

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

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

At that time I received (also) the tribute of Gusi from Iahani (consisting of): gold, silver, tin, [iron], large and small cattle, linen garments with multicolored trimmings. From Kunulua, the royal residence of Lubarna from Hattina, I departed; I crossed the river Orontes ([*Aran*]tu) and passed the night on the banks of the Orontes. From the banks of the Orontes I departed, taking the road between the mountains Iaraq and Ia'turi, and crossed over the [. . .] mountain to pass (the night)¹² on the banks of the Sangura river. From the banks of the Sangura river I departed, taking the road between the mountains Saratini and Duppani, and (passed the night)¹² on the banks of the . . . [Ia]ke. I entered Aribua, the fortress of Lubarna from Hattina, and seized (it) as my own (town). I harvested the grain as well as the straw¹³ of the Luhuti country and stored (them) therein. In his own palace I performed the *iašiltu* -festival¹⁴ and (then) settled natives of Assyria in it (the town). While I stayed in Aribua, I conquered the (other) towns of Luhuti, defeating their (inhabitants) in many bloody battles. I destroyed (them), tore down (the walls) and burned (the towns) with fire; I caught the survivors and impaled (them) on stakes in front of their towns. At that time I seized the entire extent of the Lebanon mountain and reached the Great Sea of the Amurru country. I

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

I ascended the mountains of the Amanus (*Ha-ma-ni*)¹⁸ and cut down (there) logs of cedars, stone-pines, cypresses (and) pines, and performed sheep-offerings to my gods. I (had) made a sculptured stela (commemorating) my heroic achievements and erected (it) there. The cedar beams from the Amanus mountain I *destined/sent*¹⁹ for/to the temple Esarra for (the construction of) a *iasmaḫū* -sanctuary²⁰ as a building for festivals serving the temples of Sin and Shamash, the light(giving) gods.

4. SHALMANESER III (858-824):

THE FIGHT AGAINST THE ARAMEAN COALITION¹

(a) Texts of a General Nature

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

(I—20)

(I am) Shalmaneser, the legitimate king, the king of the world, the king without rival, the "Great Dragon,"²² the (only) power within the (four) rims (of the earth), overlord of all the princes, who has smashed all his enemies as if (they be) earthenware, the strong man, unsparring, who shows no mercy in battle,—the son of Ashurnasirpal, king of the world, king of Assyria, (grand)son of Tukulti-Ninurta, likewise king of the world, king of Assyria, a conqueror from the Upper Sea

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

¹⁶ Monkeys (here: *pagú*) appear rarely in lists of tributes, cf. the Black Obelisk of Shalmaneser III (below, p. 281b, n.4) where *baziáte*- and **udumi*-monkeys are mentioned and depicted as coming from Mušru. cf. also [*ba*] *zátí*-, *pagú*-, and *uqupu*- monkeys taken from Thebes (cf. n.4, p. 297). Note in this context W. C. McDermott, *The Ape in Antiquity* (Baltimore, 1938) and M. F. Ashley Montague, *Knowledge of the Ape in Antiquity*, in *Isis*, xxxii (1947), 87 ff. The spelling **udumi* has to be corrected and read *ú-qup-pu(l)* according to Landsberger, *Fauna* p. 88, n.1.

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

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

¹⁹ Text unintelligible: *Iá-ku-du-ka(?)*.

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

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

² The designation of a ruler as *u š u m . g a l* "Giant Snake" (attested already in the Prologue of the Code of Hammurabi, then taken up by the Assyrian kings) is borrowed from the vocabulary of hymnical religious texts which reserve this title to the most important figures of the pantheon (cf. K. Tallquist, *Akkadische Götterepitheta* [*Studia Orientalia* vii, Helsinki, 1938], p. 34). The terror-inspiring aspect of kingship is the *tertium comparationis* of this simile which, to a certain extent, can be compared with the function and role of the Egyptian uraeus.

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

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

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

¹² Omission of the scribe.

¹³ Since the stalks were cut rather high, it was necessary to cut them again to make use of this product as feed for animals, etc.

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

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

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

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

(i 6—ii 5)

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

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

(b) Annalistic Reports

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

(i 29—ii 13)

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

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

² Technical term: *elú*.

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

At that time, I paid homage to the greatness of (all) the great gods (and) extolled for posterity the heroic achievements of Ashur and Shamash by fashioning a (sculptured) stela with myself as king (depicted on it). I wrote thereupon my heroic behavior, my deeds in combat³ and erected it beside the source of the Saluara river which is at the foot of the mountains of the Amanus. From the mountain Amanus I departed, crossed the Orontes river (*A-ra-an-tu*) and approached Alimush, the fortress town of Sapalulme from Hattina. To save his life, Sapalulme from Hattina [called for] Ahuni, man of Adini, Sangara from Carchemish, Haianu from Sam'al, Kate from Que, Pihirim from Hilukka, Bur-Anate from Iasbuq, Ada[. . .] . . . Assyria. . . .

² For this identification, cf. L. W. King, *Kummuḥ = Commagene, in Manchester Egypt. and Oriental Soc.*, II (1913), 47 ff.

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

³ To *talnintu*, cf. now von Soden in *Orientalia*, NS XVI (1946), 70 f.

(ii)

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

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

(KAH, II, 113:12-9)

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

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

(face B, 26-31)

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

⁴ Read: [i]-*Je-rif*.⁵ Uncertain; text: *hurāsu ka-sap*.⁶ For the divergent designations of this mountain, cf. M. Streck, *Assyriologische Miscellen* (No. 10, Atalur und Lallar) in *OLZ*, IX (1906), 344 f. cf. also E. F. Weidner *apud* E. Michel in *Die Welt des Orients*, I (1947), p. 14, n.10.^{6a} cf. also the lines 15—reverse of 8 of the basalt tablet published by L. Messerschmidt, *KAH*, I, 77 and transliterated and translated by E. Michel, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III*, *Die Welt des Orients*, I (1947), p. 11 f.

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

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

(ii 78-102)

In the year of (the eponym) Daian-Ashur, in the month Aiaru, the 14th day, I departed from Nineveh. I crossed the Tigris and approached the towns of Giammu on the river Balih. They became afraid of the terror emanating from my position as overlord, as well as of the splendor of my fierce weapons, and killed their master⁷ Giammu with their own weapons. I entered the towns Sahlala and Til-sha-Turahi and brought my gods/images into his palaces. I performed the *tašiltu*-festival in his (own) palaces. I opened (his) treasury, inspected what he had hidden; I carried away as booty his possessions, bringing (them) to my town Ashur. From Sahlala I departed and approached Kar-Shalmaneser. I crossed the Euphrates another time at its flood on rafts (made buoyant by means) of (inflated) goatskins. In Ina-Ashur-utir-asbat, which the people of Hattina call Pitru, on the other side of the Euphrates, on the river Sagur, I received tribute from the kings of the other side of the Euphrates—that is, of Sanagara from Carchemish, Kundashpi from Commagene, of Arame, man of Gusi, of Lalli from Melitene (*Melid*), of Haiani, son of Gabari, of Kalparuda from Hattina, (and) of Kalparuda of Gurgum—(consisting of): silver, gold, tin, copper (or bronze), copper containers. I departed from the banks of the Euphrates and approached Aleppo (*Hal-man*). They (i.e., the inhabitants of A.) were afraid to fight and seized my feet (in submission). I received silver and gold as their tribute and offered sacrifices before the Adad of Aleppo. I departed from Aleppo and approached the two towns of Irhuleni from Hamath (*Amat*). I captured the towns Adennu, Barga (and) Argana his royal residence. I removed from them his booty (as well as) his personal (lit.: of his palaces) possessions. I set his palaces afire. I departed from Argana and approached Karkara. I destroyed, tore down and burned down Karkara, his (text: my) royal residence. He brought along to help him 1,200 chariots, 1,200 cavalrymen, 20,000 foot soldiers of Adad'idri (i.e. Hadadezer) of Damascus (*Imērišu*),⁸

⁷ The use of the Sumerian term *e n* in this context is rather puzzling. It might indicate a peculiar social set-up which compelled the Assyrian scribes to use this rare word.⁸ The problem of the often changing (and apparently interchangeable) Akkadian denominations for Damascus (apart from *Di-ma(-a)š-qi(u)*) is still unsolved; for previous discussions I refer to A. T. Clay in *YOS*, I (1915), 2, n.1; Streck, *Assurbanipal* (= *VAB*, VII), III, 780, where literature is amply quoted. These denominations are *Ša-imērišu*, *Ša-imēri-šu*, *Ša-i-me-ri-šu* (cf., e.g., C. Bezold, *Catalogue*, I, 21) and *Imērišu* with *imēri* spelled either phonetically or respectively as a *nš e* and *d ū r*. I would like to draw attention, on one hand, to the name of a town *Ša-i-me-ri-e* on the stela of Shilhak-Inshushinak (V. Scheil, *Délégation en Perse, Mémoires*, XI [1911], 42, No. 14), also attested in texts from Nuzi (cf. R. H. Pfeiffer and E. A. Lacheman, *Miscellaneous Texts from Nuzi*, *HSS*, XIII [1942], No. 433:6 [road leading from Nuzi to *Ša-imēri*]), and, on the other hand, to certain Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian nouns (of the formation *amēl ša xxx-šu*) denoting traders in commodities (salt, wine, pottery, fruit, etc.) or animals (for the latter, cf. C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents* [London, 1898 f.], 1076 n.2: *amēlā hu-li-šu*). cf. also the name of the town *Ša-birēšu* (Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 107).

700 chariots, 700 cavalymen, 10,000 foot soldiers of Irhuleni from Hamath, 2,000 chariots, 10,000 foot soldiers of Ahab, the Israelite (*A-ha-ab-bu* ^{mat}*Sir-'i-la-a-a*), 500 soldiers from Que, 1,000 soldiers from Musri,⁹ 10 chariots, 10,000 soldiers from Irqanata, 200 soldiers of Matinu-ba'lu from Arvad, 200 soldiers from Usanata, 30 chariots, 1[0?],000 soldiers of Adunu-ba'lu from Shian, 1,000 camel-(rider)s of Gindibu', from Arabia, [. . .],000 soldiers of Ba'sa, son of Ruhubi, from Ammon—(all together) these were twelve kings. They rose against me [for a] decisive battle. I fought with them with (the support of) the mighty forces of Ashur, which Ashur, my lord, has given to me, and the strong weapons which Nergal, my leader, has presented to me, (and) I did inflict a defeat upon them between the towns Karkara and Gilzau. I slew 14,000 of their soldiers with the sword, descending upon them like Adad when he makes a rainstorm pour down. I spread their corpses (everywhere), filling the entire plain with their widely scattered (fleeing) soldiers. During the battle I made their blood flow down the *hur-pa-lu* of the district. The plain was too small to let (all) their (text: his) souls descend¹⁰ (into the nether world), the vast field¹¹ gave out (when it came) to bury them. With their (text: sing.) corpses¹² I spanned the Orontes before there was a bridge. Even during the battle I took from them their chariots, their horses broken to the yoke.

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

(67—74 of the Billerbeck-Delitzsch Edition)

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

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

¹⁰ Text: *ana šum-pūl zi-me-šū(nu)* (line 110). This expression seems to indicate that the "souls" of the numerous dying soldiers were conceived as slipping down to the nether world through holes or cavities in the ground and that the massed corpses actually did cover the battlefield so completely as to make this descent difficult.

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

¹² Read *ad (da)*, i.e. *lú + uga*. For the sign and its reading, cf. A. Goetze, *JAOIS*, l.xv (1945), 231.

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

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

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

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

Tenth Year according to the text Schroeder, *KAH*, II, 110. Translation: Ernst Michel, *Die Assur-Texte Salmanassars III in Die Welt des Orients*, I (1947), pp. 67 ff.

(6—11)

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

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

(90—96 of the Billerbeck-Delitzsch Edition)

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

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

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

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

(face A [base], 87—89)

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

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

(99—102)

In the fourteenth year of my rule, I called up the innumerable (inhabitants) of my vast country and crossed the Euphrates, at its flood, with my army of 120,000 (men). At the same time, Hadadezer of Damascus, Irhuleni from Hamath as well as 12 (other) kings from the shore of the Upper and Lower Sea, called up the(ir) innumerable large army and rose against me. I fought with them and defeated them. I did destroy¹³ their chariots (and) their cavalry-horses, taking away from them their battle equipment. To save their lives they dispersed.

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

(face A [base], 91—93)

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

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

(face B [base], 97—99)

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

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

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

¹³ For the verb used here, cf. E. Ebeling, *AfO*, IX (1933-4), 327, n.16 (nš), and J. Seidmann, *MDOG*, IX/3 (1935), 18, n.1 (š').

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

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

(face B [base], 102—104)

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

(c) Various Inscriptions

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

(14—ii 1)

I defeated Hadadezer of Damascus (*Imēr[i]*) together with twelve princes, his allies (lit.: helpers). I stretched upon the ground 20,900 of his strong warriors like *šu-bi*,¹ the remnants of his troops I pushed into the Orontes (*Arantu*) river and they dispersed to save their lives; Hadadezer (himself) perished. Hazael, a commoner (lit.: son of nobody), seized the throne, called up a numerous army and rose against me. I fought with him and defeated him, taking the *chariots*² of his camp. He disappeared to save his life. I marched as far as Damascus (*Di-ma-āš-qi*), his royal residence [and cut down his] gardens.

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

(i 21—27)

Hadadezer, king of Damascus (*Ša-imērišu*), Irhulini from Hamath, together with 15(!) kings from the

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

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

² For this reading cf. B. Meissner, *OLZ*, xv (1912), p. 146, n.1.

