This dissertation, entitled

SENNAKERIB'S ANNALS:
A FOUNDATIONAL TEXT STUDY

by

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Doctor of Philosophy

has been read and approved by

[Signatures]

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SENNACHERIB'S ANNALS:
A FOUNDATIONAL TEXT STUDY
To

Janie

rū'imat epṣētiva

Her toil has been a labor of love.
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:

King, Tukulti-Ninib I  L. W. King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib I.*

Leichty, Catalogue  Erle Leichty, *A Bibliography of the Cuneiform Tablets of the Kuyunjik Collection in the British Museum.*

M-R  B. Meissner, P. Rost, *Die Bauinschriften Sanherib.*

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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.1 This he followed with further publications between 1931 and 1940.2 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.3 In 1953, A. Heidel published a prism from the Iraq Museum which restores the lacunae in BM 103000.4 1954 saw the appearance of several texts under the editorship of E. Ebeling.5 In 1958, H. Tadmor published an edition of a text which has been known in autograph since 1898.6 A. Baer published a short inscription in 1960.7 In 1963, A. K. Grayson presented

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.\textsuperscript{8} 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.\textsuperscript{9} 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.\textsuperscript{10}

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.\textsuperscript{11} 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 earliest record of a king's activities, he still gave precedence to the so called "final edition" in his work.\textsuperscript{12} It served as his prime text while other earlier texts with the same material were made variants to

\begin{itemize}
\item[9] Cf. Appendix I.
\item[10] Cf. Appendix I and the discussion in ch. II of the Introduction.
\item[11] AnOr, 1x.
\item[12] Cf. loc. cit. and Historiography, p. 8. The procedure in OIP II also contradicts the outline which it proposed, pp. 20f.
\end{itemize}
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 OLZ 27 (1924), 313. For a concise current statement see C.A.H. 2 fasc. 49, pp. 23ff.
15 OP II, 76:106; Cf. Smith-Sayce, Hist., p. 98.
16 E.g., AFO 2 (1924-25), 132-34; AJSL (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.\textsuperscript{18} 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.\textsuperscript{19} 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.

\textsuperscript{18}cf. III R 12-13 and Smith-Sayce, Hist., pp. 3f.; 32ff.; 51ff.; 65ff.; 77f.; 84f.; 89ff.
\textsuperscript{19}Ibid., pp. 34f.; 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 mabré gerriya, ina šanê 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 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. xvii-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 (Muššizib-Marduk) is described in 11:14-17 as compared with 12:IV:

3Gf. below, p. 60, n. 4.
4Gf. below, p. 93.
5OIP II, 156. In this Luckenbill follows the designation in III R 4, no. 4.
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>1:1 LUGAL.GAL</td>
<td>I:1 LUGAL.GAL</td>
<td>la:1; 3:1; 6a:I:1, LUGAL.GAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 me-al-ki</td>
<td>8 mal-ki</td>
<td>1:3; 2:3; 6a:I:17 me-al-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 gi-mir</td>
<td>11 gim-ri</td>
<td>1:4; 3:4; 6a:I:17 gi-mir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33 šal-la-ti-š</td>
<td>35 šal-la-ti-š</td>
<td>1:52;šal-la-ti-š 2:12; 6a:I:40 šal-la-ti-š</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6AS 16, 342.
7The eponym of 12 is Bēl-ēmuranni; (691 B.C.); that of 13 is Gāhilu (689 B.C.). Cf. ibid., 342, n. 45.
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-akīti 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 ŠAR₄.GAL šar₄ kīš-šē-ti; 70:2 reads ŠAR₄.GAL šar₄ šū. 9

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

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8 Cf. 69a:10, ultu ėšitate adī šillān, and 6a:1:15-16, šumu šamši. . . šit Šamši. The latter only occurs after the third campaign. Cf. below, pp. 17ff.

9 Cf. OIP II; 127 (I₄):2, ŠAR₄.GAL šar₄ kīš-šē-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
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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 Yaḫḫu-n-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 ... gerrīya 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.H², 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*<sup>5</sup>  
- **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 sebê gerriya*  
- **V:5** *ina samânê gerriya*

This kind of formulation occurs first in the annals of Šamši-Adad V.<sup>6</sup>

An exact parallel is to be found in Assurbanipal, while the annals of Sargon II present a closely related formulation with the term *palû*.<sup>7</sup>

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 dabdâšu*  
- **I:63-66** *ina šanê gerriya... utakkilannimmâ... lû allik*  
- **II:34** *ina šalši gerriya... lû allik*  
- **III:42-44** *ina rebê gerriya... utakkilannimmâ... adkêma... alâku aâbi*  
- **IV:43-44** *ina sebê gerriya... utakkilannimmâ... lû*

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<sup>5</sup>In the records earlier than the third campaign the first campaign is introduced by *ina rēš šarrûtiya* (cf. Commentary to 1:5).

<sup>6</sup>CAD, 5, 92a.


The second type is represented by the following:

**IV:21-26a**  
*ina šeššē gerriya . . . idkūma . . . ūberūma*  
. . . iddu . . .

**V:5-7**  
*ina samānē gerriya . . . issehūma . . . 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.  

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 bahūlāte GN₁ GN₂ etc. . . . ša*  
*kīma qinni erē ašārēd issūre sēr zueti GN šadī marṣē*  
*šubassun šīt kunatma lē kitnušū ana nīri ina šēpē GN*  
*karāšī ušāskinma itti qurbūti šēpēva nasqūti u*  
*sābē tāḥāziya lā gāmelūti anāku kīma rīmi ekdi*  
*pānuššun asbat*  

The result is a clear case of anacoluthon because the word *bahūlāte* has no predicate; the verbs *šītkunat* and *kitnušū* are both part of the relative clause governed by *ša*.  

In stylistic terms, the scribe started out his
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): 11

10. Aššur šadû rabû šarrût là šanân
11. ušatlimannimma
12. elî gimir āšib parakki ušarbê kakkêva
13. ultu tâmtim elênîti ša šalam šamsî
14. adî tâmtim šapîti ša šit šamsî
15. gimri šalmat gaggadi ušakniš šêpûa
16. u malkî šipûti ődurû tâhâzi
17. dadmêšun izzibûma kîma sudinni ıṣṣûr
18. nigiṣṣî edîî ipparsû ašar là ı̄rî

Lines 13-18 do not appear in the Prologue until after the third campaign. 12 Lines 10-12 exhibit one of many variations of the oft repeated adulation of the gods by the Assyrian kings for their military might. 13 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.: šarrû ša iṣru intu išbîšu ilânû ikšudûsunûtîma. . . ; AKA 33:1:46f.: Aššur ilânû rabûtu mušarûbû šarrûtiya ša kišûta u danâna ana iṣajya išrukûnî. . . . 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. In fact, any one of the features included here can be paralleled elsewhere. 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: šar kiššāti, šar kibrāt erbettim (12:1:2). These titles are, as is generally recognized, claims of universal power. Now it is significant that these titles parallel the claim of widespread subjugation of mankind in 11.13-15 cited above. In addition, both these titles and the claim of widespread subjugation of mankind, by being included only after the third campaign seem to suggest that there was an attempt to boast that the

14Cf. Ibid. 5:1lf.; 20:7; of special interest here is 161:7-8: (Assur-nasir-pal) īštu šīt šamšī adi erēb šamšī ana šēpēšu ušakniša.
15With 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); 37:1:86 (the flight of the enemy) and passim in the annals.
16The substitution of rē'ūm itpēšu migir ilāni rabūti (12:1:3) for rē'ūm mutninnu pālih ilāni rabūti (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 gabal tamhari šuatu ēzib karassu ēdiš
tipparsidma napištuš etēr*

I:81-82 *nišš . . . ša lapān kakkāya tipparsiddu . . . .

II:35-37 *PN . . . ana rugga gabal tāmtim innabitma šadāšu ēmid*

III:47-49 *šū . . . ēdiš tipparsidma ul innamer ašarsu*

IV:12-14 *šū . . . āl šarrūtišu ēzitma ana rūqēti innabit*

IV:70-74 *šū GN1 āl šarrūtišu ēzitma ana GN2 ša gereb šaddi*

rūqēte iggabat ḫarrānu

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.¹ 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.²

OUTLINE

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

TRANSLITERATION

Prologue

1. {Sin-ahhe-eriba (mdZUEN .SESmeš-eri-ba) šarru rabû (LUGAL.GAL)
šarru (LUGAL)] dan-nu šar kurâš-šurki šarru (LUGAL) la šá-na-an
re-ê-um mut-nin-nu-ú pa-liḫ ilâni rabûti (DINGIRmeš.GALmeš)

¹Smith, Senn., p. 1. ²OIP 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-hi-ru dam-qa-a-ti
4. d[aš-šur šadû rabû (KUR GAL) šarrût (LUGAL u) la šá-na-an ú-šat]-li-ma-an-ni-ma eli (UGU) gi-mir a-šib pa-rak-ki ú-šar-ba-a kakkēya (giš TUKUL meš-ya)

Campaign One

5. [i-na reš šarrūtiya (SAG LUGAL ti-ya) ša i-na kussē šarrūti rabûš (giš GU ZA LUGAL ti GAL łaš) d]/[ši]-bu-ma ba-łu-la-te kur aš-šur ki ú-ma-še-ru i-na taš-me-e ù så-li-me
7. [su-túr da-łu-du lu[-ea-mu-ú idâšu (Â.MIN šû) 7 is-šur-ma ḫurâša (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU BABBAR) ni-siq-ti abnē (NA meš) ú-šat-lim-šu-ma e-tir-ri-su kid-tu

3Corrected from ri by Smith. zikaru gardu is an epithet which occurs regularly in the prologue to Sennacherib's annals.
4Smith and Luckenbill restore rabûš ú-... . However, the restoration suggested here appears to be what is needed. Cf. KAH, II, obv., 9; AKA, 269, I:44(!)
5The restoration of the name kur kar-dun-yä-aš is certain. Cf. 2:55, etc. The reading ek-šu may be preferable to Luckenbill's ša libbišu eššu on the basis of Streck, Åsb., 44:31; 194:20. The question remains whether eššu is a noun or an adjective.
6Luckenbill reads kab-tu. Cf. AHw, I, 56a and Commentary to l. 6.
7For the certain reading e-la-mu-u cf. 12:V:1. For the restoration idâšu cf. 12:IV:51f.
8. m[iim-ba-ap-pa lu] t ur- tu- nu Elam ti (kur NIM MA ki) 8 . . . .
m[a] - an-na- a- nu šanû(?) (lu MIN u) 9 10 râb kišir (lu GAL
ki-šir mez) a- di md Nergal- nâšir (md GUR-na-šir) lu su-tu-ú la
a- di-ru ta- ba- zu
9. 80,000 um [mânât qašti (lu ERIN meş gîš PAN) 10 . . . .]
šîse (ANŠE.KUR.RA mez) it- ti- ūu- nu- ti- ma a- na Sumeri (KUR.EME.KU)
ü Akkadi (URR ki) iš- pu- ra re- su-[us]-su
10. ü su-ú [md Marduk-apla-iddina (md AMAR.UD. IBILA. SUM na) 12 . . . . .] ki
Ur (ŠES.UNUG ki) Eridu (NU ki) Kullab (KUL.UNU ki) ki-is-sik ki
uru né- med-[la-gu]-da 13

8 Cf. S. Smith and 1. 17 which reads kur NIM MA ki (contra. Luckenbill).
9 On the problem of reading this logogram see the Commentary.
10 The normalization ummânât qašti is based on several factors.
Firstly, the reading of lu ERIN may be either gâbu or ummânû/ummnâtû.
In Sennacherib's annals the gender of the adjective dictates which is
to be read; a feminine adjective requires ummânû/ummnâtû as in 12a:
III:51 while a masculine adjective requires gâbu as in 12a:IV:1,21.
Secondly, there are cases where ummânû/ummnâtû is written syllabically
(1:27; 12:V:61). What is most significant is 12:VI:18 which has
umm-û-na-te while an exact parallel text has ERIN bi-a (12a:VI:23)!
Along with these factors in Sennacherib's annals is the regular use of
ummânû/ummnâtû in literary texts (cf. CAD. 16, 54f.). In the light of
these considerations the reading ummânât qašti is followed here and in
all cases of lu ERIN, etc. unless contextual considerations dictate
otherwise.
11 A possible restoration is narkabâte (gîš GIGIR mez). Cf. 12a:
II:79.
12 Restored on the basis of the context.
13 For the restoration [la-gu]-da cf. 1. 48.
11. kurbit-[m] ya-ki-ni kurbit-[m]a-muk-ka-a-ni kurbit-[m]sa-al]-li
kurbit-[m]dak-ku-ri si-ḥir-ti lūkal-di ma-la ba-šu-[ū]

lū]-ya-da-qu lūkip-re-e lūma-[1]i-ḥu

13. ša kišad (GÜ) i[ādīglat (iāIDIGNA) lūgu-ru-mu lū-u-bu-lu lūda-mu]-nu
lūgam-bu-lu lūgi-in-da-ru lūru'-u-u-a lūpu-qu-du

14. ša kišad (GÜ) i[āu-ni-i lūha-am-ra-nu lūga-ra-mu]lūna-bi-tu
lūli-n-ša-ā-šu lūra-mu la kan-šu ša la i-[du]-u mi-tu-tu-tum

15. Nippur (EN.LIL kī) ki[...]
bar-sipki Kūtu
(GÜ.DUG.Akī) gi-mir kurkar-dum-yā-āš is-te-niš ū-pa-hi-[ma]
ū]-ša-k-sir [t] a-ḥa-zu

16. ya-ti mdSin-aḥē-eriba (mdZUEN.SESmeš-eri-ba) šašū lib-bi-[šu]
na-a'-tēep-še-ti-šú lem-ne-e-ti ūša-an-nu-nim-ma la-šab-biš
an-nadir-nu qē-reb Bāb-ilim (KĀ.KINGIR.RAkī) a-[na mah]-ri-šu
aq-ti-[bi] a-la-ku

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14 Cf. 1. 49. The reading ya-kin (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.

16 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. Sar. 48:1f. Ru'ua Hindaru Yadburu [Pu]qudu ... ipparṣū [ma] uq-nu-ū marṣu isbatū; cf. 50:13 Idāq-ni-1

18 The du is certain on the basis of 1. 17; mi-tu-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 lem-né a-lak ger-ri-ya iš-me-ma sîsê (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) ummanât qašti (ERINmeš,gišPAN) lú/e>la-mu-ú20 lúa-ra-mu lúkmal-du it-ti mdNergal-nâšir (mdU.GUR-na-šir) u 10 rab kisir (lúGAL-ki-širmeŝ) [ša]Elamti (kurnNIM.MAki) šá la i-du mi-₇₃-tū-


20. râb šaq (lúGAL.SAG) bêlê-pâhitiya (lúEN.NAMmeš-ya) a-na Kiš (KIŠki) ú-ma-e-er maḥ-rû-u-a ú-ru-uh mdMarduk-apla-iddina (mdAMAR.UD.ÂBILA. SUMâ) šâb-ta-a-ma e te-ga-a dun-ni-na ma-<šar>-tuk(?)21

21. šu-ú bêlê-pâhitiya (lúEN.NAMmeš-ya) e-mur-ma a-di gi-mir el-la-ti-šû abul õZababa (KA.GAL dza-baž-ba4) uš-sa-am-ma i-na ta-mîr-ti Kiš (KIŠki) it-ti ribšya (lúGALmeš-ya) e-pu-uš ta-ḥa-zu

22. rubúya (lúGALmeš-ya) qit-ru-ub ta-ḥa-zi nákîru (lúKUR) elîšun (UGU-sú-un) id-nin-ma ul i-le'û-ú ma-ḥa-ar-šû mār šiprišun (lúAšip-ri-šú-un) ša ḥa-mat i-na qé-reb ta-mîr-ti Kutû (GU.ºDúg.Âki) še-ru-u-a iš-pu-ru-u-ni

20 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 ę.

21 The correction suggested by Luckenbill is tuš. For the reading suggested here see the Commentary.
23. i-na u-gat li-bi-ya eli (UGU) Kutu’ (GÚ.DU₆.Aki) ti-bu-ú<ta>
ás-kun-ma lúmun-dah-si sa-hi-ir dúrišatu (BÁD-šú) a[s]-li-š
ú-tib-bi-ih-ma aš-sa-bat ál(a) (URU)
24. sīše (ĀNSE.KUR.RA.meš) ummānāt qašṭi (ERIŋmeš gišPAN) lú-e-la-me-e
lú-a-ra-mu lúkal-du rāb kišir (lúGAL ki-šim₂₃) Elame (lú kurNIM.
MA₉)₂³ ù md. Nergal-nāsir (md. GUR-na-šir) a-di māre āli (DUMUmeš.
URU) bel (EN) hi-št-ši ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-šu
25. la-ab-biš a-n-ka-dir-ma al-la-bi-ib a-bu-bi-ši it-ti lú-qua-di-ya
la ga-mé-lu-ti še-riš md. Marduk-apla-iddina (md.AMAR.UD.IBILA.SUM₉) a-na Kiš (KS̄t₉) áš-ta-kan pa-ni-ya
im-qu-su ḫat-tu gi-mir el-la-ti-šú e-zib-ma kur-gu-zu-um-ma-ni
in-na-bit
27. mt₉-an-na-a-nu a-du um-ma-na-at Elamé (lúNIM.MA₉) lúkal-du ù
lú-a-ra-mu ša i-da-ašu iz-zi-šu il-li-ku re-šu-us-su dabdāšun
(SI.ŠI-šú-un)₂⁴ áš-kun-ma ú-par-ri-ir el-lat-su₂⁵
28. ma-di-nu már aššat md. Marduk-apla-iddina (DUMU.DAM.md.AMAR.UD.IBILA.
SUM₉) a-di ma-ba-aq qa-a-nu āḫ (ŠES₉) emiya-ti-i’-e šar-rat lú-a-ri-bi
it-ti um-ma-na-te-šú-nu bal-tu-su-un i-na qa-ti aš-bat

²²Corrected from ri by Luckenbill.
²³The gentilic form is verified by a comparison of ummanat Elame
(lúNIM.MA₉) and ummanāt qašṭi lú-e-la-mu-u (!) on ll. 27 and 17
respectively.
²⁴Sī.Šī may read either dabdū or tahtū. In Sennacherib both
occur in syllabic form (for dabdū, 7:IV:31; for tahtū, 12a:IV:11). In
the case of Sennacherib’s annals it is a moot point as to which is
to be represented by Sī.Šī. What appears fortuitous is the placing of
this passage under abiktu (CAD, 1/1, 52b) and assuming Sī.Šī with šakānu
to be read abiktu (Ibid., 53a). AHW, I, 62 is more to the point.
²⁵The lat is partially preserved. Cf. Smith, Senn., p. 80
29. narkabāte (giš.GIGIR.meš) gišGU-un-bi sīse (ANŠE.KUR.RA.meš) parē
(ANŠE.SŪ.MUL.meš) ṣ26 ibilē (ANŠE.A.AB.BA.meš) anše;ud-ri ša qe-reb
tam-ha-ri muš-su-ru ik-su-da qātāya (ŠU.MIN-a-a)

30. i-na ḫu-ud lib-bi ʿu nu-um-mur pa-ni a-ma Bāb-ilīm (KĀ.DINGIR.RA.ṯi) 
a-ḫi-iš-ma a-na ākal mdMarduk-apla-iddina (E.GAL.mdAMAR.UD.IBILA.
SUM.tNa) āš-šu pa-qad bušē (NĪG.ŠU) ʿu makkūre (NĪG.GA) qe-reb-šā
ē-ru-ub

31. ap-te-ma bit ni-šir-ti-šu ḫurāṣa (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) abnē
(NA.4.meš) a-qar-tu eršē (giš.NA.meš) kussē (giš.GU.ZA.meš) né-me-di
giš-sá ša-da-di giš ga-ši-ru-ut šarrūtišu (LU.GAL.tįšu) ša iḫ-zu-šū-ğu
ḫurāši (GUŠKIN) kaspi (KU.BABBAR)

32. mim-ma šum-šu bušā-(NĪG.ŠU) makkūra (NĪG.GA) la ni-bi ni-šir-tum
ka-bit-tum aššassu (DAM-su) sikrētišu (miUKU.meš.E.GAL.šu)
mī.GI.L.DUB.meš(?) lū-su-ut rēši (SAG.meš) tirē (lū.TIRUM.meš)
lū-man-az pa-ni nārē (lū.NAR.meš) nārē-te (mī.NAR.meš)

33. ardē ēkallī (lū.meš.E.GAL) mu-nam-mi-ru ū-te-mu ru-bu-ti-šū
si-ḫi-ir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ū mut-tab-bi-lu-ut ēkallīšu
(E.GAL-šū) ū-šē-ša-am-ša šal-la-ti-il’am-nu

34. ur-ri-ih-ma arkišu (EGIR-šū) a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni lūmun-dah-ši-ya
a-na qe-reb idā-gam-me ʿu ap-pa-ra-a-ṭi ū-ma’-er-ma 5 u.4-me
ū-ba-lu-šu-ma ul in-na-mer a-ṣar-šu

