

The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia

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The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia

Greater accessibility to primary sources has long been a *desideratum* in Assyriology. It is the purpose of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project to locate, collate, edit, and publish in standard format all known royal inscriptions from ancient Mesopotamia.

Thousands of tablets preserving many kinds of literature are housed in institutions scattered around the world. The fraction of these that have been published often prove difficult to find. Of particular interest for historical studies are the inscriptions of the Mesopotamian kings. These texts commemorate the accomplishments of the ancient rulers.

The work of the RIM Project is being carried out by an international team of scholars who are pooling their expertise to produce a multi-volume work of lasting value. After two years of propaedeutic work, the Project began in earnest on 1 July 1981 with funding from the Social Services and Humanities Research Council of Canada, with additional support provided by the University of Toronto.

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Suggested abbreviation: *ARRIM*

Zu den Bleitafeln Tukulti-Ninurtas I. vom Išstartempel in Assur

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Universität Graz

JOACHIM MARZAHN

Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin

Im Juli und Oktober des Jahres 1913 wurden im Rahmen der deutschen Grabungen im Bereich des Išstartempels in Assur eine Reihe von Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. gefunden, sieben davon auf Bleitafeln.¹ Bereits Andrae erkannte, daß es sich dabei um Exemplare von zwei verschiedenen Texten handelt, die in der Folge von Ernst Weidner nach den publizierten Kopien und den ihm zur Verfügung stehenden Grabungsphotos ediert wurden.² Im Rahmen dieser Arbeit soll auf sie als Text A (= Aššuritu, *Tn.* Nr. 7) und Text D (= Dinitu, *Tn.* Nr. 10) Bezug genommen werden.

Da Weidner die Originale nicht kollationierte, ist es verständlich, daß er Ass.22123 fälschlicherweise Text D zuordnete, da die Rückseite der Tafel, die den Irrtum aufgeklärt hätte—der Nebensatz *kīma šupat šamē ubenni* findet sich nur in Text A,—auf keinem Photo abgebildet ist.



Ass.21990 & Ass.22106

¹Siehe W. Andrae, *MDOG* 54, Sn.22–28 und 36f. sowie ders. *JIT*, Sn.42–51.

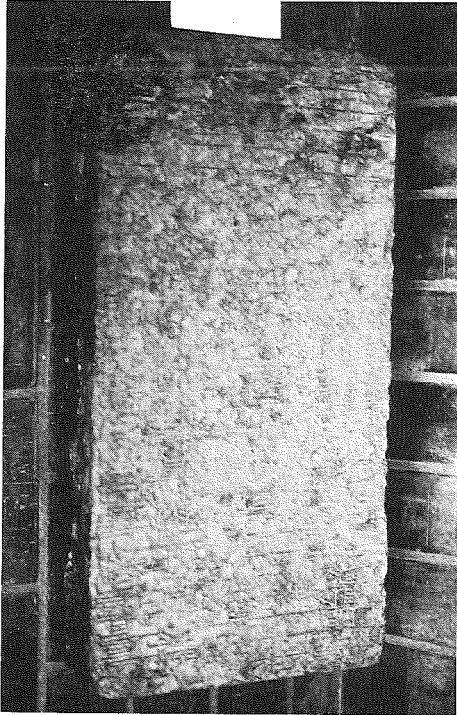
²E. Weidner, *Tn.*, Nr.7 und Nr.10.

Im Rahmen der Forschungsarbeit des Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Projektes konnten alle sieben Bleitafeln lokalisiert, kollationiert und neu fotografiert werden.³ In den folgenden beiden Tabellen findet sich alle heute zugänglichen Informationen über die Bleitafeln zusammengestellt, wobei Tabelle 1 den Forschungsstand nach Veröffentlichung der Grabungsberichte und der Textedition Weidners unter Einbeziehung von Fundortkorrekturen aus dem Fundjournal widerspiegelt, Tabelle 2 die darüber hinausgehenden Informationen bietet:



Ass.22052 (ES 8856)

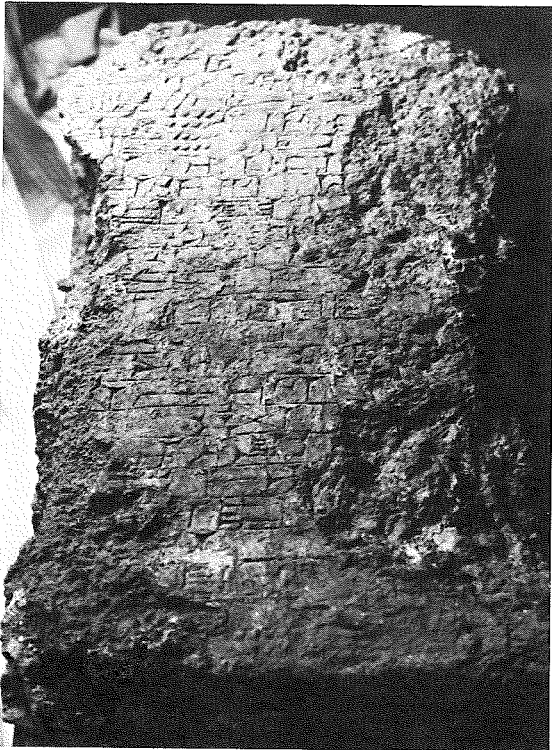
³Die Autoren möchten an dieser Stelle den zuständigen Stellen des Vorderasiatischen Museums in Berlin und der Arkeoloji Müzeleri in Istanbul, vor allem Fr.Dr. Liane Jakob-Rost, Fr.Dr. Evelyn Klengel und Hr.n. Veysel Donbaz, für ihre Unterstützung und die Publikationserlaubnis der Photos danken.



Ass.22802 (EŞ 8857)



Ass.22803 (VA Ass 2297)



Ass.22123 (VA Ass 4317)



Ass.22804 (VA Ass 2298)

Tabelle 1

Grabungsnummer	Grabungsphotos ⁴	Abmessungen in cm (1913)	Gewicht kg (ca.)	JIT, Tf.	Text ⁵	Zustand	Fundort
1 Ass.21990	6643 (i.s.) 6644 (i.s.) 6648 (i.s.) 6649 (i.s.) 6650 (i.s.) 6651 (i.s.) 6652 (i.s.)	76 × 41 × 15	532	22c	D	schwer beschädigt	eAII, unter dem Postament der Dinitu-cella auf dem Fundament der Trennmauer
2 Ass.22052	6665(i.s.) 6666(Vs) 6742(Rs)	75 × 39 × 13	433	22b	D	gut erhalten	dE7r ⁶ , Westecke
3 Ass.22106	6741(Rs)	75 × 38 × 12,5	406	21a	A	schlecht erhalten	eA7r, unter dem Postament der Aššuritu-cella über dem Kalksteinblock
4 Ass.22123	6667(i.s.)	74 × 36 × 12	364	22a	D	stark oxydiert	eA6v, Nordecke
5 Ass.22802	6747(i.s.) 6749(Vs) 6750(Rs)	72,5 × 36 × 11,5	342	21b ⁷	A	teils beschädigt	eA7r, unter dem Postament der Aššuritu-cella unter dem Kalksteinblock
6 Ass.22803	6747(i.s.)	73 × 35 × 12	348		A		wie 5
7 Ass.22804	6747(i.s.)	74,3 × 38,5 × 12,5	407		A		wie 5

Tabelle 2

Grabungsnummer	Museum ⁸	Museumsnummer	Abmessungen in cm (1984)	Erhaltungszustand	Text	Zeilen ⁹
1 Ass.21990	EŞEM(d)		74 × 37 × 13	Vs zerstört	Rs Fragmente von 13 Zeilen erhalten	D 22-31
2 Ass.22052	EŞEM(a)	EŞ 8856	73 × 36,5 × 12	28 Zeilen gut erhalten	27 Zeilen gut erhalten	D 1-43
3 Ass.22106	EŞEM(d)		73,5 × 36, × 11,5 [?]	?	26 Zeilen fragm. erhalten	A 47-80
4 Ass.22123	VAM(d)	VA Ass 4317	75 × 37 × 12,5	zerstört	23 Zeilen teilw. erhalten	A 47-81
5 Ass.22802	EŞEM(a)	EŞ 8857	72,5 × 36 × 12,5	30 Zeilen gut erhalten	28 Zeilen teilw. erhalten ¹⁰	A 1-81
6 Ass.22803	VAM(a)	VA Ass 2297	74 × 38,5 × 12	26 Zeilen teilw. erhalten	26 Zeilen teilw. erhalten	A 2-81
7 Ass.22804	VAM(a)	VA Ass 2298	75 × 39 × 12,5	13 Zeilen teilw. erhalten	16 Zeilen teilw. erhalten	A 13, 23-66

⁴ Folgende Abkürzungen finden Verwendung: i.s. = in situ; Vs = Vorderseite; Rs = Rückseite.

