
21 150
22–23 172n330
24–26 87, 278
27–34a 183n371
27–39a 40
29–31 246
32–34 283
39b–42a 40
42b–48 40, 165n314

Summary 13 (Nineveh Statue Fragment) 40, 41, 53, 54, 58
7'a 183n371
10'b–13'a 184n372
12'b–16' 165n314

Summary 14 (Gold Tablet) 41, 42, 45, 46, 53, 54, 58
12–16a 165n314
19–20 246

Summary 15 (Alabaster Box) 41n86, 42, 53, 54

Summary 16 (Walters Art Gallery Stela) 42, 43, 53–55, 58, 187, 188
r. 1'–7' 190n388
r. 7'–15' 191n391
r. 12' 186n378
right side 1'–15' 187
right side 6'–7' 234
right side 11'–13' 258n71

Summary 17 (Clay Cone D) 41n87, 43, 44, 53–55, 58
5–6a 165n314

Summary 18 (Statue of Kidudu) 41n87, 44–46, 53–55, 58, 59
10 176n346
11 44n97, 157n279
14–20 165n314
32–34 44

Summary 19 (Ashur Royal Statue) 41n87, 43, 44n94, 45, 45n98, 46, 53–55, 58, 59, 130, 148, 148n243, 149, 149n245, 187, 188, 188n379, 198, 202, 203, 203n436, 204n439, 212, 286, 288n43
i 6b–iii 8 45
i 10–13 136, 231
i 11 139n211
i 14–24 187, 189

i 14–35 188
i 16 163n306
i 22–24 163n305
i 25 189
i 25–27a 187
i 26–27a 189
i 26–31 190n388
i 27b–35 189
i 27b–ii 1 187
i 31 234
i 32–ii 1 191n391
ii 1 258n71
ii 2–6 188n379
ii 5–6 248
iii 1–2 235
iii 1–2a 218n485
iii 2–3 212, 259n75
iii 2–4 286
iii 2–5 209
iii 2b–5a 203
iii 2b–8 202, 203
iii 4–5 259n76
iii 5 157n279
iii 5b–8 45n100, 203, 204
iii 7–8 240n27, 247

Misc. 1 (*STT* 1, 43) 46, 47, 53, 58, 59, 123, 128
7–13 123
7–14 128
54 279n23

Misc. 2 (Malahi Booty Inscription) 41n87, 47, 48, 53, 64, 207, 235
1 47
7–8 48

Misc. 3 (Namri Booty Inscription) 48, 53, 234

Misc. 4 (Balawat Bronze Bands, reliefs and captions) 1, 15, 16, 48–51, 51n114, 53, 102n93, 103n95, 118n152, 155n266, 156n273, 164n309, 176n348, n350, 226n4, 251, 251n50, n51, 254, 291, 292, 298
Band I 255, 275, 291, 298, 298n82, n84
Band II 51, 51n115, n116, 255, 258n71
Band III 51n114, 102, 102n93, 103, 107, 255, 269n113
Band IV 116, 255
Band V 51, 51n115, 118n152, 255
Band VI 51, 51n115, n116, 118n152, 255
Band VII 51, 51n115, 255, 262n82
Band VIII 143n234, 256
Band IX 155, 155n267, 176n350, 256
Band X 164n309, 281, 291, 299
Band XII 51n116, 168, 176n350, 177n352, 256
Band XIII 50, 51n116, 155n267, 170n327, 174, 176, 176n350, 256
Band N 50, 99n83, 102, 102n93, n94, 104, 256, 258n72, 277, 292, 292n53, 298n84, 299
Band O 50, 256
Band P 50, 51, 51n115, n116, 156, 156n271, 176n350

Misc. 5 (Black Obelisk, reliefs and captions) 26, 51–53, 158n281, 193, 251, 251n51, 252, 252n54, 256, 264n92
Row I 256
Row II 256
Row III 257
Row IV 257
Row V 257