35. si-te-et sīse (ANŠE.KUR.RA.meš) ummānešu (ERIN.bi.a-šū) 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 šeri (EDIN) ʿu ba-ma-a-ti iš-te-niš ū-pa-ḫīr

An apparent scribal lapse. Cf. Ibid., p. 36, n. 1.
36. i-na-me-te-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 dür (BAD)=m la-di-ni uru bi-ta-a-ti uru ba-ni-tu
   kur gu-zu-um-ma-nu uru dür (BAD)=m ya-an-su-ri uru dür (BAD)=m a-bi-ya-ta-
   uru dür (BAD)=m ru-du-um-me
38. uru bit=m ra-še-e uru ha-bi-ša uru sa-di-šilim (DINGIR) uru gu-ru-du
   uru sa-a-ha-ri-na uru il-tu-uk uru al-la-al-lu Marad ki (MARAD.DA ki)
   uru ya-qi-mu-na
39. uru ku-ub-ru-na uru bit=m ku-dur-ri uru súqa (SILA=q)=m ma-ru-ši nap-ḫar
   33 aláni (URUmeš) dan-nu-ti bīt dūrāni (E.BADmeš ni)
   ša kur bi-t=m šak-ku-a di 250 aláni šeššūti (URUmeš.TURmeš) ša
   li-me-ti-šú-nu
40. uru dür (BAD)=m ap-pe-e uru dür (BAD)=m ta-ne-e uru dür (BAD)=m sa-ma-ši
   uru sa-ar-ra-ba-tu uru ša-la-ha-tu uru dür (BAD)=ab-da-a-a
   uru sa-ap-pí-hi-ma-ri uru ši-bú-tú ša uru ma-ak-ka-me-e
41. nap-ḫar 8 aláni (URUmeš) dan-nu-ti bīt dūrāni (E.BADmeš ni) ša
   kur bi-t=m sa-š al-li a-di 120 aláni šeššūti (URUmeš.TURmeš) ša
   li-me-ti-šú-nu
42. uru sa-pí-a uru sa-ar-ra-ba-nu la-rà-ak ki BAR.MAR.MKI 27
   uru bit=m ilu (DINGIR)=ba-ni uru a-ḫu-du uru ša-š Is-su-ad-d Adad (dIM)
   uru ša-ḫar-ra-tú uru ma-na-aḫ-ḫu
43. uru ša-ša-me-le-e uru dür (BAD)=m ak-ki-ya uru na-gi-tu uru nu-ur-a-bi-nu
   uru ša-ar-su-ar-ra uru dür (BAD)=m ru-uk-bi uru da-an-da-ḫul-la
   uru dür (BAD)=m bir-da-da

27 Reading of this name uncertain.
53. še-im suluppa (ZÚ.LUM.MA) ša qé-reb ki-ra-a-te-šú-nu me-riš
ma-na-hi-šú-nu ebûr (EBUR) šēri (EDIN) ba-mat šadēšunu (KUR-šú-nu)
ummāni (ERINhi.a ni) ú-ša-kil

54. mbēl-ibni (MEN.DU) mar₃ râb bâni (lÚGAL.DU) pi-ri-i'
ŠU.AN.NA'ki ša ki-ma mi-ra-ni ša-aḥ-re qé-reb ēkalliya (Ě.GAL-ya)
er-bu-ú [a-na šarrūt Sumerû u Akkadû (LUGALUt.KUR.EME.KU u URI) ki]²³
āš-ta-kan elīšun (UGU-šú-un)

55. i-na ta-a-a-ar-ti-yā lu₄tu'ul-mu-na lu₄ri-ḥi-ḫu lu₄ya-da₄-qu lu₄u-bu-du
lu₄kìp-re[e lu₄ma-li-ḫu lu₄gu-ru-mu lu₄]-bu₄lu lu₄da-mu₄-nu lu₄gam-bu₄-lum
lu₄hi-in-da₄ru

56. lu₄ru₄-u₄-u₄-a lu₄pu₄-qu-du lu₄ha₄m-a-ra₄-nu lu₄ha₄-[ga]₄-ra₄-nu lu₄na₄-ba₄-tu
lu₄li₄-[i][]₄-ta₄-[u lu₄a-ra₄-mu la kan-šu₂⁹ mit-ḥa₄]-riš ak-šud̂₄-ma
āš₄-lu₄-la šal₄-la-su₄-un

57. i-na me-te-eq ger-ri-yā ša md₄Nabû-bēl₄-šumāte (md₄NA.ÉN.MU₄meṯ)
[lu₄]₄qé-pi lu₄ha₄-ra₄-ra₄-ti ḫurāṣa (GUSKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR)
gi₄šmu₄-[suk-ka₄-ni]₄ rabûti (GAL₄meṯ) imērē (ANSE₄-eš₄) gammalē (anš₄GA₄ M.
MAL₄meṯ₄)₄ alpê (GUD₄meṯ₄) ū śeni (U₄UDU₄hi₄.a) man-da₄-ta₄-šu₄ ka-bit₄-tu
am-ḥur

58. ba-ḥu₄-la₄-te uru₄ṣì₄-rim-me nākiri (lÚKUR) ak-su ša ul-tu ul-l₄-a-na
šarrāni abbēya (LUGAL₄meṯ₄-ni AD₄meš₄-ya) la ik-nu₄-su₄[1]₄-na kakke
(gi₄š₄TUkU₄) ū-śam-qit₄-ma na-pl₄₄-tum ul-e₂zib

59. na-gu-ū šu₄-a₄-tu es-šu₄-ti aṣ-bat 1 (DI₣en) alpa (GUD)
1:60-63

10 immērē (UDUMES) 10 immēr karāna (ANŠE.GESTIMES) 20 immēr suluppa (ANŠE.ZULJUMMA) re-šē-te-šū a-na gi-ñē-e ilānī (DINGIRMES)
kur aš-sur kī bēlēya (ENMES-ya) ū-kin dā-ri-šam

60. it-ti 208,000 šal-lat nīše (UKUMES) ka-bit-tum 7,200 sīše (ANŠE.
KUR.RAMES) pari (ANŠE.SUMULMES) 11,073 immērē (ANŠEMES) 5,230
gammalē (ANŠEGAMMALMES) 80,050 alpē (GUDMES) 800,100 šēni
(U3.UDUHIMES) šal-mēs a-tu-ra a-na gē-reb kur aš-sur kī

61. e-zib nīše (UKUMES) immērē (ANŠEMES) gammalē (ANŠEGAMMALMES) alpē
(GUDMES) ū šēni (U3.UDUHIMES) iš-... ummānēya (ERINHIMA-ya)
e-bu-ku-nim-ma a-na ra-ma-ni-šū-nu is-ki-lu si-kil-tu

62. ū ba-ŠUM-la-te na-ki-ri šip-sū mit-ru31 ū a-[na ni-r]-i-ya la
ik-nu-šu i-na kakkē (ŠISKULMES) ū-šam-qit-ma a-lul ga-ši-šiš

Building Inscription—Epilogue32

63. i-na u4-mišUŠ-šu-ma Ninua (NINAki) ma-ša-zu b gi-i-ru ālu (URU) na-[ra]m

d iš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e ilānī ū c ištarāte (DINGIRMES ū
dIS.TARMES) ba-šu-u d gē-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 ll. 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: 63.a 4a-d:61, me; 4a-d:61, zi; 4a-d:61, u; 4a-d:61, u.
64. tem-me-en-nu da-ru-uš [a-a-t] ša ul-tu ul-la it-ti ši-šir
bu-ru-um-ma me eš-ret-su eš-ret-ma šu-pu-ú ši-in-du-šu

65. aš-ru nak-lu a šu-bat pi-riš-ti šá-mim-[ma šu]-m-šú ši-pir ni-kil-tim
gi-mir pil-šu-de-e ni-ši-šir-ti laš-ta-bu-luf qé-rebšu

66. ša ul-tu ul-la šarránu (LUGALmeš ni) a-l[i]-kut maḫ-re abbêya
(ADmeš-ya) a ul-la-nu-ú-a be-lu-ul b kur-aš-šur-ki e-pu-šu-ma
ú-ma-š-e-ru b a-ta-lat den-lil

67. ū šat-ti-a-šam la na-par-ka-a [e]34-reb la b nar-ba-a-ti bilat (GUN)
mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba-ti im-da-na d-ḫa-ru qé-rebšu

68. a-a-um-ma i-na lib b-bi-šu-nu a-na ëkalli (ÉGAL) qer-bi-šu kū-mu
ri-mit be-lu-tú ša šu[di-ḫur] šu-bat-su le-e-su ul idf-da-a lib-ru-šu
ul iḫ-su-us

69. a-na šu-te-šur súq áli (SILA.URU) ū šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e
nāre (ID) za-qa-ap ūp-pa-a-te a b-zu-un ši-šu-ma ul uš-ta-bil
ka-ras-su

33As indicated by Heidel, Sumer 9 (1953), 182 (citing CT 18, 28:II:8) LAL.GAR is equated with apsû. That it is used as a loan word and is to be read laš-gar is suggested by such a reading as lu-al-qa-ar (Ebeling, Handerhebung, 110:6).

34A partial dittography with the entire sign erased and almost illegible (Cf. Smith, Senn., p. 46, n. 1).

Variants: 64. a4a-d:62, ū; b4d:62, šu. 65. a4c:63, ša; b4a-d:63, ša; c2:36, 4a-d:63, šu; d2:36, 4a-d:63, ti; e4a:63, ti; f4a-c:63, le. 66. a4a-d:64, AD-ya; b2:37, tu; 4a-d:64, ti; e4a:64, er; 4d:64, er-ru. 67. a4a,b,d:65, tu; b4a-d:65, omits; c2:38, 4b,c:65, insert ah. 68. a4a,c,d:66, ina; b4a-d:66, lib; c2:39; 4a-d:66, ti; d4c:66, su; e4a-d:66, uh-ru-ru; f2:39, i-da-a; 4c:66, id-di-da-a; 34c:66, li-li. 69. a2:40, 4a-d:67, ti; b4c:67, uš-su-un šu; c2:40, su.
70. yaₐ-a-ti mdsin-abbe-eriba (mdzuEN.ŠEŠmeₐ-eri-ba) šar kurṣaš-ṣur-ki
    e-peš šip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i tē-em ilāni (dingIRmeₐ) iₐ-na uz-ni-ya
    ib-ši-ma ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma

71. te-nešet kur₄[l]-di lu₄-ra-muₐ kurman-na-aₐ kurqu-e utes kur₄-il₄-lak-
    ku šāc a-na ni-ri-yad la kit-nu-ṣūe as-su₄-ḥa-am-ma tup-šik-ku₄
    úša₄-ši₄-h₄-šu₄-nu₄-ti₄ ma il-bi₄-nu libitta (SIG₄)

72. a-pe ku₄-pe-[še ša] qē-reb kur₄-kal-d₄-ak-ši₄-t₄-ma ap-p₄-re-ṣu₄-un₄₇
    šam-ḥu₄-ti i-na ba-ḥu₄-la-ti₇ na-ki₄-i₇ f ki-ṣi₄-ti qatēya (šu.MN₄-ya)
    úšal-di-da a-na e-peš šip-ri-ša

73. ēkallu (ē.GAL) mah₁-Fr₄-t₄]u ša 30 GAR šid-du u 10 GAR pūssa (sag.KI₄-sa) ša
    šarrānu (lugalmeₐ ni) a-li-kut pa-ni abbeₐya (admₐ-ya)
    úši₄-pi₄-šu₄-ma la u-nak-ki₄-lu ši₄-pir-ša

74. ša ul-tu₄-me ru₄-q₄]u₄-ti₄ id₄-te-bi₄l-ti i-ta₄-sa₄ i-ba₄-u₄-ma i₄-na
    úši₄-sa₄ ab-bu úšab₄-sh₄₄-u₄ ū₄-ri₄-ib₄-bu tem-me₄-en₄-sa₄

75. ēkalla şehrēta (ē.GAL.TUR.RA) ša₄-s₄-tu a-na si-hi₄-ri₄-ti₄ aq-qur₄-ma
    ša id₄-te-bi₄l-ti ma-lak₄-sa u₄š₄-ti₄-b₄ ma₄-ù₄-še₄-šer mu₄-su₄-sa₄

76. i-na [argi (ITU)] še [me-e i-na] u₄₄-mi mit-ga-re qē-reb ka₄-ti₄m-ti
    a-sur-r₄₄-ki₄-s₄₄ 60u₄₄ šid-du₄₄ 3₄₄ p₄₄-tu aban šadi (sag.KI₄.N₄₄-KU₄₁
    dan₄₄-nu ak-si₄-si₄ ma eqla (A₄₄.Š₄₄) ul₄₄-tu ma₄₄-a₄₄-me ú₄₄-še₄₄-lam₄₄-ma na₄₄-ba₄₄-li₄₄
    ú₄₄-še₄₄-me

Variants: 70.a₄c:6₄₄, ya₄-a₄-ti; b₄₄a,d:6₄₄₄, a. 71.a₄₄₄-d:6₄₄₄, me₄; b₄₄a-d:6₄₄₄, omit and add kur₄-nil₄₄-tu (te by d) ü₄₄ kur(omitted by a)
    sur-ri after hi₄-lak-ku₄; c₂:4₂₄, 4a-d:6₄₄₄, 8₂₄₄; d₄₄c:6₄₄₄, ni-ri₄₄-b₄₄-lu₄₄-ti₄-ye; 4a:6₄₄₄, ni-ir₄₄-ye; c₂:4₂₄, ū₄; 4a-d:6₄₄₄, ik-nu₄₄-ṣu₄₄;
    4a₄₄₄,d:6₄₄₄₄, ku₄; c₂:4₂₄, ki₄; 4a₄₄₄c:6₄₄₄, omits. 72.a₄₄₄c:7₄₄₄, 1₄; b₄₄a:7₄₄₄, ū₄₄; c₂:7₄₄₄₄, omits; c₄₄c:7₄₄₄, omits; c₂:7₄₄₄₄, te; c₄₄c:7₄₄₄, inserts ü₄. 7₄₄₄₄₂:4₄₄₄₄, umme₄₄.sudme₄₄.
77. la-ba-riš u₄-me i-na mūl (A.DIR)₃⁵ kaš-ša-ti te-me-en-šu la e-nē-kī as-kup-pat na/pi-il-li rab-ba-a-ti a-sur-ru-šú ú-ša-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-ni₃⁶ na šu-pu-uk-šu


79. ēkal šin piri uši taskarinni musukkanni erenni šurmēni burāši (E.GAL.Zū.AM.SI gišESI gišTUKUL giš-mu-suk-ka-ni gišERIN giššUR.MAN gišSIM.LI) ū giš-bu-uṭ-ni ēkal šānīna la šū (E.GAL.ZAG.DU.NU.TUK.A)₃⁷ a-na mu-šab šarrūtiya (LUGALī-ya) ū-še-pi-sā qē-reb-ša


81. dalāt šurmēni (gišIQmeš, giššūR.MAN) ši-ra-a-ti ša i-na pe-te-e ū ta-a-ri e-re-sīn ta-a-bu me-sēr siparri (ZABAR) nam-ri ū-šēr₃⁸-kīs-ma ū-rat-ta-a ba-bi-šīn

82. bit ap-pa-a-te tam-šīl ēkalli (E.GAL) kurḥat-ti ša i-na li-ša-a-ni Amurū (kurMAR.TUKI) bit ḫi-la-a-ni i-ša-as-su-šū a-na mul-ta-’u-ū-ti be-lu-ti-ya ū-še-pi-sā qē-reb-šīn

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-ni-na la i-šu-u; Cf. 21, No.2:40, E.GAL ša ša-ni-na la i-šu-u. Cf. 6a:VI:29, etc., ú-rak-kīs-ma.
83. **urmarāhe** (UR.MAHušš) **petan bir-ke šu-ta-tu**40ti ša i-na 11,400 bilat erē (GUN.URUDU) nam-ru pi-ti-iq d̊in-š-gal šu-pu-šu-ma lu-u nam-rī-ri

84. ā 2 tim-me šu-ta-hū-ti ša 6,000 bilat (GUN) pi-ti-iq si-par-ri šu-ub-bu-i a-di 2 tim-me ereñni rabūti (G̊ER.ERIN.GALušš) eli (UGU) piri-gal-le-e ú-kin-ma dap-pi ku-lul bābišin (KĀ-šī-in) e-mid

85. er-[bet immer (UDU) šad-de41 d̊amašši (d̊LAMA) ša] kaspi (KU.BABBBAR) si-par-ri it-ti immer (UDU) šad-de d̊amašši (d̊LAMA) ša aban šadi (NA₄.KUR) es-qī nak-liš ab-ni-ma a-na er-bet-ti šā-a-ri ú-šā-as-bit-ta šigārsin (SI.GAR-šī-in) as-mu


87. kiri₆-mah-hū tam-šil kur-ha-ma-nim ša gi-mir riqqī (ŠIM[i.a meš) inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-te ispšš (GI₆meš) TUK-lat42 ša-di-i ú kurkal-di qē-reb-šu ħur-ru-šu i-da-a-ša az-qu-up


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39Cf. 6a:VI:92 and a parallel context in Borger, *Esarh.*, 61:17, *ur-mah-he*

40The text has qī. Note, however, Loc. cit., šu-ta-tu-tu-ti.

41Cf. MSL 8, 10:35, udu-kur-ra = im-me-ri ša-di-i; further references in AHw, I, 378b.

42The meaning "produce" is reasonably certain. It has been suggested that this is a corruption of *bibliāt šadē u matītan* (CAD 2, 221b).

43Cf. 4a-d:86, 4.
89. a-na mid-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ti uruk̠-si-ri a-di ta-mir-ti
    Ninua (NINA[k]) šadā (KUR[k]) ū bi-ru-tu i-na ak-ku-lat-ti parzilli
    (AN.BAR) ú-šat-tir-ma ú-še-šer idḫar-ru

90. [i₂⁽¹/₂⁾ bēr(KASKAL.GID) qaⱲ]-qa-ru ul-tu qē-reb idḫu-su-ur ma-a-me
da-rū-ū-ti a-šar-šā ú-šar-da-a qē-reb šip-pa-a-te šā-ṭi-na
    ú-šaḥ-bi-ba pat-ti-iš

91. ul-tu šip-ru ākal (Ē.GAL) be-lu-ti-ya ū-qat-tu-u ū-šā-an-di-la
    re-ba-a-ti be-re-e-ti su-qa-a-ni uš-par-du-ma ū-nam-mer kīma (GIM)
    u₄-mē

92. dāš-šur bēlu rabū (EN.GAL) ilāni ū ištarāte (DINGIRmeš ū diš).
    TARmeš a-ši-bu-ti kurāš-šurkī i-na qer-bi-šā aq-re-ma niqē (UDU.
    SIZKURmeš) taš-ri-iḫ-ti aq-qī-ma a-šat-lim kat-[a]-a-a

93. [a-ṇa] ar-kāṭa u₄-mē b iⁿ-na šarrāni mārēya (LUGALmeš ni. DUMUmeš-ya)
    ša dāš-šur a-na re-[e-um-ut māti (KUR)] ū nišē (UKUmeš) i-nam-bu-ū
    zi-ki-šū e-nu-ma ēkallu (Ē.GAL) šā-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma e[ŋ]-na-ḥu

94. an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš mu-šar-e[^a] ši-ṭir šu-me[^b]-ya li-mur-ma šamma ([^1].GIS)
    lip- šū-uṣ niqē (UDU.SIZKUR) liq-qi a-na aš-ri-šū li-tir dāš-šur
    ik-ri-bi-šū i-[se]m-me

Colophon

₄₉₄ ta-a-am₅ MU.ŠID.MU.SAR[^³]

[^³]Ki. 1902-5-10, 1 reads 3. The reading followed here is based on
all the parallels.

Variants: 93.[[^2]:62, EGIR; b₂:62, URmeš; c₂:62, a.  94.[[^2]:a₄:94, a; b₄a-d:
94, ni.}
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 Riḥiṣu, the Ubudu, the Yadaqqu, 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 Puqudu,

14. The ones on the shore of the Kerḥa; the Ḫamranu, the Ḫagaranu, the Nabitu, the Li'ṭau, 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 Ṣut-rēḫi, 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-Yanguri, Dur-Abiyatay, Dur-Rudumme,
38. Bit-Rahe, Ḥabisa, Sadi-Ilim, Ḥurudu, Sahrina, 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-Appe, Dur-Tane, Dur-Sama’, Sarrabatu, Salaghatu, Dur-Abdaya,
   Sappihimari, Sibtusa, 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, Ḥadu, Sa-issur-
   Adad, Saharatu, Manahhu,
43. Ṣamele, Dur-Akkiya, Nagitu, Nur-abinu, Ḥarṣaṭarra, Dur-Rukbi,
   Dandaqulla, Dur-Birdada,
44. Bit-Re’e, Dur-Ugurri, Hindaina, Dur-Uayyit, Bit-Taura, Saphuna,
   Buḥarru,
45. Ḥarbe-Iddina, Ḥarbe-Kalbi, Sabarre, Bit-Bani-iluya, Suladu, Bit-
   Iltamasama’i; Bit-Dini-Ilu,
46. Saqala, Ḥameza, Belaya, Ta’iru, Kipranu, Iltaratu, Aqqar-sakina,
   Sagabatu-ṣa-Mardukya—
47. A total of 39 fortified cities of Bit-Amukkani besides the 350
   small cities in their environs;
48. Bit-Zabidiya, Larsa, Kullab, Eridu, Kissik, Nemed-Laguda,
1:49-57

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, devastated, 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 Rihihu, the Yadaqqu, the Ubudu, the Kipre, the Maliju, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu, the Gambulum, the Hindaru,

56. The Ru'ua, the Puqudu, the Ḫamranu, the Ḫagaranu, 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-Ḫumate, the governor of Ḫararati--gold, silver, great
1:58-65

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 Chaldean, 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 Tebilti 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 "ḥiḥilāni" 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
brightness,

84. 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 dappi I placed as the lintel of its doors.