⁵ Nach Weidner.

⁶ Aus dem Plan abgeleitet, im Fundjournal ist keine Eintragung.

⁷ Dort fälschlich unter der Nummer Ass.22852 angeführt.

⁸ EŞEM = Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi (Istanbul); VAM = Vorderasiatisches Museum (Berlin); (a) = ausgestellt, (d) = im Depot.

⁹ Die Zeilenangaben beziehen sich auf die in Kürze erscheinenden Editionen in *RIMA* I.

¹⁰ So laut Grabungsphoto.

Zwei Inschriften Sanheribs im Istanbul Museum

VEYSEL DONBAZ
Istanbul Archaeological Museum
and
HANNES D. GALTER
Universität Graz

Die hier behandelten Texte stehen beide in Zusammenhang mit den Bauarbeiten, die Sanherib in Assur durchführen ließ. Dieses Großprojekt, das mehrere Haupttempel der Stadt betraf und das im Bau des Festhauses gipfelte, sowie die damit verbundenen religionspolitischen Neuerungen stellen nach wie vor eine nur in groben Zügen bekannte Episode der Regierungszeit dieses Herrschers dar. Der Grund dafür liegt aber keineswegs in einem Mangel an keilschriftlichen Unterlagen. Neben der üblichen Fülle an kurzen Bauinschriften auf Kalksteinblöcken und Ziegeln besitzen wir eine Reihe von ausführlichen Texten, die über die verschiedenen Bauvorhaben berichten.¹ Daneben scheinen mehrere Erlässe und Verordnungen, die aus Assur erhalten sind, ebenfalls direkt oder indirekt mit diesem Projekt in Zusammenhang zu stehen.²

Eine der Hauptursachen für unsere beschränkte Kenntnis des Umfangs und der Hintergründe der baulichen und kultischen Neuerungen liegt in dem Bestreben Sanheribs, sie als Wiederherstellung althergebrachter Einrichtungen zu beschreiben, wodurch die Trennung zwischen Überkommenem und Neueingeführtem ungemein erschwert wird. Auch die beiden hier vorgelegten Texte scheinen, soweit man sehen kann, in dieser Hinsicht keine Ausnahme zu bilden.

Die erste Inschrift befindet sich auf Bruchstücken einer Kalksteinstele (Ass.16475, Ass.Ph.4798), die im Rahmen der deutschen Ausgrabungen in Assur gegen Ende des Jahres 1909 'an der Ostecke der Kaserne' (iD3III SO) im Bereich des Aššurtempels im obersten Schutt gefunden wurde.³ Wo ihr ursprünglicher Aufstellungsort gelegen hat, kann nicht mit hundertprozentiger Sicherheit entschieden werden. Der Torraum im Osten des Vorhofes, den Sanherib erbauen ließ und der der Fundstelle benachbart ist, wäre an sich prädestiniert dafür. Andererseits spricht der

Inhalt der Steleninschrift mit seinem eindeutigen Bezug auf das Festhaus eher dagegen.

1914 gelangte das Objekt in das Archäologische Museum in Istanbul, wo es restauriert und unter der Nummer EŞ 7847 inventarisiert wurde. Die Existenz der Stele war der Fachwelt eigentlich von Anfang an bekannt, sodaß man sich wundert, warum die Inschrift bislang nicht einer Publikation würdig empfunden worden ist.

Bereits 1931 nannte sie Georges Conteneau zusammen mit der Nebi Yunus Stele und veröffentlichte als Vergleich ein Photo von ihr.⁴ Cyril Gadd führte sie 1936 unter den ausgestellten Objekten in Raum VI des Museums in Istanbul an, und teilte mit, daß sich die Inschrift mit der Gründung des Festhauses bei Assur befaßt.⁵ 1952 erwähnte sie Nanette Rodney in ihrem Aufsatz über die kriegerische Ištar und veröffentlichte erneut ein Photo,⁶ und schließlich wurden die kunsthistorischen Aspekte der Stele und ihrer Abbildungen 1982 ausführlich von Jutta Börker-Klähn besprochen.⁷ Ihr Wunsch nach einer Herauslösung der Originalfragmente aus dem Gips erscheint vom philologischen Standpunkt aus gesehen nicht notwendig, da die Restauratoren in der Horizontalen zwar etwas zuviel Raum zwischen der Figur des Gottes Aššur und der des Königs gelassen haben – der zu ergänzende Text schwankt zwischen zwei und sechs Zeichen pro Zeile,⁸ – sich in der vertikalen Anordnung aber nur um eine Zeilenhöhe geirrt

⁴G. Conteneau, *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* III (1931), S.1279 und Fig.815.

⁵C. Gadd, *Stones* (1936), S.226; vgl. auch das Photo dieses Ausstellungsraumes im *Führer des Altorientalischen Museums in Istanbul* (Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi) hgb. (o.J.) vom Türkischen Automobil und Touring Club, Tf.3, Nr.4.

⁶N.B. Rodney, *BBMA* 10 (1952), S.214 und Abb.S.215 oben. Sie vergleicht sie mit einem kleinen Relief aus weichem Tonstein, daß ebenfalls in Assur gefunden wurde (Ass.12320=VA 6726). Siehe ebd., S.215 unten sowie W. Andrae, *WEA*², S.233, Abb.210.

⁷J. Börker-Klähn, *Baghdader Forschungen* 4 (1982), S.209f., Nr.205 mit einer Zeichnung des Bogenfeldes im Tafelband.

⁸Vgl. auch die Breite der beiden Sanherib-Stelen aus Nineveh, EŞ 1 und BM 124800 (D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.152f.), die um über 25cm schmaler sind.

¹Vgl. D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.135-149 sowie H. Galter, 'Die Bautätigkeit Sanheribs am Aššurtempel', *Or. n.s.* 53 (1984), S.433-41.

²Vgl. E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, passim.

³Siehe W. Andrae, *MDOG* 43 (1910), S.34. Die Grabungsnummer und die Fundortkoordinaten verdanken wir Herrn Joachim Marzahn vom Vorderasiatischen Museum in Berlin.

haben.⁹

In ihrem derzeitigen Zustand, einschließlich der restaurierten Teile, mißt die Stele 72×92×20cm. Die Inschrift füllt den erhaltenen Raum zwischen den Figuren aus. Nur vereinzelt befinden sich Zeichen auf den Gewändern der Gestalten. Die Schrift ist babylonisch.

