Sennacherib’s Annals: A Foundational Text Study

G. L. Russell

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Sennacherib's Annals: A Foundational Text Study

Abstract
The purpose of this work is to present a foundational study for a new edition of the Sennacherib inscriptions. This study includes a new arrangement of the texts consistent with their nature and the material now available, a brief discussion of style, and selected texts with textual notes, translation, and commentary.

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SENNACHERIB'S ANNALS:
A FOUNDATIONAL TEXT STUDY

by

G. Lindsay Russell

A Dissertation
submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Dropsie College
for Hebrew and Cognate Learning
Philadelphia
1967
APPROVAL

This dissertation, entitled

SENNACHERIB'S ANNALS:
A FOUNDATIONAL TEXT STUDY

by

G. Lindsay Russell
Candidate for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

Date May 9, 1967
SENNACHERIB'S ANNALS:
A FOUNDATIONAL TEXT STUDY
To
Janie

rā'imat epētiya

Her toil has been a labor of love.
PREFACE

The field of Assyriology will long be indebted to D. D. Luckenbill for his early compilation of Assyrian materials. His early death prohibited him from advancing and improving upon his own early efforts. It is with an appreciation for his work, even with its limitations due to the early period from which it comes in Assyriology, that the work presented herein has been undertaken.

In the course of an academic program one becomes indebted to many people. To Dr. Moshe Held, whose enthusiasm for Assyriology can be witnessed to by all his students, goes credit for a proper foundation in methodology. It was at his suggestion that this task was begun. The writer is also indebted to Dr. L. V. Berman for his encouragement at a very important time in the progress of this work. It is to Dr. Meir Bravmann that the writer must express his greatest appreciation. Without his continued guidance this work would not have reached any reasonable consummation. The limitations of the work presented here are the writer's alone.
### Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this work conform to those in CAD wherever possible. The following have been adopted for this work:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Reference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King, Tukulti-Ninib I</td>
<td>L. W. King, <em>Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leichty, Catalogue</td>
<td>Erle Leichty, <em>A Bibliography of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Kuyunjik Collection in the British Museum.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M-R</td>
<td>B. Meissner, P. Rost, <em>Die Bauinschriften Sanherib.</em></td>
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PART I

INTRODUCTION
CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF THIS WORK
CHAPTER I

THE PURPOSE OF THIS WORK

The purpose of this work is to present a foundational study for a new edition of the Sennacherib inscriptions. This study includes a new arrangement of the texts consistent with their nature and the material now available, a brief discussion of style, and selected texts with textual notes, translation, and commentary.

The need for such a work has long existed. A number of texts and fragments have been published but those have never been incorporated into the Sennacherib corpus either in outline form or in a full publication. In 1929, R. Campbell-Thompson published a number of bricks and fragments from Nineveh. This he followed with further publications between 1931 and 1940. In 1935 Th. Jacobsen published several interesting inscriptions from the excavations at Jerwan along with many useful notes on some texts already in OIP II, especially the Bavian inscription. In 1953, A. Heidel published a prism from the Iraq Museum which restores the lacunae in EM 103000. 1954 saw the appearance of several texts under the editorship of E. Ebeling. In 1958, H. Tadmor published an edition of a text which has been known in autograph since 1898. A. Baer published a short inscription in 1960. In 1963, A. K. Grayson presented

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1Arch. 79 (1929), 119-26. The texts cited in the discussion above are to be found originally in AFO 20 (1963), 84, n. 5.
2AAA 18 (1931), 100; 19 (1932), 114, 116; Iraq 7 (1940), 89-94.
3OIP XXIV, 19-49.
4Sumer 9 (1953), 117-88.
5Ebeling, Stiftung, pp. 3-12; 23-32.
7RA 54 (1960), 155-58.
an edition of an important text which had been known for a number of
years. This series of publications does not include the reissue of
some of the texts already to be found in OIP II or the few that were
never included in the first place. Furthermore, while this study does
not propose to present all the texts in published form, it does suggest
the manner in which they should be incorporated into the Sennacherib
corpus.

Not only does the appearance of new material suggest a need for
a new edition of Sennacherib, but the original basis of Luckenbill's
work demanded a new approach from the beginning. The impetus for
Luckenbill's work was not the production of a critical edition of the
Sennacherib inscriptions but the reception at the Oriental Institute of
a prism containing the complete annals of Sennacherib which he felt should
be made available immediately. The presentation of the rest of the
texts assumed, intended so or not, a subsidiary place in that work.
This produced something of a contradiction between Luckenbill's stated
approach and his actual procedure; while avowedly claiming to follow
the urging of Olmstead for editors to give greater credence to the ear-
liest record of a king's activities, he still gave precedence to the
so called "final edition" in his work. It served as his prime text
while other earlier texts with the same material were made variants to

\[\text{8} \text{AIO 20 (1963), 83-96; An. Or. 12 (1935), 226; JAOS 55 (1935), 363.}\\]
\[\text{9Cf. Appendix I.}\\]
\[\text{10Cf. Appendix I and the discussion in ch. II of the Introduction.}\\]
\[\text{11OIP II, lx.}\\]
\[\text{12Cf. loc. cit. and Historiography, p. 8. The procedure in OIP II also}\\
\[\text{also contradicts the outline which it proposed, pp. 20f.}\\]
The manner in which Luckenbill handled the annalistic material failed to take into account an essential feature of the royal inscriptions—the building inscription which follows the report of the military activity of the king is historically an integral part of the inscription. In fact, it was from such building and dedicatory inscriptions that the royal inscription grew into its verbose splendor. Yet, Luckenbill did not give credence to this viewpoint when he severed the building inscriptions from the annalistic material in the texts of Sennacherib. In one instance he breaks off the text in the middle of a line, completely disrupting the integrity of the text. In the arrangement proposed in this work each annalistic text is presented as a unit in order to preserve its literary form.

At the time of its appearance, the work of Luckenbill, while praised, was criticised for its failure to include critical notes on the text and comments on difficult passages. By so doing, Luckenbill left readers in doubt as to the rationale of his decisions concerning the restoration of the text and the choice of translation. This situation is remedied to some degree in the texts presented in this work.

13 E.g., BM 91032 which should be the prime text. Cf. below, pp. 10f.
14 This view has long been a consensus. Cf. Historiography, pp. 2f. and GLZ 27 (1924), 313. For a concise current statement see C.A.H. 2 fasc. 49, pp. 23ff.
15 OIP II, 76:106; Cf. Smith-Sayce, Hist., p. 98.
16 E.g., AFo 2 (1924-25), 132-34; ATST (1925-26), 140-42.
17 Ibid., p. 142.
A full edition of the inscriptions of Sennacherib is not feasible immediately because of the status of some of the texts, especially the bull inscriptions numbered 9 and 10. In the former, only a new collation of the actual text will clarify the differences between the text of Rawlinson and the text of G. Smith. In the latter, the text is presented only in the work of G. Smith and it is a composite of 3 bull inscriptions in which the variants and the text followed are not clear. One bull inscription, text no. 7, has been restored fully to the ends of the existing lines by the writer and is presented here for the first time in full.

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18 cf. III R 12-13 and Smith-Sayce, Hist., pp. 3f.; 32ff.; 51f.; 65ff.; 77f.; 84f.; 89ff.
19 Ibid., pp. 3f.; 30f.; 51f.; 67f.; 36f.; 88f.
CHAPTER II

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXTS
CHAPTER II

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE TEXTS

The texts of Sennacherib can be arranged conveniently into 3 main groups: (1) annalistic material; (2) building inscriptions; (3) varia. The annalistic material includes all those texts which contain a description of one or more of the king's military campaigns. The building inscriptions include all those texts which are devoted to the king's building activities alone. The varia are unclassified texts.

A. Annalistic Material

The annalistic material may be arranged in sequence with facility because the scribes presented Sennacherib's campaigns in a numerical order (i.e., ina mābrē gerriya, ina šanē gerriya, etc.). The texts in which there is no numerical indication (usually limited to 1 or 2 campaigns) can be fit into the sequence by comparing the material which they contain with the material in the inscriptions which have the campaigns designated numerically. In the cases where the texts cover the same material they are arranged in sequence on the basis of the eponym in the colophon (e.g., 12 and 13); if the eponym is the same, they are considered duplicates (e.g., 4a-d; 6a and 6b). This is the general scheme behind the outline which follows. Specific questions are dealt with below at the place at which they occur in the outline.

1 On this stylistic feature, see below, pp. 15ff.
2 E.g., 8, 15. No. 11 is dealt with below, pp. 9f.
I. Campaign One 1a-b

II. Campaign One and Two. 2-3

As indicated below, 3. is considered with 2 because it verifies the reading ū-Še-mi in 2:23, a reading already conjectured by Luckenbill. 3

III. Campaigns One through Three 4a-d; 5a-c

4a is incorrectly cited as 87-7-19, 1 in OIP II, 20. It should be corrected to 80-7-19, 1.

IV. Campaigns One through Five 6a-h; 7-8

6e is cited in OIP IX, 111, n. 1 as BM 3330. This is an error for the no. 3330 assigned to this text (1910-10-8, 142) in King, Supp. pp. xvi-xxv. As indicated below, 6e-h are not datable to the time of 6a. 4 However, their variant descriptions of the gates of Nineveh make them pertinent to the study of that text.

8:12-49, when compared with 6a:IV:18-66, shows this text to belong with the records of the fifth campaign.

V. Campaigns One through Six 9-11

11 is considered only as a series of "epigraphs" by Luckenbill. 5 However, it recounts, in telescoped form, Sennacherib's fourth and sixth campaigns against Babylon.

The placing of this text with the records of the sixth campaign is, it must be admitted, problematic. It is based on the manner in which Šuzubu (Mušezib-Marduk) is described in 11:14-17 as compared with 12:IV:

---

3Cf. below, p. 60, n. 4.
4Cf. below, p. 93.
5OIP II, 156. In this Luckenbill follows the designation in III R 4, no. 4.
35-37. However, the appearances of Šuzubu in Sennacherib’s annals is a matter which raises grave questions about the credibility of the record at this point. In 12:IV:37-40 Sennacherib claims he brought Šuzubu to Assyria as a prisoner. In 12:IV:8ff. he is portrayed as a vassal of the king of Elam and ruling at Babylon. Taken together with Grayson’s argument that the whole record of the eighth campaign is a fabrication, one cannot place 11 with certainty with either campaign. It is only the descriptive comparison already cited that serves as any basis for its location in the corpus.

VI. Campaigns One through Eight 12-20

It has already been indicated above that 12 should be the prime text of the annals which contain 8 campaigns. The reason for this is twofold: (1) 12 is an older text; (2) 12 contains readings which seem to follow the earlier tradition of the annals even when it disagrees with both 6a and 13. Note the following selected examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>Earlier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I:1 LUGAL.GAL</td>
<td>I:1 LUGAL.GALú</td>
<td>la:1; 3:1; 6a:I:1, LUGAL.GAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:7 ma-al-ki</td>
<td>I:8 mal-ki</td>
<td>1:3; 2:3; 6a:I:17 ma-al-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:12 gi-mir</td>
<td>I:11 gim-ri</td>
<td>1:4; 3:4; 6a:I:17 gi-mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I:33 šal-la-ti-Š</td>
<td>I:35 šal-la-tiš</td>
<td>1:52;šal-la-ti-š 2:12; 6a:I:40 šal-la-tiš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6AS 16, 342.
7The eponym of 12 is Bēl-Šmuranni; (691 B.C.); that of 13 is Gāhilu (689 B.C.). Cf. ibid., 342, n. 45.
I:36 ëal-la-su-un  
I:38 ëal-la-sùm  
I:50; 6a:1;44 ëal-la-su-un

II:24 LUGAL-ti  
II:27 LUGALú-ti

These examples which could be multiplied seem to indicate that since 13 varies from the earlier annals and 12 agrees with the earlier annals for the most part, 13 should be taken as the variant of 12. When one adds to this the fact that 12 is several years earlier than 13, it would seem to indicate that 13 is a later variant of 12.

B. Building Inscriptions

The building inscriptions are arranged primarily by site. This is similar to the manner in which Luckenbill has arranged them. The bit-akîti texts (30; 89-91; 117), in contrast to the procedure followed by Luckenbill, are grouped by site and not together.

69a-h, while containing a statement of Sennacherib's world wide victories, is placed with the building inscriptions because it exhibits the features of such an inscription rather than those of the annals. It may be safely dated, however, to a time after the third campaign. 8

27 is properly to be identified with Layard 75D and not, as in OIP II, with I R 6 VIII A. (70 in this enumeration). 27:2 reads ṢAR₄.GAL ṣar₄ kīš-še-ti; 70:2 reads ṢAR₄.GAL ṣar₄ șu. 9

Aside from the general grouping of these texts, no attempt has

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8 Cf. 69a:10, ultu ñitaš adi ñillân, and 6a:1:15-16, șumu Šamši. . . šiš Šamši. The latter only occurs after the third campaign. Cf. below, pp. 17ff.

9 Cf. OIP II; 127 (L₁₄):2, ṢAR₄.GAL ṣar₄ kīš-še-ti.
been made to place them in chronological sequence. Their stylized nature makes such attempts futile.

C. Varia

As already indicated, the varia are unclassified texts. 117 is placed here because its origin is not given. 118 is provisionally located with the Sennacherib texts and may be questioned.
CHAPTER III

SOME REMARKS ON STYLE
CHAPTER III

SOME REMARKS ON STYLE

The style of Sennacherib's annals exhibits the oft noted stereotyped nature of the royal inscriptions as a literary form. This includes both its general format of an epithet laded prologue, a report of the king's military campaigns, the building inscription which serves as the impetus for the production of the text, and the concluding oath in the epilogue. The inclusion of historical information in this format in the Assyrian royal inscriptions is traceable to Šamši-Adad I. It is exhibited in Old Babylonian texts by the unique inscription of Samsuiluna. For Mari one may cite the inscription of Yaḥdun-Lim. These few examples, along with the annals of Sennacherib, present a format which assumed a special place in Assyrian literature.

A catalogue of the numerous epithets applied to the king and the many formulas which appear with monotonous regularity in the annals is a special study which requires the full edition of the annals. There are, however, several features which deserve some consideration here:

(1) the ina ... gerriya formula; (2) the summarization of the annals in the prologue. The first will be considered in relation to the use of related formulations in Sargon II and Assurbanipal. The second will be considered as a special feature in Sennacherib's annals.

1Cf. A. L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, p. 146. For the literature on the subject of style one may consult the works cited by Borger, Einleitung, pp. ix-x. Cf. also C.A.H, fasc. 49, pp. 23ff.
3YOS 9, 35:113-22. The unique feature of this text is that the gods themselves speak to the king.
The formula *ina ... gerriya*, with the appropriate ordinal, serves as the introduction to each campaign:

12:1:19 *ina mahrê gerriya*\(^5\)  
I:63 *ina šanê gerriya*  
II:34 *ina šalši gerriya*  
III:42 *ina rebê gerriya*  
III:66 *ina hanše gerriya*  
IV:21 *ina šešše gerriya*  
IV:43 *ina setê gerriya*  
V:5 *ina samanê gerriya*

This kind of formulation occurs first in the annals of Šamši-Adad V.\(^6\)

An exact parallel is to be found in Assurbanipal, while the annals of Sargon II present a closely related formulation with the term *palû*.\(^7\)

Two types of expression are introduced by the *gerru* formula:

1. Declarative statements of the entrance into, or the accomplishment of a military campaign;
2. Declarative statements of the conditions underlying the military campaign. The first type is represented by the following:

12:1:19-21 *ina mahrê gerriya ... aštakan dabdāšu*  
I:63-66 *ina šanê gerriya ... utakkilannimma ... lū allik*  
II:34 *ina šalši gerriya ... lū allik*  
III:42-44 *ina rebê gerriya ... utakkilannimma ... adkēma ... alāku aqbi*  
IV:43-44 *ina setê gerriya ... utakkilannimma ... lū*

\(^5\) In the records earlier than the third campaign the first campaign is introduced by *ina rēš šarrūtiya* (cf. Commentary to 1:5).

\(^6\) CAD, 5, 92a.

The second type is represented by the following:

IV:21-26a ina šeššē gerriya • • • idkūma • • • ēberūma
        • • • īddū • • •
V:5-7 ina samānē gerriya • • • issehûma • • • uddilū
        ikpud • • •

These two types are both represented in the annals of Sargon II with palu while the first type is followed in all the instances in the annals of Assurbanipal.8

The instance in Sennacherib's annals not accounted for in the examples cited above combines both types as follows:

III:66-74 ina ḫanše gerriya bahûlāte GN1 GN2 etc. • • • ša
        ẖûma qinni erē aḫarēd issûre šēr zuṭi GN šadî marṣî
        šubassun šitkunatma lâ kitnušû ana nīri ina šēpē GN
        karāšī ušškinma itti qurbût šēpēyâ nasqûti u
        šābē tâḫâziya lâ gâmelûti anâku ḫûma rîmi ekdî
        pānûšûn aṣbat9

The result is a clear case of anacoluthon because the word bahûlāte has no predicate; the verbs šitkunat and kitnušû are both part of the relative clause governed by ša.10 In stylistic terms, the scribe started out his

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8 The instances of the first type in Sargon are Ibid., 20:101; 26:139f. (with allik); 54:317 (with gindiya uštēsēra aksûra ušmānîyâ).
9 This passage is translated in the light of this discussion below, p. (6a:IV:18-27).
10 On this form cf. GAG 183. This feature is recognized in the translation of Luckenbill (OIP II, 35f., etc.) while the translation of Heidel obscures the form involved (Sumer 9 (1953), 145.)
sentence with the second type of expression as his apparent pattern. However, he seems to have been influenced by the consistent use of the first type of expression in the previous campaigns. Therefore he breaks off and without any transition he reverts to the first type of expression. After this (i.e., in the sixth and eighth campaigns) the second type of expression occurs in full form.

The summarization of the military activities of Sennacherib is to be found in the following lines in the Prologue (12:1:10-18):

10. Aššur šadû rabû šarrût lâ šanân
11. ušatlimannimma
12. e-li rimir āšib parakki ušarba kakkēya
13. ultu tāmtim elēnīti ša šalam šamši
14. adi tāmtim šaplīti ša šıt šamši
15. rimri salmat qaggadi āšakniš šēpūn
16. u malkī šippūti ādurū tāhāzi
17. dadmēšun iizzibūma kīna sudinni iṣṣûr
18. nigiši ēdiš ipparšû ašar la šāri

Lines 13-18 do not appear in the Prologue until after the third campaign. Lines 10-12 exhibit one of many variations of the oft repeated adulation of the gods by the Assyrian kings for their military might. Therefore

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11 For a translation of this see below, p. 129 f. (6a:1:11-21).
12 Cf. 1:4; 2:4 and 6a:1:11-21. The sweeping claim of world-wide dominion only after the third campaign is considered below, p. 18f.
13 Cf. Weidner, Tn, 11:9f.: šarru ša irnintu libbišu ilānu ikšudūšunūtīma. . . ; AKA 33:1:46f.: Aššur ilānu rabûtu mušarbu šarrūtiva ša kiššita u danāna ana iṣqiya lārūkūnī. . . . This last passage should be compared with its following context.
its presence is not unexpected. In addition, the boast of bringing mankind into submission in 1. 15 is not unprecedented.\textsuperscript{14} In fact, any one of the features included here can be paralleled elsewhere.\textsuperscript{15} What is striking is the close adherence of the summary in the Prologue to the records of the campaigns as they are developed in the annals themselves.

The special features of the summary in the Prologue may be considered in the following manner: (1) the material added after the third campaign in general; (2) the ideological parallel between the Prologue and the campaign records themselves.

The material added after the third campaign includes not only the passage quoted above, but several titles: \textit{šar kiššātī, šar kibrāt erbettim} (12:I:2).\textsuperscript{16} These titles are, as is generally recognized, claims of universal power.\textsuperscript{17} Now it is significant that these titles parallel the claim of wide spread subjugation of mankind in 11. 13-15 cited above. In addition, both these titles and the claim of wide spread subjugation of mankind, by being included only after the third campaign seem to suggest that there was an attempt to boast that the

\textsuperscript{14}Cf. Ibid. 5:1lf.; 20:7; of special interest here is 161:7-8: (Assur-nasir-pal) \textit{lātu sīt šamāi adī erēb šamāi ana šēpēšu ušakniša}.

\textsuperscript{15}With the passages cited above, note also 4ff.:obv. 1-34 (a complete report of military activity in a series of epithets with reference to geography); 37:I:86 (the flight of the enemy) and passim in the annals.

\textsuperscript{16}The substitution of \textit{rēûm itpēšu migir ilānī rabūtī} (12:I:3) for \textit{rēûm mutinnu pālīk ilānī rabūtī} (1:1; 2:1) need not concern us here.

with the accomplishment of the western campaign the king now controlled the world.

Aside from general boasting about world wide power there is in the Prologue a special emphasis on the flight of the enemy (ll. 16-17). As already indicated, the mention of this in the annals of an Assyrian king is not unusual. What is unusual is that its constant mention in Sennacherib's annals is echoed in the Prologue. Compare the following citations with what is said in the Prologue:

12:1:22-23 ina qabal tamhāri šuātu ēzib karūssu ēdiš
ipparsidma napištuš etēr

I:81-82 nišš... ša lapān kakkaša ipparsīddī... ipparsidma napištuš etēr

II:35-37 PN... ana rugge qabal tāmtim innabitma šadāšu ēmid

III:47-49 šū... ēdiš ipparsidma ul innamer ašaršu

IV:12-14 šū... ipparsidma ul innamer ašaršu

IV:70-74 šū GN1 ipparsīddī... ipparsidma ana GN2 ša ěqerub šaddī

V:14 lapān ḫatti u nibrēti ana GN innabit

No explanation can be given for this except to say that it, along with the stylistic features cited above, amply illustrate how Sennacherib's annals reflect the stereotyped nature of the royal inscriptions as a literary form.

18 Cf. n. 15 above.
PART II

SELECTED TEXTS
I. CAMPAIGN ONE
I. CAMPAIGN ONE

la. BM 113203
b. Ki. 1902-5-10, 1

Smith, Senn.

OIP II (A1), 48-55; 94-98.

BM 113203 is the primary text while Ki. 1902-5-10, 1 is a duplicate which provides restorations for the first 9 lines and the last 16 lines. Unless otherwise indicated, the restorations of these lines are from this text.

It is reasonable to assume with Luckenbill that this text is from a time before the second campaign.

OUTLINE

Prologue 1-4
Campaign One 5-62
Building Inscription-Epilogue 63-94
Colophon

TRANSLITERATION

Prologue

1. md[\text{Sin-aḫḫē-erība \text{(md}ZUEN.SES\text{meš-erī-ba}) \text{šarru rabû (LUGAL}.GAL \text{šarru (LUGAL)) dan-nu šar kuraḫ-šurki šarru (LUGAL) la še-na-an re-ē-um mut-nin-nu-ú pa-liḫ ilāni rabūti (DINGIR\text{meš}.GAL\text{meš})}]

\footnote{Smith, Senn., p. 1.} \footnote{OIP II, 20.}
2. na-[šir kit-ti ra-a'-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. ʿet-[hum giš-ma-lum aššu]-ka ru qar-du a-šá-red kal ma-ʾal-ki rap-pu la-a'-it la ma-ṣi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu zama-ni

4. d[aš-šur šadu rabû (KUR GAL) šarrūt (LUGAL)] la šá-na-an ú-šat]-li ma-an-ni-ma eli (UGU) gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a kakkkēya (giš TUKUL meš-ya)

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5. [i- na reš šarrūtiya (SA'G LUGAL ti)-ya] ša i-na kussé šarrūti raḫš (giš GU.ZA.LUGAL ti GAL) ʾa]-mu bu ma ba-ḫu-ša-te kur aš-šur ki ú-ma-ʾé-ru i-na taš-me-e ú sa-li-me


7. [su-túr d na-ḫu-du lu e-la-mu-ú idāšu (A.MIN-šú)]7 is-ḫur ma ḫurāša (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) ni-siq-ti abnē (NA4 meš) ú-šat-lim-šu-ma e-tir-ri-su, kit-ru

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3 Corrected from ri by Smith. zikaru gardu is an epithet which occurs regularly in the prologue to Sennacherib's annals.

4 Smith and Luckenbill restore rabšu ya-. . . . However, the restoration suggested here appears to be what is needed. Cf. KAH, II, obv., 9; AKA, 269, I:44(1)

5 The restoration of the name kur kar-dun-yā-āš is certain. Cf. 2:55, etc. The reading ek-su may be preferable to Luckenbill's ša libbisa ekṣu on the basis of Streck, Asb., 44:31; 194:20. The question remains whether ekṣu is a noun or an adjective.

6 Luckenbill reads kaš-tu. Cf. AHw, I, 56a and Commentary to l. 6.

7 For the certain reading e-la-mu-ú cf. 12:V:1. For the restoration idāšu cf. 12:IV:51f.
8. m[im-ba-ap-pa lu₄ tur-ta-nu Elamti (kur NIM.MA ki)₈ . . . .
   mta相对较纳乃努 šanû(?)(1ḻu MIN₉)₉ 10 rāb ksiṣir (ḻu GAL
   ki-širme₇) a-di md₉ Nergal-nāṣir (md₉ GUR-na-šir) lu₄ su-tu-ú la
   a-di-ru ta-ḥa-żu

9. 80,000 um₉[mānāt qašṭi (ḻu ERIN me₇ gi₉ PAN)₁₀ . . . . .]
   sīše (ANŠE.KUR.RA me₇) it-ти-šu-ni-ti-ma a-na Sumeri (KUR.EME.KU)
   ु Akkaši (URiki) iš-pu-ra re-su-[us]-su

10. ु šu-ú[md₉ Marduk-apla-iddina (md₂ AMAR.UD.IBILA.SUM₉₉)₁₂ . . . . .]
   Ur (ŠES.UNUG ki) Eridu (NUN ki) Kullab (KUL.UNU ki) ki-is-sik ki
   um₉ ne-₉-med-[la-gu]-da₁₃

₈ Cf. S. Smith and 1. 17 which reads kur NIM.MA ki (contra. Luckenbill).
    On the problem of reading this logogram see the Commentary.
    The normalization ummānat qašṭi is based on several factors.
    Firstly, the reading of 1ḻu ERIN may be either gābu or ummānu/ummānatu. 
    In Sennacherib's annals the gender of the adjective dictates which is 
    to be read; a feminine adjective requires ummānu/ummānatu as in 12a: 
    III:51 while a masculine adjective requires gābu as in 12a:IV:1,21. 
    Secondly, there are cases where ummānu/ummānatu is written syllabically 
    (1:27; 12:V:61). What is most significant is 12:VI:18 which has 
    um-ma-na-te while an exact parallel text has ERIN₂i₉a (12a:VI:28)! 
    Along with these factors in Sennacherib's annals is the regular use of 
    ummānu/ummānatu in literary texts (cf. CAD. 16, 54ff.). In the light of 
    these considerations the reading ummānat qašṭi is followed here and in 
    all cases of 1ḻu ERIN, etc. unless contextual considerations dictate 
    otherwise. 
    A possible restoration is narkabāte (gīš GIGIR₇ me₇). Cf. 12a: 
    II:79.
    ⅡRestored on the basis of the context.
    13For the restoration d lan-gu] da cf. 1. 48.
11. kurbit-m [ya-ki-ni] kurbit-m[a-muk-ka-a-ni kurbit-m]sa-al] -li
kurbit-mdak-ku-ri si-hir-ti lú kal-di ma-la ba-šu-[ú]

12. ša kisad (GU) i [mar-ra-ti] lú tu-du-mu-na lú ri-hi-šu lú ‑bu-du
lú ya-da-qi-šu lú kip-re-e lu ma-[i]-[u]

13. ša kisad (GU) i [diqlat (16DIGNA) lú gu-ru-mu lú ‑bu-šu lú da-mu] -nu

14. ša kisad (GU) i [uq-ni-i] lú ha-am-ra-nu lú ga-ra-ru lú na-bi-tu
lú li-‘a-ú lú ra-šu la kan-šu ša la i-[du]-u mi tu-tum

15. Nippur (EN.LIL) [a . . . . . . . . . . . . . . ] kil bar-sipki Kutu
(GU.DU₈.Ak) gi-mir kurkar-dum-ya-ša iš-te-niš ú-pa-hir[-ma]
[u] -šak-šir [u] a-ša-zu

16. ya-at [Sin-alghur-in] (md ZUEN.ŠEŠmeš-er)i-ba [ša] lib bi [šu]
na a’-neq-še-ti šú lem-ne-e-ti ú-ša-an-nu-im'-ma la-aš-šiš
an-na-dir-ma qé-reb Bāb-ilim (KÁ.KINGIR.RAki) a-[ma]-rišu
aq-ti-[bi] a-la-ku

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14 Cf. 1. 49. The reading [ya-ki-ni] (Cf. Luckenbill) is what is
found elsewhere (10:33; 12:III:43, etc.). The proper restoration
based on internal evidence is ya-ki-ni.
15 Cf. 1. 48.

The names of the peoples restored here and in the following
lines is based on 11. 56-58 where the order is slightly different.
17 For a reasonable basis for the restoration [uq-ni] cf. Liq,
marsu isbatu; cf. 50:13 ku uq-ni-i
18 The du is certain on the basis of 1. 17; mi tu-tum is how
Smith's autograph reads. In his notes (p. 79) he is uncertain of
the tu.
19 The hiatus here cannot be restored with certainty. What is
expected here is a group of names that fits into a summary statement
of Babylonia from south to north. Cf. 1. 52; 12:1:37f.; 2:12.
17. šu-ú im-di gal-le-e lemm-né a-lak ger-ri-ya iš-me-ma sīse (ANŠE.KUR._RA[meš]) ummānat qašti (ERIN[meš], giš.PAN) lú<e>la-mu-ú[lú-ra-mu
lúšmän-du it-ti madNergal-nāšir (madU.GUR-na-šir) u 10 rab kisir (lūGAL-ki-gir[meš]) ša Elamti (kurNIM.MAK) ša la i-du mi-tu-tu
18. e-mu-qi la ni-bi it-ti-šu-nu-ti-ma ú-dan-ni-in ki-ig-ri-šu-un qē-reb Kutù (GU.DUG.A[ki]) is-te-niš ú-še-ri-b-ma a-na me-teq ger-ri-ya ú-sā-an-sir ka]-a-na-m
19. ši-in-di-ya uš-te-še-ra ūm[a (UD) 20kam ša Sabati (ituzÍZ) ul-tu Aššur (BAL.TIL[ki]) kīma (GIM) rīmi (GUD.AM) gap-ši mah-rit ummāneya (ERIN[hi-a-ya]) aš-bat-ma pa-an gi-ip-ši-ya ul ú-šad-gil ar[k][a]-a ul ú-qi
20. rāb šaq (lūGAL.SAG) bēlē-pāhitiya (lūEN.NAM[meš]-ya) a-na Kiš (KIS[ki]) ú-ma-e-er maḥ-rū-u-a ú-ru-uh madMarduk-apla-iddina (madAMAR.UD.IRILA.
SUM[na) šab-ta-a-ma e te-ga-a dum-ni-na ma-šar-tuk(?)
21. šu-ú bēlē-pāhitiya (lūEN.NAM[meš]-ya) e-mur-ma a-di gi-mir el-la-ti-šū abul dZababa (KA.GAL dza-ba₂-ba₄) us-sa-am-ma i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš (KIS[ki]) it-ti rubēya (lūGAL[meš]-ya) e-pu-uš ta-ḫa-zu

The text has a-la-mu-ú. This would be a unique reading in Sennacherib’s annals. What apparently occurred here was a partial haplography between the preceding lu and the intended e.