85. 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.

86. 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.

87. 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.

88. 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.

89. 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.

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

91. 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.
COMMENTARY

1. *Sin-ahhe-erība*

(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

šarru 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 *ibila-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

¹ E.g., *md*x.PAP*med* .SU (8:6; 11:1; 30:3; 20:3; 113:1) and *md*x.*

² Ses*mes* .SU (15:3).


⁴ *ANET*, pp. 274ff.

⁵ Ibid., 274b, n. 1; for the translation of *našparu dannu*, Ibid., p. 309b.

⁶ JCS 19 (1965), 11.

⁷ *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."\(^7\)
While the epithet aplum dannum is a rare epithet altogether,\(^8\) the ap­
pearance of aplum in contexts with liblippu seems to indicate that
some kind of lineal continuity is being stressed.\(^9\) Nevertheless, such
a meaning for aplum dannum does not in any way suggest a related mean­
ing 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 (aplum
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 ṣkal ša šānina lā īšu 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 lāʾit lā 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. 6aIV:41ff. which mentions lands never visited before. For the unsubmitive see 1:58; 2:20; 6a:1:80.

\(^{11}\) 1:68ff., 73; 2:39, 45; 6a:V:39-47.

\(^{12}\) 6a:VII:76-88.

\(^{13}\) For the text about Sargon's "sin" see Eretz-Israel 5 (1958), 150-62.

\(^{14}\) Cf. Hallo, Royal Titles, p. 127. He suggests that the title (lugal-kalag-ā) is more closely aligned with religious ideas rather than with political and military ideas.

\(^{15}\) Cf. Weidner, Tn., p. 3, n. to III:41ff. Also, ZA 54 (1961), 57.
is lâtu "to cover, envelope," not la'âtu "to swallow." In the G the former is written i-lu-ut while the latter is written i-lu-lu-ut. 16

5. ṛēṣ šarrūtiya


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

6. ša anzillašu kittu

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

8. 1ú MIN†5

The exact reading and meaning of this phrase is uncertain. However, the suggestion of Luckenbill that it should be changed to read 1ú MIN.KAB or the like is not likely. On the basis of the text it should be read either šanû rakbu on analogy with the tašlîtu 19 or it should be

16 Cf. AHw, I, 540b and 521a. On the basis of comparative lexicography both roots probably should be read with ȧ (e.g. Heb. 675 "to entangle; 695 "to swallow").
17 Cf. above, pp. 14ff.
18 LTBA 2, 1:XXI:100. For ikkibu in Sennacherib see 6a:III:56.
19 Cf. Borger, Esarh. 103:III:8 šarru ša anzilli lâ kittu habâlu šagâšu ik [kibšu].
read lu² MINu on analogy with the various writings of šanu "deputy". 20
The latter has been followed here, but with reservations.

9. ittišumūtimu

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

10. ul uqqi

Cf. Borger, Esarh., 43f.:I:63 1en ūme 2 ūme ul uqqi pān ummāneya
ul adgul arka ul šmur and n. to I:64.

20. erta dunnina massartuk

The reading of the phrase erta has been proposed by both CAD
and AHW. 21 In regard to massartu, it is to be observed that it takes
the genitive suffix and not the accusative: ana massartikumu erta. 22
Nevertheless, the reading proposed here is difficult. The text should
probably be corrected to read ma-sar-ta-kun.

62. mitru

The reading followed here is based on a number of factors. The
term šipsu always occurs with the term under consideration in its occur-
cences in Sennacherib's texts. 23 In BWL 72:IV:43 the form šapsu occurs
with the explanatory commentary dannu. The synonym lists include among
the synonyms of dannu the form mi-it-rum. 24 Because of the latter
it is correct to assume that the sign† is to be read mit, giving the

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20 Cf. lu³ MINu in ADD 160:9; lu³ MINu Ibid. 115:4.
21 CAD 3, 85a; AHW I, 191a.
22 ABL 287:9; cf. 519:29.
24 LTBA 2, 1:V:12ff.
form mitru.

76. gereb 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)asāmu or the more likely idiom asmeš šūluku (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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1Cf. n. 4 below.
Colophon

63 ta-a-am5 mu[ašš.Mu.SAR e ITU se-bet-ti lim-mu mdNabû-lē'û
luša-kin uru-e-ba-il

Prologue

1. mdSin-ahhe-eriba (mdZUEN.ŠEGŠmeš-eri-ba) šarru rabû (LUGAL.GAL)
šarru (LUGAL) dan-nu šâr kurâš-šurki šarru (LUGAL) la šá-na-an
re-e-um mut-nin-nu-û pa-lih ilâni rabûti (DINGIRmeš.GALmeš)
2. na-šîr kit-ti ra-a'-im mi-šâ-ri e-piš û-sa-a-tî a-lik tap-pu-ut
a-ki-i sa-hi-ru dam-qa-a-tî
3. et-šu git-ma-lum zi-ka-rû qar-du ašá-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu
la-a'-ît la ma-ni-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-nî
4. daš-šur šadû rabû (KURû.GALû) šarrût (LUGALut) la šá-na-an
ú-sat-li-ma-an-nî-ma elli (UGU) gi-mir ašib pa-râk-ki ú-šar-ba-a
kakkêya (giŠTUKULmeš-ya)

Campaign One

5. i-na reš šarrûtiya (SAG.LUGAL-ti-ya) ša mdMarduk-apla-iddina
(mdAMAR.UD.IBILA.SUMna) šâr kurkâr-dun-ya-âš a-di ummâne Elamti
(ERINbi.a.NIM.Mâki) i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš (KIŠrki) âš-ta-kan dabdâšu
(ŠIŠIŠU)

6. i-na qabel (MURÚB) tam-ḫa-ri  šu-a-tu e-zib karăsu (GARÁŠ-šu)
ediš ip-par-šid-ma a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni in-na-bit qe-reb
iða-gám-me ʿu  ap-pa-ra-a-te e-ru-um-ma na-pi-tuš e-te-er

7. narkabāte (giš.GIGIRmeš) gišu-um-be sîšê (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) parê
(ANŠE.ŠU.MULmeš) imérê (ANŠEmeš) gammalê (ANŠE.GAM.MALmeš) ʿu
anšed-ri ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḥa-zi ú-maš-ši-ru ik-šu-da qatāya
(ŠU.MIN-a-a)

8. a-na ēkallišu (Ē.GAL-šú) ša qe-reb Bāb-illum (KĀ.DINGIR.Rāki)
ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-ma bit ni-šir-ti-šú ḫūrāša (GUŠKIN)
kaspa (KU.BABBAR) ú-nu-ut ḫūrāši (GUŠKIN) kaspi (KU) abnu (NA₄)
a-qar-tu mim-ma šum-šu bušā (NIG.ŠU) makkūra (NIG.GA) ni-šir-tu
ka-bit-tu

9. aššassu (DAM-su) sirkētišu (miūKUMEŠĒ.GAL-šú) tîrē (lúTIRUMmeš)
lūman-za-az pa-ni ši-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la ba-šu-ū mut-ta-bi-lu-tu
ēkalli (Ē.GAL) ū-šē-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš ʾam-nu

10. aš-bat-ma arkišu (EGIR-šú) a-na kur gu-zu-um-ma-ni lūmun-dah-ši-ya
a-na qe-reb iða-gám-me ʿu  ap-pa-ra-a-te ú-ma-ʾer-ma 5 u₄-me
i-ba-rum-ma u l in-na-mer a-šar-šu

11. i-na e-muq ʾaš-šur bēleya (EN-ya) 89 ālāni (URUmeš ni) dan-nu-ti
bit dūrāni (Ē.BADmeš ni) ša kur kal-di u 920 ālāni šeḫrūti (URUmeš.
TURmeš) ša li-me-ti-šu-nu al-me ak-šu₂dū ʾaš-lu-la šal-la-su-un

12. lūur-bi lūa-ra-mu ʿu lūk-al-du ša qe-reb Uruk (UNUGki) Nippur
(EN.LILki) Kiš (KIŠki) Ḫursagkalamma (ḪUR.SAG.KALAM.MA) Kutū
2:13-18

(GÚ.DUG<2u>ki) a-di mārē āli (DUMUMES.URY) bēl (EN) bi-ti ti ú-seša-um-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

13. mēb-ibni (MEN.DU) mar5 rāb bānī (luGAL.DU) pi-ir-šU(l)2-u šU.AN.MAki ša kiša (EN.MI) mi-ra-ani ša-aš-re qē-reb ēkalliya (E.GAL-ya) er-bu-ú a-na šarrūt Sumerī ū Akkādī (LUGALut. kur EME.KU ū URIki) āš-takan alīšun (UGU-šū-un)


16. 208,000 niše (UKUmes) zik-ru sinniš (MI) 7,200 sîšē (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) parē (ANŠE,SÚ.MULmeš) 11,073 imēre (ANŠEmeš) 5,230 gammalē (ANŠeGAM. MALmeš) 80,100 alpē (GUMmeš) 800,500 ǧēni (UG.UDUḫi..setDate)
šal-la-tu ka-bit-tu aš-lu-la a-na qē-reb kuraš-šurki

17. i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ya ša māNabū-bēl-šūmāte (mDña.EN.MUmeš) lūqē-pi lūga-ra-ra-ti ḫuraša (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) ǧišmu-suk-ka-ni rabūti (GALmeš) imēre (ANŠemeš) gammalē (ANŠeGAM.MALmeš) alpē (GUĎmeš) ǧēni (UG.UDUḫi.toDate) ta-mar-šū ka-bit-tu am-ḫur

18. ba-ḫu-la-ti uruši-rim-me nākiri (lUKUR) ak-ṣi ša ʿul-tu ʿul-la a-na ni-ri-ya la kit-nu-šu i-na kakke (ǧišTUKUL) ū-šam-qit-ma na-piš-tu ʿul e-zib

2Haplography between the A of Kutū and the a of adi.
3Thus the copy of Layard. It can only be explained as an error on the part of the scribe. Cf. 1:541.
19. na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat (DIS\textsuperscript{en}) alpa (GUD) 10 immerē (UD\textsuperscript{meš}) 10 imēr karāna (ANŠE.GEŠTIN\textsuperscript{meš}) 20 imēr suluppā (ANŠE.ZŪ.LUM.MA) re-še-te-šú a-na ilāni (DINGIR\textsuperscript{meš} ni) kurāš-šur kim bēlēya (EN\textsuperscript{meš}\textsuperscript{ya}) ú-čin ḏā-ri-šam

Campaign Two

20. i-na šānē (MIN\textsuperscript{e}) ger-ri-ya dāš-šur be-li ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma a-na mat lūkaš-ši-i ù kur-ya-su-bi-gal-la-a a nākiri (lūKŪR) ak-ši ša ul-tu ul-la a-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGAL\textsuperscript{meš} ni.\textsuperscript{AD\textsuperscript{meš}}-ya) la kit-nu-šu lu al-lik

21. qe-reb ḫur-šā-a-ni zaq-ru-te eqel (A.ŠĀ) nam-ra-ši i-na sīše (ANŠE.KUR.RA) ar-kab-ma narkabat šēpeya (\textsuperscript{GĪ\textsuperscript{G}}\textsuperscript{GIGIR.GĪR.MIN-ya}) i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-šā-aš-ši āš-ru šup-šu-qu i-na šēpeya (GĪR.MIN-ya) ri-ma-niš at-tag-\textsuperscript{GĪ\textsuperscript{G}}

22. urubit-mki-lam-za-ah āl (URU) dan-nu-ti-šū-nu al-me ak-šuqd niše šēher rabi (UKU\textsuperscript{meš} TUR GAL) sīše (ANŠE.KUR.RA\textsuperscript{meš}) pare' (ANŠE.ŠŪ.MUL\textsuperscript{meš}) imērē (ANŠE\textsuperscript{meš}) alpē (GUD\textsuperscript{meš} \textsuperscript{U}\textsuperscript{še-}\textsuperscript{ni} (\textsuperscript{U\textsuperscript{g}}\textsuperscript{UDU}\textsuperscript{hi-a}) ul-tu ger-bi-šu ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu

23. alānišumu ḫehrūti (URU\textsuperscript{meš}-šū-nu.TUR\textsuperscript{meš}) ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú ab-bul aq-qur i-na gerri (\textsuperscript{DGIŠ.BAR}) aq-mu-ma ti-tal-liš \textsuperscript{U}\textsuperscript{še-}\textsuperscript{meš}

24. ú-tir-ma urubit-mki-lam-za-ah ū-šu-a-tu a-na bir-tu-ti aš-bat eli (UGU) ša u\textsuperscript{4}me pa-ni ú-dan-nin a-muh-ḫuš niše mātāti (UKU\textsuperscript{meš}.KUR.KUR)

\textsuperscript{4}Correction already suggested by Luckenbill. Now cf. 3:23 which reads \textsuperscript{U}\textsuperscript{še-mi}; also, 12:1:77, etc.
ki-šit-ti qătēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) ina lîb-ti ú-šē-šib

25. nišē (UKUMES) mat lûkaš-ši-i ụ kurya-su-bi-gal-la-a-a ša la-pa-an
kakkēya (gišTUkUMLMEŠ-ya) ip-par-ši-du ul-tu qē-reb šadī (KURi)
ú-še-ri-dam-ma i-na uruḫar-diš-pi uru bi-tMKU-bat-ti ú-šar-me

26. i-na qătē (ŠU.MIN) lūšu-ut rešiya (SAG-ya) bēl pāhti (LUEN.NAM)
uruḫar-rapa-ha am-nu-šū-nu-ti narâ (na4NA.RU.A) ú-še-piš-ma li-tum
ki-šit5-ti qătē (ŠU.MIN) ša elîšun (UGU-ŠU-un) âš-tak-ka-nu
še-ru-uš-šû ú-šā-âš-tîr-ma ina qer-bi āli (URU) ul-ziz

27. pa-an ni-ri-ya ú-tir-ma a-na kurel-li-pi aq-ša-bat ḥar-ra-nu
el-la-mu-u-a mis-pa-ba-ra šarrašun (LUGAL-ŠU-un) ālanîšu
(URUMES-ŠU) dan-nu- ti bit ni-šir-ti-šû ú-šaš-šer-ma a-na
ru-qē-e-ti in-na-bit

28. gim-ri mātišu (KUR-ŠU) rapašti (DAGALti) ki-ma imbari (IM.DUGUD)
as-ḫu-up urur-mar-ū-biš-ti uru ḫak-ku-ud-du ālanî bît šarrûtišu
(URUMES LUGALTI-ŠU) a-di 34 ālanî (URUMES) dan-nu- ti ʿā ālanî
šehrūti (URUMES.TURMES) ša li-me-ti-šû-nu ša ni-ba la i-šu-ū

29. ab-bu-ul aq-qur i-na gerri (GIS.BAR) aq-mu-ma kirētišunu
(KIRIOMES-ŠU-nu) ak-šit eli (UGU) ugârešun (A.GARMES-ŠU-un)
ḫab-šu-til ša-ḫur-ra-tum at-bu-uk kurel-li-pi a-na paṭ gim-ri-ša
ar-bu-ta ú-šâ-liš

30. nišē šeḫer rabî zikir u simniš (UKUMEŠ TUR GAL NITAḪ u M) sîše
(ANSEMES.KUR.RAMEŠ) parê (ANSEMES.SUMULMEŠ) imērē (ANSEMES) alpe (GUDMES)
û śenî (UG.UDUUTI.a) la mi-nam šâ-lu-lam-ma a-di la ba-ši-e

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-šá-lik-šú-nu-ti


32. urušal-en-za-aš a-na āl šarrūti (URU.LUGALti) ù dan-na-at na-ge-e šu-a-tu aš-bat-ma šumšu (MU-šú) māh-ra-a ú-nak-ker-ma Kār-mdŠīn-aḫḫē-erība (urukar-mdZÜENŠeqmeš-eri-ba) at-ta-bi ni-bit-su

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

Building Inscription—Epilogue

34. i-na u4-mi-šu-ma Ninua (NINAKI) ma-ḫa-zu ši-i-ru ālu (URU) na-ram diš-tar ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e ilāni ū ištarāte (DINGIRMES ū diŠ.TARmeš) ba-šu-ú qē-reb-šu


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

6Cf. 9, Slab I:15; 12:II:21.
7As indicated above, p. 32, n. 32, ll. 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 kuraš-šur e-pu-šu-ma ú-ma-’e-ru ba’u-lat den-lí

38. û šat-ti-šam la na-par-ka-a e-reb la nar-ba-a-ti bilat (GUN) mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba’i <imŠda-na-aḫ-ḫa-ru qe-reb-šu

39. a-a-um-ma i-na lib-bi-šú-nu a-na ēkalli (E.GAL) qer-bi-šu kūm-mu ri-mit be-lu-ti ša ṣu-ḫur šu-bat-su le-e-su ul i-da-a lib-bu-šu?
ul iḫ-su-us

40. a-na ṣu-te-šur sūq āli (SILA.URU) û šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e näre (ID) za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ti ú-zu-un-šu ul ib-si-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su

41. ya-a-ti mdŠin-ahḫe-erība (mdZUEN.ŠESmešeri-ba) šarr kurāš-šurki e-peš sip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i tê-em ilāni (DINGIRmeš) i-na uz-ni-ya ib-ši-ma ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma

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

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

44. ēkallu (E.GAL) maḫ-ri-tu ša 360 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) šiddu (US) i-na tar-ši za-me-e ʾziq-qur-rat 80 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) rupšu (DAGAL)

8 Corrected from 1; ditography had resulted from the similarity of 1 and im. 9 If Layard’s copy is correct there is partial haplography in all three of these signs.
i-na tar-ši bit na-ma-ri bit ḍIštar (d15) 134 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) rupšu (DAGAL) i-na tar-ši bit na-ma-ri bit kid-mu-ri 95 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) rupšu (DAGAL)

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

46. id-te-bil-ti a-gu-10 šit-mu-ru ša i-na ši-šā ge-gu-nē-e qa-bal-ti āli (URU) ú-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-maḫ-ḫi-šu-un nak-mu-ti ú-kal-li-mu šamšu (dUTUšū)

47. û ul-tu ūmē rūqūti (UDmešSUDmeš) te-eḥ ēkallī (Ē.GAL) i-ba-'u-ma i-na mǐlīša (ILLU-šā) gap-šī i-na uṣ-ši-šā ab-bu ú-šab-šu-u ū-ri-lī-bu tem-me-en-šā


49. qe-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-ki-šā šap-la-nu qanē (GImeš) e-la-niš abnē šadī (NA4meš.KUR4) dan-ni it-ti ittē (AESIR) a-ak-si-ma eqla (AŠA) ul-tu ma-a-me ú-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-tir

50. 700 ina as4-lum rabītī (GALT) šiddu (US) 162 ina as4-lum rabītī (GALT) pūtu elīti iltāni (SAG.KI.AN.TA.IM.SI.SA) 217 ina as4-lum rabītī (GALT) pūtu qablītī (SAG.KI.MURUBTIM)

51. 386 ina as4-lum rabītī (GALT) pūtu šaplitī sūtī iti ićIdiglat (SAG.KI.KT.A.IM.GAL.LU.USH.SA.DU.ćIDIGNA) tam-la-a ú-mal-li-ma am-su-uḫ me-ši-il-ta

10Luckenbill adds šam-ru-u. However, it is in neither 4a-d:73 nor in Layard's copy of this text.
52. la-ba-riš ūmē (UDмес) i-na mīl (ILLU) kiš-šā-ti tem-me-en-šū la 
  e-ne-še as-kup-pat na/pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti 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-sib aḫ-ra-taš

54. ar-ka-nu šu-uš-qu-ú tam-li-i ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma 20 ti-ip-ki še-er 
  maḥ-ri-i uṣ-ši-p-ma 180 ti-ip-ki ú-šaq-qī e-la-niš

55. tar-pa-šu-ú el ša ušt-me pa-ni ú-šar-bi še-er me-ši-iḥ-ti ēkalli 
  (Ĕ.GAL) maḥ-ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma ú-šā-an-di-la ši-kit-taš

56. ēkal šin piri uši taskarinni musukkanni erenni šūrmeni burāši 
  (Ĕ.GAL.ZU.AM.SI gišESI gišTUKUL gišmu-suk-ka-ni gišERIN gišŠUR.MAN 
  gišSIM.LI) ū gišbu-ut-ni ēkal šānina lá īšū (Ĕ.GAL.ZAG.SÁ.NU.TUK.A) 
  a-na mu-šab šarrūtiya (LUGALtı-ya) ú-šē-pi-šā qē-reb-šū

57. kiri6-maḥ-ḫu11 tam-šīl kurḫa-ma-nim ša gi-mir riqqi (SEMḫa.i.a) 
  inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-ti ippī (GIšmeš) TUK-lat šadâ (KURı) ū 
  kurkal-di qē-reb-šū ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šā az-qu-up

  2 Pt ta-a-am5 a-na mār̥a Ninua (DUMUMeš.ŠI.ŠI) pil-ku ḫ-pal-lik-ma 
  ú-šād-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šū-un

59. a-na mid-ra-a-ti šum-mu-ḫi ul-tu pa-a-ti uruki-si-ri a-di ta-mi-r-ti 
  Ninua (ŠI.ŠI) šadâ (KUR2) ū bi-ru-tú i-na ak-kul-la-te ú-šat-ṭir-ma 
  ú-šē-šer iḏḫar-ru

60. 1 1/2 bēr (DANNA) qaqq-qur-ul-tu qē-reb iḏḫu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ū-ṭi

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

61. ša Ninua (NINAki) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi
re-ba-ti-šú ú-ša-an-dil-ma bé-re-e-ti ʿu 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.
DUMUmeš-ya) ša ᵃ-dāš-šur a-na re-é-um-ut mātī (KUR) ʿu nišē (UKUmeš)
i-nam-bu-u zi-kir-šú e-nu-ma ʾēkallu (E.GAL) 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 šāmna (I.GIS)
lip-šu-uš niqē (UDU.SIZKUR) liq-qi a-na ᵃ-dāš-šur li-tir ᵃ-dāš-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'ū, 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. Aššur, 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 89 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, Hursagkalamma, (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 Rīhiḫu, the Yadaqqu, the Ubudu, the Kipre, the Maliḫu, the Gurumu, the Ubulu, the Damunu,

15. The Gambulu, the Ĥindaru, the Ru'ua, the Puqudu, the Ĥamranu, the Ĥagaranu, 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 Ḥararati: gold, silver, great musukkanni trees, asses, camels, oxen, and sheep and goats.