Unglücklicherweise sind nur die ersten 27 Zeilen des Textes erhalten. Der gesamte untere Teil der Stele ist verloren, sodaß sich der Gesamtumfang der Inschrift nicht mehr feststellen läßt. Das erhaltene Textstück umfaßt die Einleitung (Zn. 1–10) und den Beginn des Bauberichtes (Zn.10–27). Er stellt unter Auslassung einer Reihe von Epitheta eine Parallele zu VA 8248,¹⁰ der Alabastertafel vom Festhaus, dar:

EŞ 7847	VA 8248
1–2	1
3–10	3–6
10–27	22–29

Umschrift¹¹

- [^{md}sîn-ahhē-eri₄]-ba
- [šarru rabû šarru dannu] šar₄ šu šar₄ KUR aš-šur
- [ēpiš šalam A]N.ŠĀR^dNIN.LÍL
- [... ... u DINGIR]^{mes} GAL^{mes} [m]u-šar-bu-u
- [simātišunu(?)] mu-šak-lil
- p[a-ra-aš é-šār]-ra ma-šu-ti ina bi-ri
- [ina]^{ki} qí-b[it^dšamaš^d]IŠKUR mu-ud-diš
BAL¹.TIL
- [m]u-x[... ...] šu-luh-ḫi-šú
- [m]u-t[er^dlamassi é]-šār-ra la e-piš-ti
- a-na [ašrišu anāku e]-nu-šú iš-tu sa-lam AN.ŠĀR
- EN GA[L-i bēlija u šalam DINGIR]^{mes} GAL^{mes} e-pu-šū-^{ma}
- [ú¹]-[šar-me-šu-nu-ti] šu-bat-su-nu né-eh-ti
- [ⁱBAR.SAG.SAG] ITI [reš¹-tu-ú
- šá [abi^denlil arah na]-an-mur-ti^{mul} APIN
- EZEN [qé-re]-e-ti šá [LUGAL¹ DINGIR]^{mes} AN.ŠĀR¹
- šá [ul]-[tu u¹-me SUD]^{mes}
- ina [ešâti] [u saḫ-ma¹]-[ša]-[a¹]-ti
- é á-[ki-it] [EDIN im¹-ma-šu-u
- ina [qé-reb āli] [in-ni¹-ip-pu-šú
- pa-[ra-a]š [LUGAL DINGIR]^{m[es]} AN.ŠĀR
- it-[ti šip-r]-i-[im-m]a [šu¹-a-ti
- [a¹]-[na ēpiš bīt á]-ki-ti

⁹Die Zeilenanfänge auf dem Bruchstück mit der Gestalt des Königs sind gegenüber den Fortsetzungen auf den anderen beiden Fragmenten um eine Zeile zu hoch angesetzt.

¹⁰KAH 2 122, D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.135ff. Vgl. auch die Schenkungsurkunde VAT 9656 (E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen*, S.3ff.), deren Anfang teilweise ebenfalls unserem Text entspricht.

¹¹Der Direktion des Archeologischen Museums in Istanbul sei an dieser Stelle für die Publikationserlaubnis der beiden Texte gedankt. Die Kopie von Text 1 stammt von V. Donbaz, die von Text 2 von H.D. Galter.

- [libbī ub-la]-ni-ma
- [tēm^dšamaš^dadad a]-mad-ma
- [anna kēni i-pu-lu-in]-ni-ma
- [iqbūni e-pe-e]-šú
- [ina arḫi ṭābi ūmi šalmu ina šipir i-šip]-[pu¹-ti

Der Rest ist abgebrochen.

Übersetzung

1–2: Sanherib, der große König, der mächtige König, der König der Gesamtheit, der König von Assyrien,

3–5: der die Statuen Aššurs, Mullissus ... und der großen Götter errichtet, der ihre Ausstattung großartig macht,

5–7: der auf das Orakel und den Befehl von Šamaš und Adad hin die vergessenen Kulte von Ešarra zur Vollendung bringt,

7–8: der Assur erneuert, der seine Reinigungsrituale ...

9–10: der die unvollendete Lamassu von Ešarra an ihren Platz zurückbringt, bin ich.

10–12: Zu dieser Zeit, nachdem ich die Statuen Aššurs, des großen Herrn, meines Gebieters, und die Statuen der großen Götter errichtet hatte, ließ ich sie ihre Wohnsitze der Ruhe beziehen.

13–15: (Im) Nisannu, dem ersten Monat, (dem Monat) Enlils, des Vaters, dem Monat des Aufganges des Pflugsterns (und) des festlichen Gastmahles Aššurs, des Königs der Götter,

16–20: da das Festhaus vor der Stadt, seit fernen Tagen auf Grund von Wirren und Aufständen vergessen war, und der Kult des Götterkönigs Aššur im Inneren der Stadt abgehalten wurde,

21–23: drängte es mich, gemeinsam mit jenem Werk das Festhaus zu errichten,

24–26: ich suchte den Bescheid von Šamaš und Adad, sie gaben mir ein zuverlässiges Jawort und befahlen mir, (es) zu bauen.

27: In einem geeigneten Monat, an einem günstigsten Tag, mittels Reinigungspriesterkunst ...

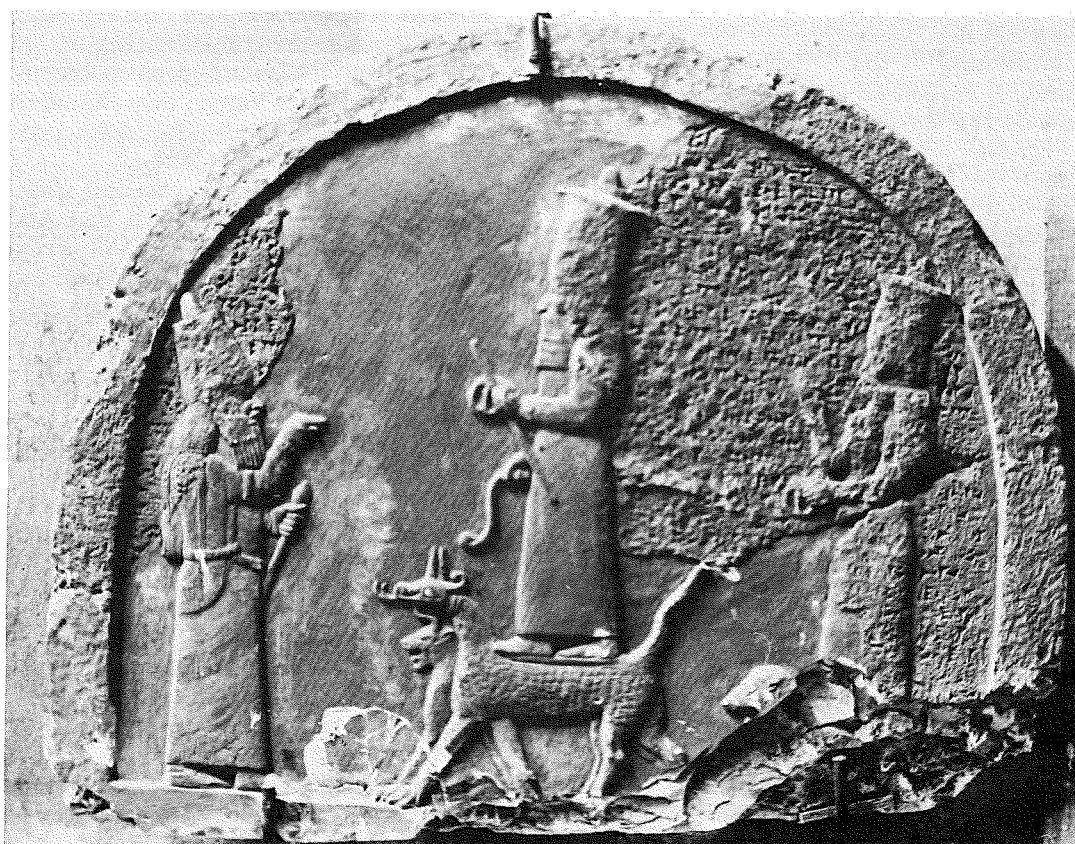
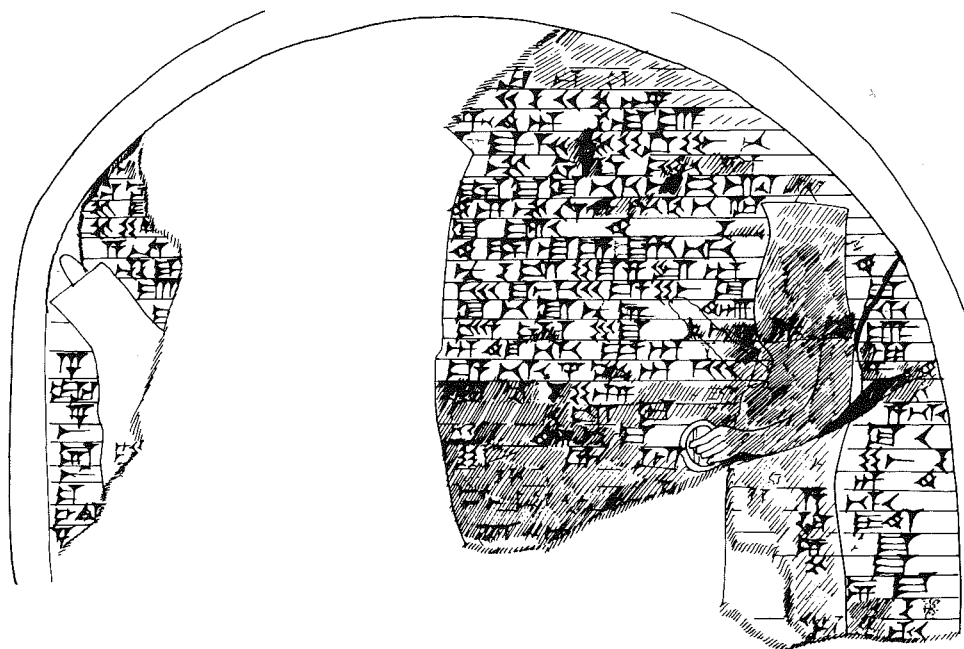
Der Rest ist abgebrochen.