The correction suggested by Luckenbill is tuš. For the reading suggested here see the Commentary.
23. i-na ug-gat lib-bi-ya eli (UGU) Kutu (GU.DUG.A) ti-bu-úta> 22 ṣa-kun-ma luµun-daµ-ṣi sa-hi-ir dürišu (BADD-šu) a[s]-li-š
ú-tib-bi-ib-ma aš-sa-bat ála (URU)

24. sī-se (ANŠE.KUR.RA.še) ummanāt qašti (ERIN-še title PAN) lu-e-la-më-e
lu-a-ra-mu lu-kal-du rāb kisir (lù.GAL ki-ṣirše) Elamé (lù.kur.NIM.
MA.ki)23 ù md.Nergal-našir (md.GUR-na-šir) a-di mārē ali (DUMUše.
URU) bel (EN) bi-it-ti ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

25. la-ah-biš an-na-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-bi-ši it-ti luqu-ra-di-ya
la ga-me-lu-ti şe-riš md.Marduk-apla-iddina (md.AMAR.UD.IBILA.SUMna)
a-na Kiš (KIŠki) áš-ta-kan pa-ni-ya

im-qu-su ḫat-tu gi-mir el-lat-ti-šú e-zib-ma kur-gu-zu-um-ma-ni
in-na-bit

27. mta-an-na-a-nu a-du um-ma-na-at Elamé (lù.NIM.MAki) lu-kal-du ù
lu-a-ra-mu ša i-da-a-šu iz-zu-ma il-li-ku re-šu-su-su dabdašun
(SI.ŠI-šú-un) 24 áš-kun-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-lat-su 25

28. ma-di-nu mār aššat md.Marduk-apla-iddina (DUMU.DAM.md.AMAR.UD.IBILA.
SUMna) a-di mba-aq qa-a-nu aḥ (ŠESi) e-mi ya-ti-i'e šar-rat lušri-bi
it-ti um-ma-ne-šú-nu bal-tu-su-um i-na qa-ti aš-bat

22 Corrected from ri by Luckenbill.
23 The gentilic form is verified by a comparison of ummanat Elamé (lù.NIM.MA) and ummanat qašti lù-e-la-mu-ù (!) on ll. 27 and 17
respectively.
24ŠI.ŠI may read either dabdu or tahtū. In Sennacherib both
occur in syllabic form (for dabdu, 7:IV:81; for tahtū, 12:II:11).
In the case of Sennacherib's annals it is a moot point as to which is
to be represented by ŠI.ŠI. What appears fortuitous is the placing of
this passage under abikutu (CAD, 1/1, 52b) and assuming ŠI.ŠI with šakānu
to be read abikutu (Ibid., 53a). AHW, I, 62 is more to the point.
25 The lat is partially preserved. Cf. Smith, Senn., p. 80
29. narkabāte (giš[GIGIR]meš) giššu-um-bi sîse (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) parē
(ANŠE.ŠU.MULmeš) \( n^2 \) ibilē (ANŠE.A.AB.BAmeš) anšed-ri ša qe-reb
tam-øa-ri muš-sù-ru ik-sù-da qâtaya (ŠU.MIN-a-a)

30. i-na ḫu-ud lib-bi ù nu-um-mur pa-ni a-ma Bāb-ilim (KÁ.DINGIR.RAki)
a-ḫl-iš-ma a-na ūkal mdMarduk-apla-iddina (E.GAL.mdAMAR.UD.IBILA.
SUM̩a) âš-šu pa-qad bušē (NIG.ŠU) ù makkûre (NIG.GA) qe-reb-šá
e-ru-ub

31. ap-te-ma bit ni-šir-ti-šū ḫurāša (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) abnē
(NA₄meš) a-qar-tu eršē (giš[NÁ]meš) kusse (gišGUZameš) ne-me-di
giššā ša-da-di giš ga-ši-ru-ut šarrūtišu (LUGAL ti-šū) ša iḫ-zu-šū-šu
ḫurāšî (GUŠKIN) kaspi (KU.BABBAR)

32. mim-ma šum-šu bušē-(NIG.ŠU) makkûra (NIG.GA) la ni-bi ni-šir-tum
ka-bit-tum aššassu (DAM-su) sikrētišu (miUKùmešE.GAL-šu)
míIG1.DUBmeš(? lûsu-ut reši (SAGmeš) tīrē (lûTIRUMmeš)
lûman-za-az pa-ni nārē (lûNARmeš) nārēte (mîNARmeš)

33. arde ūkalli (lûmešE.GAL) mu-nam-mi-ru te-mu ru-bu-ti-šū
si-ḫi-ir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-û mut-tab-bi-lu-ut ūkallišu
(E.GAL-šu) ú-šē-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-īs-šam-nu

34. ur-ri-iḫ-ma arkišu (EGER-šu) a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni lumun-dah-ši-ya
a-na qe-reb ida-ga-m-me ù ap-pa-raa-ti ū-ма-‘er-ma 5 u₄-me
ū-be-øu-ma ul in-na-mer a-šar-šū

35. si-te-et sîse (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) ummašēšu (ERINhi-a-_šu) ša ya-‘-šu
ma-na-aḫ-tum na-a-liš ip-par-ši-du-šu-ma la il-li-ku i-da-a-šu
iš-tu qe-reb šēri (EDIN) ù ba-ma-ti iš-te-niš ū-pa-ḫir

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36. i-na-me-eq ger-ri-ya uru a-ma-tu uru ha-ú-a-e uru su-ba-bu uru nu-qa-bu uru bit-m sa-an-na-bi uru qu-da-a-in
37. uru kid-ri-na uru dûr (BAD) m la-di-ni uru bi-ta-a-ti uru ba-ni-tu kur gu-su-um-ma-nu uru dûr (BAD) m ya-an-su-ri uru dûr (BAD) m a-bi-ya-ta-
uru dûr (BAD) m ru-du-un-me
uru ya-qi-um-na
39. uru ku-ub-ru-na uru bit-m ku-dür-ri uru süqa (SILA qa) m maru-ši nap-šar 33 ala-ši (URÚmes) dan-nu-ši bit dûrâni (‘BADmes ni)
ša kur bit-m daq-ku-ri a-di 250 alâni šehrûti (URÚmes. TURmes) ša li-met-ti-šu-nu
40. uru dûr (BAD) ma-ap-še-e uru dûr (BAD) m ta-ne-e uru dûr (BAD) m sa-ma-ti uru sa-ar-ša-ku-tu uru ša-la-ha-tu uru dûr (BAD) ab-da-a-a
uru sa-ap-pli-ma-ri uru šib-tú-ša uru ma-ak-ka-me-e
41. nap-šar 8 alâni (URÚmes) dan-nu-ši bit dûrâni (‘BADmes ni) ša kur bit-m sa-f-al-li a-di 120 alâni šehrûti (URÚmes. TURmes) ša li-met-ti-šu-nu
42. uru sa-pli-a uru sa-ar-ša-ku-nu la7-râ-ak ki BAR.MAR. R127 uru bit-m ilu (DINGIR) ba-ni uru a-hu-du uru ša-is-sur-d Adad (dIN)
uru ša-šar-ra-tú uru ma-na-aš-šu

27 Reading of this name uncertain.
44. urubit-mre-te-e urudûr (BAD)-mu-gur-ri urubi-in-da-i-na urudûr (BAD)-mu-a-it urubit-mta-û-ra-a urusa-ap-hu-na urubu-ha-ar-ru
45. urugar-be-middina (mSUMma) urugar-be-mkal-bi uruşa-bar-re-e urubit-mba-ni-ilu (DINGIR)-ú-a urusa-la-a-du urubit-mi-ta-ma-se-ma'i urubit-mdi-nilu (DINGIR)
46. uruşa-qa-la uruşa-me-za urûbe-la-a uruta-i-ru urukip-ra-a-nu uruît-ta-ra-tú uruqa-qar-sa-ki-na urusa-ga-ba-tú ša mar-duk-ya
47. nap-ḫar 39 alâni (URumes) dan-nu-ti ša kurbit-ma-muk-ka-a-ni a-di 350 alâni şehrûti (URumes,TURmes) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu
48. urubit-mza-bi-di-ya Larsa (UD,UNUGki) Kullab (KUL,UNuki) Eridu (NUNKi) ki-is-sikkî urunî-med-la-gu-da urudûr (BAD)-ya-ki-nî a-di urukar-dNabû (DNâ) ša ki-šad išmar-ri-ti
49. nap-ḫar 8 alâni (URumes) dan-nu-ti bit dürâni (E,BADni) ša kurbit-mya-ki-nî a-di 100 alâni şehrûti (URumes,TURmes) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu
50. nap-ḫar 88 alâni (URumes) dan-nu-ti bit dürâni (E,BADmes ni) ša kurkal-di a-di 820 alâni şehrûti (URumes,TURmes) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu al-me ak-šu-ud aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un
51. še-im suluppâ (ZU.LUM,MA) ša qe-reb ki-ra-a-te-šu-nu ebûrašunu (EBUR-šû-nu) ša şēri (EDIN) ummâni (ERÎNbi,a ni) ú-šâ-ki kil ab-bül aq-qr ir ina girri (dGIS,BAR) aq-mu a-na tillē (DUmes) ma-šu-ûti ú-tîr lu-lur-bi lûa-ra-mu lûkal-du ša qe-reb Uruk (UNUGki) Nippur (EN,LILki)
52. Kiš (KIŠki) Hûrsagkalamma (HUR,SAG,KALAM,MA) a-di mărê âli (DUMumes,URU) beî (EN] hi-it]-ti ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-ti-iš šam-nu
53. še-im suluppa (ZU.LUM.MA) ša qe-reb ki-ra-št-šú-nu me-rilik
ma-na-hi-šú-nu ebur (EBUR) še-ri (EDIN) ba-mat šadēšunu (KUR-šú-nu)
ummāni (ERINHIA ni) ū-sa-kīl

54. mbēl-ibni (MEN.DU) marā ṭāb bānī (lUGAL.DU) pi-ri-i
ŠU.AN.NA ki ša ki-ma mi-ra-ni še-ah-re qe-reb šalliyā (E.GAL-ya)
er-bu-ū [a-na šarrūt Sumeri u Akkadi (LUGALtu.KUR.EME.KU u URI)]
āš-ta-kan elišun(UGU-šu-un)

55. i-na ta-a-šar-ti-yā lu₃tu₃-šu-um登 lu₃ra-hi-šu lu₃wa-da-qu lu₃-šu-du
lu₃kip-re-[e lu₄ma-li-šu lu₄gu-ru-mu lu₄]-bu-lu lu₄da-mu-nu lu₄g₃am-bu-lum
lu₃hi-in-da-ru

56. lu₃ru₃-šu-um lu₃pu-q₃-du lu₃ha₃m-ra-su-nu lu₃ha₃-[ga]-ra-nu lu₃na-ba-tu
lu₃li₃-[i]₃-ta-a-[u lu₃ra-mu la kan₃-du 29 mi₃-ša₃]-ri₃ ak₃bud₃d₄-ma
āš-lu-la šal-la-su-un

57. i-na me-te-eq ger-ri-ya ša md₃Nab₃-bēl₃-šum₃tē (md₃N₃A.EN.MU₃me₃š)
[lu₄]₂q₄-pi lu₄ha₃-ra-ra-šu šu₃₃i₃-hu₃ šu₃₃i₃-ti ṣu₂₃ar₃-u₃₃a (GU₃SKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR)
gi₃smu₃-suk-ka-ni₃ rab₄t₃ (GAL₃me₃š) i₃me₄r₃ (ANSE₃-e₃š) gamma₃l₃e (an₃š₃GA M.
MAL₃me₃š) 30 alp₃ (GUD₃me₃š) šu (G₄UD₄bi₃.a) man-da-ta-shu₂₃ ka-bit-tu
am-hur

58. ba₃-₄pu-la-te uru₃bi₃-ri₃m-me n₃k₃iri₃ (lu₃KUR) ak₃₃u š₃₃u ul₃u₃-tu ul₃la a-na
šarran₃i abbēya (LUGAL₃me₃š ni AD₃me₃š-ya) la ik₃nu₃-šu₃¹₁-na kakke
(gi₃TUKUL) ū₃š₃m₀₄q₃t₃-ma na₃-pl₃₃t₃₃um ul e₃zib

59. na₃gu₃₃-šu₃₃-a₃tu e₃₃u₃-ti a₃₃bat 1 (DÎ₃š₃en) alp₄ (GUD)

28Cf. 2:13.
29Cf. 2:15. The reading of Luckenbill is incorrect on the basis of
textual comparison, not incorrect grammatically.
30Cf. 2:17.
10 immerē (UDU₃mes) 10 imēr karāna (ANŠE.GESTIN₃mes) 20 imēr suluppa (ANŠE.Zū.LUM.MA) re-še-te-šú a-na gi-nē-e ilāni (DINGIR₃mes) kur aš-sur ki bēlēya (EN₃mes-ya) ú-kin dā-ri-šam

60. it-ti 208,000 ša-lat niše (UKU₃mes) ka-bit-tum 7,200 sīše (ANŠE. KUR.RA₃mes) parē (ANŠE.Šū.MUL₃mes) 11,073 imērē (ANŠE₃mes) 5,230 gammalē (ANŞe.GAM.MAL₃mes) 80,050 alpē (GUD₃mes) 800,100 šēnī (UG₃UDU₃bl₃-a) ša-meš a-tu-ra a-na qē-reb kur aš-sur ki

61. e-zib niše (UKU₃mes) imērē (ANŠE₃mes) gammalē (ANŞe.GAM.MAL₃mes) alpē (GUD₃mes) ū šēnī (UG₃UDU₃bl₃-a) is-ummānēya (ERI.N₃bl₃-a-ya) e-bu-ku-nim-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šū-nu is-ki-lu si-kil-tu

62. ū be-ḫu-la-te na-ki-ri šip-su mit-ru₃¹ ša a-[na ni-r]-i-ya la ik-nu-su i-na kakkē (gīš.TUKUL₃mes) ū-šam-qit-ma a-lul ga-ši-šiš

Building Inscription—Epilogue

63. i-na u₄-mi₃-a-šu-ma Ninua (NINA₃ki) ma-ḫa-su₃ b gi-i-ru ṣul (URU) na-[ra]m d iš-tar ša na-paḫar ki-du-de-e ilāni ū c iš-tarāte (DINGIR₃mes ū dIŠ.TAR₃mes) ba-šu-u₄ qē-reb-šu

₃¹ Authorities are divided on the reading here. AHw, I, 130a reads be-ru, while CAD, 22, 208a intends to follow a reading mit-ru. For the reasoning for following the latter here cf. Commentary.

₃² The restorations in the following lines of this text are based on 2; 4a-d. In addition, 2:34-43 and 4a-d:61-70 are the same as 11. 63-72 of this text. Therefore, variants are given here and the full texts as published will be given below. In citing 4a-d the line number of 4a will be given for the identification of those texts, as they are published as one text.

Variants: 63₃⁴a-d:61, me; ₅⁴a-d:61, zi; ₆⁴a-d:61, u; ₇⁴a-d:61, u.
64. tem-me-en-nu da-ra-ú du-ru-uś $[a-a-t]$ i ša ul-tu ul-la it-ti ši-tir bu-ru-um$^a$me eš-rat-su eš-ret-ma šu-pu-ú ši-in-du-šu$^b$

65. áš-ru nak-lu$^a$ šu-bat pi-riš-ti šáb mim-[ma šú]m-šú$^c$ ši-pir ni-kil-tim$^d$
gi-mir pil-lu-de-e ni-šir-ti$^e$ lál-gar$^{33}$ šu-ta-bu-lu$^f$ qé-reb-šu

66. ša ul-tu ul-la šarrānu (LUгалmeš ni) a-l[i] kut maḥ-re abbeya (ADmeš-ya)$^a$ ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ut$^b$ kur-aš-šur-ki e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-e-ru$^c$ ba-tu-lat den-nil

67. ū šat-ti$^a$-šam la na-par-ka-a $[^34]$-reb la$^b$ nar-ba-a-ti bilat (GUN) mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-l'i im-da-na$^c$-ḫa-ru qé-reb-šu

68. a-a-um-ša i-na$^a$ lib$^b$-bi-šú-nu a-na ēkalli (E.GAL) qer-bi-šu kūm-mu ri-mit be-lu-tu$^e$ ša ṣu$^d$-ḫur$^e$ šu-bat-su le-e-su ul id$^f$-da-a lib-bu-uš ul ibē-su-us

69. a-na šu-te-šur sūq ālī (SILA.URU) ū šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḥa-re-e nāre (ID) za-qā-ap šip-pa-a-te$^a$ u$^h$-zu-un-$ś$ušib-si-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su

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$^{33}$As indicated by Heidel, *Sumer* 9 (1953), 182 (citing CT 18, 28:11: 8) LAL.GAR is equated with apsu. That it is used as a loan word and is to be read lál-gar is suggested by such a reading as la-al-ga-ar (Ebeling, *Handerhebung*, 110:6).

$^{34}$A partial dittography with the entire sign erased and almost illegible (Cf. Smith, *Senni*, p. 46, n. 1).

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Variants: 64. $^{a}$4a-d: 62, y; $^{b}$4d: 62, šu. 65. $^{a}$4c: 63, luμ; $^{b}$4a-d: 63, ša; 02: 36, 4a-d: 63, šu; $^{d}$2: 36, 4a-d: 63, ti; $^{e}$4a: 63, te; $^{f}$4a-c: 63, le. 66. $^{a}$4a-d: 64, 4d: 64, AD-ye; $^{b}$2: 37, tu; 4a-d: 64, ti; $^{c}$4a: 64, er; 4d: 64, er-ru. 67. $^{a}$4a, b, d: 65, tu; $^{b}$4a-d: 65, omits; $^{c}$2: 38, 4b: 65, insert ah. 68. $^{a}$4a-c, d: 66, ima; $^{b}$4a-d: 66, lib; 02: 39; 4a-d: 66, ti; 4c: 66, su; $^{e}$4a-d: 66, uḫ-ḫu-ru; $^{f}$2: 39, 1-da-a; 4c: 66, id-di-da-a; $^{g}$4c: 66, 1t-1h. 69. $^{a}$2: 40, 4a-d: 67, ti; $^{b}$4c: 67, uz-su-un-$ś$u; $^{c}$2: 40, su.
70. *ya-a-ti mdsin-ahhe-eriba (mdzuen.meš-eri-ba) šar kuraš-šur-ki e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i țe-em ilāni (dingirmes) i b-na uz-ni-ya ib-ši-ma ka-bi-t-ti ub-lam-ma

71. te-ne-set kurka[1]-di lu-a-ra-mu a kurman-na-a-a kurqu-e ub kurgi-lak-ku šác a-na ni-ri-ya d la kit-nu-šu e as-su-ša-am-ma tup-šik-kuš ú-sa-ši-bi šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu libitta (SIG)


73. ekkallu (e.gal) mah-ri-tjū ša 30 GAR šid-du u 10 GAR pūssa (sag.ki-sa) ša šarrānu (lugalmeš ni) a-li-kut pa-ni abbēya (admeš-ya) ú-še-pi-šu-ma la u-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša

74. ša ul-tu[u₄-me ru-q] u-ti a idte-bil-ti i-ta-sa-ša i-ba-ma i-na uš-ši-ša ab-bu ú-šab-šu-u ú-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-ša

75. ekkallu šēreta (e.gal.tur.ra) ša-a-tu a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša aq-qur-ma ša idte-bil-ti ma-lak-ša uš-ṭib-ma ú-še-šer mu-šu-ša

76. i-na [arḫi (itu)] še [me-e i-na] u₄-mi mit-ga-re qe-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-šu-ša 60uš šid-du 34 pūtu aban šadı (sag.ki.na₄.kur₁) dan-nu ak-si-ma eqla (aša) ul-tu ma-a-me ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-še-me

Variants: 70.a₄c:68, ya-a-a-ti; b₄a,d:68, a. 71.a₄a-d:69, me; b₄a-d:69, omit and add kur.pi-liš-tu (te by d) ū kur(omitted by a) sur-ri after hi-lak-ku; c₂:42, 4a-d:69, ša; d₄c:69, ni-ri, be-lu-ti-ya; 4a:69, ni-ir-ya; e₂:42, šu; 4a-d:69, ik-nu-šu; f₄a,d:59, ku; 4a-c:69, ša; h₄c:69, omits. 72.a₄c:70, i; b₄a:70, uru; c₂:70, omits; dₛ:70, omits; e₄b:70, te; f₄c:70, inserts ū. 74.a₃:47, umes₄.su.meš.
77. la-ba-riš i₄-me i-na mīl (A.DIR)₃₅ kiš-ša-ti te-me-en-šu la e-nē-ši
as-kup-pat na/pi-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-šū ú-ša-as-ḫi-ra
ú-dan₃₉ na šu-pu-uk-šu

78. 170 (120₃₈+ 50) ti-ip-ki še-ru-uš-šin a-na e-la-ni tam-la-a
ú-mal-li-ma e-li mi-ši-ḫḫ-ti ĕkalli (E.GAL) mah-re-te ú-rad-di-ma
ú-ša-an-di-la ti-šar-ša

79. ĕkal šin piri uši taskarinni musukkanni erenni šurmeni burāši
(E.GAL.ZÚ.AM.SI gišESI gišTUKUL giš-mu-suk-ka-ni gišERIN gišŠUR.MAN
gišSIM.LL) ū giš-su-ḫḫ-ni ĕkal šānina la ăšu (E.GAL.ZAG.DU.NU.TUK.A)₃₇
a-na mu-šab šarrūtiya (LUGALti-ya) ú-šē-pi-ša qē-reb-ša

80. gusûrē erenni (gišŠURmeš gišERIN) tar-bit kur ha-ma-nim ša ul-tu
ta-ra-an-ši-in

81. dalāt šurmeni (gišIQmeš gišŠURMAN) ši-ra-a-ti ša i-na pe-te-e ū
ta-a-ri e-re-sin ū-sa-bu me-sēr siparri (ZABAR) nam-ri
ú-šer₃₉-kis-ma ú-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šin

82. bit ap-pa-a-te tam-šil ĕkalli (E.GAL) kur ū-hat-ti ša i-na
li-ša-a-ni Amurri (kurMAR.TUKI) bit ū-ha-a-ni i-ša-as-su-šū
a-na mul-ta-šu-ū-ti be-lu-ti-ya ú-šē-pi-ša qē-reb-šin

₃₅Elsewhere read ILLU (2:52; 4a-e:80).
₃⁶Cf. 4a-d:80, ú-dan-ni-na; 2:52, ú-dan-nin.
₃⁷6a:VII:51, E.GAL ša-šu-ni-na la i-šu-ū; Cf. 21, No.2:40, E.GAL
ša ša-šu-ni-na la i-šu-ū.
₃₈The difficult reading is followed here. Cf. 6a:VI:29, etc.,
ú-rak-kis-ma.
83. 8 urmahhe (UR.MAH\textsuperscript{meš})\textsuperscript{39} pe-tan bir-ke šu-ta-tu\textsuperscript{40}ti ša i-na 11,400 bilat erē (GUN.URUDU) nam-ru pi-ti-iq d\textsuperscript{nin-ā-gal šu-pu-šu-ma lu-u nam-ri-ri

84. à 2 tim-me šu-ta-ḫu-ti ša 6,000 bilat (GUN) pi-ti-iq si-par-ri šu-ub-bu-‘i a-di 2 tim-me erenni rabūti (ERIN.GAL\textsuperscript{meš}) eli (UGU) piri-gal-le-e ú-ki-in-ma dap-pi ku-lul bābišin (KA-ši-in) e-mid

85. er-[\textsuperscript{41}bet immer (UDU) šad-de\textsuperscript{2} \textsuperscript{[\textsuperscript{[Lamašši (\textsuperscript{d}LAMA) ša] kaspi (KU.BABBAR)} si-par-ri it-ti immer (UDU) šad-de \textsuperscript{d}lamašši (\textsuperscript{d}LAMA) ša aban šadi (NA\textsuperscript{4} KUR\textsuperscript{1}) es-qī nak-liš ab-ni-ma a-na er-bet-ti ša-a-ri ú-ša-as-bi-ta šigārsin (SI.GAR-ši-in) as-mu

86. as-kup-[\textsuperscript{[pat na\textsuperscript{4,pl}]-li rab-ba-a-ti da-ād-me na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti qātēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) qē-reb-ši-in is-si-ḫa a-sur-ru-ši-in ú-šá-as-ḫi-ra a-na tab-ra-a-ti ú-šá-līk

87. kiri₆-maḥ-ḫu tam-šil kur-ḫa-ma-nim ša gi-mir riqqī (ŠIM\textsuperscript{hi.a meš}) inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-te išši (GIS\textsuperscript{meš}) TUK-lat\textsuperscript{42} ša-di-i ū kurkal-di qē-reb-šu ḫur-ru-šu i-da-a-šā az-qu-up

88. āš-šu za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-[\textsuperscript{[te]} eqel (A.SA) ta-mir-ti e-le-en īli (URU) 24\textsuperscript{3} P\textsuperscript{[ta-a-}am\textsuperscript{5} a-na mārē Ninua (DUMU\textsuperscript{meš},NINA\textsuperscript{ki}) pil-ki ú-pal-lik-ma ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šū-un

\textsuperscript{39}Cf. 6a:VI:92 and a parallel context in Borger, Esarr., 61:17, ur-maḥ-he

\textsuperscript{40}The text has qī. Note, however, Loc. cit., šu-ta-tu-u-ti.

\textsuperscript{41}Cf. MSL 8, 10:35, udu-kur-ra = im-me-ri šu-di-li; further references in AHw, I, 378b.

\textsuperscript{42}The meaning "produce" is reasonably certain. It has been suggested that this is a corruption of biblat šadē u mātītan (CAD 2, 221b).

\textsuperscript{43}Cf. 4a-d:86, 4.
89. a-na mid-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ti umri-Si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti
Ninua (NINAki) šadâ (KURa) u bi-ru-tu i-na ak-ku-lat-ti parzilli
(AN.BAR) ú-ṣat-tir-ma ú-še-šer idḥar-ru

90. [12/4 bōr(KASKAL.GID) qaq]-qa-ru ul-tu qe-reb isḫu-su-ur ma-a-me
ú-ṣah-bi-ba pat-ti-iš

91. ul-tu šip-ru ūkal (E.GAL) be-lu-ṭi-ya ú-qat-ṭu-u ú-ša-an-di-la
re-ba-a-ti be-re-e-ti su-qa-a-ni uš-par-du-ma ú-nam-mer kīma (GIM)
u₄-me

92. dāš-šur bēlu rabû (EN.GALi) ilāni û ištārētē (DINGIRmeš û diš.
TARmeš) a-ši-bu-ti kurāš-surki i-na qer-bi-ša aq-re-ma niqe (UDU.
SIZKURmeš) taš-ri-il-ti aq-qi-ma a-ṣat-lim kat-r[a]-a-a

93. [a-na] ar-kat a u₄-me b iₕ-na šarrāni mārēya (LUGALmeš ni.DUMUmeš-ya)
ša dāš-šur a-na re-[e ūm-ut māti (KUR)] 7 niše (UKUMeš) i-nam-bu-û
zi-kir-šū e-nu-ma ǒkallu (E.GAL) šā-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma e[ʃ]-na-[ḫu

94. an-hu-sa lu-ud-diš mu-šar-e₇ ši-ṭir šu-meb-ya li-mur-ma šamma (i.GIS)
li-p šu-uḫ niqe (UDU.SIZKUR) liq-ši a-na aš-ri-šu li-tir dāš-šur
ik-ri-bi-šu i-[ʃ]m-me

Colophon

9₄₄ ta-a-em₅ MU.ŠID.MU.SAR²

₄₄Ki. 1902-5-10, ₁ reads ₂. The reading followed here is based on
all the parallels.

Variants: 9₃.a₂:62, EGIS; b₂:62, U₄meš; c₂:62, a. 9₄.a₄a:9₄, a; b₄a-d:
9₄, ₄i.
TRANSLATION

Prologue

1. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria, the unrivalled king, the ever prayerful shepherd, the venerator of the great gods,

2. the guardian of truth, the lover of justice, the helpful one, the one who aids the weak, the doer of good deeds,

3. the altogether perfect man, the martial man, foremost of all kings, the weapon which envelopes the unsubmissive, the one who brings down lightning upon the enemy.

4. Assur, the great mountain, unrivalled kingship has entrusted to me and has made my weapons greater than (the weapons) of any ruler.

Campaign One

5. At the beginning of my reign at which time I sat upon the royal throne in an illustrious manner and (at which time) I directed the people of Assyria with concern and conciliation.

6. Merodach-Baladan, the King of Babylonia--the terrible one, the rebel, the liar, the evil doer, the one to whom the truth is taboo--

7. Sutur-Nahunti became his ally and he gave him gold, silver (and) precious stones by means of which he enlisted his military aid.

8. Imbappa, the tartan of Elam... Tannanu, the deputy (?) 10 military chiefs along with Nergal-Nasir the Sutean who was fearless in battle,
9. 80,000 bowmen... cavalry which were with them he sent to Sumer and Akkad to him as his aid;

10. And that Merodach-baladan... Ur, Eridu, Kullab, Kissik, Nemed-Laguda,

11. Bit-Yakin, Bit-Amukkani, Bit-Salli, Bit-Dakkuri, all of the Chaldeans, as many as there were,

12. The ones on the shore of the Persian Gulf; the Tu'muna, the Riḥiḥu, the Ubudu, the Yadaqu, the Kipre, the Maliḥu,

13. The ones on the shore of the Tigris; the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulu, the Ḫindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puqdu,

14. The ones on the shore of the Kerğa; the Ḫamranu, the Ḫagaranu, the Nabitu, the Li'tau, the unsubmissive Arameans who took no notice of death (?),

15. Nippur... Borsippa, Kutha, all of Babylonia he assembled together and prepared for battle.

16. When his evil activities were reported to me—Sennacherib, the pious one—I was enraged like a lion and I ordered a march against him into Babylon.

17. That one, the tool (?) of an evil demon, when he heard of my campaign, the Elamite, Aramean (and) Chaldean horses and bowmen with Nergal-Nasir and the 10 military chiefs of Elam who took no notice of death (?),

18. (and) the innumerable force which was with them, their deployment he increased and brought together into Kutha and put on continuous lookout for the movement of my expeditionary force.
19. I prepared my teams; when, on the 20th of Sabatu, I set out before
my troops like a wild ox, I did not concern myself with my main force,
I did not wait for the rear guard.

20. The Rabšaqe (and) my governors I ordered to Kiš ahead of me: "March
against Merodach-Baladan; do not be negligent; intensify your
watch."

21. That one, when he saw my governors, he came out of the Zababa Gate
with his entire force and did battle with my nobles in the plain of
Kiš.

22. As for my nobles, at the onset of the battle the enemy was stronger
than they and they were unable to take him; they sent a messenger
for help to me (while I was) in the plain of Kutha.

23. In anger I stormed Kutha and the troops (who) guarded its wall I
slaughtered like sheep and I captured the city.

24. The Elamite, Aramean (and) Chaldean horses and bowmen, the Elamite
chiefs and Nergal-Našir along with the citizens, the malefactors,
I brought out and counted as booty.

25. I raged like a lion and I became violent like the flood storm.
With my merciless troops I set out to Kiš against Merodach-Baladan;

26. And that one, the evil doer, when he saw the approach of my force
from a distance, fear fell upon him; he abandoned his troops and
fled to Guzummanu.

27. Tannanu, along with the troops of the Elamites, Chaldeans, and
Arameans who were his allies and had come to his aid I defeated,
and thus I scattered his forces.

28. Adinu, the son of the wife of Merodach-Baladan together with Baqqanu the brother of Yati'e, the queen of the Arabs, I captured alive with their troops.

29. The chariots, the mule drawn wagons, the horses, the mules, dromedaries, (and) Bactrian camels which were abandoned in the midst of the battle I seized.

30. With joy and gladness I hastened to Babylon and to the palace of Merodach-Baladan; in order to assess the property and possessions I entered it.

31. When I opened his treasure house gold, silver, precious stones, beds, arm chairs, sedan chairs, his royal furniture whose mountings were of gold and silver,

32. Everything, property (and) possessions without number, a great treasure, his wife, his harem, the . . . , the ṭut-rēš, the chamberlains, a courtier, male singers, female singers,

33. The palace slaves—the ones who brightened his princely reason—all of the artisans as many as there were, his palace servants, I brought out and counted as booty.

34. I hastened and when I dispatched my warriors to Guzummanu after him into the marshland and reeds, and although they hunted him for five days, he was not to be found.

35. The remainder of the horses and his army which had no respite (and) fled from him like a hind and did not stay at his side, I gathered together from the fields and plains.
36. In the course of my campaign Amatu, Ḥauyae, Subabu, Nuqabu, Bit-
Sannabi, Qudayyin,

37. Kidrina, Dur-Ladini, Bitati, Banitu, Guzummanu, Dur-Yaṣuri, Dur-
Abiyata', Dur-Rudumme,

38. Bit-Raḡe, Ḥabisa, Sadi-Ilim, Ḥurudu, Saḥrina, Iltuk, Allallu, Marad,
Yaqimuna,

39. Kubruna, Bit-Kudurri, Suqa-Marusi—a total of 33 fortified, walled
cities of Bit-Dakkuri besides the 250 small cities in their environs;

40. Dur-Appa, Dur-Tane, Dur-Sama', Sarrabatu, Saliḥatu, Dur-Abdaya,
Sappihimari, Sibtuse, Makkame—

41. A total of 8 fortified, walled cities of Bit-Sa'alli besides the
120 small cities in their environs;

42. Sapiya, Sarrabatu, Larak, BAR.MAR.RI, Bit-Ilubani, Ḥhudu, Sa-issur-
Adad, Saḥarratu, Manahhu,

43. Sa-amel, Dur-Akkia, Nagitu, Nur-abinu, Ḥarṣarra, Dur-Rukbi,
Dandāqulla, Dur-Birdada,

44. Bit-Re'e, Dur-Ugurri, Hindaina, Dur-Uayyit, Bit-Taura, Saphuna,
Buḥarru,

45. Ḥarbe-Idina, Ḥarbe-Kalbi, Sabarre, Bit-Bani-iluya, Suladu, Bit-
Iltamasama'i; Bit-Dini-Ilu,

46. Saqala, Ḥameza, Belaya, Ta'iru, Kipranu, iltaratu, Aqqar-sakina,
Sagabatu-ša-Mardukya—

47. A total of 39 fortified cities of Bit-Amukkani besides the 350
small cities in their environs;

48. Bit-Zahidiya, Larsa, Kullab, Eridu, Kissik, Nemed-Laguda,
Dur-Yakin besides Kar-Nabu on the Persian Gulf--

49. A total of 8 fortified, walled cities of Bit-Yakin besides the 100 small cities in their environs;

50. A total of 88 fortified, walled cities of Chaldea besides the 820 small cities in their environs I besieged, defeated and plundered.

