

NEW SOURCES FOR SENNACHERIB'S "FIRST CAMPAIGN"

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ABSTRACT

The article presents an edition, based on manuscripts from Nineveh, Ashur, and Tarbiṣu, of Sennacherib's earliest accounts of its first campaign, waged against Marduk-aplu-iddina and his southern Babylonian allies in 704-702 BCE. It provides an overview of the Aramaean tribes and Chaldaean towns attacked by the Assyrian troops, and a discussion of may have been the author of the inscriptions that celebrate the campaign.

KEYWORDS

Sennacherib, Assyrian royal inscriptions, Chaldeans, Aramaeans, authorship.

1. INTRODUCTION

When the city of Ashur lost its status as the main residence city of the Assyrian kings in the 9th century BCE, its importance as a military center decreased as well. During the heydays of Assyrian imperial power in the 8th and 7th centuries, the bulk of Assyria's standing army was stationed in the new capitals Kalḫu and Nineveh, where large arsenals, barracks, and training areas for the cavalry were built¹. But on occasion, Ashur still served as a place from where Assyrian troops embarked on their campaigns. Because of its southern location within the Assyrian heartland, the city was a particularly suitable starting-point for operations against Babylonia. One of these operations was what king Sennacherib (705-681), in later inscriptions², called his "first campaign": an attack of his army against Assyria's arch enemy Marduk-aplu-iddina II, the biblical Merodach-baladan, and the numerous allies the Chaldaean chieftain had gathered. That campaign, departing from Ashur on *Šabāṭu* (XI) 20, 704(?), is the topic of this article.

After the death of his father Sargon II in the summer of 705, Sennacherib gradually lost control of Babylonia, which Sargon had ruled since 710. The chronology of events is still unclear. The data from "King List A" and the Babylonian Chronicle³ seems to imply that Sennacherib, at least to a certain extent, remained in charge in Babylonia in 705 and 704, losing and eventually reconquering it only in 703. An entry in the Assyrian eponym chronicle B6⁴, however, points to a scenario in which the king had attacked his southern neighbor already one year earlier, in 704. Given the conflicting evidence, it is not surprising that scholars have been divided on the question

¹ For brief descriptions of the arsenals of Kalḫu and Nineveh, see J. N. Postgate and J. E. Reade, *RIA* 5, 317-319 and J. Reade, *RIA* 9, 419f.

² The earliest text that refers to the operation as the "first campaign" (*ina mahṛē gerrija*) is Sennacherib's "Rassam cylinder" from 700 BCE; see E. Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften, AfO Beih.* 26 (Vienna 1997), 51, l. 5.

³ A. K. Grayson, *RIA* 6, 93; *id.*, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, TCS 5 (Locust Valley, NY, and Glückstadt 1975), 76f. The chronicle passage was re-edited by J.-J. Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles* (Atlanta 2004), 196, with restorations that are highly conjectural.

⁴ A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910-612 BC*, SAAS 2 (The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus 1994), 49.

of how to date Sennacherib's "first campaign." L. D. Levine argued in favor of the earlier date, while J. Brinkman preferred the latter⁵. In this article, I will follow the chronology outlined by Levine, without claiming that the matter is really settled⁶.

The events that led to Sennacherib's attack on Babylonia can be summarized as follows: At the beginning of the year 704(?), Marduk-zakir-šumi, an otherwise obscure high official, ascended the Babylonian throne, but ruled for only one month. He was ousted by the Chaldaean leader Marduk-aplu-iddina, who, having been king of Babylon already between 722 and 710, now became its ruler for a second time. For nine months, Sennacherib left him unchallenged. During parts of 704, an Assyrian army commanded by "magnates" (*rabûti*) was active in the region of Tabal in Anatolia where Sargon had been killed on the battlefield one year earlier⁷, and Sennacherib may have found it too risky to engage his troops in two dangerous spots in the north and in the south at the same time⁸. But late in the year, he finally gathered his soldiers in the city of Ashur and marched from there against his Chaldaean opponent. The campaign appears to have been a success for the Assyrians. Sennacherib was able to expel Marduk-aplu-iddina from Babylon⁹, and to defeat numerous towns and tribes in southern Mesopotamia that had supported the Chaldaean leader.

The present article does not so much aim at reassessing the historical implications of Sennacherib's first campaign. Its main purpose is rather to edit or re-edit the earliest royal inscriptions that describe the operation. The need for such philological groundwork arises from the fact that many of the relevant manuscripts are either unpublished or virtually inaccessible to most Assyriologists. Besides making these manuscripts more fully available, the article will also provide materials for the historical geography of first millennium Babylonia, and offer some reflections on the composition of Sennacherib's earliest inscriptions.

⁵ L. D. Levine, "Sennacherib's Southern Front: 704-689 B.C.," JCS 34 (1982), 28-40; J. Brinkman, "Merodach-Baladan II," in: *Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim* (Chicago 1964), 22-26; and *id.*, *Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia 1984), 56-59. All the relevant primary sources are discussed in these treatises. See also Frahm, *Einleitung*, 9f, *id.*, PNA 3/I, 1118, and E. Weissert, "Interrelated Chronographic Patterns in the Assyrian Eponym Chronicle and the 'Babylonian Chronicle,'" in: D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, CRRAI 38 (1992), 273-282.

⁶ Several letters written by Babylonian officials to the Assyrian king may date to the early years of Sennacherib's reign, but do not solve the chronological problems either. They have recently been edited and discussed by M. Dietrich, *The Babylonian Correspondence of Sargon and Sennacherib*, SAA 17 (Helsinki 2003) (for an overview of the letters attributed by Dietrich to the reign of Sennacherib, see pp. XXXVIf). Many of the letters in question are so badly broken that their historical context is difficult to establish.

⁷ E. Frahm, "Nabû-zuqup-kēnu, das Gilgameš-Epos und der Tod Sargons II.," JCS 51 (1999), 83f.

⁸ The entry for the year 704 in the eponym chronicle B6 begins with an unclear reference to the cities Larak and Sarabānu (which were attacked during Sennacherib's "first campaign"), continues with a description of royal construction work in Kalzu, and concludes with a report about the expedition against Tabal. But this sequence has probably no chronological implications; it rather reflects the necessity, on the part of the chronicle's compiler, to mention first operations conducted in the presence of the king, and only thereafter events in which the king did not participate in person.

⁹ Note, however, that according to M. Dietrich, "Bēl-ibni, König von Babylon (703-700)," in: M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, *dubsar anta-men: Studien zur Altorientalistik*, FS W. Römer, AOAT 253 (Münster 1998), 81-108, Marduk-aplu-iddina returned to the region of Babylon soon after the Assyrian troops had left.

2. THE MANUSCRIPTS

Sennacherib describes his first campaign in numerous major inscriptions written over the course of the 25 years of his reign¹⁰. But the longest and historically most significant reports about the operation by far are those inscribed on barrel-cylinders in its immediate aftermath in 702¹¹. With regard to their place of origin, these cylinder inscriptions can be divided into three groups: inscriptions from Nineveh, Ashur, and Tarbiṣu (groups a,b, and c below). The manuscripts from Nineveh and Ashur seem to offer more or less the same text: an introduction that identifies the king, a description of his “first campaign,” and a building inscription about the Southwest Palace and other construction work in the city of Nineveh. The two manuscripts from Tarbiṣu, by and large identical with each other, offer an introduction and a military account with some (mostly minor) deviations from the Nineveh and Ashur texts, and conclude with a report about the reconstruction of the temple of Nergal in Tarbiṣu.

The inscriptions best known so far are those from Nineveh. The most important manuscript from this city was published in 1921, and has since then been frequently discussed by students of Assyrian history. It is fairly well preserved, but several gaps, some of them damaging crucial passages, have hindered a complete recovery of the text. The other Nineveh manuscripts, all of them very fragmentary, have never been fully edited. The two inscriptions from Tarbiṣu were published in a book that is unavailable in most major Western research libraries. The one fragmentary manuscript from Ashur is so far unpublished.

Below is a list of all manuscripts, with museum numbers, findspots, and bibliographical information. Wherever possible, I reuse sigla from earlier publications.

a) The manuscripts from Nineveh (N)¹²:

- A: 1915-4-10-1 (BM 113203), 95 ll¹³. Copy and edition: S. Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib, King of Assyria, B.C. 703-2* (London 1921). Photos: J. E. Curtis and J. Reade (eds.), *Art and Empire: Treasures from Assyria in the British Museum* (London 1995), 95, no. 37; P. Matthiae, *Ninive: Glanzvolle Hauptstadt Assyriens* (München 1999), 20. Editions: E. Ebeling, “Ein Bericht Sanheribs über seinen 1. Feldzug,” *Berliner Beiträge zur Keilschriftforschung* 1/II (Berlin 1922); D. D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, OIP 2 (Chicago 1924), 48-55, 94-98 (A 1). Partial translation: M. Cogan, in: W. W. Hallo (ed.), *The Context of Scripture*, Vol. 2 (Leiden 2000), 300-302 (II. 5-62). Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42-45 (with additional bibliography and collations). Findspot: Unknown. For the possibility that the cylinder comes from an area conventionally called the “House of Sennacherib’s Son” (SH), see *Einleitung*, 42; for a discussion of the SH area, which is situated north of Kuyunjik, close to the western wall of Nineveh, see *ibid.*, 38-40, and R. Borger, *BIWA*, XIV-XV. The British Museum acquired the cylinder from the Parisian antiquities dealer J. E. Gejou.
- B: Rm 2, 186: Unpublished. Lines 1’-8’ // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 14-21. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.

¹⁰ For an overview of the royal inscriptions that provide accounts of the campaign, see Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 8.

¹¹ This year date is reconstructed on the basis of the events described in the inscriptions; the inscriptions themselves, unlike many other Sennacherib texts, are undated.

¹² The sigla for the Nineveh manuscripts follow Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 42-45.

¹³ This number includes the subscript.

- C: 81-7-27, 21: Unpublished. Lines 1-7 // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 1-7; l. 8: traces; ll. 1'-13' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 82-94; l. 14': preserved part empty. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.
 - D: 89-4-26, 39: Unpublished. Lines 1-9 // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 1-9. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.
 - E: 89-4-26, 140: Unpublished. Line 1': traces; ll. 2'-9' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 19-26. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.
 - F: 89-4-26, 149: Unpublished. Line 1': traces; ll. 2'-10' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 47-55. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.
 - G: 89-4-26, 175: Unpublished. Lines 1-7 // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 1-7; ll. 1'-12' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 83-94; l. 13': preserved part empty. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.
- Given their similar accession numbers, mss. D, E, F, and G might derive from one and the same cylinder, but there are no direct joins.
- H: 1902-5-10-1. Lines 1-10 // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 1-10; ll. 1'-17' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 79-95. Partial edition: S. Smith, *The First Campaign of Sennacherib*, used this fragment to fill up some gaps in his edition of 1915-4-10-1. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: The piece was probably picked up by a guard in the area of the "House of Sennacherib's Son" (SH). See the entry on 1915-4-10-1 above for remarks on that findspot.
 - I: 1904-10-9-75: Unpublished. Lines 1'-16' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 23-38; l. 17': traces. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: Unknown.
 - J: BM 127939: Unpublished. Lines 1-3 // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 1-3; ll. 1'-10' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 86-95. Discussion: Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42. Findspot: "House of Sennacherib's Son" (SH).

I transliterated or collated all the Nineveh manuscripts in the British Museum in the summer of 1993¹⁴. For permission to do so, and to publish the results of my research, I would like to express my gratitude to the Trustees of the British Museum.

b) The manuscript from Ashur (As):

- VA 8985: Unpublished. Lines 1'-30' // 1915-4-10-1, ll. 49-78. Discussion: O. Pedersén, *Katalog der beschrifteten Objekte aus Assur: Die Schriftträger mit Ausnahme der Tontafeln und ähnlicher Archivtexte*, ADOG 23 (Saarbrücken 1997), 223 (where the fragment is identified as a Sennacherib text). Findspot: Unfortunately, the excavation number of the piece is lost, no excavation photo of it has been identified, and so a findspot within the city cannot be established. It is interesting to note that numerous cylinder and prism inscriptions of Sennacherib, many of them, like VA 8985, with accounts of building activities that took place in Nineveh, have been excavated, in very diverse archaeological contexts, in the ruins of Ashur. Some were found in the "House of the Prince" close to the eastern wall of the city¹⁵, some in the area of the western city wall¹⁶, others among the numerous royal inscriptions unearthed in the southern part of the forecourt of the Ashur temple¹⁷, and many more in other locations all over

¹⁴ Before I went to London, R. Borger had put his handwritten transliterations of three of the cylinder fragments at my disposal, and I have profited from them.

¹⁵ This is the findspot of Ass 1248 (VA 7508) and Ass. 1261 (VA 7509), duplicates of Sennacherib's "Rassam Cylinder" from 700 published in KAH 2, 120.

¹⁶ This is the findspot of Ass 11594 (VA 15470), an unpublished duplicate of Sennacherib's "Bellino Cylinder" from 702.

¹⁷ See Pedersén, *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur* 2 (Uppsala 1986), 13, n. 9.

the city¹⁸. Copies and editions of some of these texts will appear in my forthcoming volume of historical inscriptions from Ashur, which I am preparing in conjunction with the Ashur project directed by Stefan M. Maul in Heidelberg. This volume will also contain a full edition of VA 8985. The many Sennacherib cylinder and prism inscriptions from Ashur which contain accounts of construction work performed in Nineveh raise the question of whether they were intended, in spite of their contents, to be buried in foundation deposits in Ashur or meant to be studied by the local citizens. Because of space restrictions, the problem cannot be dealt with here in detail, but it appears in fact that at least some of the texts served this second purpose.

I transliterated VA 8985 in the fall of 1997 in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin, and I am grateful to the officials of that museum, especially its director, Beate Salje, for granting permission to publish parts of the text in the present article.

c) The manuscripts from Tarbiṣu (T):

– Ms. I: ١ ش, ٩, ٨ [a]¹⁹, 70 ll. Copy and edition: A. Sulaiman, *Al-kitāba al-mismārīya wa-l-ḥarf al-‘arabī* (“Cuneiform Writing and Arabic Alphabet”) (Mosul, no year)²⁰. The copy is on pp. 91-93, an Arabic edition appears on pp. 67-90, and an English edition on pp. 134-168. Sulaiman’s copy is reproduced below, pl. 1–3. Photo: Sulaiman, “Ikṭiṣāf maḍīnati Tarbiṣu al-aššūrīya,” *Adab al-Rafidain* 2 (Mosul 1971), pl. [IX] (together with ms. II, illegible). Discussion: Sulaiman, “Ikṭiṣāf maḍīnati Tarbiṣu,” 18f, 23, 25, 38f; J. E. Curtis and A. K. Grayson, “Some Inscribed Objects from Sherif Khan in the British Museum,” *Iraq* 44 (1982), 93; Frahm, *Einleitung*, 189f (some assumptions made there need to be revised now that the text is available).

– Ms. II: ١ ش, ٩, ٨ [b], 70 ll. Photos: Sulaiman, *Al-kitāba al-mismārīya*, 48 (mostly illegible); *id.*, “Ikṭiṣāf maḍīnati Tarbiṣu,” pl. [IX] (together with ms. I, illegible). Partial edition: Sulaiman lists variants from this text in his edition of ms. I.

Findspots: The two cylinders were found in clay boxes at the NW and SW corners of the main room of the temple of Nergal in Tarbiṣu, 50 cm below the pavement.

In the March of 2001, when I visited Iraq on the occasion of a conference on the invention of writing, I had the opportunity to take a short look at one of the Tarbiṣu cylinders, which was on display in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad, without however having the time to prepare a complete transliteration. For the most part, my own edition

¹⁸ See, provisionally, Pedersén, ADOG 23, 152-159, 206-208.

¹⁹ This is the excavation number. The Tarbiṣu cylinders are now kept in the Iraq Museum in Baghdad; their museum numbers are unknown to me.

²⁰ The book was edited by the Center for Archaeological and Cultural Research of the Faculty of Arts of Mosul University. A handwritten note in my copy refers to 1995, but I am not sure whether this is the year the book was actually published. Having been unable for several years to track Sulaiman’s book down, I benefited from an unexpected act of generosity when shortly before my return from Iraq in March, 2001, Nawala al-Mutawalli, then director of the Iraq Museum, gave me a copy of it as a gift, for which I am very much obliged to her. It is not inappropriate to remember on this occasion that Dr. Nawala was instrumental in the removal of many of the museum’s most valuable holdings into safekeeping shortly before American troops invaded Iraq in March, 2003. She and her colleagues saved a significant part of Iraq’s cultural heritage from looting and destruction, an act of remarkable foresight for which the entire Assyriological community must be extremely grateful.

is therefore based on Sulaiman's copy. I am also indebted to Sulaiman's *editio princeps*, even though my readings deviate from his on occasion.

3. TRANSLITERATION

For reasons of space, I am not providing a full score transliteration of all the manuscripts. Instead, I provide below a composite edition of the Nineveh manuscripts (marked by the letter N and mostly based on ms. A, but with all the variants from other manuscripts added in brackets), a transliteration of ms. I of the Tarbišu cylinders (marked as T, with variants from ms. II again added in brackets), and a transliteration of the Ashur manuscript (marked as As). Because the Tarbišu cylinders are better preserved than the Nineveh texts, they precede them in my edition, but the line count follows ms. A of the Nineveh cylinders, in order to avoid confusion if a reader wants to compare the new edition with earlier ones. A gap of no more than one word is indicated by "...," while "....." marks a longer gap. Significant variations between T, N, and As, i.e., variants that go beyond orthographic deviations, are marked by the use of bold type. I have not re-edited the building account of N, which is available in Luckenbill's OIP 2, 94-98, an edition which should be consulted together with the additions and corrections provided by me in *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 45.