Kommentar

Z.1ff: Die Ergänzungen sind ausnahmslos nach VA 8248 vorgenommen worden. Die Spuren an den Enden der Zeilen 1 und 5 scheinen eher Kratzer als Zeichenreste zu sein.

Z.2ff: Für die Assur-Titulatur Sanheribs vgl. M. Liverani: 'Critique of Variants and the Titulary of Sennacherib'; in: *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: New Horizons*, Rom 1981 (ed. M. Fales), S.248ff. Es ist interessant, daß im Vergleich mit VA 8248 unser Text sich auf religiöse Epitheta beschränkt.

Z.3f: Welche Gottheiten nach Mullissu noch angeführt waren, läßt sich nicht mit Sicherheit sagen. VA 8248



EŞ 7847

bietet an dieser Stelle nur *Aššur u ilāni rabūti*, die Kalksteinblöcke vom Festhaus listen außer Aššur in der Regel weitere acht, einmal sogar dreizehn Gottheiten und *KAH* 2,124 ebenfalls acht. Dafür reicht der hier zur Verfügung stehende Raum eindeutig nicht aus. Es bleibt anzumerken, daß Mullissu in keiner der genannten Aufzählungen vorkommt.

Z.4f: Für die Ergänzung vgl. VA 8248, Zl.9.

Z.6f: Bei den Spuren am Ende der Zeile könnte es sich unter Umständen um die Reste eines *u* oder eines *aš* handeln, zumal der Raum am Beginn von Zeile 7 fast nicht für eine Ergänzung auszureichen scheint. Da sowohl eine Kopula als auch eine Präposition am Zeilenende ungewöhnlich wären, neigen wir dazu in ihnen doch Kratzer zu sehen.

Z.7: Das Epitheton *muddiš Aššur*^{ki} ist neu. Es findet sich auch, soweit mir bekannt ist, bei keinem anderen assyrischen Herrscher. Epitheta mit *edēšu* D (erneuern) kommen hauptsächlich bei babylonischen Königen vor, in Assyrien sind sie relativ selten. Siehe M.J. Seux, *Epithètes*, S.75ff.

Z.8: Die Zeichenspuren erlauben keine Ergänzung *mu-š[ar-*, die der Vergleich mit VA 8248 fordern würde.

Z.9: VA 8248 hat hier *ba-aš-ti*, vgl. aber E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen* S.3, Z.4, wo wie in unserem Text *la e-piš-ti* steht. Zur Übersetzung siehe M.J. Seux, *Epithètes*, S.341.

Z.13 : Auf der Schulter der Figur des Gottes Aššur ist noch ein vertikaler Keil zu sehen. Es könnte sich um den Schluß des Zeichens *SAG* handeln.

Z.14 : In der 7. Tafel der Serie *Iqqur ēpuš* scheint Enlil als Patron des Nisannu auf, vgl. R. Labat, *Calendrier*, S.196f., §105, Z.1. Die folgende Aussage bietet Schwierigkeiten. Zwar weist Astrolab B (*KAV* 218: Rs. III 1) den Pflugstern (Triangulum Boreale + γ Andromedae; vgl. D. Pingree, *BPO* 2, S.10) dem Nisannu als Monatsfixstern zu, weiter unten (Rs III 26) aber ebenfalls dem Tašritu, mit dem Zusatz, daß diese Konstellation das ganze Jahr über sichtbar ist. Wie David Pingree, a.a.O., S.3 festgestellt hat, muß die Zuweisung als Monatsfixstern nicht unbedingt mit dem heliakischen Aufgang eines Sternes oder einer Konstellation in Zusammenhang stehen. Es scheint so, als habe der Pflugstern mit dem Jahresbeginn, genauer mit dem Beginn des landwirtschaftlichen Jahres in Beziehung gestanden, vgl. E. Weidner, *Handbuch*, S.97f. In diese Richtung deuten auch die Aussagen des Sternkommentares in Tf.50 von *Enūma Anu Enlil* (E. Reiner, *BPO* 2, S.40f. III 2f.). Die Verlegung des Jahresanfanges könnte dann für die doppelte Zuordnung verantwortlich sein.

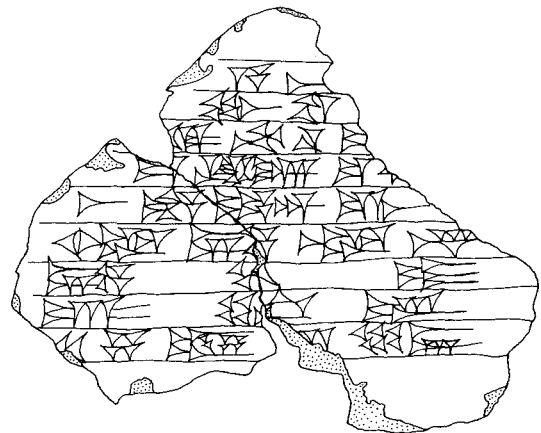
Z.15ff: Für eine Deutung dieser Passage siehe H. Galter, 'Die Zerstörung Babylons durch Sanherib', *Jussi Aro Gedenkschrift* (*StOr* 55), S.161ff., im Speziellen S.168.

Z.19: Auf der Schulter der Figur Sanheribs ist der Anfang von *ki* ganz schwach noch zu sehen.

Die zweite Inschrift befindet sich auf einem Fragment aus dunklem Stein (21 × 14, 5 × 7 cm). Es trägt die Nummer EŠ 6235 und stammt aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach ebenfalls aus Assur. Eine Grabungsnummer ist nicht erhalten. Das Stück, das in der Tontafelsammlung des Istanbuler Museums aufbewahrt wird, besteht aus zwei zusammengefügte Bruchstücken und bietet die Anfänge von neun Zeilen in babylonischer Schrift.

Die Phraseologie des Textes, eine Weihinschrift an eine Gottheit, deren Name weggebrochen ist, weist so enge Parallelen mit den Weihinschriften Sanheribs im allgemeinen und mit denen vom Aššurtempel im besonderen auf,¹² daß es gerechtfertigt erscheint, das Fragment dieser Textgruppe zuzuordnen, obwohl der Königsname ebenfalls nicht erhalten ist. Besondere Bedeutung kommt in diesem Zusammenhang der Erwähnung des Tores des Wagensternes (*bāb ereqqi*) in Zeile 5 zu. Dieses von Sanherib neugeschaffene Tor im Nordosten des Vorhofes des Aššurtempels wird, soweit uns bekannt ist, in den Inschriften seiner Nachfolger nicht mehr genannt.¹³

Die Frage, welcher Art von Objekt das Steinfragment ursprünglich angehört hat, kann nicht eindeutig geklärt werden. Die eingerückten Anfänge der ersten drei Zeilen scheinen auf eine zumindest teilweise gerundete Form hinzuweisen. Dies und die Parallelen zu Ass.16342 legen die Vermutung nahe, daß wir es hier mit einem weiteren Angelstein von Aššurtempel zu tun haben.



EŠ 6235

¹²Vgl. Ass.16342 (G. van Driel, *Cult*, S.27, Fn.139), K 5413a (D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.149), *KAH* 2,124 (D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.144ff.).

¹³Siehe G. van Driel, *Cult*, S.29 und 47ff.; für eine Lokalisierung dieses Tores siehe H. Galter, *Or. n.s.* 53 (1984), S.440.