51. The barley, the dates in their orchards, (and) their crop standing in the field I fed to my army; (the cities) I destroyed, devasted, burned with fire, and turned into forgotten mounds of ruin.

52. The Urbi (?), Arameans, (and) Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kiš (and) Hursagkalamma, besides the citizens, the malefactors, I brought out and counted as booty.

53. The barley, the dates in their orchards, the planting of their gardens, (and) the crop standing in the fields and mountain plains I fed to my army.

54. Bel-ibni, the son of the chief builder, a scion of Šuanna who like a little puppy had grown up in my palace, I placed in the kingship of Sumer and Akkad over them.

55. On my return, the Tu'muna, the Ribhišu, the Yadaqqu, the Ubudu, the Kipre, the Maliḫu, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulum, the Hindaru,

56. The Ru'u'a, the Puqudu, the Ḥamranu, the Ḥagaranu, the Nabatu, the Li'tau--the unsubmissive Arameans--one like the other I defeated and plundered.

57. In the course of my campaign, I received the heavy tribute of Nabu-bel-Šumate, the governor of Ḥararišu--gold, silver, great
musukkani trees, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

58. I felled the men of Hirimme with the sword, the evil enemy who from of old had not submitted to my royal ancestors; I did not spare a soul.

59. That territory I reorganized (politically); 1 ox, 10 sheep, 10 homers of wine, 20 homers of dates of the choicest kind (as a regular offering) to the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established in perpetuity.

60. With 208,000, a great spoil of people, 7,200 horses (and) mules, 11,073 asses, 5,230 camels, 80,050 oxen, (and) 800,100 sheep and goats I returned to Assyria in good order.

61. This was apart from the people, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats... my troops brought away and sequestered for themselves;

62. And the soldiers of the mighty (and) powerful enemy who did not submit to my yoke I felled with weapons and hung on stakes.

Building Inscription—Epilogue

63. At that time, Nineveh, the magnificent cult center, the city beloved of Ištar, wherein all the rites of the gods and goddesses take place,

64. An everlasting foundation, and enduring base whose plan was outlined from days of old with (that) of the constellations and its arrangement was made manifest,

65. The artistic place, the abode of the mysterious into which has been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, all the religious rules,
(and) the secrets of the deep,

66. Wherein from days of old the former kings, my ancestors ruled Assyria before me, and directed the people of Enlil,

67. And yearly, without ceasing, an unending income, the tribute of the kings of the four world regions, they regularly received,

68. (Yet) no one among them in his heart gave careful thought to or deliberated on the palace within it—the inner room, the lordly abode whose dwelling place was small—

69. (And) he did not pay attention to and he did not determine to straighten the city street(s) and to widen the square, to dig a river channel, (and) to plant orchards,

70. But I, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, when I gave attention and determined to do that work according to the will of the gods,

71. The people of Chaldea, of the Arameans, of Mannai, Que and of Hilakku who did not submit themselves to my yoke I deported (to Nineveh) so that I might cause them carry baskets and so that they might make brick.

72. The reeds of the reed thickets which were in Chaldea I cut down and their luxuriant boughs I had dragged to (Nineveh) by the men of my conquered enemy for the execution of its work.

73. The former palace which was 30 GAR long (on the side) and 10 GAR wide, which the former kings, my ancestors, when they built (it) they did not make it an artistic work,

74. Beside which the Tebiliti River had flowed from days long past and
had caused a washout at its base, shaking its foundation.

75. That entire small palace I tore down; I improved the course and controlled the flow of the Tebilti River.

76. In a propitious month and on a favorable day under the cover of the miry bed (of the diverted river) I joined together great mountain stone (in a space) 60 (GAR) long and 34 (GAR) wide and thus I raised a field from the water and turned it into dry land.

77. I surrounded its foundation wall with large limestone slabs, reinforcing its earthwork, so that in the future the crest of the inundation would not weaken its foundation.

78. I made a terrace upon them 170 brick courses high and I added to the size of the former palace and widened its base.

79. A palace of ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkannu wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and terebinth, "The Palace without a Rival", I had built within it for my royal dwelling place.

80. With beams of cedar, the product of Mt. Amanus, which with difficulty they dragged from the distant mountains, I roofed it.

81. Magnificent doors of cypress which smelled sweet as they moved back and forth I mounted in bright copper and hung in their doorways.

82. A portico (?) like a Hatti (i.e., western) palace, which they call a "bit hilāni" in the Amorite tongue, I built within them for my lordly pleasure.

83. 8 striding lions, in pairs opposite each other, which were made of 11,400 talents of bright copper and they were of shimmering
And 2 columns opposite each other which were... copper work of 6,000 talents, along with 2 great columns of cedar, I placed upon the colossi and... I placed as the lintel of its doors.

4 mountain sheep of silver and bronze as protecting genii with mountain sheep of massive mountain stone as protecting genii I fashioned in an artful manner and placed on four corners of their beautiful door mounting.

Huge slabs of limestone my conquered enemy dragged within them; I had them placed around their lower walls; I made them a wonder to behold.

A park like Mt. Amanus in which are planted all kinds of aromatics, orchard fruit, and trees, produce of the mountains and Chaldea, I planted beside it.

In order to (facilitate) the planting of the orchards, I apportioned irrigated fields above the city of 2 PI to the citizens of Nineveh and entrusted (them) to them.

In order to make the orchards productive, from the border of Kisri as far as the plain of Nineveh I cut through mountain and... with iron tools for breaking clods (?) and prepared a water course.

For a distance of 3 double hours I caused to flow there from the Khošr eternal waters into those orchards and caused them (the waters) to murmur like an irrigation ditch.

When I completed the work on my lordly palace I widened the squares, I brightened the alleys and streets and made (them) as bright
as day.

92. Aššur, the great lord, and the gods and goddesses, the ones that dwell in Aššur, I invited into it and I offered weighty sacrifices and I gave my gifts (of welcome).

93. In the future among my royal heirs, whom Aššur shall name for the rule of the land and the people, when that palace shall have become old and dilapidated,

94. May he restore it; may he read the inscription with my name and may he anoint (it) with oil; may he offer sacrifices; may he return (it) to its place. (Then) Aššur will hear his prayers.

Colophon

The inscription is 94 complete lines.
1. **Sin-ahhe-eriba**

   (1) On this type of name see Stamm, *Namengebung*, pp. 279ff.

   *(Ersatznamen)*

   (2) The writing of the name here is, with one exception, uniform in the annals (cf. 4d:68, *PAP* instead of *SES*). It varies elsewhere.¹

   **şarru dannu**

   The translation of this epithet adopted here is followed by most of the translators of the Assyrian annals.² An exception is to be found in Oppenheim's translation of selections from the annals in *ANET*.³ There he suggests the translation "legitimate king" which he bases on the meaning of *kala*(g) "to deliver regularly," and on the meanings of the phrases *našparu dannu* "real executor of wills . . ." and *sukkallu dannu* "regular sukkallu official . . ."⁴ In addition, Van Dijk, in a recent article, has suggested a meaning "legitimate heir" for *išila-kalag-a*.⁵

   The current dictionaries are also divided on this matter. On the one hand, *AHw* consistently gives the meaning "mighty king."⁶ *CAD*, on

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³ *ANET*, pp. 274ff.
⁴ Ibid., 274b, n. 1; for the translation of *našparu dannu*, Ibid., p. 309b.
⁵ JCS 19 (1965), 11.
⁶ *AHw*, I, 161a.
the other hand, has equivocated on this matter. In vol. 16, 94b, under the meaning "2. Legitimate, binding, reliable, regular" there are a number of passages with the standard epithet šarru dannu translated "legitimate king." On p. 95b, however, one finds under the meaning "3. Strong, powerful, mighty, great" another group of passages (all but one untranslated) which includes among them passages where the standard epithet appears. Thus one must question what the difference in meaning is between šarru dannu in Syria 32 (1935), 12:27 and LIH 57:2, and AKA 157:1ff. et. al. The first two appear under meaning 3 and the last under meaning 2.

A problematic case, however, is reflected in the separation of aplum dannum (under meaning 2) from šarrum dannum (under meaning 3) in the series of epithets from CH IV:67-V:3. Aplum dannum, it must be admitted, probably implies something other than "mighty heir." While the epithet aplum dannum is a rare epithet altogether, the appearance of aplum in contexts with liblippu seems to indicate that some kind of lineal continuity is being stressed. Nevertheless, such a meaning for applum dannum does not in any way suggest a related meaning for šarrum dannum, a problem understood by CAD for the CH passage, but completely confused for the other passages with šarrum dannum alone.

When it comes to the meaning of šarru dannu in Sennacherib's texts,

7 Loc. cit.
8 Only one is cited by CAD, two by AHw.
9 Cf. Borger, Esarh. 74:28-29 (liblippu alone); 35, 23:4-5 (aplu and liblippu in the same context). Both these cases are parallel to the CH context because they give the near and distant ancestors of the king.
there is a matter involved which completely discounts a meaning "legitimate king" for šarru dannu. An examination of Sennacherib's texts indicate that he held his ancestors up to derision a number of times. When he describes his military exploits he does not hesitate to mention that the land he has defeated was never heard of by his ancestors nor were the defeated people submissive to them.10 In the building inscriptions connected with the ȧkal ša šānina la lā ṣu he does not fail to mention that the palaces which his forbears had built on the site were not works of art.11 In one case he simply states that they did not know what they were doing.12 All this may be boasting without malice. However, when one notes Sennacherib's contempt for his father as exhibited in a text where he condemns his "sin," and when one takes cognizance of the fact that no genealogy of any kind ever occurs in his texts one cannot help but come to the conclusion that Sennacherib was not concerned about royal legitimacy.13 Therefore, a meaning "legitimate king" for šarru dannu in Sennacherib would be fortuitous.14

3. rappu la'īt la māgiri

The exact meaning of rappu is still uncertain.15 However, the verb here

10. For unheard of lands see 2:33; 6a:II:51ff.; cf. 6a:IV:41ff. which mentions lands never visited before. For the unsubmissive see 1:58; 2:20; 6a:1:80.
12. 6a:VII:76-88.
13. For the text about Sargon's "sin" see Eretz-Israel 5 (1958), 150-62.
15. Of. Hallo, Royal Titles, p. 127. He suggests that the title (lugal-kalag-s) is more closely aligned with religious ideas rather than with political and military ideas.
is lātu "to cover, envelope," not lašētu "to swallow." In the G the former is written i-lu-ut while the latter is written i-lu-ju-ut.16

5. reš šarrūtiya


(2) The formula reš šarrūtiya appears only here and in 2:15 in Sennacherib's texts. The change to mahārī gerriya in the records after the third campaign brings it into conformity with the formula in the rest of the annals.17

6. ūa anzillasu kittu

The reading kit-tu is suggested by AHw, I, 56a where the entire phrase is compared to Bauer, Asb., 36:13: ūa anzillasu lā kittu "The one who abhors wrong." The translation of anzilla here as "taboo" is suggested by its synonymy with ikkibu.18

8. lu MIN15

The exact reading and meaning of this phrase is uncertain. However, the suggestion of Luckenbill that it should be changed to read luMIN.KAB or the like is not likely. On the basis of the text it should be read either ūa rakbu on analogy with the tašlītu19 or it should be

16 Cf. AHw, I, 540b and 521a. On the basis of comparative lexicography both roots probably should be read with š (e.g. Heb. šēlū "to entangle:" 195 "to swallow").

17 Cf. above, pp. 14ff.

18 LTBA 2, 1: XII: 100. For ikkibu in Sennacherib see 6a:III:56.

19 Cf. Borger, Esarh. 103:III:8 šarru ūa anzillī lā kittu habālu šagāšu ik kibšu.

Cf. ZDMG 90 (1936), 190f.; ABL 85:11.
read \( \text{MIN}^{u} \) on analogy with the various writings of \( \text{šanî} \) "deputy". 20

The latter has been followed here, but with reservations.

9. \textit{ittišunütîma}

For the use of \textit{ma} in a nominal sentence see GAG 126i. The formation used here is not very common.

10. \textit{ul uqi}

Cf. Borger, 

\textit{Esarh.}, 43f. I:63 in \( \text{š} \text{me} 2 \text{š} \text{me} u \text{qi} \) pān ummāneva

\textit{ul adgul arke ul ʾūmur} and n. to I:64.

20. \( \text{ē} \text{š} \text{tagā duninnina maggartuk} \)

The reading of the phrase \( \text{ē} \text{š} \text{tagā} \) has been proposed by both CAD and AHw. 21 In regard to \textit{maggartu}, it is to be observed that it takes the genitive suffix and not the accusative: \( \text{ana maggartikunu laš} \text{š} \text{tagā} \). 22 Nevertheless, the reading proposed here is difficult. The text should probably be corrected to read \textit{ma-gar-ta-kun}.

62. \textit{mitru}

The reading followed here is based on a number of factors. The term \( \text{sipsu} \) always occurs with the term under consideration in its occurrences in Sennacherib's texts. 23 In BWL 72:IV:43 the form \( š\text{apsu} \) occurs with the explanatory commentary \textit{dannu}. The synonym lists include among the synonyms of \textit{dannu} the form \textit{mi-it-rum}. 24 Because of the latter it is correct to assume that the sign -\( \text{dis} \) is to be read mit, giving the

20 Cf. \( \text{lu}\text{MIN}^{u} \) in ADD 160:9; \( \text{lu}\text{MIN}^{u} \) Ibid. 115:4.

21 CAD 3, 85a; AHW I, 191a.

22 ABL 287:9; cf. 519:26.


24 LTBA 2, 1:V:12ff.
form mitru.

76. gerek katimi asurrakkiša

On the translation of this phrase cf. AHw, I, 77a.

80. ipšallūni

For subjunctive forms with the final radical reduplicated see GAG 82d.

82-85.

For these lines and a discussion of the bit hilāni see ZA 45 (1939), 108-68.

asmu

The translation of Luckenbill, "I adorned," would call for a D form of (w)asmu or the more likely idiom asmeš šuluku (cf. 6a:VII: 49).
II. CAMPAIGNS ONE AND TWO
II. CAMPAIGNS ONE AND TWO

2. K 1680 "Bellino Cylinder"

Layard, pls. 63-64.
Smith-Sayce, Hist., pp. 1f.; 24f.; 43f.; 140f.
OIP II (B1), 55-60; 94-95 (ll. 33-43 as variants to 1:63-73);
99-161 (ll. 44-61).

3. TM 1931-2, 8

Iraq 7 (1940), 94, no. 6.

K 1680 is the primary text while TM 1931-2, 8 is a fragment which agrees basically with ll. 10-40 of the former. The value of the latter is the variant ū-Še-mi for ū-Še-lum in l. 23 of the former. The primary text contains a somewhat briefer record of the first campaign (still introduced by ina rēš šarrūtiya) and begins with the same prologue. The colophon now adds the eponym to the line count given by the scribe.

OUTLINE

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1 Cf. n. 4 below.
Campaign Two 20-33
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TRANSLITERATION

Colophon

63 ta-a-am5 Mušt•aš•Mu.SAR•ITU se-bë-ti lim-mu mdNabû-lê•ù
lu•ša•kîn uruer•ba•il

Prologue

1. mdSin-ahh•erib•a (mdZUEN•ŠE•meš•erib•a) šarru rabû (LUGAL•GAL) šarru (LUGAL) dan-nu šar kur•aš•šur•ki šarru (LUGAL) la šá-na-an re•ê•um mut-nin-nu•ù pa-lih ilâni rabûti (DINGIR•meš•GAL•meš)

2. na•šir kit•ti ra•a•im mi•šá•ri e•piš ú•sa•a•ti a•lik tap•pu•ut a•ki•i sa•hi•ru dam•qa•a•ti

3. e•êt•lu git•ma•lum zi•ka•ru qar•du a•šá•red kal ma•al•ki rap•pu la•a•i•t la ma•gi•ri mu•šab•ri•qu za•ma•a•ni

4. daš•šur šadû rabû (KUR•GAL•û) šarrût (LUGAL•ut) la šá-na-an ú•sat•li•ma•an•ni•ma e•li (UGU) gi•mir a•šib pa•rak•ki ú•šar•ba•a kakko•ya (gišTUKUL•meš•ya)

Campaign One

5. i•na reš šarrûtiya (SAG•LUGAL•ti•ya) ša mdMarduk•apla•iddina
(mdAMAR•UD•IBILA•SUM•ma) šar kurkâr•dun•ya•aš a•di umma•ne Elamti (ERIN•Bi•a•NIM•MA•KI) i•na ta•mir•ti Kiš (KIŠ•KI) aš•ta•kan dabdâšu
(ȘI.ȘI-ȘU)


7. narkabate (glișGIGIRmeș) glișu-um-be sîse (ANȘE.KUR.RAMEș) parê (ANȘE.SU.MULmeș) imere (ANȘEmeș) gammalî (ANȘE.GAM.MALmeș) șu anșiqrî șa i-na qit-ru-ub ta-șa-zi șu-și-ru ik-șu-da qâtaya (ȘU.MIN-a-a)

8. a-na șkallișu (E.GAL-șu) șa qe-reb Bâb-ilim (KĂ.DINGIR,RAM) șa-diș e-ru-um-man ap-tema bit nișir-ti-șu șurușa (GUȘKIN) kaspa (KĂ.BABBAR) ú-nu-ut șurâzu (GUȘKIN) kaspi (KĂ) abnu (NA) a-qar-tu mim-ma șum-șu bușă (NĪG.ȘU) makku șa nișir-tu ka-bit-tu


10. aș-bat-ma arkișu (EGIR-șu) a-na kurgu-zu-um-ṣani lûmun-dah-ṣi-ya a-na qe-reb iđa-gâm-me șu ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-ṣer-ma 5 u4-me i-ba-ru-nim-șa ul in-na-mer a-șar-șu

11. i-na e-muq daș-sur șeleya (EN-ya) 39 alâni (URUmeș) ni dan-nu-ti bit durâni (E.BADmeș) ni șa kural-dî u 820 alâni șeḫrûti (URUmeș. TURmeș) șa likme-ti>șu-nu al-me ak-șuđuș ăș-lu-la šal-la-su-un

12. lûr-bî lû-ra-mu șu lûk-al-du șa qe-reb Uruk (UNUG) Nippur (EN.LILki) Kiṣ (KIȘki) șursagkalamma (HUR.SAG.KALAM.MA) Kutâ
(GÚ.DUG<AR>2ki) a-di márē ali (DUMUmeš,URU) bel (EN) bi-itt-ti  
ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

13. mbēl-ibni (MEN.DU) mar₅ rāb bēnî (lu₄GAL.DU) pi-ir-šu(!)2-u'  
ŠU.AN.NAKI ša kīma (GIM) mi-ra-âni ša-aḫ-re qē-reb ṣakkiliya  
(E.GAL-ya) ēr-bu-ú a-na šarrūt Sumerî ū Akkâdi (LUGAL<kur EM.E.KU  
ũ URI<ki) āš-ta-kan elîsun (UGU-šu-un)

14. i-na ta-ar-ti-ya luṭu-u' mu-na luṭi-hi-ḥu luṭya-daṣ-qu luṭ-ubu-du  
lukip-re-e luṭma-li-ḥu luṭ-ur-mu luṭ-ubum luṭ-da-mu-nu

15. lu₄gama₄-ulu luṭi-in-da-ru luṭu-u' u-a luṭpu-qu-du luṭha-am-ra-a-nu  
luṭya-ga-ra-nu luṭna-ba-tu luṭi-I-ta-a-ū luṭa-ra-mu la kan-šū  
mit-ḥarīš aššudûd

16. 208,000 nišē (UKUmeš) zik-ru sinnis (M1) 7,200 sîsê (ANŠE.KUR.RAMEš)  
parē (ANŠE,ŠU.MULmeš) 11,073 imērē (ANŠEmeš) 5,230 gammalē (ANŠEGAM.  
MALmeš) 80,100 alpē (GUMmeš) 300,500 ĝēni (Ug.UDU.bi.a)  
šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu aš-lu-la a-na qē-reb kurâš-šurki

17. i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ya ša mdNabu-bēl-šumāte (mdNĀ.EN.MUmeš)  
luṭé-pi luṭha-ra-ti ħurâša (GUŞKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) gišmu-suku-  
ka-ni rabûti (GALmeš) imērē (ANŠEmeš) gammalē (ANŠEGAM,MALmeš)  
alpē (GUMmeš) ū ĝēni (Ug.UDU.bi.a) ta-mar-ti-šū ka-bit-tu am-ĝur

18. ba-ḫu-la-ti urųgi-ri-m-me nākiri (lu₄KUR) ak-ṣi ša uł-tu uł-la  
a-na ni-ri-ya la kit-nu-ṣu i-na kakke (gišTUKUL) ū-ḥam-qit-ma  
nas-piš-tu uł e-zīb

2Haplography between the A of Kutu and the a of adî.  
3Thus the copy of Layard. It can only be explained as an error  
on the part of the scribe. Cf. 1:54.
19. na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat 1 (DIS\textsuperscript{en}) alpa (GUD) 10
immerē (UDU\textsuperscript{meš}) 10 imēr karāna (ANŠE.GEŠTIN\textsuperscript{meš}) 20 imēr suluppā
(ANŠE.ZU.LUM.MA) reše-te-šú a-na ilāni (DINGIR\textsuperscript{meš ni}) kurāš-šur\textsuperscript{ki}
bēlēya (EN\textsuperscript{meš-ya}) ú-kin dà-ri-šam

\textbf{Campaign Two}

20. i-na šanē (MIN\textsuperscript{e}) ger-ri-ya daš-šur be-li ú-tek-ki-lan-ni-ma a-na
mat lušaš-ši-i ū kūrya-su-bi-gal-la-a a nākiri (lûKUR) ak-ši
ša ul-tu ul-la a-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGAL\textsuperscript{meš ni} AD\textsuperscript{meš-ya}) la
kit-nu-šu lu al-lik

21. qēreb ḫur-sā-a-ni zaq-ru-te eqel (AŠÀ) nam-ra-ši i-na sīše
(ANŠE.KUR.RA) ar-kab-ma narkabat šēpēya (GĪŠGIGIR.GĪR.MIN-ya)
i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-ša-ša-ši áš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na šēpēya
(GĪR.MIN-ya) ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš

22. urubit-mki-lam-za-ah āl (URU) dan-nu-ti-šu-nu al-me ak-šuqūd
niše šeher rabi (UKU\textsuperscript{meš} TUR GAL) sīše (ANŠE.KUR.RA\textsuperscript{meš}) pare
(ANŠE.SU.MUL\textsuperscript{meš}) imērē (ANŠE\textsuperscript{meš}) alpē (GUD\textsuperscript{meš}) ū šēni (UG.UDU\textsuperscript{bi-a})
ul-tu qer-bi-šu ū-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

23. alānišumu šehrūti (URU\textsuperscript{meš-šu-nu.TURmeš}) ūša ni-ba la i-šu-ú ab-bul
aq-qur i-na gerri (GĪŠ.BAR) aq-mu-ma ti-tal-liš ū-še-mē\footnote{Correction already suggested by Luckenbill. Now cf. 3:23 which reads ū-še-mi; also, 12:1:77, etc.}

24. ú-tir-ma urubit-mki-lam-za-aš šu-a-tu a-na bir-t-ti aš-bat eli
(UGU) ūša u₄-me pa-ni ū-dan-nin a-muḫ-ḫus niše màtāti (UKU\textsuperscript{meš}.KUR.KUR)
ki-šit-ti qāteya (ŠU.MIN-ya) ina līb-ti ú-šē-šib

25. nišē (UKUmeš) mat lušaš-si-i u kur ya-su-bi-ga-la-a-a ša la-pa-an kakkēya (gišTUKULmeš-ya) ip-par-ši-du ul-tu qe-reb šadī (KURi)
ú-šē-ri-dam-ma i-na uruḫar-diš-pi uruḫbit-Mku-bat-ti ú-šar-me

26. i-na qāte (ŠU.MIN) lūšu-ut rešiya (SAG-ya) bēl pāhiti (lūEN.NAM)


28. gim-ri mātišu (KUR-šu) rapašti (DAGALti) ki-ma imbari (IM.DUGUD)
as-ḫu-up uru-mar-ú-biš-ti uruak-ku-ud-du alāni bit šarrūtušu (URUmeš E.LUGALti-šu) a-di 34 alāni (URUmeš) dan-nu-ti ā alāni šeḫrūti (URUmeš.TURmeš) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú

29. ab-bu-ul aq-qur i-na gerrî (dGIS.BAR) aq-mu-ma kirētišunu
(KIRIš-šu-nu) ak-šiṭ eli (UGU) ugārešum (A.GARmeš-šu-un)
ḫab-su-ti ša-ḫur-ra-tum at-bu-uk kurel-li-pi a-na paṭ gimi-ri-ša
ar-bu-ta ú-šā-lik

30. nišē šeḫer rabi zikir u simmēš (UKUmeš TUR GAL NITAH u MĪ) sīše
(ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) parē (ANŠE.ŠU.MULmeš) imērē (ANŠEmeš) alpē (GUDmeš)
ù šēni (UG.UDUuši-a) la mi-nam aš-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-ši-e

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5This reading is verified in other versions (6a:II:19; 12:II:5). There is some confusion in Layard’s copy at this point.
ú-sá-lik-šú-nu-ti


33. i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ya ša kūr-ma-da-a-a ru-qu-ti ša i-na šarrānī abbēya (LUGALmeš ni. ADmeš, ya) me-am-man la iš-mu-u zi-kir mātatišun (KURmeššú-un) man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ya ú-šak-ni-su-nu-ti

Building Inscription—Epilogue

34. i-na u₄-mi-šu-ma Ninua (NINAKl) ma-ḫa-zu ši-i-ru ālu (URU) na-rām dīš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e ilāni ū ištarāte (DINGIRmeš u dIS.TARmeš) ba-šu-ú qē-reb-šu


36. šā-ru nak-lu šu-bat pi-riš-ti ša mī-ma šum-šu ši-pir ni-kil-ti gi-mir pil-lu-de-e ni-ši-r-ti lāl-gar šu-ta-bu-lu qē-reb-šu

37. ša ul-tu ul-la šarrānu (LUGALmeš ni) a-li-kut mā-ḫ-re abbēya

6Cf. 9, Slab I:15; 12:II:21.
7As indicated above, p. 32, n. 32, 11. 34-43 are the same as 1:63-72 and 4a-d:61-70. For the variants see 1:63-72.
(ADmeš-ya) ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ut kurāš-šur e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-’e-ru
ba-’u-lat 1enn-lī
den-lī

38. ū šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb la nar-ba-a-ti bilat (GUN)
mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-’i <im>Sda-na-ah-ša-ru qē-reb-šu

39. a-a-um-ma i-na lib-bi-šú-nu a-na ūkallī (E.GAL) qer-bi-šu kūm-mu
ri-mi t be-lu-ti ša šu-ḫur šu-bat-su le-e-su ul i-da-a lib-šu-ulГ
ul ib-su-us

40. a-na šu-te-šur sūq āli (SILA.URU) ū šumu-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e
nāre (ID) za-qa-ap șip-pa-a-ti ú-su-un-šu ul ib-si-ma ul uš-ta-bil
ka-ras-su

41. ya-a-ti mdSin-ahhe-eřiba (mīZUEN.ŠEgmeš-eriba) šār kurāš-šurki
e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i ṭē-em ilānī (DINGIRmeš) i-na uz-ni-ya
ib-ši-ma ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma

42. te-ne-šet kurkal-di lu’a-ra-mu kurman-na-a-a kurqu-e ū kurḫi-lak-ku
šā a-na ni-ri-ya la kit-nu-šu as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ki
ú-šā-aš-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu libitta (SIG4)

43. a-pe ku-pe-e ša qē-reb kurkal-di ak-šiṭ-ma ap-pa-re-šú-un šām-ḫu-ti
i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šiṭ-ti qāṭēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) ú-šal-di-da
a-na e-peš šip-ri-šā

44. ūkallī (E.GAL) maḫ-ri-tu ša 360 ina 1 ammati (KŪŠ) šiddu (UŠ) i-na
tar-ši za-me-e ṣēziq-qur-rat 80 ina 1 ammati (KŪŠ) rupšu (DAGAL)

*Corrcted from 1; dittoography had resulted from the similarity of
1 and im.
*If Layard’s copy is correct there is partial haplography in all
three of these signs.
i-na tar-ṣi bit na-ma-rī bit 𒀂Štar (𒀂15) 134 ina 1 ammati (Kūš)
rupšu (DAGAL) i-na tar-ṣi bit na-ma-rī bit kid-mu-rī 95 ina
1 ammati (Kūš) rupšu (DAGAL)

45. ša šarrānu (LUGALmeš ni) a-li-kut maḥ-re abbēya (ADMes-ya) a-na
ri-mit be-lu-ti-šū-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša

46. id-te-bil-ti a-gu-ú ši-mu-ru ša i-na ši-sa ge-gu-nē-e qa-bal-ti
āli (URU) ú-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-maḥ-hi-šū-un nak-mu-ti ú-kal-li-mu
šamšu (DUTUSū)

47. ù ul-tu ūmē rûqūti (UD.mešSUDmeš) ū-te-ē ēkalli (E.GAL) i-ba' u-ma
i-na mîliša (ILLU-sa) gap-ši i-na uš-ši-ša ab-bu ú-šab-šu-u
ú-ri-lī-bu tem-me-en-sa

48. ēkalla šeḥreta (E.GAL.TUR.RA) ša-a-tu a-na ši-ḥi-ri-ti-ša aq-qur-ma
ša id-te-bil-ti ma-lak-ša uš-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uš-tib-ma ú-še-šer
mu-šu-sa

49. qē-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-sa šap-la-nu qanē (GI.meš) e-la-niš
abnē šadi (NA₄meš.KUR¹) dan-ni it-ti it-tē (A.ESIR) a-ak-si-ma eqla
(A.SĀ) ul-tu ma-a-me ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-tir

50. 700 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALti) šiddu (Uš) 162 ina as₄-lum rabīti
(GALti) pūtu e-liṭi iltāni (SAG.KI.AN.TA.IM.SI.SA) 217 ina as₄-lum
rabīti (GALti) pūtu qablitī (SAG.KI.MURUBtim)

51. 386 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALti) pūtu šaplīti šūti iti iḏidiglat
(SAG.KI.KI.TA.IM.SAG.LU.ÚŠ.SA.DU. iḏIDIGNA) tam-ša-a ú-ma-li-ma
am-su-uḫ me-ši-ḫe-ta

¹⁰Luckenbill adds šam-ru-u. However, it is in neither 4a-d:73
nor in Layard's copy of this text.
la-ba-riš ūmē (UDmeš) i-na mīl (ILLU) kiš-šā-ti tem-me-en-šū la
eneše as-kup-pat na/pi-i-li rab-ba-ati a-sur-ru-šu ú-šā-as-ḫi-ra
ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-šū

šap-la-nu i-na uš-ši-su e-zib ḫa-ra-taš

ar-ka-nu šu-uš-qu-ú tam-li-ī ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma 20 ti-ip-ki șe-er
nahr-i-ī uṣ-ṣip-ma 180 ti-ip-ki ū-šaq-qī  순간-dū

tar-pa-šu-ū el ša u₄-me pa-ni ú-šar-bi șe-er me-ši-ḫi-ṭi țkalli
(E.GAL) nahr-ši-ī ū-red-di-ma ū-šā-an-di-la șī-kit-taš

ēkal šin piri uši taskarinni musukkanni erenī șurmēni burāši
(E.GAL.ZU.AM.SI gīšESI gišTUKUL gišmu-suk-ka-nī gišERIN giššUR.MAN
gišSIM.LI) ȗ gišbu-ṭ-ni ēkal šanina lā ȗšu (E.GAL.ZAG.SA.NU.TUK.A)
a-na mu-šab șarrūṭiya (LUGALṭ-ya) ū-șe-pi-šá qē-reb-šū

kiri₆-maḫ-ḫu¹¹ tam-šil kurḥa-ma-nim ša șim-rīqqi (ŞEMbī-a)
inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-ṭi ışsī (GĪšmeš) TUK-lat șadī (KUR¹) u
kurkal-di qē-reb-šu ṣur-ru-šu i-ta-a-șā az-qu-up

āš-šū za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ṭi eqel (A.ŠA) ta-mir-ti e-le-en ālī (URU)
2 P̄ ta-a-am5 a-na márē Ninua (DUMUMES[NINAki]) pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma
ū-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šū-un

a-na mid-ra-ṭi šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-ṭi uruki-si-ri a-dī ta-mir-ti
Ninua (NINAki) šadā (KUR²) û bi-ru-tū i-na ak-kul-la-te ú-șat-tir-ma
ū-še-șer ichage-ru

¹¹For ll. 57-63 with minor variants cf. 4a-d:85-89; 93-94.
a-šar-šá ú-šar-da-a qe-reb šip-pa-a-ti šá-ti-na ú-šaḫ-bi-ba
pat-ti-iš

61. ša Ninua (NINAki) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi
re-ba-ti-šú ú-šá-an-dil-ma bé-re-e-ti ù su-qa-a-ni uš-par-di
ú-nam-mer kīma (GIM) u₄-me

62. a-na arkāt ūmē (EGIR.UDmeš) i-na šarrāni mārēya (LUGALmeš ni.
DUMmeš-ya) ša d-aš-šur a-na re-ē-um-ut māti (KUR) ū nišē (UKUmeš)
i-nem-bu-u zi-kir-šú e-nu-ma ēkallu (EGAL) šá-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma
en-na-ḫu

63. an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šu-mi-ya li-mur-ma šamna (IGIS)
li-pšu-uš niqē (UDU.SIZKUR) liq-qi a-na aš-ri-šú li-tir d-aš-šur
ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-me

TRANSLATION

Colophon

The inscription is 63 lines. (Dated) the month of Sebettu, the
eponym of Nabû-lē'û, the governor of Erbil.