18. The men of Ḥirimme, 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 Kašši 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-Kilamzaḫ, 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-Kilamzaḫ 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 Kašši 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. Marubišti (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) Kummahlum, 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 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,

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 Tebilti 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.
On the limmu see provisionally RLA II, 412ff. and AF0 13(1939-41), 109ff.

10. asbatma

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

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

It is reasonably certain that the use of urriḥ in 1:34 requires asbat here to express some idiom like harrāna sabātu. 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  

1E.g., 2:27; 6a:II:22, III:93, IV:40; 12:IV:74. On such ellipsis see GAG, 184d. In the present case harrānu is the dispensable object.
the meaning "to capture," and in none of the instances does it follow the formula ušēgāmma šallatiš amnu. It must be noted that the formulation pān nīriya utīrma usually precedes harrāna šabātu in Sennacherib. Nevertheless, both the presence of urrib in the parallel text and the exceptional use of šabātu 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. šahurratum atbuk

The construction of tabāku in such idioms is common. Cf. 6a:V:12 namurratum atbuk and JCS 15 (1961), 15f.

44. bit namāri

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

53. ahrataš

Cf. GAG§67c 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.

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3 Among 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. 79-7-8, 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 ḫurāṣa (GUN. GUŠKIN) 800 bilat kaspa (GUN. KU. BABBAR)
    ni-siq-ti gu-uḫ-lī tāk-kas-si sandē rabūti (na4 AN.GUG.a meša GAL meš)
erēš śinni (giš NA meš ZU) kussē (giš GU.ZA meš) ne-me-di śinni (ZU)
maṣak piri (KU AM SI) śin piri (ZU AM SI) uṣā (giš ESI) taskarina
    (giš TUKUL) lu-bul-ti bir-me kita (tūg GADA) sig ta-kil-tu
    sīgar-ga-man-nu

57. ū-nu-ut siparri (ZABAR) parzilli (AN.BAR) erī (URUDU) anāki (AN.NA)
    parzilla (AN.BAR) narkabē (giš GIGIR meš) ka-ba-bi as-ma-re-e
    si-ri-ya-am paṭrē parzilli (GIR meš AN.BAR) šib-bi til-pa-ni u
    uṣ-ši til-li ū-nu-ut ta-ḫa-zī šāb ni-ba la i-šu-ū

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

Variants: 56.4c, MEŠ. 57.4d, omits; bš. 58.4b, c, DUMU.MI meš.
Building Inscription—Epilogue

61. i-na 𒈗-me-ma Ninua (NINA\textsuperscript{ki}) ma-ḫa-zi ši-i-ru ālu (URU) na-ram dīš-ter ša nap-ḫar ki-du-de-e ilānī u ištārāte (DINGIRMES̄ u dīš.TAR\textsuperscript{mas̄}) ba-šu-u qē-reb-šu


63. ša-šu nak-lu\textsuperscript{a} šu-bat pī-riš-ti ša mim-ma šum-šu ši-pir ni-kil-ti gi-mir pil-lu-de-e ni-šir-te\textsuperscript{b} lāl-gar šu-ta-bu-la qē-reb-šu

64. ša ul-tu ul-la šarrānu (LUGAL\textsuperscript{mas̄} ni) a-li-kut maḫ-re abbēya (AD\textsuperscript{mas̄}-ya)\textsuperscript{a} ul-la-nu-u-a be-lu-ti kurš-šurki e-pu-šu-ma ū-ma-‘e-er\textsuperscript{b} ba-‘u-lat ṭen-līl

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

Variants: \textsuperscript{b}4b,c, a-na; \textsuperscript{c}4b-d, NINA\textsuperscript{ki}. 59.\textsuperscript{a}4b,c, tu; \textsuperscript{b}4c, add a-q (?) 60.\textsuperscript{a}4d, 21. 62.\textsuperscript{a}4d, šu. 63.\textsuperscript{a}4c, lum; \textsuperscript{b}4b-d, ti; \textsuperscript{c}4b-d, lu. 64.\textsuperscript{a}4b,c, add MES; \textsuperscript{b}4b,d, ru; 4e, er-ru. 65.\textsuperscript{a}4c, ti; \textsuperscript{b}4b,c, add la.
mal-ki kib-rat ar-ba'-i im-da-na c-aha-ru qe-reb-šu

66. a-a-um-ma ina a lib-bi-šu-nu a-na ākalli (E.GAL) qer-bi-šu kūm-mu
ša šu b-uḫ-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.URU) ư šum-dul re-ba-a-ti ḫa-re-e nāre
(ID) za qa-ap śip-pa-a-ti ú-a-su-un-šu ib-ši-ma ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su

68. ya a-a-ti mdSin-ahhē-erlba (mdZUEN.ŠESmensb eri-ba) šar kur-šaš-šurki
e-peš śip-ri šu-a-tu ki-i tē-em ilānī (DINGIRmens) a c-na uz-ni-ya
ib-ši-ma ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma

69. te-ne-šet kur kal-di ĕl-a-ra-ši kur man-na-a-a kur qe-ke kur-ḫi-lak-ku
pi-lish-ta a kur šur-ri b ša a-na ni-ir c-ya la ik-nu-šu as-ḫu d-ḫa-am-ma
tup-šik-ku ū-ša-šaš-ši e-šu-nu-ti-ma il-bi-nu libitta(SIG4)

70. a-pe ku-ke-e a ša qe-reb ūr b kal-di ak-šit-ma ap-pa c-re-šu-un
šam-ḫu-ti i-na ba-ḫu-la-ti d na-ki-ri e ki-ši-ti qatēya (ŠU.MIN-ya)
ū-šal-di-da a-na e-peš śip-ri-ša

71. ākallu (E.GAL) mah-ri-tu ša 360 ina 1 ammati (KUS) šiddu (US) i-na
tar-ši za-me-e ền-ziq-qur-rat 80 ina 1 ammati (KUS) rupsu (DAGAL)
i-na tar-ši a bit na-ma-ri bit diš-tar 134 ina 1 ammati (KUS) rupsu
(DAGAL) i-na tar-ši bit na-ma-ri bit kid9-mu-ri 95 ina 1 ammati (KUS)
rupsu (DAGAL)

72. ša šarrānu (LUGALmēš ni) a-li-kut mah-re abbēya (ADmēš-ya) a-na
ri-mit be-lu-ti-šu-un ū-še-pi-šu-ma la ū-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša

Variants: c4b,c, add ak. 66.a4b, i-na; b4c, šu; c4c, adds di; d4d, li.
67.a4c, uz. 68.a4c, a-s-a-ti; b4d, ṚAPmēš; c4b,c, i; 69.a4b,
tz; b4, omits; c4c, ni-ri be-lu-ti-ya; d4b,c, šu; c4c, omits.
70.a4c, i; b4b-d, kur kal di; c4c, omits; d4b, te; e4c, adds ū.
71.a4b-d, add tar-ši.
73. ĭḏe-bīl-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru ša i-na na-ši-šá ge-gu-ne-e qa-bal-ti ālī (URU) ū-ab-bi-tu-ma ki-maḥ-ḥi-šū-un pa-az-ru-ti ū-kal-li-mu ša-mšu (dūtušū)

74. ū ul-tu u₄-meᵃ rūqūti (SUPMEŠ) ṭe-eḥ ṣkallī (Ē.GAL) i-ba'-u-ūᵇ ma i-na mēša (ILLU-ša) gap-ši i-na uš-ši-šá ab-bu ū-šab-šūᶜ ū ū-ri-bu tem-me-en-šā

75. ṣkalla šeḥreṭa (Ē.GAL.TUR.RA) šā-a-tu a-na si-ḥir-ti-šā aᵃ-qur-ma ša ĭḏe-bīl-ti ma-lak-šā uṣ-te-eš-na-a ab-bu uṣ-ṭib-ma ū-šeᵇ-šēr mu-šu-šā

76. qē-reb ka-tim-ti a-sur-rak-kuᵃ Šap-la-a-nu qanē (GIⁿMEŠ) e-la-niš aban šādi (NA₄.KUR¹) dan-ni it-ti ittē (ESIR) a-ak-si-ma eqla (A.ŠA) ul-tu ma-a-me ū-še-lam-ma na-ba-liš ū-tīr

77. 700 ina 1 ammati (KŪŠ) as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) šiddu (US) 176 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu ēlīti iltānī (SA.G.KI.AN.TA.IM.SI.SÁ) 268 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu qablīti (SA.G.KI.MURUBᵗⁱ) mi-iḥ-rat za-me-e at-man-ni ku-tal <bit>² diš-tar

78. 383ᵃ ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu (SA.G.KI) qab-li-tum šā-ni-tůᵇ mu-uḥ-ḥur-ti ša-a-ri a-mur-rī ku-tal ēziq-rat bit diš-tar

79. 386 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu šapli-ti šūti iti íd-idiglat (SA.G.KI.KI.TA.IM.GAL.LU.ŪŠ.SA.DU.ⁱᵈ.IDIGNA) tam-la-a ū-mal-li-ma am-šu-ūḥ me-ši-iḥ-ta

²Cf. 1. 78 and 2:44.

Variants: 74.a⁴b, UPMEŠ; b⁴c, omits; c⁴d, bु. 75.a⁴b, aⱽ; b⁴c, ṭe. 76.a⁴b, d, add šā. 78.a⁵a,b, 386; 5c, A⁰⁰; b⁴b, tum.
80. la-ba-riš u₄-meᵃ ina mīl (ILLU) kiš-ša-ti tem-me-en-šú la e-ne-še
   as-kup-pat na₄pi-i-li rab-ba-a-ti ki-isᵇ-su-ú-šuᶜ ú-ša-as-ḫi-ra
   ú-dan-ni-na šu-pu-uk-ša

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

82. ar-kaⁿu šu-uš-qu-ú tam-li-i ka-bit-ti ub-lam-ma 20 ti-ip-ki še-er
   maḥ-re-eᵇ uṣ-ṣip-ma 180 ti-ip-ki ú-ša-qī [s]-la-niš

83. tar-pa-šu-ú eli (UGU) ša u₄-muᵃ pa-ni ū-šar-bi še-er me-ši-ih-ti
   škalli (E.GAL) maḥ-ri-tiᵇ ú-rad-di-ma ū-ša-an-di-la ši-kit-taš

84. ēkal gišnugalli šin piri uši taskarinni musukkanni erenni šurmēni
   (E.GAL.na₄GIŠ.NUₓ.GALᵃ ZÚ.AM.SI gišESI gišTUKUL gišmu-suk-kan-niᵇ
   gišERIN gišŠUR.MANᶜ) gišdup-raᵈ-nuᵉ burāši (ŠIM.LUᶠ) ū gišbu-ut-ṇi
   ēkal šānina lā ḫūšu (E.GAL.ZAG.NUᴱ.SÁ.NU.TUK.A) a-na mu-šab šarrūtiya
   (LUGALᵗⁱ-ya) ū-še-pi-ša qē-reb-šaʰ

85. kiri₆-maḥ-ḥuᵃ tam-šil kūrša-ma-nim ša gi-mir riqqi (ŠEMḫiᵃ)
   inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-ti igši (GISᵐesᵍ)b TUK-lat šadⁱ (KURⁱ) ū
   kurkal-di qē-reb-šuᶜ ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šá az-qu-[up]

86. āš-šū za-qa-ap šip-pa-a-ti eqel (A.ŠĀ) ta-mir-ti e-le-en āli (URU)
   ⁴P°ta-a-am⁵ a-na mārē Ninua (DUMUᵐesˢ.ur₄NINAᵏⁱ) pil-ku ú-pal-lik-ma
   ú-šad-gi-la pa-nu-uš-šú-[un]

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

Variants: 80ᵃ⁵a-c, UDᵐesᵍ; bᵇ⁴b,c, omit; cᶜ⁴c, šaⁿ. 81ᵃ⁵a-c, adds re.
82ᵃ⁵a,b, add ʾ; bᵇ⁴b,i. 83ᵃ⁴c, meᵇ; bᶜ⁴c, tum. 84ᵃ⁵a-c,
   omit na₄GIŠ.NUₓ.GALᵇ; bᶜ⁴c, nuᶜ; cᶜ⁴c, adds nuᶜ; dᵇ⁴b, niᶜ; ṣᶜ⁴c,
   adds ʾ; ṭᵇ⁴b-d, liᶜ; ṣᵇ⁴b,c, omit; ṣᵇ⁴b,c, šuⁿ. 85ᵃ⁴c, omits;
   bᶜ⁴c, adds KURᵗ; ṣᶜ⁴b, šuⁿ; 4c, qē-reb before kurkal-di and omits it here. 86ᵃ⁴b,c, omit.
Ninua (uru₈NINA₉) šadâ (KUR₈) ʉ bi-ri-tu ak-kul-la-a₈₉-ti₇₉
ú-šat-tir-ma ú-še-šer id₇har-[ru]

38. ḫür (DANNA) qaqq-a-ru ul-tu qé-reb id₇hu-su-ur ma-a-me da-ru-ú-ti
a-šar-šá ú-šar-ši₈-da-a qé-reb šip-pa₉₈-ti šá-ti-na ú-šaḥ-bi-ba
pat-ti-iš

39. ša Ninua (uru₈NINA₉) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya šu-bat-su úš-rab-bi
re-ba-ti-šu₈ ú-šá-na₇-dil-ma be-re-e-ši ʉ su-qa-a-ni uš-par-di-ma
ú-nam-mer kîma (GIM) u₉-me

40. 擦 mi-iḥ-rat₉ abulli (KA.GAL) qabal āli (MURUB.URU) i-n₉-a
a-gúr-ri na₈/pi-li pe-še-e₇cent a-na me-ti-iq be-lu-ti-ya ú-šak-bi-is
ti-tur-ru

41. mu-šar-a₉ ʉ-še-piš-ma li-i-tu₉ ʉ <dan>₉-na-nu ša i-na tukulti (KUt₇)
aš-šur₇ bâle rabî (EN.GAL₇) bâleya (EN-ya) eli (UGU) kul-lat
na-ki-ri aš-tak-ka-nu

42. ʉ mim-ma ep-šet e₈-tep-pu-šu qé-reb-šu₉ ʉ-šat₈⁻tir-ma i-na
tem-me-en-ni ākal (È.GAL) be-lu-ti-ya e-zib aḥ-râ-tsâ

43. a-na ar₈⁻kat u₉-me a₉-na šarryān mārēya (LUGAL₉me₉ ni₉/DUMUM₉meg-ya) ša
daš-šur a-na re-ē-um-ut māti (KUR) ʉ nišē (UKUM₉me₉) i-nam-bu-u₉
dzi-kir-šu e-nu-ma ākal (È.GAL) ša-a-tu i-lab-bi-ru-ma [en] na-hu

44. an-ḫu-sa lu-ud-diš mu-šar-a₉ ši-ṭir šu-mi-ya li-mur-ma

3The text has ša. This correction has already been noted by Luckenbill. Cf. AKA 353:III:25.

Variants: 38₈₈b-d, omit; b₄b, omits; 38₈₈a₈b-d, omit; b₄b-d, add
g₉. ₈₈₈₈b, omit; b₄b-c, ₈₈₈₈c, ₈₈₈₈c, add K₈; c₄c, šu; d₄b,c, am.
90. ₈₈₈₈b,d, hit; b₄c, ina; c₄c, i. 91. b₅a-c, mu-ša-ru-šu;
b₄b, ₈₈₈₈a-c, ₈₈₈₈b; ₈₈₈₈b, ₈₈₈₈c, inn; d₄b,c, daš-šur; d₄c,d, add ẽ. 92. b₄b, i; b₄b,
5a-c, šu; b₅a-c, ū-ša-ša-[Ir ...]. 93. b₄b, ₈₈₈₈a-c, ₈₈₈₈b;
₈₈₈₈b, ₈₈₈₈c, i; c₄b,d, ū. 94. b₄b-d, ₈₈₈₈a-c, ẽ.
Colophon

4a: 56-60

\[ \text{End of Campaign Three} \]

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, musukkānu 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 Pl 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 1 1/2 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.

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)
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:1-16e. 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 10:24e; 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, 1 + 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, uru₃₄₅URU which reads uru₃₄₅URU (1. 15).