Umschrift

1. a-n[a aššur(?) ...]
2. GÍD UD[^{més}-šú ...]
3. [(u)] DI NUMUN-šú [...]
4. ^{gis}ERIN ^{gis}X[...]
5. ina KÁ ^{mul}MAR-[GID-DA ...]
6. UGU ^{na}ka-šur-[re-e aqāre(?) ...]
7. NA₄ KUR-i [...]
8. ú-šar-šid [...]
9. man-za-as-ṛsi¹-in [...]

Übersetzung

1. Dem Gott Aššur(?) ...
2. (für) die Verlängerung seiner Tage ...
3. und das Wohlergehen seiner Nachkommenschaft ...
4. Zedernholz (und) ... holz ...

5. im Tor des Wagensternes ...
6. auf kostbaren (?) Basalt ...
7. Gebirgsstein ...
8. setzte ich ...
9. ihren Standort ...

Kommentar

Z.1: Die Zeilenlänge dieses Textes kann annähernd aus der Tatsache abgeleitet werden, daß in Zeile 1 genug Raum für den Gottesnamen, den Namen des Königs, eine minimale Titulatur und zumindest ein Element des Segenswunsches vorhanden sein mußte.

Z.2: Vgl. D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.149 (r 17): 8.

Z.3: Vgl. ebd., S.155 (r 34): 2.

Z.4ff: Vgl. die fast identische Aussage der Zeilen 7f. in Ass.16342.

Z.5: Zum Tor des Wagensternes vgl. *KAH* 2,124 (D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.144ff.): 26.

Z.6: Vgl. D. Luckenbill, *Senn.*, S.127 (r 13): 3.

Rivalry over Rulership at Aššur The Puzur-Sîn Inscription*

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Rivalry over rulership at Aššur inflicted hardship upon its people and confusion upon its historians. For the successful rival the reward was power and glory but in periods of intense rivalry the success was often short-lived and the name of the victor soon forgotten. Such was the fate of Puzur-Sîn. Native king lists and chronicles completely ignore him and if he had not left an inscribed stone tablet, fortunately excavated by modern archaeologists, we would not know of his existence. This is a sobering thought for any who think the basic list of Assyrian rulers is now complete.

The reason Puzur-Sîn was forgotten has to do with the chaos of the period in which he was active. As will be demonstrated later, he must be placed chronologically shortly after the time of Šamši-Adad I (c. 1813–1781 B.C.), a period of fierce rivalry over control of the city Aššur. At that time there were several pretenders to the throne and the authors of the Assyrian king list were confused about whose names to list and whose not. The result was two different lists in two different versions but in neither list does Puzur-Sîn's name appear.¹ Whether additional names were ignored, only time and the chance of archaeological discovery will tell.

Rivalry over Rulership in Assyrian History: A Brief Survey

By way of background to this edition of the Puzur-Sîn text I shall first survey briefly the periods of rivalry over rulership at Aššur. Little is known of the political status of the city-state Aššur in the third millennium.² While it was under the control of Sumer and Akkad for much of the Old Akkadian (beginning c. 2269 with Maništūsu) and Ur III periods (c. 2112–2004 B.C.), it is probable that during some

of this time it was ruled by a local man. After the fall of the Third Dynasty of Ur a line of indigenous rulers held sway at Aššur, the most important of which were Ilu-šūma and Erišum I (sometime between c. 2000–1800 B.C.).

The first known disruption in the second millennium occurred at the end of this period when Šamši-Adad I, of Amorite extraction, gained rulership over the city (c. 1813–1781 B.C.). Only echoes of the rivalry preceding this event have been recovered.³ Šamši-Adad was succeeded by his son, Išme-Dagan I (c. 1780–41 B.C.), but after that chaos reigned. The Assyrian King List gives the names of several claimants to the throne, all of which are called usurpers ('sons of nobodies').⁴ From this it is clear that there was a dynastic break from the Šamši-Adad line but no ruler had unanimous support. In the main Assyrian king list the chaotic period concludes with the reign of Adasi who was regarded in the mainstream tradition as the founder of the subsequent line of Assyrian kings. This fact is clearly stated in the inscriptions of Esarhaddon (680–69 B.C.).⁵ But there was at least one different list of names of rulers for the period, as will be shown later. Yet a third version of who held control of Aššur is represented by Puzur-Sîn who narrates in the text edited below how he brought an end to the line of Šamši-Adad I and restored 'native' Assyrian hegemony over the city. What relationship or dealings Puzur-Sîn had with Adasi are entirely unknown but it appears they represented two different factions and in the long term the Adasi faction was successful.

The remaining cases of rivalry over rulership at Aššur are all matters of inner tribal or family contests.⁶ There are two instances in the fifteenth century B.C. The Assyrian King List tells us that Aššur-rabi I gained sovereignty by forcibly deposing his nephew.⁷ The other case is a certain Bēr-nādin-

*The inscription is published courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum. I am grateful to the museum's Department of Western Asiatic Antiquities, in particular Messrs. Terence Mitchell and Christopher Walker, for their generous assistance in preparing this edition. My thanks go to Messrs. Ken Upritchard and Douglas Kennedy for their advice on the physical characteristics of the stone tablet.

¹ Grayson, *RLA* 6 p.106 §§13–15 and p.115 §3.10 lines 4f.

² Cf. Larsen, *City-State* pp.27–47.

³ Cf. Grayson, *ARI* 1 pp.27f.

⁴ Grayson, *RLA* 6 p.106 §§13–15.

⁵ Borger, *Asarh.* p.35 §23:5, etc.

⁶ The only source for the majority of the family relationships is the Assyrian King List and Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954) pp.42f. has been justly sceptical of this evidence.

⁷ Grayson, *RLA* 6 p.108 §33.

aḥḥē who appears only in legal texts. His genealogy and title there indicate that he was a ruler of Aššur although, like Puzur-Sîn, he is not mentioned in any of the native histories.⁸ Tukultī-Ninurta I (1243–07 B.C.) was assassinated and replaced by a son.⁹ Ninurta-apil-Ekur (c. 1191–79 B.C.), who claimed to be a ‘descendant’ (*liblibbi*) of an earlier Assyrian ruler, took the throne by force with Babylonian connivance.¹⁰ The brothers Ninurta-tukulti-Aššur and Mutakkil-Nusku (c. 1133–32 B.C.) fought over the throne and Babylonia was involved.¹¹ Šamšī-Adad IV (1053–50 B.C.) claimed distant relationship in the Assyrian line and took the throne, again with Babylonian involvement.¹² In the first millennium there are several instances of tribal or family rivalry, all of which are well-known and need only be itemized. These are the periods of political chaos and sometimes insurrection which led to the accessions of Šamšī-Adad V (823–11 B.C.),¹³ Tiglath-pileser III (744–27 B.C.),¹⁴ Sargon II (721–05 B.C.),¹⁵ and Esarhaddon (680–69 B.C.) respectively.¹⁶

*Puzur-Sîn's Inscription: Former Studies*¹⁷

The inscription of Puzur-Sîn has never been copied or fully edited for, despite its special significance, it presents many difficulties. The present discussion and edition of the text in *RIMA* 1, cannot claim to have solved all of these difficulties, but I hope some positive steps forward have been made.

The inscription appears on a small stone slab found by Andrae at Aššur. The object, like many from Aššur, eventually entered the British Museum.¹⁸ A photograph made at the time of excavation was published in 1924 by Andrae and both Weidner and Sidney Smith published studies on the text. These two studies were primarily concerned with the identity of Puzur-Sîn and the date of the document. In 1954 a partial transliteration and translation of the inscription was published by Landsberger, who also mentioned some collations by Geers and Sachs. Landsberger provided in addition convincing evidence for dating Puzur-Sîn just after the reign of Šamšī-Adad I (c. 1813–1781 B.C.). Despite the significance of the text both for the his-

tory and political theory of early Assyria demonstrated by Landsberger, the inscription sank back into oblivion except for its inclusion in Borger's annotated bibliography and my translation of early Assyrian royal inscriptions.