Prologue

1. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, king of Assyria,
the unrivalled king, the ever prayerful shepherd, the venerator
of the great gods,

2. The guardian of truth, the lover of justice, the helpful one, the
one who aids the weak, the doer of good deeds,

3. The altogether perfect man, the martial man, foremost of all
kings, the weapon which envelopes the unsubmissive, the one who brings down lightning upon the enemy.

4. Asšur, the great mountain, unrivalled kingship has entrusted to me and he has made my weapons greater than (the weapons) of any ruler.

Campaign One

5. At the beginning of my reign, I defeated Merodach-Baladan, the king of Babylonia, together with the troops of Elam in the plain of Kis.

6. In the midst of that battle he left his camp, and taking flight alone, he fled to Guzummanu and he went into marshland and reed thickets in order to save his life.

7. The chariots, wagons, horses, mules, asses, camels and dromedaries which he abandoned at the onset of the battle I seized.

8. Into his palace in Babylon I joyfully entered; I opened his treasure house, and gold, silver, vessels of gold (and) of silver, precious stones, whatever there was—goods, possessions, a great treasure—

9. His wife, his harem, the chamberlains, a courtier, all of the many artisans as many as there were, (and) the servants of the palace, I brought out and counted as booty.

10. I took (the road), and I dispatched my warriors to Guzummanu after him into the marshland and reeds; although they looked for five days, he was not to be found.
11. By the strength of Aššur, my lord, his 39 fortified, walled cities in Chaldea and 820 small cities in their environs, I besieged, defeated, and plundered.

12. The Urbi, the Arameans and the Chaldeans who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kiš, Ḫursagkalamma, (and) Kutha, besides the citizens, the male-factors, I brought out and counted as booty.

13. Bel-ibni, the son of the chief builder, a scion of Šuanna, who like a little puppy had grown up in my palace, I placed in the kingship of Sumer and Akkad over them.

14. On my return, the Tu'muna, the Rihiju, the Yadaqqu, the Ubudu, the Kipre, the Maliju, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu,

15. The Gambulu, the Hindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puqudu, the Hamranu, the Jagaranu, the Nabatu, the Li'tau—the unsubmissive Arameans—one like the other I defeated.

16. 208,000 people, male and female, 7,200 horses, (and) mules, 11,073 asses, 80,100 oxen, (and) 800,300 sheep and goats, a great pillage, I brought as to Assyria as booty.

17. In the course of my campaign, I received the heavy tribute of Nabu-bel-Šumate, the governor of Ḫararati: gold, silver, great musukkanni trees, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

18. The men of Ḫirimme, the wicked enemy who from of old had not submitted themselves to my yoke, I felled with weapons; I did not spare a soul.

19. That territory I reorganized (politically); 1 ox, 10 sheep, 10 homers of wine, (and) 20 homers of dates of the choicest kind (as
a regular offering) to the gods of Assyria, my lords, I established in perpetuity.

Campaign Two

20. In my second campaign, Aššur, my lord, gave me confidence and I marched against the land of the Kaššī and the Yasubigallaya who from days of old had not submitted themselves to my royal ancestors.

21. Into the high mountains, a difficult place, I rode my horse and my personal chariot I had carried up on the backs (of my soldiers). Where it was steep I climbed up like a wild ox.

22. Bit-Kilamzah, their fortified city I besieged (and) defeated. People, young and old, horses, mules, asses, oxen, and sheep and goats I brought out of it and counted as booty.

23. Their innumerable small cities I destroyed, pulled down, (and) turned into ruins. The open country dwellings, their relied upon tents, I burned with fire and reduced to ashes.

24. I returned and made that Bit-Kilamzah into a fortress; I fortified its encircling wall greater than ever before. The people of the lands which I had conquered I settled in (it).

25. The people of the land of the Kaššī and the Yasubigallaya who had fled in the face of my weapons I brought down from the mountains and settled in Hardispi and Bit-Kubatti.

26. I placed them under the control of my official, the governor of Arrapha. I had a stela made, and the conquest (and) victory which I
had over them I had inscribed upon it and put (it) up in the city.

27. I turned my yoke and took the road to Ellipi. In the face of my (approach) Ispabara, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasure house, and fled far away.

28. All of his wide land I overwhelmed like a mist. Marubištī (and) Akkuddu, his royal cities, in addition to the 34 fortified cities and the innumerable small cities in their environs,

29. I destroyed, pulled down, (and) burned with fire; I cut down their orchards; I poured out desolation on their luxuriant fields. All of Ellipi I devastated.

30. People, young and old, male and female, horses, mules, asses, cattle, and sheep and goats without number I carried away as booty and I brought them to nought.

31. Sisirtu (and) Kummajlum, fortified cities, along with the small cities in their environs, and all of the territory of Bit-Barru, I severed from his land and annexed (them) to the territory of Assyria.

32. I established Elenzas as the royal city and fortress of that territory; I changed its former name and (re)named it Kar-Sennacherib.

33. On my return, I received the heavy tribute of distant Madaya, of whose lands none among my royal ancestors had ever heard, and I made them submit to the yoke of my rule.

Building Inscription—Epilogue

34. At that time, Nineveh, the magnificent cult center, the city beloved of Ištar, wherein all the rites of the gods and goddesses take place,
35. An everlasting foundation, an enduring base whose plan was outlined from days of old with (that) of the constellations and its arrangement was made manifest.

36. The artistic place, the abode of the mysterious into which has been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, all religious rules, (and) the secrets of the deep,

37. Wherein from days of old the former kings, my ancestors, ruled Assyria before me and directed the people of Enlil,

38. And yearly, without ceasing, an unending income, the tribute of the kings of the four world regions, they regularly received,

39. (Yet) no one among them in his heart gave careful thought to or deliberated on the palace within it--the inner room, the lordly abode whose dwelling place was small,--

40. (And) he did not pay attention to and he did not determine to straighten the city street(s) and to widen the square, to dig a river channel (and) to plant orchards.

41. (But) I, Sennacherib, the king of Assyria, when I gave attention and determined to do that work in accord with the will of the gods,

42. The people of Chaldea, the Arameans, the Manneans, Que and Hilakku, who did not submit themselves to my yoke I deported (to Nineveh) so that I might cause them to carry baskets and so that they might make brick.

43. The reeds of the reed thickets which were in Chaldea I cut down and their luxuriant boughs I had dragged to me by the men of my
conquered enemy for the execution of its work.

44. The former palace which was 360 cubits long (on the side) towards the ... of the temple tower, 80 cubits wide (on the side) towards the gate tower of the temple of Ištar, 134 cubits wide (on the side) towards the gate tower of the bit Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the remaining side),

45. Which the former kings, my ancestors, when they built (it) for their lordly dwelling, they did not make (it) an artistic work.

46. The Tébilti River, a raging current, which in its rising had destroyed the ... in the city and which had exposed their enclosed graves to the sun,

47. And when it flowed beside the palace from days of old, it caused a washout at its base at its mighty flood crest, shaking its foundation.

48. That entire small palace I tore down; I diverted the Tébilti River, I repaired the washout, and I controlled its flow.

49. Under the cover of the miry bed (of the diverted river), below, reeds, above, great mountain stone, I joined together with bitumen and thus I raised a field from the water and turned it into dry land.

50. (In a space measuring) 700 great cubits long, 162 great cubits on the upper north face, 217 great cubits on the inner face, (and)

51. 386 great cubits on the lower south face beside the Tigris, I made a terrace and prepared a survey.

52. I surrounded its foundation wall with large limestone slabs, reinforcing its earthwork, so that in the future the crest of the
inundation would not weaken its foundation.

53. An inscription with my name I wrote and I left (it) for the future 160 brick courses (deep) within the terrace.

54. Afterwards, I decided to raise the terrace; I added 20 brick courses to the former (level) and made it 180 brick courses high.

55. The width (?) I made larger than previously. I added to the size of the former palace, and thus I enlarged its site.

56. A palace of ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkannu wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and terebinth, "The Palace without a Rival," I had built within it for my royal dwelling place.

57. A park like Mt. Amanus in which are planted all kinds of aromatics, orchard fruit, and trees, the produce of the mountains and Chaldea, I planted beside it.

58. In order to (facilitate) the planting of orchards, I apportioned irrigated fields above the city of 2 PI to the citizens of Nineveh and entrusted (them) to them.

59. In order to make the orchards productive, from the border of Kisri as far as the plain of Nineveh I cut through mountain and . . . . with iron tools for breaking clods (?) and prepared a water course.

60. For a distance of 1½ double hours I caused eternal waters to flow there from the Khosr into those orchards and caused them (the waters) to murmur like an irrigation ditch.

61. I enlarged the dwelling place of Nineveh, the city of my rule.
I widened its squares and I brightened the alleys and streets, making (them) as bright as day.

62. In the future among my royal heirs whom Aššur shall name for the rule of the land and the people, when that palace shall have become old and dilapidated,

63. May he restore it; may he read the inscription with my name and may he anoint (it) with oil; may he offer sacrifices; may he return (it) to its place. (Then) Aššur will hear his prayers.
COMMENTARY

Colophon

On the limmu see provisionally RLA II, 412ff. and AfO 13(1939-41), 109ff.

10. ašbatma

The translation of ašbatma in this passage is, contra. Luckenbill, based on the standard formulations and related texts in Sennacherib. L. 9 ends with the formulation ušēgāmma šallatiš ammu. This formulation occurs a number of times in Sennacherib's annals (1:24, 33, 52; 2:12, 22; 6a:II:1f., III:51, IV:9, 57). In the cases cited it always occurs at the end of a complete thought. In two cases (6a:II:1f., IV:57) it is coordinated with a following sentence by u.

The parallel to the passage under consideration is 1:34 which has the verb urriḥ(ma). In addition, 6a:IV:9 is followed by utīrma, i.e., ušēgāmma šallatiš ammu utīrma . . . . In both of these cases it is clear that ammu ends one idea and the verbs (urriḥ, utīr) begin a new idea. Therefore, because the formula ušēgāmma šallatiš ammu ends a complete thought ašbatma here must begin a new idea.

It is reasonably certain that the use of urriḥ in 1:34 requires ašbat here to express some idiom like barrāna sabātu 1. In addition, when one examines all the cases of sabātu in the annalistic material in the Sennacherib corpus, he will discover that sabātu is rarely used with

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1E.g., 2:27; 6a:II:22, III:93, IV:40; 12:IV:74. On such ellipsis see GAG, 184d. In the present case barrānu is the dispensable object.
the meaning "to capture," and in none of the instances does it follow
the formula ušqámma šallatī šmu.² It must be noted that the formu-
lation pān nīriya utīrmu usually precedes harrānî sābatu in Sennacherib.³
Nevertheless, both the presence of urrih in the parallel text and the
exceptional use of sābatu to mean "to capture" would seem to outweigh
this consideration.

24. amuhhuš

For the meaning "encircling wall" and the equation of amuhhu with
dūru see AHw, I, 40a.

29. šāhurratum atbuk

The construction of tabāku in such idioms is common. Cf. 6a:V:12

44. bit namāri

Cf. Weidner, Th, 17, no. 8:18ff. and n. to 1. 19.

53. ahrataš

Cf. GAG67c and HED II, 128 and n. 1. It is suggested by Von Soden
that the aš is a contaminated form of the terminative adverbial iš.
Whether one is to read taš or tiš is still problematic.

²1:23, 28; 6a:IV:81, V:11; 12:IV:28; 20:63, 104. The last has
the form usabbit.
³Among the instances cited in n. 1 only 12:IV:74 does not have
it.
III. CAMPAIGNS ONE THROUGH THREE
III. CAMPAIGNS ONE THROUGH THREE

4a. 80-7-19, 1 "Rassam Cylinder"
   b. 80-7-19, 2
   c. 79-7-3, 302
   d. 81-2-4, 42

ZA 3 (1888), 311-31.

OIP II (C₁, with C₂-₄ as variants), 60-61 (ll. 56-60); 94-95 (ll. 61-70 as variants to 1:63-73); 102 (ll. 77-79; 90-92).

5a. VAT 7516 (Assur 5040)
   b. VAT 7503 (Assur 1248)
   c. VAT 7509 (Assur 1261)

KAH II, 120.

OIP II (C₅), 100-101 (as variants to 2:50-63); 102 (as variants to 4a-d:77-79; 90-92).

4a is the standard text for the first three campaigns. 4c-d are all variants of the same text. All four texts have the same epo­nym date in the colophon.

It may only be inferred from the published material that this text agrees with 12:I-III:41.¹ All that has ever been published is ll. 56-94 which includes the variant ending to the third campaign (ll. 56-60), the building inscription (ll. 61-94), and the colophon.

¹Cf. 12:III:34-41 and 4a-d:56-60 (especially ll. 56-58).
5a-c represent fragmentary variants of the same material in 4a-d. The published material includes ll. 78-94 (following the line count of 4a-d), colophon, and a list of variants to 12:I:1-II:48. Only the variants to the building inscription are cited here.

OUTLINE

End of Campaign Three 56-60
Building Inscription-Epilogue 61-94
Colophon

TRANSLITERATION

End of Campaign Three

56. 30 bilat ūruša (GUN.GUSKIN) 800 bilat kaspa (GUN.KU.BABBAR)
ni-siq-ti gu-uḫ-li tāk-kaza-si sande ṭabûti (nA4AN.GUG.meš.GAL meš)
erēš šinni (giš.NA meš.ZU) kussē (giš.GU.ZA meš) né-me-di šinni (ZU)
mašak piri (KU.ZA AM.SI) šin piri (ZU.AM.SI) ušâ (giš.EŠI) taskarina
(Giš.TUKUL) lu-bul-ti bir-me kita (tíGADA) sig.ta-kil-tu
siɣar- ga-man- nu

57. ú-nu-ut siparri (ZABAR) parzilli (AN.BAR) eri (URUDU) anaši (AN.NA)
parzilla (AN.BAR) narkabâte (giš.GIGIR meš) ka-ba-bi as-ma-re-e
si-ri-yā-am paṭrē parzilli (GIR meš.AN.BAR) šib-bi til-pa-ni uš-
uš-ši til-li ú-nu-ut ta-ra-zi šâb ni-ba la i-šu-ū

58. it-ti mārtišū (MI.DUMU-su) sikrētišu (mi UKU meš.E.GAL-su) nārē

Variants: 56.a4c, MEš. 57.a4d, omits; bš. 58.a4b,c, DUMU.MI meš;
Building Inscription—Epilogue

61. i-na u₂-me-šu-ma Ninua (NINA\textsuperscript{ki}) ma-ḫa-zi ši-i-ru ālu (URU) na-ram


63. 1š-ru nak-lu\textsuperscript{a} šu-bat pi-riš-ti ša mim-ma šum-šu ši-pir ni-kil-ti

64. ša ul-tu ul-la šarrānu (LUGAL\textsuperscript{meš} ni) a-li-kut maḫ-re abbēya

65. ū šat-tu\textsuperscript{a} ša-m la na-par-ka-a e-reb <la>\textsuperscript{b} nar-ba-a-ti bilat (GUN)

Variants: b\textsuperscript{b}4b,c, a-na; c\textsuperscript{b}4b-d, NINA\textsuperscript{ki}, 59.a\textsuperscript{b}4b,c, tu; b\textsuperscript{c}4c, adds uš (?) 60.a\textsuperscript{b}4d, aš. 62.a\textsuperscript{b}4d, su. 63.a\textsuperscript{b}4c, lum; b\textsuperscript{4b-d}, ti; c\textsuperscript{4b-d}, lu. 64.a\textsuperscript{b}4b,c, add MES; b\textsuperscript{4b-d}, ru; lu, GU, ER-ru. 65.a\textsuperscript{b}4c, ti; b\textsuperscript{4b-c}, add la.
mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-'i im-da-na' ha-ru qe-reb-šu

66. a-a-um-ma ina\(^a\) liš-bi-šu-nu a-na ěkalli (E\(\text{\text{Š}}\)GAL) qer-bi-šu küm-mu
ša šu\(^b\) uš-ḫu-ru šu-bat-su le-e-su ul id\(^c\)-da-a lib-bu-uš ul\(^d\) iḫ-su-us

67. a-na šu-te-šur sūq āli (SILA\(\text{\text{ER}}\)U) ù šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e nāre
(Id) za-qä-ap šip-pa-a-ti úš-su-un-šu ib-šima ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su

68. ya\(^a\)-a-ti mdšīn-eš-u-lēba (md\(\text{\text{ŠEĐ\(\text{E}^{-4}\)}\)méš}b\)) šar kur-aš-šur-ki
epēš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i tē-em ilāni (DINGIR\(\text{\text{ŠEĐ\(\text{E}^{-4}\)}\)méš}) a\(^c\) na uz-ni-ya
ib-šī-ma ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma

69. te-ne-šet kur kal-di lū-ra-me kur man-na-a-a kur qe-ke kur-ul-lak-ku
pi-liš-tu\(^a\) ù kur šur-ri\(^b\) ša a-na ni-ir\(^c\)-ya la ik-nu-šū as-ḫu\(^d\)-ḫa-em-ma
tup-šīk-ku ú-sā-šā-šē šū-nu-ti ma il-bi-nu libitta(SIG\(_4\))

70. a-pe ku-pe-e\(^a\) ša qe-reb uru\(^b\) kal-di ak-šit-ma ap-pa\(^c\)-re-šū-un
šamḫu-ti i-na baḫu-lat\(^d\) na-ki-ri\(^e\) ki-šit-ti qātēya (ŠU\(\text{\text{MIN}}\)-ya)
úšal-di-da a-na e-peš šip-ri-šā

71. ěkallu (E\(\text{\text{Š}}\)GAL) maḫ-ri-tu ša 360 ina \(\text{\text{KUB}}\) šiddu (US) i-na
tar-ši za-me-e \(\text{\text{Š}}\)ziq-qur-rat 80 ina 1 ammati (KUB) rupšu (DAGAL)
ina tar-ši bit na-ma-ri bit \(\text{\text{Š}}\)iš-tar 134 ina 1 ammati (KUB) rupšu
(DAGAL) ina tar-ši bit na-ma-ri bit kid\(_9\)-mu-ri 95 ina 1 ammati (KUB)
rupšu (DAGAL)

72. ša šarrānu (LUGAL\(\text{\text{ŠEĐ\(\text{E}^{-4}\)}\)méš ni) a-li-kut maḫ-re abbēya (AD\(\text{\text{ŠEĐ\(\text{E}^{-4}\)}\)éné}-ya) a-na
ri-mit be-lu-ti-šu-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma la ú-nak-ki-šu ma la ši-pir-šā

Variants: \(^a\4b\_c\), add ak. 66.\(^a\4b\_b\), i-na\_; b\(^4c\), šu\_; c\(^4c\), adds di; \(^d\4d\), li.
67.\(^a\4c\), uz. 68.\(^a\4c\), a-s-s-ti\_; b\(^4d\), \(\text{\text{ŠEĐ\(\text{E}^{-4}\)}\)šep\_meš\); \(^c\4b\_c\), i\_; 69.\(^a\4b\_b\),
ti; \(^d\4d\), omits; \(^c\4c\), ni-ri be-lu-ti-ya\_; \(^d\4b\_c\), šu\_; \(^e\4c\), omits.
70.\(^a\4c\), i\_; \(^b\4b\_d\), kur kal-di\_; \(^c\4c\), omits; \(^d\4b\), te\_; \(^e\4c\), adds \(\text{\text{Š}}\).
71.\(^a\4b\_d\), add tar-ši.
73. ište-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru ša i-na na-ši-sá ge-gu-ne-e qa-bal-ti
ali (URU) ú-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-ma-hi-sú-un pa-az-ru-ti ú-kal-li-mu
šamšu (šUTUšú)

74. ū ul-tu u₄-meᵃ rûqûti (SUDmeš) ṭē-ne ḫkalli (E.GAL) i-ба'-u-úᵇ-
ma i-na miliša (ILLU-sá) gap-ši i-na uš-ši-sá ab-bu ú-šab-šúᶜ-
ú-ri-bu tem-me-en-sá

75. ḫkalla şehreta (E.GAL.TUR.RA) šá-a-tu a-na si-hi-r-ti-sá aᵃ-qur-ma
ša ište-bil-ti ma-lak-sá uš-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uš-ṭib-ma ú-šêᵇ-šer
mu-šu-sá

76. qē-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-kuᵃ šap-la-a-nu qanē (GImeš) e-la-niš
aban šadi (NA₄.KUR¹) dan-ni it-ti ittê (ESIR) a-ak-si-ma eqla
(A.SÁ) ul-tu ma-am-e ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-tir

77. 700 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) šiddu (US) 176 ina
as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu elîti iltanî (SAG.KI.AN.TA.IM.SI.SÁ)
268 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu qabliti (SAG.KI.MURUBᵗⁱ)
mi-îh-rat za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal <bit>² diš-tar

78. 383ᵃ ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu (SAG.KI) qab-li-tum ša-ni-tuᵇ
mu-uḫ-hur-ti ša-a-ri a-mur-ri ku-tal ŋiq-rat bit diš-tar

79. 386 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu šaplitî šûtî itî i³Idiglat
(SAG.KI.KI.TA.IM.GAL.LU.Š.SA.DU.i³IDIGNA) tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma
am-šu-uḫ me-ši-iḥ-ta

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²Cf. 1. 78 and 2:44.

Variants: 74ᵃ⁴ᵇ, U₄meš; b⁴ᶜ, omits; c⁴ᵈ, bu. 75ᵃ⁴ᵇ, a⁴; b⁴ᶜ, te. 76ᵃ⁴ᵇ, d, add ša. 78ᵃ⁵ᵃᵇ, 386; ⁵ᶜ, ḠOO; b⁴ᵇ, tum.
80. la-ba-ring u₄-mea ina māl (ILLU) kiš-šá-ti tem-me-en-sú la e-ne-še
    as-kup-pat na₄pi-1-li rab-ba-a-ti ki-isᵇ-su-ú-súᶜ ú-sá-as-ḥi-ra
    ú-dan-ni-na šu-pu-uk-šá

81. mu-šar-eᵃ ši-ṭir šu-mi-ya 160 ti-ip-ki tam-li-i qe-reb-šu
    al-ṭu-ur-ma šap-la-nu ina uš-ši-šu e-zib aḥ-ra-taš

82. ar-kaⁿ-nu šu-uṣ-qu-ú tam-li-i ka-bit-ṭi ub-lam-ma 20 ti-ip-ki še-er
    maḥ-re-eᵇ uṣ-gi-p-ma 180 ti-ip-ki ú-ša-q-qi [e]-la-niš

83. tar-pa-ṣu-ú eli (UGU) ša u₄-muᵃ pa-ni še-er maš-iḥ-ti
    škallī (E.GAL) maḥ-ri-tiᵇ ú-rad-di-ma ú-ša-an-di-la ši-kit-taš

84. ēkal gišnugalli šin piri uṣṭ taskarinni musukkanni erenni šurmēni
    (E.GAL na₄GIŠ₅₆ער GALᵃ ZU.AM.SI gišESI gišTUKUL gišmu-suk-kan-niᵇ
    gišERIN gišŠUR.MANᶜ) gišdup-raᵈ-nuᵉ burāši (ŠIM.LU��) ĕ gišbu-uṭ-ṇi
    ēkal šanina lā iššu (E.GAL.ZAG.NU⁶ SÅ.NU.TUK.A) a-na mu-šab šarrūtiya
    (LUGAL ti⁻ya) ú-še-pi-ṣa qe-reb-šah

85. kiri₆-maj-ṭuᵉ tam-ṣīl kur-ga-ma-nim ša gi-mir riqqi (ŠEMḫⁱᵃ)
    inib (GURUN) giš-pa-a-di iṣpi (GIS₅mešᵇ) TUK-lat ṣadi (KURⁱ) ĕ
    kurkal-di qe-reb-šu⁰ ḫur-ru-ṣu i-ta-a-sā az-qu-[up]

86. āš-šû za-qa-ap giš-pa-a-di eqel (A.ŠÂ) ta-mir-ti e-le-en āli (URU)
    4 Ptal-a-em₅ a-na mārē Ninua (DUMU₅mešᵘ uμaNINEᵏⁱ) pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma
    ú-ṣad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-sú-[un]

87. a-na mid-ra-a-ti šum-mu-hi ul-tu pa-a-ti uruk-i-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti

Variants:  80ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃ⁻c, [U]⁴meš; bᵇᵇ, c, omit; cᶜᶜ, šōᵃ.  81ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃ⁻c, adds re.
82ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃᵇ, add 2bᵇᵇ, i.  83ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃᶜ⁻ᵐᵉ, me; bᶜᶜ, tum.  84ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃᵃ⁻ᶜ, o
     mit na₄GIŠ₅₆ער GALᵃ; bᶜᶜ, nu; cᶜᶜ, adds nu; dᵇᵇ, ni; 6⁴cᶜ,
     adds 2; 1ᵇᵇᵈ⁻ᵈ, 1ⁱ; 8⁴ᵇᵇ,c, omit; hᵇᵇ,c, šu.  8⁴ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃᶜ, omits;
     bᶜᶜ, adds KUR; cᶜᶜ, šu; 4ᶜ, qe-reb before kurkal-di and omits
     it here.  8₆ᵃᵃ⁻ᵃᵇ,c, omit.
Ninua (urmaNINa) šadā (KURa) ʾu bi-ri-tu ak-kul-la-ʾa-ʾti c
ū-šat-tir-ma ʾu-še-šer ʾidḫar-[ru]

38. 1½ bēr (DANNA) qaq-qa-ru ul-tu qē-reb ʾidḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ʾu-ti
a-šar-šā ʾu-šar-ši a-da-a qē-reb šip-pa b-ti šā-ṭi-na ʾu-ʾšaḥ-bi-ba
pat-ti-iš

39. ša Ninua (urmaNINa) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya šu-bat-su ʾuṣ-rab-bi
re-ba-ti-šu c ʾu-šá-na d-dil-ma be-re-e-ti ʾu su-qā-a-ni ʾuṣ-par-di-ma
u-nam-mer kima (GIM) u4-me

40. i-na mi-ih-rat a abulli (KA GAL) qabal āli (MURŪb,URU) i-na b
a-gúr-ri na ap ila pe-še-e c a-na me-ti-iq be-lu-ti-ya ʾu ṣak-bi-is
ti-tur-ru

41. mu-šar-a a ʾu-še-piš-ma li-i-tu b ʾu <dan> 2 -na-nu ša i-na tukulti (KUT1)
aš-šur c bāle rabā (EN,GAL d) bāleya (EN-ya) eli (UGU) kul-lat
na-ki-ri ʾaš-tak-ka-nu

42. ʾu mim-ma ep-ṣet e a-tep-pu-šu qē-reb-šu b ʾu-šaṭ c -tir-ma i-na
tem-me-en-ni ēkal (E GAL) be-lu-ti-ya e-zib ṣaḥ-ra-taš

43. a-na ar a-šat u4-me a b-na šarrāni mārēya (LUGAL me š ni DUMU me š-ya) ša
dāš-šur a-na re-e-um-ut māti (KUR) ʾu niše (UKUme š) i-nam-bu-uc
zi-kir-šu e-nu-ma ēkallu (E GAL) ša-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma [en] na-hu

44. an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš mu-šar-a a ši-ṭir šu-mi-ya li-mur-ma

3The text has ša. This correction has already been noted by

Variants: 87.a4b,d, omit; b4b, omits; cie. 88.a4b,d, omit; b4b,d, add
e. 89.a4b,c, omit; b4b,c, 5a-c, add KT; c2c, šu; d4b,c, en.
90.a4b,d, rit; b4c, ina; c4c, i. 91.a5a-c, mu-ša-ru-šu;
b4b, 5a-c, tum; c4b,c, ʾaš-šur; d4c,d, add e. 92.a4b, i; b4b,
5a-c, šu; c5a-c, ʾu-šaš-šu-šu. 93.a4b, 5a-c, ar; b4b,
5a-c, i; c4b,d, ū. 94.a4b,d, 5a-c, e.
End of Campaign Three

56. 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, choice antimony, large blocks of sande stone, ivory beds, ivory arm chairs, elephant hides, ivory, ebony, boxwood decorated garments, linen garment(s), blue and purple wool,

57. Vessels of bronze, iron, copper, and tin, iron, chariots, slings, lances, armor, iron girdle daggers, bows and arrows, equipment, innumerable instruments of war,

58. Together with his daughter(s), his harem, male singers, female singers, he sent after me to Nineveh, my ruling city, and he sent his messengers in order to present the tribute and to do obeisance.

59. From the booty of those lands which I plundered I collected 10,000 bows (and) 10,000 shields and added them to my royal force.

60. The rest of the great booty of the enemy I divided like sheep among all of my army, and among my governors (and) the people of my great cult centers.
Building Inscription—Epilogue

61. At that time, Nineveh, the magnificent cult center, city beloved of Ištar, wherein all the rites of the gods and goddesses take place,

62. An everlasting foundation, an enduring base whose plan was outlined from days of old with (that) of the constellations and its arrangement was made manifest,

63. The artistic place, the abode of the mysterious into which has been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, all the religious rules, (and) the secrets of the deep.

64. Wherein from days of old the former kings, my ancestors, ruled Assyria before me and directed the people of Enlil,

65. And yearly, without ceasing, an unending income, the tribute of the kings of the four world regions, they regularly received.

66. (Yet) no one among them in his heart gave careful thought to or deliberated on the palace within it—the inner room whose dwelling place was too small—

67. (And) he did not pay attention to and he did not determine to straighten the city street(s) and to widen the square, to dig a river channel, (and) to plant orchards,

68. But I, Sennacherib, king of Assyria, when I gave attention and determined to carry out that work according to the will of the gods,

69. The people of Chaldea, of the Arameans, of Mannai, Que, Philistia, and Tyre who did not submit to my yoke I deported to (Nineveh) so
that I might cause them to carry baskets and so that they might make brick.

70. The reeds of the reed thickets which were in Chaldea I cut down and their luxuriant boughs I had dragged to (Nineveh) by the men of my conquered enemy for the execution of its work.

71. The former palace, which was 360 cubits long (on the side) towards the ... of the temple tower, 80 cubits wide (on the side) towards the gate tower of the temple of Istar, 134 cubits wide (on the side) towards the gate tower of the bit Kidmuri, (and) 95 cubits wide (on the remaining side),

72. Which the former kings, my ancestors, when they built (it) for their lordly dwelling, they did not make it an artistic work.

73. The Tebilti River, a raging current, which in its rising had destroyed the ... in the city and which had exposed their enclosed graves to the sun,

74. And when it flowed beside the palace from days of old, it caused a washout at its base at its mighty flood crest, shaking its foundation.

75. That entire small palace I tore down; I diverted the Tebilti River, I repaired the washout, and I controlled its flow.

76. Under the cover of the miry bed (of the diverted river), below, reeds, above, great mountain stone I joined together with bitumen and thus I raised a field from the water and turned it into dry land.

77. (In a space measuring) 700 cubits (that is, great cubits) long, 176 great cubits on the upper north face, 268 great cubits on the inner
face opposite the ... of the sanctuary behind the temple of Ištar,

78. 383 great cubits on the other inner face towards the west behind the temple tower of the temple of Ištar,

79. 386 great cubits on the lower south face beside the Tigris, I made a terrace and prepared a survey.

80. I surrounded its foundation wall with large limestone slabs, reinforcing its earthwork, so that in the future the crest of the inundation would not weaken its foundation.

81. An inscription with my name I wrote and left (it) for the future 160 brick courses deep within the terrace.

82. Afterwards, I decided to raise the terrace; I added 20 brick courses to the former (level) and thus made it 180 brick courses high.

83. The width (?) I made larger than previously. I added to the size of the former palace, and thus I enlarged its site.

84. A palace of alabaster, ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkannu wood, cedar, Syrian juniper, juniper, and terebinth, "The Palace without a Rival." I had built within it for my royal dwelling place.

85. A park like Mt. Amanus in which are planted all kinds of aromatics, orchard fruit, and trees, the produce of the mountains and Chaldea, I planted beside it.