3Cf. Ibid., p. 15, n. 1 for the variants of the rest of the text.
4Cf. Ibid., p. 10, n. 2 for the remnants of the date.
5King, Supp., p. xxix.
6OIP II, 111, n. 1.
7M-R, p. 89.
9Cf. OIP II, p. 20.
10Iraq 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 Gilakku IV:61-91
Campaign against Tilgarimmu V:1-22
Building Inscription-Epilogue V:23-VIII:87
Colophon

TRANSLITERATION

Prologue

1. mdSin-ahhe-eriba (mdZUEN.ŠEŠmeš-eri-ba) šarru rabû (LUGAL.GAL)
2. šarru (LUGAL) dan-nu šār kiš-šá-ti
3. šār kur aš-šurki šār kib-rat ĭti
4. re-e-um it-pe-šu mi-gir ilāni rabûti (DINGIRMES.GALMES)
5. na-šir kit-ti ra-a'-im mi-šá-ri
6. e-piš ú-sa-a-ti a-lik tap-pu-ut
7. a-ki-i sa-hi-ru dam-qā-a-ti
8. et-lum git-ma-lum zi-ka-ru qar-dū
9. a-šā-red kal ma-al-ki rap-pu la-a'-it
10. la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-ri-qu za-ma-a-ni
Campaign One

11. ḍaš-šur šadu raḫû (KUR.GAL) šarrūt (LUGAL) la ša-na-an
12. ū-šat-li-ma-an-ni-ma elleni (UGU) gi-mir
13. a-šib pa-rak-ki ū-šar-ba-a kakkēya (gišTUkULmeš-ya)
14. ul-tu tāmtim (A.AB.BA) e-le-ni-ti
15. ša šul-mu šamši (dqTUši) a-di tam-tim šap-li-ti
16. ša gi-it šamši (dqTUši)
17. gim-ri šal-mat qaqqadī (SAGdu) ū-šak-niš še-pu-ú-a
18. u mal-ki šip-šu-ti e-du-ru ta-ḫa-zi
19. da-ād-šem-sú-un iz-zu-bu-ma
20. ki-ma su-din-ni ni-gi-ış-ši
21. e-diš ip-par-šú a-šar la 'a-a-ri
22. i-na maḫ-re-e ger-ri-ya
23. ša maḫ-Marduk-apla-iddina (MAMAR.UD.IBILA.SUM) šar kurkār-du-dun-ya-āš
24. a-di ummāne (ERĪNhi-a) Elamti (NIMAki) re-ši-šú
25. i-na ta-mi-ri-ki Kiš (KIŠki) aš-ta-kan dabdāšu (ŠI.ŠI-šú)
26. i-na qabal (MURUB) tam-ḫa-ri šu-a-tu
27. e-ziš karāssu (GARAS-su) e-diš ip-par-šid-ma
28. na-piš-tuš e-te-er narkabāte (gišGIGIRmeš) šišē (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš)
29. giššu-um-be parē (ANŠE.ŠU.MULmeš)
30. ša i-na qit-ru-ub ta-ḫa-zi
31. ū-maḫ-ši-ru ik-šu-da qāṭēya (ŠUMIN-a-a)
32. a-na ḫkallīšu (Ḡ.GAL-šū) ša qē-reb Bāb-ilim (KA.ĐINGIR.RAkī)
33. ḫa-diš e-ru-um-ma ap-te-e-ma bit ni-ṣir-ti-šū
34. ḫurāša (GUŞKIN) kaspa (KÙ.BABBAR) ú-nu-ut ḫurāši (GUŞKIN) kaspi (KÙ.BABBAR) abnu (NA₄) a-qar-tu
35. mim-ma šum-sú buša (NÍG.ŠU) makkūra (NÍG.GA) la ni-bi ka-bit-tu biltu (GUN)
36. sikrētišu (míUKÚmeš.É.GAL-šú) tīré (lúTIRUMmeš) lúman-za-az pa-ni
37. nārē (lúNARmeš) nārēte (míNARmeš)
38. si-ḫir-ti um-ma-a-ni ma-la bašu-ú
39. mut-tab-bi-lu-ut ēkalluš (É.GAL-uš)
40. ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
41. ina e-muq daš-šur bāleya (EN-ya) 75 alānišu (URUmeš-su) dan-nu-ti
42. bit dūrāni (É.BALmeš ni) ša kurkal-di
43. ū 420 alāni šehrūti (URUmeš.TURmeš) ša li-me-ti-šú-nu
44. al-me akšud (KURu) āš-lu-la šal-la-su-un
45. lúur-bi lú-a-ra-mu lúkal-du
46. ša qē-reb Uruk (UNUGki) Nippur (EN.LÍLki) Kiš (KIŠIKI)
47. Ḫursagkalamma (URUŠUR.SAG.KALAM.MA) Kutū (GÚ̇DUg.Aki) Sippar (ZIMIRKI)
48. a-di mārē ali (DUMUmeš.URU) bēl (EN) hi-itt-iti ú-še-ša-am-ma
49. šal-la-tiš am-nu
50. ina ta-a-ar-ti-ya
51. lútu-u-mu-na lúri-ḫi-ḫu
52. lúya-daq-qu lúḫ-bu-du
53. lúkip-re-e lúma-la-ḫu
54. lúgu-ru-mu lúḫ-bu-lu
55. lúda-mu-nu lúgam-bu-lum
56. lúhi-in-da-ru lúru-šu-u-a
57. lú₂pu-qu-du lú₂ha-am-ra-nu
58. lú₂ha-ga-ra-nu lú₂na-ba-tu
59. lú₂li-i'-ta-a-u lú₂a-ra-mu
60. la kan-šu-ti mit-ša-ris ak-šudud
61. 208,000 nišē šeḫer rabi zikir u sinniš (UKU₄meš) TUR GAL NITAḪ u MĪ
   sīšē (ANŠE.KUR.RA₄meš)
62. parē (ANŠE.ŠU₄.MUL₄meš) imērē (ANŠE₄meš) gammalē (anšeGA₄M.MALmeš)
   alpē (GUDmeš)
63. u šēni (UG₄UDUb₁₄.a) ša la ni-bi šal-la-tu
64. ka-bit-tu ŭš₄-su-la-a-na qê-reb kur₄aš-šurki
65. i-na me-ti-iq gerriya ša m₄Nab₄-bēl-šumāte (m₄PA.EN.MUmeš)
66. lú₂qē-pi uru₂ha-ra-ra-te
67. ḫurowave (GUŠKIN) kaspa (KU.BABBAR) gi₄₄-mu-suk-kan-ni rabûtî (GALmeš)
   imērē (ANŠE₄meš)
68. gammalē (anšeGAM.MALmeš) alpē (GUDmeš) u šēni (UG₄UDUb₁₄.a)
69. ta-mar-ta-šū ka-bit-tu am-ḫur
70. ba-ḫu-la-te uru₄gi-rim-me nākiri (lu₄KU₄R) ak-ṣi
71. i-na kakkē (gi₄₄TUKULmeš) ú-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 āli (URU) ú-šal-me
74. na-gu-ú šu-a-tu a-na eš-šu-ti aš-bat
75. 1 (DIŠen) alpa (GUD) 10 imērē (UD₄meš) 10 imēr karāna (ANŠE.
   GEŠTINmeš) 20 imēr suluppa (ANŠE.ZU.LUM.MA)
76. re-sē-te-šū a-na ilāni (DINGIRmeš) kuraš-šur-ki
77. bālšya (EN₄meš-ya) ú-kin ā-da-rī-šam
Campaign Two

78. i-na šanē (MIN₃) ger-ri-ya ḍaš-šur be-li ú-tak-kil-an-ni-ma
79. a-na mat lū-kas-ši-i uth 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-ša-a-ni zaq-ru-ti eqel (A.ŠA) nam-ra-ši
83. i-na sīse (ANŠE.KUR.RA) ar-kab-ma narkabat šēpēya (GIŠGIGIR.GIR.MIN-ya)
84. i-na ti-ik-ka-a-te ú-šū-ūš-ši
85. áš-ru šup-šu-qu ina šēpēya (GIR.MIN-ya) ri-ma-niš at-tag-giš
86. urubit-ški-lam-za-aḫ uruḫa-ar-diš-pi
87. urubit-šku-bat-ti ālānišunu (URUmeš-šū-nu)
88. bit dūrāni (E.BADmeš ni) dan-nu-ti al-me akšud (KURud)
89. nišē (UKUmeš) sīse (ANŠE.KUR.RAmeš) parē (ANŠE.ŠU.MULmeš)
90. imērē (ANŠEmeš) alpē (GUPmeš) u šēni (UG.UDUḫi.še)

Column II

1. ul-tu qer-bi-šu-nu ú-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
2. ū ālānišunu šēhrūti (URUmeš-šū-nu.TURmeš) ša ni-ba [la i-šu-û]
3. ab-bul aq-qu-r u-se-me ka [r-meš]
4. bit šēri (E.EDIN) kul-ta-ri mu-šā-bi-[šū-nu]
5. ina gerri (dGIŠ.BAR) aq-mu-ma ti-tal-liš ú-[še-m]e
6. ú-tir-ma urubit-ški-lam-za-aḫ šu-[a-t]u
7. a-na bir-tu-ti aš-bat eli (UGU) ša u₄-me pa-[ni]
8. dūrānišu (BADmeš-šū) ú-dan-nin-ma
9. nišē mātāti (UKUmeš.KUR.KUR) ki-šit-ti qātēya (ŠU.MIN-ya)
10. i-na liable us-sib
11. nišē (ukūmeš) mat lūkaš-ši-i
12. ù mat lū-ya-su-bi-gal-la-a-a
13. ša la-pa-an kakkēya (gišTUKULmeš-ya) ip-par-šid-du
14. ul-tu qē-reb šadī (KURi) ú-še-ri-dam-ma
15. i-na urugar-diš-pi urubit-mku-ba-at-ti ú-šar-me
16. i-na qātē (SU.MIN) lūšu-ut rēšiya (SAG-ya)
17. bēl pāhiti (lūEN.NAM) uru-rap-ja am-nu-šū-nu-ti
18. narâ (nA/NA.RU.A) ú-še-piš-ma
19. li-i-tum ki-šit-ti qātē (SU.MIN) ša elīšun (UGU-šū-un) aš-tak-ka-nu
20. še-ru-uš-šū ú-ša-šē-šir-ma i-na qer-bi āli (URU) ul-siz
21. pa-an ni-ri-ya ú-tir-ma
22. a-na kurēl-li-pi aq-ša-bat ṣar-ra-nu
23. el-la-mu-u-a mis-pa-ba-ra šarrašun (LUGAL-šū-un)
24. ālānišu (URumeš-šū) dan-nu-ti bit ni-šir-ti-šū
25. ū-maš-šēr-ma a-na ru-qē-e-te in-na-bit
26. gim-ri mātišu (KUR-šū) rapašti (DAGALi) kīma (GIM) imbari
   (IM.DUGUD) as-ḫu-up
27. urumar-ū-bis-ti uruak-ku-ud-du
28. ālāni bit šarrūtīšu (URumeš ni E.LUGALi-šū) a-di 34 ālāni šeṛrūti
   (URumeš.TURmeš)
29. ša li-me-ti-šū-nu al-me akṣud (KURud)
30. ab-bul aq-qur ina gerri (dgiš.BAR) aq-mu
31. nišē šeṛr rabi zikir u sinniš (UKumeš TUR GAL NITAH u MĪ) sīse'
   (ANŠE.KUR.Rameš)
32. pare (ANšE.šÚ.MULmeš) imere (ANšEmeš) gammalê (anšeGAM.MALmeš) alpê (GUDmeš)
33. û šênî (Ug.UDUhabi.a) a-na la mi-nam ąd-lu-lam-ma
34. a-di la ba-ši-i ú-šá-lik-Šu-ma
35. ú-ša-aḫ-ḫe-er másaṣu (KUR-su)
36. uruši-ši-ir-tu uruku-um-ma-ah-lum
37. ālāni (URUmeš) dan-nu-ti a-di ālāni şehrûti (URUmeš.TURmeš)
38. ša li-me-ti-Šú-nu kurbit-ma-ar-ru-u
39. na-gu-ú a-na gi-mir-ti-Šú
40. ul-tu qe-reb mātišu (KUR-šú) ab-tuq-ma
41. eli (UGU) mi-sir kuraš-šurki ú-rad-di
42. uruel-en-za-ēš a-na āl šarrûti (URU.LUGALū-ти)
43. û dan-na-at na-ge-e Šu-a-tu ašt-bat-ma
44. šumšu (MU-šú) maḫ-ra-a ū-nak-ker-ma
45. kār-mdšin-ābhē-erîba (urukar-mdZUEN.Šekmeš-eri-ba)
46. at-ta-bi ni-bit-su
47. nišē mātāti (URUmeš.KURmeš) ki-šit-ti qâ téya (ŠU.MIN-ya) i-na lib-bi ū-še-šib
48. i-na qâ té (ŠU.MIN) lûšu-ut rēšiya (SAG-ya)
49. bēl pāḥiti (lû.EN,NAM) urugar-ḥar am-nu-ma
50. ú-rap-pliš ma-a-ti
51. i-na ta-sa-šar-ti-ya
52. ša kurma-da-a ru-ku-ú-te
53. ša i-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGALmeš ni ADmeš-ya)
54. ma-am-man la iš-mu-ú zi-kir mātišun (KUR-šú-un)
6a:II:55-76

Campaign Three

55. man-da-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu am-šur
56. a-na ni-ri be-lu-ti-ya
57. ú-šak-ni-šu-nu-ti

58. i-na šal-ši ger-ri-ya a-na kurba-at-ti lu al-lik
59. ŋu-li-i ša uruṣi-du-un-ni
60. pul-ši me-lam-me be-lu-ti-ya is-hu-pu-šú-ma
61. a-na ru-uq-qa qabal (MURUB) tam-tim in-na-bit-ma šaddašú (KUR-šú) e-mid
62. uruṣi-du-un-nu rabû (GALú) uruṣi-du-un-nu še-eš-ru
63. urubit-zi-it-te urusa-ri-ip-tu
64. uruša-ḥal-li-ba uruš-šu-ú
65. urušak-zi-bi urušak-ku-ú
66. alašipšu (URUmeš-šú) dan-nu-ti bit dūrāni (E.BADmeš) a-šar ri-i-ti
67. û marq-ti bit tuk-la-ti-šú
68. ra-šub-bat kakke (gišTUKUL) ḍaš-šur bēleya (EN-ya)
69. is-hu-pu-šú-nu-ti-ma ik-nu-šu še-pu-ú-a
70. mtu-ba-a'lu ina kussē šarrūti (gišGU.ZA.LUGALú-ti)
71. ešišun (UGU-šú-un) ú-še-šib-ma
72. biltu (GUN) man-da-at-tu be-lu-ti-ya
73. šat-ti-šam la ba-at-šu
74. ú-kin še-ru-uš-šú
75. ša mši-in-ḫi-im-mu urušam-si-mu-ru-na-a-a
76. mtu-ba-a'lu uruṣi-du-un-na-a-a
77. "mab-di-li-i'-ti uru-a-ru-da-a-a
78. "mu-ru-mil-ki uru-gu-ub-la-a-a
80. "pu-du-ili (DINGIR) uru kur-bit-am-ma-na-a-a
81. "kam-mu-su-na-ad-bi kur-ma'-a-ba-a-a
82. "da-a-ram-mu kur-du-um-a-a
83. šarrāni Amurri (LUGAL-meš.kur.MAR.TUKI) ka-li-šú-un
84. igisē (IGI.ŠÁŠ) šad-lu-ti ta-mar-ta-šú-nu ka-bit-tu
85. a-di 4-šú a-na maḫ-re-ya iš-šu-nim-ma
86. iš-ši-qu šepēya (GIR.MIN-ya)
87. ū mši-id qa šarr uryis-qa-al-lu-na
88. ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ya
89. ilānī bīt abēšu (DINGIR-meš.Š. AD-šú) ša-a-šu aššassu (DAM-su)
    mārēšu (DUMU-meš-šú)
90. māratešu (DUMU.Š̑meš-šú) aḫḫēšu (ŠEŠmeš-šú) zēr bīt abēšu
    (NUMUN.Š. AD-šú)
91. as-su-ḫa-am-ma a-na kuraš-šurki ú-raš-šu
92. "šarru (LUGAL)-lu-dā-a-ri marš mu-kib-ti šarrašunu (LUGAL-šú-nu)
    maḫ-ru-u
93. eli (UGU) nišē (UKūmeš) uru-is-qa-al-lu-na aš-ḫun-ma
94. na-dan bīlti (GUN) kāt-re-e be-lu-ti-ya
95. e-ša-a-ta ab-šā-a-ni
96. i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ya uru-bit-da-gan-na
Column III

1. \text{uruy}_ya-ap-pu-ú \text{uruba-na-a-bar-qa}
2. \text{uruy}_a-zu-ru Șăpăya (\text{URUM}_\text{meş}) șa \text{mši-id-qa-a}
3. șa a-na Șepăya (\text{GİR.MIN}-ya) ar-Șiș la ik-nu-șu
4. al-me aksud (\text{KUR}^{\text{ud}}) șă-lu-la šal-la-su-un
5. šakkanakkû (\text{lú.GİR.NITA}_\text{meş}) rubû (\text{lú.NUN}_\text{meş}) șă nîšû (\text{UKU}_\text{meş})
6. \text{uruy}_am-qar-ru-na șa \text{m} \text{pa-di-i šarrašunu} (\text{LUGAL-šú-nu})
7. bēl (EN) a-de-e șu-ma-mit șă kuraș-Șurki
8. bi-ri-tu parzilli (\text{AN.BAR}) id-du-ma a-na \text{mha-za-qì-a-ú}
9. kurya-ų-da-a-s id-di-nu-șú nak-riš
10. a-na an-zil-li i-pu-șú ip-lah libbašun (ȘA-šú-un)
11. šarrāni (\text{LUGAL}_\text{meş} ni) kurmu-uš-ri ummānāt qaştî narkabāte (\text{lú.ERIN}_\text{giš.PAN}_\text{giš.GİGIR}_\text{meş})
12. sîsê (\text{ANSĒ.KUR.RA}_\text{meş}) șa șar kurme-luň-ța e-mu-qí la ni-bî
13. ik-te-ru-nim-ma il-li-ku re-șu-us-su-un
14. i-na ta-mir-ti \text{uruy}_al-ta-qu-u el-la-mu-u-a
15. si-id-ru šit-ku-nu ță-ță-i-łu kakkēšun (\text{gIš.TUKUL}_\text{meş}sú-un)
16. i-na tukulti (\text{KUTI}) daș-Șur bēleya (EN-ya)
17. it-ti-șú-un am-da-ți-is-ma șă-ta-kan dabbâșum (ȘI.ȘI-șú-un)
18. bēl narkabāte (\text{lú.\text{EN.gIš.GİGIR}_\text{meş}}) șă mārē (\text{DUMU}_\text{meş}) șă kurmu-șu-ra-a-a
19. a-di bēl narkabāte (\text{lú.\text{EN.gIš.GİGIR}_\text{meş}}) șa șar kurme-luň-ța
20. bal-ți-su-un i-na qabal (\text{MURUB}) tam-ța-ri
21. ik-șu-da qātēya (\text{ŠU.MIN}-a-a) \text{uruy}_ta-qu-u \text{urutama-na-a}
22. al-me aksud (\text{KUR}^{\text{ud}}) as-lu-la šal-la-su-un
23. a-na \text{uruy}_am-qar-ru-na aq-reb-ma
24.  šakkanakkē (lúGIR·NITAMEŠ) rubē (lúNUNmeš) ša hi-it-tu u-šab-šu-ú
25.  a-duk-ma i-na di-ma-a-ti
26.  si-ḫir-ti āli (URU) a-lul pag-re-šú-un
27.  māre āli (DUMUmeš.URU) e-piš an-ni ǜ gīl-la-ti
28.  a-na šal-la-ti am-nu
29.  si-it-tu-te-šú-nu la ba-bil hi-ti-ti
30.  ʿu gül-lul-ti
31.  ša a-ra-an-šú-nu la ib-šu-ú
32.  uš-šur-šú-un aq-bi
33.  ṡpa-di-i šarrašunu (LUGAL-šú-nu)
34.  ul-tu qē-reb urur-sa-li-im-ma
35.  ú-še-ša-am-ma ina kusse (gǐĢGU.ZA) be-lu-ti
36.  elīšun (UGU-šú-un) ú-še-šiB-ma man-da-at-tu
37.  be-lu-ti-ya ú-kin še-ru-uš-šú
38.  ʿu ṡha-za-qı-a-ú kurya-ū-da-a-a
39.  ša la ik-nu-šu a-na ni-ri-ya
40.  46 ālānišu (URUMeš-šú) bīt durānī (Ē.BĀDmeš ni) dan-nu-ti
41.  ʿu ālāni seḫrūti (URUMeš.TURmeš) ša li-me-ti-šú-nu
42.  ša ni-ba la i-šu-ú
43.  i-na šuk-bu-us a-ram-me
44.  ʿu qit-ru-ub šu-pe-e
45.  mit-ṭu-ug zu-uk šepē(GIR.MIN) pil-ši nik-si
46.  ʿu kal-ban-na-te al-me akšud (KURud)
47.  200,150 nišē ṣeḫer rabī (U Roryeš TUR GAL)
48. zikir u sinniš (NITAH u MÍ) sätze (ANŠE.KUR.RA{meš}) paré
   (ANŠE.ŠÚ.MUL{meš})
49. imērē (ANŠE{meš}) gammalē (anšeGAM.MAL{meš}) alpē (GUD{meš})
50. ū šēni (UG.JUDU{ki-a} ša la ni-bi ul-tu qer-bi-šú-un
51. ū-še-ša-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
52. ša-a-šú kīma (GIM) iṣṣūre (MUŠEN) qu-up-pi qé-reb
53. ururu-sa-li-im-ma āl šarrūtišu (URU.LUGALti-šú) e-sér-šu
54. ururuhal-šu{meš} elēšu (UGU-šú) ú-rak-kis-ma
55. a-še-e abul ālišu (KÁ.GAL.URU-šú)
56. ú-tir-ra ik-ki-bu-uš
57. ālānišu (URU{meš}-šú) ša āš-lu-la
58. ul-tu qé-reb mātišu (KUR-šú) ab-tuq-ma
59. a-na mmi-ti-in-ti šarr uruaš-du-di
60. mpa-di-i šär uruam-qar-ru-na
61. ū mšilli-bēl (mGISSU.EN) šar uruqa-zi-ti
62. ad-di-ma ū-ša-aḫ-ḫe-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 ū-kin še-ru-uš-šú-un
66. šu-u ṣha-za-qi-a-ú pul-ḫi me-lam-me
67. be-lu-ti-ya is-ḫu-pu-šú-ma
68. lúr-bi ū šabēšu damqūti (lúERIN{meš}.SIG₂{meš})
69. ša a-na dun-nu-un ururu-sa-li-im-mu
70. āl šarrūtisu (URU.LUGALti-šú) ú-še-re-bu-ma ir-šú-ú baṭ-la-a-te
71. it-ti 30 bilat ḫurāṣa (GUN.GUSKIN) 300 bilat kaspa (GUN.ḪU.BABBAR)
72. ni-siq-ti gu-uh-li tak-kas-si sande rabuti (Na\^4AN.GUGmes.GALmes)
73. ersē śinni (Giš\^NAmeš.ZU) kussē (Giš\^GU.ZAmeš) né-me-di śinni (ZU)
74. mašak piri (KUS.AM.SI) śin piri (ZU.AM.SI) ušā (Giš\^ESI) taskarinna
   (Giš\^TUKUL)
75. mim-ma šum-šū ni-gir-tu ka-bit-tu
76. uth mārātešu (DUMU.MI\^meš-šu) sikrētišu (imirUKumeš.E.GAL-šu)
77. nārē (lù\^NARmeš) nārēte (mir\^NARmeš)
78. a-na qē-reb Ninua (NINA\^1i) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya
79. arkiya (EGIR-ya) ū-še-bi-šam-ma
80. a-na na-dan ma-da-at-ti
81. uth e-peš ardūti (IRū-ti) iš-pu-ra rak-bu-šū