Misc. 6 (Throne Base, reliefs and captions) 32, 52, 53, 165n314, 251, 251n51, 252, 257

AAA 18, pp. 9–98, nos. 14 & 19 14n13

Ass 862+873 20n30
Ass 8558 (A 659) 20n30
Ass ph. 4958 (Ass 16812) 23n40
Ass ph. 4001 23n40

EŞ 6697 18n25

RIMA 3
A.0.102.41–58 10
A.0.102.42 (*KAH* 1, 28) 41n87
ll. 14–16 62, 62n131
A.0.102.43 41n87
A.0.102.44 41n87
A.0.102.46 41n87
A.0.102.57 (Throne base, undersurface) 32n67
l. 6 236n20
A.0.102.93 10
A.0.102.95–116 10
A.0.102.1001–1013 10
A.0.102.2001–2003 10

B. *Other Cuneiform Sources*

ABL (see also SAA 1 and 10)
no. 951, l. 20 296n69

Abou-Assaf et al., *La statue de Tell Fekherye* 69n165, 305n21

Andrae, *Stelenreihen*
no. 99 72

ARM 1
no. 97, ll. 14, 18, 20 87n29

ARM 10
no. 178, l. 9 151n250

Borger, *Asarhaddon*
p. 49, Nin. A, iii 15 209n450
p. 87, r. 3–4 296n69

Borger, *BIWA*
pp. 18–20, Prisma A
I 68–74 307n34
pp. 18–20, Prisma C
II 37–67 307n34

Donbaz, *ARRIM* 8, pp. 5–24
obv. 7ff. 93
obv. 12 93n56

Eponym Chronicle (see also Millard, *Eponyms*) 5, 48n108, 59, 60, 62n132, 63–65, 63n134, 128n184, 197n416, 203, 204, 206, 215, 224
Rm. 2, 97 (B4) 60, 61, 65
obv. 1' 64, 64n137, 197
obv. 1'–18' 60–63
obv. 8' 65n145
obv. 9' 61
obv. 10'–11' 65
obv. 14'–15' 224n509
STT 46+348 (B10) 60, 64, 65
obv. 1 197
obv. 1–18 60–63
obv. 10–11 61n129
obv. 14 61n129

Fales, *Censimenti*
p. 19, Text 1, ii 32 88n31

Fuchs, *Die Annalen*
pp. 81–96 67n153

Fuchs, *ISK*
p. 113, l. 148 143n233
pp. 125–128, ll. 204–220 217n481
p. 207, l. 54 143n233

Grayson, *Chronicles*
p. 167, ll. 22–36 165n314
pp. 185f., Chronicle Fragments 2, l. 17 306n30

Hallo, *JCS* 18
pp. 60 and 63f., l. 30 87n30
pp. 57–88, l. 34 151n250

KBo 10, nos. 1–3 (Hattusili I Annals) 104, 104n103
no. 1, obv. 33 and 38 104n103
no. 2, ii 27 104n103

KBo 15, no. 44, 3'f. 105

KUB 15, no. 34, iii 11 105n104

Kwasman, *NALD*
no. 45 (*ADD* 252), 2'–4' 261n81

Lambert, *Ladders to Heaven*
p. 83, ll. 5–11 182, 182n367

Langdon, *NBK*
p. 222, ii 3–4 70n170

Luckenbill, *Sennacherib*
p. 62, v 2 217n482

p. 77, l. 24 217n482
p. 86, l. 14 217n482

Mahmud, *Assur* 4, Issue 2
p. 3 305n20

Millard, *Eponyms*
pp. 26, 56, and 97 72n178
p. 27 128n184
pp. 27 and 56 69n162, 326n17
pp. 28 and 94 31n63
pp. 33–35 and 57 320n37
pp. 49, 60 and 94 129n188