- 1
T 1: ^{Id}EN.ZU-šeš-meš-*eri-ba* lugal gal lugal *dan-nu* lugal kur *aš-šur*^{ki} lugal *la šá-na-an re-e-um ke-e-nu mi-gir* dingir-meš gal-meš
N 1: ^{Id}EN.ZU-šeš-meš-*eri-ba* lugal gal lugal *dan-nu* lugal kur *aš-šur*^{ki} lugal *la šá-na-an re-é-um mut-nen-nu-ú pa-liḫ* dingir-meš gal-meš
- 2
T 2: *na-šir kit-ti ra-'i-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*
N 2: *na-šir kit-ti ra-'i-im mi-šá-ri e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti*
- 3
T 3: *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-'i-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*
N 3: *eṭ-lum gít-ma-lum RI*(preserved only in H)-*ka-ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-'i-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni*
- 4
T 4: ^d*aš-šur* kur-ú gal-ú lugal-ut *la šá-na-an ú-šat-lim*(II: *li*)-*ma-an-ni-ma ugu gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a*^{gis}*tukul-meš-ia*
N 4: ^d*aš-šur* kur-ú gal-ú lugal-ut *la šá-na-an ú-šat-lḫ*(A, C, D)-*ma-an-ni-ma ugu gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar*(G; A: EZEN)-*ba-a*^{gis}*tukul-meš-ia*
- 5
T 5: *i-na sag lugal-ti-ia ša ina*^{gis}*gu-za be-lu-ti ú-ši-bu-ma un-meš* kur *aš-šur*^{ki} *al-ta'*(copy: ÁŠ-EŠ₅)-*nap-pa-ru i-na taš-me-e ù sa-li-me*
N 5: *i-na sag lugal-ti-ia ša i-na*^{gis}*gu-^rza' [(...)] ^rú¹-ši-bu-ma ba-ḫu-la-a*(A; D om.)-*te* kur *aš-šur*^{ki} *ú-ma-Aḫ* (preserved only in A)-*ru i-na taš-me-e ù sa-li-me*
- 6
T 6: ^{Id}*amar-utu-ibila-sum-na* lugal kur *kár-dun-ia-áš a-a-bu lem-nu ba-ra-nu-ú ka-raš sur-ra-a-ti e-piš le-mut-ti ša an-zil-la-šú kit-tu*
N 6: ^{Id}*amar-utu-ibila-sum-na* lugal kur *kár^r dun¹-[ia-áš ...] ^rlem¹-nu ba-ra-nu-ú ka-raš sur-ra-a-ti e-piš le-mut-ti ša an-zil-la-šú k[ⁱ]t-tu*
- 7

- T 7: ¹*šu-túr-na*(II om.)-*hu-un-du* ^{lú}*e-la-mu-ú a-na ib-ru-ti-šu is-ḫur-ma* kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar *ni-siq-ti na₄-meš ú-šat-lim-šu-ma e-ter-ri-su kit-ru*
- N 7: ¹*šu-túr-na-hu-du* ^{lú}*e-[la-mu-ú ana ib²]-r ru²-ti-šu*(D; C: ¹*šu²*) *is-ḫur-ma* kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar *ni-siq-ti na₄-meš ú-šat-lim-šu-ma e-ter-ri-su k[ṭ]-[r]u*
- 8
- T 8: ¹*im-ba-ap-pa* ^{lú}*tur-ta-nu-šu it-ti gi-piš um-ma*(II om.)-*na-ti-šu¹ ta-an-na-a-nu* ^{lú}_{3-u₅ 10} ^{lú}*gal-ki-šir-meš a-di* ¹(not in copy)^dU-GUR-*na-šir* ^{lú}*su-tu-u a-lik maḫ-ri-šu-un*
- N 8: ¹*im-ba-ap-pa* ^{lú}*tur-ta-[nu-šu um]-ma-na-ti-šu¹ ta-an-na-a-nu* ^{lú}_{3-u₅ 10} ^{lú}*gal-ki-šir-meš a-di* ^{1d}U-GUR-*na-šir* ^{lú}*su-tu-ú la a-di-ru ta-ḫa-[z]u*
- 9
- T 9: 80 *lim* ^{lú}*erim-meš* ^{giš}*ban* ^{giš}*az-ma-re-e* 8 *me* 50 ^{giš}*šu-um-bi* 12 *lim* 2 *me* anše-kur-ra-meš *it-ti šu-nu-ti-ma a-na* kur eme-gi₇ *ú uri* ^{ki}*iš-pu-ra re-šu-us-su*
- N 9: 80 *lim* ^{lú}*erim-meš* ^{giš}*ban* ¹[..... ^{giš}*š*]*u-um-r br* ¹[..... *a*]nše-kur-ra-meš *it-ti šu-nu-ti-ma a-na* kur eme-gi₇ *ú uri* ^{ki}*iš-pu-ra re-š[u-us-s]u*
- 10
- T 10: *ú šu-ú* ^{lú}*kal-du lem-nu e-piš* ^{húl}*-tim numun né-er-ti unug* ^{ki}*ararma*(UD-UNUG)^{ki} *úrim*(ŠEŠ-UNUG)^{ki} *eridu*(NUN)^{ki} *kul-aba₄ ki-is-sik* ^{ki uru}*né-med*-^d*la-gu-da*
- N 10: *ú šu-ú* ¹*lem*²(only H)-*[nu² ararma*(UD-UNU)G^{ki} *úrim*(ŠEŠ-UNUG)^{ki} *eridu*(NUN)^{ki} *kul-aba₄ ki-is-sik* ^{ki uru}*né-med*-^d*[la-gu]-da*
- 11
- T 11: kur *é-¹ia-ki-ni* kur *é-¹a-muk-ka-a-ni* kur *é-¹a-šil-a-ni* kur *é-¹sa-’a-al-li* kur *é-¹dak-ku-ri si-ḫir-ti* ^{lú}*kal-di ma-la ba-šu-ú*
- N 11: kur *é-¹[a-ki-ni kur é-¹sa-’a-a]l-li* kur *é-¹dak-ku-ri si-ḫir*(text: SAR (only A))-*ti* ^{lú}*kal-di ma-la ba-šu-r* ¹*ú*
- 12
- T 12: *ša gú* ^{id}*idigna* ^{lú}*tu-u’-mu-na* ^{lú}*ri-ḫi-ḫu* ^{lú}*ia-da-q-qu* ^{lú}*gīb-re-e* ^{lú}*ma-li-ḫu*
- N 12: *ša gú* ^{1A}¹[^{ENGUR}*idigna* ^{lú}*]a-da-q-qu* ^{lú}*gīb-re-e* ^{1lú1r}*ma* ¹*[-ḷ]i-ḫu*
- 13
- T 13: *ša gú* ^{id}*su-rap-pi* ^{lú}*gu-ru-mu* ^{lú}*ú-bu-lum* ^{lú}*da-mu-nu* ^{lú}*gam-bu-lu* ^{lú}*ḫi-in-da-ru* ^{lú}*ru-’u-u-a* ^{lú}*pu-qu-du*
- N 13: *ša gú* ^{1A}¹[^{ENGUR}*su-rap-pi* ^{lú}*da-mu-n]u* ^{lú}*gam-bu-lu* ^{lú}*ḫi-in-da-ru* ^{lú}*ru-’u-u-a* ^{lú}*pu-qu-du*
- 14
- T 14: *ša gú* ^{id}*buranun* ^{ki} ^{lú}*ḫa-am-ra-a-nu* ^{lú}*ḫa-ga-ra-a-nu* ^{lú}*na-ba-tu* ^{lú}*li-i’-ta-a-a*(II: *ú*) ^{lú}*a-ra-mu* (II adds: *la kan-šu*) *ša la i-du-ú mi-tu-tum*
- N 14: *ša gú* ^{1A}¹[^{ENGUR}*buranun* ^{ki}] ^{lú}*na-ba-tú* ^{lú}*li-i’-ta-a-a*(B; A om.)-*ú* ^{lú}*a-ra-mu la kan-šu ša la i-r du* ¹*-r* ¹*mi-r tu* ¹*-tum*
- 15
- T 15: nibru ^{ki}*dil-bat* ^{ki}*marad-da* ^{ki}*kiš* ^{ki uru}*ḫur-sag-kalam-ma* *ká-dingir-ra* ^{ki}*bár-sipa* ^{ki}*gú-du₈-a* ^{ki}*gi-mir* kur *kár-dun-ia-áš iš-te-niš ú-pa-ḫir-ma ú-šak-šir ta-ḫa-zu*
- N 15: nibru ^{ki}*dil-b[at* ^{ki} *ká-dingir-r]* ^{ki}*bár-sipa* ^{ki}*gú-du₈-a* ^{ki}*gi-mir* kur *kár-dun-ia-áš iš-te-niš ú-pa-ḫir*(B; A: SAR)-*r ma* ¹*[ú-š]ak-šir [ṭ]a-ḫa-zu*
- 16
- T 16: *ia-a-ti* ^{1d}EN-ZU-*šeš-me[š]-eri-ba zi-kar* ¹*edin* ¹*na-a’-du ep-še-ti-šu lem-né-e-ti ú-šá-an-nu-nim-ma la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma q[é-re]b* ^{ki}*[ká-dingir]-ra* ^{ki}*a-na maḫ-ri-šu aq-ta-bi a-la-ku*
- N 16: *ia-a-ti* ^{1r1rd1}EN¹-ZU¹-*šeš*¹-*r meš*¹-*r er*¹-*r ba* ¹*zi*²-*r kar*² ¹*edin*² ¹*na-a’-du ep-še-ti-šu lem-né-e-ti ú-šá-an-nu-nim-ma la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma qé-reb* ^{ki}*ká-dingir-ra* ^{ki}*a-na ma[ḫ]-ri-šu aq-ti-[b]i a-la-ku*

17

T 17: *šu-ú ħi-ri-iš gal-le-e lem-ni a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma* anše-kur-ra-meš erim-meš
^{giš}ban ^{lú}*e-la-mu-ú* (copy: ir) ^{lú}*a-ra-mu* ^{lú}*kal-<du> it-ti* ^{ld}U-GUR^l (copy: U-DIŠ-
 GUR)-*na-šir* ^ú 10 ^{lú}*gal-ki-šir-meš* lugal kur elam-ma^{ki} *ša la i-du-ú mi-tu-tú*

N 17: *šu-ú ħi-ri-iš gal-le-e lem-ni a-lak ger-ri-ia iš-me-ma* anše-kur-ra-meš erim-meš
^{giš}ban ^{lú}*a* (only in A) *-la-mu-ú a-ra-mu* ^{lú}*kal-du it-ti* ^{ld}U-GUR-*na-šir* ^ú (A; B om.)
 10 ^{lú}*gal-ki-šir*-[meš ...] kur elam-ma^{ki} ^r*ša* ^r*la* ^r*i-du-ú* ^r*mi* ^r*tu* ^r*tú*

18

T 18: *e-mu-qí la ni-bi it-ti šú-nu-ti-ma ú-dan-ni-in ki-iš-ri-šu-un qé-reb* gú-du₈-a^{ki} *mit-
 ħa-riš* *ú-še-rib-ma a-na mé-te-eq ger-ri-ia ú-šá-an-šir ka-a-du*

N 18: *e-mu-qí la ni-bi it-ti šú-nu-ti-ma ú-dan-ni-in ki-iš-ri-šu-un qé-reb* gú-du₈-a^{ki} *iš-
 te-niš* *ú-še-rib-ma a-na me* (A; B: *mé*)-*te-eq ger-ri-ia ú-šá-an*-[*šir*] *r k[a]*-^r*a* ^r*du*

19

T 19: *ši-in-di-ia uš-te-še-ra ud 20-kám ša* ^{iti}*ziz* *ta bal-ti*^{ki} *gim* ^{gu}*am gap-ši maḥ-rit*
 erim-*ħi-a-ia aš-bat-ma pa-an gi-ip-ši-ia ul ú-šad-gil-ma ar-ka-a ul ú-qí*

N 19: *ši-in-di-ia uš-te-še-ra ud 20-kám ša* ^{iti}*ziz* *ul-tu bal-ti*^{ki} *gim* ^{gu}*am gap-ši maḥ-rit*
 erim-*ħi-a-ia aš-bat-ma pa-an gi-ip-ši-ia ul ú-šad-gi* [l-m] *a ar-k[a]*-*a ul* ^r*u* ^r*qí*

20

T 20: ^{lú}*gal-sag* ^{lú}*en-nam-meš-ia a-na kiš*^{ki} *ú-ma-’i-ir maḥ-ru-u-a* *ṭe*-(Rasur?)-[*e*]*m*(?)
^{ld}*amar-utu-ibila-sum-na li-in-da-ma e te-ga*^l-*a dun-ni-na ma-šar-tuš*

N 20: ^{lú}*gal-sag* ^{lú}*en-nam-meš-ia a-na kiš*^{ki} *ú-ma-’i-ir maḥ-ru-u-a* *ú-ru-uh* ^{ld}*amar-utu-
 ibila-sum-na šab-ta-a-ma e te-ga-a dun-ni-na ma-šar-tuš*

21

T 21: *šu-ú* ^{lú}*en-nam-meš-ia e-mur-ma a-di gi-mir um-ma-na* (II om.) *-ti-šú* *abul*^l (copy:
 KÁ-MA) ^d*za-ba₄-ba₄ uš-ša-am-ma i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*^{ki} *it-ti* ^{lú}*gal-meš-ia e-pu-uš ta-
 ħa-zu*

N 21: *šu-ú* ^{lú}*en-nam-meš-ia e-mur-ma a-di gi-mir el-la-ti-šú* *abul* ^d*za-ba₄-ba₄ uš-ša-am-
 ma i-na ta-mir-ti kiš*^{ki} *it-ti* ^{lú}*gal-meš-ia e-pu-uš ta-ħa-zu*

22

T 22: ^{lú}*gal-meš-ia qit*^l-*ru-bu* (II: *ub*) *ta-ħa-zi* ^{lú}*kúr*^l (copy: NU) *ugu-šú-un id-nin-ma ip-
 la-ħu qa*[?] *-ba*^l ^(?)*x-šú* ^{lú}*a-šip-ri-šú-un ša ħa-mat i-na qé-reb ta-mir-ti gú-du₈-a*^{ki} *še-
 ru-u-a iš* ^r*pu* ^r*ru-ni*

N 22: ^{lú}*gal-meš-ia qit*^l-*ru-ub ta-ħa-zi* (A: over erasure) ^{lú}*kúr* *ugu-šú-un id-nin-ma ul i-le-
 ’u-ú ma-ħa-ar-šú* ^{lú}*a-šip-ri-šú-un ša ħa-mat i-na qé-reb ta-mir-ti gú-du₈-a*^{ki} *še-ru-
 u-a iš* ^r*pu-ru-u-ni*

23

T 23: *i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ia ugu gú-du₈-a*^{ki} *ti-bu šam-ru áš-kun-ma* ^{lú}*mun-daḥ-ši sa-ħi-ir*
bád-šú aš-li-iš ú-ṭa-ab (II: *ṭab*)-*bi-iḥ-ma aš-ša-bat uru*

N 23: *i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ia ugu gú-du₈-a*^{ki} *ti-bu šam-ru áš-kun-ma* ^{lú}*mun-daḥ-ši sa-ħi-ir*
bád-šú (A; E om. *šú*?) *a[s]-li-iš ú-ṭab-bi-iḥ-ma aš-ša-bat uru*

24

T 24: anše-kur-ra-meš erim-meš ^{giš}ban ^{lú}*e-la-me-e* ^{lú}*a-ra-mu* ^{lú}*kal-du* ^{lú}*gal-ki-šir-meš* ^{lú}*kur
 elam-ma*^{ki} *ú* ^{ld}U-GUR-*na-šir a-di dumu-meš uru en ħi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ša-am-ma
 šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

N 24: anše-kur-ra-meš erim-meš ^{giš}ban ^{lú}*e-la-me-e* ^{lú}*a-ra-mu* ^{lú}*kal-du* ^{lú}*gal-ki-šir-meš*
lugal (E and possibly A) *kur elam-ma*^{ki} *ú* ^{ld}U-GUR-*na-šir a-di dumu-meš uru en
 ħi-iṭ-ṭi ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

25

T 25: *la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-biš* (II: *bi-iš*) *it-ti* ^{lú}*qu-ra-di-ia*^l (copy: ZÍ) *la
 ga-me-lu-ti ugu* ^{ld}*amar-utu*^l *-ibila-sum-na a-na kiš*^{ki} *áš* (II: *al*)-*ta-kan pa-ni-ia*

N 25: *la-ab-biš an-na-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-bi-iš* *it-ti* ^{lú}*qu-ra-di-ia la ga-me-lu-ti še-
 riš* (A and E) ^{ld}*amar-utu-ibila-sum-na a-na kiš*^{ki} *áš-ta-kan pa-ni-ia*

26

T 26: *ù šu-ú e-piš lem-né-e-ti hi-il-lu a-na ru-qé-e-ti e-mur-ma pu-luḫ-du im-qu-su gi-mir um¹* (copy: TA) *-ma-na-ti-šú ú-maš-šir-ma a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bīt*