Campaign Four

82. i-na rebē (LIMMU\^e) ger-ri-ya daš-šur be-li ū-tak-kil-an-ni-ma
83. um-ma-na-te-ya gap-šá-a-te ad-ke-ma
84. a-na kurbit-\^ya-kin\^7 a-la-ku aq-bi
85. i-na me-ti-iq ger-ri-ya
86. ša m\^su-zu-bi lù\^kal-da-a-a
87. a-\^sib qē-reb ida-gam-me
88. ina \^urm\^bi-it-tu-ú-tu aš-ta-kan dabdāšu (Šl.ŠI-šū)
89. šu-ú ḫur-be-šu ta-ḫa-zī-ya elīšu (UGU-šū) im-gut-ma
90. it-ru-ku libbāšu (Ša-šū) ki-ma az-za-ri e-diš ip-par-šid-ma
91. ul in-na-mer a-šar-šu
92. pa-an ni-ri-ya ū-tir-ma
93. a-na kurbit-\^ya-kin\^7 aš-ša-bat ḫar-ra-nu
94. šu-ú Marduk-apla-iddina (md.AMAR.UD.IBILA.SUM

95. ša ina a-lak gerriya (KASKAL-yá) mah-re-e

Column IV

1. [dabdāšu (ŠI.ŠI-šú) áš-ku-nu-ma11 ú-par-ri-ru] el-lat-su

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

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

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

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

6. [lahhešu zér bit abēšu (ŠEŠmeš-šú NUMUN.É.AD-šú) ša ú-maš]-ši-ru
   a-ḥi tam-tim

7. [a-di si-it-ti nišē mātišu (UKUmeš].KUR-šú)

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


10. [ū-tir-ma ālānišu (URUmeš-šú) ab]-bul aq-ṣur ú-šē-me kar-meš

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

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

13. i-na ta-a-ar-ti-ya maš-ṣūr-na-din-šumi (MU)

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

15. i-na kusšē (giš.GU.ZA) be-lu-ti-šú ú-šē-šib-ma

16. rapaštum māt Sumerī u Akkadi (DAGAL tum KUR.EMEki u URIki)

11 Not in 6b but to be found in all other versions.
12 In 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. ū-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šú

Campaign Five

18. i-na ḩanše (YA) ger-ri-ya ba-ḫu-la-te uru-tu-mur-ri
19. uru-ša-a-ru-um uru-e-za-a-ma uru-ki6bu-šú
20. uru-bal-gid-da uru-qu-ú-a uru-qa-na
21. ša kíma (GIM) qin-ni erê (Âmušen) a-šá-red iṣṣüre (MUŠENBU.a)
22. ṣe-er zuq-ti kurni-pu[r ṣadi (KUR)] i mar-ši
23. Ŝu-bat-su-un šit-ku-na-at-[ma l] a kit-nu-šu
24. a-na ni-ri i-na šēpē (GIR.MIN) kurni-pu[r ka]-ra-ši ū-ša-ás-kin-ša
25. it-ti lūqur-bu-ti šēpēya (GIR.MIN-[y[a] n]-a-š-š-qu-ti
26. ū ṣābē (lūERINmeš) ta-ḥa-zi-ya [la] ga-me-lu-ti
27. a-na-ku kíma rími (GIM.AM) ek-di pa-nu-uš-š-š-un aš-šu-bat
28. ḥar-re ṣa-ha-li na-at-be-k[i ṣadi (KUR)] me-še-e
29. mar-šu-ti i-na kussé (GIŠ.GU.ZA) aš-t[a-a] m-di-[lš]
30. a-šar a-na kussé (GIŠ.GU.ZA) šup-[šu-qu]
31. i-na šēpēya (GIR.MIN-ya) aš-ta-hi-šam kíma (GIM) ar-me
32. a-na zuq-ti ša-šu-ú-ti se-ru-uš-[šu-un e-ši]
33. a-šar bir-ka-a-[a ma-na-aḥ-tu [i-ša-a]
34. ṣe-er aban šadi (NA4,KUR1) ú-ši-b-ša-me (Ameš) ku[šna-a-de]
35. ka-šu-ti a-na Šu-me-ya l[u aš-ti]
36. i-na ubanat (ŠU.ŠImeš) ṣur-ša-šu ar-d[e-šu-nu-ti-ma]
37. aš-ta-κan taḥ-ta-šu-šun âlānīšunu (URUmeš-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 ū-tir-ra ṣe-er mma-šy-ni-ya-e
40. šār uru.uk-ki šad-da-a-e la kan-še aṣ-aṣa-bat ṣar-ra-nu
41. ur-ḫe la pe-tu-ti țu-di pa-aš-qu-ti
42. ša la-pa-an šadē (KUR(meš)) mar-šu-ti
43. ul-la-nu-u-ā qē-reb-šū-un ma-am-man
44. la il-li-ku šarrēnu (LUGAL(meš)) pa-ni mah-ru-ti
45. i-na šēpē (GİR.MIN) kur-ā-na-ra ʿkur-up-pa šadē (KUR(meš))
46. dan-nu-ti ka-ra-ši ū-šā-aš-kin-ma
47. a-na-ku i-na kussē (giš GU.ZA) né-me-di it-ti šābē (ERIN(meš))
48. ta-ḥa-zi-yā git-ma-lu-ti
49. i-na ne-re-bi-šū-un pi-qu-ti
50. šu-nu-ḫi-iš e-ru-um-ma mar-ši-iš e-te-el-la-a
51. ubānāt šadē (ŠU.SI(meš).KUR(meš)) pa-āš qa-a-ti
52. šu-ū ma-ni-ya-e tur-bu-u¹
53. šēpē šābēya (GİR.MIN.ERIN.bi.<x¹/⁴-yā) e-mur-ma uru.uk-ku āl šarrūtīšu (URU.LUGAL ti-šū)
54. e-zib-ma a-na ru-qed-e-ti in-na-bit
55. uru.uk-ku al-me aksūd (KUR(ud)) āš-lu-la šal-la-su
56. mim-ma šum-šu bušē (NIG.ŠU) makkuura (NIG.GA) ni-šir-ti ēkallīšu (Ē.GAL šū)
57. ul-tu qer-bi-šu ū-še-ṣa-am-ma šal-la-tiš am-nu
58. ū 35 ālāni (URU(meš)) ša pa-a-ti li-me-ti-šū
59. ak-šud(ud)-ma nišē (UKU(meš)) alpē (GUD(meš)) ū şe-e-ni
60. imērē (ANŠ(meš)) āš-lu-la ab-bu-ul aq-qur ina gerri (<GIŠ,BAR) aq-mu

¹¹Corrected on basis of 6b:IV:84.
Campaign against Hilakku

61. i-na li-mu mŠulm-bēlī (SILIMmu-EN) lūša-kīn uru-ri-mu-si
62. mkt-ru-a bēl ālī (lūEN.URU) ša uru-il-lu-ub-ri
63. ardu (lūIR) da-gil pa-ni-ya ša iz-zi-bu-šu ilūšu (DINGIRmesš-šu)
64. ba-ḫu-la-te uruḫi-lak-ki
65. uš-bal-kit-ma ik-šu-ra ta-ḫa-za uruḫi-lak-ki
66. nisu (UKumesš) a-sî-bu-ut uru-in-gi-ra-a u uru-tar-zī
67. i-da-a-šu is-ḫu-ru-ma ger-ri kur qa-a
68. iš-ba-tu ip-ru-su a-lak-tu
69. ummanat qašti (lūERINmesšGIS.PAN) na-si tuk-si ȗ as-ma-re-e
70. narkabate (GISGIGIRmesš) išše (ANŠ.KUR.RAMESš) ki-šīr šarrūtiya
   (LUGALti-ya)
71. ū-ma-Še-er se-ru-ȗ-Šu-un
72. ša ba-ḫu-la-te uruḫi-lak-ki
73. ša i-da-a-šu is-ḫu-ru
74. i-na qe-reb šadī (KURı) mar-šī iš-ku-nu taḫ-ta-šū-un
75. uru-in-gi-ra-a uru-ta-ar-zu-ik-šu-du-ma
76. iš-lu-Šu šal-la-su-un
77. ša-a-šu qe-reb uru-il-lu-ub-re uru-dan-nu-tī-šū
78. ni-tum il-mu-šu-ma iš-ba-tu mušušu
79. i-na Qur-ru-ub ū-Šu-pe-e nim-gal-le dūri (BAD)
80. ū kal-ba-na-Še mit-ḫu-šu zu-uk šepe (GIR.MIN)
81. dāb-da-a-šu is-ku-nu-ma iš-ba-tu āla (URU)
82. mkt-ru-a bēl ālī (lūEN.URU) a-dī šal-lat alānisu (URUmesš-šu)
83. ू निषेद (UKU mesa) uruhi-lak-ki शा i-da-a-शु
84. is-γu-ru a-di imērē (ANSE mesa) alpe (GUmes) ू शे-e-ni
85. a-na uru ni-na-a a-di mah-re-ya ub-lu-ni
86. शा मकिरू a ma-शक-शु a-ku-श
87. utir-ma urui il-ub-ru a-na eš-šu-te as-bat
88. nišē mātāti (UKumes, KUR.KUR) ki-šit-ti qāteya (SU.MIN-ya) i-na
  ḝib-bi ú-ू-शē-शib
89. kakke (giš TUKUL) das-sur beleya (EN-ya) qe-reb-šū ú-ू-गar-mes
90. narā (na4NA.RU.A) Ša gišnugallī (na4GIŠ.NUx.GAL) ú-ू-शe-पiş-ma
91. ma-हar-शu ul-zi-iz

Column V

Campaign against Tilgarimmu

1. i-na li-mu mdas-ूर-बेl-uşur (mdas-ूर-EN.PAB) lūša-ki [n 
  kurkūd-mu-ह]
2. a-na urui til-gar-i-[im-mes]
3. a-lum ša pa-a-ṭi kurta-[ba-li]
4. ša mgūr-di-i šar [URU ur-du-tj]15
5. ir-ku-su kakkēšu (giš TUKUL [meš-ूू])
6. as-su-ूq-ma ummānāt qašti (lūšERIN meš, gišPAN) na-शi [tuk-शi]
7. ू as-ma-re-e narkabēte (gišGIGIR meš) sīše (ANSE.KUR. [RAMes]
8. ki-ṣir šarrūtiya (LUGAL ti-ya) ú-ma-ूे-e[r se-ru-uš-ूू]
9. ālum (URU) Šu-a-tum ni-i-tum il-[mu-ma]
10. i-na ši-pik e-pe-ṛi, Šu qur-ru-ub [šu-pi-i]

15 The reading of this line follows Heidel.
11. mit-hu-su¹⁶ zu-[uk šepē (GI.R.MIN)] ịṣ-ba-[tu₆̣ a-la (URU)]

12. nišē (UKUᵐᵉš) a-di ilāni (DINGIRᵐᵉš) a-[šib ịb-bi-šú im-nu-uᵃ ịl-na-ti-iš]

13. ālum (URU) šu-a-tumᵃ [ib-bu-lu iq-qu-ru]

14. a-na tilli (DU₆) ụ [kar-me ú-tir-ru]

15. i-na ịl-lat mātāti (KURᵐᵉš) șa-ṭi-na șa ákᵃ-lu-la]

16. 30,000 [qašṭi (gi₃PAN) 20,000 gi₃ᵃ]-ri-[tu]

17. i-na [l̕ib-bi-šuⁿu ak]₇ sur-ma

18. [eli (UGU) ki-šir šarrūtiya (LUGALᵗⁱ-ya) ù-rad-di

19. [ṣi-it-ti ịl-lat na-ki-ri] ka-bit-tu

20. [a-na gi-mir karāšiyā (GARAŠ-ya ụ bel pāhitiya (¹¹v EN.NAMᵐᵉš-ya

21. [nišē (UKUᵐᵉš) ma-ḥa-za-ni-ya] rabūti (GALᵐᵉš)

22. [ki-ma ṣe-e-ni lu ṣ̕za-'i-iṣ

Building Inscription-Epilogue

23. [a-na u₄-me-šu-ma Ninua (NINAᵏⁱ) ma-ḥa-z] u ṣi-ī-ru

24. [ālú (URU) na-rüm d]iṣ-tar

25. [ki-du-de]e ilāni (DINGIRᵐᵉš)

26. [u iṣtarāte (dIS.TARᵐᵉš) ba]-ṣu-ú qē-reb-šu

27. [tem-me-en-nu da-ru-ú du]-ru-úṣ ša-a-ti

¹⁶Heidel suggests a ṣa here for some unknown reason (Cf. 6b:V:39 and 1. 17).

Variants: 11.a6c:5, tu. 12.a6c:6, am-nu. 13.a6b:V:37, tu. 15.a6b:V:44, as.
28. [ša ul-tu ul-la i] t-ti ši-tir bu-ru-um-me
29. [eš-rat-su eš-ret-ma šu-pu]-ú ši-in-du-šú
30. [ša-nak-lu] šu-bat pi-riš-ti
31. [ša mim-ma šum-šú] ši-pir ni-kil-ti
32. [gi-mir pil-šu-na] ni-šir-ti ḥal-gar
33. [šu-ta-bu-lu] qe-reb-šú
34. [ša ul-tu ul]-la šarrānu (LUGALmeš ni)
35. [e-li]-kut maḥ-re abbēya (ADmeš ya)
36. [ul]-la-nu-ú-a be-lu-ut kur aš-šur-ki e-pu-šú-ma
37. ú-ma-ša ke-ša-bu-lu-lat den-lîl
38. a-a-ša ma i-na liḥ-bi-šu-nu a-na šum-dul šu-bat šal (URU)
39. e-peš dúri (BAD) šu-te-šur su-qa-a-ni
40. u ḫa-re-e nāre (ID) za-qa-ap șip-pa-a-ti
41. ú-zu-un-šu ul ib-ši-ma
42. ul uš-ta-bil ka-ras-su
43. a-na ēkalli (E.GAL) qer-bi-šú kum-mu ri-mit be-lu-te
44. ša šu-uh-ḫu-rat šu-bat-su
45. e-piš-taš la nak-lat-ma
46. le-ši-su ul id-da-a
47. liḥ-bu-ush ul iḥ-su-us
48. ya-a-ti ṣī Sin-ahhe-eriba (ṣī ZUEN.ŠESmeš-eri-ba)
49. šar kiš-ša-ti šar kur aš-šur-ki
50. e-peš sip-re šu-a-tu ki-i ṭe-em ilāni (DINGIRMES)
51. i-na uz-ni-ya ib-si-ma ka-bat-ti ub-lam-ma
52. te-ne-šet kur kal-dî lu-a-ra-me kur man-na-a-a
53. kurqu-e û kurpi-lak-ku kurpi-liš-ti û kur sur-ri
54. ša a-na ni-ri-ya la ik-nu-šu
55. as-su-ḫa-am-ma tup-šik-ku ú-ša-ša-ši-šu-nu-ti-ma
56. il-bi-nu libitta (SIG₄) ēkalla (E.GAL) maḫ-re-tu
57. ša 360 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) šidē (UŠ)
58. 95 ina 1 ammati (KUŠ) pūtu (SAG.KI)
59. ma-ra-ku šit-ku-na-at-ma
60. šu-ḫu-ḫu-rat šu-bat-sa
61. ša šarrānu (LU.GALmeš ni) a-li-kut maḫ-re abbēya (ADmeš-ya)
62. a-na ri-mit be-lu-ti-šu-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma
63. la u-nak-ki-lu ši-pir-ša
64. al-adlamme (dALAD,dLAMAmer) našer-i-ša pe-še-e
65. i-na uru-ša-ti-a-te ša e-ber-tan Idiglat (iDIGNA)
66. ib-tu-qu a-na mu-kil bābātišīn (KAMEš-ši-in)
67. a-na šu-pu-uš elippāte (gišMAmeš)
68. qa-reb qisāti (gišTIRmeš) iššē rabūti (GIšmeš.GALmeš)
69. ú-qi-ru i-na nap-ḫar māṭišun (KUR-šu-un)
70. i-na Ayyari (ituGU₄) u₄-mu a-dan-ni e-de-e pa-an šat-ti
71. i-na elippāte (gišMAmeš) ši-ra-a-te
72. a-na a-ḫa-an-na-a ú-šeb-be-ru-ni mar-ši-ši
73. i-na né-ber ka-a-ri elippāte rabiāte (gišMA.GU.LAmeš)
74. ú-ti-ib-bu-ú ba-ḫu-la-te-šu-un
75. ú-ša-né-ḫu ú-lam-me-nu ka-ras-si-in
76. i-na da-na-ni 'u šup-šu-qī
77. mar-ši-ši ú-bi-lu-nim-ma
6a:V:78-VI-10

78. ú-šá-aš-bi-tu băbătišin (KÁmeš-ši-in)
79. išṭe-bil-ti a-gu-ú šit-mu-ru
80. ša ūl-tu ūmē rūqūti (UDmeš, SUDmeš)
81. ūte-eš ēkallī (Ē.GAL) i-ba'-ú-ma
82. i-na mīlîša (ILLU-ša) gap-ši i-na uš-ši-ša
83. ab-bu ūšab-šu-ú ū-ri-ib-bu tem-me-en-ša
84. ēkalla ṣēhrēta (E.GAL.TUR.RA) šá-a-tu a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša aq-qur
85. ša išṭe-bil-ti ma-lak-ša
86. ūl-tu qa-bal-ti āli (URU) ap-ru-us-ma
87. i-na ta-mîr-ti ku-tal āli (URU) ūše-šer mu-šu-ša
88. i-na ½ GAN ma-lak meš (Ameš) 4 našpi-li rabūti (GALmeš)
89. it-ti kupre (ESIR.UD.A) ak-si-ma qanē (GImeš) a-pe
90. ū ku-pe-e ūšat-ri-ša eлīšun (UGU-šū-un)
91. 340 ina l ammati (Kùš) šiddu (Uš)

Column VI

1. 289 ina l ammati (Kùš) pūtu (SAQ.KI)
2. qaq qa-ru ūl-tu qē-reb iššu-su-ur
3. ū ta-mîr-ti āli (URU)
4. [k]i-ma a-tar-tim-ma lu aš-ba-ta še-er meši-ḥti
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 reši-šu
7. [k]a-ba-riš ūmē (UDmeš) i-na mīl (ILLU) kiš-ša-ti
8. [k]em-me-en tam-li-i la e-neši
9. našpi-li rabūti (GALmeš) ki-su-ū-šu
10. úša-as-ḫi-ra ú-dan-nin šu-pu-uk-šu
11. a-na 700 i-na as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) šiddu (UŠ)
12. ʿu 440 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALᵗⁱ) pūtu (SAG.KI)
13. si-kit-ti ʾakkallī (E.GAL) ú-tir-ma
14. šu-bat-sa ʿuš-rab-bī ʾakkallē ḫurāṣi kaspī (E.GALᵐᵉš.GUSKIN KÙ.BABBAR)
15. siparri sandē (ZABAR na₄².GUGᵐᵉš) na₄²DÚR.MI.NA.BAN.DA
16. gišnugallī šīn pīri ušī taskarinnī (na₄²GIŠ.GAL ZÚ.AM.SI)
   (GIŠ ESİ gišTÜKUL)
17. musukkanni ʾerennī šurmēnī (GIŠEZ.MÁ.KAN.NA⁷ gišERIN gišSÜR.MAN)
18. burāṣī (GIŠ₂.SIM.LI) giš-e-lam-ma-ku giši-in-da-a
19. a-na mu-šāb be-lu-ti-ya
20. ab-nī-ma ʿīt mu-ter-re-te
21. tam-šīl ēkal (E.GAL) kūrḥat-ti
22. mi-lḥ-rīt ba-ba-ati ʿuš-e-piš
23. gušūrē ʾerennī šurmēnī (GIŠ₂.URᵐᵉš gišere-ni.gišSÜR.MAN)
24. ša e-ri-su-un ʿa-bu bī-nu-ut kūrba-ma-nim
25. ʿu kūr si-ra-ra šādē ʾellūtí (KURᵐᵉš.KUᵐᵉš)
26. ūšat-ri-ša e-lišin
27. dalāt erennī šurmēnī burāṣī (GIŠ₂.GAL.GIŠᵉ₂.EREN.NI.GIŠ₂.SIM.LI)
28. giši-in-da-a me-sir kaspī ērē (KI.SAG⁸ UＲUDU)
29. ū-rak-kis-ma ū-rat-ta-a ba-bī-šin
30. i-na ba-rak-ki ša qē-reb bit pāpēhē (E.PA.PÁᵐᵉš)
31. ap-ti bi-ir-ri ū-pat-ta-a