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

(ii 14—17)

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

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

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

(d) Epigraphs

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

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

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

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

(Band XII—Syria)

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

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

II

The tribute of Jehu (*Ia-ú-a*), son of Omri (*Hu-um-ri*); I received from him silver, gold, a golden *saplu*-bowl, a golden vase with pointed bottom, golden tumblers, golden buckets, tin, a staff for a king, (and) wooden *puruhtu*.²

III

The tribute of the country Musri; I received from him camels whose backs were doubled,³ a river ox (*hippo-*

³ The meaning "cavalry-horse" for *pit-hallu* is well attested; only rarely this word denotes the chariot-horse, such as, e.g. in Thureau-Dangin, *VIII^e Campagne* line 403 "one statue (representing king) Ursâ with his two sisēma *pit-hal-li-tu*, his (chariot)-driver, together with its socle, made of cast bronze."

⁴ The name *Libbi-āli* denotes the central section of the town Ashur, cf. E. Unger in *Realexikon der Assyriologie*, I, 173.

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

² Text: *b/pu-ru-ha-ti*. Meaning unknown.

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

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

V

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

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

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

(I—2I)

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

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

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

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

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

¹ Text: *pit-ḫu šadū**, cf. E. Ebeling, *MAOG*, VII/1-2 (1933), 64, n.h. for this expression.

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

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

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

(11—20)

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

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

(a) Building Inscription

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

(56—63)

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

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

² Text: *a-na a-me-larútu-ú ina muḫhi ma' Mu-us-ri*.

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

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

(66)

I sent an officer of mine, the *rabšaq*,⁵ to Tyre [and received] from Metenna of Tyre 150 talents of gold. . . .

(b) Annalistic Records

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

Third Year, Rost, *op.cit.*, Pls. xx-xxi, text, pp. 19-23. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR, I, §770*.

(103—133)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

(150—157)

I received tribute from Kushtashpi of Commagene (*Kummuḫu*), Rezon (*Ra-ḫi-a-nu*)⁴⁸ of Damascus (*Ša-imērišu*), Menahem of Samaria (*Me-ni-ḫi-im-me* ⁴⁹*Same-ri-na-a-a*), Hiram (*Ḫi-ru-um-mu*) of Tyre, Sibitti-bi'li of Byblos, Urikki of Qu'e, Pisisis of Carchemish, I'nil of Hamath, Panammu of Sam'al, Tarḫulara of Gurgum, Sulumal of Militene, Dadilu of Kaska, Uas-surme of Tabal, Ushhitti of Tuna, Urballa of Tuhana, Tuhamme of Ishtunda, Urimme of Hubishna (and) Zabibe, the queen of Arabia,⁵ (to wit) gold, silver, tin, iron, elephant-hides, ivory, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, blue-dyed wool, purple-dyed⁶ wool, ebony-wood, boxwood-wood, whatever was precious (enough for a) royal treasure; also lambs whose stretched hides were dyed purple, (and) wild birds whose spread-out wings were dyed blue,⁷ (furthermore) horses, mules, large and small cattle, (male) camels, female camels with their foals.

After the 9th Year, Rost, *op.cit.*, Pls. xxii, xxiii, text pp. 35-41. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 1, §§777-779.

(205—240)

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

⁴⁸ The much-damaged stone tablet published by E. Nassouhi in *MAOG*, III/1-2, as No. VII contains the names *Ra-ḫi-a-nu* and *Su-lu-ma-al*. The reading *Ra-ḫi-a-nu* instead of *Ra-ḫun-nu* has been shown by B. Landsberger in *Sam'al (Veröffentlichungen der Türkischen historischen Gesellschaft, Series VII, No. 16 [Ankara, 1948])*, p. 66, n.169.

⁴⁹ For the female rulers of Arab tribes (attested in cuneiform documents from Tiglath-pileser III to Ashurbanipal, and perhaps [cf. n.7, p. 312] Nabonidus), cf. N. Abbot, *Pre-Islamic Arab Queens*, in *AJSL*, LVIII (1941), 1-22.

⁵ The terms used in this context are *takiltu* and *argamannu*; the first denoting a darker, the second a reddish shade of blue purple. cf. F. Thureau-Dangin, *Un comptoir de laine pourpre à Ras Shamra, etc.*, in *Syria*, xv (1934), 141.

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

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

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

(1—34)

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

As to Hanno of Gaza (*Ha-a-nu-ú-nu* ⁴¹*Ha-az-za-at-a-a*) who had fled before my army and run away to Egypt, [I conquered] the town of Gaza, . . . his personal property, his images . . . [and I placed (?)] (the images of) my [. . . gods] and my royal image in his own palace . . . and declared (them) to be (thenceforward) the gods of their country. I imposed upon th[em tribute]. [As for Menahem I ov]erwhelmed him [like a

⁸ The text has only: [. . .]-li.

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

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

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

(a) Inscriptions of a General Nature

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

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

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

(51-65, right face)

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

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

(*A-ma-at-tu*) in its entire [extent]. I br[ought its] ki[ng] Iaubi'di as well as his family, (and) [his] warriors in fet[ters], as the prisoner (contingent) of his country, to Assyria. From these (prisoners) I set [up a troop] of 300 chariots (and) 600 moun[ted men] equipped with leather shields and lan[ces], and ad[ded them] to my royal corps. I se[ttled] 6,300 Assyrians of reliable [disposition]¹ in the country of Hamath and installed an officer of mine as go[vern]or over them, imposing upon th[em] (the payment) of tri[bute].

(28-42, left face)

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

(b) From Annalistic Reports

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

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

(10-17)

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

According to the Display Inscriptions; text: H. Winckler, II, Pls. 30 f., 1, 101. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§5.

(23-26)

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

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

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

³For the textual and historical problems involved, cf. A. T. Olmstead, *The Text of Sargon's Annals*, in *ASL*, XI.VIII (1931), 259 ff.

away as booty 27,290 inhabitants of it. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots and made remaining (inhabitants) assume their (social) positions.² I installed over them an officer of mine and imposed upon them the tribute of the former king. Hanno, king of Gaza and also Sib'e,³ the *turtan*⁴ of Egypt (*Mu-su-ri*), set out from Rapihu against me to deliver a decisive battle. I defeated them; Sib'e ran away, afraid when he (only) heard the noise of my (approaching) army, and has not been seen again. Hanno, I captured personally. I received the tribute from Pir'u of Musuru,⁵ from Samsi, queen of Arabia (and) It'amar the Sabaeen, gold in dust-form, horses (and) camels.

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

(11-15)

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

(2) *Second Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *op.cit.*; H. Winckler, *Annals*, I, 23-31. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §5.

(23-57)

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

² To this meaning of *enú*, cf. *šnú* discussed below, n.1, p. 289

³ For this Egyptian name (mentioned also in II Kings 17:4) and the historical problems involved, cf. G. Steindorff, *Die keilschriftliche Wiedergabe. ägyptischer Eigennamen* (*BA*, I, 339 ff.); also, Kees, *GGÄ*, 1926, p. 426; H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisierung*, p. 38; and Helene von Zeissl, *Aethiopen und Assyrer in Ägypten, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ägyptischen "Spätzeit" (Ägyptologische Forschungen, Heft 14, 1944)*, p. 18 ff. Further, A. T. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (New York, 1923), p. 204.

⁴ The Assyrian word (attested since Shalmaneser III, but *tertennūtu* already in Boğazköi-Akkadian, *KBo*, I, 3:29 and Ebeling, *KAI*, 245:17 *amētar-te-ni-šu-nu*) refers to a high military and administrative official, second in rank only to the king (cf. E. Unger's translation *Vizekönig* in *ZATW*, 1923, 204ff.). Etymology uncertain; beside *turtanu*, also *tartanu* is attested.

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

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

According to the Display Inscriptions; text: H. Winckler, I, 103-105, II, Pl. 31. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §55.

(33-37)

Ia'ubidi from Hamath, a commoner⁸ without claim to the throne, a cursed Hittite, schemed to become king of Hamath, induced the cities Arvad, Simirra, Damascus (*Di-maš-qa^{kl}*) and Samaria to desert me, made them collaborate and fitted out an army. I called up the masses of the soldiers of Ashur and besieged him and his warriors in Qarqar, his favorite city. I conquered (it) and burnt (it). Himself I flayed; the rebels I killed in their cities and established (again) peace and harmony. A contingent of 200 chariots and 600 men on horseback I formed from among the inhabitants of Hamath and added them to my royal corps.

(3) *Fifth Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *op.cit.*; (H. Winckler, *Annals*, I, 46-50). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §8.

(72-76)

In the fifth year of my rule, Pisiri of Carchemish broke the oath sworn by the great gods and wrote messages to Midas (*Mi-ta-a*), king of Muski, (full) of hostile plans against Assyria. I lifted my hands (in prayer) to my lord Ashur (with the result that) I (quickly) made him, and also his family, surrender (lit.: come out) (of Carchemish), (all) in fetters and with the gold, silver and his personal possessions. And the rebellious inhabitants of Carchemish who (had sided) with him, I led away as prisoners and brought (them) to Assyria. I formed from among them a contingent of 50 chariots, 200 men on horseback (and) 3,000 foot soldiers and added (it) to my royal corps. In the city of Carchemish I (then) settled inhabitants of Assyria and imposed upon their (neck) the yoke of Ashur, my lord.⁹

(4) *Seventh Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *op.cit.*; (H. Winckler, *Annals*, I, 94-99). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§17-18.

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

⁷ This is meant to be a pun.

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

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

(120—125)

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

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

(5) *Eleventh Year*. According to A. G. Lie, *op.cit.*; (H. Winckler, *Annals*, I, 215-228). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §30.

(249—262)

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

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

(90—112)

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

¹⁰ These seeds are part of the Mesopotamian pharmacopoeia.

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

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

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

¹⁴ This translation is suggested by the context (differently Landsberger, *ZA*, XXXVII [NF III], 86 f. for *salimu*).

¹⁵ For the meaning of the administrative terminus technicus *ana eššūti šabātu*, cf. B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* (Heidelberg, 1920), I, p. 141.

¹⁶ A very similar version of this report is contained in the fragment BrM 81.7-23.3 published by E. F. Weidner, in *AJO*, XIV (1941), 40, with transliteration and translation on p. 50.

against Assyria, to the kings (living) in his neighborhood. On account of the(se) act(s) which he committed, I abolished his rule over the people of his country and made Ahimiti, his younger brother, king over them. But the(se) Hittites, always planning evil deeds, hated his reign and elevated to rule over them a Greek (*Ia-ma-ni*) who, without any claim to the throne, had no respect for authority—just as they themselves. In a sudden rage, I did not (wait to) assemble the full might of my army (or to) prepare the camp(ing equipment), but started out towards Ashdod (only) with those of my warriors who, even in friendly areas, never leave my side. But this Greek heard about the advance of my expedition, from afar, and he fled into the territory of Musru—which belongs (now) to Ethiopia—and his (hiding) place could not be detected. I besieged (and) conquered the cities Ashdod, Gath, Asdudimmu; I declared his images, his wife, his children, all the possessions and treasures of his palace as well as the inhabitants of his country as booty. I reorganized (the administration of) these cities (and) settled therein people from the [regions] of the East which I had conquered personally. I installed an officer of mine over them and declared them Assyrian citizens and they pulled (as such) the straps (of my yoke). The king of Ethiopia who [lives] in [a distant country], in an inapproachable region, the road [to which is . . .], whose fathers never—from remote days until now¹⁷—had sent messengers to inquire after the health of my royal forefathers, he did hear, even (that) far away, of the might of Ashur, Nebo (and) Marduk. The awe-inspiring glamor of my kingship blinded him and terror overcame him. He threw him (i.e. the Greek) in fetters, shackles and iron bands, and they brought him to Assyria, a long journey.

(c) From Broken Prisms

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

. . . in the region of the town *Naḫal-m[ušur]* (¹) . . .] I made [my army] march [the road] towards sunset . . . the sheik² of the town Laban . . . Shilkanni (or: Shilhenni),³ king of Musri, who . . . the terror-inspiring glamor of Ashur, my lord, overwhelmed him and he brought as *tāmartu* -present 12 fine (lit.: big) horses from Musri which have not their equals in this country.

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

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

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

³ W. von Bissing (*apud* Weidner, *AJO*, XIV [1941], 44 f.) discusses the possibility that this name renders that of an Egyptian king of the 22nd or 23rd dynasty, while G. Ryckmans (*Ši-il-kan-ni, Ši-il-ḫe-ni=arabe* (pre-islamique) *Šihn*, in *AJO*, XIV [1941], 54 f.) attempts to link it to Old Arabic names.

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

[Aziru, king] of Ashdod (lacuna) on account of [this crime . . .] from . . . Ahimiti⁴ . . . his younger brother over [them . . .] I made (him) ruler . . . tribute . . . like (those of) the [former] kings, I imposed upon him. [But these] accused [Hittites] conceived [the idea] of not delivering the tribute and [started] a rebellion against their ruler; they expelled him . . . (Ia-ma-ni) a Greek, comm[oner without claim to the throne] to be king over them, they made sit down [on the very throne] of his (former) master and [they . . .] their city of (or: for) the at[tack] (lacuna of 3 lines) . . . its neighborhood, a moat [they prepared] of a depth of 20 + x cubits . . . it (even) reached the underground water, in order to . . . Then [to] the rulers of Palestine (*Pi-liš-te*), Judah (*Ia-ú-di*), Ed[om], Moab (and) those who live (on islands) and bring tribute [and] *tâmartu* -gifts to my lord Ashur—[he spread] countless evil lies to alienate (them) from me, and (also) sent bribes to Pir'u, king of Musru—a potentate, incapable to save them—and asked him to be an ally. But I, Sargon, the rightful ruler, devoted to the pronouncements (uttered by) Nebo and Marduk, (carefully) observing the orders of Ashur, led my army over the Tigris and the Euphrates, at the peak of the(ir) flood, the spring flood, as (if it be) dry ground. This Greek, however, their king who had put his trust in his own power and (therefore) did not bow to my (divinely ordained) rulership, heard about the approach of my expedition (while I was still) far away, and the splendor of my lord Ashur overwhelmed him and . . . he fled. . . .