Millard, *Iraq* 32, p. 169 (RIMA 2, A.0.89.6 and 9)
ll. 7'–8' 127n177

Millard – Tadmor, *Iraq* 35, pp. 57–59 93n57

Parker, *Iraq* 23, p. 43 (ND 2684)
r. 5'–6' 129n188

Parpola, *Hama* II/2, pp. 257–265 175n344

Reiner, *JNES* 15, p. 132 (*Lipšur* Litanies)
l. 10 104, 104n101

Reiner, MSL XI, p. 23 (HAR.RA-*hubullu*, Tablet XXII)
l. 11 104, 104n100

RIMA 1
A.0.39.1, ll. 81–87 273n4
A.0.76.3, ll. 9–11 306n26
A.0.78.1, iii 2–5 306n27

RIMA 2
A.0.87.1
iv 15–21 274n5
v 14–16 306n25
vi 50 101n89
vi 58–vii 27 67n152
A.0.87.3
16–25 195n410, 294n63
29–35 195n410
A.0.87.4
6 101n88
24–30 195n410
59–60 270n120
68–69 101n88
72 270n120
A.0.87.10
7 101n88
28–35 195n410
A.0.87.15 274n5
A.0.89.2
iii 13'–14' 274n5
iii 29'–35' 67n152
A.0.89.3, 1'–5' 274n5
A.0.89.6, see Millard, *Iraq* 32
A.0.89.7
iv 1–34a 67n152
iv 26–30 264n90
iv 29–30 253n58
A.0.89.9, see Millard, *Iraq* 32
A.0.98.1, ll. 68–72 67n152
A.0.99.2
26 69n159, 301n5
34 301n5
37 301n5
39–104 68n161
43–44 258n71
44 301n5
45–46 70n166
45–48 139n215
47 301n5
49–50 306n29
62–79 68n161
100–104 69n163
122–127 67n152
A.0.100.3, r. 5'–6' 67n152
A.0.100.5
24–25 306n30
69–73 237n23
76–79 237n23
85–89 237n23
90–94 237n23
98–103 237n23
105–107 237n23
109–111 237n23
133 301n5
134–135 67n152
A.0.101.1 (Annals of Ashurnasirpal II) 12n7, 225n2, 326n19
i 50–51 138n210
i 56 308n36
i 67 308n36
i 68–69 274n6
i 74–99 71n172
i 98–99 274n10
i 99–ii 23 72n177
i 103 301n4
i 104–105 274n5, n9

ii 3 301n5
ii 5–7 274n7
ii 8–9 301n5
ii 10–11 240n29
ii 15 308n36
ii 21–23 69n164
ii 47 308n36
ii 50 308n36
ii 78–79 240n29, 263n88
ii 79 308n36
ii 85 301n5
ii 86–135 72n177
ii 87 69n160
ii 90–91 240n29
ii 91 274n8
ii 117–118 258n71
ii 118–125 72n180
iii 25–26 274n11
iii 26–50 71n173
iii 47–48 240n29
iii 50–55 71n175
iii 55 70n168, 91n48
iii 56–77 199n420, 307n34
iii 56–92 72n183
iii 57–58 69n164
iii 60–63 71n176
iii 63 91n48
iii 63–64 70n168
iii 65 117n149
iii 65–68 271n124
iii 71 98n80
iii 71–81 107n114
iii 73–76 271n124
iii 78 98n80
iii 80 173n334
iii 82 258n71, 301n5
iii 84–85 297n77
iii 84–92 294n63
iii 85–88 268n108
iii 87–88 269n113
iii 89 298n81
iii 89–90 274n12
iii 92–113 72n177
iii 93–96 70n167
iii 94–95 91n45
iii 96–102 91n46
iii 101 301n5
iii 101–104 72n182
iii 105–109 72n180
iii 113 301n5
iii 125–126 303n16
iii 133–134 75n192
A.0.101.2, ll. 53–55 75n192
A.0.101.3, ll. 45–46 303n16
A.0.101.19 (Kurkh) 72n179, 274n12
27–103 72n177
51–52 274n8
86–97 72n180
92 263n88
A.0.101.23
11–12 303n16
15–17 75n192
A.0.101.26, ll. 30–32 303n16
A.0.101.28, iv 11–13 303n16
A.0.101.30 (Banquet Stela) 75
33–36 72n181, 75n192, n193
76–78 296n69
143–147 75n194
A.0.101.40, l. 20 101n89
A.0.101.41, ll. 5–7 101n89
A.0.101.51 and 80–97 (Ahurnasirpal II's Balawat Bronze Bands, reliefs and captions) 73, 73n186
A.0.101.80 74n187, n188
A.0.101.81 74n188
A.0.101.85–87 74n188
A.0.101.90 74n188
A.0.101.53, l. 6 303n16
A.0.101.56, ll. 8–9 101n89
A.0.101.80–97, see A.0.101.51
A.0.101.87 126n175
A.0.101.1004 (*KAH* 2, no. 99, Assur 18616) 10