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⁷ Of interest here is the almost exact parallels elsewhere which read giš mušuk-kăn-ni/nu. Cf. 4a-d:34.
⁸ For other examples of KI.SAG meaning kaspū cf. AḤw I, 454b.
32. lamaššat gišnugallī šin piri (mīLAMMAmeš.na4GIS.NUX.GAL ZÚ.AM.SI)
33. ša il-lu-ru na-šá-a kit-mu-sa rit-ta-šin
34. bal-tu ku-uz-bu hi-it-lu-pa lu-le-e
35. ma-la-a i-na bābātišin (Kāmeš-šin) ul-ziz-ma
36. a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-ša-lik
37. su-lul ta-ra-a-ni ša qe-reb ba-rak-ka-a-ni
38. e-tu-su-un ú-šaḥ-la-a
39. u4-me-eš uš-nam-mer
40. sik-kat kar-ri kas-pi ú erê (URUDU)
41. qe-reb-šin ú-šal-me
42. i-na agurri surre uqnî (SIG4AL.ÚR.RA.na4KA na4ZA.GIN)
43. us-si-ma se-si-lum ni-bi-hi
44. û gi-mir pa-āš-qī-ši-in
45. āš-šú šip-ri ĕkalliya (E.GAL-ya) šu-te-šu-re
46. û li-pit qatēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) šul-lu-me
47. i-na u4-me-šu-ma daš-šur à diš-tar
48. ra-a'-i-mu sangûtiya (lūSANGATI-ya)
49. na-bu-ú šumiya (MU-ya) giš-maḥ-ḥi gišere-ni
50. ša ul-tu ūmē rūqūti (UDmeš.SUDmeš) i-si-ḥu-ma
51. ik-bi-ru ma-gal i-na qe-reb kurši-ra-ra
52. šadē (KURmeš) ina pu-uṣ-ri na-an-zu-zu
53. ú-šak-li-mu-in-ni ši-i-su-un
54. ša gisnugalli (na4GIS.NUX.GAL) ša i-na tar-ši šarrānu (LUGALmeš ni)
55. abbēya (ADmeš-ya) a-na kar-ri nam-ṣa-ri šu-qu-ru
56. i-na sa-paṇ kuram-ma-na-na ú-ṣap-tu-ni pa-ni-šu
6a:VI:57-80

57. ÂNADUR.MIN.NA.BAN.DA ma-la dumibuzigalli
58. șa la in-nam-ru ma-ti-ma
59. ina urukapri-da-ar-gila-a
60. șa pa-a-ti urutil-bar-si-ip
61. úkalim ra-ma-nu-uš
62. i-te-e Ninua (NINAki) ina er-șe-ti uruba-la-ta-a-a
63. ki-i të-em ilîma (DINGIR-ma) na4pi-ilu pe-su-u
64. a-na mu-u'de-e in-nam-mer-ma
65. aladlamme (dALAD.dLAMMAMEŠ) șa-lam meš-re-ti gišnugalli
   (na4GIS.NUX.GAL)
66. șa i-na 1en abna (NA4) ib-ba-nu-ú mi-na-a-te šuk-lu-lu
67. i-na ki-gal-li ram-ni-șü-nu
68. șa-qis na-an-zu-zu
69. miap-sa-sa-a-te gišnugalli (na4GIS.NUX.GAL)
70. șa zi-me nu-us-su-qa
71. kîma (GIM) u4-me na-par-di-i nu-um-mu-ru zu-mur-šin
72. askuppât (I.DIBMEŠ) na4DUR.MI.NA.BAN.DA šîrêti (MAHMEŠ)
73. ab-ni ki-lal-la-an i-na šad-di-šü-un ab-tuq-ma
74. a-na šip-ri ĕkalliya (E.GAL-ya)
75. ú-șal-di-da qe-reb Ninua (urUNINA)
76. aladlamme (dALAD.dLAMMAMEŠ) miap-sa-sa-a-te
77. na4pi-ililu pe-șe-e i-na lip-ta-at dnin-kur-a
78. i-na er-șe-et uruba-la-ta-a-a
79. ú-șa'-lid-ma ú-șak-li-la gat-ta-șü-un
80. șa ul-tu ul-la šarrânu abbêya (LUGALMEŠ ni.APMES-ya)
6a: VI: 81–VII: 11

81. sa-lam erē (URUDU) tam-šil gat-ti-šu-un
82. a-na šu-zu-zi qē-reb ekurrātišun (E.KURmeš-šu-un)
83. ib-nu-ma i-na e-piš-ti-šu-nu
84. ú-šā-nē-ḥu gi-mir mārš um-ma-ani
85. i-na la bi-šit uz-ni la ha-sa-as a-ma-te
86. a-na sip-ri ḫi-ših-ti-šu-nu
87. šamma (I.GIS) iš-ku-ru na-al-ba-āš še-e-ni
88. ú-qī-ru qē-reb šadešun (KURmeš-šu-un)
89. ya-ati māšīn-aḥḥē-erība (māZUEN.ŠESmeš-erī-ba)
90. a-šā-red mal-ki mu-de-e šip-ri
91. ka-la-ma tem-me erē rabūti (URUDU.GALmeš)
92. ur-maḥ-ḥi pe-tan bir-ke ša ma-nam-ma
93. la ip-ti-qu šār pa-ni maḥ-re-ya

Column VII
1. i-na uz-ni ni-kil-ti
2. ša ú-šat-li-ma ru-bu-ú d nin-igi-ku
3. i-na šī-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 tē-me-ya
6. ū me-reš ka-bit-ti-ya
7. pi-ti-iq erē (URUDU) ú-ba-šš-šim-ma
8. ú-nak-ki-la nik-lā-su
9. ša giš-maḥ-hi ū a-la-mit-ta
10. iš meš-re-e 12 urmahhē (UR.MAHmeš) ni-'ru-ti
11. a-di 12 aladlammē (dALAD.dLAMMAmeš)
12. גירתי (מAHמеш) של شك-לו-לו נב-ני-תו
13. 22 מיאפ-סא-סא-てい שא קעש-בא
14. 우-שו חיט-לו-פו באל-תע לאל-א
15. קמע-ור שה-רו-עם-ין
16. קי-י тек-אים (דינגיר-מא) זי-פי יי-יד-디
17. אב-ני-מא יר-וא-גש-שוע אשי-טפא-קא
18. קי-י פטי-ייק ½ שגילי (GINE-או-אמ5)
19. עו-שק-לי-לא נב-ני-סו-ון
20. אלעלאם (דALAD.DLammaמеш) נב-ני-יט ערו (ערוד)
21. שא 2 이יב-בי זא-חא-לו-יו לייט-בו-שוע
22. אלעלאם גישנגבלי (דALAD.DLammaמеш.אנ4GIS.NUx.GAL)
23. א-די אלעלאם (דALAD.DLammaמеш) ומייפ-סא-סא-טי
24. נ4פייל-לי פרע-טי-שם שא אקללייה (É.GAL-ya)
25. או-עש-בטי-תא שירשין (SI.GAR-שי-ין)
26. תם-מיה ערו גירתי (ערוד.מAHמеш) א-די תומ-מי גישרי-ני
27. ראקטי (GALמеш) בייב-לאט קירפה-מא-nim
28. מש-ער ערו (ערוד) ואפי (אנ.נא) א XK-קיס-מה
29. שע-ער פרי-גל-לאו-ו עזרח-מה
30. דאפ-פי קיו-לו-לו באהטי-שין (מAHמеш-שין) ימ-ימ
31. מייפ-סא-סא-טי גישנגבלי (אנ4GIS.NUx.GAL)
32. א-די מייפ-סא-סא-טי יר-דוי-י
33. שא זא-חא-לו-יו לייט-בו-שוע וא מייפ-סא-סא-טי
34. פטי-ייק GU.АН.ՆA
35. סא נן-ומ-מי-רו גת-תא-שי-ין
36. גיש-טמ-מיﻋד ﻦوور-ني (גיSES ﻦوU.R.MAN) גישה-ני גישד-.UP-רא-א-ני
37. burā̄u (ŠIM.LI) giğsi-in-da-a iḥ-zi-it pa-šal-li
38. ʿu kas-pi še-ru-uš-šin ul-ziz-ma
39. ša kum-me mu-šab be-lu-ti-ya
40. e-mid hittišun (giğGAN.DU₇meš-shú-un)
41. askuppāt (I.DIBmeš) na₄DU₁̃.RU₂NA.BAN.DA gišnungalli (na₄GIŠ.NUₓ.GAL)
42. ʿu askuppāt (I.DIBmeš) na₄pi-i-li rabīti (GALmeš)
43. a-sur-ru-šin ú-ša-as-he-ra
44. a-na tab-ra-a-te ú-šá-lik
45. áš-šú u₄-me-šam-ma mē (Aᵐeš) di-lu-ti
46. da-lum eb-li gu-uḫ-ḫaš-ša-a-te siparri (ZABAR)
47. ʿu ḫar-ḫa-ri siparri (ZABAR) ú-še-piš-ma
48. ki-mu-u ma-ka-a-te giš-mah-ḫi ʿu a-la-mit-ta erē (URUDU)
49. še-er būrāti (P˒meš) uš-ziz ēkallāte (E.GALmeš) ša-ti-na ú-ša-lik as-me-š
50. si-ḫir-ti ēkalli (E.GAL) a-na tab-rat kiš-šat nišē (UK˒meš)
51. ul-la-a re-ši-šā ēkal (E.GAL) ša-ni-na la i-šu-u
52. ni-bit-sa az-kur
53. kiri6-mah-hu tam-šil kurBA-ma-nim
54. ša gi-mir riqqe (ŠEMḫi•a) inib (GURUN) šip-pa-a-te
55. isšē (GIŠmeš) TUK-lat šadī (KUR¹) ʿu kurkal-di
56. a-di isšē (GIŠmeš) na-aš šipati (SĪGuidId•a)
57. qē-reb-šū ḫur-ru-šu i-ta-a-šā az-qu-up
58. Ninua (NINA¹¹) ša ul-tu u₄-me pa-ni
59. 9,300 ina 1 ammati (KUS) šu-bat li-me-ti-šū
60. dūra (BÂD) ʿu šalḫa (BÂD.DUN.ŠÂR) ul ū-še-pi-šū
61. a-li-kut maḥ-re ma-al-ki
62. 12,515 a-šar ta-mir-ti āli (URU)
63. še-er me-ši-iḫ-ti ú-rad-di-ma
64. 21,815 ina as₄-lum rabīti (GALti) ú-kin man-da-tuš
65. ša dūršu rabû (BAḌ-ŠU.GAL¹) BĀD NI.GAL.BÉ lúKUR.RA ŠÚ.ŠÚ
66. du-ú-ru ša nam-ri-ru-šu na-ki-ri saḫ-pu
67. še-er na₄-pi-i-li tem-me-en-šu ad-di-ma
68. 40 libitti (SIG₄) ú-kab-ber
69. i-na 180 ti-ip-ki ul-la-a re-ši-šu
70. a-na er-bet-ti šá-a-ri 1₄₅ abullāti (KÁ.GALmeš)
71. pa-nu û ar-ka i-na še-li ki-lal-la-an
72. a-na e-re-bi û a-še-e
73. ú-šap-ta-a qé-reb-šú
74. li-bur³ iššak (ENSI) d₄aš-šur abul (KÁ.GAL) d₄aš-šur ša Aššur
   (uruŠA.URU)¹⁹
75. sa-pi-in gi-mir na-ki-ri
76. abul mdSin-aḫḫē-eriba (KÁ.GAL mdZUEN.ŞEŠmeš-eri-ba) ša kurgal-ṣi
77. d₄en-lîl mu-kin palēya (BAL-ya)² abul d₄šamaš (KÁ.GAL dUTU)² ša

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

Variants: 67-69, a₄6h:4-9 reads here:
4. tem-me-en-šu ad-di-ma 40 libitti (SIG₄) i-na na-a[1-ba-ni-yāš-
5. rabō (GAL¹) ú-kab-ber-šú a-na e-liš a-di šap-la-[ti]
6. na-bur-ri-šu a-na 3₄₅ libitti (SIG₄) ú-tir-[ma]
7. û-na 3₄₅ 20 ti-ip-ki libitti (SIG₄) ša pānī (IGI)
   zu-ū-[uq-ti]
8. mu-ser-šá e-la-niš a-di pa-aš-qi-šú re-ši-šu
9. ul-li-ma ū-zaq-gēr-šū ḫur-ša-niš
70, a₄6h:10, 18. 74, a₄Ce:VII:16; 6h:1₄, lil-bur; b₄6h:1₅, ụruaš-sur. 77, a₄Ce:VII:20f*, BALe; b₄Ce:VII:20f*, d₄ša-meš;
kur-ga-gal

78. ša mdšīn-ahhē-erība (mdZUEN.ŠES̄meš-eri-ba) it-ti man-zal-ti a e-riq-qa

79. kin-ni a palēsu (BAL-šū) abul (KÁ.GAL) d nin-līl ša urukar-d nin-līl b

80. mu-še-șa-at šēr ašakki abul (UZU.Á.SIG KÁ.GAL) muš-la-lum

81. du-muq āś-na-an ʿaqlāḫar qē-reb-ša ka-a-a-an

82. abul (KÁ.GAL) uruši-ba-ni-ba a

83. ba-bi-lat hī-sib ḫur-šā-a-ni abul (KÁ.GAL) kurḫa<lah>20bhı

84. napḫar (ŠU-NIGIN) 7a abullātī šit šēmēš (KÁ.GAL meš dUTU.Ē)

85. mi-hē-rit imšu-ū-ti ʿu imša-di-i a

86. az-kū-ra ni-bit-si-in

87. ֠Adad (dIM) šā-rī-iq a ḫegalli (ḪE.GAL) a-na mātī (KUR)

88. abul ֠Adad (KÁ.GAL. dIM) ša am-ba-si a

89. ʿeṛ-ra šā-a-giš za-ma-ni-ya a

90. abul ֠Nergal (KÁ.GAL. dU.GUR) ša urutar-bi-ši

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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 ἱ-lah-ḫi.

91. dNannaru (dNANNARšu) na-šir agê (AGA) be-lu-ti-ya b abul dSin
(KÁ.GAL.dZUEN)c

92. napqar (ŠU.NIGIN) 3 abullâti (KÁ.GALmes) ša mi-ih-rit imil-ta-niā

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

94. dš-a mu-še-ser kup-pi-yâ abul (KÁ.GAL) maš-qé-ea

95. mu-še-re-bit mi-hir-ti da-šâ-me abul (KÁ.GAL) ka-a-ri

96. kât-re-e lu-su-mu-u-an ā lu-šu-e-me

Column VIII

1. qé-reb-šá er-ru-ub abul (KÁ.GAL) mad-ba-re21

2. pa-qí-da-at ka-la-ma abul ēkal (KÁ.GAL.E.GAL) maš-šar-tî

3. dšar-urš mu-šam-qit a-aš šarrî (LUGAL) abul (KÁ.GAL) ha-an-du-ri

21œe has no gate equivalent to this one.

Variants: 91.œh:28-40 varies from 6a at many points after this line and reads as follows:

28. dNannaru (dNANNARšu) mu-kin a-ge-e be-lu-ti-ya

29. abul dSin (KÁ.GAL.dES) dš-a mu-še-ser kup-pi-ya

30. abul (KÁ.GAL) maš-qé-e li-bur e-piši-su (?)

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

32. muššam-me-eš šip-pa-ati muš-la-lum ša kirê (KIRI6)

33. mu-še-re-bit mi-hir-ti da-šâ-me

34. abul (KÁ.GAL) ka-a-ri lu da-ri ba-nu-šâ

35. muš-la-lum ēkalli (E.GAL) maš-šar-tî dša-num

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

37. kât-re-e lu-te-e-me u luššu-mu-u-an

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

39. napqar (ŠU.NIGIN) 10 abullâti (KÁ.GALmes) ša mi-ih-rit il-ta-nî

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

b6e:VI:35f., digi-sig7-sig7 muššam-me-eš šip-pa-a-te; 6f., rev.8, [digi-sig7-sig7 muššam-me-eš šip-pa-a-te; 6g.e:VI:35f., abul kirât (KÁ.GAL.KIRI6mes). 92.œe:VI:38, imil-ta-
6a: VIII: 4-22

4. napbar (ŠU.NIGIN) 5a abullāti (KA.GALmeš) ša mi-iḫ-rit im-a-mur-ri
5. at-taz-ka₂-ra šu-me-šin
6. ša šal-ḥi-i BĀD.NIG.ERIM.HU.LUH.HA
7. mu-gal-lit za-ma-a-ni uš-še-sū ap-te-e-ma
8. 45 GAR ú-šap-pil-ma
9. ú-šā-ak-šid mē (Ameš) na-aq-bi₄
10. qē-reb ma-a-mē šap-la-a-nu aban šadī (NA₄.KUR²) dan-ni ak-si-ma
11. e-la-niš a-di pe-āš-qi-sū i-na na₄-pi-li-li rabāti (GALmeš)
12. ú-nak-kil ši-piš-su
13. ša Ninua (NINaki) āl (URU) be-lu-ti-ya šu-bat-su uš-rab-bi
14. re-ba-ti-su ú-ša-an-dil-ma ú-nam-mer kīma (GIM) u₄-me
15. bādšal-ḫu-ú ú-še-piš-ma ú-zaq-qi-er ḫur-šā-niš
16. e-le-en ālī (URU) ù šaplān ālī (KI.TA.URU) ú-še-piš kirātī (KIRI₆meš)
17. MUD.HUMmeš šadī (KUR²) ù ma-ti-tan
18. kul-lat riqqi (ŠEMPib.a) kur gating-tí ú-ḫar-ri-sa ²² qē-reb-ši-un
19. še-er ša-šab-bur-ti ša a-ḫa²³ am-ba-si karān šadī kalīšun (GEŠTIN. KUR²)
20. DU-šu-un) gi-mir inib (GURUN) ad-na-a-te
21. riqqi (ŠEMPib.a) ù giš-ši-ir-di a-na ba-'u-li az-qu-up
22. idḫu-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 šab-tu-ma i-na šarrāni abbēya (LUGALmeš ni. ADmeš-ya)
24. mim-ma la is-sēr-šu-nu-ti-ma i-tab-ba-ku išdiglateš (išHAL.HALeš)
25. a-na mid-ra-a-te šum-mu-ḫi
26. ul-tu pa-a-ti ūruki-si-ri
27. mu-la-a muš-pa-lum i-na ak-kul-la-te
28. aḫ-ra-a ū-šē-šēr išpat-tu
29. mē (Ameš) šu-nu-te še-er ta-mir-ti Ninua (NINAki) ū-kin-nam-ma
30. qē-reb šip-pa-a-te ša-ti-na ū-šaḫ-bi-ba a-tap-pīš
31. a-na bit-re-e ma-a-me24 ina šēpē (GIR.MIN) mu-us-rī šadē (KUR]&
ger-ri aš-bat-ma
32. aš-qu-ma a-di ūruer-mu-na-kin-nē-e šup-šu-qīš at-tal-lak
33. i-na re-eš urudūr-ēstar (ūru BAD.15) ūruši-ba-ni-ba
34. ū ūrusu-li nam-ba-e a-mur-ma
35. ēnēšumu (IGI.MIN-šū-nu) pi-qa-a-te ū-rab-bi-ma ū-tir a-na kup-pe
36. aš-šū ma-lak mē (Ameš) šú-nu-ti šadē (KURmeš) mar-šu-ti
37. aš-ri pa-āš-qu-ti ina ak-kul-la-ti ū-šat-tir-ma
38. mu-šu-šū-un ū-še-ši-ra a-na ta-mir-ti Ninua (NINAki)
39. išgar-ri-ti-šu-nu ū-dan-nin ki-i šu-pu-uk šadī (KURi)
40. mē (Ameš) ša-tu-nu qē-reb-šū-un ū-kin-na
41. ki-ma a-tar-tim-ma še-er mē (Ameš) išhu-su-ur
42. ū-rad-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).
63. be-lu-te - ya lu e-pu-us

For this reading of the signs KL.SAG.MÁmusên see AHw, I, 367a.