Puzur-Sîn's Inscription: Script, Orthography, Dialect and Form

What has daunted scholars about this text from the beginning is the combined difficulty of reading and interpretation. The stone tablet is badly worn, particularly at the beginning, and the script and dialect are early, thus having few parallels. The script is similar to the archaic palaeography found in inscriptions of such early rulers of Aššur as Ilu-šūma and Erišum I.¹⁹ By itself, however, this does not provide a very precise date for the text since this archaic palaeography can appear in texts as late as the reign of Tukultī-Ninurta I (1243–07 B.C.).²⁰

It is the orthography and dialect of the inscription which provide more definite dating since both are similar to Old Assyrian. As to orthography the sign values *dī* and *šī* normally appear only in Old Assyrian.²¹ The value *liq* (line 44) is, surprisingly, attested in Old Assyrian. The writing *a-dī-i* (line 32) is known only in Old Assyrian (and Neo-Babylonian). Only one anomaly is apparent and that is *aš-šur*, an orthography otherwise attested only from the time of Aššur-uballiṭ I (1363–28 B.C.). Curiously this varies with the orthography (^d)*a-šur* in the Puzur-Sîn inscription.

Turning to dialect note the uncontracted forms, typical of Old Assyrian:²² *redīam* (line 9) and *naruḫaṭ* (line 39). Also note the Old Assyrian form *parḫum* (lines 6, 42) for Babylonian *perum* and *lutārū* (line 47) for Babylonian *lutērū*. One curiosity is the Babylonian form *inneppušu* (line 38) instead of the Assyrian *inneppašu*. Thus the script, orthography and dialect are almost totally consistent with the Old Assyrian documents but the two anomalies suggest a slightly later date with some Babylonian influence.

The form of the inscription is unusual.²³ It begins with a temporal clause in which the subject, the ruler Puzur-Sîn, is immediately introduced. Such a structure is unparalleled in Assyrian royal inscriptions. Even in Sumer and Babylonia, where sometimes a temporal clause begins a royal text, the first subject

⁸ Grayson, *ARI* 1 p.37 n.39a; Saporetti, *Eponimi* pp.30f.; Grayson, *BiOr* 38 (1981) p.78.

⁹ Grayson, *ABC Chron.* 22 iv 1–13; *RLA* 6 p.110 §47.

¹⁰ Grayson, *RLA* 6 p.111 §50.

¹¹ *ibid.* pp.111f. §53.

¹² *ibid.* pp.112f. §59.

¹³ See Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 p.268.

¹⁴ See Grayson, *CAH* 3/2 (in press) Chapter 22.

¹⁵ *ibid.* Chapter 22.

¹⁶ *ibid.* Chapter 23.

¹⁷ All the studies mentioned in this section are listed later in the bibliography.

¹⁸ Cf. Grayson, *ARRIM* 1 (1983) pp.15–18.

¹⁹ See for example the copies in Messerschmidt, *KAH* 1 and Schroeder, *KAH* 2.

²⁰ E.g. Messerschmidt, *KAH* 1 no.16.

²¹ Cf. von Soden and Röllig, *Syllabar*; Borger, *Zeichenliste*.

²² Cf. von Soden, *GAG* §16 and Hecker, *Grammatik* §§19–20.

²³ Cf. Grayson, *Or. n.s.* 49 (1980) pp.150–62. Deller, *Oriens Antiquus* 22 (1983) p.14 suggests this is a private dedicatory text but this does not seem to be the case.

introduced is a god or gods, not the king. The unique introduction led Weidner to theorize that this inscription might be the second tablet of a larger text but Weidner, quite rightly I think, then rejected his own theory.²⁴ The conclusion of the inscription (lines 36ff.) is also odd. Normally in an Assyrian royal inscription when future rebuildings are envisaged, the text first contains the wish that this ruler's inscriptions will be restored and blessings are pronounced on those who do such restoration. Those who do not are cursed. In other words blessings precede curses.²⁵ But in the Puzur-Sîn text the opposite is the case. The last part of the conclusion (lines 47-54) is unparalleled in Assyrian royal inscriptions.

The unusual form of the text suggests two possible lines of investigation. Either the author of the inscription was not very familiar with the accepted form of an Assyrian royal inscription or he was writing at a time when such an 'accepted form' was not established. The first possibility can be dismissed quickly. It implies either that the text was the product of a provincial or that it was a late forgery. Now the text is written in good Akkadian, of the Old Assyrian dialect, and the sign forms well made so that one cannot say it is 'provincial' or 'barbaric'. As to its being a 'late forgery' there is no evidence.²⁶

Turning to the second possibility, it is conceivable that the text was composed in a period when the form of an Assyrian royal inscription was in flux. Such an era extended from about the time of Erišum I to Aššur-uballiṭ I. By the reign of Erišum I standard early Assyrian text types had been established but the subsequent appearance of Šamši-Adad I brought Babylonian influences into the composition of Assyrian royal inscriptions resulting in major changes. Between the time of Šamši-Adad I and Aššur-uballiṭ I further changes took place resulting in new forms which incorporated some Babylonian elements, especially in dialect. The inscription of Puzur-Sîn could well belong to this experimental phase.

Who Was Puzur-Sîn?

The problem that plagued early commentators the most was the identity of Puzur-Sîn, who does not appear in any Assyrian king list, and his chronological position. A plausible solution was eventually put forward by Landsberger who identified the Šamši-Adad mentioned in this text with the first king of that name. He drew attention to a fragmentary king

list which diverged from the other king lists in having names of several successors to Šamši-Adad I not found in the other lists.²⁷ He suggested that the name Asīnum, which he deciphered in line 5 of the Puzur-Sîn inscription as a successor of Šamši-Adad I, should be restored in line 5 of this divergent list. Although there seemed to be no room to restore the name Puzur-Sîn afterwards in the list, Landsberger nonetheless reconstructed a divergent tradition which listed Puzur-Sîn after Asīnum. While the restoration and reconstructed list are still highly hypothetical and unsubstantiated, the relative chronological framework proposed by Landsberger thirty years ago remains plausible.²⁸ As I have demonstrated earlier, the script, dialect and form of the inscription are consistent with this conclusion.

Indeed, I believe the study of script, dialect and form show more than this. The orthography and dialect are essentially Old Assyrian in contrast to the more Babylonian nature of the texts of Šamši-Adad I. The Puzur-Sîn text clearly represents an attitude hostile to Šamši-Adad I and his heirs proclaiming that they are not of Assyrian blood and did improper things in Aššur including destroying shrines. Conceivably the introduction of Babylonian writing practices and dialect into Assyrian royal inscriptions was one of these 'improper things' and the author consciously reverted to Old Assyrian. Thus the Puzur-Sîn inscription appears to be not only of a ruler who deposed a successor of Šamši-Adad I but also one who attempted to revert to the practices and customs before the Amorite dynasty gained control. The old practices and customs so far as they concerned the composition of royal inscriptions survived no better than the short-lived dynasty which Puzur-Sîn wished to restore.

Technical Details

The inscription is on a stone tablet (c. 16×32 cms.) now in the British Museum, BM 115688 (Ass 6366, Ph Ass 972-73). It was found by Andrae at Aššur in a private house near the An-Adad temple. Found with this stone were seven narrow strips of lead, rolled up, bearing inscriptions in hieroglyphic Hittite. Andrae observed that the stone and lead objects originally could have nothing to do with each other nor with the An-Adad temple. Rather, they must have come into the possession of the builder of the house, possibly as family heirlooms, who then put them together for a foundation deposit to his house. The content of the inscriptions, which presumably he could not read, was of no interest to him; but the

²⁴ Weidner, *AfO* 15 (1945-51) p.97.

²⁵ See C. D. Meltzer, *Concluding Formulae in Ancient Mesopotamian Royal Inscriptions: The Assyrian Sources*. Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1983.

²⁶ Regarding anciently forged royal inscriptions see Gelb, *JNES* 8 (1949) pp.346-48 and n.12; von Soden, *Or. n.s.* 21 (1952) pp.360f.

²⁷ Schroeder, *KAV* no.14. Cf. Grayson, *RLA* 6 p.115 §3.10.

²⁸ The Puzur-Sîn, father of the *limu* Šabrum, attested in Old Assyrian texts — see Balkan, *Observations* p.100 — must be a different person.

magical protection of any inscription on durable material was of great importance. Andrae argued that this deposit was probably made at the end of the seventh century B.C. Thus the specific provenance of the stone tablet does not tell us anything about the inscription.