RIMA 3
A.0.102.2002, l. 5 327n21
A.0.103.1
i 39–43 165n311
i 39ff. 224n511
ii 7–9 224n512
ii 45–50 165n312
A.0.104.3 93n56
A.0.104.6 331n27
A.0.104.2010, ll. 19–20 129n188

RIME 2
E.2.1.1.1
50–52 297n78
56–58 297n78
E.2.1.1.2, ll. 59–61 297n78
E.2.1.1.3, ll. 44–46 297n78
E.2.1.4.3, iv 29–32 298n79

RIME 4
E.4.6.8.2
46–51 298n80
52–58 273n3

SAA 1
no. 4, l. 10' 129n188
no. 32, r. 13' 129n188
no. 34 (*ABL* 568) 241
no. 179 (*CT* 53, no. 10), l. 18 97

SAA 2
no. 2 306n25
iv 1–3 307n35
no. 5 306n25
no. 6 306n25
302–317 190n385
397–409 297n73
no. 9, ll. 23'–26'a 307n35
no. 10 306n25
no. 13 306n25

SAA 3, no. 35, l. 26 324n15

SAA 7
no. 184, ll. 1–2 271n122
no. 185, l. 1 271n122
no. 186, l. 1 271n122

SAA 10
no. 13 (*ABL* 36), r. 2–8 296n69
no. 358 (*ABL* 257), r. 4–6 296n69

Smith, *The Statue of Idri-mi*
l. 68 105

Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II
p. 170, ll. 37–38 70n170

Tadmor, *ITP*
p. 60, Ann. 19*, l. 6 270n120
p. 62, Ann. 19*, l. 8 173n335
p. 62, Ann. 19*, l. 9 106n112
p. 66, Ann. 13*, l. 4 106n111
p. 83, Ann. 23, l. 15' 223n506
p. 89, Ann. 26, l. 3 173n335
p. 102, II B, l. 6' 126n174, 137n207
p. 146, ii 4 115n142
p. 146, ii 5 115n140
p. 148, ii 14 219
p. 162, obv. 24 270n118
p. 177, Summ. 8, l. 16' 296n68
pp. 222–225 296n68

Thureau-Dangin, *Huitième campagne* (Sargon's Letter to Ashur)
l. 307 142, 142n232, 216

Unger, *BASOR* 130, pp. 15–21 305n20

von Soden, *ZA* 45, p. 44
ll. 32 and 45–47 324n15

von Voigtlander, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Babylonian Version*
p. 25, l. 51 319n32

Weidner, *PDK*
pp. 22–25 (Suppiluliuma-Sattiwaza)
r. 17' 115n140
p. 108 (Suppiluliuma-Sunassura)
iv 40 and 42 220n493
p. 110 (Suppiluliuma-Sunassura)
iv 55 220n492

YOS 9, no. 73 62n131, 321n2

C. *West Semitic*

Biran & Naveh, *IEJ* 45, pp. 1–18 (Dan Inscription) 4, 4n14, 309–320
2' 310, 315n21, 316
3'a 310
3'b–4'a 310, 312, 316
4'b–5'a 310
5'b–7'a 310
6' 310n9, 318
7' 318
7'–8' 317
7'–9' 310n9
7'b–10' 310, 317
8' 318
11'–12'a 310