64. ig-su na-aš ši-pa-a-ti ib-qu-mu im-ḫa-šu šu-ba-ti-š
65. ul-tu šip-ri ēkalliya (É.GAL-ya) ú-qat-tu-ú
66. daš-šur bēlu raḫu (EN.GAL) ilāni uth istarāte (DINGIRmeš uth diš.TARmeš)
67. a-ši-bu-ut kur aš-šur-ki
68. i-na qer-bi-ša aq-re-ma
69. nīqē (UDU.SIZKURmeš) taš-ri-iḫ-te aq-qi-ma
70. ú-šat-lim kāt-ra-a-a
71. šaman (I.GIS) gis-sir-di uth hi-bi-š-ti
72. ša kirāte (KIRI6mes) šer (EDIN) ša-ab-bur-ti
73. ú-raq-qa-a a-na ru-uš-ti
74. i-na taš-ri-it ēkalli (É.GAL) ša ba-ḫu-la-te6 mātiya (KUR-ya)
75. ú-ša-aš-qa-a muḫ-ḫa-ši-in6
76. karāna (GESTIN) du-ḫa-šu-pu ṣur-ra-ši-in6 am-ker
77. a-na ar-kāt u₄-me i-na6 šarrāni mārēya (LUGALmeš6.DUMUmeš-ya)
78. ša daš-šur a-na re-ē-um-ut māti (KUR) uth nīšē (UKUmeš)
79. i-nam-bu-ú6 zi-kir-šū
80. e-nu-ma dūru (BĀD) 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-tir šu-me-ya
84. li-mur-ma ōmna (I.GIS) liq-šu-uš
85. nīqē (UDU.SIZKUR) liq-qi a-na aš-ri-šā li8-tir
86. daš-šur uth diš-tar

Variants: 74.a6d:5, ti. 75.a6d:6, šu-un. 76.a6d:7, šu-un 77.a6d:8, ins; 86d:8, LUGALmeš ni. 79.a6d:10, li.
87. ik-ri-bi-šú i-šem-mu-ú

Colophon

ITU abi (NE) li-mu mšlu-ittiya (mDINGIR.KI-ya) lúša-kín urú 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 unsubmitting, 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 Rihīṣu,
52. The Yadaqqu, the Ubudu,
53. The Kipre, the Malāḫu,
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-šumate, the governor of Ḫararate: 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 Aššur, my lord, gave me confidence and
79-81. I marched against the land of the Kašši 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-Kilamzaj, Ḫardisi,
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 Kasši

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. Şişirtu (and) Kummahum, 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 Ḫarhar 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.
Campaign Three

58. In my third campaign I marched against Ḫatti (i.e., the west).

59–61. The fear of the brightness of my lordship overwhelmed Luli, the king of Sidon and fleeing far away into the sea he disappeared.

62. Greater Sidon, Lesser Sidon,

63. Bit-Zitte, Sariptu,

64. Maḥalliba, Usu,

65. Akṣibi, (and) Akko,

66. His fortified, walled cities, an area of pastures

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

68. The fear of the weapon of Aššur, my lord,

69. Overwhelmed them and they bowed at my feet.

70–74. I placed Tuba'lu over them on a royal throne and tribute, a gift of my lordship, yearly, without ceasing, I imposed on him.

75–85. All the Amorite kings—Menahem the Šamsimurunite, Tuba'lu the Sidonian, Abdi-li'iti the Arodite, Urumilki 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,

86–91. 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
Melūḫḫa, 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 Melūḫḫa, 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. Šuzubu 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 difficulty 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-belî, 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
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sieved (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, nimgalā 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 Assur-bel-ushur, the governor of Kudmuhu, 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 Gurdy, 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 brough 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,
The city beloved of Istar,
Wherein all the rites of the gods and goddesses take place,
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,
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,
Wherein from days of old the former kings, my ancestors, ruled Assyria before me and directed the people of Enlil,
(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,
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—
(But) I, Sennacherib,
The king of the world, king of Assyria,
When I gave attention and determined to carry out that work according to the will of the gods,
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, *elammakku* 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. Ammananu which, at the time of my royal ancestors, 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 BAD NI.GAL.BE ūḫ KUR.RA ŠÚ.ŠÚ, "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 overwamer 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 Ḫalahhu 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 ambassu,

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, BÁD.NÍG.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, aromatics, 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, Šibeniba, 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; igiru birds, wild pigs, and alap kisi 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 igiru bird whose home is far away nested there; the wild pigs and the alap kisi 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 tuklætešu

The function of this fortification is aptly defined in Streck, Asb., 42:IV:123f. GN . . . . āl šarrūti āl (var. bit) tuklæte ša Elamti ša kīma dûre rabē pān Elamti parkan.

II:68f. rašubbat . . . . isgpušunūtima

This curious form cannot be explained. It also occurs in III:66f. pulḫi . . . . isgpušume . . . . 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. . . . ., pulḫi melamme. . . .

For the subjunctive without ša see GAG5166.

III:10 ana anzilli ipušū

This idiomatic expression was not observed by Luckenbill.¹ Heidel has noted it but his translation "misdeed" does 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

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

III:15  \( u\’a\’\’lulu  kakk\'esun \)

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., 220:7f. There it is found in context with \( t\'\'h\'a\'za  k\'a\'\'aru \) "to prepare for battle" (Cf. above, 1:15 \( u\'a\'ksir  t\'h\'a\'zu \)).

III:43  \( \'s\'ukbus  arammu \)

This phrase is comparable to \( u\'akbis  titurru \) in 4a:90 and 113:8f. \( titurru \) and \( arammu \) 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  \( N\'agi\'at  raggeri \)

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 \( \'sa  qabil  t\'emtim \) 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

\(^3\)LTBA 2, 2:301.
\(^4\)OIP XXIV, figs. 1 and 2.
\(^5\)Sumer 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-qi-a-ti.

IV:18-27

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

IV:32f.  
elī ʾāšar  birkāya  mānāṭum  ʾīsā

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

VI:33  kitmusā  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  iggā  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  ambassi

The term ambassi 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  nuḫše  ina  libbi  ambassi  illak.

6Cf. AHw, I, 42a.
VIII:8-9  ušappilma ušakšid 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'ē

Streck, Asb., 74:31 ašar kuppi namba' śa mē mala bašū. . . .
The term namba'ū 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 šupuk šadī

VIII:64 imbasū
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 niqê tašrihte аqīma
Cf. Streck, Asb., 90:106f. . . . niqê tašrihti aqē ana ilāni bēlēya

VIII:71-74 šaman . . . . ana rüsti
Borger, Esarh., 63 Ep. 23:53 šaman rüsti (Î.SAG) igulē muḫḫašunu ušašqi
7. QUUNJIK BULL, NO. 1, ENTRANCE b, CHAMBER B

Inscriptions, pls. 61-62.

OIP II (E2), 76-78 (variants to 10:1-23); 119 (variants to 21:No. 1:6b-23).

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. ēkal dŠīn-ahhē-erība (É.GAL. dZUEN.ŠEŠmeš-erī-ba)a šarru rabû
   (LUGAL.GAL) šarru (LUGAL) dan-nu šār kiššati (ŠŪ) šār [kurāš-šaraki]

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

Variants: 1.a10:1, m<sub>d</sub>ZUEN.PARmešŠŪ.
2. [sār kib-rat 4tim mi-gir ilāni rabūti (DINGIRmeš .GALmeš) d]aš-šur ab ilāni (AD.DINGIRmeš) 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 kakkēya (gišTUkULmeš-ya) i]-na ta-ḫa-az šeri (EDIN) i-na ta-mir-ti Kiš (KIŠki) as-kīp mdMarduκ-

4. [aplā-iddina (mdAMAR .UD .IBILAŠUMna) sār kurkār-dun-yā-āš e-ke-ma be-lut-su] gim-ri mat lu′kal-di a-di gi-piš um-ma-na-at Elamē (lu′NIM . MAki)b [re-šī-šu u-ra-sip i-na kakkē (gišTUkULmeš)]

5. mdAššur-nadin-šumī (mdaš-šur-SUM.MU) māru (DUMU)a reš-tu-ú tar-bit bir-ke-ya i-na kusse šarrūtišu (giš GU.ZA.LUGALti-šū ú-še-šib-ma Akkadū rapaštum (URI .DAGALtim) ú-šad-gil pa-nu-uš-šū]

6. as-suḫ na-gab lu′aḫ-la-me-i la su-ti-i ba-ḫu-ša-ti uru[yi-rim-me i-na kakkē (gišTUkUL) ú-šam-qit-ma la iz-zi-ba pi-ri-i′-šū-un]

7. ak-šuqd matā lu′ya-su-bi-gal-la-a nākiri (lu′KUR) ak-ši kure[li-pi u-ša-l-piš-ma ú-ab-bit da-ád-me-šá ú Ṡlu-li-i]

8. šār uruši-du-un-ni e-du-ra ta-ḫa-zi a-na kurya-ad-na-[na ša qē-reb tam-tim i-na-bit-ma i-hu-uz]

9. mar-qī-tuā i-na mat-[tim] -ma šā-a-tu i-na ra-šub-bat kakkē (gišTUkUL) daš-šur bēleya [(EN-ya) e-mid šad-da-šū mtu-ba-a′-lu i-na kusse šarrūtišu (giš GU.ZA.LUGALti-šū)]


Variants: 4.a10:9, lu′kal-di; b variant to 10:10, e-la-me-e. 5.a10:11, DUMU-ū-g. 6.a10:13, 9.a10:18, tum.
7:11-17

rap-šu na-gu-ú kur-ya-ú-di šip-šu mit-ru]

11. ha-za-qī-a-ú šarrašu (LUGAL-šu) še-pu-u-a ú-šak-niš-ma a i-ša-ša
tab-ša-a-[ni nišé (UKūmeš) uru-tu-mur-ra-a-a a-ši-bu-ut kur-ni-pu
šadi (KUR4)]

12. mar-ši i-na kakk (gištukul) ú-šam-qit uru-uk-ku a-di nap-šar
da-ša-[me-šú ki-ma til a-bu-bi ú-ab-bit i-na ú4-me-šú-ma te-ne-šet]

13. na-kí-ri ki-šit-ši qātēya (ŠU.MIN-ya) tup-sik-ku ú-ša-ša-ši-šu-nu-
ti-ma il-[bi-na libitta (SIG4) akallu (E.GAL) qabal (MURUB) alí
(URU) ša uru-ši-na-sa ša 360]

14. i-na 1 ammati (KUŠ) šiddu (UŠ) 95 i-na 1 ammati (KUŠ) pūtu (SAG.KI)
ma-ra-ku šit-ka-na-at-ma [šu-uḫ-hu rat šu-bat-sa ša šarránu
(LUGALmeš) a-li-kut māḫ-ra]

15. abbēya (AMmeš-ya) a-na ri-ši be-lu-ti-šu-un ú-še-pi-šu-ma la
ú-nak-[ki-lu ši-pir-šā aladlammed (dALAD.dLAMMA) ša na4pi-i-li
pe-še-e]

16. i-na uru-ta-as-ti-a-te ib-ša-qu a-na mu-kil bābātišin (KÁmeš-ši-in a)
[a-na šu-pu-uḫ elippāte (gišMÁmeš) qē-reb qišāti (gištIRMemeš)
iše re-tut (GIŠmes.GALmes)]

17. ú-qī-ru i-na nap-šar mātātišun (KURmeš-šu-un a) i-na Ayyaru
(itUGU4) u4-mu a-dam-ni e-[de-e pa-an šat-ti i-na elippāte
(gišMÁmeš) ši-ra-a-ti]

29: Slab III:21b is the probable parallel here.

18. a-na a-ha-an-na-a ú-séb-bé-ru-ni mar-ši-iš i-na ne-[ber ka-a-ri elippáte rabiáte (Gil.IA, Gil.LA, Gil.mes) ú-ší-ib-bu-ú]


20. ú-sá-as-ti-tu bábátišin (Kár.mesš-sí-in) id [te-bil] ti a-gu-ú šit-[mu-ru ša ul-tu ūmê rûqûte (UDmeš, SUDmesš) ŋe-čhi ékalli (E.GAL)


22. ma-lak-sá ús-te-[es-na-a ú-sé-šer mu-šu-šá qe]-reb a-sur-rak-ki-shá šap-la-nu ù qanê (Grímesš) e-la-niš kupra (ESIR. [E]. A)

23. it-tí [na4-pi-i-li rabúti (GALmesš) dun-nu-niš ak-š] i ma 3 340a ina ammati (Kù[S] arku (GÍD.DA)] 289 ina 1 ammatí (KùŠ) rupšu (DAGAL) eqla (A.ŠA) ul-tu ma-a-me

24. ú-sé-[lam-ma na-ba-liš ú-tir tar-pa-šú-ú eli (UG) U] ša a u₄-me pa-ni ú-sár-bi še-er me-ši-iḥ-ti ékalli (E.GAL)

25. maḥ-[ri-ti ú-rad-di-ma i-na 190 ti-ip-ki] ul-la-a re-ši-šú la-be-riš ūmê (UDmeš) i-na mîl (ILLU) kis-šá-ti

26. tem-me-[en-šú la e-ne-še na4-pi-i-li rabúti (GALmesš)] ki-su-šú ú-sá-as-hi-ra ú-dan-ni-na šu-pu-uk-šú

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[14 (1)] i-na as₄-lum rabîti (GALᵗⁱ) šiddu (US₃) 440 i₢-na
as₄-lum rabîti (GALᵗⁱ) pûtu (SAG.KI) si-kit-ti ēkalli (Ē.GAL) ú-tir-ma
šin piri uš taskarinni musukkanni (na₄GIš.NUₓ.GAL.ZU.AM.SI gišESI
gišTUkul gišMEZ.MA.GAN.NA)
29. erenni šurmēni burāši (gišERIN giš[ŠUR.MAN gišSIM.L]I) giš-e-lam-ma-ku
a-na mu-šabₙ be-lu-ti-ya ab-ni-ma bit ap-pa-ti
30. tam-šîl ēkalli (Ē.GAL) [kurₙa-at-ti mi-ḥ-rit ba-ba-a-ti ú-še-piš
gusûrē erenni šurmēni (gišURₙES gišer-ni gišSUR.MAN)
31. ša e-re-su-[un ta-a-bu bi]-nu-[uṭ] kurₙa-ma-nim kursi-ra-ra

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

4 The sign for 2 (𒐰) and 7 (𒐱) cause confusion. Cf. 9:26;
21:No. 1:19.
5 For a possible continuation see 21:No1:24-27a.

land of the Chaldeans, in addition to all of the troops of the 
Elamites, his allies I slaughtered.

5. I established Aššur-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 Aḫlamu 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 Aššur, 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. Ukku, 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.
8. JUDI DAGH INSCRIPTION

PSBA 35 (1913), 66-94; pls. XII-XXVI
OIP II (E.3), 63-66

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.¹ Of these six panels, only five contain any inscribed material; no. VI was prepared for the sculptor but never utilized.²

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.³ Of these, only VII contains any inscribed material. It is included because of its similarities with the Judi Dagh material.⁴

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.

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-sūr ᵃsīn (ᵈES) dašamas (ᵈUTU) dAdad (ᵈIN)
2. dNinurta (ᵈMAS) uṭ dIštar (ᵈINANNA) ilānu rabūtu (DINGIRᵐᵉš.⁴[GA]Lᵐᵉš)ᵇ
3. ša i-di šarri (LUGAL) me-eg-[re]⁵šu-un
4. i-za-su-ma eli (UGU) kul-lat n[^6] ki-ri
5. ū-šam-ra-ru kakkēšu (gišTÜKULᵐᵉš⁷šu)
6. mdSin-ahhe-erība (mdES.PAPᵐᵉš.SU) šarru rabū (LUGAL.GAL) šarru (SAR₄)
dan-nu
7. šar₄ kiššati (ŠU) šar₄ kur aš-sur-ki rubū (NUN) na-a'-du
8. ti-ri-ig qātēkun (ŠU.MIN-ku-u[^7]) ša i-naᵃ
9. an-ni-ku-un i-sa-ru-tam ⁸i-tal-la-ku-ma
10. mātāti (KURᵐᵉš)ᵃ la ma-gi-ri šabe (ERINᵐᵉš) hur-ša-ni
11. la kan-šu-tiᵃ u-sak-ni-š[^b] še-pu-uš-su

[^5]I:3; III:2; IV:3.
[^7]Cf. IV:5 were LU appears as a probable scribal error for TUKUL.

Variants: 2.aI:1, ū; bI:2 and III:2 add ša u-[kan(?)]-na-bu-u ma-al-ki.
3.aI:7; III:5, ina. 10.aIII:6, LUGARᵐᵉš[ERINᵐᵉš nu[r-sa-ni].
The Fifth Campaign

12. ina șu-me-šú-ma urutu-mur-ra
13. urušá-ri-im uru₄ Hal-gid-da⁹
14. uruki-ib-șa uru₄-za-a-za uru₄u-u-a⁹
15. uruqa-na șa me-șer ku[r] kat-mu-ḥi
16. șa kīma (GIM) qin-ni ere' (ḵumušen) șe-er
17. uba-nat (ȘU.ȘMEŞ) kurni-pur șad-di-i
18. ši[t]-ku-na-at šu-bat-su-su
19. șa ul-tu ul-la ina šarrāni abbēya (LUGALmeş.ÂDmeş-ya⁹)
20. ši[p]-gu mit-ru¹⁰ la i-du-ú
21. pa-laḥ be-lu-ti ina palê bālūtiya (BAL.ÈNTI-ya)
22. ilūšun (DINGIRmeş-šu-un) i-zi-bu-
23. șu-nu-ti-ma ū-șab-șu-u²

9IV:17, 18 is broken but the order is apparently the same as here
(Contra. OIP II, 64, no. 4; King, Op. cit., 85, no. 53).
10King read șe-ru. The sign is not șe-ru. The sign is not șe-ru.
24. re-qú-ut-s[u-u]n
25. [ ]šē(?) [ ]pal[ ]ku
26. [ ]ul-tú re-šē
27. [ ]šā-Idiglat (šā-DIGNA)
28. [ ]ša-na Aššur (BAL.TILki)

29. [ ]ú mārē (DUMUmeš)[ ]ú mārēšu (DUMU-shú)
30. [ ]pu-su[ ]-ri
31. ú-ša-bu-[u ina ]12 id[ ]-ya(?)
32. še-[ru-uš-šú-un]14 al-lik [i-na]15 šēpē (GIR.MIN) kurni-pur
   šādi (KURi) [ka-ra-ši ]
33. ú-ša-ša-kin-[ma ú[ ]šābē (ERINmeš) e-peš tāhāziya (ME-ya)
34. git-ša-[ma]-ti kurni-pur [a-na]16 gi-ni[ ]
35. [ ]ti al-me ḫar-[ri] na-ad-ba-ki šadē (KURmeš)a
36. [ ]šē-er ubānati (ŠU.SImeš) ša-qa-ti
37. [ ]it[ ]ti kakkābi šame (MULmeš.[AN]17
38. a-na [ ]kusša/a (gišGU.ZA) [ ]ri-ša-šu-[un]a
39. [ ]kīma armē (GIM.GUD.AM) p[a-nu-uš-šun 18 aš-bat]

13From the partial remains of VII:13 King, Op. cit., 90, n. 98, suggests the full reading šā-DIGNA.
14IV:28.
15Already conjectured by King; cf. 6a:IV:24, etc.
16VII:15.
17Suggested by Luckenbill; partially preserved.
18VII:17.

Variants: 33.7VII:13, ú-ša-ša-ki-in. 35.8VII:16, na-at-bak šadē (KURi)
38.8VII:17, ri-ša-šu-un.
8:40-52

Epilogue

50. eli (UGU) zuq-ti kur-ni-pur a-šar[ ]ti ra aš

51. ul[ ]ra mu-nak-]kir ši-[tir(?)-ya

52. aš-šur\(^a\) ilānu rabītu (DINGIR\(^{meš.GAL}\)meš)\(^{\dagger}\) li k-kil-mu-šu

\(^{196a}: IV: 45.\)
\(^{20}Cf. VII: 18, kīma (GIM) a[r-me].\)
\(^{21}VII: 18.\)
\(^{22}\)The tu is certain. In the autograph it seems as if the ha and tu have been transposed (pl. XX).
\(^{23}\)The URU is suggested by King, ibid., 89.
\(^{24}VII: 21.\)
\(^{25}Cf. IV: 39.\)
\(^{26}King's suggested UGU is unlikely. UGU-li-šū-nu never occurs in Sennacherib's texts. What does occur is UGU-šu-\(\alpha\) (1:54; 2:13, 6a:II:19, etc.).\)

Variants: 44.\(^{a}\)VII:20 inserts aš-\(\mu\)-la šal-la-sun ab-bul[ . . . ]

52.\(^a\)I:44, adds \(\ddagger\).
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, Ḥalgidda,
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 ...
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
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.
8. *tiris gātēkun*

This phrase is difficult to translate with one word. The epithet *tiris gāte* has been translated "blessed". It is related to the idiom *gāte tarāsu* which belongs to the whole vocabulary related to blessings and oaths. Its relation to oaths is best illustrated by EMS 61:13

[an]a nāpsat ili u sarri gātī attara[s]nīš ilāni rabūti azzākar "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 gāt* Anim u *bibil libbi* Enlil nīšit 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:37f. ina biblat libbiya u *tiris* (reading with variant) gāteya Ištar bēlti rā'imat sangūtiya lū tamgurannimma . . . "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 gātēkun* "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


\[2\] On this subject see Landsberger, *MAOG* 4, 294ff. Cf. Notscher, *Or. 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 annikum* **išarūtam** **lullik**. This is an expression of the idiom

**išarūtam alāku** "to be successful." It had been previously suggested
by King to restore here **etelliš** and to translate the whole phrase

"who through your mercy proceeds triumphantly." This is the trans­
lation suggested by Luckenbill although he does not make the restora­
tion. While the idiom **etelliš alāku** is not impossible here the parallel
formulation with **annu** makes the suggested restoration quite felicitous.

---

3 **PSBA** 35 (1913), cf. 84 and 87.
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I

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 wherever 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 wherever 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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