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

(8)

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

8. SENNACHERIB (704-681)

(a) The Siege of Jerusalem¹

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

⁴ Instead of Ahimiti, the parallel version has the name Ahimilki.

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

² For the problems involved, cf. the following bibliography: A. Alt, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxv (1929), 80-88; G. Boufflower, *Journal of the Transactions, Victoria Institute*, LX, 214-220; P. R. Dougherty, *JBL*, XLIX (1930), 160-171; O. Eissfeldt, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxvii (1931), 58-65; S. I. Feigin, *Missitrei Hea'ar* (New York, 1943), pp. 88-117, 202-209 (in Hebrew); K. Fullerton, *ASL*, XLII (1925), 1-25; L. L. Honor, *Sennacherib's Invasion of Palestine, A Critical Source Study* (New York, 1926); J. Lewy, *OLZ*, xxxi (1928), 150-163; Th. Reinach, *Revue des études grecques*, 172, 257-260; R. W. Rogers, *Wellhausen-Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914), p. 322; W. Rudolph, *Palästina Jahrbuch*, xxv (1929), 59-80; A. Ungnad, *Die Zahl der von Sanherib deportierten Judäer*, *ZAW*, LIX, 199-202.

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

(ii 37—iii 49)

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

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

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

² For the enigmatic idiom *Jadâ(šu) emédu*, cf. lately E. F. Weidner, *AJO*, XIII (1940), 233 f. with the proposed translation "to die an infamous death."

³ Note the social stratification indicated in this passage.

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

As to Hezekiah, the Jew, he did not submit to my yoke, I laid siege to 46 of his strong cities, walled forts and to the countless small villages in their vicinity, and conquered (them) by means of well-stamped (earth-)ramps, and battering-rams brought (thus) near (to the walls) (combined with) the attack by foot soldiers, (using) mines, breeches as well as sapper work. I drove out (of them) 200,150 people, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, donkeys, camels, big and small cattle beyond counting, and considered (them) booty. Himself I made a prisoner in Jerusalem, his royal residence, like a bird in a cage. I surrounded him with earthwork in order to molest those who were leaving his city's gate. His towns which I had plundered, I took away from his country and gave them (over) to Mitinti, king of Ashdod, Padi, king of Ekron, and Sillibel, king of Gaza. Thus I reduced his country, but I still increased the tribute and the *katru*-presents (due) to me (as his) overlord which I imposed (later) upon him beyond the former tribute, to be delivered annually. Hezekiah himself, whom the terror-inspiring splendor of my lordship had overwhelmed and whose irregular⁴ and elite troops which he had brought into Jerusalem, his royal residence, in order to strengthen (it), had deserted him, did send me, later, to Nineveh, my lordly city, together with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious stones, antimony,⁵ large cuts of red stone, couches (inlaid) with ivory, *nimedu*-chairs (inlaid) with ivory, elephant-hides, ebony-wood, box-wood (and) all kinds of valuable treasures, his (own) daughters, concubines, male and female musicians. In order to deliver the tribute and to do obeisance as a slave he sent his (personal) messenger.

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

(17—21)

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

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

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

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

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

(13—15)

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

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

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

(b) The Death of Sennacherib¹

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

(iv 65—82)

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

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

9. ESARHADDON (680-669)

(a) The Fight for the Throne

From the so-called Prism B, after R. Campbell Thompson, *The Prisms of Esarhaddon and of Ashurbanipal* (London, 1931). Translation: R. Campbell Thompson, *ibid.*; and Th. Bauer, *ZA*, XLII (NF VIII), pp. 171 ff.

(i I—ii 11)

Property of Esarhaddon, great king, legitimate king, king of the world, king of Assyria, regent of Babylon, king of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four rims (of the earth), the true shepherd, favorite of the great gods, whom Ashur, Shamash, Bel and Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela have pronounced king of Assyria (ever) since he was a youngster.

I was (indeed) the(ir) youngest (brother) among my elder brothers, (but) my own father, upon the command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel and Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela, has chosen me—in due form and in the presence (lit.: assembly) of all my brothers—saying: "This is the son to (be elevated to) the position of a successor of mine." (Then) he put this question before Shamash and Adad by means of an oracle and they answered him: "He (verily) is your replacement."¹ He (i.e. Sennacherib) heeded their important pronouncement and called together the people of Assyria, young and old, my brothers (and all) the male² descendants of (the family of) my father and made them take a solemn oath in the presence of (the images of) the gods of Assyria: Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Nebo (and) Marduk, (and) of (all) the (other) gods residing in heaven and in the nether world, in order to secure my succession.

In a propitious month, on a favorable day, I happily entered—upon their exalted (oracle-)command—the palace of the crown prince, this highly venerable place in which (those) live (who are) destined for the kingship. (When) the real meaning (of this act) dawned upon my brothers, they abandoned godliness, put their trust on bold actions, planning an evil plot. They originated against me slander, false accusation, (whatever is) disliked by the gods, and constantly were spreading evil, incorrect and hostile (rumors) behind my back. (Thus) they alienated from me—against the will of the gods—the heart of my father which was (formerly) friendly, (though) in the bottom of his heart there was (always) love (for me) and his intentions were (always) that I should become king. I became apprehensive and asked myself as follows: "Are their bold actions based upon trust in their own ideas³ or could they have acted (that) evil against the will of the gods?" I implored Ashur, the king of the gods (and) the merciful Marduk, to (both of) whom baseness is an abomination, by means of prayers, lamentations and prostrations, and they (eventually) agreed to (give) the (oracle-)answer (that the brothers acted) according

¹ The term *ténú* (from *enú* "to change, replace") corresponds exactly to Arabic *caliph*.

² The reading *zêru* fits better into the context than the variant *šumu*.

³ Translation suggested by context.

to the decision of the great gods, my lords. And they (the gods) made me stay in a hiding place in the face of (these) evil machinations, spreading their sweet protecting shadow over me and (thus) preserving me for the kingship.

Thereupon, my brothers went out of their senses, doing everything that is wicked in (the eyes of) the gods and mankind, and (continued) their evil machinations. They (even) drew weapons in the midst of Nineveh (which is) against (the will of) the gods, and butted each other—like kids—to take over the kingship. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh (and) the Ishtar of Arbela looked with displeasure upon these doings of the usurpers which had come to pass against the will of the gods, and they did not help them. (On the contrary) they changed their strength into weakness and (thus) made them (eventually) bow beneath me. (Also) the people of Assyria which had sworn the oath of the great gods, by means of water and oil, to protect my claim to the kingship, did not come to their assistance. But I, Esarhaddon, who never turns around in a battle, trusting in the great gods, his lords, soon heard of these sorry happenings and I cried out "Woe!" rent my princely robe and began to lament loudly. I became as mad as a lion, my soul was aflame and I (called up the gods by) clapping my hands, with regard to my (intention of) assuming the kingship, my paternal legacy. I prayed to Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Bel, Nebo and Nergal, (to) the Ishtar of Nineveh, the Ishtar of Arbela, and they agreed to give an (oracle-)answer. By means of their correct (and) positive answer, they sent me the (following) trustworthy oracle (received by) extispicy: "Go (ahead), do not tarry! We will march with you, kill your enemies!" I did not even wait for the next day,⁴ nor for my army, did not turn back (for a moment), did not muster the contingents of horses broken to the yoke or the battle equipment, I did not (even) pile up provisions for my expedition, I was not afraid of the snow and the cold of the month Shabatu (in which) the winter is (at its) hard(est)—but I spread my wings like the (swift-)flying storm(bird) to overwhelm my enemies. I followed that road to Nineveh which is difficult for traveling but short. In front of me, in the territory of Hanigalbat, all their (i.e. the brothers') best soldiers blocked the advance of my expeditionary corps, sharpening their weapons (for the battle). But the terror(-inspiring sight) of the great gods, my lords, overwhelmed them and they turned into madmen when they saw the attack of my strong battle array. Ishtar, the Lady of Battle, who likes me (to be) her high priest, stood at my side breaking their bows, scattering their orderly battle array. And then they spoke among themselves: "This is our king!" Upon her lofty command they went over in masses to me and rallied behind me. Like lambs they gamboled and (recognized) me as their lord by praying (to me). The people of

⁴ Idiomatic expression, lit.: "one day, two days, I did not wait."

Assyria which had sworn an oath by the life of the great gods on my behalf, came to meet me and kissed my feet. But they, the usurpers, who had started the rebellion, deserted their (most) trustworthy troops, when they heard the approach of my expeditionary corps and fled to an unknown country.

I reached the embankment of the Tigris and upon the (oracle-)command of Sin and Shamash, the (two) lords of the (celestial) embankment, I had all my troops jump over the Tigris as if it be a small ditch.

(ii)

In the month of Addar, a favorable month, on the 8th day, the day of the Nebo festival, I entered joyfully into Nineveh, the town in which I (exercise) my lordship and sat down happily upon the throne of my father. The Southwind, the breeze (directed by) Ea, blew (at this moment), this wind, the blowing of which portends well for exercising kingship, came just in time for me. (Other) favorable omens on the sky and on earth (which to interpret is) the work of the seer, messages of the gods and goddesses, happened continuously to me and made my heart confident. The culpable military which had schemed to secure the sovereignty of Assyria for my brothers, I considered guilty as a collective group and meted out a grievous punishment to them; I (even) exterminated their male descendants.

(b) Texts of a General Nature

(1) From the Steinplatteninschrift published by L. Messerschmidt, in *KAH*, 1, No. 75. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §710.

(2—11 obverse)

I cut down with the sword and conquered . . . I caught like a fish (and) cut off his head. I trod up[on Arzâ¹ at] the "Brook of Eg[ypt]." I put Asuhili, its king, in fetters and took [him to Assyria]. I conquered the town of Bazu in a district which is far away. Upon Qanaia, king of Tilmun. I imposed tribute due to me as (his) lord. I conquered the country of Shupria in its full extent and slew with (my own) weapon Ik(!)-Teshup, its king who did not listen to my personal orders. I conquered Tyre which is (an island) amidst the sea. I took away all the towns and the possessions of Ba'lu its king, who had put his trust on Tirhakah (*Tarqû*), king of Nubia (*Kûsu*). I conquered Egypt (*Muṣur*), Patur[isi]² and Nubia. Its king, Tirhakah, I wounded five times with arrowshots and ruled over his entire country; I carried much booty away]. All the kings from (the islands) amidst the sea—from the country Iadanana (Cyprus), as far as Tarsisi,³ bowed to my feet and I received heavy tribute (from them).

¹ For Arzâ or Aršâ cf. Weissbach, *ZA*, xxxviii, 108 ff.

² cf. for this name 'M. J. Leibovitch, Pathros, in *Bulletin de l'Institut d'Égypte*, xvii (1934-35), 69 ff.

³ Text: *Nu-si-si* (identified with Knossos by Luckenbill, in *ZA*, xxviii, 95) but the tablet has actually *Tar-si-si* (cf. Meissner, *DLZ*, 1917, 410). Cf. also Weidner, *Mélanges syriens*, 11, 932, n.3, Albright, *BASOR*, 83, 21 ff.

(2) The door socket published (with transliteration and translation) by E. Nassouhi, *Textes divers relatifs à l'histoire de l'Assyrie* (*MAOG*, III/1-2, Leipzig, 1927) No. x, 19 f.

To Ashur, his lord, Esarhaddon, king of the world, king of [Assyria], governor of Babylon, king of Kar-Duni[ash], king of kings, k[ing] of E[gypt] (*M[u-ṣur*]), Patur[isi] and Nubia (*Kûsu*), [has dedicated this door/building] for his (own) life and the prosperity (*ṣulmu*) of his country.

(3) From a clay barrel found in Ashur and published by E. Nassouhi, *ibid.* as No. xii, 22 ff.

(7—8)

Conqueror of the town Sidon which is situated (on an island) in the midst of the sea . . . [who plundered the country Arsa] which is (situated) along the "Brook of Egypt" (*i-te-e na-ḥal mat-Mu-[u]ṣ-ri*), who put its [king] Asu[hili] in fetters together with his councilors (*māliku*) . . .

(c) The Syro-Palestinian Campaign

(1) From the Prism A, published by Rawlinson, Vol. 1, Pls. 45 f. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§527-528.

(i 9—54)

(I am Esarhaddon), the conqueror of Sidon, which lies (on an island) amidst the sea, (he) who has leveled all its urban buildings—I even tore up and cast into the sea its wall and its foundation, destroying (thus) completely the (very) place it (i.e. Sidon) was built (upon). I caught out of the open sea, like a fish, Abdimilkutte, its king, who had fled before my attack into the high sea, and I cut off his head. I carried away as booty his piled-up possessions in large amounts (to wit): gold, silver, precious stones, elephant-hides, ivory, ebony and boxwood, garments (made) with multicolored trimmings and linen, all his personal valuables. I drove to Assyria his teeming people which could not be counted, (also) large and small cattle and donkeys. I (then) called together and made all the kings of the country Hatti and of the seashore (do corvée-work for me) by making them erect the walls of another [residence] and I called its name Kar-Esarhaddon. I settled therein people from the mountain regions and the sea(shore) of the East, (those) who belonged to me as my share of the booty.¹ I set over them officers of mine as governors.