N 26: *ù šu-ú e-piš lem-né-e-ti a-ka-mu ger-ri-ia a-na ru-qé-e-ti e-mur-ma im-qu-su ḫat-tu gi-mir el-la-ti-šú e-zib-ma a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bīt*

27

T 27: ¹*ta-an-na-nu a-di erim-ḫi-a* (II adds: kur) *elam-ma^{ki} lú kal-du^{lú} a-ra-mu ša i-da-šú iz-zi-zu-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-us¹-su bad₅-bad₅-šú-un áš-kun-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-lat-su-un*

N 27: ¹*ta-an-na-a-nu a-di um-ma-na-at^{lú} elam-ma^{ki} lú kal-du^{lú} a-ra-mu ša i-da-a-šu iz-zi-zu-ma il-li-ku re-ṣu-us¹-su bad₅-bad₅-šú-un áš-kun-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-lat-su*

28

T 28: ¹*a-di-nu dumu nin^{Id} amar-utu¹-ibila-sum-na a-di¹ ba-as-qa-a-nu šeš^{munus} ia-ti-’e-e šar-rat^{kur} a-ri-bi it-ti um-ma-na-ti-šú-nu bal-ṭu-su-nu ina qa-ti aš-bat*

N 28: ¹*a-di-nu dumu nin[?] Id amar-utu¹-ibila-sum-na a-di¹ ba-as-qa-a-nu šeš^{munus} ia-ti-’e-e šar-rat^{lú} a-ri-bi it-ti um-ma-na-te-šú-nu bal-ṭu-su-un ina qa-ti aš-bat*

29

T 29: ^{giš}*gigir-meš^{giš} su-um-bi anše-kur-ra-meš ANŠE-kunga-meš anše-meš ANŠE-gam-mal-meš^{anše} ud-ri ša qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri muš-šu-ru ik-šu-da šu^{II}-a-a*

N 29: ^{giš}*gigir-meš^{giš} su-um-bi anše-kur-ra-meš ANŠE-kunga-meš anše-meš(I; in A, meš is written over an erased A) anše-a-ab-ba-meš^{anše} ud-ri ša qé-reb tam-ḫa-ri muš-šu-ru ik-šu-da šu^{II}-a-a*

30

T 30: *i-na ḫu-ud lib-bi¹ u¹ nu-¹ um¹-¹ mur¹ pa-ni a-na ká-dingir-ra^{ki} a-ḫi-iš-ma a-na é-gal^{Id} amar-utu¹-ibila-sum-na áš-šu šá-lal¹ ní-g-šu¹ u¹ ní-g-ga e-te-ru-ub qé-reb-šá*

N 30: *i-na ḫu-ud lib-bi¹ u¹ nu-um-mur pa-ni a-na ká-dingir-ra^{ki} a-ḫi-iš-ma a-na é-gal^{Id} amar-utu¹-ibila-sum-na áš-šu pa-qad ní-g-šu¹ u¹ ní-g-ga qé-reb-šá e-ru-ub*

31

T 31: *ap-te-e-ma é ni-šir-ti-šú kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar ú-nu-ut kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar na₄-meš a-qar-tu^{giš} ná-meš^{giš} gu-za-né-me-de-e^{giš} šá-šá-da-di^{giš} ga-ši-ru-ut lugal-ti-šú ša iḫ-zu-šú-nu kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar*

N 31: *ap-te-e-ma é ni-šir-te-šú kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar ú-nu-ut kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar na₄-meš a-qar-tú^{giš} ná-meš^{giš} gu-za-meš né-me-de^{giš} šá-šá-da-di^{giš} ga-ši-ru-ut lugal-ti-šú šá iḫ-zu-šú-nu kù-sig₁₇ kù-babbar*

32

T 32: *mim-ma šum-šu ní-g-šu ní-g-ga* (II adds: *la ni-bi*) *ni-šir-ti ka-bit-tum¹ dam-su MUNUS-ERIM-meš é-gal-šú^{munus} agrig-meš^{lú} šu-ut-sag-meš^{lú} tirum-meš^{lú} man-za-az-pa-ni^{lú} nar-meš^{munus} nar-meš*

N 32: *mim-ma šum-šu ní-g-šu ní-g-ga la ni-bi ni-šir-tum ka-bit-tum dam-su MUNUS-UN-meš é-gal-šú^{munus} agrig-meš^{lú} šu-ut-sag-meš^{lú} tirum-meš^{lú} man-za-az-pa-ni^{lú} nar-meš^{munus} nar-meš*

33

T 33: ^{lú}*arad* (II adds: *meš*) *-é-gal mu-nam-mi-ru ṭe¹* (copy: LÁL) *-mu ru-bu-ti-šú si¹* (copy: GIŠ) *-ḫi-ir-ti^{lú} um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-ut é-gal-šú ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

N 33: ^{lú}*arad-meš -é-gal mu-nam-mi-ru ṭe-mu ru-bu-ti-šú si-ḫi-ir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú mut-tab-bi-lu-ut é-gal-šú ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu*

34

T 34: *aš-bat-ma ar-ki-šu a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni^{lú} mun-daḫ-ši a-na qé-reb^{Id} a-gam-me ap-pa-ra-a-te áš-pur-ma⁵ u₄-me ú-ba-’u-ú-šu-ma ul in¹-na-mir a-šar-šu*

- N 34: *ur-ri-iḫ-ma* *egir-šú a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni* ^{lu} *mun-daḫ-ši-ia a-na qé-reb* ^{id} *a-gam-me ú ap-pa-ra-a-ti ú-ma-'i-ir-ma* 5 *u₄-me ú-ba-'u-šu-ma ul in-na-mir a-šar-šu*
- 35
- T 35: *si-te-et anše-kur-ra-meš ú erim-ḫi-a-šú ša ia-a'-šu ma-na-aḫ-tum na-a-liš ip-par-ši-du-šu*(II: *ši*)-*ma la il-li-ku i-da-a-šú iš-tu qé-reb edin ú ba-ma-a-ti mit-ḫa-[r]iš ú-paḫ*(II: *pa*)-*ḫir*
- N 35: *si-te-et anše-kur-ra-meš* (only A, followed by an erased *ú*²) *erim-ḫi-a-šú ša ia-a'-šu ma-na-aḫ-tum na-a-liš ip-par-ši-du-šu-ma la il-li-ku i-da-a-šú iš-tu qé-reb edin ú ba-ma-a-ti iš-te-niš ú-pa-ḫir*(text: SAR (only A))
- 36
- T 36: *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia* ^{uru} *a-ma-at-tu* ^{uru} *ḫa-ú-a-e* ^{uru} *su-pa-pu* ^{uru} *é-I sa-an-na-bi* ^{uru} *qu-da-a-a-in*→
- N 36: *i-na me-te-eq ger-ri-ia* ^{uru} *a-ma-tu* ^{uru} *ḫa-ú-a-e* ^{uru} *su-pa-pu* ^{uru} *nu-qa-bu* ^{uru} *é-I sa-an-na-bi* ^{uru} *qu-da-a-a-in*
- 37
- T 36f: ³⁶ → ^{uru} *qid-ri-na* ^{uru} *bàd-I la-di-ni* ^{uru} *bi-ta-a-te* ³⁷ ^{uru} *ba-ni-tu* ^{uru} *gu-zu-um-ma-nu* ^{uru} *bàd-I ia-an-šu-ri* ^{uru} *bàd-I a-bi-ia-ta-a* ^{uru} *bàd-I ru-du-um-me*→
- N 37: ^{uru} *qid-ri-na* ^{uru} *bàd-I la-di-ni* ^{uru} *bi-ta-a-ti* ^{uru} *ba-ni-tu* *kur gu-zu-um-ma-nu* ^{uru} *bàd-I ia-an-šu-ri* ^{uru} *bàd-I a-bi-ia-ta-a* ^{uru} *bàd-I ru-du-um-me*
- 38
- T 37f: ³⁷ → ^{uru} *é-I ra-ḫe-e* ^{uru} *ḫa-pi-šá* ^{uru} *sa-di-AN* ^{uru} *ḫu-ru-du* ^{uru} *ša-aḫ-ri-na* ³⁸ ^{uru} *il-tu-uk* ^{uru} *al-la-al-lu* ^{uru} *sa-ab/p-ḫa-nu* ^{uru} *kar-^digi-du* ^{uru} *a-pa-ak* ^{uru} *é-I dan-na-a-a* ^{uru} *é-I ab-da-a-a* ^{uru} *ba-ḫi-ḫ*(II om.)-*ir* ^{uru} *ma-ri-ra-a* *marad-da*^{ki} ^{uru} *ia-qi-mu-na*→
- N 38: ^{uru} *é-I ra-ḫe-e* ^{uru} *ḫa-pi-šá* ^{uru} *sa-di-AN* ^{uru} *ḫu-ru-du* ^{uru} *ša-aḫ-ri-na* ^{uru} *il-tu-uk* ^{uru} *al-la-al-lu* *marad-da*^{ki} ^{uru} *ia-qi-mu-na*
- 39
- T 38f: ³⁸ → ^{uru} *ku-ub/p-ru-na* ^{uru} *é-I ku-dúr-ri* ^{uru} *sila^{qa}-I ma-ru-si* ³⁹ *nap-ḫar* 34 *uru-meš dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-I dak-ku-ri a-di 2 me 50 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
- N 39: ^{uru} *ku-ub/p-ru-na* ^{uru} *é-I ku-dúr-ri* ^{uru} *sila^{qa}-I ma-ru-si* *nap-ḫar* 33 *uru-meš dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-I dak-ku-ri a-di 2 me 50 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
- 40
- T 40: ^{uru} *bàd-I ap-pe-e* ^{uru} *bàd-I ta-né-e* ^{uru} *bàd-I sa-ma-a'* ^{uru} *sa-ar-ra-ba-tu* ^{uru} *ša-la-ḫa-tu* ^{uru} *bàd-I ab-da-a-a* ^{uru} *sa-ap-pi*(II: *pa*)-*ḫi-ma-ri* ^{uru} *šib-tú-ša-I ma-ak-ka-me-e*
- N 40: ^{uru} *bàd-I ap-pe-e* ^{uru} *bàd-I ta-né-e* ^{uru} *bàd-I sa-ma-a'* ^{uru} *sa-ar-ra-ba-tu* ^{uru} *ša-la-ḫa-tu* ^{uru} *bàd-I ab-da-a-a* ^{uru} *sa-ap-pi-ḫi-ma-ri* ^{uru} *šib-tú-ša-I ma-ak-ka-me-e*
- 41
- T 41: *nap-ḫar* 8 *uru-meš*(II adds: *-ni*) *dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-I sa-'a-al-li a-di 1 me 20 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
- N 41: *nap-ḫar* 8 *uru-meš dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-I sa-'a-al-li a-di 1 me 20 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu*
- 42
- T 42: ^{uru} *sa-pi-a* ^{uru} *sa-ar-ra-ba-nu larak*(UD-UD-AG)^{ki} *barag-mar-ri*^{ki}(II om. this name) ^{uru} *é-dingir-ba-ni* ^{uru} *a-ḫu-du* *uru-ša-iš-šur-^diškur* ^{uru} *šá-ḫar-ra-tu* ^{uru} *ma-na-aḫ-ḫu*→
- N 42: ^{uru} *sa-pi-a* ^{uru} *sa-ar-ra-ba-nu larak*(UD-UD-AG)^{ki} *barag-mar-ri*^{ki} ^{uru} *é-dingir-ba-ni* ^{uru} *a-ḫu-du* *uru-šá-iš-šur-^diškur* ^{uru} *šá-ḫar-ra-tú* ^{uru} *ma-na-aḫ-ḫu*
- 43
- T 42f: ⁴² → *uru-šá-a-me-le-e* ^{uru} *bàd-I ak/q-kil/qí-ia* ⁴³ ^{uru} *na-gi-tu* ^{uru} *nu-ur-a-bi-nu* ^{uru} *ḫa-ar-šu-ar-ra* <^{uru}>(II: ^{uru}) *bàd-I ru-uq-bi* ^{uru} *da-an-da-ḫul-la* ^{uru} *bàd-I bir-da-da*→
- N 43: *uru-šá-a-me-le-e* ^{uru} *bàd-I ak/q-kil/qí-ia* ^{uru} *na-gi-tu* ^{uru} *nu-ur-a-bi-nu* ^{uru} *ḫa-ar-šu-ar-ra* ^{uru} *bàd-I ru-uq-bi* ^{uru} *da-an-da-ḫul-la* ^{uru} *bàd-I bir-da-da*

44

T 43f: ⁴³ → ^{uru}é-^Ire-^{'e-e} ^{uru}bàd-^Iú-gur-ri ^{uru}gi-in-da-i-na ⁴⁴ ^{uru}bàd-^Iú-a-a-it ^{uru}bàd-^Ita-ú-ra-a ^{uru}sa-ab/p-^{hu-na} ^{uru}pu-^{ha-ar}-ru→

N 44: ^{uru}é-^Ire-^{'e-e} ^{uru}bàd-^Iú-gur-ri ^{uru}hi-in-da-i-na ^{uru}bàd-^Iú-a-a-it ^{uru}bàd-^Ita-ú-ra-a ^{uru}sa-ab/p-^{hu-na} ^{uru}pu-^{ha-ar}-ru

45

T 44f: ⁴⁴ → ^{uru}har-bat-^Isum-na ^{uru}har-bat-^Ikal-bi ^{uru}ša-bar-re-e ^{uru}é-^Iba-ni-dingir-ú-a ^{uru}su-la-a-du ⁴⁵ ^{uru}é-^Iil-ta-am(II: ma) -sa-ma-a ^{uru}é-^Idi-ni-dingir→

N 45: ^{uru}har-bat-^Isum-na ^{uru}har-bat-^Ikal-bi ^{uru}ša-bar-re-e ^{uru}é-^Iba-ni-dingir-ú-a ^{uru}su-la-a-du ^{uru}é-^Iil-ta-ma-sa-ma-a ^{uru}é-^Idi-ni-dingir

46

T 45: → ^{uru}da-qa-lu²¹ ^{uru}ha-me(II: ma)-ša ^{uru}BE-la-a ^{uru}ta¹-i-^rru¹ ^{uru}kib/p-ra-a-nu ^{uru}il-ta-ra-tu ^{uru}ak-am² -ša-ki-na ^{uru}sa-ga-ba-tu-ša-^Imar-duk-ia

N 46: ^{uru}da-qa-la ^{uru}ha-me-ša ^{uru}BE-la-a ^{uru}ta-i-ru ^{uru}kib/p-ra-a-nu ^{uru}il-ta-ra-tú ^{uru}ak-am-ša-ki-na ^{uru}sa-ga-ba-tú-ša-^Imar-duk-ia

47

T 46: nap-^{har} 39 uru-meš dan-na(II: nu)-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-^Ia-muk-ka-a-ni a-di 3 me 50 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu

N 47: nap-^{har} 39 uru-meš dan-nu-ti ša kur é-^Ia-muk-ka-a-ni a-di 3 me 50 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu

48

T 47: ^{uru}é-^Iza-bi-di-ia ararma(UD-UNUG)^{ki} kul-aba⁴²¹(copy: DA)^{ki} eridu(NUN)^{ki} ki-is-sik^{ki} ^{uru}né-med-^dla-gu-da ^{uru}bàd-^Iia-ki-ni a-di ^{uru}kar-^dAG ša ki-šad^{id} mar-ra-ti

N 48: ^{uru}é-^Iza-bi-di-ia ararma(UD-UNUG)^{ki} kul-aba^{ki} eridu(NUN)^{ki} ki-is-sik^{ki} ^{uru}né-med-^dla-gu-da ^{uru}bàd-^Iia-ki-ni a-di ^{uru}kar-^dAG ša ki-šad^{id} mar-ra-ti

49

T 48: nap-^{har} 8 uru-meš dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-^Iia-ki-ni a-di 1 me uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu

N 49: nap-^{har} 8 uru-meš dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur é-^Iia-ki-ni a-di 1 me uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu

As 1': [... uru]-^rmeš¹ dan-nu-^fi [...]

50

T 49: nap-^{har} 88 uru-meš-ni dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur kal-di a-di 8 me 20 uru-meš tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un

N 50: nap-^{har} 88 uru-me-ni dan-nu-ti é-bàd-meš-ni ša kur kal-di a-di 8 me 20 uru-[meš] tur-meš ša li-me-ti-šú-nu al-me ak-šu-ud áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un

As 2': [...]^r8¹ uru-meš dan-nu-ti ^ré¹-^rbàd¹-[meš-ni]

51

T 50: še-im zú-lum-ma ša qé-reb ki-ra-te-šú-nu buru₁₄-šú-nu ša edin erim-^{hi}-a(II adds: ni) ú-šá-kil ap-pul aq-qur i-na^d gíra aq-mu a-na du₆-meš ma-šu-ú-ti ú-ter

N 51: še-im zú-lum-ma ša qé-reb ki-ra-a-te-šú-nu buru₁₄-šú-nu ša edin erim-^{hi}-a-ni ú-šá-kil ap-pul aq-qur i-na^d gíra aq-mu a-na du₆-meš ma-šu-ú-ti ú-ter

As 3': [...]^rzú¹-lum-ma ša qé-reb ki-ra-te-šú-nu ^rburu₁₄¹-^ršú¹-^rnu¹ [...]