The stone is tapered so that the bottom is narrower than the top. The bottom is 'dressed', indicating that nothing has been broken off, but the top retains marks from crude cutting. This suggests that something, possibly a relief or figure, was cut off the original object in antiquity. It is even possible that some inscription was cut off. But the text as preserved seems to have coherence and thus it is assumed in this edition that it is complete. The text is inscribed in three columns on the obverse and one column, back to back to the third column, on the reverse. To read the reverse one 'flips' the stone like a clay tablet. Columns i and iv and the bottom of the obverse are damaged.

Bibliography

- 1905 Andrae, *MDOG* 28 p. 29 (provenance)
 1924 Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften* p.1-5 and pl.1 h-i (photo)
 1924-25 Weidner, *AfK* 2 p.96 n.2 (study)
 1928 Smith, *EHA* pp.206 219f. 386 (study)
 1945-51 Weidner, *AfO* 15 pp.96f. (study)
 1954 Landsberger, *JCS* 8 pp.31-33 (edition)
 1961 Borger, *EAK* 1 pp.18f. (study)
 1972 Grayson, *ARI* 1 pp.29f. (translation)
 1982 Miglus, *ZA* 72 pp.266-79 (study)
 1983 Deller, *Oriens Antiquus* 22 pp.14f. (study)

Transliteration

- 1 [i]-Γ^{nu}-mì
 2 [p]ù-zur_s-^dZUEN
 3 [É]NSI ^da-šur
 4 [DUM]U(?) ^da-šur-be-el-AN-e
 5 Γ^{le-mu-tu} a-sí-nim
 6 [pa-r]a-ah^h ^dUTU-ši-Γ^d[IŠKUR]
 7 Γ^{ša x pu}[x] [š]a UR[U.aš]-Γ^{šur}
 8 Γ^{ú-na}-ap-[pí]-lu x
 9 [x x] x [x] re-di-Γ^{am}
 10 [a]-Γ^{na} URU¹.aš-šur [(lu)] ú-Γ^{up}(?)¹-pí-šu
 11 x x ù a-ħi MU-šu
 12 [ší-bi-í]t(?) Γ^{a-ħi-tim}(?)¹ la ší-ir
 13 [URU].Γ^da-šur
 14 [...] x
 15 ^dΓ^a-š[ur x x (x)] x qa-te-Γ^{šu}¹
 16 KÙ. [MEŠ]-ti
 17 i-na Γ^{kí-na}-te-šu
 18 ú-Γ^{ZA}(?)¹-i-da-šu-ma
 19 la dam-qa-Γ^{am} šu-a-ti
 20 Γⁱ-na Γ^{qí}-bi-it Γ^da-šur-ma
 21 [b]e-lí-a qa-at u[p-p]í-šu
 22 [BÀ]D.KI(?) ù É.GAL

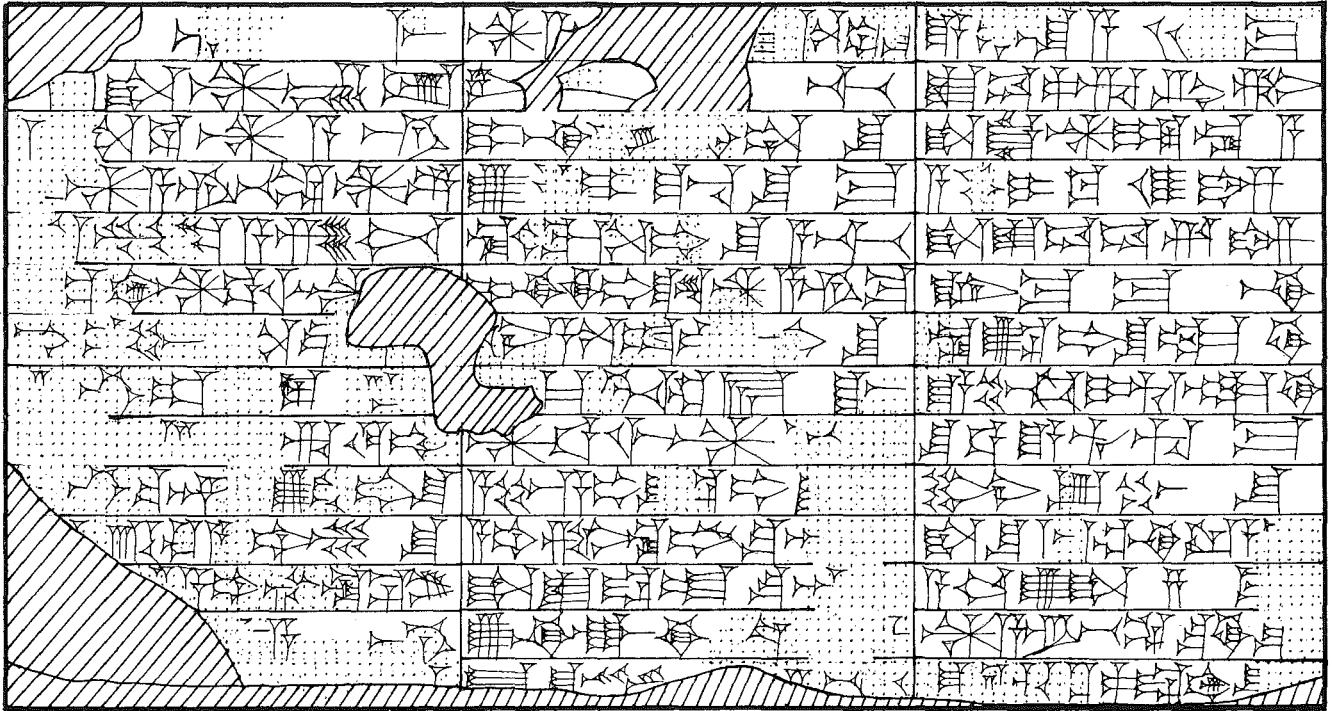
- 23 ^dUTU-ši-^dIŠ[KUR]
 24 a-bu a-bi-š[u] ší-bi-i[t(?)]
 25 a-ħi-tim la UZU URU.aš-š[ur]
 26 ša iš-ra-at URU.aš-š[ur]
 27 ú-na-aq-qí-Γ^{ru}¹-[m]a
 28 Γ^{É.GAL} ĞIR(?)¹ [x šu]-Γ^{a-ti}¹
 29 e-Γ^{pu}¹-šu a-qúr-ma
 30 iš-tù pa-ri-ik-tim
 31 ša KÁ ^di-lu-la-a
 32 a-Γ^{dí}-i ku-mi-im
 33 ša iš-tù du-ri-im
 34 LUGAL ma-ma-na
 35 la ú-šé-pí-šu BÀD.KI
 36 e-pu-uš i-nu-mì BÀD.KI
 37 šu-ut e-nu-ħu-ma
 38 in-ni-ip-pu-šu
 39 ša šu-mì Γ^ù na-ru-a-Γⁱ¹
 40 a-nàm ú-ša-sà-k[u]
 41 ^da-šur be-el URU.KI-Γ^{šu}¹
 42 Γ^{šu-um-šu} ù¹ pa-ra-ah-š[u]
 43 Γ^{i-na} URU.KI¹ ù ma-tim
 44 ka-li-ša lu-ħa-liq
 45 ù na-r[u]-Γ^a¹-i a-nàm
 46 a-na aš-ri-šu-ma
 47 lu-ú-ta-ru i-n[u]-m[í]
 48 BÀD.KI a-nàm e-p[u-šu]
 49 i-na pa-ni-ia [x x x]
 50 e-pu-uš be-x [x x]
 51 a-na qa-ti [x x x]
 52 ka-al-la-[x x (x)]
 53 um-ta-as-s[ú-ú-ma (?)]
 54 uš-ší ša BÀD.KI [x x]

Translation

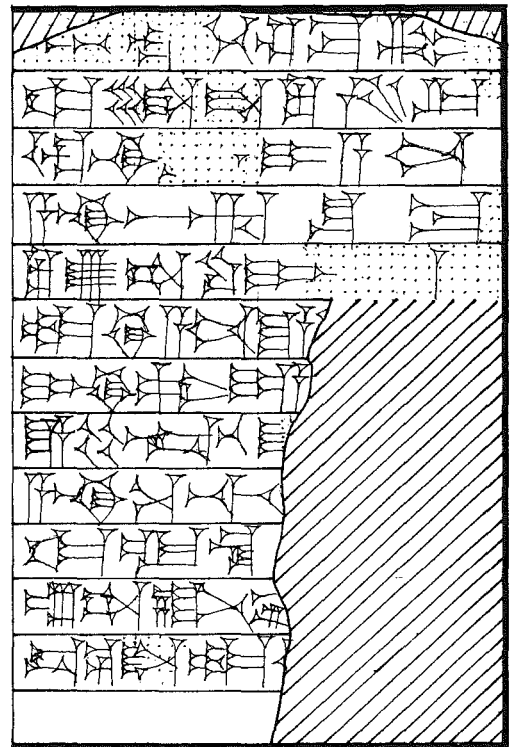
1-14) When Puzur-Sîn, vice-regent of the god Aššur, son of Aššur-bêl-šamê, destroyed the evil of Asînum, offspring of Šamšî-[Adad (i)] who was ... of the city Aššur, and instituted *proper rule* for the city Aššur; (at that time) [i (Puzur-Sîn) removed] ... a foreign *plague*, not of the flesh of [the city] Aššur.