As for Sanduarri, king of Kundi and Sizu, an inveterate enemy, unwilling to recognize me as ruler (and) whom the gods (therefore) forsook,—(who) had put his trust upon the rugged mountains (of his country) and had made Abdimilkutte, king of Sidon, his ally (lit.: helper) by taking mutual oaths by the life of the great gods—they put their trust upon their own force while I trusted Ashur, my lord,—I caught him like a bird in his mountains and (likewise) cut off his

¹ Text: *hubu ḥaḡāḡi*; this legal term recurs in the so-called "Erstbericht" of Esarhaddon (cf. Th. Bauer in *ZA*, xl, p. 259, 1v:11) and in the Neo-Babylonian text Strassmaier, *Camb.* 334:4.

head. (Then) I hung the heads of Sanduarri and of Abdimilkutte around the neck of their nobles/chief-officials to demonstrate to the population the power of Ashur, my lord, and paraded (thus) through the wide main street of Nineveh with singers (playing on) *sammû*-harps.

(2) From Prism B, published by R. Campbell Thompson, *op.cit.* Translation: *ibid.*, p. 16.

(ii 65—82)

Abdimilkutte, king of Sidon, without respect for my position as lord, without listening to my personal orders, threw off the yoke of the god Ashur, trusting the heaving sea (to protect him). As to Sidon, his fortress town, which lies in the midst of the sea, I leveled it as (if) an *abûbu*-storm (had passed over it), its walls and foundations I tore out and threw (them) into the sea destroying (thus) its emplacement completely. I caught Abdimilkutte, its king, who fled before my attack into the sea, upon an oracle-command of Ashur, my lord, like a fish on high sea and cut off his head. I carried off as booty: his wife, his children, the personnel of his palace, gold, silver, (other) valuables, precious stones, garments made of multicolored trimmings and linen, elephant-hides, ivory, ebony and boxwood, whatever precious objects there were in his palace, (and) in great quantities. I led to Assyria his teeming subjects, which could not be counted, (and) large and small cattle and donkeys in great quantities. (There), I called together all the kings of the country Hatti and from the seacoast and made them build a town (for me) on a new location, calling its name Kar-Esarhadon.

(3) From the fragmentary text K 2671(!) rev., published by H. Winckler, in *ZA*, II (1887), Pl. I, after p. 314. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §547.

(reverse 2—10)

[Ba'lu, king of Ty]re, living [on an island amidst the sea] . . . threw off my yoke . . . [of As]hur and the splendor of my lordship [overwhelmed him] . . . [he] bowed down and implored me, as his lord. . . heavy [tribu]te, his daughters with dowries [as well as] all the [tribu]tes which he had omitted (to send). He kissed my feet. I took away from him those of his towns (which are situated on) the mainland [and re]organized [the region] turning it over to Assyria.

(4) From the Prism B, published by R. Campbell Thompson, *op.cit.* Translation: *ibid.*, pp. 25 f.

(v 54—vi 1)

I called up the kings of the country Hatti and (of the region) on the other side of the river (Euphrates) (to wit): Ba'lu, king of Tyre, Manasseh (*Me-na-si-i*), king of Judah (*Ia-û-di*), Qaushgabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-Bel, king of Gaza, Metinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu, king of Ekron, Milkiashapa, king of Byblos, Matanba'al, king of Arvad, Abiba'al, king of

Samsimuruna, Puduil, king of Beth-Ammon, Ahimilki, king of Ashdod—12 kings from the seacoast;

Ekishtura, king of Edi'il (Idalion),¹ Pilagura (Pythagoras), king of Kitrusi (Chytros), Kisu, king of Sillu'ua (Soli), Ituandar, king of Pappa (Paphos), Erisu, king of Silli, Damasu, king of Kuri (Curium), Atmesu, king of Tamesi, Damusi, king of Qarti-hadasti (Carthage), Unasagusu, king of Lidir (Ledra), Bususu, king of Nuria,—10 kings from Cyprus (*Iadnana*) amidst the sea,

together 22 kings of Hatti, the seashore and the islands; all these I sent out and made them transport under terrible difficulties, to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rulership, as building material for my palace: big logs, long beams (and) thin boards from cedar and pine trees, products of the Sirara and Lebanon (*Lab-na-na*) mountains, which had grown for a long time into tall and strong timber, (also) from their quarries (lit.: place of creation) in the mountains, statues of protective deities (lit.: of Lamassû and Shêdu) made of a *š n a n*-stone, statues of (female) *abzaztu*,² thresholds, slabs of limestone, of a *š n a n*-stone, of large- and small-grained breccia, of *alallu*-stone, (and) of *g i r i n . h i . l i . b a*-stone.³

(d) The Campaign against the Arabs and Egypt

(1) From the Prism B, published by R. Campbell Thompson, *op.cit.* Translation: *ibid.*, p. 20.¹

(iv 1—13)

(From) Adumatu,² the stronghold of the Arabs which Sennacherib, king of Assyria, my own father, had conquered and (from where) he has taken as booty its possessions, its images as well as Iskallatu, the queen of the Arabs, and brought (all these) to Assyria, Hazail, the king of the Arabs, came with heavy gifts to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rulership, and kissed my feet. He implored me to return his images and I had mercy upon him; I repaired the damages of the images of Atarsamain, Dai, Nuhai, Ruldaui, Abirillu (and of) Atarquruma,³ the gods of the Arabs, and returned them to him after having written upon them an inscription (proclaiming) the (superior) might of Ashur, my lord, and my own name. I made Tarbua who had grown up in the palace of my father their queen and returned her to her (native) country together

¹ For these more or less tentative identifications, cf. Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (London, 1940), I, 107 ff.

² cf. N. Schneider, *AFO*, XIV (1941), 70 ff. (with references to previous discussions).

³ For this stone, cf. B. Meissner, in *MAOG*, XI (1937), 21 (No. 17), for the stones called *alallu* and a *š n a n* cf. respectively pp. 159 and 163 of R. C. Thompson, *A Dictionary of Assyrian Chemistry and Geology* (Oxford, 1936).

¹ For Arabia at this period, cf. Trude Weiss Rosmarin, *Aribi und Arabien in den Babylonisch-Assyrischen Quellen*, in *JSOR*, XVI (1932), 1 ff., especially 14 ff. For Egypt at this period, I can only refer to Helene von Zeissl, *Aethiopen und Assyrer in Aegypten* (*Aegyptologische Forschungen*, No. 14 [Gluecksstadt, 1944]).

² Identified with Djof by E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, p. 64. cf. also W. F. Albright, *The Conquests of Nabonid in Arabia*, *JRAS*, 1925, pp. 293 ff.

³ For this enumeration of pre-Islamic Arab deities, cf. Weiss Rosmarin, *JSOR*, XVI (1932), 32.

with her gods. As an additional tribute, I imposed upon him (the payment of) 65 camels (and) 10 foals (more than) before. When fate carried Hazail away, I set Iata', his son, upon his throne and assessed upon him an additional tribute of 10 minas of gold (and) 1,000 *biruti*-stones, 50 camels, 100 *kunzu*-bags⁴ with aromatic matter (more than) his father (paid).

Afterwards, Wahb (*Uabu*) induced all the Arabs to revolt against Iata', (because) he wanted to become king (himself), but I, Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, king of the four rims (of the earth), who loves justice and to whom crookedness is an abomination, sent my army to the assistance of Iata', and they subdued all the Arabs. They threw Wahb and the warriors of his entourage in fetters and brought them (to me). I put collars on them and bound them to the posts of my gate.

(2) From the British Museum Fragment K 8523, published by H. Winckler, in *ZA*, II (1887), 299 ff., and *Tafel* II (after p. 314); cf. also, H. Winckler *Altorientalische Forschungen* (Leipzig, 1897), I, 526. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§550-552.

(13 obverse—end)

[Ar]zani which is (situated) on the "Brook of Egypt" I reached . . . I destroyed

(reverse)

I brought [NN with he]avy [booty] to Assyria . . . , like a pig I tied him [to the gate of]. . . [As to Hazail, king of Arabia], my [awe-inspiring splendor] overwhelmed him and he brought to me gold, silver, precious stones [and . . .] and kissed my feet. I imposed upon him 65 camels more than [the trib]ute (imposed by) my father. Afterwards, Hazail [died and Iata', his son,] sat down [upon] his throne and I (again) imposed upon him an (additional) tribute of 10 minas of gold, 1,000 *birute*-stones, 50 ca[mels above the tribute paid by] his father. Wahb (however) induced all the Arabs to rebel against Iata' and. . . [But, I, Esarhaddon] to whom [. . . and croo]kness is an abomination [sent out] (a contingent) of bowmen (mounted on) horse(back) from my army [and pa]cified [the Arabs] making (them) submit (again) to him (i.e. Iata'). They brought Wahb together with the [other leaders to Assyria and they tied him] to the left side of the Metal-worker's Gate in Nineveh and made (him) guard the bar. . . Abdimilkutte, ki[ng of] Sidon [and Sanduarri], king of Kundi (and) Si[zu] (destroyed).

(3) Report on the tenth campaign in the annalistic text British Museum K 3082 + S 2027 + K 3086, published by R. W. Rogers, *Haverford College Studies*, No. 2 (1889), pp. 65 ff. Translation: H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889), pp. 97-98; Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§554-559.

(6 obverse—18 reverse)

In my tenth campaign, I directed my march [against

⁴ For this term denoting some kind of leather bag, cf. Ebeling, in *MAOG*, XI/1 (1937), 25, n.13. cf. also R. C. Thompson, Notes to my Prisms of Esarhaddon, *AAA*, XX (1933), pp. 126 f.

. . . I ordered . . .] towards the country . . . which is called in the language of the people of Nubia (*Kusu*) and Egypt (*Musur*). . . . I called up the numerous army of Ashur which was stationed in. . . . In the month of Nisanu, the first month (of the year), I departed from my city Ashur. I crossed the Tigris and the Euphrates at (the time of) their flood; I advanced over the difficult territory (of my route) (as quick-footed) as a wild-ox. In the course of my campaign I threw up earthwork (for a siege) against Ba'lu, king of Tyre who had put his trust upon his friend Tirhakah (*Tarqu*), king of Nubia (*Kusu*), and (therefore) had thrown off the yoke of Ashur, my lord, answering (my admonitions with) insolence. I withheld from them (i.e. the inhabitants of besieged Tyre) food and (fresh) water which sustain life. (Then) I removed my camp from Musru and marched directly towards Meluhha¹—a distance of 30 double-hours from the town of Apku which is in the region of Samaria (*Sa-me-[ri-na]*) as far as the town Rapihu (in) the region adjacent to the "Brook of Egypt"—and there is no river (all the way)! By means of cords,² chains (and) buckets I had to provide water for my army by drawing from wells.

(reverse)

When the oracle-command of Ashur, my lord, came to my mind (during this calamity) my soul [rejoiced] (and) I put [water bottles] . . . upon the camels which all the kings of Arabia had brought. . . . A distance of 20 double-hours in a journey of 15 days through . . . I advanced. A distance of 4 double-hours I marched over a territory covered with alum² and *musu*[-stone].³ A distance of 4 double-hours in a journey of 2 days (there were) two-headed serpents [whose attack] (spelled) death—but I trampled (upon them) and marched on. A distance of 4 double-hours in a journey of 2 days (there were) green [animals]⁴ whose wings were batting. A distance of 4 double-hours in a journey of 2 days . . . upper. . . . A distance of 15 double-hours in a journey of 8 days, I advanced [through] . . . (then) Marduk, the great lord, came to my assistance [he did . . . and thus] kept my troops alive. For 20 days and 7 [double miles] (a town/region) which is on the frontier of . . . Magan.¹ [In . . .] I spent the night. From the town of Mag[da]li I advanced to the town of . . . , a distance of 40 double-hours measured . . . this territory was like KA[. . .]⁵-stone, [. . . sharp] like the point of a spear/arrow . . . blood and pus . . . the wicked

¹ This text uses the geographical terms *Musru*, *Magan*, *Meluhha*, etc. rather loosely.

² For the words used in this context (*iblu*, *harharru*, and *kalkaltu*), cf. Landsberger, in *ZA*, XLIII (NF IX), 75.

³ Text: *abangab-e*. The alum of this region seems to have been exported to Egypt where it was denoted with a Semitic loan word: *ibnm*, i.e. "stones."

⁴ A stone called *musu* is well attested; cf. B. Meissner, *OLZ*, XVII (1914), 54, n.1; also E. F. Weidner, *Afo*, VIII (1932-3), 58. In the present context, the word is, however, incompletely preserved.

⁵ cf. perhaps, B. Landsberger (and I. Krumbiegel), *Die Fauna des Alten Mesopotamiens nach der 14. Tafel der Serie HAR.RA = hubullu* (*Saechs. Ak. d. Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Kl. Abh.* XLII/VI [1934]), No. 314 or 319.

⁶ Probably referring to obsidian.

enemy together as far as . . . to the town of Ishhup[ri]^a (balance destroyed).

(4) From the fragment, British Museum 80-7-19,15. Transliteration and translation only by H. Winckler, *Untersuchungen zur altorientalischen Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 98.

I scattered their well arranged battle force . . . his brother, his governors [. . . from] Ishhupri as far as Memphis (destroyed).

(5) From the Senjirli Stela published by A. Ungnad, in *VS*, 1, No. 78 (cf. also, *ibid.*, p. x). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §580.