52

T 51: ^{lú}úr-bi ^{lú}a-ra-mu ^{lú}kal-du ša qé-reb unug^{ki} nibru^{ki} kiš^{ki} ^{uru}hur-sag-kalam-ma a-di dumu-meš uru en ^{hi}-i^t-^{ti} ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu

N 52: ^{lú}úr-bi ^{lú}a-ra-mu ^{lú}kal-du ša qé-reb unug^{ki} nibru^{ki} kiš^{ki} ^{uru}hur-sag-kalam-ma^{ki} a-di dumu-meš uru ^{en}^r ^{hi}¹-^ri^t-^{ti} ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš am-nu

As 4': [^{lú}ú]^r-bi^{lú} a-ra-mu ^{lú}kal-du ša qé-reb unug^{ki} E[N-LÍL^{ki}]

53

T 52: še-im zú-lum-ma ša qé-reb ki-ra-te-šú-nu me-reš ma-na-^{hi}-šú-nu buru₁₄ edin ba-la^t na-piš-ti-šú-nu erim-^{hi}-a-ni ú-šá-kil

- N 53: *še-im zú-lum-ma ša qé-reb ki-ra-a-te-šú-nu me-reš ma-na-ḫi-šú-nu* buru₁₄ edin
ba-laṭ^r na¹-^r pišⁿ [ti-šú-n]u erim-ḫi-a-ni ú-šá-kil
- As 5': [*še-i*]m zú-lum-ma ša qé-reb ki-ra-a-te-šú-nu me-reš ma-n[*a-ḫi-šú-nu*]
- 54
- T 53: ^len-dù dumu ^lu gal-dù *pe-er*(II: *ri*)-ⁱ šu-an-na^{ki} šá ki-ma mi-ra-a(II om.)-ni ša-aḫ-
*ri qé-reb é-gal-ia ir-bu-ú a-na lugal-ti kur eme-gi₇ ú uri^{ki} aš(II: áš)-ta-kan ugu-šú-
un*
- N 54: ^len-dù dumu ^lu gal-dù *pe-ri-i'* šu-an-na^{ki} šá ki-ma mi-ra-ni ša-aḫ-ri qé-reb é-gal-
ia ir-bu-ú [.....kur eme-g]i₇ ú uri^{ki} *áš-ta-kan ugu-šú-un*
- As 6': [^len-*ib-ni* dumu ^lu gal-dù *pe-ri-i'* šu-an-na^{ki} šá ki-ma ^rmi¹-^rra¹-^ra¹-[ni]
- 55
- T 54: *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* ^lu tu-u'-mu-na ^lu ri-ḫi-ḫu(II: *ḫa*) ^lu ú-bu-du ^lu gíb-re-e ^lu ma-li-ḫu
^lu gu-ru-mu ^lu ú-bu-lum ^lu da-mu-nu ^lu gam-bu-lu ^lu ḫi-in-da-ru
- N 55: *i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia* ^lu tu¹-u'-mu-na ^lu ri-ḫi-ḫu ^lu ia-da-q-qu ^lu ú-bu-du ^lu gíb-re-[e.....
^lu u]-bu-lu ^lu da-mu-nu ^lu gam-bu-lum ^lu ḫi-in-da-ru
- As 7': ^ri¹-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ia ^lu tu-u'-mu-na ^lu ri-ḫi-ḫu ^lu ia-da-q-qu^r [.....]
- 56
- T 55: ^lu ru-'u-u-a ^lu pu-qu-du ^lu ḫa-<am>-ra-a-nu ^lu ḫa-ga-ra-a-nu ^lu na-ba-tu ^lu li-i'-ta-a-a
^lu a-ra-mu la^r kan¹-šú mit-ḫa-riš ak-šud^{ad}-ma áš-lu-la šal-lat-su-un
- N 56: ^lu ru-'u-u-a ^lu pu-qu-du ^lu ḫa-am-ra-a-nu ^lu ḫa-ga-ra-a-nu ^lu na-ba-tu ^lu li-[i']-ta-a-[ú²
^lu a-ra-m]u^r la¹ ka[n-šú mit-ḫa]-riš ak-šud^{ad}-ma áš-lu-la šal-la-su-un
- As 8': ^lu ru-'u-u-a ^lu pu-qu-du ^lu ḫa-am-ra-a-nu ^lu ḫa-ga-ra-a-nu ^lu na-b[a-tu]
- 57
- T 56: *i-na me-ti*(II: *te*)-iq ger-ri-ia ša ^{ld}AG-en-mu-meš ^lu qí-pi^{uru} ḫa-ra-ra-ti kù-sig₁₇ kù-
babbar ^{gis}mu-suk-kan-ni gal-meš anše-meš ANŠE-gam-mal-meš gu₄-meš ú
usduḫa man-da-ta-šú ka-bit-tum am-ḫur
- N 57: *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{ld}AG-en-mu-meš [^lu]qí-pi^{uru} ḫa-ra-ra-ti kù-sig₁₇ kù-
babbar ^{gis}mu-s[uk-kan-ni] ^rgal¹-meš anše-[meš ANŠE]-gam-mal-meš gu₄-meš ú
usduḫa man-da-ta-šú ka-bit-tú am-ḫur
- As 9': *i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ia ša* ^{ld}AG-en-mu-meš ^lu qí-pi^{uru} ḫa-r[a-ra-ti]
- 58
- T 57: *ba-ḫu-la-ti*(II: *te*)^{uru} ḫi-rim-me ^lu kúr¹(copy: NU) ak-ši ša ul-la a-na lugal-meš-ni
ad-meš-ia la ik-nu-šú i-na ^{gis}tukul ú-TAB (II: *ú-šam-qit-ma!*) na-piš-tu ul e-zib
- N 58: *ba-ḫu-la-te*^{uru} ḫi-rim-me ^lu kúr ak-šu ša ul-tu ul-la a-na lugal-meš-ni ad-meš-ia la
ik-nu-^r šu^r ^ri¹-[n]a ^{gis}tukul ú-šam-qit-ma na-piš-tum ul e-zib
- As 10': *ba-ḫu-la-te*^{uru} ḫi-rim-me ^lu kúr ak-šu ša ul-tu ul-la a-na lu[gal-meš-ni]
- 59
- T 58: *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat diš-en* GU₄-NÍTA 10 udu-meš 10 anše
geštin-meš 20 anše zú-lum-ma re-še-te(erased *ti*)-šú a-na gi-né-e dingir-meš kur
aš-šur^{ki} en-meš-ia ú-kin dà-ri-šam
- N 59: *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat diš-en* gu₄ 10 udu-meš 10 anše geštin-meš 20
anše zú-lum-ma re-še-te-šú a-na gi-né-e dingir-meš kur aš-šur^{ki} en-meš-ia ú-kin
dà-ri-šam
- As 11': *na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat diš* gu₄ 10 UDU-NÍTA-meš 10 anše geštin-
m[eš ...]
- 60
- T 59: 2 me 8 lim un-meš zik-ru ú sin-niš 7 lim 2 me anše-kur-ra-meš ANŠE-kunga-
meš 11 lim 73 anše-meš 5 lim 2 me 30 ANŠE-gam-mal-meš 80 lim 1 me gu₄-
meš 8 me lim 1 me usduḫa šal-la-tú ka-bit-tú áš-lu-^r la¹ ^ra¹-na qé-reb kur aš-šur^{ki}
- N 60: *it-ti* 2 me 8 lim šal-lat un-meš ka-bit-tum 7 lim 2 me anše-kur-ra-meš ANŠE-
^rkunga¹-meš 11 lim 73 anše-meš 5 lim 2 me 30 ANŠE-gam-mal-meš 80 lim 50
gu₄-meš 8 me lim 1 me usduḫa šal-miš a-tu-ra a-na qé-reb kur aš-šur^{ki}

As 12': *it-ti* 2 *me* 8 *lim šal-lat* un-meš *ka-bit-tum* 7 *lim* 2 *me* anše-kur-ra-meš ANŠE-kunga-meš 11 [*im*²]

61

T 60: *e-zib* 'un¹-r-meš¹ 'anše¹-meš ANŠE-gam-mal-meš gu₄-meš *ù še-e-ni ša gi-mir um-ma-ni-ia e-bu-ku-nim-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu is-ki-lu si-kil-tu*

N 61: *e-zib* un-meš anše-meš ANŠE-gam-mal-meš gu₄-meš *ù 'usduḥa¹ 'ša¹ [gi-mi]r erim-ḫi-a-ia e-bu-ku-nim-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šú-nu is-ki-lu si-kil-tu*

As 13': *e-zib* un-meš anše-meš ANŠE-gam-mal-meš gu₄-meš *ù usduḥa 'ša¹ gi-mir erim-ḫi-a-[ia]*

62

T 61: *ù ba-ḫu-la-a-te na-ki-ri šep-šu mit-ru ša ur-ru-ḫiš a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-nu-šú i-na* ^{giš}tukul *ú-ra-si-ib¹-ma a-lul^{giš} ga-ši-šiš*

N 62: *ù ba-ḫu-la-a-te na-ki-ri šep-šu mit-ru ša a-[na ni-r]i-ia la ik-nu-šú i-na* ^{giš}tukul *ú-šam-qit-ma a-lul ga-ši-šiš*

As 14': *ù ba-ḫu-la-a-te na-ki-ri šep-šu mit-ru ša a-na ni-ri-ia la ik-[nu-šú]*

The building report of T:

T 62: *i-na u₄-me-šu-ma é-gal-lam-mes* é ^dnè-eri₁₁-gal *ša qé-reb^{uru} tar-bi-ši ša^{ld} šul-ma-nu-maš* ¹dumu ¹aš-šur-pab^{ir}-a ¹dumu ¹tukul-ti^d-maš *nun a-lik maḥ-ri-ia e-pu-šu e-na-aḥ-ma*

T 63: *é šu-a-tum a-na si-ḫi-ir-ti-šú aq-qur*(II adds: *-ma*) *dan-na-su ak-šud^{ud} 2 me ina*(II: *i-na*) *1-kùš šid-du 1 me ina*(II: *i-na*) *1-kùš sag-ki qaq-ra-ru tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma ugu tar-pa-áš é maḥ-re-e ú-rad-di*

T 64: *é-gal-lam-mes e-li ša u₄-mu pa-ni ú-rab-bi-ma i-na e-piš-ti*(II om. *ti*) ^{lu}šitim-gal-le-e *en^r qu¹-ti iš-tu uš⁸* (copy: *qa*)-*šu a-di na-bur-ri-šú ar-šip ú-šak-lil*

T 65: *ši-ip-ru na-as-qu ša ugu maḥ-re-e šu-tu-ru ù a-na ta-na-da-a-ti*(II: *te*) *šu-lu-ku a-na^d nè-eri₁₁-gal ša qé-reb^{uru} tar-bi-ši en-ia lu e-pu-uš*

T 66: ^dnè-eri₁₁-gal *en e-mu-qan ši-ra-a-ti dan-dan-nu gít-ma-lum a-šá-red la maḥ-ri i-na^r qer¹-bi-šú ú-še-rib-ma ṭa-biš ú-šar*(copy: EZEN)-*ma-a šu-bat-su šir-tum*

T 67: *le-e kab-ru-ti šu-'e-e ma-ru-ti^{udu} siskur-meš taš-ri-iḫ-ti eb-bu-ti ma-ḫar-šu aq-qí-ma qé-reb é šu-a-tum áš-ta-kan ta-šil-tu*

T 68: *le-e-tu ki-šit-ti qa-ti ša i-na tu-kul-ti-šú gal-ti ugu kul-lat na-ki-ri áš-tak-ka-nu i-na mu-sar*(II adds: *-re*)-*e ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma a-na lugal-meš-ni dumu-meš-ia e-zib ša-ti-iš*

T 69: *a-na egir u₄-me nun ar-ku-ú e-nu-ma é šu-a-tum*(II: *tu*) *i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu* (II adds: *an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš*) *mu-sar-a-a li-mur-ma i+giš lip-šu-uš^{rudu}* [*siskur*] *'liq¹-qí it-ti mu-sar-e ši-ṭir šu-me-šú li-kin^d nè-eri₁₁-gal ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-me*

T 70: *1 uš 9 ta-àm mu-bi šid mu-sar-e* (II adds: ^{uru}*tar-bi-šu*)

4. TRANSLATION²¹

¹Sennacherib, great king, mighty king, king of Assyria, king without rival, *righteous shepherd, favorite of the great gods** (*-** N: prayerful shepherd, who fears the great gods), ²protector of righteousness, lover of justice, who lends support, who comes to the aid of the cripple and aims to do good deeds, ³perfect hero, mighty man, first among all kings, neckstock that bends the insubmissive, who strikes the enemy like a thunderbolt—⁴Ashur, the great mountain, has bestowed upon me an unrivalled kingship and has made my weapons mightier than (the weapons) of all the (other rulers) sitting on daises.

²¹ The translation follows T, ms. I; variants from T, ms. II, and from N are added in brackets.

⁵At the beginning of my reign, when I took my seat on the *lordly** (*-** perhaps om. in N) throne and *governed steadily the people of Assyria** (*-** N: ruled (my) Assyrian subjects) in obedience and peace, ⁶Marduk-aplu-iddina, the king of Karduniash (i.e., Babylonia), evil enemy, a rebel with a mind full of lies, an evildoer for whom righteousness is an abomination, ⁷appealed to Šutur-Nahhunte, the Elamite, for friendship. Hoping he would come to his aid, he handed over to him gold, silver, and precious stones. ⁸⁻⁹He (Šutur-Nahhunte) sent Imbappa, his second in command, with the main body of his troops, Tannanu, his "third man," and ten centurions, together with Nergal-našir, the Sutean, *who walks in front of them** (*-** N: who does not fear battle), to Sumer and Akkad to his aid, and together with them 80,000 soldiers (with) bows and lances, 850 wagons, and 12,200 horses.

¹⁰And that one, the evil *Chaldaean** (*-**: perhaps om. in N), the evildoer, the seed of murder: Uruk, Larsa, Ur, Eridu, Kulaba, Kissik, Nemed-Laguda, ¹¹Bit-Iakin, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Ašilani, Bit-Sa'alli, and Bit-Dakkuri, all the Chaldaeans, as many as there were; ¹²on the bank of the Tigris: the Tu'muna, the Rihiḫu, the Iadaqu, the Gibrê, and the Maliḫu; ¹³on the bank of the Surappu: the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Hīndaru, the Ru'u'a, and the Puqudu; ¹⁴on the bank of the Euphrates: the Ḥamranu, the Ḥagaranu, the Nabatu, and the Li'ta'u-Aramaeans who were not submissive and did not know death; ¹⁵Nippur, Dilbat, Marad, Kiš, Ḥursagkalama, Babylon, Borsippa, and Kutha, all of Karduniaš—(those cities and tribes) he gathered together and organized for the fight.

¹⁶When they reported his evil deeds to me, Sennacherib, the exalted man of the steppe, I raged like a lion and ordered the march against him into Babylon. ¹⁷⁻¹⁸As soon as he, the incarnation (lit.: copy) of an evil *gallû* demon, heard of my ongoing campaign, he created powerful units of horses and of Elamite, Aramaean, and Chaldaean bowmen, forces without number, together with Nergal-našir *and** (*-** N, ms. B, om.) the ten centurions of the king of Elam, who do not know death, brought them all together into Kutha and had them keep guard on the advance of my campaign.

¹⁹I had my chariot teams prepared, and on the 20th day of the month of *Šabāṭu* (XI), I set out of the city of Baltil (i.e., Ashur) like a mighty bull, taking the lead of my soldiers. I did not wait for the main force of my troops, nor did I linger waiting for the rear guard. ²⁰I sent (my) chief eunuch and my provincial governors on to Kiš ahead of me, (with the order): "Find out the news about Marduk-aplu-iddina** (*-** N: Take the road against Marduk-aplu-iddina). Do not become lazy; keep a close watch over him."

²¹That one saw my provincial governors, came out of the Zababa gate with *all of his soldiers** (*-** N: all of his troops), and did battle with my magnates in the meadows of Kiš. ²²The enemy's onset of battle against my magnates was strong, and *they feared the clash with his ...** (*-** N: they were unable to withstand him). They sent one of their messengers to me into the meadows of Kutha for help.

²³I, in the anger of my heart, made a wild assault upon Kutha, slaughtered the warriors who surrounded *its wall** (*-** N, ms. E: the wall(?)) like sheep, and took the city. ²⁴I brought forth the horses and the Elamite, Aramaean, and Chaldaean bowmen, the centurions of *the Elamite** (*-** N: the Elamite king), as well as Nergal-našir, together with the citizens who had committed the crime (of opposing me), and counted them as spoil.

²⁵I raged like a lion and became furious like the deluge. Accompanied by my merciless warriors, I turned my face towards Kiš against Marduk-aplu-iddina. ²⁶And when that one, the evildoer, saw *the dust-cloud** (*-** N: the dust-storm (created by) my (troops on) campaign) from afar, *fear** (*-** N: panic) befell him. *He left all of his soldiers behind** (*-** N: He forsook all of his troops) and fled to the land of Guzummanu. ²⁷I accomplished the defeat of Tannanu together with the Elamite,

Chaldaeans, and Aramaean soldiers who had stood at his side and had come to his aid, and I shattered his troops. ²⁸I captured alive Adinu, the son of a sister of Marduk-aplu-iddina, together with Basqanu, the brother of Iati'e, the queen *of Arabia** (*-** N: of the Arabs), and his soldiers. ²⁹My hands captured chariots, wagons, horses, mules, donkeys, *camels** (*-** N: dromedaries) and Bactrian camels, which had been abandoned in the midst of battle.