12'–13' 320
12'b–13' 311

Eph'al & Naveh, *IEJ* 39,
pp. 192–200 320n38

Greenfield & Porten, *The Bisitun Inscription of Darius the Great: Aramaic Version*
p. 28, ll. 12–14 318n31, 319

Jackson, *The Ammonite Language*
pp. 51–52 (Heshbon Ostracon 1)
l. 6 159n289

KAI
no. 24 199
no. 26
6 205n441
16 205n442
no. 181, l. 8 315n19
no. 222
A, 5 158n282
A, 34 115, 115n140
A, 35 168
no. 224, ll. 9–14 190n385

Laroche, *RHA* 24, p. 178
RS 25.421, l. 26 213, 213n470

D. *Hieroglyphic Luwian*

BOLKAR MADEN 213n473
CHEKKE 128n182
ÇIFTLIK 210, 210n457
DARENDE 210n459
GÜRÜN 210n459
HAMATH 1 155n267
HAMATH 2 155n267
HAMATH 3 155n267
HAMATH 4 155n267
ISPEKÇÜR 210n459
KARAHÖYÜK/
ELBISTAN 216, 217n484
KAYSERI 210, 210n457
KÖRKUN 128n182
KÖTÜKALE 210n459
KULULU 1 210, 210n457
MARAŞ 1 94n60
MARAŞ 4 94n60
MEHARDE 96n71
QALAT-EL-MUDIQ 155n267
RESTAN 155n267
SHEIZAR 96n71
SULTANHAN 210, 210n457
SUVASA 210, 210n457
TELL TAYNAT 96n71
TOPADA 210, 210n457

Barnett, *Iraq* 25,
pp. 81–85 155n267

Hawkins, *AnSt* 33, pp. 131–136
(Til-barsip) 140n218

Meriggi, *Manuale*, II, serie 1
no. 24 (Karatepe) 205n441, n442

Singer, *Tel-Aviv* 15/16,
pp. 184–192 140n218

E. *Egyptian*

Simons, *Handbook*
list I, l. 287 201

F. *The Hebrew Bible*

Genesis
10:3 216

Judges
18:28 160n294

2 Samuel
8:3 159n286
8:12 159n286
10:6 161n295

1 Kings
15:16 159

16:31 315
18 192
20 157n278, 311n13, 313, 314, 314n17
20:1–21 315n21
20:1–34 314n17, 315
20:26–34 315n21
20:34 316
22 157n278, 311n13, 313, 314, 314n17, 316
22:1–37 317
22:44 315

2 Kings
1:1 315
3:4–5 315
3:4–27 315
5–7 311n13, 313, 314, 314n17, n18, 316
5–8 157n278, 311n13
8:7–15 188, 189, 311
8:28 316
8:28–9:28 310
9 317, 320
9–10 191n393, 313
9:2 193n402
9:14 193n402
9:14–15 316
10:32–33 320
10:33 315
12:17–18 320
13:3 320

Jeremiah
37:10 319, 319n34

Ezekiel
27:18–19 271n122

Hosea
10:14 317n24

Amos
6:2 175n344

Esther
3:7 324

1 Chronicles
1:6 216

G. *Greek*

Josephus, *Against Apion* 194

CULTURE & HISTORY OF
THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

Volume 3

In numerous ambitious expeditions Shalmaneser III of Assyria (859–824) lay the foundation of the subsequent remarkable military advance to the West of the Neo-Assyrian empire. While systematically scrutinizing and analysing *all* accounts of these western campaigns, Shigeo Yamada not only discusses the historiographical problems encountered (together with their impact on the jigsaw of ninth-century Ancient Near East history), but also offers new results, and an *original historical reconstruction*. Ample attention is being given to the campaigns' economic and ideological aspects.
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