(37—53 reverse)

From the town of Ishhupri as far as Memphis, his royal residence, a distance of 15 days (march), I fought daily, without interruption, very bloody battles against Tirhakah (*Tarqû*), king of Egypt and Ethiopia, the one accursed by all the great gods. Five times I hit him with the point of (my) arrows (inflicting) wounds (from which he should) not recover, and (then) I led siege to Memphis, his royal residence, and conquered it in half a day by means of mines, breaches and assault ladders; I destroyed (it), tore down (its walls) and burnt it down. His "queen,"¹ the women of his palace,² Ushanahuru, his "heir apparent,"³ his other children, his possessions, horses, large and small cattle beyond counting, I carried away as booty to Assyria. All Ethiopians I deported from Egypt—leaving not even one to do homage (to me). Everywhere in Egypt, I appointed new (local) kings, governors, officers (*šaknu*), harbor overseers, officials and administrative personnel. I installed regular sacrificial dues for Ashur and the (other) great gods, my lords, for all times. I imposed upon them tribute due to me (as their) overlord, (to be paid) annually without ceasing. I had (also) made (this) stela (bearing) my name-inscription and had written thereupon the praise of the valor of my lord Ashur, my own mighty deeds—when I was marching (against the enemy) upon the trustworthy oracles of my lord Ashur—as well as my triumphal personal achievements, and I erected it, for all days to come, (so that) it was to be seen by the entire country of the enemy.

(6) From the Dog River Stela, published by F. H. Weissbach, *Die Denkmäler und Inschriften des Nahr-el-Kelb* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1922) (= *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutzkommandos*, Heft 6), Pls. XI-XII (and pp. 27 ff.). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, 11, §§584-585.

(7—end)

I entered Memphis (*Me-im-pi*), his royal residence, amidst (general) jubilation and rejoicing. . . . [u]pon

^a Against Landsberger-Bauer (*ZA*, xxxvii [NF III], 76 f.), who locate the above described region in Persia, this local name links our fragment immediately to the next, which clearly records the campaign against Egypt.

¹ Text: šà.é.gal šu; for this unique denomination of the wife of a ruler of royal rank, cf., e.g. Martin, *Tribut*, p. 50, n.1, who discusses the Sumerogram SAL.É.GAL denoting the wife of the Assyrian king. Actual ruling queens (on the divine as well as on the human level) are termed *šarratu* (in the Hittite texts SAL.LUGAL).

² Text: SAL.ERIN.É.GAL.

³ Text: mār rīdāti.

the *šadalum* which was plated with gold, I sa[t down] in happiness. . . . weapons, [. . .]*KURNANĀTI* of gold, silver, plate[s of]. . . . Afterwards . . . [I en]tered and his personal property (lit.: palace), the gods and goddesses of Tirhakah (*Tarqû*), king of Nubia (*Kūsu*), together with their possessions . . . I declared as booty. [His] "queen," the female servants of his court, Ushanahuru, the heir to his throne, [. . .]miri, his court official(s), . . . his possessions, [. . .]s inlaid with *KUR*-stone, ivory, wooden . . . , the plating of which is of gold, their faucets/openings of . . . (other) utensils of gold, silver, [. . .]-stone, . . . whatever was in the palace which had no [equal in Assyria] and/or was artfully/interestingly constructed. And I (also) opened the chests, the baskets and . . . [in which were stored the tribute] of his kingdom, I did . . . king . . . they had left them (behind) as well as 16 t[iaras] 30 headgears for "queens" [. . .]-stone [. . .] stone slabs . . . in large quantities. The treasuries (full) with gold, silver, ant[imony] . . . , byssus-linen,¹ . . . the *batbat* of which is like . . . , copper, tin, *abaru*-metal, ivory, [. . .]s of the Suti-people . . . his sons-in-law, his family (*qinnu*), . . . princes . . . physicians, divination-experts, . . . goldsmiths, cabinetmakers, . . . the son of Binzuqi . . . which Tirhakah [has made] to their strongholds, . . . (balance destroyed).²

(7) In *Altorientalische Forschungen*, Vol. 11, p. 21, H. Winckler published a fragment of a prism in the British Museum (Bu 91-2-9, 218). This text of two columns has never been translated and is included here because it very likely refers to the Egyptian campaign of Esarhaddon. The first column parallels the enumeration of craftsmen and specialists deported from Egypt contained in the text of the badly damaged Dog River Stela. The second column lists the officials installed by the Assyrian conqueror in a series of cities, all mentioned with their new Assyrian names, and the regular sacrificial offerings imposed upon them.

(col. A)

. . . precious stones beyond counting . . . which . . . the offspring of his father's family . . . third-men-on-chariots, charioteers . . . [dri]vers, bowmen, shieldbearers . . . [. . .]s BAR.NUN-men HAR.DI.[. . . men], veterinarians, [. . .]-scribes, . . . *kāširu*,¹ singers, *bread*-(bakers), ditto, . . . brewers and their . . .² ditto, . . . [. . .]-men, fishermen, [. . .]-men, ditto, . . . cartwrights, shipwrights, . . . their [. . .], ditto, . . . black[smiths]. . . .

(col. B)

. . . [over the town . . .]mukin-palu-kussu-abishu, . . . over the town Mahri-gare-sarri, Sa[. . .] over the

¹ Text: *sad-din bu-ū-si*, as in the Neo-Assyrian letter, Harper, *ABL*, 568:11, and in C. H. W. Johns, *Assyrian Deeds and Documents*, 1129:3. For *saddin* (possibly "satin"), cf. Stamm, *MVAG*, XLIV, 256; for *bīšu* ("byssus"), H. Zimmern, *Fremdwörter*, p. 37; both terms denote linen fabrics of a special quality.

² The damaged lines mention Tyre and Ashkelon as has been shown by E. F. Weidner in *OLZ*, xxvii (1924), 647. For a reference to the booty taken from Memphis, cf. also Th. Bauer, *Assurbanipal*, I, Pl. 36, II, 66.

¹ This name of profession cannot be identified with certainty. Certain indications point to a connection with the manufacturing of textiles.

² Text: lū. nīg.gal.meš šū-nu. Hapax legomenon.

town Ashur-matsu-urappish, Sik[. . .] over the town Ashur-nakamte-LAL, Pudime[. . .] over the town Limmir-ishak-Ashur, Dimu[. . .] over the town Kar-Banite, Sin[. . .] over the town Bit-Marduk, the town Sha-Ashur-taru, the town . . . Arad-Nana, my *murakḫisu*-officer . . . Uarbis in the town . . . Kisir-Ishtar in the town Sha-emuq-Ashur . . . (as) regular sacrificial offerings for Ashur and the great gods: 9 talents 19 minas of gold 300 . . . 1,585 garments . . . *ebony* wood/trees, 199 leather . . . 1[. . .]40 horses . . . 30,418 rams . . . 19,323 donkeys . . . as the tribute (paid for) the rule of Assyria . . . Ashur . . .

10. ASHURBANIPAL (668-633)

(a) Campaigns against Egypt, Syria, and Palestine¹

(1) From the so-called Rassam Cylinder found 1878 in the ruins of Kuyunjik, latest publication by Rawlinson, Vol. v, Pls. 1-10. Transliteration and translation: M. Streck, *Assurbanipal und die letzten assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergang (VAB, VII)* (Leipzig, 1916), Vol. II, pp. 2 ff. English translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§770-783.

(i 53—ii 94)

In my first campaign I marched against Egypt (Magan) and Ethiopia (Meluhha). Tirhakah (*Tarḫū*), king of Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia (*Kūsu*), whom Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had defeated and in whose country he (Esarhaddon) had ruled, this (same) Tirhakah forgot² the might of Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, my lords, and put his trust upon his own power. He turned against the kings (and) regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt.³ He entered and took residence in Memphis (*Me-im-pi*), the city which my own father had conquered and incorporated into Assyrian territory. An express messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. I lifted my hands, prayed to Ashur and to the Assyrian Ishtar. (Then) I called up my mighty armed forces which Ashur and Ishtar have entrusted to me and took the shortest (lit.: straight) road to Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia. During my march (to Egypt) 22 kings from the seashore, the islands and the mainland,

A list of these kings is contained in the text of Cylinder C, composed of various fragments by M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 139 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §876.

(i 24—46)

Ba'al, king of Tyre, Manasseh (*Mi-in-si-e*), king of Judah (*Ia-ū-di*), Qaushgabri, king of Edom, Musuri, king of Moab, Sil-Bel, king of Gaza, Mitinti, king of Ashkelon, Ikausu,⁴ king of Ekron, Milkiasapa, king of Byblos, Iakinlu, king of Arvad, Abiba'al, king of Samsimuruna, Amminadbi, king of Beth-Ammon, Ahumilki, king of Ashdod, Ekishtura, king of Ed'li, Pilagura, king of Pitrusi, Kisu, king of Silua, Ituandar, king of

¹ For reliefs concerning the Egyptian campaign of Ashurbanipal, cf. the references collected by J. Schawe, in *AJO*, x (1935-36), 170.

² Text: *im-ji-ma*; variant: *i-mi-il*, "he thought little of . . ."

³ Variant adds: "in order to murder, to rob and to seize Egypt for himself."

⁴ The reading: *I ḫa-Jam-su* is likewise possible.

Pappa, Erisu, king of Sillu, Damasu, king of Kuri, Admesu, king of Tamesu, Damusu, king of Qarti-hadasti, Unasagusu, king of Lidir, Pususu, king of Nure, together 12 kings from the seashore, the islands and the mainland;

servants who belong to me, brought heavy gifts (*ṭá-martu*) to me and kissed my feet. I made these kings accompany my army over the land—as well as (over) the sea-route with their armed forces and their ships (respectively). Quickly I advanced as far as Kar-Baniti to bring speedy relief to the kings and regents in Egypt, servants who belong to me. Tirhakah, king of Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia, heard in Memphis of the coming of my expedition and he called up his warriors for a decisive battle against me. Upon a trust(-inspiring) oracle (given) by Ashur, Bel, Nebo, the great gods, my lords, who (always) march at my side, I defeated the battle(-experienced) soldiers of his army in a great open battle. Tirhakah heard in Memphis of the defeat of his army (and) the (terror-inspiring) splendor of Ashur and Ishtar blinded (lit.: overwhelmed) him (thus) that he became like a madman. The glamor of my kingship with which the gods of heaven and nether world have endowed me, dazzled him and he left Memphis and fled, to save his life, into the town Ni' (Thebes).⁵ This town (too) I seized and led my army into it to repose (there).

Necho (*Ni-ḫu-ú*), king of Memphis and Sais (*Sa-a-a*),⁶ Sharruludari, king of Si'nu, Pishanhuru, king of Nathu, Pakruru, king of (Pi)shaptu, Bukkunanni'pi, king of Athribis (*Ha-at-ḫi-ri-bi*), Nahke, king of Hininshi, Putubishti, king of Tanis (*Ṣa'-nu*), Unamunu, king of Nathu, Harsiaeshu, king of Sabnuti, Buaima, king of Pitinti, Shishak (*Su-si-in-qu*), king of Busiris (*Bu-ṣi-ru*), Tabnahti, king of Punubu, Bukkananni'pi king of Ahni, Iptihardeshu, king of Pihattihurunpi(ki), Nahtihuruan-sini, king of Pishabdi'a, Bukurninip, king of Pahnuti, Siha, king of Siut (*Si-ia-a-ú-tú*), Lamentu, king of Himuni (Hermopolis), Ishpimatu, king of Taini, Mantimanhe, king of Thebes; these kings, governors and regents whom my own father had appointed in Egypt and who had left their offices in the face of the uprising of Tirhakah and had scattered into the open country, I reinstalled in their offices and in their (former) seats of office. (Thus) I seized anew (control over) Egypt (*Muṣur*) and Nubia which (already) my own father had conquered; I made the garrisons stronger than before and the(ir) regulations (more) severe. With many prisoners and heavy booty I returned safely to Nineveh.

Afterwards, (however), all the kings whom I had appointed broke the oaths (sworn to) me, did not keep the agreements sworn by the great gods, forgot that I had treated them mildly and conceived an evil (plot). They talked about rebellion and came, among them-

⁵ For the name of Thebes, cf. recently W. Vycichl, in *ZAcS*, LXXVI (1940), 82 ff.