³⁰With a joyful heart and a radiant face, I hastened to Babylon and entered the palace of Marduk-aplu-iddina in order to *plunder** (*-** N: to take charge of) (his) property and goods. ³¹⁻³³I opened his treasure-house and brought forth gold and silver, implements of gold and silver, precious stones, beds, chairs with a back, rickshaws, royal *paraphernalia* with inlays of gold and silver, all kinds of property and goods (T, ms. II, and N add: without number), a large treasure, (as well as) his wife, his palace women, female stewards, eunuchs, *tīru*-courtiers, *mazzaz-pāni*-courtiers, male singers and female singers, the palace servants who gladden his princely mind, and all of the *ummānu* experts, as many as there were, those employed in his palace, and counted them as spoil.

³⁴*I followed him** (*-** N: I hurried after him) to the land of Guzummanu and *sent** (*-** N: ordered) my warriors into the swamps and marshes. They searched for him for five days, but his (hiding) place was not found.

³⁵I gathered together the rest of the horses and troops, who *had become* weary and had fled in the manner of deer instead of going with him, from the midst of plain and highland.

³⁶In the course of my campaign, ⁵⁰I besieged, conquered, and took away the spoil of ³⁶Amat(t)u, Hāua'e, Supapu (N adds: Nuqabu), Bit-Sannabi, Qudayyin, ³⁷Qidrina, Dur-Ladini, Bitati, Banitu, *the city** (*-** N: the land) of Guzummanu, Dur-Ianšuri, Dur-Abi-yata', Dur-Rudumme, ³⁸Bit-Raḥê, Ḥapiša, Sadi-AN, Ḥurudu, Šaḥrina, Iltuk, Allallu, *Sab/pḥanu, Kar-Nergal, Apak, Bit-Dannaya, Bit-Abdaya, Baḥir, Marirā** (*-** N om.), Marad, Iaqimuna, ³⁹Kub/pruna, Bit-Kudurri, and Suqa-Marusi, in all *34** (*-** N: 33) fortified, walled cities of Bit-Dakkuri together with 250 small cities in their environment;

⁴⁰Dur-Appê, Dur-Tannê, Dur-Sama', Sarrabatu, Šalaḥatu, Dur-Abdaya, Sappi-ḥimari, and Šibtu-ša-Makka-mê, ⁴¹in all eight fortified, walled cities of Bit-Sa'alli together with 120 small cities in their environment; ⁴²Sapia, Sarrabanu, Larak, *Parak-marri** (*-** T, ms. II om.), Bit-ilu-bani, Aḥudu, Alu-ša-iššur-Adad, Šaḥarratu, Manahḥu, ⁴³Alu-ša-amele, Dur-Akk/qqia, Nagitu, Nur-abinu, Ḥar-Šuarra, Dur-Ruqbi, Danda-Ḥulla, Dur-Bir-Dada, ⁴⁴Bit-re'ê, Dur-Ugurri, *Ginda'ina** (*-** N: Ḥinda'ina), Dur-Uwayt, Dur-Taurâ, Sab/pḥuna, Pu-ḥarru, ⁴⁵Ḥarbat-Iddina, Ḥarbat-Kalbi, Šabarrê, Bit-Bani-ilu'a, Suladu, Bit-Iltam(a)-sama', Bit-Dini-ilu, ⁴⁶*Daqalu** (*-** N: Daqala), Ḥameša, BE(Til?)-la-a, Ta'iru, Kib/pranu, Iltaratu, Akamšakina, and Sagabatu-ša-Mardukia, ⁴⁷in all 39 fortified, *walled** (*-** N om.) cities of Bit-Amukkani together with 350 small cities in their environment; ⁴⁸Bit-Zabidia, Larsa, Kulaba, Eridu, Kissik, Nemed-Laguda, Dur-Iakin, and Kar-Nabû on the bank of the salt-sea, ⁴⁹in all eight fortified, walled cities of Bit-Iakin together with 100 small cities in their environment; ⁵⁰in all 88 fortified, walled cities of Chaldaea together with 820 small cities in their environment. ⁵¹I had my troops devour the grain and the dates that were in their gardens, as well as their harvest of the steppe land, and I destroyed, devastated, and burnt (their cities) with fire and turned them into forgotten mounds.

⁵²I brought forth the irregular bands of Aramaeans and Chaldaeans (or: the Arabs, Aramaeans, and Chaldaeans) who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kiš, and Ḥursagkalama, together with the citizens who had committed the crime (of opposing me), and counted them as spoil. ⁵³I had my troops devour the grain and the dates that

were in their gardens, the plantations they worked hard on, as well as the harvest of the steppe land, the food (sustaining) their lives.

⁵⁴I placed over them as king of Sumer and Akkad Bel-ibni, a member of the *rab-banê* class, a scion of Šuanna (i.e., Babylon), who had grown up in my palace like a young puppy.

⁵⁵⁻⁵⁶On my march back, I captured the Tu'muna, the Riḫiḫu (N adds: the Iadaqu), the Ubudu, the Gibrê, the Maliḫu, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Ḫindaru, the Ru'u'a, the Puqudu, the Ḫamranu, the Ḫagaranu, the Nabatu, and the Li'ta'u, all the Aramaeans who were not submissive, and carried off their spoil.

⁵⁷In the course of my campaign, I received the heavy tribute of Nabû-bel-šumate, the *qīpu* official of Ḫararatu, (consisting of) gold, silver, great *musukkannu* trees, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep.

⁵⁸I *...** (*-** T, ms. II, and N: cut down) with (my) weapon the subjects of the city of Ḫirimmu, brazen enemies who *had never** (*-** N: from old had not) submitted to any of the kings, my (fore)fathers, and I left no one alive.

⁵⁹I reorganized this district and established for all time one ox, ten sheep, ten homers of wine, and twenty homers of first-class dates as standing dues for the gods of Assyria, my lords.

⁶⁰I carried off to Assyria the huge spoil of** (*-** N: I returned to Assyria unharmed with) *208,000 people, both male and female** (*-** N: 208,000 people, a huge spoil), 7,200 horses and mules, 11,073 donkeys, 5,230 camels, *80,100** (*-** N: 80,050) oxen, and 800,100 sheep, ⁶¹not counting the people, donkeys, camels, oxen, and sheep that all my soldiers took away and acquired as property for themselves.

⁶²And I *smote** (*-** N: cut down) with (my) weapon the obstinate, *strong* enemy subjects who had not *immediately** (*-** N om.) submitted to my yoke, and hung them on stakes.

The building report of T:

^{T 62}In these days the Egalammes, the temple of Nergal situated in the city of Tarbiṣu, which Shalmaneser (III), the son of Assurnasirpal (II), (who was) the son of Tukulti-Ninurta (II), a prince who preceded me, had built, had become dilapidated. ^{T 63}I tore that temple completely down and reached its foundations. On a surface of 200 cubits on the side and 100 cubits on the front, I filled up a terrace, extending the platform of the earlier temple. ^{T 64}I made the Egalammes larger than in former days and constructed and finished it, through the craft of clever master builders, from its foundation to its coping. ^{T 65}I truly performed splendid work, which exceeded anything earlier and was worthy of praise, for Nergal, my lord, who (dwells) in Tarbiṣu. ^{T 66}I brought Nergal, the lord of exalted strength, the perfect strongman, the foremost without rival, inside and installed him joyfully on his exalted seat. ^{T 67}I sacrificed before him massive bulls and fat sheep, splendid and pure offerings, and held a festival in this temple. ^{T 68}I had (the story of my) might and the conquests I had established over all the enemies with his trustworthy great help recorded in an inscription and left it for the future (reading of) the kings, my sons.

^{T 69}May a later prince in days to come, when this temple will be old and dilapidated, (II adds: renew its dilapidated state,) read my inscription, anoint it with oil, make a sacrifice, and deposit (my inscription) permanently together with an inscription written in his own name. Then, Nergal will listen to his prayers.

^{T 70}⁶⁹ counted lines of an inscription (II adds: (designated for) the city of Tarbiṣu).

5. COMMENTARY²²

1: While Sennacherib appears in N and all the other early cylinder inscriptions written by his scribes between 702 and 700 as *rē'û mutnennû pâliḥ ilāni rabûti*, he calls himself *rē'û kēnu migir ilāni rabûti* in T, which is more in line with the epithets he uses in his later inscriptions²³. This disproves to a certain extent M. Liverani's idea, articulated in "Critique of Variants and the Titulary of Sennacherib," in: F. M. Fales (ed.), *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons* (Rome 1981), 244-45, of a phase of several years at the beginning of Sennacherib's reign during which the king "feared" the gods and "constantly prayed" to them, because he had not yet produced a satisfactory demonstration of his own capacities and felt completely dependent upon divine aid. Liverani argued that it was only later, after he had proven his political and military skills on several occasions, that Sennacherib started to call himself "favorite of the great gods" instead of describing himself as their fearful servant²⁴. T shows that Liverani's diachronic scheme needs to be revised. But it may not be necessary to discard the scheme completely, since the more boastful royal epithets in T are exceptional at this stage of Sennacherib's career.

2: In N, ms. A, an erased *a-ki-i* precedes *a-ki-i*, which is the first word of the second "half verse" of this line. The first fourteen lines of ms. A are divided into two halves, separated from each other by a blank space in the middle of the lines. The first lines of the Tarbiṣu cylinders seem not to be arranged in this way, while in the case of the other fragments, the structure of their first lines is unclear due to their broken state.

3: Cf. the very similar claim in Sargon's "Display Inscription": *Aššur Nabû Marduk šarrût lā šanān ušatlimū'innima* "Ashur, Nabû, and Marduk bestowed upon me an unrivalled kingship" (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 190, ll. 3f; the phrase is attested in other Sargon inscriptions as well). The elimination, in our text, of the gods Nabû and Marduk indicates the distance Sennacherib felt with regard to Babylonia²⁵.

5: There are faint traces in N, ms. C, after *[g^{is}]u-¹za¹*, which look more like *'û¹-[ši-bu-ma]* than *'be¹-[lu-ti]* in my handcopy, but only a new collation will allow clarity. Here and in l. 34, a form of *šapāru* in T is replaced by a form of *wu'uru* in N.

6: The epithets that characterize Marduk-aplu-iddina in this passage are antithetical to those that Sennacherib claims for himself in ll. 1-3; *karaš surrāti* and *ša anzillašu kittu*, for example, represent the opposite of Sennacherib's self-predication as *nāšir kitti rā'im mišari*.²⁶ Marduk-aplu-iddina's own titles and epithets are very different of course. In one of his inscriptions, the Chaldaean leader calls himself "righteous heir" (*aplu kīnu*) and claims that the god Asari had "rightly named him [to] the shepherdship of Sumer and Akkad" (*[ana] rē'ût māt Šumeri u Akkadī šumšu kīniš ittabi*)²⁷.

²² In this commentary, I will normally not repeat the remarks I made in *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 42-45. Readings differing from those suggested by Sulaiman are only discussed if they are not certain.

²³ Note that Sargon II calls himself *migir ilāni rabûti* and *rē'û kēnu* in several of his inscriptions as well; see the overview in A. Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad* (Göttingen 1994), 374.

²⁴ So far, the earliest attestation of the epithet *migir ilāni rabûti* in the corpus of Sennacherib's inscriptions was in l. 1 of the small cylinder fragment K 1645 from 699, edited by Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 61.

²⁵ But note that he mentions Nabû, and possibly also Marduk, in another inscription from 702; see Frahm, "Sanherib und die Tempel von Kuyunjik," in: S. M. Maul, *Festschrift für Rykle Borger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag*, CM 10 (Groningen 1998), 108f, ll. 7-11.

²⁶ On these two titles, see now H. Tadmor, "Sennacherib, King of Justice," in: C. Cohen *et al.*, *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume* (Winona Lake, ID, 2004), 385-390.

²⁷ G. Frame, RIMB 2, B.6.21.1, ll. 13f. The text records Marduk-aplu-iddina's restoration of the Eanna temple in Uruk, but was found at Kalḫu, where Assyrian scholars seem to have studied it. An inscription of Sargon (RIMB 2, B.6.22.3) draws a number of phrases from the account of his Chaldaean opponent.

7: Šutur-Nahhunte is not credited with a royal title; he is just called "the Elamite"²⁸. For other "ethnic" references to enemies in Sennacherib's inscriptions see now M. Rivaroli and L. Verderame, "To Be a Non-Assyrian," in: W. H. van Soldt (ed.), *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 48th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Leiden, 1-4 July 2002 (Leiden 2005), 290-305 (see also Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 265f).

8: Normally, the *tašlīšu* is the third man on the chariot, but here, after the reference to the *tartānu*, the second in command, it may be that the title designates the third most important military officer of the Elamite army.

9: The number of 80,000 troops is almost certainly too high, although it is in line with other numerical references to the size of armies in Assyrian inscriptions; see M. de Odorico, *The Use of Numbers and Quantifications in the Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, SAAS 3 (The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus 1995), 103-116. Note that Sennacherib claims in his *Nebi Yunus* inscription (Luckenbill, OIP 2, 89: 48) and in *Ugn./Wi.* (Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 131: 45') that he killed 150,000 enemy soldiers in the battle of Ḫalulê in 691.

10: Marduk-aplu-iddina appears as a *zēr nērti* in the inscriptions of Sargon II already, for example in l. 122 of Sargon's "Display Inscription" (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 225). The epithet is not attested in the inscriptions of any other king, which makes it very likely that Sennacherib's scribes took it over from the Sargon texts. The same holds true for the characterization of Marduk-aplu-iddina as *hiriš gallê* in l. 17, which is attested in l. 122 of Sargon's "Display Inscription" as well. Another parallel with the "Display Inscription" is that the seven cities mentioned in l. 10 of our text are also listed in ll. 136f of the Sargon text (Fuchs, *ibid.*, 229; cf. 191f, ll. 8f). Sargon claims that he treated them well and freed them of forced labor, a favor that was obviously not great enough to ensure their loyalty towards their Assyrian occupiers for long. For other passages in our text that may have been inspired by inscriptions of Sargon II, see Frahm, *Einleitung*, 42, 44.

11: The normal rendering of the name of the third Chaldaean tribe mentioned in this line is *Bīt-Šilāni*, but the form ¹*a-šil-a-ni*²⁹, also attested in Sargon's Tang-i-Var inscription (G. Frame, "The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var," *Or* 68 (1999), 37:34), is closer to the actual pronunciation of the name, which is reconstructed by E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans: Their Ancient History, Culture, Religion*, OLA 100 (Leuven 2000), 420, as *Aṭillān*. Note that no towns of Bit-(A)šil(I)ani are listed in the catalogue of conquered cities of the different Chaldaean tribes in ll. 36-50 of our text. It seems instead that they are mentioned among the cities of Bit-Amukkani in ll. 42-47. This passage begins with the capital of Bit-Amukkani, Sapia, but the next city listed, Sarrabanu, is attested as the capital of Bit-Šilani in inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III³⁰, while Larak and Parak-marri, the two cities following Sarrabanu, were situated in close proximity to it and may once have belonged to Bit-Šilani as well³¹. Zadok is probably right when he assumes that Bit-Šilani was annexed by Bit-Amukkani at some point before 703³², but it should be noted that the latest reference to Bit-Šilani is in inscriptions of Sennacherib describing the battle of Ḫalulê in 691³³.

²⁸ The same predication appears in T, l. 24, but note that N has *šar māt Elamti* here.

²⁹ Sulaiman's reading ¹*a-tar-a-ni* is certainly wrong.

³⁰ H. Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III King of Assyria* (Jerusalem 1994), 122f, Summ. 1:8f.

³¹ See R. Zadok, "Zur Geographie Babyloniens während des sargonidischen, chaldäischen, achämenidischen und hellenistischen Zeitalters," *WdO* 16 (1985), 50f, 57-59. The location of Larak, which is already mentioned in the Sumerian King List, has recently been discussed by P. Steinkeller, "Larak and the Old Tigris," *N.A.B.U.* 2005/28.

³² Zadok, *ibid.*, 58.

³³ Borger, *BAL*², 83, v 47 (Luckenbill, OIP 2, 43).

11-15: This list of cities and tribes roughly follows a south-north direction. The Tarbišu cylinders finally establish the so far unknown names of the rivers at the beginnings of ll. 12-14. For a comparison between the list of Aramaean tribes in T and N and similar catalogues in the inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III and Sargon II, see below, Appendix A.

12: It may be that ^{lú}*ú-bu-du* is to be added to the other names in the gap in N; cf. l. 55 of our text.

14: The Tarbišu cylinders establish that N has *mi-^ltu^l-tum*, which was questioned in Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 44f.

15: Note that Babylon is listed here as if it were just one city among many others.

16: *zikaṣ šēri na'du* "exalted man (or: warrior) of the steppe" is a rather odd epithet for a king; it is otherwise unattested to my knowledge, and to a certain extent reminiscent of the heroes Gilgameš and Enkidu and their excursions into the periphery of the civilized world. The following statement that the king "raged like a lion" makes sense in this context, since lions are animals living in the steppe land. Suleiman reads "*zi-karu šēru*" and translates "the virile, the majestic, the reverent," taking *edin* as a playful writing for *šīru*, but since such writings are very uncommon in Sennacherib's inscriptions, this interpretation seems doubtful. A reading *zi-kar-^lru₆*¹ is not likely either; *zikaru* is otherwise attested only with *qardu* and *dannu*, but not with *na'du*.³⁴ Note the Assyrian verbal form *aqṭibi* in N (preserved only in ms. A).

17: According to Sulaiman's transliteration, T, ms. I, has ^{lú}*Kal-du*, but *du* is missing in the copy.