86. In order to (facilitate) the planting of orchards, I apportioned irrigated fields above the city of 4 PI to the citizens of Nineveh and entrusted (them) to them.

87. In order to make the orchards productive, from the border of Kisri
as far as the plain of Nineveh I cut through mountain and . . . with clod breakers (?) and prepared a water course.

88. For a distance of 1½ double hours I caused eternal waters to flow there from the Khoṣr into those orchards, and caused them (the waters) to murmur like an irrigation ditch.

89. I enlarged the dwelling place of Nineveh, the city of my rule. I widened its squares and I brightened the alleys and streets, and made (them) as bright as day.

90. Before the gate within the city I put down a causeway of white limestone slabs for my lordly passage.

91. I had an inscription made and the outstanding victory which I had over all (my) enemies with the help of the great lord Aššur, my lord,

92. And every deed which I had accomplished I had written in it and I left it in the foundation of my lordly palace for the future.

93. In the future, among my royal heirs, whom Aššur shall name for the rule of the land and the people, when that palace shall have become old and dilapidated,

94. May he restore it; may he read the inscription with my name and may he anoint (it) with oil; may he offer sacrifices; may he return (it) to its place. (Then) Aššur will hear his prayers.

Colophon

This is an inscription of 94 complete lines. (Dated) the month Ayyar, the eponym of Mitunu, the governor of Isana.
IV. CAMPAIGNS ONE THROUGH FIVE
IV. CAMPAIGNS ONE THROUGH FIVE

6a. BM 103000 (1909-3-13, 1)

CT 26, pls. 1-37.

b. IM 56578
Sumer 9 (1953), 117-88.

c. BM 102966
CT 26, pl. 38.

d. BM 22508 (K 1674)
CT 26, pl. 38

e. 1910-10-8, 142

King, Supp., pp. xvii-xxv
OIP II, 111, n. 1.

f. K 4492
CT 26, pl. 39.
OIP II (D₁), 107, n. 1.

g. VAT 8436 (Assur 6643)
Iraq 7 (1940), 90f.

BM 103000 contains a record of the first five campaigns in standard form, plus two additional campaigns identified by *limmu* dates (IV:61-91, against Hilakku; V:1-22, against Tilgarimmu). These were omitted from the later annals because of what King has called a "... purely personal reason." He has aptly pointed out that the so-called "Fifth Campaign" was in reality only a foray against a mountain village while the Cilician campaign was of far greater significance. However, the former laid stress upon the presence of the royal person (e.g., the king was carried on a litter and in difficult areas he climbed up on foot, IV:2-6) while the latter was not even attributed to the king. Therefore, the importance of the king rather than the importance of the event became the determining factor in the establishment of the standard series.

IM 56578 is a duplicate of BM 103000. Its chief importance is that it restores the lacunae in 6a:V:1-16. The publication of this text contains a schematic photograph but it is of no value for checking Heidel's transliteration.

1CT 26, p. 11. Note, however, their appearance in 10:24f.; 16:17ff. These are not part of the standard annals.

2Loc. cit. Cf. his references to Polyhistor (based on Berossus).
EM 102966 is a variant of 6a:V:7-24 while EM 22508 gives a variant to 6a:VIII:70-87.

There is a group of texts which, although not datable to the time of 6a either by actual date or form, present descriptions of the gates of Nineveh (cf. 6a:VII:70-VIII:5). 1910-10-8, 142 contains the names of fourteen gates (instead of the fifteen of 6a) and is dated slightly earlier than 6a. It is important to note that Luckenbill erroneously cites this text as EM 3330. The number 3330 represents the number assigned to this text in King, Supp., not a BM registration number.

K 4492, obv., 1-8a = 4a-d:77b-79; 8b-10 = 6a:VI:45-47. In addition, ll. 5-9 = 6g. K 4492, rev., 1-13 = 6e:VII:27-42a. The relationship of this text to both 4a-d and 6e would seem to indicate a date before 6a. The mention of Tarbisi in rev., 7 prompted one of the early investigators to assign it to that city. However, as has been indicated by King, what is contained here is a summary of the gates of the city of Nineveh. VAT 8436 is a probable duplicate of K 4492, obv., 5-9, as indicated above.

TM 1931-2, l + TM 1931-2, 2 is a somewhat later fragment than 6a which contains a list of eighteen gates instead of fifteen. Most important is the variant for 6a:VII:74, URU SA.URU which reads URU AS-SUR (1. 15).

3 Cf. Ibid., p. 15, n. 1 for the variants of the rest of the text.
4 Cf. Ibid., p. 10, n. 2 for the remnants of the date.
5 King, Supp., p. xxix.
6 OIP II, 111, n. 1.
7 M-R, p. 89.
9 Cf. OIP II, p. 20.
10 Iraq 7 (1940), 93. Cf. pp. 92ff. for a discussion of the various accounts of the gates now known.
OUTLINE

Prologue I:1-21
Campaign One I:22-77
Campaign Two I:78-II:57
Campaign Three II:58-III:81
Campaign Four III:82-IV:17
Campaign Five IV:18-60
Campaign against Gilakkii IV:61-91
Campaign against Tilgarimmu V:1-22
Building Inscription-Epilogue V:23-VIII:87
Colophon

TRANSLITERATION

Prologue

1. mdSin-aḫḫē-erība (mdZUEN.ŠUGMEŠ-erī-ba) šarru rabû (LUGAL.GAL)
2. šarru (LUGAL) dan-nu šār kiš-šā-ti
3. šār kur aš-šunki šār kib-rat šti
4. re-ē-um it-pe-šu mi-gir ilānī rabûti (DINGIRMEŠ.GALMEŠ)
5. na-šir kit-ti ra-a'-im mi-šā-ri
6. e-piš u-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut
7. a-ki-i sa-ḫi-ru dam-qa-a-ti
8. et-lum git-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-đu
9. a-šā-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-a'-iṭ
10. la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni
Campaign One

22. i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ya
23. ša māMarduk-apla-iddina (māAMAR.UD.IBILA.SUM₉a) šar kurkār-ḏu₂nu₂a-ās
24. a-di ummāne (ERI₂N₂H₂₂-a) Elamti (NIM₂MA₂ki) re-ši-šu
25. i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš (KIš₂K₂) aš-ta-kan dabdāšu (šI₂.ŠI₂-šu)
26. i-na qabāl (MURU₂B) tam-ḥa-ri šu-a-tu
27. e-zib karāṣu (GAR₂A₂š-su) e-diš ip-par-šid-ma
28. na-piš-tuš e-ṭe-er narkabāte (gišGIGIR₂meš) šīšē (ANŠE₂.KUR₂.RA₂meš)
29. giššu-um-be parē (ANŠE₂.ŠU₂.MUL₂meš)
30. ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḥa-zī
31. ū-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da qātāya (šU₂.MIN₂-a-a)
32. a-na ṭekallīšu (š.KAL₂-šu) ša qē-reb Bāb-ilim (KA₂.DINGIR₂.RA₂ki)
33. ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma bit ni-ṣīr-ti-šu
34. ḫurāṣa (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) ú-nu-ut ḫurāṣi (GUŠKIN) kaspi
   (KU.BABBAR) abnu (NA₄) a-qar-tu
35. mim-ma šum-šú buṣa (NIG.ŠU) makkūra (NIG.GA) la ni-bi ka-bit-tu
   biltu (GUN)
36. sikrētišu (mÝURûmeš.E.GAL-šú) tīrē (lûTIRûmeš) lû-man-za-az pa-ni
37. nārē (lûNARûmeš) nārēte (mÝNARûmeš)
38. si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ú
39. mut-tab-bi-lu-ut ēkalluš (E.GAL-uš)
40. ú-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
41. i-na e-muq daš-šur bēleya (EN-ya) 75 alānīšu (URûmeš-su) dan-nu-ti
42. bit dūrāni (E.BALûmeš nu) ša kurkal-dī
da-šu-ú
43. ša 420 alānī šeḫrūti (URûmeš.TURûmeš) ša li-me-ti-šū-nu
44. al-me akšud (KURułd) āš-lu-la šal-la-su-un
45. lûr-bi lû-a-ra-mu lûkal-du
46. ša qe-reb Uruk (UNUGki) Nippur (EN.Lūlki) Kiš (KIŠiki)
47. ḫursagkalamma (URûHUR.SAG.KALAM.MA) Kutû (Gû.DUG.Ak) Sippar (ZIMBIŇki)
48. a-di mārē āli (DUMûmeš.URU) bēl (EN) hi-ît-ṭi ú-še-ṣa-am-ma
49. šal-la-tiš am-nu
50. i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ya
51. lûtu-uš-mu-na lûri-ḫi-ḫu
52. lûya-daq-qu lûḫ-ḫu-du
53. lûkīs-re-e lûma-la-ḫu
54. lûgu-ru-mu lûḫ-ḫu-lu
55. lûda-mu-mu lûgamm-bu-lum
56. lûḫi-in-da-mu lûru-u-u-a
57. lu₇u-qu-du lu₇u-na-am-ra-nu
58. lu₇u-ga-ra-nu lu₇u-na-ba-tu
59. lu₇u-ši-ta-a-u lu₇u-ra-mu
60. la kan-šu-ti mit-ša-ris ak-šu-du
61. 208,000 nišē šeher rabi zikir u sinniš (UKUMES TUR GAL NITAH u MÍ) sīse (ANŠE.KUR,RAMEŠ)
62. parē (ANŠE,ŠU,MULMEŠ) imērē (ANŠEMEŠ) gammale (ANŠECAM,MALMEŠ) alpē (GUDMEŠ)
63. ū šēni (U₇UJUDUHI.A) ša la ni-bi šal-la-tu
64. ka-bit-tu āš-lu-la a-na qē-reb kurāš-šurki
65. i-na me-ti-iq gerriya ša māNabû-bēl-šumāte (māPA,EN,MUMEŠ)
66. luqē-pi uru-ga-ra-ra-te
67. ḫurāṣa (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KУ.BABBAR) gīš-mu-suk-kan-ni rabûti (GALMEŠ) imērē (ANŠEMEŠ)
68. gammale (ANŠECAM,MALMEŠ) alpē (GUDMEŠ) ū šēni (U₇UJUDUHI.A)
69. ta-mar-ta-šū ka-bit-tu am-ḫur
70. ba-ḫu-la-te uru-gi-rim-me nākiri (lU₇KUR) ak-ši
71. i-na kakkē (GīšTUKULMEŠ) ū-šam-qit-ma e-du ul e-zib
72. pag-re-šū-un i-na ga-ši-ši a-lul-ma
73. si-ḫir-ti ǎli (URU) ū-šal-me
74. na-gu-ǔ šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat
75. 1 (DIĞEN) alpa (GUD) 10 immēr (UDUMEŠ) 10 immēr karāna (ANŠE. GESŠINMEŠ) 20 immēr suluppa (ANŠE.ZU.LUM.MA)
76. re-še-te-šu a-na ilāni (DINGIRMES) kurāš-šurki
77. bālšya (EMMEŠ-ya) ū-kin dā-ri-šam
Campaign Two

78. i-na šanē (MINsi) ger-ri-ya daš-šur be-li ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma
79. a-na mat lū-kaš-ši-i ʿu mat lūya-su-bi-gal-la-a-a
80. ša ul-tu ul-la a-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGALmeš ni. ADmeš-ya)
81. la kit-nu-šu lu al-lik
82. qē-reb hur-še-a-ni zaq-ru-ti eqel (A.ŠA) nem-ra-ši
83. i-na sīse (ANŠE.KUR.RA) ar-kab-ma narkabat šēpēya (gišGIR.GIR.MIN-ya)
84. i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-šē-āš-ši
85. áš-ru šup-šu-qu ina šēpēya (GIR.MIN-ya) ri-ma-niš at-tag-gish
86. urubit-mkī-lam-za-qab uruḫa-ar-diš-pi
87. urubit-mku-bat-ti ālānišunu (URUmeš-šu-nu)
88. bīt dūrāni (Ē.BADmeš ni) dan-nu-ti al-me aššul (KURni)
89. nišē (UKUmeš) sīse (ANŠE.KUR.RA meš) parē (ANŠE.ŠU.MULmeš)
90. imērs (ANŠEmeš) alpē (GUDmeš) ʿu šēni (UG.UDU.bi.a)

Column II

1. ul-tu qer-bi-šu-nu ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
2. ū ālānišunu šeḫrūtī (URUmeš-šu-nu.TURmeš) ša ni-ba [la i-šu-ū]
3. ab-bul aq-qur u-se-me ka [r-meš]
4. bīt šērī (Ē.EDIN) kul-ta-ri mu-ša-bi-[šu-nu]
5. ina gerri (dGIŠ.BAR) aq-mu-ma ti-tal-liš ú-[še-m]ē
6. ú-tir-ma urubit-mkī-lam-za-qab šu-[a-t]u
7. a-na bir-tu-ti aš-bat eli (UGU) ša u₄-me pa-[ni]
8. dūrānišu (BAĐmeš-šu) ú-dan-nin-ni-ma
9. nišē māṭati (UKUmeš.KUR.KUR) ki-šit-ti qātēya (ŠU.MIN-ya)
10. i-na ́lib-bi ú-še-sib
11. nišē ( URUMeš) mat lušaš-si-i
12. ́ù mat lušya-su-bi-gal-la-a-a
13. ša la-pa-an kakkēya (gišTUKULmeš-ya) ip-par-šid-du
14. ul-tu qa-rob šadī (KURi) ú-še-ri-dam-ma
15. i-na urugar-dīš-pi ururbit-mku-ba-at-ti ú-šer-me
16. i-na qāṭē (SU.MIN) lušu-ut rēsiya (SAG-ya)
17. bōl pāghiti (lušEN.NAM) ururar-rap-ḫa am-nu-šū-nu-ti
18. narâ (naNAMA-ŠU.A) ú-šē-pīš-ma
19. li-i-tum ki-šit-ti qāṭē (SU.MIN) ša elīšun (UGU-šū-un) aš-tak-ka-nu
20. ́še-rū-uš-šū ú-šā-šē-tir-ma i-na qer-bi āli (URU) ul-ziz
21. pa-an ni-ri-ya ú-tir-ma
22. a-na kureli-pi aš-ša-bat ḫar-ra-nu
23. el-la-mu-u-a mlinka-ba-a-ra šarrašun (LUGAL-šū-un)
24. ́alānišu (URUMeš-šū) dan-nu-ti bit ni-šir-ti-šū
25. ú-maš-šēr-ma a-na ru-qē-e-te in-na-bit
26. gim-ri mētišu (KUR-šū) rapašti (DAGALT) kīma (GIM) imbari
   (IM.DUGUD) as-ju-up
27. urumar-áb-ši-ti ururak-ku-ud-du
28. ́alāni bit šarrūṭišu (URUMeš ni Ė.LUGALTšū) a-di 34 ́alāni šeṱrūti
   (URUMeš,TURmeš)
29. ša li-me-ti-šū-nu al-me aṣṣud (KURud)
30. ab-bul aq-qu rīna gerri (GILŠ.BAR) aq-mu
31. nišē šeṭer rabī zikir u sinnīš (UKUMeš TUR GAL NITAH u MĪ) sīse
   (ANŠE.KUR.ROMEŠ)
32. pare (ANŠ.E.ŠÚ.MULmeš) imēreq (ANŠ.Bmeš) gammale (anšGAM.MALmeš) alpē (GUDmeš)
33. ù šēni (UG.UDUH.I.a) a-na la mi-nam āš-lu-lam-ma
34. a-di la ba-ši-i ú-šá-lik-šu-ma
35. ú-ša-ah-te-er māssu (KUR-su)
36. uruši-ši-ir-tu uruku-um-ma-ah-lum
37. ālāni (URUmeš) dan-nu-ti a-di ālāni šehrūti (URUmeš.TURmeš)
38. ša li-me-tišú-nu kurbit-mba-ar-ru-u
39. na-gu-ú a-na gi-mir-ti-šu
40. ul-tu qe-reb mātišu (KUR-šú) ab-tuq-ma
41. eli (UGU) mi-sir kurāš-šurki ú-rad-di
42. uruel-en-za-š a-na āl šarrūti (URU.LUGALú-ti)
43. ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aš-bat-ma
44. šumšu (MU-šú) mah-ra-a ú-nak-ker-ma
45. kār-mdšin-ahbhē-eri-ba (urukar-mdZUEN.ŠEŠmeš-eri-ba)
46. at-ta-bi ni-bit-su
47. nišē mātāti (URUmeš.KURmeš) ki-shirt qātēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) i-na lib-bi ú-še-šib
48. i-na qātē (ŠU.MIN) lūšu-ut rēšiya (SAG-ya)
49. bel pāhiti (l.ÉN.NAM) uruḫar-ḫar am-nu-ma
50. ú-rap-plš ma-a-ti
51. i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ya
52. ša kuńma-da-a ru-qua-ú-te
53. ša i-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGALmeš ni.ÁDmeš-ya)
54. ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir mātišun (KUR-šú-un)
55. man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-ḫur
56. a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ya
57. ú-šak-ni-šu-nu-ti

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58. i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ya a-na kurā-at-ti lu al-lik
59. miu-li-i šar uruši-du-un-ni
60. pul-li me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ya is-hu-pu-šú-ma
61. a-na ru-uq-qe qabal (MURUB) tem-tim in-na-bit-ma šadāšu (KUR-šú)
   e-mid
62. uruši-du-un-nu rabû (GALU) uruši-du-un-nu še-eš-ru
63. urubit-zit-te urusa-ri-ip-tu
64. uruma-ḫal-li-ḫa uruš-šu-ú
65. uruak-zi-bi uruak-ku-ú
66. alānišu (URUMES-šú) dan-nu-ti bit dūrāni (ZEBADMOŠ) a-šar ri-i-ti
67. û maš-qi-ti bit tuk-la-ti-šú
68. ra-šub-bat kakke (gīšTUKUL) daš-šur ṣeleya (EN-ya)
69. is-ḫu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šu še-pu-ú-a
70. mtu-ba-a'lu ina kussa šarrūti (gīšGU.ZA.LUGALú-ti)
71. elišun (UGU-šú-un) ú-šu-šib-ma
72. biltu (GUN) man-da-at-tu be-lu-ti-ya
73. šat-ti-šam la ba-at-lu
74. ú-kin Še-ru-uš-šú
75. ša Šmi-in-ḫi-im-mu urušam-ši-mu-ru-na-a-a
76. mtu-ba-a'lu uruši-du-un-na-a-a
6a:II:77-96

77. 
78. 
79. 
80. 
81. 
82. 
83. šarrānī Amurri (LUGAL meš. kur MAR.TUKI) ka-li-šú-un
84. igiše (IGI.ŠÁ) šad-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu
85. a-di 4-šuí a-na maḫ-re-ya |iš-šú-nim-ma
86. iš-ši-qu šēpēya (GIR.MIN-ya)
87. ū mŠi-id-qa šēr uruis-qas-al-lu-na
88. ša la ik-nu-šui a-na ni-ri-ya
89. ilānī bit abēšu (DINGIR meš.Š. AD-šú) Šā-a-šu aššassu (DAM-su)
   mārēšu (DUMU meš.-šú)
90. mārātešu (DUMU.MÍ meš.-šú) abhešu (ŠEGŠEŠ-šú) zēr bit abēšu
   (NUMUNŠ,E. AD-šú)
91. as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na kurāš-šurki ú-raš-šu
92. mŠarru (LUGAL)-lu-da-a-ri marš mru-kib-ti šarrašunu (LUGAL-šú-nu)
   maḫ-ru-u
93. ešu (UGU) nišē (UKUMES) uruis-qas-al-lu-na ėš-kun-ma
94. na-dan bilti (GUN) kāt-re-e be-lu-ti-ya
95. e-miš-su-ma i-ša-a-ša ab-ša-a-ni
96. i-na meti-iq ger-ri-ya urubit-da-gaša
Column III

1. uruyu-ap-pu-ú uruuba-na-a-bar-qa
2. uru-a-zu-ru alami (URUMEŠ) sa mši-id-qa-a
3. ša a-na šepāya (GIÌ.MIN-ya) ar-ḫiš la ik-nu-šu
4. al-me akšud (KURUD) ʾāš-lu-la šal-la-su-un
5. šakkānakkū (lú GIÌ.NITA MEŠ) rubû (lú NUN MEŠ) ū nišū (UKU MEŠ)
6. uru am-qar-ru-na ša ū pa-di-i šarrašunu (LUGAL-šū-nu)
7. bēl (EN) a-de-e ū ma-mit ša kurš-šurki
8. bi-ri-tu parzilli (AN.BAR) id-du-ma a-na mḫa-za-qi-a-ú
9. kur ya-ú-da-a-a id-di-mu-šū nak-riš
10. a-na an-zil-li i-pu-šū ip-lah libbašun (ŠA-šū-un)
11. šarrāni (LUGAL MEŠ ni) kur mu-uš-ri ummanāt qašti narkabāte (lú ERIN.GI PAN.GI GIGIR MEŠ)
12. sīše (ANŠE.KUR.RA MEŠ) ša šar kur me-luḫ-ḫa e-mu-qi la ni-bi
13. ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku re-šu-us-su-un
14. i-na ta-mir-ti uru al-ta-qu-šu el-la-mu-u-a
15. si-id-ru šit-ku-nu ū-ša-li-lu kakkēšun (GIŠTUKUL MEŠ šū-un)
16. i-na tukulti (KUTI) daš-šur bēleya (EN-ya)
17. it-ti-šū-un am-da-ḫi-is-ma āš-ta-ken dadāšun (ŠI.SI-šū-un)
18. bēl narkabāte (lú EN.GIŠ GIGIR MEŠ) ū mārē (DUMU MEŠ) šar kur mu-šu-ra-a-a
19. a-di bēl narkabāte (lú EN.GIŠ GIGIR MEŠ) ša šar kur me-luḫ-ḫa
20. bal-šu-su-un i-na qabal (MURUB) tam-ḫa-ri
21. ik-šu-da qaṭāya (ŠU.MIN-a-a) uru al-ta-qu-šu uru ta-am-na-a
22. al-me aksud (KURUD) as-lu-la sal-la-su-un
23. a-na uruam-qar-ru-na aq-reb-ma
24. šakkanakkē (lúGIR.NITA₅mes̄) rubē (lúNUN₅mes̄) ša hi-ît-tu ǔ-šab-šu-ú
25. a-duk-ma i-na di-ma-a-ti
26. si-ḥir-ti āli (URU) a-lul pag-re-šú-un
27. mārē āli (DUMU₅mes̄.URU) e-piš an-ni ʿū gī-l-ti-ti
28. a-na ʿal-la-ti am-nu
29. si-it-tu-te-šu-nu la ba-bil hi-ti-ti
30. ʿū gul-lul-ti
31. ša a-ra-an-šu-nu la ib-šu-ú
32. uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi
33. ṁpa-di-i šarrašunu (LUGAL-šú-nu)
34. ul-tu qe-reb ururu-sa-li-im-ma
35. ū-še-ša-am-ma ina kussē (gišGU.ZA) be-lu-ti
36. elīšun (UGU-šú-un) ū-še-ši-b-ma man-da-at-tu
37. be-lu-ti-ya ū-kin še-ru-uš-šú
38. ū ṁpa-za-qì-a-ú kurya-ú-da-a-a
39. ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ya
40. 46 ālānišu (URU₅mes̄-šú) bīt dūrānī (Ē.BAD₅mes̄ ni) dan-nu-ti
41. ū ālānī še-grūti (URU₅mes̄.TUR₅mes̄) ša li-me-ti-šú-nu
42. ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú
43. i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me
44. ū qit-ru-ub šu-pe-e
45. mit-ṭu-uṣ zu-uk šēpē(GIR.MIN) pil-ši nik-si
46. ū kal-ban-na-te al-me akṣud (KURud)
47. 200,150 nīšē šeγer rabi (UKU₅mes̄ TUR GAL)
48. zikir u sinniš (NITAH u MI) əše' (ANŠE.KUR.RA manned) parə (ANŠE.ŠU.MUL manned)
49. imərə (ANŠEmanned) gammalə (anşēGAM.MAL manned) alpə (GUD manned)
50. û şənī (Ug.JUDI.) ša la ni-bi ul-tu qar-bi-şú-un
51. ú-še-şə-am-ma šal-la-ti şam-nu
52. ša-a-šú kīma (GIM) iṣṣūre (MUSEN) qu-up-pl qe-reb
53. ururuur-sa-li-im-ma āl ʃarrūtišu (URU.LUGAL ti-şú) e-sér-šu
54. uruhal-şumanned elišu (UGU-şú) ú-rak-kis-ma
55. a-şe-e abul ʃališu (KÁ.GAL.URU-şú)
56. ú-tir-ra ik-ki-bu-ş
57. alānišu (URU manned-šú) ša əš-lu-la
58. ul-tu qe-reb mātišu (KUR-şú) ab-tuq-ma
59. a-na mmi-ti-in-ti šar uruas-du-di
60. mpa-di-i šar urumqar-ru-na
61. û mṣilli-bal (mGISSU.EN) šar uruqa-zi-ti
62. a-di-ma ú-şa-ah-be-er māssu (KUR-su)
63. e-li bilti (GUN) mah-re-e be-lu-ti-ya
64. man-da-at-tu kat-re-e be-lu-ti-ya
65. ú-rad-di-ma ú-kin şe-ra-uš-šú-un
66. šu-ú mṣa-za-qī-a-ú pul-ḥi me-lam-me
67. be-lu-ti-ya is-ḥu-pu-šú-ma
68. lūr-bi û ʃäbešu damqūti (lÉRIN manned.ŠIG manned)
69. ša a-na dun-nu-un ururuur-sa-li-im-mu
70. āl ʃarrūtisu (URU.LUGAL ti-şú) ú-še-re-bu-ma ir-ʃú-ú baṭ-la-a-te
71. it-ti 30 bilat ʰuɾaša (GUN.GUSKIN) 800 bilat kaspa (GUN.KU.BABBAR)
72. ni-siq-ti gu-uh-li tak-kas-si sande rabutī (nā4.AN.GUG\textsuperscript{mes}.GAL\textsuperscript{mes})
73. erē šinni (giš\textsuperscript{NA}meš.ZU) kussē (giš\textsuperscript{GU}ZAMEš) nē-me-di šinni (ZU)
74. mašak piri (KUS.AM.SI) śin piri (ZU.AM.SI) ušā (giš\textsuperscript{ESI}) taskarinna (giš\textsuperscript{TUKUL})
75. mim-ma šum-šú ni-gir-tu ka-bit-tu
76. ū mārātešu (DUMU\textsuperscript{mes}-šu) sikrētišu (mī\textsuperscript{URU}meš.E.GAL-šu)
77. nārā (lū\textsuperscript{NARmeš}) nārēte (mī\textsuperscript{NARmeš})
78. a-na qē-reb Ninua (NINA\textsuperscript{ki}) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya
79. arkiya (EGIR-ya) ū-šē-bi-lam-ma
80. a-na na-dan man-da-at-ti
81. ū e-peš ardūti (IRū-ti) iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šú

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82. i-na rebē (LIMMU) ger-ri-ya daš-šur be-lí ū-tak-kil-an-ni-ma
83. um-ma-na-te-ya gap-šá-a-te ad-ke-ma
84. a-na kurbīt-myā-ya-kiŋ7 a-la-ku aq-bi
85. i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ya
86. ša mšu-zu-bi luḵal-da-a-a
87. a-šib qē-reb ī-da-gam-mē
88. ina umu-bi-it-tu-ū-tu aš-ta-kan dabdāšu (ŚI.ŚI-šū)
89. ū ū ḫur-ba-šu ta-ḫa-zī-ya elīšu (UGU-šū) im-qut-ma
90. it-ru-ku libbašu (ṢA-šū) ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš ip-par-ṣid-ma
91. ul in-na-mer a-šar-šu
92. pa-an ni-ri-ya ū-tir-ma
93. a-na kurbīt-myā-ya-kiŋ7 aš-ṣa-bat ḫar-ra-nu
6a:III:94-IV:16

94. šu-ú māMarduk-apla-iddina (mdAMAR.UD.IBILA.SUM₂₃)

95. ša ina a-lak gerrīya (KASKAL-ya) mah-re-e

Column IV

1. [dabdāšu (ŠĪ.ŠI-šū) āš-ku-nu-ma₁¹ ú-par-ri-ru] el-lat-su

2. [ri-gim kakkēya (gīšTUKULmeš-ya)] dan-nu-ti

3. [ū ti-ib ta-ḥa-zi-ya₁² ez]-zī e-dur-ma

4. [a-na kur-na-gi-a-te ra]-aq-qi

5. [ša qa-bal tam-tim iš-šu-ri] š ip-pa-riš

6. [ubhēšu zēr bit abēšu (šēkmeš-šū NUMUN.É.AD-šū) ša ú-maš]-šī-ru
   a-hi tam-tim

7. [a-di si-it-ti nišē mātišu (šūKURmeš̆₃).KUR-šū]

8. [ul-tu kurbit-my-a-kin7 qē-reb] ida-gam-me


10. [ū-tir-ma ālānišu (URūmeš-šū) ab]-bul aq-qur ú-še-me kar-meš

11. [eli (UGU) bēl (EN) sa-li-me]-šū šār Elamti (kurNIM.MA₃₁)

12. na-mur-ra-tum at-bu-uk

13. i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-ya māš-šur-na-din-šumī (MU)

14. māru (DUMU) reš-tu-ú tar-bit bīr-ke-ya

15. i-na kūssē (gīšGU.ZA) be-lu-ti-šū ú-še-šib-ma

16. rapaštum māt Sumeri u Akkadi (DAGAL₃₁ KUR.EME₃₁ u URI₃₁)

₁¹Not in 6b but to be found in all other versions.

₁²6b:IV, ta-ḥa-zi-[ya]. The later versions read ME-ya (Cf. 12:III:54).