⁶ For this and the subsequent names of Egyptian towns and persons, cf. Steindorff, in *BA*, I, 330 f., II, 593 ff.; also, M. Streck, *Assurbanipal*, II, 10, n.2-3, and H. Ranke, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vokalisierung* (Kgl. Preuss. Ak. d. Wiss., Abh. 1910), pp. 26 ff.

selves to the unholy decision: "(Now when even) Tirhakah has been driven out of Egypt (*Mušur*), how can we, ourselves, (hope to) stay?" And they sent their mounted messengers to Tirhakah, king of Nubia, to establish a sworn agreement: "Let there be peace between us and let us come to mutual understanding; we will divide the country between us, no foreigner shall be ruler among us!" They continued to scheme against the Assyrian army, the forces (upon which) my rule (was based), (and) which I had stationed (in Egypt) for their (own) support. (But) my officers heard about these matters, seized their mounted messengers with their messages and (thus) learned about their rebellious doings. They arrested these kings and put their hands and feet in iron cuffs and fetters. The (consequences of the broken) oaths (sworn) by Ashur, the king of the gods, befell them, I called to account those who had sinned against the oath (sworn by) the great gods (and those) whom I had treated (before) with clemency. And they (the officers)⁷ put to the sword the inhabitants, young and old, of the towns of Sais, Pindidi,

(ii)

Tanis and of all the other towns which had associated with them to plot, they did not spare anybody among (them). They hung their corpses from stakes, flayed their skins and covered (with them) the wall of the town(s). Those kings who had repeatedly schemed, they brought alive to me to Nineveh. From all of them, I had only mercy upon Necho and granted him life. I made (a treaty) with him (protected by) oaths which greatly surpassed (those of the former treaty). I clad him in a garment with multicolored trimmings, placed a golden chain on him (as the) insigne of his kingship,⁸ put golden rings on his hands; I wrote my name (phonetically)⁹ upon an iron dagger (to be worn in) the girdle, the mounting of which was golden, and gave it to him. I presented him (furthermore) with chariots, horses and mules as means of transportation (befitting) his position as ruler. I sent with him (and) for his assistance, officers of mine as governors. I returned to him Sais as residence (the place) where my own father had appointed him king. Nabushezibanni, his son, I appointed for Athribis (thus) treating him with more friendliness and favor than my own father did. The terror of the (sacred) weapon of Ashur, my lord, overcame Tirhakah where he had taken refuge and he was never heard of again.¹⁰ Afterwards urdamane,¹¹ son of Shabaku (var.: son of his sister), sat down on the throne of his kingdom. He made Thebes

and Heliopolis (*Ú-nu*) his fortresses and assembled his (armed) might. He called up his battle(-experienced soldiers) to attack my troops, (and) the Assyrians stationed in Memphis. He surrounded these men and seized (all) their communications (lit.: exits). An express messenger came to Nineveh and told me about this.

In my second campaign I marched directly against Egypt (*Mušur*) and Nubia. urdamane heard of the approach of my expedition (only when) I had (already) set foot on Egyptian territory. He left Memphis and fled into Thebes to save his life. The kings, governors, and regents whom I had installed in Egypt came to meet me and kissed my feet. I followed urdamane (and) went as far as Thebes, his fortress. He saw my mighty battle array approaching, left Thebes and fled to Kipkipi. Upon a trust(-inspiring) oracle of Ashur and Ishtar I, myself, conquered this town completely. From Thebes¹² I carried away booty, heavy and beyond counting: silver, gold, precious stones, his entire personal possessions, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, fine horses, (certain) inhabitants, male and female. I pulled two high obelisks, cast¹³ of shining *zahalú*-bronze,¹⁴ the weight of which was 2,500 talents, standing at the door of the temple, out of their bases and took (them) to Assyria. (Thus) I carried off from Thebes heavy booty, beyond counting. I made Egypt (*Mušur*) and Nubia feel my weapons bitterly and celebrated my triumph. With full hands and safely, I returned to Nineveh, the city (where I exercise) my rule.

In my third campaign I marched against Ba'il, king of Tyre, who lives (on an island) amidst the sea, because he did not heed my royal order, did not listen to my personal (lit.: of my lips) commands. I surrounded him with redoubts, seized his communications (lit.: roads) on sea and land. I (thus) intercepted (lit.: strangled) and made scarce their food supply and forced them to submit to my yoke. He brought his own daughter and the daughters of his brothers before me to do menial services.¹⁵ At the same time, he brought his son Iahimilki who had not (yet) crossed the sea to greet me as (my) slave. I received from him his

¹² The text published by E. Nassouhi, *A/O*, II (1924), 97 ff., shows the following variant (Col. II:7-10): "I conquered the town Thebes, the capital of Egypt (*Mu-sir*) and Nubia (*Ku-li*); I carried away as booty fine horses, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, gold, silver, and countless people."

¹³ The term *pitqu* ("cast") is used here incorrectly because the Egyptian obelisks had only metal coatings.

¹⁴ *Zahalú* (cf. also, Weissbach, *WVDOG*, LXI, 78, n.9) denotes a bright gold-copper alloy used—like a kindred alloy called *esmaru*—for casting objects and, at least in one instance (cf. D. D. Luckenbill, *Annals of Sennacherib*, 109:21), to provide a copper statue with a coating.

¹⁵ The Sumerian word a *g r i g* (Akk. *abarakkû*) seems to refer originally to a servant (male or female) of higher standing within the retinue of a man of rank, perhaps a steward (Landsberger, *A/O*, x [1935-36], 150, n.48, and *apud* Stamm, *MVAG*, XLIV [1938], 270, n.1). In the Neo-Assyrian period, it denoted a court official of consequence, while—in the present context—the term *abarakkûtu* refers to the status of those daughters of vanquished foreign rulers who were admitted to the royal Assyrian household. While, on one hand, they might have been hostages, much like the sons and brothers of such unhappy kings, admitted to court service, their legal status was certainly different as is indicated by the fact that they are endowed with dowries.

⁷ Here, the Cylinder B (cf. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 94 ff., Col. II:14) and the parallel text published by R. C. Thompson, in *Iraq*, VII (1941), 103 f., No. 104 on Pl. 14, No. 25 on Pl. 15, which is styled in the first person, has the following lines: "The hearts of the inhabitants of Sais, Bindidi, Tanis who had revolted and collaborated with Tirhakah I hung on poles; I flayed (them) and [covered] with their skins the wall of the town(s)."

⁸ Here, Ashurbanipal follows the Egyptian customs.

⁹ Lit.: "the pronunciation of my name"; for this meaning of *nibitu*, cf. my remarks in *WZKM*, XLIV (1937), 179.

¹⁰ For the idiom *namuññu aláku*, cf. Th. Bauer, *Assurbanipal*, II, 1.

¹¹ For this name, cf. W. Struve, *ZAcS*, LXII (1926), 63 ff. and also, Weidner, *A/O*, XIII (1940), 208.

daughter and the daughters of his brothers with their great dowries. I had mercy upon him and returned to him the son, the offspring of his loins. Iakinlu, king of Arvad, living (also) on an island who had not submitted to (any of) the kings of my family, did (now) submit to my yoke and brought his daughter with a great dowry to Nineveh to do menial services, and he kissed my feet.

(Lines 68-80 deal with kings of Asia Minor bringing tribute, etc.)

After Iakinlu, king of Arvad, had perished,¹⁶ Aziba'l, Abiba'l, Aduniba'l, Sapatiba'l, Budiba'l, Ba'liashupu, Ba'lhanunu, Ba'lmaluku, Abimilki, Ahimilki, the sons of Iakinlu who live (on an island) amidst the sea, came from the sea to me with their heavy presents (*tāmartu*) and kissed my feet. I liked Aziba'l (lit.: I looked with pleasure upon Aziba'l) and made him king of Arvad. I clad Abiba'l, Aduniba'l, Sapatiba'l, Budiba'l, Ba'liashupu, Ba'lhanunu, Ba'lmaluku, Abimilki (and) Ahimilki in multicolored garments, put golden rings on their hands and made them do service at my court.¹⁷

(2) From the Cylinder E (cf. A. C. Piepkorn, *Historical Prism Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal* [AS, No. 5] [Chicago, 1933], I, 10; also, M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 155 f.). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §892.

(i 4—19)

Magan and Meluhha, a distant [region] . . . (to which) Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, had advanced and through which he had marched defeating there Tirhakah, king of Nubia (*Kúsu*), scattering his army. He conquered Egypt (*Mušur*) and Nubia and carried off (from) it booty (beyond) counting. He ruled over the entire country and incorporated it into the territory of Assyria. The former names of the cities he changed, giving them new denominations.¹ He installed his (own) servants as kings (and) governors in these towns. He imposed upon them [annual] tribute to (be paid to) him as overlord. . . . *ašlu*² distance . . . Memphis. . . .

(3) From the British Museum text K 3083 (largely a parallel to the preceding text); cf. M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 217 f., and Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933), II, 27. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §989.

(6—8)

Fifty-five of their statues of kings of Egypt . . . and wrote [upon them . . .] the triumph achieved by his own hands. After my own father (i.e. Esarhaddon) had died. . . .

(4) From the British Museum text K 228 joined to K 2675

¹⁶ In *A/O*, XIII (1940), 233, Weidner conjectures that these sons of the king of Arvad had murdered their father and—unable to settle the problem of succession—appealed to Ashurbanipal for a pertinent decision.

¹⁷ For the meaning of this idiom, cf. my remarks in *JAOs*, LXI (1941), 258.

¹ This seems to refer to a renaming of the major cities with Assyrian denominations; cf., e.g. the name *Limmir-Isak* = *Aššur*, etc.

² Text: *ašlu qaqqar*. One *ašlu* corresponds roughly to 60 yards, but it is quite possible that the *ašlu qaqqar* denotes a larger unit.

(literary type: annals written on tablets); cf. M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 158 ff. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§900-907.

(1—reverse 5)

The kings from East and West came and kissed my feet. (But) Tirhakah (*Tarqú*), against (the will of) the gods, planned¹ to seize Egypt (and) to. . . . He thought little of the might of Ashur, my lord, and put his trust in his own power; the harsh way in which my own father had treated him, did not come to his mind. He marched out and entered Memphis, taking this town for himself. He sent his army against the Assyrians who were in Egypt, servants belonging to me, whom Esarhaddon, my own father, had appointed there as kings, to kill, to make prisoners and booty. An express-messenger came to Nineveh to report to me. I became very angry on account of these happenings, my soul was aflame. I called the *turtan*-official, the governors, and also their assistants and gave immediately the order to my mighty (battle-) forces for quick assistance to the kings and governors, servants who belong to me, and made them start out on the march to Egypt. In mad haste they marched on as far as the town Kar-Baniti.

(Lines 15-19 parallel the above translated report.)

He (i.e. *Tarqú*) left Memphis, his royal residence, the place in which he had put his trust, to save his life, boarded a ship, leaving his camp and fleeing alone. He entered Thebes (*Ni*). The warriors (of Assyria) seized all the warships that were with him. They sent me the good tidings through a messenger (who) also reported to me orally. (Then) I ordered to add to my former (battle-)forces (in Egypt) the *rabšaq*-officer, all the governors (and) kings of (the region) beyond the river (Euphrates), servants who belong to me, together with their forces and their ships, and (also) the kings of Egypt, servants who belong to me, together with their forces and their ships, to chase Tirhakah out of Egypt (*Mušur*) and Nubia. They marched towards Thebes, the fortress-town of Tirhakah, king of Nubia, (covering) a distance of a month march (in) 10 days. Tirhakah, who had heard of the coming of my army, left Thebes, his fortress-town, crossed the Nile (*Īa-ru-ú*)² and pitched camp on the other side (of the river). Necho, Sharruludari (and) Pakruru, kings whom my own father had installed in Egypt, did not keep the agreements sworn by Ashur and the great gods, my lords, they broke their oaths, forgot the friendliness (with which) my own father (had treated them) and began to plot.

(Lines 36-41 parallel the above translated report.)

They plotted constantly against the Assyrian army massed (in Egypt), in order to save their own lives, they schemed³ towards (their) complete annihilation. (But)

¹ Text: *uš-tam-ša-a*; for the verb *mašú* III/2, cf. G. Meier, in *A/O*, XII (1937-39), 142, n.35 (with literature).

² For the Semitic word denoting the Nile, cf. W. Vycichl, *ZAES*, LXXVI (1941), 79 ff.

³ This meaning of *qarāmu* seems to be suggested by the context.

my officers heard of these matters and met their cunning with cunning. They arrested their mounted messengers together with their messages and learned (thus) about their rebellious plot. They arrested Sharruludari (and) Necho.

(Lines 47-51 parallel the above translated report.)

And I, Ashurbanipal, [inclined towards] friendliness, had mercy upon Necho, my own servant, whom Esarhaddon, my own father, had made king in Kar-Belmatate (= Sais).

(Lines 54-63 parallel the above translated report.)

His son Nabushezibanni I made king in Athribis (*Hathariba*), the (new) name of which is Limmirishak-Ashur.

(Lines 66-68 parallel the above translated report.)

He (urdamane) assembled his (armed) might; he made his weapons ready and marched on to deliver a decisive battle against my army. (But) upon a trustworthy oracle of Ashur, Sin and the great gods, my lords, they (my troops) defeated him in a great open battle and scattered his (armed) might. urdamane fled alone and entered Thebes, his royal residence. They (i.e. my army) marched after him (covering) a distance of one month (in) 10 days on difficult roads as far as Thebes. They conquered this city completely, smashed (it as if by) a floodstorm. They moved out of his town

(reverse)

gold, silver—(found) in dust-form in his mountains,—precious stones, all his personal treasures, linen garments with multicolored trimmings, fine horses, male and female personnel, *bazû-*, *pagû-*, and *uqupu* -monkeys,⁴ native in his (urdamane's) mountains, (everything) in great quantities, beyond counting, and declared it booty. They brought (the booty) safely to Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rule, and kissed my feet.

(5) British Museum fragment 82-5-22,10 published by Th. Bauer, *Das Inschriftwerk Assurbanipals* (Leipzig, 1933), Vol. 1, Pl. 60, ii, 56.

(4—9)

... in Egypt they assembled [... Ne]cho, Sharruludari, Pakruru, the ki[ngs ...] in order to go to the place (from) where my army was marching out [... Pishanhu]ru whom [my own father] Esarhaddon [had installed] in Nathu, [forgot] the harsh way in which [I had treated] Necho, Sharruludari and Pa[kruru ...] and addressed the officers who marched at the front of my army ... they said as follows: "At the time of the night. ..."

(6) From the *Warfa Cylinder of Assurbanipal* published (autograph, transliteration, and translation) by H. F. Lutz, *University of California, Publications in Semitic Philology*, 1x/8 (Berkeley, 1931), 385 ff. For the parallel text, A. T. Clay, *Miscellaneous Texts in the Yale Babylonian Collection* (New

Haven, 1915) (*YOS*, 1), No. 42, cf. the translation by A. Ungnad, in *ZA*, xxxi, 33 ff. (also, B. Meissner, in *AfO*, VIII [1932-33], 51).