18: Here and in l. 35, *mithāriš* in T is replaced by *ištēniš* in N.

19: Cf. *uštēšera šindīja* in Sargon's "Display Inscription," l. 124 (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 226)³⁵, where the phrase introduces Sargon's 710 campaign against Marduk-aplu-iddina.

To my knowledge, the only other possible attestation of *gapšu* qualifying an animal is in a prayer to Ištar recently (re)published by W. G. Lambert ("Ištar of Nineveh," *Iraq* 66 (2004), 38). In l. 3 of this text, the goddess is called *zi-bu gap-šu kud-at eš-bar*. Lambert translates "massive jackal/vulture, who takes decisions," which may be correct, although it seems not impossible that *ZI-bu* is a logogram with a phonetic complement, to be read as *tību*, which would yield the translation: "the massive onslaught."³⁶

20: The upper horizontal of the *ga* in *te-ga^l-a* is missing in Sulaiman's copy.

21: The Zababa gate, the southern entrance in the eastern wall of Babylon (see A. R. George, BTT, 24), is directed towards Kiš. Here and in l. 26, *ummānātīšu* in T is replaced by *ellātīšu* in N.

22: In Sulaiman's copy, the sign *qit* in *qit-ru-bu* has a third horizontal wedge, while in *iš-pu-ru-ni*, *iš* lacks the second vertical, and *pu* the final horizontal.

Sulaiman reads "*ip-la-ḫu qa-bal taḫazi-šū*" and translates: "... they feared. In the midst of his battle" This seems unlikely, though, since there is no *ina* before *qa²-bal²*, and the sign rendered as "*taḫazi*" by Sulaiman does not look like MÈ; it rather resembles a GIM with three verticals at the end. It is possible that the signs after *ip-la-ḫu* are written over an erasure, in which case only future collation may establish their meaning with any degree of certainty.

³⁴ See, for earlier Assyrian inscriptions, B. Cifola, *Analysis of Variants in the Assyrian Royal Titulary from the Origins to Tiglath-pileser III* (Naples 1995), 188.

³⁵ The phrase appears in Sargon's "Annals" as well (Fuchs, *ibid.*, 138, l. 264).

³⁶ While *tību* is not attested with *gapšu* so far, such a reading would help to eliminate the rather odd jackal/vulture, an animal otherwise unconnected with Ištar.

23: *ú-ṭab(DIB)-bi-iḥ* in N and T, ms. II, provides evidence for the value *ṭab* of the DIB sign, which was revoked by W. Röllig and W. von Soden in *ASy*⁴, 293. Since T, ms. I, offers *ú-ṭa-ab-bi-iḥ*, it is improbable that the word should be read *ú-ṭeb-bi-iḥ* here. Note that A. R. George, *The Babylonian Gilgamesh Epic* (Oxford 2003), 706 accepts the value as well, reading *uṭ-ṭab-bi-iḥ* in l. 71 of tablet XI of the Standard Babylonian Gilgamesh epic.

23-26: This passage is highly reminiscent of Sargon II's "Display Inscription," ll. 40f (parallels in bold type): *ina uggat libbīja ummānāt Aššur gapšāti adkēma labbiš annadirma ana kašād mātāti šātina aštakan pānīja Ullusunū Mannāja akāmu gerrīja ēmurma āluššu uššīma* "In the anger of my heart, I levied the troops of Ashur. I raged like a lion. I turned my face towards conquering those lands. Ullusunū the Mannaeans saw the dust-storm (created by) my (troops on) campaign, and left his city" (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 203)³⁷.

25: With its liquids and bilabials, the phrase *labbiš annadirma* provides a nice consonance with *allabib abūbiš*. This rhetorical figure, such as the two terminative-adverbial forms and the preposition *šēriš* in N, are reminiscent of the style of the Babylonian epic of creation, *Enūma eliš*³⁸.

Sulaiman's copy has two additional diagonal wedges before *utu* in ^{Id}*amar-utu-ibila-sum-na*, this is also the case in l. 28.

26: *akāmu gerrīja* in N is replaced in T by a word that was read by Sulaiman as *zib-il-lu*, but must be *ḥi-il-lu*, which is what the copy indicates. In fact, the commentary K 4378 (2R 47), ii 11 equates *a-ga-mu*, obviously an Assyrian form of *akāmu*³⁹, with *ḥi-il-lu*, which makes the reading *ḥi-il-lu* virtually certain. The entry in ii 12 of the same commentary, *aq-qul-lu* (i.e., *anqullu*, an atmospheric phenomenon) = min (*hillu*): *dul-ḥa-nu*, further helps to clarify the meaning of the term; *dulḥānu*, attested only here, is derived from *dalāhu* "to stir up, to confuse," which shows that we are dealing with different words for dust clouds and other disturbances of the atmosphere. The commentary K 4378 was owned by Nabû-zuqup-kenu, a well-known scholar who was active during the reigns of Sargon II and Sennacherib (see below Appendix C)⁴⁰. The equation of *akāmu* and *hillu* is attested only in K 4378 and, indirectly, in the Tarbiṣu and the Nineveh versions of Sennacherib's account of his "first campaign," which makes it tempting to conclude that it was Nabû-zuqup-kenu who composed these royal inscriptions.

The writing *pu-luḥ-du* (Sulaiman reads *pu-luḥ-tù*, which seems unlikely) may be another case of variation, not rare in Neo-Assyrian, between voiced and voiceless consonants⁴¹.

27: The reading *i-da-šú* in T follows Sulaiman's copy; his transliteration has: *i-da-a-šú*. According to Sulaiman's copy, the *us* in *re-šu-us-su* has three and not just two vertical wedges.

28: Sulaiman transliterates "*mār aššat*"^{md} *Marduk-apla-idin-na*, but the copy has the sign nin and not dam, and the assumption that Adinu was the son of a sister (*aḥātu*)

³⁷ Cf. also the similar passage in ll. 113-114 (Fuchs, *ibid.*, 223).

³⁸ For more pronounced allusions to *Enūma eliš* in later Sennacherib texts on the conflict with Babylon, see E. Weissert, "Creating a Political Climate: Literary Allusions to *Enūma eliš* in Sennacherib's Account of the Battle of Halule," in: H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Assyrien im Wandel der Zeiten*, HSAO 6 (Heidelberg 1997), 191-202.

³⁹ See CAD A/1, 259a and M. Luukko, *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian*, SAAS 16 (The Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus 2004), 69-71.

⁴⁰ The credit for discovering that K 4378 is a Nabû-zuqup-kenu text goes to E. Weidner, "Ein Omenkommentar des Nabû-zuqup-kēnu," *AfO* 21 (1966), 46. The preserved portion of the colophon of the tablet reads: rev. iii 1': [^{Id}*nabū*] -^r*zu-qup-gin*, 2': [*mār*]^{Id}*amar*¹-^r*utu*¹-^r*mu*¹-*ba-šá*, 3': [^{Id}*dub*]-*sar*.

⁴¹ See Luukko, *Grammatical Variation in Neo-Assyrian*, 69f.

of Marduk-aplu-iddina and not of his wife (*aššatu*) makes much better sense. N, ms. A probably has nin, too (see Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 45).

29: The theme of the animals that are freed in battle is later taken up again in Sennacherib's description of the battle of Ḫalulê (Borger, BAL², 85, vi 19-22, Luckenbill, OIP 2, 46f).

30: After conquering Babylon in 710, Sargon II also entered the city *ina nummur pāni* ("Display Inscription," ll. 140f, Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 231). But otherwise, Sennacherib's behavior in Babylon was very different from Sargon's according to our text. While Sargon prayed to Marduk and made massive offerings to the Babylonian gods ("Display Inscription," ll. 141-143), his son plundered the royal palace and paid no attention whatsoever to the local shrines. The faces of the Babylonians witnessing such conduct were probably less radiant than that of the king.

Sulaiman's copy offers *šá-ME* rather than *šá-lal*, and his edition renders this sign sequence as *išdihu*, apparently implying a haplographic writing níg-me-<gar>. But it is improbable that such a mistake should appear in both manuscripts of T, and the reading *šá-lal* makes much better sense.

31: The exact meaning of the hapax ^{giš}*ga-ši-ru-ut* is unclear. In Sargon's "Annals," precious possessions of Marduk-aplu-iddina similar to those described in our text are called *unūt šarrūtīšu* "his royal implements" (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 153, l. 308). Note that there is no entry on *gašīrūtu* in von Soden's *AHW*.

32: One of the three small horizontal wedges at the end of the *tum* sign is missing in Sulaiman's copy of *ka-bit-tum*. For the terms for royal women listed in this line, see S. Melville, "Neo-Assyrian Women and Male Identity: Status as a Social Tool," *JAOS* 124 (2004), 37-57; for MUNUS-UN and MUNUS-ERIM (= *sekrete*?), see R. Borger, MZL, nos. 501 and 612. On *tīru*, see most recently A. R. George, "Sumerian tiru = 'eunuch,'" *NABU* 1997/97.

33: The term *ummānu* refers both to craftsmen and to scholars.

34: In Sulaiman's copy, the *in* in *in-na-mir* has only one small vertical wedge.

35: There is no entry on *ia-a'-šu* in the *AHW*, the CAD, or the CDA. If the word is really related to Akk. *išû* and Hebrew *jēš* as assumed in my *Einleitung* (p. 45), it should perhaps rather be translated as "to be there, to have" and not as "not to be there," a rendering implied by the translation of the passage in CAD M/1, 206b, which reads: "the remainder of the horses and of his troops who had no(?) place to rest." An additional problem with this translation is the interpretation of *mānahtu* as "place of rest," since in Sennacherib's report about his fifth campaign, *mānahtu* clearly means "weariness"⁴². It is of course somewhat surprising that horses and soldiers suffering from *mānahtu* are still able to flee "in the manner of deer."

One wonders whether the alleged *ši* in *ip-par-ši-du-ši-ma* in ms. II of T is not in fact rather a *šû*.

36-50: For this long catalogue of cities, see below, Appendix B.

38: ^{uru}*sa-di-AN* is either to be read ^{uru}*sa-di-il* or ^{uru}*sa-ti-an*, see Zadok, *WdO* 16, 78.

39: Note that the line division in T reflects the structure of the text better than the line division of N does.

44: ^{uru}*hi-in-da-i-na* in N seems to be a distorted form of ^{uru}*gi-in-da-i-na*, which is what T offers. The scribe probably left out the first part of the GI sign because he mistook it for the end of an URU. If this interpretation is correct, Zadok's attempts to connect the name with Neo-Assyrian Ḫindana and Late Babylonian Ḫindanaja (*WdO*

⁴² *ašar birkāja mānahtu išā* "Wherever it was that my legs became tired (I sat down ... and drank the cold water from the water-skin)" (Borger, BAL², 78, iv 7, Luckenbill, OIP 2, 36).

16, 59) would be futile. Note, however, that ^{uru}*gi-in-da-i-na* seems to be unattested otherwise.

45: A reading ^{uru}*hur-bat* instead of ^{uru}*har-bat* seems possible as well; see Zadok, *WdO* 16, 77.

46: Sulaiman copies and transliterates ^{uru}*da-qa-ku*, but the writing of the name in N, ^{uru}*da-qa-la*, seems to point to a reading of the last sign as *lu* rather than *ku*. Sulaiman reads ^{uru}*aq-qar-ša-ki-na*, but the copy has ^{uru}*ak-am-ša-ki-na*⁴³.

52: The question whether ^{lu}*ur-bi* is an ethnic term referring to Arabs or a designation for some kind of irregular militias is still contested. Most recently, E. Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 423, has strongly embraced the first option, stressing the prominent presence of Arabs in Southern Mesopotamia in the first millennium BCE⁴⁴, while N. Na'aman, "Ḥabiru-like Bands in the Assyrian Empire and Bands in Biblical Historiography," *JAOS* 120 (2000), 621-624, has suggested that ^{lu}*ur-bi* is derived from *nērubu* "to flee" and refers to irregular bands of mercenaries, such as the term *ḥabiru* does in late 3rd and 2nd millennium texts. More references are needed to settle the matter.

54: For the reign of Bēl-ibni, see M. Dietrich, "Bēl-ibni, König von Babylon (703-700)," *AOAT* 253, 81-108; for literature on the social group of the *rab-banē* see *ibid.*, 82, n. 8.

56: Sulaiman transliterates: ^{lu}*ha-am-ra-a-nu*.

58: *ú-TAB* in T, ms. I, is difficult. Sulaiman reads *ú-dáp* and derives this form from *da'āpu*, but this would be grammatically and semantically awkward. It is more probable that the scribe intended to write *ú-šam-qit-ma* and forgot to finish the word. In fact, although Sulaiman does not indicate it in his edition, the photo of ms. II in *Al-kitāba al-mismārīya*, p. 48, shows that the second Tarbišu cylinder actually offers *ú-šam-qit-ma* in this line. In l. 62, T has *urassib* instead of N's *ušamqit*.

59: The sign *te* in *re-še-te-šú* is followed by an erased *tī* in T, ms. I.

60: For the numbers in this passage, see De Odorico, *SAAS* 3, 58, 113f, 172f.

62: *BE-ru* is read as *mit-ru* following CAD M/2, 140a, but this reading remains questionable; see R. Borger, *BAL*², 136. Instead of *ur-ru-ḥiš*, Sulaiman reads *ib-ru-tú*, which does not agree with the copy, however, and makes no sense. Note that in the copy, the signs *IB* (in *ú-ra-si-ib*) and *GA* (in ^{gis}*ga-ši-šiš*) each lack one vertical wedge.

T 62: For the history of the Emeslam, the temple of Nergal in Tarbišu, see A. R. George, *HMH*, 127; altogether, the textual evidence is scanty. The results of the archaeological excavations undertaken in the area of the sanctuary by a team of the University of Mosul in 1968 and 1969 are described in Arabic by A. Sulaiman, "Iktišāf madīnati Tarbišu al-aššūrīya," *Adab al-Rafidain* 2 (Mosul 1971), 15-28. Two mace head inscriptions found at Tarbišu demonstrate that Shalmaneser III, as claimed by Sennacherib, had indeed paid attention to the temple; the inscriptions are published by Grayson in *RIMA* 3 as A.0.102.96 and discussed by Curtis and Grayson in *Iraq* 44 (1982), 91f. Besides rebuilding the Nergal sanctuary in Tarbišu, Sennacherib also reconstructed several temples on Kuyunjik in 702; *AAA* 18, no 16, edited by Frahm, FS Borger, 107-121, provides an account of these building activities⁴⁵. For Sennacherib's possible motives to restore the Nergal temple, see Frahm, *JCS* 51, 83.

⁴³ Zadok, *WdO* 16, 61, reads the name *Aqqar-ša-Kīna*.

⁴⁴ Lipiński refers to my own discussion of the matter in *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 104f, claiming I would have been unaware "of the fact that *Urbī* is borrowed from Arabic and that it appears in South Mesopotamia and Judaea, because these areas had an Arab population." This criticism seems to me unfounded since I am discussing both of these issues.

⁴⁵ The inscription commemorating this project mentions building activities of an earlier king as well. The king in question is Shalmaneser's father Assurnasirpal II.

T 63: The terrace upon which the temple was built was huge. It measured ca. 100 × 50 m according to our text.

T 67: Note that in the light of this line and Sargon's "Display Inscription," l. 168, which has *gu₄-maḥ-ḫi biṭ-ru-ú-ti šu-'e-e ma-ru-ú-ti* (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 242), AAA 18, no. 16, rev. 13' should read *le-e k[ab-r]u-ti šu-'e-e ma-ru-ti* or *le-e b[it-r]u-ti šu-'e-e ma-ru-ti*, and not *le-e m[a-r]u-ti šu-'e-e ma-ru-ti* as in my edition in FS Borger, 109.

APPENDIX A: ARAMAEAN TRIBES AND THEIR LOCATIONS IN SOUTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

The following table is based on lists of Aramaean tribes in inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, Sargon II, and Sennacherib. The lists have in common that they provide information on the rivers along which the tribes were living; they are therefore important sources for reconstructing the historical geography of Southern Mesopotamia during the Late Assyrian period. It is interesting to note that the association of tribes and rivers is not consistent in the different inscriptions, which means that the tribes were either migrating or were divided into several branches with different dwelling places.

The catalogue of Aramaeans from the time of Tiglath-pileser III is taken from Tiglath-pileser's "Summary Inscription no. 7," obv. 5-9 (Tadmor, *The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III*, 158-161)⁴⁶. It lists more Aramaean tribes than any other text, but does not specify, unfortunately, where each of them had its dwelling place; instead, the text states in a final summary that all the tribes were located "along the banks of the Tigris, Euphrates, and Surappu rivers, up to the Uqnû river by the shore of the Lower Sea" (*ša šiddi Idiqlat Puratti u Surap[pi] adi libbi Uqnê ša aḥ tâmti šaplîti*). Since it is possible that the sequence in which the tribes are listed may provide clues on their actual location along these rivers⁴⁷, I am adding numbers in the Tiglath-pileser III column of my table that indicate their position within the text.

Sargon's catalogue of Aramaean tribes is attested in his "Display Inscription," ll. 18f (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 195), the "Pavement Inscription no. 4," ll. 70-76 (Fuchs, *ibid.*, 265), and the Tang-i Var inscription, ll. 31f (Frame, *Or* 68, 37). The catalogue distinguishes between two groups of Aramaeans, those living along the Tigris, and those whose dwelling places are "along the Surappu and the Uqnû."