₁³In all versions except 6b. While it is not absolutely necessary (Cf. Borger, Esarh., 52:72f. and 110 71:13) it seems to be required here because of its presence in all other versions of this campaign.
17. ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú

Campaign Five

18. i-na ħanše (YÁ) ger-ri-ya ba-bu-la-te urutu-mur-ri
19. uruša-a-ru-um uru-e-zu-a-ma uruši-b-šú
20. uruḫal-gid-da uru-qu-ú-a uruqa-na
21. ša kīma (GIM) qin-ni erē (Āmušen) a-ša-red ışṣūre (MUSENāl.a)
22. še-er zuq-ti kurni-pu[r šadi (KUR)]i mar-ši
23. šu-bat-su-un šit-ku-na-at-[ma l]a kit-nu-šu
24. a-na ni-ri i-na šepē (GIR.MIN) kurni-pu[r ka]-ra-šī ú-ša-ša-kin-ma
25. it-ti ūqur-bu-ti šepēya (GIR.MIN-y[a] n)a-ša-qu-ti
26. ū šābē (lūTIMESIG) ta-ḥa-zi-ya [la] ga-me-lu-ti
27. a-na-ku kīma rīmil (GIM.AM) ek-di pa-nu-u[š-š]ū-un aq-bat
28. ḫar-re na-hal-li na-at-ša-k[i šadi (KURi)] me-le-e
29. mar-šu-ti i-na kussen (GIŠGU.ZA) ša-t[a]m-di-[lb]
30. a-šar a-na kussen (GIŠGU.ZA) šu-[šu-qu]
31. i-na šepēya (GIR.MIN-ya) ša-ta-ḫi-ṭam kīma (GIM) ar-me
32. a-na zuq-ti ša-qu-ú-ti še-ru-uš-[šu-un e-li]
33. a-šar bir-ka-a-a ma-na-aḫ-tu [i-ša-a]
34. še-er aban šadī (NA₄,KUR₁) ú-šib-ma meš (AMeŠ) ku[š-na-a-de]
35. ka-šu-ti a-na šu-me-ya [u aš-ši]
36. i-na ubanat (ŠU.STMeŠ) šur-ša-a-ni ar-d[e-šu-nu-ti-ma]
37. aš-ta-kan taḫ-ta-šū-un ālānišunu (URIMeŠ-šu-nu) akšudma (KU[Rud-ma])
38. aš-lu-la šal-la-su-un ab-bu-ul aq-qur ina gerri (dGIŠ.BAR) aq-mu
39. pa-an ni-ri-ya ú-tir-ma še-er [ma-ni-yā-e]
40. šarr ṭu₃-ki šad-da-a-a-e la kan-še aq-ša-bat ṣar-ra-nu
41. ur-še la pe-tu-ti tu-di pa-aš-qu-ti
42. ša la-pa-an šadē (KUR₇₇) mar-su-ti
43. ul-la-nu-ú-a qē-reb-šu-un ma-am-man
44. la il-li-ku šarrūnu (LUGAL₇₇) pa-ni maḥ-ru-ti
45. i-na šēpē (GIR.MIN) kur-a-na-ra ü kur-up-pa šadē (KUR₇₇)
46. dan-nu-ti ka-ra-ši ú-ša-aš-kin-ma
47. a-na-ku i-na kussē (GIŠ.GU.ZA) né-me-di it-ti šābē (ERIN₇₇)
48. ta-ḥa-zi-ya git-ma-lu-ti
49. i-na ne-re-bi-šu-un pi-qu-ti
50. šu-nu-ḫi-liš e-ru-um-ma mar-ši-liš e-te-el-la-a
51. ubānāt šadē (ŠU.SI₇₇.KUR₇₇) pa-aš qa-a-ti
52. šu-ú ma-ni-ya-e tur-bu-u!
53. šēpē šābēya (GIR.MIN.ERIN₇₇.bi-ya) e-mur-ma ṭu₃-ku al šarrūtišu (URU.LUGAL ti-šu)
54. e-zi-ma a-na ru-qē-e-ti in-na-bit
55. ṭu₃-ku al-me akšud (KUR ṭu₃) aš-lu-la šal-la-su
56. mim-ma šu-šu bušē (NIG.ŠU) makkūra (NIG.GA) ni-šir-ti ekallišu (E.GAL-šu)
57. ul-tu qer-bi-šu ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
58. ú 35 ālāni (URU₇₇) ša pa-ṣu li-me-ti-šu
59. akšud ma niše (UKU₇₇) alpē (GUD₇₇) ū ṣe-e-ni
60. ini₇₇ (ANSE₇₇) aš-lu-la ab-bu-ul aq-qur ina gerr₁ (GIŠ.BAR) aq-mu

14 Corrected on basis of 6b:IV:84.
Campaign against Ḫilakku

61. i-na li-mu mŠulum-bēlī (SILIM₅ᵘ⁻ mù-EN) lùŠa-kīn uru—ri-mu-si
62. mki-ru-a bēl ālī (lù₂ EN.URU) ša uruil—lu—ub—ri
63. ardu (lùR) da—gil pa—ni—ya ša iz—zi—bu—šu ilušu (DINGIRᵐᵉš—šu)
64. ba—ṣu-la—te uru—bi—lak—ki
65. uš—bal—kit—ma ik—su—ra ta—ḥa—zu uru—bi—lak—ki
66. nisu (UKUᵐᵉš) a—si—bu—ut uruin—gi—ra—a u urutar—zi
67. i—da—ašu is—ju—ru—ma ger—ri kur—qu—a
68. iš—ba—tu ip—ru—su a—lak—tu
69. ummanat qašti (lùERINᵐᵉš, giš PAN) na—si tuk—ši u as—ma—re—e
70. narkabate (giš GIGIRᵐᵉš) sisse (ANŠE.KUR.RAᵐᵉš) kī—sir šarrūtiya
   (LUGALᵗⁱ—ya)
71. ū—ma—ʾe—er se—ru—uš—šu—un
72. ša ba—ṣu—la—te uru—bi—lak—ki
73. ša i—da—ašu is—ju—ru
74. i—na qē—reb šādi (KURⁱ) mar—ši iš—ku—nu taḥ—ta—šu—un
75. uruin—gi—ra—a uruta—ar—zu—ik—šu—du—ma
76. iš—lu—lu šal—la—su—un
77. ša—ašu qē—reb uruil—lu—ub—re urudan—nu—ti—šu
78. ni—tum il—mu—šu—ma iš—ba—tu mušušu
79. i—na qur—ru—ub šu—pe—e nim—gal—le dūri (BĀD)
80. ū kal—ban—na—te mit—ḥu—šu zu—uk šēpe (GIR.MIN)
81. dab—da—ašu is—ku—nu—ma iš—ba—tu āla (URU)
82. mki—ru—a bōl ālī (lùEN.URU) a—di šal—lat alānisu (URUᵐᵉš₅ᵘšu)
Campaign against Tilgarimmu

1. i-na li-mu mdas-sur-bel-ušur (mdas-sur-EN.PAB) lúša-ki[n kurkúd-mu-hi]
2. a-na uru-tí-ga-ri-[im-me]
3. a-lum ša pa-a-ti kurta-[ba-li]
4. ša mguɾ-di-i šar [URU ur-du-t] 
5. ir-ku-su kakkešu (giš-TUKUL [meš-šú])
6. as-su-uq-ma ummānat qašti (lúERIN meš.giš.PAN) na-ši [tuk-ši]
7. ū as-ma-re-e narkabāte (giš.GIGIR meš) siše (ANšE.KUR.[RA mes])
8. kišir šarrūtiya (LUGAL ti-ya) ū-ma-ŠE-e-[r še-ru-uš-šú]
9. šur (URU) šu-a-tum ni-i-tum il-[mu-ma]
10. i-na ši-plik e-pe-ri ū-qur-ru-ub[šu-pi-i]

15The reading of this line follows Heidel.
6a:V:11-27

11. mit-hu-šu\(^{16}\) zu-[uk šēpē (GİR.MIN)] iš-ba-[tu\(^{a}\) āla (URU)]
12. nišē (UK∪meš) a-di ilāni (DINGIRmeš) a-[šib liš-bi-šū im-nu-u\(^{a}\) šal-la-ti-ša]
13. ālum (URU) šu-a-tum\(^{a}\) [ib-bu-lu iq-qu-ru]
14. a-na tilli (DUG\(^{6}\)) .wik-me ú-tir-ru]
15. i-na šal-lat mātāti (KURmeš) ša-ti-na ša áša-lu-la]
16. 30,000 [qašṭi (GIS\(^{5}\)PAN) 20,000 GIS\(^{a}\)]-ri-[tu]
17. i-na [šib-bi-šū-nu ak]-ṣur-ša
18. [āli (UGU) ki-šir šarrūtiya (LUGAL\(^{t}\)-ya)] ū-rad-di
19. [ši-it-ti šal-lat na-ki-ri] ka-bit-tu
20. [a-na gi-mir karāšiya (GARAS\(^{5}\)-ya ū bel pāhitiya (EN.NAMmeš-ya]
21. [nišē (UK∪meš) ma-ša-za-ni-ya] rabūti (GALmeš)
22. [ki-ma še-e-ni lu ṣa'-i-iz

Building Inscription—Epilogue

23. [i-na u₄-ma-šu-ma Ninua (NINA\(^{k}\)i) ma-ḫa-z] u ši-i-ru
24. [alu (URU) na-ram diš-tar
25. [ši-du-de]-e ilāni (DINGIRmeš)
26. [ù ištarāte (DIŠ.TARmeš) ba]-šu-ú ḍe-reb-šū
27. [tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du]-ru-uš ṣa-ša-ša

\(^{16}\) Heidel suggests a ša here for some unknown reason (Cf. 6b:V:39 and 1. 17).

Variants: 11.\(^{a}\)6c:5, tu. 12.\(^{a}\)6c:6, am-nu. 13.\(^{a}\)6b:V:37, tu. 15.\(^{a}\)6b:V:44, as.
28. [ṣa ul-tu ul-la] [t-ti] ši-ṭir bu-ru-u-n-me
29. [eš-rat-su eš-ret-ma šu-pu]-ú ši-in-du-šú
30. [eš-ru nak-lu] šu-bat pi-riš-ti
31. [ṣa mim-ma šum-šú] ši-pir ni-kil-ti
32. [gi-mir pil-lu-de-e] ni-šir-ti la-l-gar
33. [šu-ta-bu-lu] qe-reb-šú
34. [ṣa ul-tu ul]-la šarrānu (LUGALmeš ni)
35. [a-li]-kut mah-re abbēya (ADmeš-ya)
36. [ul]-la-nu-ú-a be-lu-ut kur aš-šur-ki e-pu-šú-ma
37. ú-ma-'e-ru ba'-u-lat den-lîl
38. a-a-u-ma i-na li-bi-šú-nu a-na šum-dul šu-bat ăli (URU)
39. e-peš dūri (BAD) šu-te-šur su-qa-a-ni
40. ū ḫa-re-e nære (ID) za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ti
41. ū-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma
42. ul uṣ-ta-bil ka-ras-su
43. a-na ałcalli (E.GAL) qer-bi-šú kum-mu ri-mit be-lu-te
44. ša su-uḫ-ḫu-rat šu-bat-su
45. e-piš-taš la nak-lat-ma
46. le-e-su ul id-da-a
47. lib-bu-uš ul iḫ-su-us
48. ya-a-ti mdSin-ahše-erîba (mdZUEN.ŠEŠmeš-eri-ba)
49. šăr kiš-šā-ti šăr kur aš-šur-ki
50. e-peš sip-re šu-a-tu ki-i tē-em ilāni (DINGIRmeš)
51. i-na uz-ni-ya ib-si-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma
52. te-ne-šet kur kal-di lu-a-ra-me kur man-na-a-a
53. kurqu-e ụ kurhi-lak-ku kuri-pi-liš-ti ụ kurşur-ri
54. ša a-na ni-ri-ya la ik-nu-šu
55. as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ku ú-šá-ás-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma
56. il-bi-nu libitta (SIG₄) ʾekalla (E.GAL) mah-re-tu
57. ša 360 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) šiddu (UŠ)
58. 95 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) pūtu (SAG.KI)
59. ma-ra-ku šit-ku-na-at-ma
60. šu-uhḫu-ɾat šu-bat-sa
61. ša šarrānu (LUGAL₃₉ ni) a-li-kut mah-re abba(ya) (ADMES-ya)
62. a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šú-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma
63. la u-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša
64. aladlammat (dALAD-dLAMMAmes) naḫpi-ili pe-pe-e
65. i-na urut-sa-ti-a-te ša e-ber-tan Idiglat (idIDIGNA)
66. ib-tu-qu a-na mu-kil bābātišin (KAMES-ši-in)
67. a-na šu-pu-uš elippāte (gismAMES)
68. qe-reb qisšati (gishTIRmes) išše rašūti (GISMES.GALMES)
69. ú-qi-ru i-na nap-ḫar maštišun (KUR-šú-un)
70. i-na Ayyari (ituGU₄) u₄-mu a-dan-ni e-de-e pa-an šat-ti
71. i-na elippāte (gismAMES) šī-ra-a-te
72. a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a ú-šēb-be-ru-ni mar-ši-iš
73. i-na né-ber ka-a-ri elippāte rabiāte (gismAMES.GU.LAMES)
74. ú-ṭi-ib-bu-ú ba-ḫu-la-te-šú-un
75. ú-ša-nē-ḫu ú-lam-me-nu ka-ras-si-in
76. i-na da-na-ni ʿu šup-šu-qi
77. mar-ši-iš ú-bi-lu-nim-ma
78. ú-ša-aš-bi-tu bābātišin (Kāmesš-si-in)
79. ište-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru
80. ša ul-tu ūmē rūqūti (UDmesš.SUDmesš)
81. te-ēh škalli (E.GAL) i-ba-'ū-uma
82. i-na mīlāša (ILLU-ša) gap-ši i-na uš-ši-ša
83. ab-bu ú-sab-šu-ú ū-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-ša
84. škalla šēhrēta (E.GAL.TUR.RA) šá-a-tu a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša aq-qur
85. ša ište-bil-ti ma-lak-ša
86. ul-tu qa-bal-ti āli (URU) ap-ru-us-ma
87. i-na ta-mir-ti ku-tal āli (URU) ú-še-šer mu-šu-ša
88. i-na ½ GAN ma-lak mešša 4 naši-ili rabūti (GALmesš)
89. it-ti kupre (ESIR.UD.A) ak-si-ma qaneš (GImesš) a-pe
90. ū ku-pe-e ú-šat-ri-ša elīšun (UGU-šū-un)
91. 340 ina 1 ammati (Kùšš) šiddu (Uš)

Column VI

1. 289 ina 1 ammati (Kùšš) pūtu (SAG.KI)
2. qaq qa-ru ul-tu qē-reb išu-su-ur
3. ū ta-mir-ti āli (URU)
4. [k] i-ma a-tar-tim-ma lu aš-ba-ta še-er me-ši-ih-ti
5. tam-li-i maḫ-re-e lu ū-rad-di-ma
6. a-na si-ḥir-ti-šú ina 190 ti-ip-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šú
7. [k] a-ba-riš ūmē (UDmešš) i-na mīl (ILLU) šiš-šá-ti
8. [k] em-me-en tam-li-i la e-nē-ši
9. naši-ili rabūti (GALmešš) ki-su-ušu
10. ú-ša-as-ḥi-ra ú-dan-nin śu-pu-uk-šu
11. a-na 700 i-na as₄-lum rabīti (GALT₄) šiddu (UŞ)
12. ʿu 440 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALT₄) pūtu (SAG.KI)
13. si-kit-tı ĕkalli (Ē.GAL) ú-tir-ma
14. šu.bat-ša usʾ-rab-bi ĕkalle ḫurāši kaspi (Ē.GALmeš.Usuškin Kū.BABBAR)
15. siparri sandē (ZABAR na₄.GUGmeš) na₄.DU₂.MI₂.NA₂.BAN₂.DA
16. gišnugallī ʿšīn piri uṣī taskarinni (na₄.GIŠ.NU₂.GAL ZU₂.AM₂.SI
    (gišē GIŠ TUKUL)
17. musukkanni erenni šurūni (gišō.ME₂.MA₂.KAN₂.NA₇ gišō.ERIN gišê SUR.MAN)
18. burāši (gišē.SIM₂.LI) gišē-lam-ma-ku gišê-i₄-da-a
19. a-na mu-ṣab be-lu-ti-ya
20. ab-ni-ma bit mu-ter-re-te
21. tam-šil ĕkal (Ē.GAL) kurhat-ti
22. mi-lih-rit ba-ba-a-ti ʿu-še-piš
23. gušûrē erenni šurūni (gišō meš gišê-ne-gišê SUR.MAN)
24. ʾš a-e-ri-su-un ṯā-a-bu bi-nu-ut kurha-ma-nim
25. ʿu kur si-ra-ra šadē ellūti (KURmeš.KU₂.meš)
26. ʿu-šat-ri-ṣa e-li-šin
27. dalat erenni šurūni burāši (gišō meš gišê-ne-gišē SIM₂.LI)
28. gišê-i₄-da-a me-sir kaspē erê (KI₂.SAG₂ URUDU)
29. ʿu-rak-kis-ma ʿu-rat-tā-a ba-bi-šin
30. i-na ba-rak-kī ʿša qē-reb bit papāḥe (Ē.PA₂.PA₂meš)
31. ap-ti bi-ir-ri ʿu-pat-ta-a

7 Of interest here is the almost exact parallels elsewhere which read gišō mu-suk-kan-ni/nun. Cf. 4a-d:84.
8 For other examples of KI₂.SAG meaning kaspū cf. AHw I, 454b.
32. lamaššat gišnugalli šin piri (mī dLAMMAmeš.na4GIS.NUx.GAL ZÚ.AM.SI)
33. ša il-lu-ru na-sa-a kit-mu-sa rit-ta-šin
34. bal-tu ku-uz-bu ṭi-it-lu-pa lu-le-e
35. ma-la-a i-na bābātišin (KAmeš-sin) ul-šiz-ma
36. a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-ša-lik
37. șu-lul ta-ra-a-ni ša qé-reb ba-rak-ka-a-ni
38. e-țu-su-un ú-șaḥ-la-a
39. u₄-me-eš șa-nam-mer
40. sik-kat kar-ri kas-pi șe erê (URUDU)
41. qé-reb-šin ú-šal-me
42. i-na agurri șurre uqnî (SIG₄.IGNORED.UR.RA.na4KA na4ZA.GIN)
43. us-si-ma se-el-lum ni-bi-ți
44. șe gi-mir pa-ș-qî-și-in
45. șa-șu šîp-ri ekalliya (E.GAL-ya) šu-te-șu-re
46. șe li-pit qātēya (ȘU.MIN-ya) šul-lu-me
47. i-na u₄-me-su-ma daș-șur șe diș-tar
48. ra-a'-i-mu sangūtiya (-popup.SANGATI-ya)
49. na-bu-ū șumiya (MU-ya) giš-mah-ḥi gišere-ni
50. ša ul-tu ſe-umē rūqūti (UDmeš.SUDmeš) i-si-țu-ma
51. ik-bi-ru ma-gal i-na qé-reb kur-si-ra-ra
52. șadê (KURmeš) ina pu-uz-ri na-an-zu-zu
53. ú-șak-li-mu-in-ni gi-i-su-un
54. ša gisnugalli (na4GIS.NUx.GAL) ša i-na tar-și šarrānu (LUGALmeš ni)
55. abbêya (APmeš-ya) a-na kar-ri nam-șa-ri šu-qu-ru
56. i-na sa-paț kuram-ma-na-na șu-șap-tu-ni pa-ni-șu
57. ʿu ṇDU MüslümanNA.BAN.DA ma-la dugbur-gi-ga-li
58. ša la in-nam-ru ma-ti-ma
59. ʾina ʾurūkap-dar-ri-gi-la-a
60. ša pa-a-ti ʾurūtil-bar-si-ip
61. ú-kal-lim ra-ma-nu-uš
62. i-te-e Ninua (NINA^kî) ʾina er-še-ti ʾurūba-la-ta-a-a
63. ki-i té-em ilīma ʾDINGIR-ma) ʾna^pi-i-lu pe-su-u
64. a-na mu-ut-de-e in-nam-mer-ma
65. aladlamme (ʿdALAD.ʿdLAMMAmeš) ʿu ša-lam meš-re-ti gišnugalši (ʾna^GIS.NUX.GAL)
66. ša i-na ʾmen abna (NA^kî) ib-ba-nu-ʾmi-na-a-te šuk-lu-lu
67. i-na ki-gal-li ra-mi-ni-šu-nu
68. ša-qîš na-an-zu-zu
69. mi^ap-sa-sa-a-te gišnugališi ʾna^GIS.NUX.GAL
70. ša zi-me nu-us-su-qa
71. kīma (GIM) ʾu^me na-par-di-i nu-um-mu-ru zu-mur-šin
72. askuppāt (ʾDIBmeš) ʾna^DÚRNAN.BAN.DA ʿšireti (MAHmeš)
73. ab-ni ki-lal-la-an ʾna šad-di-shu-un ab-tuq-ma
74. a-na šip-ri ēkalliya (ʾE.GAL-ya)
75. ú-šal-di-da qe-reb Ninua (ʾurUNINA)
76. aladlamme (ʿdALAD.ʿdLAMMAmeš) ʿu mi^ap-sa-sa-a-te
77. ʾna^pi-i-lu pe-še-e ʾna liptat dnin-kur-a
78. i-na er-še-et urūba-la-ta-a-a
79. ú-ša-a'-lid-ma ú-šak-li-la gat-ta-šu-un
80. ša ul-tu ul-la šarrānu abbēya (LUGAMeš niʿAPmeš-ya)
31. strcasecmp (URUDU) tam-šil gat-ti-šu-un
32. a-na šu-zu-zi qe-reb ekurrātišun (E.KURmeš-šu-un)
33. ib-nu-ma i-na e-pišt-i-šu-nu
34. ú-šá-né-ḫu gi-mir marš um-ma-ani
35. i-na la bi-šit uz-ni la ša-sa-as a-ma-te
36. a-na sip-ri ḫi-ših-ti-šu-nu
37. šamma (I.GIS) iš-ku-ru na-al-ba-aš șe-e-ni
38. ú-qí-ru qe-reb šadešun (KURmeš-šu-un)
39. ya-ati ʃi-Šin-ahhē-erîba (mdziuen.ŠEŠmeš-eriba)
40. a-šá-red mal-ki mu-de-e šip-ri
41. ka-la-ma tem-me erē rabûti (URUDU.GALmeš)
42. ur-mäh-ḫi pe-tan bir-ke ša ma-nam-ma
43. la ip-ti-qu šâr pa-ni mah-re-ya

Column VII

1. i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti
2. šâ ʿu-šat-li-ma ru-bu-ú .dropout-igi-ku
3. i-na ši-tul-ti ram-ni-ya
4. a-na e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu
5. ra-biš am-tal-lik-ma ina me-lek të-me-ya
6. ʿu me-reš ka-bit-ti-ya
7. pi-ti-iq erē (URUDU) ú-ba-āš-šim-ma
8. ú-nak-ki-la nik-lá-su
9. ša giš-mâḥ-ḫî ʿu a-la-mit-ta
10. iš meš-re-e 12 urmahhē (UR.MAmpes) ni-ʾru-ti
11. a-di 12 aladlamme (dALAD.dLAMMAmeš)
12. ĝirūti (MAHMES) ša šuk-lu-lu nab-ni-tu
13. 22 mīāp-sā-sa-te ša ku-uz-be
14. ul-su hi-it-lu-pa bal-tú la-la-a
15. ku-mu-ur še-ru-uš-šin
16. ki-i tē-em ilīma (DINGIR-ma) ze-e'-pi ti-id-di
17. ab-ni-ma e-ra-a qē-reb-šū aš-tap-pa-ka
18. ki-i pi-ti-iq ½ šeqli (GIN'ta-a-am5)
19. ūšak-li-la nab-ni-su-un
20. aladlamme (d'ALAD.d'LAMMAMES) nab-nit erē (URUDU)
21. ša 2 ina lib-bi za-ḥa-lu-u lit-bu-šú
22. aladlamme gišnugallī (d'ALAD.d'LAMMAMES.na4GIS.NUX.GAL)
23. a-di aladlamme (d'ALAD.d'LAMMAMES) u mīap-sa-sa-ate
24. na4pi-i-li pe-še-e ša ēkallīya (E.GAL-ya)
25. ūśa-aš-bi-ta šigāršīn (SI.GAR-ši-in)
26. tem-me erē ĝirūti (URUDU.MAHMES) a-di tem-me gišere-ni
27. rabūti (GALMES) bi-ib-lat kurpa-ma-nim
28. me-ser erē (URUDU) ʿu anāki (AN.NA) ú-rak-kis-ma
29. še-er piri-gal-le-e ul-ziz-ma
30. dap-pi ku-lul bābatīšin (KA'MES-šin) e-mid
31. mīāp-sā-sa-ate gišnugallī (na4GIS.NUX.GAL)
32. a-di mīāp-sā-sa-ate ū-ru-de-e
33. ša za-ḥa-lu-u lit-bu-šá ū mīap-sā-sa-ate
34. pi-ti-iq GUAN.NA
35. sa nu-um-mu-ru gat-ta-ši-in
36. gištem-me uši šurmēni (GIŠESI GIŠSUR.MAN) gišere-ni gišdup-ra-ː ni
37. burāši (ȘI.M.LI) gišsi-in-da-a ih-zi-it pa-šal-li
38. ù kas-pi še-ru-uš-šin ul-ziz-ma
39. ša kum-me mu-šab be-lu-ti-ya
40. e-mid hittišun (gišGAN.DU7 mezš-šu-un)
41. askuppät (I.DIBmeš) na4DUR.MI.NA.BÀN.DA gišmugalli (na4GIŠ.NUx.GAL)
42. ù askuppät (I.DIBmeš) na4pi-i-li rabîti (GALmeš)
43. a-sur-ru-šin ú-ša-as-še-ra
44. a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-ša-li-lik
45. áš-šú u4-me-šam-ma mê (Ameš) di-lu-ti
46. da-lum eb-li gu-uḫ-ḫaš-ša-a-te siparri (ZABAR)
47. ù ḫar-ḫa-ri siparri (ZABAR) ú-še-piš-ma
48. ki-mu-u ma-ka-a-te giš-mah-ḫi ù a-la-mit-ta erê (URUDU)
49. še-er bûrāti (Pûmeš) uš-ziz ḫkallate (Ē.GALmeš) šá-ti-na ú-ša-li-lik as-me-š
50. si-hir-ti ḫkalli (Ē.GAL) a-na tab-rat kiš-šat niše (UKûmeš)
51. ul-la-a re-ši-šá ḫkal (Ē.GAL) šá-ni-na la i-šu-u
52. ni-bit-sa az-kur
53. kiri6-mah-ḫu tam-šil kurḫa-ma-nim
54. ša gi-mir riqqe (ȘEMdi.a) inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-te
55. iššē (GIŠmeš) TUK-lat šadi (KUR1) ù kurkal-di
56. a-di iššē (GIŠmeš) na-šú šipati (SîGBî.a)
57. qē-reb-šú ḫur-ru-šu i-te-a-šá az-qu-up
58. Ninua (NINAki) ša ul-tu u4-me pa-ni
59. 9,300 ina 1 ammati (KUS) šu-bat li-me-ti-šu
60. dûra (BÀD) ù šalḫa (BÀD.DUN.ŠÀR) ul ú-še-pi-šú
61. a-li-kut mah-re ma-al-ki
62. 12,515 a-šar ta-mir-ti āli (URU)
63. še-er me-ši-iḥ-ti ú-rad-di-ma
64. 21,815 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GAL₄) ú-kin man-da-tuṣ
65. ša dūr-sū rabû (BĀD-šū,GAL₁) BĀD NI.GAL.É lú.KUR.RA ŠÚ.ŠÚ
66. du-ú-ru ša nam-ri-ru-šu na-ki-ri saḫ-pu
67. še-er na-pi-i-li tem-me-en-šu ad-di-ma²
68. 40 libitti (SIG₄) ú-kab-ber
69. i-na 180 ti-ip-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu
70. a-na er-be-ti šá-a-ri 15ᵃ abullāti (KÁ.GAL₄meʾ)
71. pa-nu ʿar-ka i-na še-li ki-lal-la-an
72. a-na e-re-ti ʿu a-še-e
73. ú-šap-ta-a qe-reb-šú
74. li-burᵃ iššák (ENSI) ṃaš-sūr abul (KÁ.GAL₄) ṃaš-sūr ša Aššur (uruŠ₄.URU)ᵇ¹⁹
75. sa-pi-in gi-mir na-ki-ri
76. abul md³Sin-aḫḫe-erība (KÁ.GAL₄ md³ZUEN.ŠEŠmeʾ-eri-ba) ša kurḫal-ši
77. ellen-lil mu-kin pāleya (BAL-ya)ᵃ abul ṃašmaš (KÁ.GAL₄ UTU)ᵇ ša

¹⁹To the references cited by Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953), 185, one may add the variant from 6h:15, uruŠ₄-šūr.

Variants: 67-69ᵃ6h:4-9 reads here:
  4. tem-me-en-šu ad-di-ma 40 libitti (SIG₄) i-na na-a½-
     ba-di-ya
  5. rabû (GAL₁) ú-kab-ber-šú a-na e-liš a-di šap-la-[tl]
  6. na-bur-ri-šú a-na 39 libitti (SIG₄) ú-tir-[ma]
  7. i-na 3₄is 20 ti-ip-ki libitti (SIG₄) ša pānī (I0I)
     zu-[uq-tl]
  8. mu-šer-ša e-la-niš a-di pa-ša-qi-šú re-ši-šu
  9. ul-li-ma ú-zaq-ger-šú ṣur-ša-niš
70ᵃ6h:10, 18. 74ᵃ6e:VII:16; 6h:16, lil-bur; b₆h:15, 
    uruŠ₄-šūr. 77ᵃ6e:VII:20f., BAL₄; b₆e:VII:20f., ṃaš-maš;
78. ša mdšîn-ahhē-erîba (mdZUEN.ŠEŠ-mes-eri-ba) it-ti man-zal-ti a e-riq-qa
79. kin-ni a palēšu (BAL-šū) abul (KÁ.GAL) d̄nin-lîl ša urukar-d̄nin-lîl b
80. mu-še-ša-at šēr ašakki abul (UZU.Á.SIG KÁ.GAL) muš-la-lum
81. du-muq šē-ša-an an d̄labar qē-reb-šē ka-a-a-an
82. abul (KÁ.GAL) uruši-ba-ni-ba a
83. ba-bi-lat hi-sib ġur-šā-a-ni abul (KÁ.GAL) kurja<lah>20bī
84. naphtar (ŠU.NIGIN) 7a abullatī šīt šamēš (KÁ.GAL mes d̄UTU,E)
85. mi-īḫ-rit imšu-ū-tī u imša-di-i a
86. az-ku-ra ni-bit-si-in
87. d̄Adad (d̄IM) šā-ri-iq a ġegalli (ĠÉ.GAL) a-na maṭi (KUR)
88. abul d̄Adad (KÁ.GAL d̄IM) ša am-ba-si a
89. d̄er-ra šā-a-giš za-ma-ni-ya a
90. abul d̄Nergal (KÁ.GAL d̄U.GUR) ša urutar-bi-si

20 This correction had already been suggested by Luckenbill, Op. cit., 112, n. 1 (citing Geers and II K. 17:6). This is now verified by 6b:VII:87 and 6h:23 both of which clearly read ba-leh-šī.

6a:VII:91-VIII:3

91. **Nannaru** (NANNAR₇) na-šir agâ (AGA) be-lu-ti-ya abul ḍSin
(KÁ.GAL.ZUEN)

92. napâhar (ŠU.NIGIN) 3 abullâti (KÁ.GAL₇) ša mi-ih-rit imil-ta-ni

93. at-ta-bi si-kir-si-in

94. ḍ-e-a mu-še-šer kup-pi-ya abul (KÁ.GAL) maš-qé-sa

95. mu-še-re-bît mi-ḫir-ti da-šd-me abul (KÁ.GAL) ka-šr-ti

96. kât-re-e lû-su-mu-u'-an à lu-te-e-me

Column VIII

1. qé-reb-šâ er-ru-ub abul (KÁ.GAL) mad-ba-re

2. pa-qi-da-at ka-la-ma abul ēkal (KÁ.GAL.E.GAL) ma-šär-ti

3. ḍšar-ur₄ mu-šam-qit a-a-ab₅ šarrî (LUGAL) abul (KÁ.GAL) ha-an-du-ri

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21 6e has no gate equivalent to this one.

Variants: 91. 23-40 varies from 6a at many points after this line and reads as follows:

28. **Nannaru** (NANNAR₇) mu-ši-ge-e be-[lu-ti-ya]

29. abul ḍSin (KÁ.GAL.E.GAL) ḍ-e-a mu-še-šer kup-[p̱-y̱]

30. abul (KÁ.GAL) ma-š-qé-e li-bur e-pi-[ši-šu (?)]

31. muš-la-lum ša ēkal (E.GAL) ḍigi-sig₇-sig₇

32. muš-šam-ma-e-eš sip-pa-a-ti muš-la-lum ša kîrê (KIRI₆)

33. mu-še-re-bît mi-ḫir-ti da-šd-me

34. abul (KÁ.GAL) ka-šr-ti lu da-ri ba-nuša

35. muš-la-lum ēkalli (E.GAL) ma-ḫir-ti ḍa-nu-um

36. na-šir na-piš-ti-ya abul (KÁ.GAL) pil-ku kurba-hal-zi

37. kât-re-e lû-te-e-me u lû-su-mu-u'-an

38. qé-reb-ša er-ru-ub abul (KÁ.GAL) mad-ba-re

39. napâhar (ŠU.NIGIN) 10 abullâti (KÁ.GAL₇) ša mi-ih-rit il-ta-ni

40. u a-mur-ri at-ta-bi zi-kir-si-in

[nal]. 94. Ace:VII:39, ma-š-qé-s; 6f, rev., 12, [•••
ma-š-qé-s]. VIII:3, ḍi:14f, a-a-bi.
4. naphar (ŠU.NIGIN) ša abullāti (KA.GALmeš) ša mi-iḫ-rit 1ma-mur-ri
5. at-taz-ka₂-ra šu-me-šin
6. ša šal-hi-i BĀD.NIG.BRIM.HU.LUH.HA
7. mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-še-šú ap-te-e-ma
8. 45 GAR ū-šap-pil-ma
9. ū-šá-ak-šid me₆ (Ameš) na-aq-bi₆
10. qē-reb ma-a-me šap-la-a-nu aban šadi (NA₄.KUR₁) dan-ni ak-si-ma
11. e-la-niš a-di pa-āš-qi-šú i-na ū₄.pi-i-li rabāti (GALmeš)
12. ū-nak-kil ši-pir-šu
13. ša Ninua (NIN₄.ki) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi
14. re-ba-ti-su ū-še-an-dil-ma ū-nam-mer kīma (QIM) u₄-me
15. bādšal-ḫu-ū ū-še-piš-ma ū-zaq-qer ḫur-šá-niš
16. e-le-en āli (URU) ū šap-lān āli (KI.TA.URU) ū-še-piš kirāti (KIRI₆.meš)
17. MUD.HUMmeš šadi (KUR₁) ū ma-ti-tan
18. kul-lat riqqi (šEM₄bi.a) kurγat-ti ū-ḫar-ri-ša₂² qē-reb-šu-un
19. še-er šā-ab-bur-ti ša a-ḫa²³ am-ba-si karān šadi kalīšun (GEŠTIN. KUR₁)
20. ū-DU-šu-un) gi-mir inib (GURUN) ad-na-a-te
21. riqqi (šEM₄bi.a) ū gisši-ir-di a-na ba-'u-li az-qu-up
22. idḥu-su-ur ša ul-tu ul-la-a meša (Ameš-ša)

²² For this reading see 6b:VIII:25. For similar contexts which show that this reading is required cf. 1:87; 2:57; 21:No. 2:41.
²³ For the basis of the readings here which differ from those of Luckenbill cf. Heidel, Op. cit., 186f.