(7—10)

Ashurbanipal, the great king, the legitimate king, the king of the world, king of Assyria, king of (all) the four rims (of the earth), king of kings,¹ prince without rival, who rules from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea and has made bow to his feet all the (other) rulers and who has laid the yoke (*niru*) of his overlordship (upon them) from Tyre which is (an island) in the Upper Sea and (read: as far as) Tilmun which is (an island) in the Lower Sea—and they pulled the straps (*abšānu*) (of) his (yoke).

(7) From the inscription in the temple of Ishtar published (with autographs, transliteration, and translation) by R. C. Thompson, in *AAA*, xx (1933), 71 ff. Text: Pls. xc ff. Translation: *ibid.*, 90 ff.

(78—84)

They (i.e. the great gods) made bo[w] to my yo[ke] all the countries from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea ... and they pulled the straps (*abšānu*) (of) my (yoke). Upon their mighty command, quickly.¹ ... I conquered Thebes (*Ni*), the royal residence of Egypt (*Mušur*) and Nubia (*Kúsu*), [brought] its heavy spoils to Assyria. I made bow to my yoke Ba'lu, king of Tyre, who did not heed my royal orders, by surrounding him with earthworks and by seizing his communications on sea and land. (Also) Iakinlu, king of Arvad, and Sandasharme, king of Cilicia (*Hilakku*) who (both) did not submit to my royal forefathers, did bow to [my yoke].

(8) From the very small British Museum fragment K 6049 (published in *CT*, xxxv, Pl. 18) we learn that "[urdamane], son of the sister of Tirhakah, king of [Egypt]" had taken refuge in Elam. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §1117.

(b) Campaign against the Arabs¹

(1) From the Rassam Cylinder (cf. above). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§817-831.

(vii 82—x 5)

In my ninth campaign, I called up my troops (and) marched directly against Uate', king of Arabia (*Aribu*) because he had broken the (agreements protected by) oaths (sworn to) me, did not remember that I had treated him with clemency; he had cast away the yoke of my rule which Ashur (himself) has placed upon him and the ropes (*abšānu*) (of which) he has been pulling (till now). He refused to come (and) to inquire about (the state of) my health and held back the presents (*tāmartu*) and his heavy tribute. He

¹ cf. for this title, F. Bilabel, *Geschichte Vorderasiens und Ägyptens, vom 16.-11. Jahrhundert v. Chr.* (Heidelberg, 1927), pp. 207 ff.; also, C. W. McEwan, *The Oriental Origin of Hellenistic Kingship* (*SAOC*, No. 13, 1934), pp. 32 ff.

² Text: *kullamari* (lit.: "early morning"); for parallels to this semantic development, cf. my remarks in *Orientalia*, NS XIX (1950), p. 129, n.*.

³ To this subject, cf. T. Weiss-Rosmarin, *JSOR*, XVI (1932), 1 ff. For the pertinent iconographic material, cf. D. Opitz, *AfO*, VII (1931), 7 ff.; and B. Meissner, *Islamica*, II (1927), 291 f.

⁴ cf. n.16, p. 276.

listened—exactly as Elam (did)—to the rebellious propaganda of Akkad and did not care for the oaths sworn to me. He did leave me, Ashurbanipal, the holy high priest, the (ever)praying servant (of the gods), created by the hands of Ashur, and lent (lit.: gave) his armed forces to Abiate' (and) Aamu, son of Te'ri. He ordered (them) expressly to the assistance of my evil brother Shamashshumukin. He persuaded the inhabitants of Arabia (to join) him and then plundered repeatedly those peoples which Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods had given to me to be their shepherd and had entrusted into my hands. Upon the oracle-command of Ashur, and Ishtar (I called up) my army and defeated him in bloody battles, inflicted countless routs on him (to wit) in the *giri*² of the towns of Azaril (and) Hirata(-)kasaia, in Edom, in the pass of Iabrudu, in Beth-Ammon, in the district of Haurina, in Moab, in Sa'arri, in Harge, in the district of Zobah.³ In the(se) battles I smashed all the inhabitants of Arabia who had revolted with him, but he himself escaped before the powerful "weapons" of Ashur to a distant region. They set fire to the tents in which they live and burnt (them) down. Uate' had misgivings⁴ and he fled, alone, to the country Nabate.

The Cylinder C (cf. M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 139 ff.) adds here a more explicit version. Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §880.

(ix 34—49)

[Iau]ta' . . . [fled] to the country Nabaiaiti. [He went] to see Natnu (and) Natnu said as follows to Iauta': "(How) can I be saved (now) from Assyria (since) you have put me (by your visit) in your power!" Natnu was afraid, he was seized with anxiety and sent his messengers to inquire after my health and they kissed my feet. He implored me repeatedly—as his lord—to make a peace agreement (secured by) oaths (and) to become my servant. (Finally) I looked with friendliness upon him, turning to him a smiling face. I imposed upon him an annual tribute.

(viii)

As to (that other) Uate', the son of Hazail, the nephew of Uate', the son of Bir-Dadā who had made himself king of Arabia, Ashur, the king of the gods, the Great Mountain, made him change his mind and he came to meet me (in submission). To demonstrate that Ashur and the great gods, my lords (are worthy of) the (highest) praise, I imposed (the following) heavy punishment (var.: he accepted the (following) verdict): I put a pillory (on) his (neck) together with a bear (and) a dog and made him stand on guard (duty) at the gate in Nineveh, (called) *Nirib-masnaqti-adnāti*.⁵ Ammuladi, however, king of Qedar (*Qi-id-ri*) rose to fight the kings of the Westland whom Ashur, Ishtar and the (other) great gods, have given me as my property. Upon a trust(-inspiring) oracle (given by) Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—

² Obscure word.

³ For the identification of Šupite, cf. E. Forrer, *Provinzeinteilung*, pp. 62 f. (Zobah).

⁴ This seems to be the meaning of the idiom: *marušta maḥāru*.

⁵ For the names of the gates of Nineveh, cf. R. C. Thompson (*Iraq*, VII [1940], 91 ff.).

the Queen of Kidmuri^{6a}—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I inflicted a defeat upon him. They seized him alive and also Adia, the wife of Uate', king of Arabia, and brought (them) to me.

Here, the text British Museum K 2802 (cf. for publication and translation, M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 197 ff. and 203) adds a more detailed account. English translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §1084.

(v 26—30)

(As to) Adia, queen of Arabia, I inflicted a bloody defeat upon her, burnt down her tents, seized her alive (and) removed her, with many (other) prisoners, to Assyria.

Upon the (oracle-)command of the great gods, my lords, I put a dog's collar on him and made him watch the bar (of the city's gate). Upon the (oracle-)command of Ashur, Ishtar and the great gods, my lords, I defeated in a bloody battle and routed the soldiers of Abiate' (and of) Aamu, son of Te'ri, who marched to the assistance of Shamashshumukin, my evil brother, (when they were about) to enter Babylon. The remainders who succeeded to enter Babylon ate (there) each other's flesh in their ravenous hunger, and (later) they made a sortie from Babylon to save their lives. My forces, (however,) stationed (there) against Shamashshumukin, inflicted a second defeat upon him (so that) he (i.e. Abiate') escaped alone and seized my feet to save his own life. I had mercy upon him, made him take oaths by the life of the great gods, appointing him, instead of Uate', son of Hazail,⁶ as king of Arabia.

A more explicit version appears in the Cylinder B (cf. M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 135 ff.). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §870.

(viii 24—44)

Abiate', son of Te'ri, came to Nineveh and kissed my feet. I made a sworn agreement with him concerning his status as a servant of mine. I made him king instead of Iauta' (or) of somebody else. I imposed upon him as annual tribute gold, eye-shaped beads of *ub.āš*-stone, antimony, camels and stud-donkeys. With the help of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku and by pronouncing my name which Ashur has made powerful, Kama-shaltu, king of Moab, a servant belonging to me, inflicted a defeat in an open battle upon Ammuladi, king of Qedar who, like him (Abiate'), had revolted and had continuously made razzias against the kings of the Westland. Ammuladi (himself) captured those of his (i.e. Abiate's) people who [escaped] before . . . , put them in handcuffs and iron foot fetters and sent them to me to Nineveh.

But he came to an understanding with the country of the Nabaiateans, was not afraid of the (oaths sworn by the) life of the great gods and made constantly razzias into the territory of my country. Natnu, king of Nabaiaiti which lies at a great distance and to whom Uate' had fled, heard—through an intervention⁷ of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of

^{6a} The temple of this Ishtar-figure was in Calah (*Kalḫu*) and was very famous in Assyria.

⁶ Cylinder B shows here the variant "in so-and-so."

⁷ Text: *ina tuḫultū*¹⁴. The context suggests that Ashurbanipal assumed that direct divine interference was instrumental in the submission of this king.

Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku—about the might of Ashur which endows me with strength, and he—who had never sent a messenger to my royal forefathers to greet them as kings by inquiring after their health—inquired (now)—afraid of the (ever) victorious arms of Ashur—very assiduously⁸ after my royal health. But Abiate', son of Te'ri, devoid of any good intentions, unmindful of oaths sworn (even) by the great gods, spoke of rebellion against me and came to an understanding with Natni, king of Nabaiati; they called up their forces for a dangerous attack against my territory.

Upon an (oracle-)command of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku, I called up my army and took the direct road against Abiate'. They (i.e. my army) crossed safely Tigris and Euphrates at the time of their highest flood; they took (lit.: followed) a path (leading to) far-away regions. They ascended high mountain chains, winding⁹ their way through woods full of shadow, proceeding safely upon a thorny road between high trees and *sidra*¹⁰ -shrubs (full) of spines. A distance of 100 double-hours from Nineveh, the town beloved by Ishtar, the spouse of Ellil, they marched forward through the desert where parching thirst is at home, where there are not even birds in the sky and wherein neither wild donkeys (nor) gazelles pasture, following Uate', king of Arabia, and Abiate' who marched with the forces of the country of the Nabaiateans. I departed from the town Hadata in the month of Simanu—the month of Sin, first-born son of Ellil and leader (of his brothers)—on the 25th day—(the day of) the procession of the Lady-of-Babylon, the most important among the great gods. I pitched camp in Laribda, a city with a wall of undressed stones,¹¹ at the (last) water cisterns. My army drew water (there) for their drinking-supply and (then) marched forward to the regions of parching thirst, as far as Hurarina. I inflicted a defeat upon the Isamme', a confederation¹² of (the worshipers of) the god Atarsamain, and of the Nabaiateans between the towns of Iarki and Azalla in a far-away desert where there are no wild animals and (where) not even the birds build their nests. I took as booty from them countless prisoners, donkeys, camels and small cattle. After my army had marched unopposed through a distance of 8 double-hours, they returned safely and drank (again) water in Azalla to quench their thirst. (Then) they marched forward as far as the town Qurasiti, a

distance of 6 double-miles (through) a territory of parching thirst. (There) I rounded up the confederation of (the worshipers of) the god Atarsamain

(ix)

and the Qedareans under Uate', son of Bir-Dadda and made them march (with me) on the road to Damascus (*Di-maš-qa*), (also) his gods, his mother, his sister, his wife, his family (distaff side) (and) all the other women¹³ of Qedar, the donkeys, camels and small cattle as many as I caught with the help of Ashur and Ishtar, my lords.

In the month of Abu—the month of the Bow-Star, the mighty daughter of Sin—the third day—the day before (the festival) of Marduk, king of the gods—I departed from Damascus (*Di-maš-qa*); I marched forward as far as Hulhuliti, a distance of 6 double-hours, in a single night. I caught the confederation of Abiate', son of Te'ri, (with) the Qedareans at the steep mountain Hukkurina and inflicted a defeat upon him, carrying (some) booty away from him. During the battle, according to the (oracle-)command (given) by Ashur and Ishtar, my lords, I myself caught Abiate' (and) Aammu, son of Te'ri, alive and fettered them with iron fetters on hands and feet. I brought them to Assyria together with the booty (collected) in their country. Those fugitives who escaped my onslaught occupied in their terror the mountain Hukkuruna (which is) a steep mountain peak. I ordered soldiers to stand on guard in the towns of Manhabbi, Appar, Tenuquri, Zaiuran, Marqana, Sadaten, Enzikarme, Ta'na, Irrana, anywhere where there were cisterns or water in the springs, thus refusing them (the access to the) water (supply) which (alone) could keep them alive. I (thus) made water to be very rare for their lips, (and many) perished of parching thirst. The others slit open camels, their (only) means of transportation, drinking blood and filthy water against their thirst. None of those who ascended the mountain or entered (this region) to hide there, did escape; none was enough fleet of foot to get out of my hands. I caught them all myself in their hiding-places; countless people—male and female—, donkeys, camels, large and small cattle, I led as booty to Assyria. They filled up completely and to its entire extent all my land(s) which Ashur has given me. I formed flocks and distributed camels as if they be sheep, dividing (them) up to all inhabitants of Assyria. Camels were bought within my country for less than one shekel¹⁴ of silver on the market place. The female tavern-keeper received camels, even slaves as a "gift," the brewer for a *hapu* (full of beer), the gardener for a basket of fresh dates.¹⁵ Irra, the Warrior (i.e. pestilence) struck down Uate', as well as his army, who had not kept the oaths sworn to me and had fled before the onslaught of

¹³ This meaning of *nišē* is attested in Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian texts.

¹⁴ Idiomatic expression; lit.: "for one shekel (and) one-half shekel."