Sennacherib's list is taken from the Nineveh, Tarbiṣu, and Ashur inscriptions edited in this article (ll. 12-14, 55f). Since the names of the rivers associated with the tribes, broken away in N, were incorrectly restored by Luckenbill in his edition of the text, there has been a lot of confusion regarding this passage, and an updated presentation of the evidence, based on the well-preserved Tarbiṣu cylinders, seems to be in order. Note that in l. 7 of Sennacherib's "Bull 4" inscription (Luckenbill, OIP 2, 67), which provides an abbreviated account of the king's first campaign, the Aramaeans are said to be living "along the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates," with no mention being made of the Surappu.

The following abbreviations are used in the table: E = Euphrates, S = Surappu, T = Tigris, U = Uqnû. The identification of the Uqnû and the Surappu rivers has been a matter of debate. Most recently, Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 459, 466f, has identified the Uqnû with the eastern branch of the Tigris, and has suggested

⁴⁶ For a parallel passage on a stone slab from Nimrud (NA 9/76, ll. 3-7), which helps to reconstruct some minor gaps, see Frahm, *AfO* 44/45 (1997/98), 400f.

⁴⁷ Zadok, *WdO* 16, 64f, argues that the text lists the tribes following a North-South direction. Note that the sequence of tribes in NA 9/76, ll. 3-7 is slightly different; the Li'ta'u are mentioned after the Nabatu in this inscription.

that the Surappu was a tributary of the Uqnû, possibly the modern Rudhane-ye Čangule, which seems to be an acceptable solution⁴⁸. For extensive discussions of the history of the Aramaean tribes in first millennium Babylonia, and references to many other texts mentioning them, see M. Dietrich, *Die Aramäer Südbabyloniens in der Sargonidenzeit (700-648)*, AOAT 7 (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970), Zadok, *WdO* 16, 63-70, and Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 409-489⁴⁹. The tribes are listed in alphabetical order.

⁴⁸

On the course of the Tigris in the first millennium BCE, see also Steinkeller, N.A.B.U. 2005/28.

⁴⁹

See also Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 422f.

<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Tiglath-pileser III</i>	<i>Sargon II</i>	<i>Sennacherib</i>
Adilê	TESU (16)	—	—
Amatu	TESU (34)	—	—
Amlatu	TESU (29)	—	—
Da...	TESU (26)	—	—
Damunu	TESU (22)	—	S
Dunanu	TESU (23)	—	—
Gambulu	—	SU	S
Gibrê	TESU (17)	—	T
Gulusu	TESU (11)	—	—
Gurumu	TESU (19)	—	S
Ḫagaranu	TESU (35)	—	E
Ḫam(a)ranu	TESU (3)	T	E
Ḫaṭallu	TESU (5)	T	—
Ḫinda/iru	TESU (21)	SU	S
Ḫirano	TESU (8)	—	—
Ḫudadu	TESU (20)	—	—
Iadaqqu	—	—	T
Itu'u	TESU (1)	T	—
Kapiri	TESU (14)	—	—
Karma'	TESU (28)	—	—
Labdudu	—	T	—
Li'ta'u	TESU (32)	T	E
Luḫu'atu	TESU (4)	—	—
Maliḫu	—	—	T
Marusu	TESU (33)	—	—
Nabatu	TESU (12)	—	E
Naṣiru	TESU (10)	—	—
Nilqu	TESU (24)	—	—
Puqudu	—	SU	S
Qabi'	TESU (31)	—	—
Rabi-ilu	TESU (9)	—	—
Radê	TESU (25)	—	—
Raḫiḫ/qu	TESU (13)	—	T
Rapiqu	TESU (7)	—	—
Rubbû	TESU (6)	—	—
Rummulutu	TESU (15)	—	—
Rupu'u	TESU (2)	T	—
Ru'u'a	TESU (30)	T	S
Tu'muna	—	—	T
Ubudu	TESU (18)	—	[T]?
Ubulu	TESU (27)	T	S

APPENDIX B: THE CITIES OF THE CHALDAEAN STATES

Sennacherib's early cylinder inscriptions contain the most elaborate catalogue available to us so far of the cities and towns belonging to the great Chaldaean "tribes" of Bit-Dakkuri, Bit-Sa'alli, Bit-Amukkani, and Bit-Iakin⁵⁰. Since the Tarbišu cylinders provide some names that are not listed in N⁵¹, it seems warranted to offer here an exhaustive tabular overview of all the toponyms mentioned. The tables below also display the numerical (sub)totals given in the texts after each section, as well as the actual (sub)totals.

Important discussions of the historical geography of the Chaldaean states of Southern Mesopotamia are provided by Zadok, *WdO* 16, 49-63, and Lipiński, *The Aramaeans*, 416-422. A monographic treatment of Chaldaean history and culture remains a *desideratum*.

1. Bit-Dakkuri:

<i>city</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>
1. Amat(t)u	+	+
2. Ḫaua'e	+	+
3. Supapu	+	+
4. Nuqabu	—	+
5. Bit-Sannabi	+	+
6. Qudayyin	+	+
7. Qidrina	+	+
8. Dur-Ladini	+	+
9. Bitati	+	+
10. Banitu	+	+
11. Guzummanu	+(^{uru})	+(kur)
12. Dur-Ianšuri	+	+
13. Dur-Abi-yata'	+	+
14. Dur-Rudumme	+	+
15. Bit-Raḫê	+	+
16. Ḫapiša	+	+
17. Sadi-AN	+	+
18. Ḫurudu	+	+
19. Šaḫrina	+	+
20. Iltuk	+	+
21. Allallu	+	+
22. Sab/pḫanu	+	—
23. Kar-Nergal	+	—
24. Apak	+	—
25. Bit-Dannaya	+	—
26. Bit-Abdaya	+	—
27. Baḫir	+	—
28. Marirâ	+	—
29. Marad	+	+
30. Iaqimuna	+	+

⁵⁰ The inscriptions do not explicitly refer to cities of the fifth "tribe," Bit (A)šilani, but some of the cities listed in the section on Bit-Amukkani may have belonged to this tribe originally. See the commentary on l. 11 for a brief discussion of the matter.

⁵¹ Or rather, in ms. A of the N edition, the only Nineveh manuscript in which the passage on the Chaldaean cities is fully preserved.

31. Kub/pruna	+	+
32. Bit-Kudurri	+	+
33. Suqa-Marusi	+	+
Total according to text:	34	33
Actual total :	32	26

Bit-Sa'alli:

<i>City</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>
1. Dur-Appê	+	+
2. Dur-Tannê	+	+
3. Dur-Sama'	+	+
4. Sarrabatu	+	+
5. Şalaḥatu	+	+
6. Dur-Abdaya	+	+
7. Sappi-ḥimari	+	+
8. Şibtu-ša-Makka-mê	+	+
Total according to text	8	8
Actual total	8	8

Bit-Amukkani:

<i>City</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>
1. Sapia	+	+
2. Sarrabanu	+	+
3. Larak	+	+
4. Parak-marri	+(I) / – (II)	+
5. Bit-ilu-bani	+	+
6. Aḥudu	+	+
7. Alu-ša-işşur-Adad	+	+
8. Şaḥarratu	+	+
9. Manahḥu	+	+
10. Alu-ša-amele	+	+
11. Dur-Akk/qqia	+	+
12. Nagitu	+	+
13. Nur-abinu	+	+
14. Ḥar-Şuarra	+	+
15. Dur-Ruqbi	+	+
16. Danda-Ḥulla	+	+
17. Dur-Bir-Dada	+	+
18. Bit-re'ê	+	+
19. Dur-Ugurri	+	+
20. G/Ḥinda'ina	+(Ginda'ina)	+(Ḥinda'ina)
21. Dur-Uwayt	+	+
22. Dur-Taurâ	+	+
23. Sab/pḥuna	+	+
24. Pu-ḥarru	+	+
25. Ḥarbat-Iddina	+	+
26. Ḥarbat-Kalbi	+	+

27. Šabarrê	+	+
28. Bit-Bani-ilu'a	+	+
29. Suladu	+	+
30. Bit-Iltam(a)-sama'	+	+
31. Bit-Dini-ilu	+	+
32. Daqalu/a	+	+
33. Hameša	+	+
34. BE(Til?)-la-a	+	+
35. Ta'iru	+	+
36. Kib/pranu	+	+
37. Iltaratu	+	+
38. Akamšakina	+	+
39. Sagabatu-ša-Mardukia	+	+
Total according to text	39	39
Actual total	39 (I) 38 (II)	39

Bit-Iakin:

<i>City</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>
1. Bit-Zabidia	+	+
2. Larsa	+	+
3. Kulaba	+	+
4. Eridu	+	+
5. Kissik	+	+
6. Nemed-Laguda	+	+
7. Dur-Iakin	+	+
8. Kar-Nabû	+	+
Total according to text	8	8
Actual total	8	8

The final totals:

Taken together, T and N mention 88 different Chaldaean cities by name, but no manuscript has all of these toponyms. The omissions have produced certain inconsistencies. Discrepancies between the actual numbers of cities named in T and N in each of the four sections on the individual Chaldaean states, and the subtotals given by the texts after these sections, are displayed in the tables above. The table below registers inconsistencies regarding the final total of cities recorded in l. 50 of our texts. Besides the numbers of T and N, it also takes into account numerical references to the cities in Sennacherib's "Bellino Cylinder," written after the king's second campaign in 702, the "Rassam Cylinder," written in 700 after the third campaign, and the royal inscriptions on clay prisms composed between 697 and 689⁵². These texts do not name the cities anymore, but still mention how many were conquered.

Note that the first number in the individual entries of my table refers to the fortified cities, the second to the (anonymous) small cities in the countryside.

⁵² For the "Bellino Cylinder," see Luckenbill, OIP 2, 56, l. 11; for the "Rassam Cylinder," Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 51, l. 9; and for the prism inscriptions, L. W. King, CT 26, pl. 2, i 41-43, and Borger, BAL², 69, i 36f. De Odorico, SAAS 3, 57 has provided an earlier overview of the numbers in these passages.

	<i>T</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>Bellino</i>	<i>Rassam</i>	<i>Prisms</i>
Number of cities mentioned by name	87 (I) 86 (II)	81	-	-	-
Final total according to text	88 / 820	88 / 820	89 / 820	89 / 620	75 / 420
Sum of subtotals	89 / 820	88 / 820	-	-	-

It is not easy to explain all the discrepancies that become apparent from this overview. The total of 88 cities in T and N is accurate in a way; it corresponds to the number of different cities mentioned by name in both texts. The number 820, the total of small cities, seems also correct; it is the sum of the subtotals recorded for the individual Chaldaean tribes in T and N (250 + 120 + 350 + 100). The total of fortified cities in *Bellino* and *Rassam* is 89 instead of 88, a change that may be attributed to a text like T, whose subtotals add up to 89, because the subtotal recorded for the fortified cities of Bit-Dakkuri is 34 and not 33. The reason for the decrease in the number of small cities in *Rassam* (620 instead of 820) and the later prism inscriptions (420) eludes me; perhaps, the higher numbers were regarded as too unrealistic⁵³. The smaller number (75) of fortified cities in the prism inscriptions remains mysterious as well. It could be that the author of the respective section checked a manuscript of Sennacherib's earliest report about this campaign that omitted even more toponyms than N, ms. A, and corrected the number accordingly, but this is mere speculation.

APPENDIX C: SOME REFLECTIONS ON THE COMPOSITION OF SENNACHERIB'S EARLY CYLINDER INSCRIPTIONS

Woefully little is known about the authors of Assyrian royal inscriptions and how they composed their texts⁵⁴. But three letters from the Late Assyrian period cast at least a little bit of light on this matter. In SAA 15, no. 4, Issar-duri, who is in need of a master copy for royal inscriptions to be put into the walls of the local temple, asks Sargon II to have an inscription written (1-*en muš-šá-ru-u liš-tu-ru*) and sent to him to the city of Der. In SAA 16, no. 143, Nabû-ra'im-nišešu asks Esarhaddon for a master copy for inscriptions intended for the city wall of Tarbišu. And in SAA 16, no. 125, an unknown sender writes to Esarhaddon about an inscription for a building in the city of Adia, saying: "May the king order the chief scribe (*rab tupsarri*) to write the name of the king (i.e., a royal inscription) on a stele (*narû*)."

We learn two things from these letters. First that the king himself, not surprisingly, was to some extent involved in the creation of royal inscriptions. And second that someone called the "chief scribe" was, at least occasionally, in charge of actually composing the texts.

Royal inscriptions, purporting that they represent the words of the king, do normally not reveal their real "authors"⁵⁵. But there is one prominent exception, Sargon

⁵³ For evidence that Sennacherib, at least in some respects, endorsed what may be described as a "realistic" worldview, see Frahm, PNA 3/1, 1123f.

⁵⁴ For preliminary observations on these questions, see A. K. Grayson, "Assyria and Babylonia: Compilation of Royal Inscriptions," *Or* 49 (1980), 164-170; B. Porter, *Images, Power, and Politics: Figurative Aspects of Esarhaddon's Babylonian Policy* (Philadelphia 1993), 109f, n. 236; Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften*, 281.

⁵⁵ In one case, a long Assurnasirpal II inscription (Grayson, RIMA 2, A.0.101.1) on the base of a dais dedicated to the god Ninurta from Nimrud, the scribe who drew out the cuneiform signs on the stone for the stone-cutter to follow (or perhaps rather the stone cutter himself) left his "signature" scratched between two lines towards the end of the inscription (šu^dutu-ku-uš-ra-ni "hand of Šamaš-kušranni"); see J. Reade and I. Finkel, "A Unique Signature in Cuneiform Shorthand," *N.A.B.U.* 2002/2. Since the inscription was placed face-downwards, this "signature" was invisible.

II's famous "Letter to the god Ashur." The subscript of this inscription (l. 428) identifies it as *tuppi Nabû-šallimšunu tupšar šarri rabû rab-tupšarra*⁵⁶ (gal-gi-bûr) *ummân Šarru-ukîn šar māt Aššur* "tablet of Nabû-šallimšunu, great scribe of the king, chief scribe, (chief) scholar of Sargon, king of Assyria⁵⁶." Thus there is no doubt that Nabû-šallimšunu, chief scribe and *ummānu* of Sargon, composed at least one major inscription for his royal master, and it stands to reason that he wrote others as well.

The names of the *ummānus* of several Neo-Assyrian kings are recorded in two King Lists from Ashur. According to them, the *ummānus* active during the reign of Sennacherib were first a certain Nabû-aplu-iddina (or, following the second list, Nabû-bani), and then, in the later years of the king's reign, Bel-upahhîr and Kalbu⁵⁷. Given that both in the 8th and in the 7th century, the *ummānu* (or *rab-tupšarra*) of the king seems to have played a key role in the creation of the royal *res gestae*, it is tempting to hypothesize that it was Nabû-aplu-iddina (or Nabû-bani) who composed Sennacherib's early royal inscriptions. But in my comment on l. 26 of our text, I have suggested another solution. A variant between N and T, which is based on an equation attested in a commentary written by the well-known scribe Nabû-zuqup-kenu (and nowhere else), makes it more probable to me that it was Nabû-zuqup-kenu who composed the cylinder inscriptions written after Sennacherib's first campaign.

Nabû-zuqup-kenu was a member of an illustrious family of scribes. Both his ancestors and his descendants held high positions, among them the offices of *rab tupšarra* and *ummānu*, at the Assyrian royal court. According to the dates on the tablets he owned, Nabû-zuqup-kenu was active between 716 and 683. He is not identified as an *ummānu* in the King Lists mentioned above⁵⁸, and he designates himself in his colophons as a scribe (*tupšarra*) only. And yet, there is evidence that his relationship with the royal family was close. He studied intensively the "royal disciplines" of astrology and extispicy, and it appears that he copied texts like the "Prodigy Book" and the 12th tablet of the Gilgamesh epic in answer to political challenges the Assyrian court had to cope with. Later, many of his tablets were incorporated into Assurbanipal's library⁵⁹.

Of course, Nabû-zuqup-kenu's "authorship" of T and N cannot be proven. It must in fact be conceded that the Nabû-zuqup-kenu tablets whose colophons provide information about their place of origin were all written in Kalḫu and not in Sennacherib's new capital at Nineveh. It is also noteworthy that the vast majority of Nabû-zuqup-kenu's tablets deal with astrology, extispicy, and other divinatory

⁵⁶ F. Thureau-Dangin, *Une relation de la huitième campagne de Sargon*, TCL 3 (Paris 1912), 66f; W. Mayer, "Sargons Feldzug gegen Urartu," MDOG 115 (1983), 112f.

⁵⁷ See Grayson, *RIA* 6, 120, King List 12 (Synchronistic King List), iv 1-11, and 125, King List 17 (Synchronistic King List Fragment), iv 1-3 (note that the onomastic material from King List 17 is not treated in PNA). While nothing more is known about either Nabû-aplu-iddina or Nabû-bani, there is some additional information on the two later *ummānus*. Bel-upahhîr was a Babylonian astrologer, and Kalbu seems to have belonged to the milieu of the diviners as well, since he is charged, in a letter from the reign of Esardaddon (SAA 10, no. 109), with conspiring with haruspices and astrologers (*tupšarrû*) in order to conceal bad omens from Sennacherib. See the entries on Bel-upahhîr 1 in PNA 1/II, 336 (by K. Fabritius) and on Kalbu 4 (where the reference from the Synchronistic King List needs to be added) in PNA 2/1, 598 (by A. Berlejung).