23. šu-up-lu ša-b-tu-ma i-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGALmeš ni . ADmeš-ya)
24. mim-ma la is-sér-šū-nu-ti-ma i-tab-ba-ku išdiglateš (išHAL.HALēš)
25. a-na mid-ra-a-te šum-mu-hi
26. ul-tu pa-a-ši uruki-si-ri
27. mu-la-a muš-pa-lum i-na ak-kul-la-te
28. aḫ-ra-a ú-šē-šēr išpat-tu
29. me (Ames) šu-nu-te še-er ta-mir-ti Ninua (NINAki) ú-kin-nam-ma
30. qē-reb šip-pa-a-te ša-ti-na ú-šāh-bi-ba a-tap-piš
31. a-na bit-re-e ma-ā-me24 ina šēpē (GIR.MIN) mu-us-ri šadē (KURē)
ger-ri aš-bat-ma
32. aš-su-ma a-di uruel-mu-na-kin-nē-e šup-šu-qīš at-tal-lak
33. ina re-eš urudûr-dûš ištar (uruBAD.15) uruši-ba-ni-ba
34. ū urusu-li nam-ba-te a-mur-ma
35. ēnēšunu (IGI.MIN-šū-nu) pi-qa-a-te ú-rab-bi-ma ú-tir a-na kup-pe
36. aš-šū ma-lak mē (Ames) šū-nu-ti šadē (KURmeš) mar-šu-ti
37. aš-ri pa-aš-qu-ti ina ak-kul-la-ti ú-šat-tir-ma
38. mu-šu-šū-un ú-še-ši-ra a-na ta-mir-ti Ninua (NINAki)
39. iḏgar-ra-ti-šū-nu ú-dan-nin ki-i šu-pu-uk šadē (KUŘi)
40. mē (Ames) ša-tu-nu qē-reb-šū-un ú-kin-na
41. ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma še-er mē (Ames) iḏhu-su-ur
42. ú-ray-da-a da-ri-šam

24This reading is based on Jacobsen, OIP XXIV, 34, n. 15. It is also followed in 6b:VIII:38. The CAD seems to equivocate on the reading of the line (Cf. vol. 2, 117f. and vol. 16, 26b).
43. i-na um-ma-a-te ú-šá-áš-qá-a gi-mir šip-pa-a-ti
44. i-na ku-šá (EN.TE.NA) 1,000 zer ép (ŠE.NUMUN meš) ta-me-ra-a-ti
45. e-li êli (URU) ú-šap-lan êli (KI.TA.URU) ú-šá-an-kar šat-ti-šam
46. a-na šúp-šu-ḥi a-lak-ti me (Ameš) šu-nu-ti
47. id a-gam-mu ú-šab-ši-ma šu-ṣu-ṣu qe-reb-šá
48. as-ti-il igiré (IGIŘA meš) 25 šaḥé ape (ŠAHI meš, GIšGI)
49. a-lap ki-ši 26 i-na lib-bi ú-maš-šer
50. i-na ù-ṣe-em illima (DINGIR-ma) qe-reb kirāte (KIRI6 meš) šer (EDIN)
   šá-ab-bur-ti
51. karānu (GEŠTIN) gi-mir inbi (GURUN) gišši-ir-áu
52. riqqu (ŠERMÉŠ.a) ma-gal iš-mu-ḫu
53. šurmenu (GIŠSUR.MAN) musukkannu (GIŠMEZ.MA.GAN.NA)
54. nap-ḥar issē (GIŠmeš) i-ṣi-ḫu-ma
55. ú-ṣar-ri-šú pa-pa-al-lum
56. ap-pa-ra-a-ti ma-gal i-ši-ra
57. isgūrāt šamē (MUŠEN meš.An) igirū (IGIŘA) ša a-ṣar-šú ru-û-qu
58. qin-na iq-nun-ma šaḥu ape (ŠAHmeš GIšGI) a-lap ki-ši
59. ú-rab-bi-šú ta-lit-tu
60. musukkanna (GIŠMEZ.MA.GAN.NA) šurmena (GIŠSUR.MAN) tar-bit šip-pa-a-ti
61. qanē apparāte (GI.AMBAR meš) ša qe-reb id a-gam-me ak-šit-ma
62. a-na šip-ri ḫi-ṣiḥ-ti ṭakkāṭ (E.GAL meš)
63. be-lu-te-ya lu e-pu-uš

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25 For this reading of the signs KI.SAG.Mímušen see AHw, I, 367a.
26 For this reading cf. the material cited by Jacobsen, Op. cit.,
35, n. 20.
64. ış-su na-äš ši-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu im-ḫa-șu šu-ba-ti-š
65. ul-tu šip-ri ēkalliya (E.GAL-ya) ú-qat-tu-u
66. daš-šur belu raḫu (EN.GAL) ilâni u ištaratu (DINGIRmeš ū diš.TARmeš)
67. a-ši-bu-ut kur-šu-šur ki
68. i-na qer-bi-ša aq-re-ma
69. niqē (UDU.SIZKURmeš) taš-ri-ih-te aq-qi-ma
70. ú-šat-lim kät-ra-sa
71. šaman (Ġ.GIŠ) ġis-sir-di ū hi-bi-iš-ti
72. ša kirate (KIRImeš₆) ĝer (EDIN) ša-ab-bur-tī
73. ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru-uš-tī
74. i-na taš-ri-it ēkalli (E.GAL) ša ba-ḫu-la-te₆ mātiya (KUR-ya)
75. ú-ša-ša-qa-a muḫ-ḫa-ši-in₆
76. karāna (GESTIN) du-ūsh-šu-pu šur-ra-ši-in₆ am-ker
77. a-na ar-kat u₄-me i-na₆ šarrâni nārēya (LUGALmeš₇.DUMUmeš-ya)
78. ša daš-šur a-na re-ē-um-ut māti (KUR) ū nišē (UKUmeš)
79. i-nam-bu-ú₆ zi-kir-šū
80. e-nu-ma dūru (BAD) ša-a-tu
81. i-lab-bi-ru-ma en-na-ḫu
82. an-ḫu-us-su lu-ud-diš
83. mu-šar-e ši-ṭir šu-me-ya
84. li-mur-ma šamna (Ġ.GIŠ) lip-šu-uṣ
85. niqē (UDU.SIZKUR) liq-qi a-na aš-ri-ša li₆-tir
86. daš-šur a diš-tar

Variants: 74₆:5, ti. 75₆:6, šu-un. 76₆:7, šu-un 77₆:8, ina; 60d:8, LUGALmeš ni. 79₆:10, u.
87. ik-ri-bi-šu i-šem-mu-ū

Colophon

ITU abi (NE) li-mu m/ilu-ittīya (m/DINGIR.KI-ya) lūša-kīn uru di-maš-qa

TRANSLATION

Prologue

1. Sennacherib, the great king,
2. The mighty king, the king of the world,
3. King of Assyria, the king of the four corners of the world,
4. The expert shepherd, the favorite of the great gods,
5. The guardian of truth, the lover of justice,
6. The helpful one, the one who aids
7. The weak, the doer of good deeds,
8. The altogether perfect man, the martial man,
9. Foremost of all kings, the weapon which envelopes
10. The unsubmissive, the one who brings down lightning upon the enemy.
11. Aššur, the great mountain, unrivalled kingship
12. Has entrusted to me and he has made my weapons greater
13. Than (the weapons) of any ruler.
14. From the upper sea
15. In the west to the lower sea
16. In the east

27 Concerning the fragmentary date in 6d see n. 4 above.
17. All of the people he has caused to bow at my feet,
18. And the mighty kings, fearing my battle,
19. Left their habitations and,
20. Like the bats of the crevices,
21. Flew alone to an impenetrable place.

Campaign One

22. In my first campaign
23. Merodach-Baladan, the king of Babylonia,
24. Along with the troops of Elam, his ally,
25. I defeated in the plain of Kiš.
26. In the midst of that battle
27. He left his camp, and he fled alone
28. In order to save his life. The chariots, horses,
29. Wagons, (and) the mules
30. Which, in the onset of the battle,
31. He abandoned, I seized.
32. Into his palace, as in Babylon
33. I joyfully entered; I opened his treasure house and
34. Gold, silver, vessels of gold (and) of silver, precious stones,
35. Whatever there was—goods, possessions without number, great tribute—
36. His harem, the chamberlains, a courtier,
37. Male singers (and) female singers,
38. All of the many artisans as there were,
39. (And) his palace servants
40. I brought out and counted as booty.
41. By the strength of Aššur, my lord, his 75 fortified,
42. Walled cities in Chaldea,
43. And 420 small cities in their environs
44. I besieged, defeated, and plundered.
45. The Urbi, the Arameans, (and) the Chaldeans
46. Who were in Uruk, Nippur, Kiš,
47. Hursagkalamma, Cutha, (and) Sippar,
48. Besides the citizens, the malefactors, I brought out
49. And counted as booty.
50. On my return,
51. The Tu'muna, the Rišīḫu,
52. The Yadaqqu, the Ubudu,
53. The Kipre, the Maleḫu,
54. The Gurumu, the Ubulu,
55. The Damunu, the Gambulu,
56. The Ḥindaru, the Ru'ua,
57. The Puqudu, the Ḥamranu,
58. The Ḥagaranu, the Nabatu,
59. The Li'tau— the unsubmissive
60. Arameans— one like the other I defeated.
61. 208,000 people, young (and) old, male and female, horses,
62. Mules, asses, camels, oxen,
63. And sheep and goats without number, a great
64. Pillage, I brought to Assyria as booty.

65-69. In the course of my campaign I received the heavy tribute of

Nabu-bel-عالم, the governor of حارارة: gold, silver, great

musukkanni trees, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

70. The men of Hirimme, the wicked enemy,

71. I felled with weapons; I did not spare a soul.

72. Their corpses I hung on poles

73. And placed them around the city.

74. That territory I reorganized (politically);

75. 1 ox, 10 sheep, 10 homers of wine, (and) 20 homers of dates

76. Of the choicest kind (as a regular offering) for the gods of Assyria,

77. My lords, I established in perpetuity.

Campaign Two

78. In my second campaign أشур, my lord, gave me confidence and

79-81. I marched against the land of the كاشي and the land of the

Yasubigallaya who from days of old had not submitted themselves
to my royal ancestors.

82. Into the high mountains, a difficult place,

83. I rode my horse and my personal chariot

84. I had carried up on the backs (of my soldiers).

85. Where it was steep I climbed up like a wild ox.

86. Bit-Kilamzah, حارديشي,
87-88. (And) Bit-Kubatti, their fortified, walled cities I besieged and defeated.

89. People, horses, mules,

90. Asses, oxen and sheep and goats

Column II

1. I brought out of them and counted as booty,

2. And their innumerable small cities

3. I destroyed, pulled down, (and) turned into ruins.

4. Open country dwellings, tents, i.e., their dwelling places,

5. I burned with fire and reduced to ashes.

6-8. I returned and made that Bit-Kilamzah into a fortress; I fortified its walls greater than ever before,

9-10. And the people of the lands which I had conquered I settled in (it).

11. The people of the land of the Kasṭi

12. And of the land of the Yasubigallaya

13. Who had fled in the face of my weapons

14. I brought down from the mountains

15. And settled in Ḫardispi (and) Bit-Kubatti.

16-17. I placed them under the control of my official, the governor of Arrapha.

18. I had a stele made and

19. The conquest (and) victory which I had over them

20. I had inscribed upon it and I put (it) up in the city.

21. I turned my yoke and

22. Took the road to Ellipi.
23-25. In the face of (my approach), Ispabara, their king, abandoned his fortified cities (and) his treasure house, and fled far away.

26. All of his wide land I overwhelmed like a mist.

27. Marubišti (and) Akkuddu,

28. His royal cities, in addition to the 34 small cities

29. In their environs I besieged, defeated,

30. Destroyed, pulled down (and) burned with fire.

31. People, young (and) old, male and female, horses,

32. Mules, asses, camels, oxen,

33. And sheep and goats without number, I carried away as booty and I

34. Brought him to nought; thus

35. I diminished his land.

36-41. Siširtu (and) Kumpašlum, fortified cities, along with the small cities in their environs, all the territory of Bit-Barru, I severed from his land and annexed (them) to the territory of Assyria.

42-46. I established Elenzaš as the royal city and fortress of that territory; I changed its former name and (re)named it Kar-Sennacherib.

47. The people of the lands which I had conquered I settled in (it).

48-50. I placed (it) in the control of my official, the governor of Ḫargar and thus I widened my land.

51-57. On my return I received the heavy tribute of distant Madaya, of whose lands none among my royal ancestors had ever heard, and I made them submit to the yoke of my rule.
In my third campaign I marched against Ḫatti (i.e., the west).

The fear of the brightness of my lordship overwhelmed Luli, the king of Sidon and fleeing far away into the sea he disappeared.

Greater Sidon, Lesser Sidon,

Bit-Zitte, Sariptu,

Maḥalliba, Usu,

Akszibī, (and) Akko,

His fortified, walled cities, an area of pastures

And watering places, his base(s) of defense,

The fear of the weapon of Aššur, my lord,

Overwhelmed them and they bowed at my feet.

I placed Tuba'lu over them on a royal throne and tribute, a gift of my lordship, yearly, without ceasing, I imposed on him.

All the Amorite kings—Menahem the Šēmsīmūrinite, Tuba'lu the Sidonian, Abdi-li'iti the Arodite, Urumilkī the Byblian, Mitinti the Ashdodite, Puduil the Ammonite, Kammusunadbi the Moabite, Yarammu the Edomite, brought before me their rich gifts (and) their heavy showpieces fourfold, and kissed my feet,

But Šidqa, the king of Ashkelon, who did not submit to my yoke—

I deported his ancestral gods, himself, his wife, his sons, his daughters, (and) his brothers, the seed of his father's house, and brought him to Assyria.
92. Šarru-lu-dari, the son of Rukibti, their former king,
93. I placed over the people of Ashkelon, and
94. Tribute (and) fealty gifts of my lordship
95. I imposed upon him and he pulled my rope.
96. In the course of my campaign, Bit-Dagon,

Column III

1. Joppa, Banabarqa, (and)
2. Azuru, the cities of Sidqa
3. Who did not promptly submit to my yoke,
4. I besieged, defeated, (and) plundered.

5-13. The ministers, nobles and people of Amqarunna who had placed
   Padi, their king, a liege lord of Assyria, in iron chains and had
   turned him over to Hezekiah, the Judean, like an enemy committed
   infamy; they became fearful. They requested the aid of the kings of
   Egypt, and the archers, charioteers and cavalry of the king of
   Meluḫḫa, an innumerable force, and they came to their aid.
14-15. With the battle line drawn up before me in the plain of Eltekeh,
   they prepared for battle.
16. With the help of Assur, my lord,
17. I did battle with them and defeated them.
18-22. The charioteers and sons of the king of Egypt along with the
   charioteers of the king of Meluḫḫa, I seized alive in the midst of
   the battle. Eltekeh (and) Timnah I besieged, defeated, (and)
   plundered.
23-26. I went to Amqarunna, and when I slew the ministers (and) nobles
who had instigated the crime, I hung their corpses on the towers around the city.

27. The citizens of the city, the committers of the evil and crime,
28. I counted as booty.
29. The rest of them, innocent of misdeeds
30. And crimes,
31. Who were not guilty,
32. I ordered their release.

33-37. I brought Padi, their king, out of Jerusalem and placed him over them on a throne of lordship and I imposed the tribute of my lordship upon him,

38. But Hezekiah, the Judean,
39. Who did not submit to my yoke,
40. 46 of his fortified, walled cities
41. And the small cities in their environs
42. Which were innumerable,

43-46. I besieged (and) defeated by the putting down of a siege ramp, and by the use of battering rams, the fighting of the foot soldiers, mines, sap works, and by the use of siege ladders.

47. 200,150 people, young (and) old,
48. Male and female, horses, mules,
49. Asses, camels, oxen,

50-51. And sheep and goats without number, I brought out of them and counted as booty

52-56. As for him (Hezekiah), I shut him up in Jerusalem, his royal
city, like a caged bird. I erected a siege work against it and I made it impossible for him to leave the city.

57-62. His cities which I had plundered I severed from his land and turned them over to Mitinti, the king of Ashdod, Padi, the king of Amqarruna, and Šilli-bel, the king of Haziti; thus I diminished his land.

63-65. To the former tribute of my lordship I added the tribute (and) fealty gifts of my lordship and imposed (them) upon them.

66. That Hezekiah, the fear of the brightness

67. Of my lordship overwhelmed him, and

68-79. He sent after me to Nineveh, my royal city, the Urbi and his elite troops whom he had brought in to fortify Jerusalem, his royal city and who had ceased (their) service, with 30 talents of gold, 800 talents of silver, precious antimony, large blocks of sandu stone, ivory beds, ivory arm chairs, elephant hides, ivory, ebony, boxwood, everything, a weighty treasure, and his daughters, his harem, male singers, female singers, and

80-81. He sent his messengers in order to present the tribute and to do obeisance.

Campaign Four

82. In my fourth campaign Assur, my lord, gave me confidence and

83. I called up my proud troops and

84. I ordered a march against Bit-Yakin.

85. In the course of my campaign,
86. Sūzubû the Chaldean,
87. The one who lived in the marshlands,
88. I defeated in Bittutu.
89. That one, when the fear of my battle fell on him,
90. His heart pounded like (that of) a bobcat. He fled alone and
91. He was not to be found.
92. I turned my yoke and
93. Took the road for Bit-Yakin.
94. That Merodach-Baladan,
95. Whom, in the course of my first campaign,

Column IV
1. I defeated and scattered his forces,
2-5. He feared the clash of my mighty weapons and the onslaught of my fierce battle, and he flew like a bird to distant Nagiate which is in the sea.
6-9. His brothers, the seed of his father's house, whom he had abandoned on the shore of sea along with the people of his land, I brought out of Bit-Yakin, (which is) in the marshlands and reed thickets, and I counted (them) as booty.
10. I returned, and his cities I destroyed, pulled down (and) turned into ruins.
11. Upon his ally, the king of Elam,
12. I poured out terror.
13. On my return, Aššur-nadin-šumi,
14. My eldest son, my offspring,
15. I placed on his throne of rule, and
16. The breadth of the land of Sumer and Akkad
17. I entrusted to him.

Campaign Five

18-27. In my fifth campaign, the people of Tumurru, Šarum, Ezama, Kibšu, Ḥalgidda, Qua, (and) Qana whose habitation was situated like the nest of the eagle, the foremost of birds, on top of steep Mt. Nipur, and who did not submit themselves to the yoke—at the foot of Mt. Nipur I set up my camp, and with my choice guards and unsparing fighting men I set out like a fierce wild ox.

28-29. I passed over water courses, torrents, mountain streams, (and) precipitous ascents on my sedan chair.

30. Where it was steep (even) for the sedan chair,
31. I clambered up like a mountain goat
32. To the distant peaks against them. At
33. A place where I could rest,
34-35. I sat down on a mountain stone and drank cold water from a water bag in order (to quench) my thirst.
36. I pursued them to the peaks of the mountains and
37. Defeated them. I conquered their cities, and
38. Plundered them, destroying (them), pulling (them) down and burning (them) with fire.
39. The front of my yoke I turned, and against Maniyae,
40. The king of Ukku, the unsubmissive mountain dweller, I took the road.  
41-44. Before me none of the former kings ever tread the unblazed trails  
and troublesome paths which led to the steep mountains.  
45-51. At the foot of the mighty mountains, Mt. Anara and Mt. Uppa,  
I set up my base camp and I, in my sedan chair entered with dif-  
ficulty their narrow approaches in the company of my unsurpassed  
troops, and with hardship I repeatedly ascended to the precipitous  
summits of the mountains.  
52-54. That Maniyae, when he saw the dust of the feet of my soldiers,  
He abandoned Ukku, his royal city, and fled far away.  
55. I besieged, defeated, (and) plundered Ukku.  
56. Everything, property (and) possessions, the treasure of his palace,  
57. I brought out of it and counted as booty.  
58. 35 cities in its surrounding territory  
59. I defeated, and the people, oxen, and sheep and goats, (and)  
60. Asses I plundered, destroyed, pulled down, (and) burned with fire.  

Campaign against Hilakku  
61. In the eponym of Šulum-beli, the governor of Rimusi,  
62. Kirua, the city ruler of Illubri,  
63. A slave, my subject whose gods had deserted him,  
64-65. Caused the people of Hilakku to revolt and prepared for war.  
   Hilakku,  
66-68. The people who lived in Ingira and Tarzi became his ally; they
sized (control) of the Qua road and blocked the way.

69. Bowmen, bearers of shields and lances,

70. Charioteers, (and) cavalry, my royal army,

71. I ordered against them.

72. The men of Hilakku

73. Who had become his ally

74. In the midst of the difficult mountain they defeated.

75. Ingira (and) Tarzu they defeated and

76. Plundered.

77-78. That one they completely surrounded within Illubru, his fortified
city, and prevented his escape.

79. By the use of battering rams, nimgallé dūri

80. And siege ladders, (and) by the fighting of the foot soldiers

81. They defeated him and captured the city.

82. Kirua, the city ruler, along with all of his people

83. And the people of Hilakku who had become

84. Ally, besides the asses, oxen, and sheep and goats

85. They brought before me at Nineveh.

86. I skinned Kirua alive.

87. I returned and reorganized (politically) Illubru.

88. The people of the lands which I had conquered I settled in it.

89. The weapon of Aššur, my lord, I raised in it.

90. I had a stele of alabaster made and

91. Erected before it (the weapon).
Campaign against Tilgarimmu

1-8. In the eponym of Aššur-bel-uṣur, the governor of Kudmuḫi, when I selected bowmen, bearers of shields and lances, chariots, (and) cavalry, I ordered my royal army against Tilgarimmu, a city on the border of Tabalu where Gurdi, the king of ..., had prepared for war.

9. That city I completely surrounded, and
10. By the heaping up of earth and by the use of battering rams,
11. (And) the fighting of the foot soldiers they captured the city.
12. The people, along with the gods who inhabited it, they counted as booty.
13. That city they destroyed, pulled down, (and)
14. Turned into desolation and ruins.
15-18. From all of those lands out of which I brought booty I collected 30,000 bows (and) 20,000 slings and added (them) to my royal army.
19-22. The rest of the numerous enemy I divided like sheep among my whole army and (among) my governors (and) the people of my great cult centers.

Building Inscription—Epilogue

23. At that time, Nineveh, the magnificent cult center,
24. The city beloved of Ištar,
25-26. Wherein all the rites of the gods and goddesses take place,
27-29. An everlasting foundation, an enduring base whose plan was out-lined from days of old with (that) of the constellations and its arrangement was made manifest,
30. The artistic place, the abode of the mysterious
31-33. Into which has been brought all kinds of artistic workmanship, all the religious rules, (and) the secrets of the deep,
34-37. Wherein from days of old the former kings, my ancestors, ruled Assyria before me and directed the people of Enlil,
38-42. (Yet) no one among them paid attention to, or determined to widen the dwelling place of the city, to build the city wall, to straighten the streets and to dig a river channel, (or) to plant orchards,
43-47. Neither did he give careful thought nor did he deliberate in his heart on the palace within it--the inner room, the habitation of lordship whose dwelling place was too small--
48. (But) I, Sennacherib,
49. The king of the world, king of Assyria,
50-51. When I gave attention and determined to carry out that work according to the will of the gods,
52-56. The people of Chaldea, of the Arameans, of Mannai, Que and Hilakku, Philistia, and Tyre who did not submit to my yoke, I deported to (Nineveh) so that I might cause them to carry baskets and so that they might make brick. The former palace,
57-63. Which was 360 cubits long (on the side) and 95 cubits wide and whose living area was small, when the former kings, my ancestors, built (it) as their lordly habitation, they did not make it an artistic work.

64-66. Bull colossi of white limestone for the support of their doorways they quarried at Tastiate which is beyond the Tigris.

67-69. In order to build rafts they depleted the huge trees in the forests from all of their land.

70-72. In Ayyar, at the regular time of the inundation at the beginning of the year, they brought them over to this side on mighty rafts with difficulty.

73-74. At the crossing point of the quay they sank huge rafts. Their workmen

75-78. Exerted and strained themselves; with stress and strain they brought (them) over with difficulty and set them up in their gateways.

79. The Tebilti, a raging current,

80-83. Which, when it flowed passed the palace from days of old, caused a washout at its base at its mighty flood crest, shaking its foundation.

84. That entire small palace I tore down;

85-87. I diverted the Tebilti's course from within the city and directed its flow in the plain behind the city.

88-90. ½ GAN in the bed of the water course I joined together with bitumen 4 large limestone slabs and covered them over with reeds of the canebrakes and reed thickets.
91-VI:6. A piece of dry land as an addition, 340 cubits long and 289 cubits wide, I took from the Khosr and the city plain. I added (it) to the area of the former terrace and I raised its entire level to 190 brick courses.

7-10. I surrounded its foundation wall with large limestone (slabs), reinforcing its earthwork, so that in the future the crest of the inundation would not weaken the foundation of the terrace.

11-14. I made the entire palace (complex) 700 great cubits long and 440 cubits wide, and I increased its living area. Palaces of gold, silver,

15. Copper, sandu stone, ... stone,

16. Alabaster, ivory, ebony, boxwood,

17. Musukkannu wood, cedar, cypress,

18. Juniper, alemakku wood, and sindu wood,

19-20. I built for my lordly habitation; a portico (?)

21. Like a Hatti (i.e., western) palace

22. I had built opposite the doorways.

23-26. I roofed them (the palace halls) with beams of sweet smelling cedar (and) cypress, the produce of the bright mountains, Amanus and Sirara.

27-29. Doors of cedar, cypress, juniper, (and) sindu wood I bound with band(s) of silver (and) copper, and I hung (them) in their gateways.

30. In the corridors within the cella

31. I opened latticed windows.
32-36. Female protecting genii of alabaster and ivory, which carried
.... whose ...., clothed in dignity (and) might, (and) full of
grandeur, I set up in their gates and made a wonder to behold.

37-39. I brightened the gloom of the roof shaded corridors, causing
(them) to shine like the day.

40-41. Knob headed nails of silver (and) copper I placed around their
interior.

42-44. With baked bricks glazed in the color of red (?) (and) lapis
lazuli I decorated their corbels, friezes, and all their ....

45-53. In order to carry out the work on my palace, and in order to
perfect my handiwork, at that time, Assur and Istar, the ones who
loved my priesthood (and) appointed me, showed to me the location
of the cedar beams which long ago had grown tall and had become
massive in the seclusion of the Sirara mountains.

54-56. They pointed out to me (the location) of the alabaster in the
concealment of Mt. Ammanamu which, at the time of my royal ances-
tors, was scarce (even) for the pommel of a sword,

57-61. And the .... stone (for) all kinds of .... vessels which had
never been seen, revealed itself in Kaprigila in the territory of
Til-Barsip.

62-68. Near Nineveh in the land of Balatai, in accord with the will of
the god, white limestone was found in abundance; bull colossi and
(fully) formed statues of alabaster, (each) fashioned from one stone,
complete with limbs, were placed high on their own bases.
69-71. The bodies of the cow colossi, which were splendid of countenance, shined like a brilliant day.

72-75. I rough hewed on both sides in the quarry great slabs of . . . and had them dragged to Nineveh for the work on my palace.

76-84. Bull colossi and cow colossi of white limestone, in accord with the workmanship of Ninkurra, I had fashioned and completed in form in the land of Balaṭai; when, long ago, my royal ancestors made copper likenesses of themselves to set up in their sanctuaries, they exhausted all the artisans with their work.

85-88. Without understanding (or) giving thought to their needs (for carrying out) the work, they depleted the oil, wax, and wool (?) in their lands.

89-VII:8. (But) I, Sennacherib, the foremost of rulers, the one wise in all kinds of craftsmanship, in the artistic knowledge which the prince, Ninigiku, had given me, (and) in my own counsel, I reflected much on the execution of that work, and on the advice of my mind and in the wisdom of my heart, I fashioned and artistically executed in cast copper great copper pillars and striding lions which no king before me had ever cast.

9-19. I made an earthen mold according to the will of the god for beams and date palms, "the tree of wealth," (for) 12 fierce lions in addition to 12 magnificent bull colossi which were perfect in form, (and) 22 cow colossi clothed in dignity (and) jubilation, upon which were heaped might (and) grandeur, and I repeatedly poured copper into (the mold), as if for (casting) \( \frac{1}{2} \) shekel pieces, making their forms
perfect.

20-25. Bull Colossi made of copper, 2 of which were overlaid with silver alloy, bull colossi of alabaster, in addition to bull colossi and cow colossi of white limestone for my palace, I set up in their doorway (?).

26-30. Magnificent pillars of copper, along with huge pillars of cedar, the produce of Mt. Amanus, I bound with bands of copper and tin, and placed (them) upon the lions, and I placed them as the duppi of the lintel of their doors.

31-40. Alabaster cow colossi along with copper cow colossi which were overlaid with silver alloy and cow colossi cast in ... whose bodies were brilliant, pillars of ebony, cypress, cedar, Syrian juniper, juniper, sindu wood I set upon them and I leaned (on them) the architraves of the inner room of my lordly dwelling.

41-44. Slabs of ..., alabaster, and huge slabs of limestone I placed around their walls, making (them) a wonder to behold.

45-49. In order to (facilitate) the drawing of water daily, I had ropes, copper cables, and chains of copper made; in place of well poles I set up beams and date palms of copper on the wells. (Thus) I beautified those palaces.

50-52. I raised up the entire palace as an object of wonder for all the people. I named it, "The Palace without a Rival."

53-57. A park like Mt. Amanus in which are planted all kinds of aromatics, orchard fruit, and trees, produce of the mountains and Chaldea, in
addition to cotton, I planted beside it.

58-64. To the former area of Nineveh, whose circumference in days past was 9,300 cubits (and for which) the former rulers had not built an inner wall or an outer wall, I added 12,515 (cubits) from the plain around the city and made its measure 21,815 great cubits.

65-69. The foundation of the great wall $\text{BAD NI.GAL.BE} \ lû\text{KÚR.RA ŠÚ.SÚ}$,

"The wall whose brilliance routs the enemy," I placed on a limestone (base) and I made (the wall) 40 bricks thick raising its top to the height of 180 brick courses.

70-73. Toward the 4 winds, front and back, and on both sides, for going in and going out, I opened 15 gateways.

74. "May the vicegerent of Aššur remain in good health,"

The gate of Aššur of the city of Aššur,

75-76. "The overcomer of all enemies,"

The gate of Sennacherib of Halṣi,

77. "Enlil (is) the establisher of my rule,"

The gate of Samas of Gagal,

78-79. "May the rule of Sennacherib endure just as the position of the Wagon constellation (endures),"

The gate of Ninlil of Kar-Ninlil,

80. "The provider of egress for the sick,"

The mušlalu gate,

81-82. "The choicest of grain and flocks (are) ever in it,"

The Šibanibu gate,

83. "The bearer of the produce of the mountains,"
The Ḫalahlhu gate--

84-86. A total of 7 eastern gates (which) face south and east--I named them.

87-88. "Adad (is) the bestower of abundance to the land,"

The gate of Adad of the ambaṣṣu,

89-90. "Erra (is) the slayer of my enemies,"

The gate of Nergal of Tarbisi,

91. "Nannar (is) the guardian of my crown of lordship,"

The gate of Sin--

92-93. A total of 3 gates (which) face north--I named them.

94. "Ea (is) the one who sets my water source in order,"

The gate of the watering place,

95. "The admitter of the produce of all the inhabited places,"

The quay gate,

96-VIII:1. "The gifts of the Sumu'anite and Temite enter through it,"

The desert gate,

2. "The overseer of all things,"

The storehouse gate,

3. "Sarur (is) the one who fells the king's enemy,"

The Handuri gate--

4-5. A total of 5 gates (which) face west--I named them.

6-12. I opened the foundation of the outer wall, BAD.NIG.ERIM.HU.LUH.HA, "The terrifier of the enemy," and deepened (it) 45 GAR, causing (it) to reach the subterranean waters. In the subterranean waters I joined great mountain stone and above up to its coping I decorated it with large limestone (slabs).
13-14. The habitation of Nineveh, my lordly dwelling place, I enlarged.
   I widened its squares and made (them) as bright as day.
15. I had the outer wall (re)built and I made it as high as the mountains.
16. Above and below the city I had gardens laid out.
17-18. The produce (?) of the mountains and every land, (and) all the aromatics of Hatti I had planted in them.
19-21. I planted, in rather large number(s), in the broken up soil on the edges of the park all kinds of mountain vines, all the fruits of the inhabited lands, aromcs, and olive (?) trees.
22-28. The Khosr, whose waters since ancient times had stayed at a low level and (which) none among my royal ancestors dammed up in any way, as they poured into the Tigris; in order to make the orchards productive, I dug a canal with clod breakers (?) from the border of Kisri through high and low terrain.
29-30. I maintained those waters on the plain of Nineveh and I caused them to murmur like a (bubbling) irrigation ditch in the orchards.
31-32. In order to search for water I took the road to the foot of Mt. Musri; I ascended (it) and I traversed (it) with difficulty as far as Elmunakine.
33-35. Before Dur-Ištar, Šibaniba, and Suli I located springs; I enlarged their constricted outlets and turned them into good sources of water.
36-38. For the passage of those waters I cut through the steep mountains and difficult places with clod breakers (?) and directed their flow
to the plain of Nineveh.