¹⁵ For **ajtammu* (cancel **šutammu* in Bezold, *Glossar*, p. 240b), cf. Th. Bauer, *Inchriftwerk Assurbanipals II*, p. 2, and Balkan-Landsberger, *Türk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten*, xiv (1950), p. 240, n.31.

⁸ Hendiadys: *sanāqu + ša'ālu*.

⁹ For the word *halāpu* with the meaning "to walk through a wooded area" (lit.: "to slip through"), cf. the semantic parallel in *halālu* attested in the Epic of Gilgamesh: cf. Thompson's edition (Tablet X), Pl. 39, 11:34 (*iš-lu-ul-ma it-tar-da*).

¹⁰ For this identification of *amurdinnu*, cf. W. F. Albright, *ZA*, xxxvii (NF III), 140 f.

¹¹ Text: *bit dāri ša na . la g*. The Sumerian word is to be read in this context *la g* (and not: *ki šib* "cylinder seal") with regard to *la ga* (b), i.e. undressed stone block.

¹² The passages interchange *ame'la-lu* and *giš.DA*. cf. Deimel, *SL*, 335/27. The contemporaneous royal correspondence (cf., e.g. Harper, *ABL*, 1114:rev. 17(!) and 1286:rev. 2) uses the writing *ajālu*.

Ashur, my lord,—had run away from them. Famine broke out among them and they ate the flesh of their children against their hunger. Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku (thus) inflicted quickly upon them (all) the curses written (down) in their sworn agreements. Even when the camel foals, the donkey foals,¹⁶ calves or lambs were suckling many times (lit.: 7 times) on the mother animals, they could not fill (lit.: satiate) their stomachs with milk.^{16a} Whenever the inhabitants of Arabia asked each other: “On account of what have these calamities befallen Arabia?” (they answered themselves:) “Because we did not keep the solemn oaths (sworn by) Ashur, because we offended the friendliness of Ashurbanipal, the king, beloved by Ellil!”

And (verily) Ninlil, the lordly Wild-Cow, the most heroic among the goddesses who rivals in rank (only) with Anu and Enlil, was butting my enemies with her mighty horns; the Ishtar who dwells in Arbela, clad in (divine) fire (and) carrying the *melammû* -headwear, was raining flames upon Arabia; Irra, the Warrior, armed with *anuntu*,¹⁷ was crushing (underfoot) my foes; Ninurta, the Arrow, the great hero, the son of Ellil, was cutting the throats of my enemies with his sharp point; Nusku, the obedient messenger (of the gods) proclaimer of my lordship, who accompanied me upon the command of Ashur, (and) the courageous Ninlil, the Lady of [Arbela],¹⁸ who protected me as king, took the lead of my army and threw down my foes. (When) the troops of Uate' heard the approach of the(se) mighty “weapons” of Ashur and Ishtar, the great gods, my lords, which during the battle had come to my assistance, they revolted against him. He became frightened and left the house (*sanctuary*) into which he had fled, so that I caught him personally according to the trustworthy oracle of Ashur, Sin, Shamash, Adad, Bel, Nebo, the Ishtar of Nineveh—the Queen of Kidmuri—the Ishtar of Arbela, Ninurta, Nergal (and) Nusku—and brought him to Assyria. Upon an oracle-command of Ashur and Ninlil I pierced his cheeks with the sharp-edged spear, my personal weapon, by laying the very hands on him which I had received to conquer opposition against me; I put the ring to his jaw, placed a dog collar around his neck and made him guard the bar of the east gate of Nineveh which is called *Nirib-masnaq-adnâte*. (Later) I had mercy upon him and granted him life in order to praise the glory of Ashur, Ishtar (and) the great gods, my lords.

¹⁶ The denomination of the donkey foal as *suḫiru* is very rare and recurs, to my knowledge, only in the Middle-Assyrian text Ebeling, *KAJ*, No. 311:8-9 where male (*ni-tá*) and female (*si-ni-il-te*) (*mer-su-ḫi-ru* are mentioned).

^{16a} This situation is mentioned in nearly the same words in the curses of the Aramaic treaty studied by H. Bauer, *Ein aramäischer Staatsvertrag aus dem 8. Jahr. v. Chr.* in *AFO*, VIII, p. 11 (to lines x + 2-5).

¹⁷ The difficult word *anuntu* (identified in lists of synonymous words with *qablu* and *tāhazu* “battle”) is used here in exactly the same context as *tuquntu*, in L. W. King, *STC*, I, 222:12.

¹⁸ Dr. F. W. Geers indicated to me the parallel text BrM 1904-10-9,8r (cf. L. W. King, *Supplement*, p. 20, No. 117) which permits the filling of this gap.

On my return march, I conquered the town Ushu the emplacement of which is on the seacoast.¹⁹ I killed those inhabitants of Ushu who did not obey their governors by refusing to deliver the tribute which they had to pay annually. I took to task those among them who were not submissive. Their images and the (surviving) people I led as booty to Assyria. I killed (also) those inhabitants of Accho who were not submissive, hanging their corpses on poles which I placed around the city. The others I took to Assyria, formed a contingent (out of them) and added (it) to the large army which

(x)

Ashur has presented to me. During the battle I seized personally Aamu, son of Te'ri (who) had sided with Abiate', his brother; I (had) him flayed in Nineveh, the town (where I exercise) my rule.

(2) From the inscription in the temple of Ishtar, published by R. C. Thompson, in *AAA*, xx (1933), 71 ff. Text: Pls. xc ff. and pp. 79 ff. Translation: pp. 90 ff.

(113—114)

I caught alive Uate', king of Ishmael (*Su-mu-il*)¹ [who was in agreement] with him (i.e. Shamashshumukin); Ammuladi, king of Qedar (*Qi-da-ri*), had fallen into the hands of my army in a battle engagement and they (i.e. the army) brought him (to me) alive.

(118—121)

I harnessed Tamarritu, Pa'e, Ummana [Idasi, king(s)] of Elam, (and) Iaute', king of Ishmael (*Su-mu-il*) whom I had captured personally upon the oracle-command of Ashur, Ninlil and the Ish[ar dwelling in Arbela], like choice foals to my (triumphal) char,² my royal means of transportation, after [I went forth in procession] from the temples *é. s. a. r. r. a. é. m. a. š. m. a. š. é.* [. . .] in order to make the sacrifices and to perform the rites—and they actually held the straps (*abšānu*) (to pull the char).

(123—129)

[Natnu, king of Nabai]jati, which is (a country) far away, who did not submit to my royal forefathers, did bow to my y[oke] and (therefore), upon the oracle-command of Ashur and Ninlil, the great gods, my lords, who (thus) encouraged me, I defeated Iaute' who had put his trust upon (the assistance of) the Nabaiati country and [had therefore held back his *tāmartu* -gifts];³ I turned his cities into ruin-hills and heaps (of debris). I [led away] himself, his wife, his children . . . as the he[avy] spoils of his country. Nuhuru,⁴ his son,

¹⁹ *Ušū* is the name of the mainland settlement of Tyre.

¹ For this identification, cf. Thompson, *AAA*, xx (1933), 98, and—more in detail—J. Lewy, in *HUCA*, XIX, 432, n.143.

² For this vehicle, cf. Th. Bauer, *Assurbanipal*, II, 53, n.4.

³ Restoration proposed by Thompson, *op.cit.*

⁴ This name has been compared with that of the grandfather and brother of Abraham (cf. Thompson, *op.cit.*, p. 99), Nahor. For the city of the same name mentioned in Mari Texts, cf., e.g. Ch. Jean, *Revue des études sémitiques—Babyloniaca* (1941), 126.

who had fled before the attack (^u*kaḫku*) of Ashur and Ishtar . . . [the glamor] of their godhead had blinded him, he [came] to me with gifts and [kissed my feet]. I had mercy upon him and sat him on the throne of his father.

(3) British Museum K 3087 (M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 217 f.) and K 3405 (M. Streck, *op.cit.*, pp. 223 f.). Translation: Luckenbill, *AR*, II, §§940 and 943.

(1—17)

[Te'elhunu], the *ḫumirtu*¹-priestess of the [goddess Dilbat who] had become angry with Hazail, king of Arabia . . . and had him delivered into the hands of Sennacherib, my own grandfather, by causing his defeat, and who had declared not to live (any more) with the people of Arabia, had emigrated to Assyria. To Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, my own father, a favorite of the great gods who had obtained [success] because of his worship of (all) the gods and goddesses—who had reinstalled [Hazail] upon the throne of his own father [upon a command given by] Ashur and Shamash, and had returned all conquered images to their sanctuaries—came Hazail, king of Arabia, to see him with heavy gifts (*tāmartu*) and kissed his feet, approaching him to return (the image of) his goddess Ishtar. He (i.e. Esarhaddon) had mercy upon him and conceded [to give him] Te'elhunu, her former *ḫumirtu*-priestess. With respect to (the priestess) Tabua (however) he made an oracle inquiry to Shamash as follows: . . . Then he returned her together with the image of his goddess. He (also) made a star² of reddish gold which was decorated with precious stones and . . . for a happy life of his, long lasting span (of life), prosperity of his offspring . . . , permanency of his kingdom, over[throw of all his enemies]. . . .

(c) Receipt of Tribute from Palestine

The BrM text K 1295 is a receipt of tribute brought from Palestine. The text was published by R. F. Harper, *ABL*, Vol. VI, No. 632, and has been translated repeatedly; cf. G. G. Boson, *Les métaux et les pierres dans les inscriptions assyro-babyloniennes* (München, 1914), p. 51; R. H. Pfeiffer, in *JBL*, XLVII (1928), 185 f., and *State Letters of Assyria* (New Haven, 1935), No. 96; L. Waterman, *Royal Correspondence of the Assyrian Empire* (Ann Arbor, 1930), I, 440 f. The text is dated to the period between Sargon II and Esarhaddon.

Two minas of gold from the inhabitants of Bit-Ammon (^{mat}*Bit-Am-man-na-a-a*); one mina of gold from the inhabitants of Moab (^{mat}*Mu'-ba-a-a*); ten minas of silver from the inhabitants of Judah (^{mat}*Ia-ú-da-a-a*); [. . . mi]nas of silver from the inhabitants of [Edom] (^{mat}*[U-du-ma]-a-a*). . . .

(reverse)

. . . the inhabitants of Byblos, the district officers of the king, my lord, have brought.

¹ For the (West-Semitic) term for priest: *ḫumru*, cf. J. Lewy, in *ZA*, XXXVIII (NF IV), 243 ff., and E. Ebeling, *MAOG*, VII/1-2 (1933), 86, n.a.
² The "symbol" of Ihtar.

The Neo-Babylonian Empire and its Successors

The historiographic literature of this period is represented by excerpts from four chronicles translated in the first part of this section. They cover—sometimes overlapping—the period from the first year of Esarhaddon to the seizure of Babylon by Cyrus. For the literary form and the political tendencies of these documents, reference should be made to the remarks of Landsberger-Bauer, in *ZA*, XXXVII (NF III), 61-65.

The second part contains historical inscriptions of Nebuchadnezzar II and of Nabonidus which refer to conquests made in the West (Syria and Palestine), to the foreign policy of the Chaldean dynasty, and describe, in his own words, Nabonidus' rise to royal power. To illustrate the particular background of this ruler, the Eski-Harran inscription is given, a memorial for the mother of the usurper. The end of this dynasty is illustrated by the account given by Cyrus on his famous cylinder and by the poetic text known under the misleading title of Persian Verse-Account of Nabonidus. Finally, the novel mood of the Persian domination is shown in one of the trilingual inscriptions of Xerxes and—to document the persistency of the literary tradition—an inscription of the Seleucid king Antiochus I, Soter, has been translated.

HISTORIOGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

I. TEXT FROM THE FIRST YEAR OF BELIBNI TO THE ACCESSION YEAR OF SHAMASHSHUMUKIN

From the Babylonian Chronicle (British Museum 84-211,356 and 92, 502, last publication in *CT*, XXXIV, Pls. 46 ff.), translated by F. Delitzsch, *Die babylonische Chronik* (*Abh. d. Phil. Hist. Klasse; Kgl. Saechs. Ak. d. W.* XXV/1 [1906], 8 ff.), and partly by Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib* (*OIP*, II), 158 ff.

(ii 23—iv 38)

First year of Belibni: Sennacherib destroyed (lit.: broke) the towns Hirimma and Hararatum.

Third year of Belibni: Sennacherib marched down to the country of Akkad and carried away the booty (made) in Akkad. They brought Belibni and his nobles in fetters to Assyria. Three years was Belibni king in Babylon. Sennacherib placed his son Ashurnadinshumi upon the throne in Babylon.

First year of Ashurnadinshumi: Hallushu, the brother of Ishtarhundu, king of Elam, seized him (i.e. Ishtarhundu) and closed up the door (of his palace) in front of him.¹ Eighteen years was Ishtarhundu king in Elam. Hallushu, his brother, sat himself on the throne, in Elam.

Sixth year of Ashurnadinshumi: Sennacherib marched down to Elam, he destroyed (lit.: broke) the towns Nagitum, Hilmi, Pillatum and Hupapanu, and carried their booty away. Afterwards, Hallushu, king of Elam, marched against the country of Akkad; towards the end of the (month) Tashritu, he entered Sippar and killed its inhabitants. (The image of) Shamash did (therefore) not leave the temple Ebarra (in the procession). Ashurnadinshumi was made a prisoner and brought to Elam. Six years was Ashurnadinshumi king in Babylon. The king of Elam placed Nergalushe-

¹ The meaning of this phrase (which recurs in the report on the first year of Nergalushezib) remains obscure.