⁵⁸ Unless one assumes that the names Nabû-aplu-iddina and Nabû-bani are misrepresentations of the name Nabû-zuqup-kenu, which would not be easy to explain. Note, however, that in the two King Lists that name the *ummānus* of Assyrian rulers (see above, n. 57), the section on Sargon is not preserved. Since Nabû-zuqup-kenu may have been a close advisor of Sargon (see below), it is theoretically possible that both Nabû-šallimšunu and Nabû-zuqup-kenu were originally mentioned in this section.

⁵⁹ On Nabû-zuqup-kenu, see H. Hunger, "Neues von Nabû-zuqup-kēna," ZA 62 (1972), 99-101; S. A. Lieberman, "A Mesopotamian Background of the So-Called *Aggadīc* 'Measures' of Biblical Hermeneutics," HUCA 58 (1987), 204-217; L. Pearce, "Nabû-zuqup-kēnu," PNA 2/II, 912f. See also the literature mentioned in n. 60.

disciplines, while his library contains no literary and historical texts besides those mentioned above⁶⁰. But royal *ummânu*s like Bel-upaḥḥir, Kalbu, and Issar-šumu-ereš were preoccupied with divination as well⁶¹, and yet they were, according to the evidence discussed above, *ex officio* also in charge of writing their kings' inscriptions.

It may be that Nabû-zuqup-kenu composed already royal inscriptions for Sennacherib's father Sargon II. The *terminus post quem* for him to have done so is 714, the year when Nabû-šallimšunu wrote Sargon's "Letter to Ashur." The hypothesis that Nabû-zuqup-kenu was engaged in scribal work celebrating the deeds of Sargon is based on the close parallels, outlined in the commentary, between that king's "Display Inscription" from Khorsabad, written in 707⁶², and Sennacherib's early cylinder inscriptions⁶³. Of course, these parallels do not prove that the texts were really composed by the same scribe; the "author" of T and N could have imitated a text written by someone else. But the similarities are so close that common authorship is a tempting hypothesis⁶⁴.

In spite of the many parallels between Sargon's "Display Inscription" and the early Sennacherib cylinders, the ideological premises of these texts are very different. Sargon's enthusiasm for everything Babylonian is replaced, in Sennacherib's inscriptions, by a cool and almost hostile attitude towards Babylonia and Babylon⁶⁵. It may have been due to an unwillingness on his part to fully endorse Sennacherib's new Babylonian policy that Nabû-zuqup-kenu, before long, lost the privileged position he seems to have held during the last years of Sargon and the early years of Sennacherib. Instead of moving to Nineveh, where the new ruler took residence, he stayed in the city of Kalḫu, never to become the official *ummânu* of the king. Nabû-zuqup-kenu's son Nabû-zeru-lešir and his grandson Issar-šumu-ereš were eventually promoted to this office, but only under Sennacherib's successors Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal. Perhaps, they owed their rise to another shift in politics, which became again more pro-Babylonian under these kings.

I will conclude this article with a few final remarks on the compilation of T and N. There is little question that these editions, with the exception of their building accounts, are closely related to each other. For the most part, they are identical, even

⁶⁰ On Nabû-zuqup-kenu's copy of Gilgamesh XII, see Frahm, JCS 51 (1999), 73-90, and *id.*, "Nabû-zuqup-kenu, Gilgamesh XII, and the Rites of Du'uzu," N.A.B.U. 2005/5. On his several copies of the "Prodigy Book," see A. Guinan, "A Severed Head Laughed: Stories of Divinatory Interpretation," in: L. Ciruolo and J. Seidel (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World*, Ancient Magic and Divination 2 (Leiden 2002), 7-40. Note that both Gilgamesh XII and the "Prodigy Book" share important features with the omen literature.

⁶¹ For Bel-upaḥḥir and Kalbu, see above, n. 57; for Issar-šumu-ereš, see L. Pearce, PNA 2/I, 577-579.

⁶² Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 383-387.

⁶³ See my remarks on ll. 3, 9, 19, 23-26, and 30 of our text. There are also close parallels between the building accounts of the "Display Inscription" and the Nineveh version of Sennacherib's early cylinder inscriptions; on those, see Frahm, *Einleitung in die Sennacherib-Inschriften*, 42f. If Nabû-zuqup-kenu really composed Sargon's "Display Inscription," he may also be the "author" of other Sargon texts from this period, especially his "Annals" (Fuchs, *Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad*, 82-188, 313-342). Hardly any Assyriologist has engaged so far in a systematic analysis of lexical, grammatical, syntactical, and stylistic similarities and discrepancies between Assyrian royal inscriptions from a limited period of time. Such analysis would help to find more substantive answers to some of the questions raised in this appendix.

⁶⁴ Common authorship, if it really existed, is of course not the only factor that accounts for the parallels between Sargon's and Sennacherib's texts. The similarities of the accounts of Sargon's Babylonian war of 710 and Sennacherib's conflict with Marduk-aplu-iddina in 704-02 are also due to similarities between the historical constellations, and the borrowings from Sargon's Khorsabad texts in the building account of Sennacherib's earliest texts from Nineveh reflect the need to have some model for the description of a building project that was far from completion in the moment when the first inscriptions outlining it were needed for foundation deposits and walls.

⁶⁵ See the remarks on ll. 3 and 30.

with regard to their line folding, although some differences show that they are not duplicates. The military account of both editions probably goes back to a master copy on a clay or wax tablet written by a distinguished scribe, perhaps, as argued above, Nabû-zuqup-kenu. It seems reasonable to assume that this scribe listened to oral accounts of the campaign, studied written documents related to it⁶⁶, and consulted the king to find out what he wanted to commemorate specifically. When he finally composed the text, he reused numerous phrases from inscriptions of Sargon II, especially the "Display Inscription." Aware of the fact that the text on the tablet would eventually be copied on cylinders with very long lines, he probably marked the beginnings of the lines envisaged for the cylinders by indentations. Among the written sources used by the scribe was a list of Chaldaean cities conquered by the Assyrians during the campaign.

It seems possible that in a second step, the account of the campaign thus composed was copied on other tablets, and that descriptions of Sennacherib's different building projects were attached. In the course of this procedure, the scribe may have slightly modified the text of the military account, which would explain the differences between T and N highlighted by bold type in my edition. Some of the changes the scribe made appear to be systematic. The words *šapāru*, *mithāriš*, and *ummānāti* in T are more than once replaced by *wu'uru*, *ištēniš*, and *ellāti*, respectively, in N⁶⁷. When he wrote out the tablet with the text of N, the scribe seems to have left out one line of the list of Chaldaean cities from the master copy, thus causing the omission of six toponyms in l. 38⁶⁸.

The tablets with accounts of Sennacherib's first campaign and the king's construction work then served as "Vorlagen" for the cylinders, which were meant to be put in foundation deposits and walls in the Southwest Palace at Nineveh⁶⁹ and the Nergal temple in Tarbišu. The Tarbišu cylinders were probably written in Nineveh as well and not in the city they were intended for, since it would not have been necessary otherwise to refer to Tarbišu explicitly in the subscript of T, ms. II. Since both T, ms. I, and T, ms. II, mistakenly omit or distort words fully represented in the other manuscript⁷⁰, it is probable that neither of them served as "Vorlage" for the other. They were rather both copied from the "Vorlage"-tablet or from another cylinder that has not been recovered⁷¹.

⁶⁶ For the possibility that the authors of Assyrian royal inscriptions were able to use itineraries and field diaries, see Grayson, *Or* 49, 164-167; the evidence is rather meager.

⁶⁷ See the commentary on ll. 5, 18, and 21.

⁶⁸ Omission of a line from a "Vorlage" was already suspected by I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* (Jerusalem 1982), 40, n. 106. If it is true that only one line of the master copy was left out (there are of course other possibilities), this copy must have been a clay or wax tablet with rather long lines of up to 38 signs. Two lines of such a tablet may have been distributed onto one line on the cylinders. This would also explain why the first fourteen lines of N, ms. A are divided into two halves, separated from each other by a blank space (see the commentary on l. 2). Note, however that the number of signs displayed in one line of the cylinders varies from 28 (l. 12) to 70 (T, ms. II, l. 69).

⁶⁹ But note that some of the Nineveh cylinder fragments were found in the area of the "House of Sennacherib's Son," and that one manuscript comes from Ashur. See the list of manuscripts in section 2 of this article.

⁷⁰ See T, ll. 42, 57, and 69.

⁷¹ This is also indicated by the small and mostly minor differences between the two manuscripts. Eight times, ms. I differs from ms. II, but corresponds to N; sixteen times, it differs from both ms. II and from N, the two latter texts corresponding to each other.

Plate 1

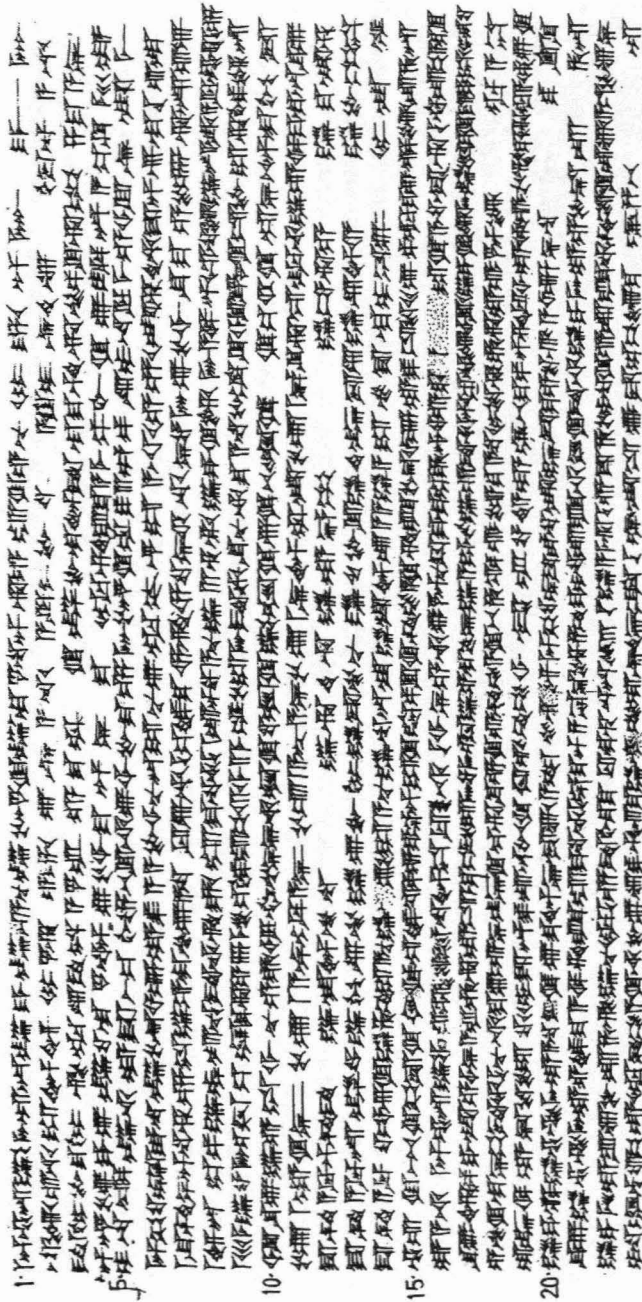


Plate 1. Cylinder from Tarbiṣu (Ms. I [a]), lines 1-23: from A. Sulaiman, *Al-kitāba al-mismāriya wa-l-ḥarf al-ʿarabi* ("Cuneiform Writing and Arabic Alphabet"), pp. 91-92

Plate 2

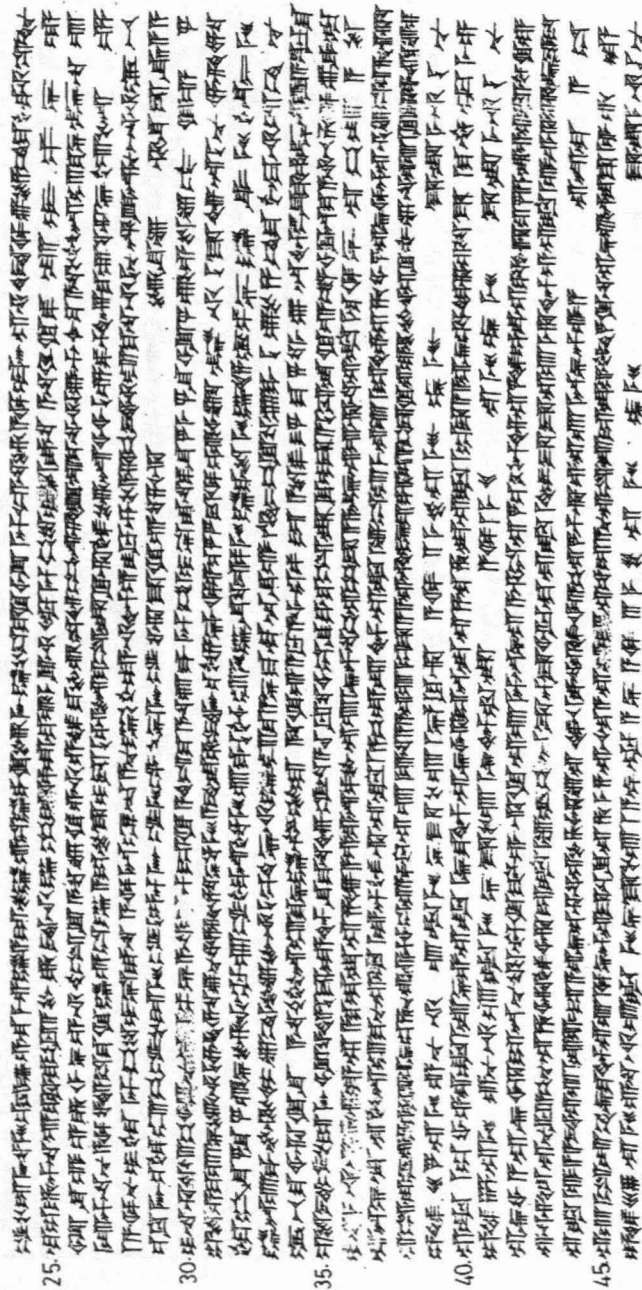


Plate 2. Cylinder from Tarbiṣu (Ms. I [a]), lines 24-46: from A. Sulaiman, *Al-kitāba al-mismāriya wa-l-harf al-ʿarabi* ("Cuneiform Writing and Arabic Alphabet"), pp. 91-92

Plate 3

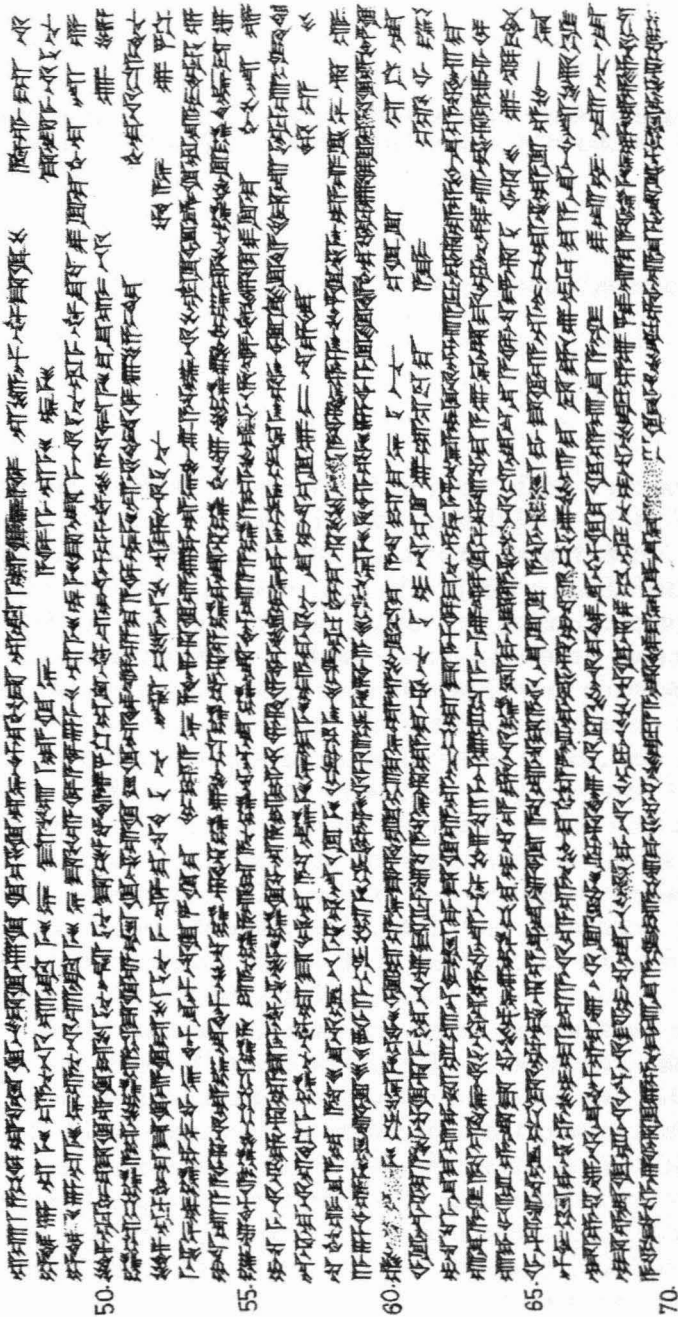


Plate 3. Cylinder from Tarbiṣu (Ms. I [all], lines 47-70: from A. Sulaiman, *Al-kitāba al-mismāriya wa-l-ḥarf al-ʿarabi* ("Cuneiform Writing and Arabic Alphabet"), pp. 91-92