39. Their channels I reinforced like mountain high heaping up (of earth).

40-42. I contained those waters within them and added (them) as excess for all time to the waters of the Khosr.

43-45. In the summertime I had all the orchards irrigated. In the wintertime I had 1,000 irrigated fields above and below the city flooded every year.

46-49. In order to slow down the flow of water I created a marsh and I planted canebrakes in it; igirū birds, wild pigs, and alap kiši I turned loose in (it).

50-52. In accord with the will of the god, the vine(s), all the fruit, the olive (?) trees, and aromatics thrived greatly.

53-55. The cypress, the musukkannu, all the trees, grew tall and sprouted (many) branches.

56. The canebrakes flourished greatly.

57-59. The flying birds (and) the igirū bird whose home is far away nested there; the wild pigs and the alap kiši multiplied.

60-63. The musukkannu, cypress, the produce of the orchards, (and) the reeds of the canebrakes which were in the marsh I cut down and I (used) them for the materials needed for the work on my lordly palace.

64. They picked the cotton and they wove (it) into garments.

65-70. As soon as I completed the work on my palace, I invited into it Assur, the great lord, and the gods and goddesses who inhabit
Assyria, and I offered huge sacrifices and I gave (them) my gifts (of welcome).

71-73. Olive (?) oil and cuttings of garden (plants) in the broken up soil I had made into fine (ointment).

74-76. At the dedication of the palace I drenched the heads of the people of my land (with ointment); I filled their insides with sweetened wine.

77-87. In the future among my royal heirs whom Assur shall name for the rule of the land and the people, when that palace shall have become old and dilapidated, may he restore it; may he read the inscription with my name, and may he anoint (it) with oil; may he offer sacrifices; may he return (it) to its place. (Then) Assur will hear his prayers.

Colophon

(Dated) the month of Ab, in the eponym of Ilu-ittiya, the governor of Damascus.
COMMENTARY

Prologue

For a brief discussion of the end of the Prologue see above, pp. 17ff.

II:66  bit tuklātešu

The function of this fortification is aptly defined in Streck, Asb., 42:IV:123f. GN . . . . al šarrūti al (var. bit) tuklāte ša Elamti ša kīna dūre rabē pān Elamti parku.

II:68f. rašubbat . . . ishupušunūtīme

This curious form cannot be explained. It also occurs in III:66f. pulḥi . . . ishupušūma . . . . The verb cannot be pl. as in neither case is the subj. in the pl. Furthermore, it in no way represents a subjunctive without ša because in each instance the noun is part of a construct chain, i.e., rašubbat kakke. . . . ., pulḥi melamme. . . .

For the subjunctive without ša see GAG§166.

III:10  ana anzilli ṭpušū
do not represent the real nature of this term. 2 As noted above, p. 52, the term carries more of the idea of something forbidden, i.e., a taboo. This idea is emphasized in the treatment of the instigators and collaborators in this act at least as seen in the terms of the composer of the text (III:23-38). The nobles were hung in an ignominious manner and the collaborating

1 OIP II, 31:II:77 a-na an-zil-li i-sīr-šu.
2 Sumer 9 (1953), 135:21
citizens were deported.

III:15 [uša1̱'alu kakkešu]n

Literally this means, "They sharpened/whet their weapons."

Cf. in a similar context 12:V:47ff. A literal use seems to be found in Streck, Aeb., 220:7ff. There it is found in context with tēhāza kaṣāru "to prepare for battle" (Cf. above, 1:15 ušakšir tēhāzu).

III:43 šukbus aramme

This phrase is comparable to ušakbis titurru in 4a:90 and 113:8f. titurru and aramme are equated in the lexical material.3 In the light of 113:8f., especially as it is supported by an archeological reconstruction, what is involved here is some kind of raised ramp.4 However, the structure described here was made of earth. This seems to be verified by the phrase sipik epere which replaces the present phrase in a similar context, below, V:10.

IV:4 Nagiate raggi

The division of the text follows Heidel's observation of the separation of the signs at this point in 6b; the division, as he indicates, was already suggested by Ungnad in ZA 38 (1929), 197.5 The phrase ša qabal tāmtim may simply imply a faraway place and need not be taken as a literal statement, i.e., a locale in the middle of the Persian Gulf. This place is in all likelihood the same place as the Nagitu which

3LTBA 2, 2:301.
4OIP XXIV, figs. 1 and 2.
5Sumer 9 (1953), 180.
is mentioned in the sixth campaign (12:V:27). This is verified by the fact that in 10:27, a text which presents a six campaign record, the name is spelled *na-ṣa-ti*.

**IV:18-27**

On the structure of this sentence see above, pp. 16f.

**IV:32f.** *eli ašar birkāya manaḥtum īšē*

Literally, "On a place where my knees had a resting place."

**VI:33** *kitmušā rittašin*

Literally, "Who were bowed on their limbs." The actual significance here is unclear.

**VI:87** *nalbaš gēni*

Literally, "The clothing of sheep." Significance, again, is obscure.

**VII:56** *iggsē nēš šipati*

"The trees which bear wool." Cf. VIII:64.

**VII:70-73**

On this sentence compare Winckler, *Sar*., 92:78f.

**VII:88** *abul Adad šē embassi*

The term *embassi* probably means some kind of park. It occurs in 15:21 in a context dealing with irrigation. In VIII:19, below, it is mentioned in connection with the planting of a garden. A most interesting case is ABL 427 r. 6 *Adad nūḥše i̇na libbi embassi illak*.

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VIII:8-9  uṣappilma  uṣakṣid  mē  naqbi

For similar descriptions of dealing with constructions in contact with subterranean water see Borger, Esarh., 23 Ep. 30:20ff.; AKA 148:V: 26ff.

VIII:34  namba'e

Streck, Asb., 74:31 ašar  kuppi  namba'  ša  mē  mala  bašū.  .....
The term namba'u in the present text is, as in the Assurbanipal passage connected with a city or cities (as in the case of the latter). Furthermore, the Assurbanipal context indicates that these water sources so identified were essential for a significant supply of water.

VIII:39  ki  šuruk  šadī


VIII:64  imhasū

The general range of this root in the Semitic languages has been treated in JAOS 79 (1959), 169ff. including its use to express weaving.

VIII:69  nīqē  tašrihte  aggīma

Cf. Streck, Asb., 90:106f.  ...  nīqē  tašrihtī  aggā  ana  ilāni  bēlēya

VIII:71-7  šaman  ....  ana  rūšti

Borger, Esarh., 63 Ep. 23:53  šaman  rūšti  (î.SAG)  igulā  muhhasilu  ušašqi
As indicated above, this text was presented by Luckenbill only as a variant to the other bull inscriptions. Layard's copy shows the inscription to be completely missing at the ends of most of the lines. The stereotyped nature of these texts makes the restoration of this inscription a simple matter. The restorations are based on the following text comparisons:

7:1-12 = 10:1-23 (following Luckenbill)
7:13-31 = 21:No. 1:6b-23
7:13-22 = 9:Slab III:21-34

OUTLINE

Prologue 1-3a
Summary of Five Campaigns 3b-12b
Building Inscription 12c-31

TRANSLITERATION

1. Ṇkal d-Sîn-aḫḫē-erība (E.GAL.d.ZUEN.ŠEŠ-šmeš-eri-ba) šarru rabû
   (LUGAL.GAL) šarru (LUGAL) dan-nu šâr kiššati (ŠU) šâr [kuraš-šurki]

1 This text is on a bull from the same chamber.

Variants: 1.a 10:1, md.ZUEN.PARšmeš.ŠU.
2. [sár kib-rat 4tim mi-gir ilâni rabûti (DINGIRMES.GALMES) d]aš-šur ab ilâni (AD.DINGIRMES) i-na kul-lat ma-li-ki ke-niš ippalsannimma (IGI.BAR-ni-ma)

3. [eli (UGU) gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a kakkêya (GišTUKULMES-ya) i]-na ta-ša-az şeri (EDIN) i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš (KIS.ki) as-kip mdMarduk-

4. [apla-iddina (mdAMAR.UD.IBILASUM)a) šár kurkâr-dun-yâ-âš e-ke-ma be-lut-su] gîm-ri mat lu'ékal-dî a-di gi-piš um-ma-na-a-ti Elâmè (LUNIM.MAK)b [re-ši-šu u-ra-sîp i-na kakkê (GišTUKULMES)]

5. mdAššur-nadin-šumi (mdaš-šur-SUM.MU) mâru (DUMU)a reš-tu-ú tar-bit bir-ke-ya i-na kussâ šarrûtîšu (Gu.ZA.LUGALti-šú ú-še-šib-ma Akkadû rapaštum (URiki.DAGALTîm) ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú]

6. as-suḫ na-gâb luáj-lam-e-la lu-su-ti-i ba-ḫu-la-ti uru[yi-rim-me i-na kakke (GišTUKUL) ú-šam-qit-ma la iz-zi-ba pi-ri-i'-šú-un]

7. ak-šuqûd ma luya-su-bi-gal-la-a nákiri (LUKUR) ak-ši kure[i-li-pi u-šal-pit-ma ú-ab-bit da-ád-me-šá u mul-li-i]


9. mar-qí-tuâ i-na mat-[tim]-ma šá-a-tu i-na ra-šub-bat kakkê (GišTUKUL) daš-šur béleya [(EN-ya) e-mid šad-da-šú ṃtu-ba-a'-lu i-na kusse] šarrûtîšu (GišGU.ZA.LUGALti-šú]


Variants: 4.a10:9, luékal-dî; bvariant to 10:10, e-la-me-e. 5.a10:11, DUMU-ú-a. 6.a10:13, 2. 7.a10:15, omits. 9.a10:18, tum.
11. \(\text{mha-za-q\i-a-a-ú šarrašu (LUGAL-šu) še-pu-u-a ú-šak-niš-ma}^a\ \text{aš-ša-}^\text{a} \text{ni nišé (UKûmes) ururu-mur-ra-a-a a-ši-bu-ut kurni-pur šadi (KUR}_1^1\])

12. mar-ši i-na kakke (gišTUKUL) ú-šam-qit ururu-ku a-di nap-šar da-ač-[me-šú ki-ma tî a-bu-bi ú-ab-bit i-na u\(4\)-me-šú-ma\(^2\) te-ne-šet]

13. na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti qâtēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) tup-šik-ku ú-ša-äš-ši-šú-nu-ti-ma il-[bi-na libitta (SIG\(_4\)) ëkallu (ÉGAL) qabal (MURUB) áli (URU) ša uruni-na-a\(^a\) ša 360]

14. i-na 1 ammati (KUŠ) šiddu (UŠ) 95 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) pütu (SAG.KI) ma-ra-ku šit-ku-na-at-ma [šu-uh-hu-rat šu-bat-sa ša šarrānu (LUGALmeš) a-li-kut maHR-ë]

15. abbēya (A\(\text{meš}^a\)-ya) a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šu-un ú-še-pi-šu\(^a\)-ma la ú-nak-[ki-lu ši-pir-ša aladlamme\(\)\(\) (\(\text{ALAD}^a\),\(\text{ALAMMA}\) ša na\(4\)-pi-i-li pe-še-e]

16. i-na uruta-as-ti-â-te ib-tu-qu a-na mu-kil bābātišin (K\(\text{meš}^a\)-ši-in\(^a\)) [a-na šu-pu-uš elippâte (gišM\(\text{meš}\)) qē-reb qišāti (giš Tirmeş) iše ra-butî (GİS\(\text{mes}^\text{.GALmes}\))]

17. ū-qí-ru i-na nap-šar mātētišun (KUR\(\text{meš}^-\text{šu-un}^a\)) i-na Ayyaru (it\(\text{GU}^a\) u\(4\)-mu a-dan-ni e-[de-e pa-an šat-ti i-na elippâte (gišM\(\text{meš}\)) ši-ra-a-ti]

\(\text{29: Slab III:21b is the probable parallel here.}\)

\text{Variants: 11.} \(\text{a}^1\): 10:21f., ú-šak-niš še-pu-u-a and omits i-ša-ya ab-ša-a-ni.
\(\text{13.} \(\text{a}^9\): Slab III:21, NÍNA\(^\text{KI}\); 21:No. 1:7, uruni-na-a. \(\text{15.} \(\text{a}^9\): Slab III:23, šu. \(\text{16.} \(\text{a}^9\): Slab III:25, šin. \(\text{17.} \(\text{a}^2\): 21:No. 1:10, mu.}
18. a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a u-šēb-bē-ru-ni mar-ši-iš i-na ne-[ber ka-a-ri ellippate rabiāte (Gīš空气质量LA=GAH) u-ṭi-ib-bu-ú]


20. u-šā-aṣ-bi-tu bābātišin (Kā空气质量Chemistryš-ši-in) id [te-bil]-ti a-gu-ú šit-[mu-ru ša ul-tu ūmē rūqūte (UD空气质量Chemistryme=SPORT,SUD空气质量Chemistryme) te-eh ēkalli (E.GAL)


22. ma-lak-ša uš-te-[ša-na a uše-šer mu-ša-ša qe]-reb a-sur-rak-ki-ša šap-la-nu a qanā (Gī空气质量Chemistrymeš) e-la-niš kupra (ESIR.空气质量ChemistryE.A)

23. it-ti [na空气质量Chemistrypi-i-li rabūti (GAL空气质量Chemistrymeš) dun-nu-niš ak-š]-i ma 3 340 a ina ammati (KU空气质量ChemistryS) arku (GĪ空气质量ChemistryDA) 289 ina l ammati (KU空气质量ChemistryS) rupṣu (DAGAL) eqla (A.空气质量ChemistryS) ul-tu ma-a-me

24. u-šes-[lamm-ma ba-ba-liš ú-tir tar-pa-šu-ú eli (UG) U ša a u₄-me pa-ni u-šar-bi şe-er me-ši-ib-ṭi ēkalli (E.GAL)

25. maḥ-[ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma i-na 190 ti-ip-ki]-ul-la-a re-ši-šu la-ba-riš ūmē (UD空气质量Chemistrymeš) i-na mīl (ILLU) kis-ša-ti

26. tem-me-[en-šu la e-ne-še na空气质量Chemistrypi-i-li rabūti (GAL空气质量Chemistrymeš)] ki-su-šu u-ša-as-hi-ra u-dan-ni-na šu-pu-uk-šu

3 Following suggested correction by Luckenbill of 21:No. 1:16. Style would seem to dictate this (1:76; 2:49; cf. 6a:V:89; VIII:10).

27. a-na 9:\textsuperscript{14} (1)\textsuperscript{4} si-na as\textsuperscript{4}-hum rab\textsuperscript{ti} (GAL\textsuperscript{ti}) šiddu (US) 440 i]-na as\textsuperscript{4}-hum rab\textsuperscript{ti} (GAL\textsuperscript{ti}) pūtu (SAG.KI) si-kit-ti ēkalli (E.GAL) ū-tir-ma

28. šu-bat-[sa uš-rab-bi ēkali (E.GAL) n]a\textsuperscript{4}DUR.M[T].NA.BAN.DA gišnu-gallī šin piri uš\textsuperscript{i} taskarinni musukkanni (na\textsuperscript{4}GIŠ.NU.x.GAL.ZU.AM.SI gišESI gišTUKUL gišMEZ.MA.GAN.NA)

29. erenni šumēni burāši (gišERIN giš[ŠUR.MAN gišSIM.L]I) giš-e-lem-ma-ku a-na mu-šab\textsuperscript{a} be-lu-ti-ya ab-ni-ma bit ap-pa-a-ti

30. tam-šil ēkalli (E.GAL) [kur\textsuperscript{a}-at-ti] mi-lē-ri-t ba-ba-a-ti ú-šē-piš gušūrē erenni šumēni (giš\textsuperscript{e}-meš gišere-ni gišSUR.MAN)

31. ša e-re-su-[un ū-a-bu bī]-nu-[ut]kur\textsuperscript{a}-ma-nim kursi-ra-ra šadē ellūtī (KUR\textsuperscript{mešā} KUMEŠ) ú-šat-ri-ša e-li-šin . . . . .

TRANSLATION

1. Palace of Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king, the king of the world, king of Assyria,

2. The king of the four corners of the world, the favorite of the great gods. On me, among all the kings, has Aššur, the father of the gods, surely looked with favor, and

3-4. He has made my weapons greater than (the weapons) of any ruler. I descended into a pitched battle in the plain of Kiš; I deprived Merodach-Baladan, the king of Babylonia, of his rule. All of the

\textsuperscript{4}The sign for 2 (\textsuperscript{3}) and 7 (\textsuperscript{3}) cause confusion. Cf. 9:26; 21:No. 1:19.

\textsuperscript{5}For a possible continuation see 21:No1:24-27a.

Variants: 29.a21:No. 1:21, ša-ab. 31.a21:No. 1:23, KUR\textsuperscript{b}. 
land of the Chaldeans, in addition to all of the troops of the Elamites, his allies I slaughtered.

5. I established Assur-nadin-šumi, my first born son, the one reared at my knee, on his throne of kingship and I entrusted to him broad Akkad.

6. I uprooted all of the Aššušu and the Sutu; when I felled the men of Hirimme, I did not spare their scion.

7. I defeated the land of the Yasubigallaya, an evil enemy. I plundered Ellipi and I devastated its settlements. Luli,

8. The king of Sidon, feared my battle; he fled to Yadnana which is in the sea so that he might

9-10. Hide. In that land in fear of the weapon of Assur, my lord, he disappeared. I placed Tuba'lu on his kingly throne and I imposed on him the tribute of my lordship. I seized the wide land of mighty (and) powerful Judah.

11-12. Hezekiah, its king, I caused to bow at my feet and thus he pulled my rope. The people of Tumurru, the inhabitants of steep Mt. Nipur, I felled with the sword. Ukkù, along with all its settlements, I devastated like the ruin from a flood. At that time, the people of my conquered enemy I caused to carry baskets and they made brick.

13-14. The palace in the midst of the city of Nineveh which was 360 cubits long (and) 95 cubits wide and whose living area was small, when my royal

15. Ancestors built (it) as their lordly habitation, they did not make
it an artistic work. Bull colossi of white limestone

16-18. For the support of their doorways they quarried at Tastiate. In order to build rafts they depleted the huge trees in the forests from all their lands. In Ayyar, at the regular time of the inundation at the beginning of the year, they brought (them) over to this side on mighty rafts with difficulty. At the crossing point of the quay they sank the huge rafts.

19. Their workmen exerted and strained themselves; with stress and strain they brought (them) over with difficulty and

20-21. Set (them) up in their gateways. The Tebilti, a raging current, which, when it flowed passed the palace from days of old, it shook its foundation at its mighty flood crest. That entire small palace I tore down. The Tebilti's

22-26. Course I diverted, controlling its flow. In the miry bed (of the diverted river), below, reeds, above, asphalt, I joined solidly together with large (slabs) of limestone. A piece of land 340 cubits long (and) 289 cubits wide I raised from the water and turned (it) into dry land. I made its width larger than before and added it to the area of the former palace, and I raised its level to 190 brick courses. I surrounded its foundation wall with large limestone (slabs), reinforcing its earthwork, so that in the future the crest of the inundation would not weaken the foundation of the terrace.

27. I made the entire palace (complex) 914 great cubits long (and) 440 great cubits wide,
28-29. And I increased its living area. A palace of... stone, alabaster, ivory, ebony, boxwood, musukkannu wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, and elammakku wood, I built for my lordly habitation; a portico (?)

30-31. Like a Hatti (i.e., western) palace I had built opposite the gates. I roofed them with beams of sweet smelling cedar (and) cypress, the produce of the bright mountains, Amanaus (and) Sirara.
This inscription is from a series of six panels (numbered I-VI) carved in the rock face of Judi Dagh (or, Jebel Judi), east of the Tigris River and northeast of Jezireh. Of these six panels, only five contain any inscribed material; no. VI was prepared for the sculptor but never utilized.

In addition to these six panels, two others (numbered VII-VIII), one (VII) discovered by Thompson and the other (VIII) by Bell, are considered by King. Of these, only VII contains any inscribed material. It is included because of its similarities with the Judi Dagh material.

The six panels of the Judi Dagh inscription all partially repeat the same inscription. Panel II (the best preserved), following the edition of King, serves as the basic text; I, III-VII are treated as variants. It is to be noted that while these panels differ in many respects from II the exact nature of that difference remains unknown due to their poor state of preservation.

The text presented here, including the variants, differs only in minor respects from that of King.

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2Ibid., 81.
3Ibid., 69f.; 82.
4Cf. Ibid., 89-91 for a copy of this text. This is based on the work of Thompson. The copy shows the fragmentary nature of the text. It is unfortunate that King did not see fit to include an autograph plate of this text for a proper comparison with the Judi Dagh panels.
OUTLINE

Prologue 1-11
The Fifth Campaign 12-49
Epilogue 50-52

TRANSLITERATION

Prologue

1. daš-sur dSin (dES) dŠemas (dUTU) dAdad (dIM)
2. dNinurta (dMAS) uadīštar (dINANNA) ilānu rabūtu (DINGIRmeš. [GA] mes)b
3. ša i-di šarri (LUGAL) me-eg-[re]-šu-un
4. i-za-su-ma eli (UGU) kul-lat n[a]6-ki-ri
5. ū-šam-ra-ru kakkēšu (gišTUKULmeš7-šu)
6. mdSin-ahhe-erība (mdES.PAPmeš.SU) šarru rabū (LUGAL.GAL) šarru (SAR₄)
dan-nu
7. šar₄ kisšati (ŠU) šar₄ kur aš-sur-ki rubū (NUN) na-a'-du
8. ti-ri-îq gātekun (ŠU.MIN-ku-u[a]) ša i-naa
9. an-ni-ku-un i-sa-ru-tam 8 i-tal-la-ku-ma
10. mātēti (KURmeš)a la ma-gi-ri šabē (ERINmeš) hur-ša-ni
11. la kan-šu-ti b u-sak-ni-š[u]b še-pu-us-šu

5I:3; III:2; IV:3.
6I:4.
7Cf. IV:5 were LU appears as a probable scribal error for TUKUL.
8Cf. Commentary for a discussion of this suggested restoration.

Variants: 2.ai:1, ū; bI:2 and III:2 add ša ū-[kan(?)]-na-ư-u ma-al-kl.
The Fifth Campaign

12. ina 𒌋-\u02c0-\u02f6-\u02f6-\u0304-\u02f1 ma urutu-mur-ra
13. uruš-Š-ri-im urušal-\u02f0-da
g
14. uruki-ib-Š-\u02f6 urue-a-\u02f0-ma uruqu-u-a
15. uruga-na ša me-šer ku[r]kat-mu-hi
16. ša kīma (GIM) qin-ni erē (\u0260mūšen) ge-er
17. ubēnāt (šU.Š\u02f6eš) kurni-pur šad-di-i
18. šit-ku-na-at šu-bat-su-un
19. ša ul-tu ul-la ina šarrāni abbēya (LU\u02f0AL\u02f6eš·AD\u02f0eš-ya c)
20. šip-gu mit-ru la i-du-ū
21. pa-lāh be-lu-ti ina palē bēlūtiya (BA\u02f0E\u02e9ti-ya)
22. ilūšun (DINGIR\u02f6eš-šū-un) i-zi-bu-
23. šū-nu-ti-ma ū-šab-šū-uɑ

9IV:17, 18 is broken but the order is apparently the same as here
(Contra, OIP II, 64, n. 4; King, Op. cit., 85, n. 53).
10King read gaš-ru. The sign is , not .

Variants: 14. AV:13 omits uruš-Š-ri-im and l. 14 seems to omit uruš\u02f0i-ib-Š-\u02f0; bV:15, [gu]-\u02f6-a. 15. aIV:19; V:15, ša. 19. aIV:21, ša; bIV:21, tu; cIV:22, va. 23. aIV:24, ū. The text of I and IV varies here:
I: 23. i-na URU
24. ilūšun (DINGIRmeš-šū-un)
25. KUR[ ]aš-šur
26. -DA(?)-ti-šun
27. laMA.LAH\u02f0eš(?)
28. daššur beli (EN)
29. ū-ša-aš-kin-ma(?)[ ]
30. ū GIS[ ]

IV: 24. ilūšun (DINGIRmeš-šū-un) i-zi-bu-šū-nu-ti-ma ū-šab-šū-ū
25. re-qu-ut-(šu-ùn) ]ti kurn[i(?)-pur(?)][ ]
26. ū-ša(?)-ma(?)-tu(?) [s]-na[ ]
27. ū-ma(?)-er[ ] Já-ta-bu[ ]
24. re-qú-ut-s[ u-u ] u[ ]
25. [ ]šé(? ) [ ]pal [ ] ku
26. ḫul-tú re-sē
27. [ ] iādīلام (iāDIMENA)
28. [ ] ā-na Aššur (BAL.TIL i)
29. [ ]
30. [ ] ū máreš (DUMU meš ) [ ] ū márešu (DUMU-šú)
31. ū-ta-bu [ u ina ] 12 iā [ ] 13 ya (?)
33. ū-šā-šā-ki-na ma ū[ ] šābe (ERIN meš ) e-peš tāhāziya (ME-ya)
34. git-ma-[ iu ]-ti kurni-pur [ a-na ] 16 gi-ni[ ]
35. [ ] ti al-me ḫar-[ rī ] na-ad-ba-ki šādē (KUR meš ) a
36. [ ] še-er ubānātī ( ŠU.ŠI meš ) šā-qa-ti
37. [ ] it[ ] ti kakkābī šamē (MUL meš . [AN ] 17
38. a-na [ ] kūssā (gišGU.ZA ) [ ] rī-šā-šū-[ un ] a
39. [ ] kīma arme (GIM.GUD.AM ) p[ a-nu-uš-šūn 18 aš-bat ]

---

13From the partial remains of VII:13 King, Op. cit., 90, n. 98, suggests the full reading iāDIMENA.
14IV:28.
15Already conjectured by King; cf. 6a:IV:24, etc.
16VII:15.
17Suggested by Luckenbill; partially preserved.
18VII:17.

Variants: 33. aVII:13, ū-šā-šā-ki-in. 35. aVII:16, na-at-bak šādī (KUR i)
38. aVII:17, rī-šā-su-un.
Epilogue

50. eli (UGU) zuq-ti kurni-pur a-šar[ti ti ra aš]

51. ul[ra mu-nak-kir ši-ṭir(?)-ya

52. aš-šura ilānu rabūtu (DINGIRmes GALmes)[li] k-kil-mu-šū

lis-ki-[pu-šū]

1966a:IV:45.
20Cf. VII:18, kīma (GIM) a[r-me].
21VII:18.
22The tu is certain. In the autograph it seems as if the ha and tu have been transposed (pl. XX).
23The URU is suggested by King, ibid., 89.
26King’s suggested UGU is unlikely. UGU-li-šū-nu never occurs in Sennacherib’s texts. What does occur is UGU-šu-um (1:54; 2:13, 6a:II:19, etc.).

Variants: 44.aVII:20 inserts aš-lu-la šal-la-sun ab-bul[. . . .]
52.aII:44, adds ]].
TRANSLATION

Prologue

1. Aššur, Sin, Šamaš, Adad,
2. Ninurta, and Ištar, the great gods
3-5. Who stand at the side of the king, their favorite, and who make
his weapons bitter against all enemies—
6. Sennacherib, the great king, the mighty king,
7. Your blessed one who by your
8. Mercy is successful, and
9-11. Who caused the unsubmissive lands and the unsubmissive people
of the mountains to bow at his feet.

The Fifth Campaign

12. At that time, Tumurru,
13. Šarim, Ḫalgidda,
14. Kibša, Ezama, Qua, (and)
15. Qana, which (were in) the territory of Kadmuḫi,
16-18. Whose habitation like the eagle's nest is situated on top of
   Mt. Nipur,
19. Who, since the time of my royal ancestors,
20. (were) mighty (and) powerful, (and) were not used to
21. The fear of (foreign) rule; during my lordly reign,
22. Their gods forsook
23. and . . . .
8:24-48

24. • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
25. • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •
26. • • • • • • • • • from the source(s) ?
27. • • • • • • • • • • • the Tigris
28. • • • • • • • • • • • to Assur
29. • • • • • • • • • • •
30. • • • • • the citizens (?) • • • • • and their sons • • •
31. • • • • • • • • • • •
32. Against them I marched. At the foot of Nipur mountain
33-34. I established (my base camp) and I • • • my unsparing fighting
    men. Mt. Nipur • • •
35. • • • • I besieged. Water courses, mountain streams
36. • • • • to the distant peaks
37. • • • • • the stars of heaven
38. • • • • • with my sedan chair • • •
39. • • • • like a wild ox before them
40. • • • • steep I clambered up on foot
41. • • • like a mountain goat. At a resting
42. Place where I could find respite, I sat down on a mountain
    stone and
43. I drank cold water from a water bag in order (to quench) my thirst.
44. • • • those cities I besieged, defeated, (and) tore down
45. • • • • • • • • • • •
46. Their evildoers on the peaks of Nipur • • •
47-48. I pursued them to the top of the mountain and • • • I had a
stele made and

49. The outstanding victory of Aššur, my lord, I had inscribed (on it).

Epilogue

50. On top of Mt. Nipur, where.

51. . . . . . . . . . . the one who removes my name

52. May Aššur (and) the great gods look on him in anger; may they overthrow him.
6. *tiris gatëkun*

This phrase is difficult to translate with one word. The epithet *tiris gätë* has been translated "blessed".\(^1\) It is related to the idiom *gatë tarāšu* which belongs to the whole vocabulary related to blessings and oaths.\(^2\) Its relation to oaths is best illustrated by EMS 61:13

\[
[an] a napsät ili u sarri gātī attara[(g)]āš ilāni rabūti aszakar "I swear (lit. 'stretch out my hand') by the life of the god and king, I take an oath by the life of the great gods." It is used in connection with *bibil libbi* to express favor by the gods as in Weidner, \(Tn\), 46:9ff.  
*šarru tiris gat Ani u bibil libbi Enlil nūšit Aššur u Šamaš anāku "I, the king (who) is blessed (lit. 'of the outstretch of the hand of') of Anu and the favorite of Enlil, the choice one of Assur and Samas." It is also used similarly to express the giving of praise to god. An interesting case is AKA 266:I:37fo. *ina biblat libbiya u tiris* (reading with variant) *gätēya Ištar bēli rá'imat sangūtiya lū tamgurānnima . . . "By my praise (lit. 'gift of my heart') and blessing (lit. 'the outstretch of my hand') Lady Istar, the lover of my priesthood, is favorable to me." The relation of praise and showing of favor here recalls the epithet *migir ilāni rabūti* (6a:I:4, etc.). Therefore, while translating the epithet *tiris gätēkun* "your blessed one" it may be suggested that this epithet may here be a highly poetic substitute for *migir ilāni rabūti*, for the one to whom the hand of the god is

---

\(^1\)Borger, *Esarh.*, 73:19.  
\(^2\)On this subject see Landsberger, *MAOG* 4, 294ff. Cf. Notscher, \(Ur\) NS 3 (1934), 189.
outstretched is one who is favored by the gods.

9. *išarūtam*

This restoration suggests itself on the basis of BMS 53:5 *ina annikutum išarūtam lullik*. This is an expression of the idiom *išarūtam alāku* "to be successful." It had been previously suggested by King to restore here *etellis* and to translate the whole phrase "who through your mercy proceeds triumphantly." This is the translation suggested by Luckenbill although he does not make the restoration. While the idiom *etellis alāku* is not impossible here the parallel formulation with *annu* makes the suggested restoration quite felicitous.

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*PSBA* 35 (1913), cf. 84 and 87.
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LIST OF TEXTS

The following list attempts to include all of the published cuneiform texts of Sennacherib. The texts have been numbered and arranged for a projected new edition of the entire corpus. The arrangement of these texts, including the apparent discrepancies between this list and that included in OIP II, have been discussed in the Introduction to this work (cf. pp. 8ff.). The Babylonian Chronicle is the only non-Sennacherib text included here; the numerous allusions to him scattered throughout all of the ancient writings are beyond the scope of this work.

Standard abbreviations have been used where ever possible. All others are included in the list of abbreviations on p. vi. In each case where the editor's name is not part of the abbreviation it has been given in the initial citation of the particular work. For the sake of clarity Latin citation abbreviations have not been used here.

Each text is cited by its standard registration number where ever possible. If both a provisional number (e.g., 1909-3-13, 1) and a permanent registration number (e.g., BM 103000) are known the latter will be followed by the former in parenthesis--BM 103000 (1909-3-13, 1). Each OIP II reference includes the indication of the place in Luckenbill's outline, the pages in OIP II, and the subdivision where one is indicated (e.g., 23 in the list).
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**Kuyunjik Material—Skał [s]a Kāmīna la Isû**

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<td>Stiftung, pp. 23-32.</td>
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<td>Babylonian Chronicle II:18-III:38</td>
<td>CT 34, pls. 47-50</td>
<td>(J₁) 158-160</td>
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II

UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

The material listed here consist mainly of fragments of annalistic material. The information is based upon Leichty, *Bibliography*. Each text is listed by its standard registration number. The text reference numbers are those assigned to each text in this work (cf. Chart I).

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Tell Billah Bricks