15-35) The god Aššur justly ... [with] his pure hands and I, by the command of Aššur himself my lord, destroyed that improper thing which he had worked on, (namely) the *wall* and palace of Šamšî-Adad (i) his grandfather (who was) a foreign *plague*, not of the flesh of the city Aššur, and who had destroyed the shrines of the city Aššur. (I destroyed, I say) that palace ... which he had worked on. I built a wall from the *facade* of the Gate of the deity Ilula to the residence, (a structure) which no (other) king had ever built before.

36-46) When that wall becomes dilapidated and is rebuilt, whoever removes this inscription and stele of mine, may the god Aššur (and) his city lord destroy his name and his offspring from city and country entirely. May this stele of mine be returned to its place.



BM 115688 (obverse)



BM 115688 (reverse)

47-54) When I built this wall, in my presence [*a priest*] performed [*rituals*]. ... for the hand [...] ... they washed/delineated and the foundation of the wall [*made firm*].

Summary of Content

Puzur-Sîn became vice-regent of Aššur by deposing Asīnum, a descendant of Šamšī-Adad I who was not a native of the city Aššur (1-10). He also did something to another non-Assyrian (11-14). When these events occurred Puzur-Sîn, by command of the god Aššur, righted the wrongs committed by Asīnum (15-21). This included the destruction of a wall (?) and palace built by Šamšī-Adad I and the building of a new wall (22-36). The text concludes with a curse, a wish and apparently a statement about religious ceremony at the time of building (36-54).

Commentary

1-14 The text begins with a temporal clause which seems to end in line 10 with the subjunctive *uppišu*. The verb of the main clause presumably appeared in line 14 where only a slight trace now remains.

1-4 introduces the subject of the entire text as well as of the temporal clause. Puzur-Sîn's father, Aššur-bēl-šamē, is otherwise unknown and the epithet *bēl šamē* is otherwise unattested for Aššur. The E sign at the end of line 4 is as copied and different from the form of this sign otherwise used in this inscription.

5-10 seem to contain two verbs (lines 8 and 10) and two objects (lines 5-7 and 9) in the temporal clause. Perhaps *palām redīam* should be read in line 9, *redū* being an adjectival form with the same meaning as *rīdu/riddu* '(good) conduct' (see von Soden, *AHW* p.981).

8 The x does not appear to be MA, ŠU, ŠÚ, ŠI or Û.

11-14 seems to be the main clause. Line 11 seems to contain a proper name followed by *šumšu* 'his/its name' but the line is obscure.

12 For *šibtu* see the note to lines 19-29.

15-18 This passage is badly broken so that the reading and interpretation are very uncertain. The god Aššur seems to be the subject (15) and line 18 certainly contains a verb with a third singular suffix which can only refer to Asīnum (or his relative). The second sign seems to be ZA; there is not enough room for a larger sign, not even a NA.

19-29 The syntax of this section is doubtful. Line 19 seems to be resumed by *qāt uppišu* in line 21 with *ina qibit aššurma bēlīa* being an anacoluthic interjection. But the construction is curious and the *-ma* a bit strange. Equally odd is line 22 which I have taken as construct to line 23. The last word in line 24 is doubtful since I know no parallel (other than line 12 above) for *šibtu* being used of a person; but the phrase *šibti aḥīātī* appears in Walker, *CT* 51 no.142: 7 (incantation).

30-36 For proposed identifications of these structures at Aššur see Landsberger, *JCS* 8 (1954) p.36 and Miglus, *ZA* 72 (1982) p.266 n.2.

36-47 In line 41 'his city lord' does not, I believe, refer to Aššur (cf. Larsen, *City-State* p.148 n.125). The scribe assumes that the future desecrator will be a foreigner and therefore wants both Aššur and the foreigner's own god to curse him.

49-54 The real meaning of these lines is still obscure.

Kisirtu et *kesēru* dans les inscriptions royales assyriennes

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Le mot akkadien *kisirtu* nous est déjà connu grâce aux inscriptions royales assyriennes. Il a été ainsi traduit par les dictionnaires modernes:

Chicago Assyrian Dictionary (CAD) K 422:

1. dam, embankment, facing
2. paving block (of a yard, wall or other constructions)

Akkadisches Handwörterbuch (AHw), 486:

1. Kaimauer
2. v. anderen Bauten

Alors que la traduction par pavé ou dalle semble être correcte, il n'en est pas de même pour quai ou barrage. Examinons tout d'abord le contexte textuel du vocable.

I. *kisirtu* en relation avec les fleuves:

1. *ki-si-ir-ta ša pāni nāri ... ša ina mē enaḥuma mīlu ana šāšu pūlišu u agurrišu itbalū ki-si-ir-ta šāti ištu kupri u agurri aksir 4 ½ agurri ukebbir ina pīli u epri ša āl Ubasē aksir ana arkāt ūmē rubū enūma ki-si-ir-tu šī ušalbaruma ennaḥu anhūssa lūddiš*

O. Schroeder, *KAH* 2, 35:24-34; voir E.F. Weidner, *IAK* xx 4 et A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 1, LXXVI 8 §§413-4

'*kisirtu* qui fait face au fleuve, qui a été abîmé par l'eau et dont le calcaire et la brique ont été ravagés par la crue, j'ai revêtu ce *kisirtu* d'asphalte et de brique cuite, je l'ai épaissi de quatre briques et demie, je l'ai rebâti en calcaire et mortier de la ville d'Ubasê. À l'avenir, quand ce *kisirtu* deviendra vieux et ruiné, qu'un prince postérieur le restaure.'

2. *ki-si-ir-ta ša pāni nāri ša ina mē inahuma mīlu ana šāšu NA₄ pūlišu u agurrišu itbalū ki-si-ir-ta šāti ištu kupri u eperti aksir 4 ½ agurri ukebbir ina pūli u eperti ša kupri kutalli aksir rubū arkū enūma ki-si-ir-tu šī lu ennaḥu u mīlu itabbalū anhūssa lūddiš lik-sir*

O. Schroeder, *KAH* 2, 33: 5-8; voir E.F. Weidner, *IAK* xx 5 et A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 1 LXXVI 9 §§418-9

'*kisirtu* qui fait face au fleuve, qui a été abîmé par l'eau et dont le calcaire et la brique ont été ravagés par la crue, j'ai revêtu ce *kisirtu* d'asphalte et de brique cuite, je l'ai épaissi de quatre briques et demie, j'ai bâti son côté postérieur en calcaire et

mortier d'asphalte. Quand ce *kisirtu* tombera en ruine et la crue le ravagera, qu'un prince postérieur le restaure et le plâtre.'

3. *ekal Adad-nārārī aklīm apil Arik-dīn-ili aklīmma ša ki-si-ir-ti ša pāni nāri.*

L. Messerschmidt, *KAH* 1, 7; voir E.F. Weidner, *IAK* xx 8,21 et A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 1 LXXVI 29 §474

'Le palais d'Adad-narari, procureur, fils d'Arik-din-ili, également procureur; appartenant au *kisirtu* qui fait face au fleuve.'

4. *ekal Adad-nārārī šar kiššati apil Arik-dīn-ili šar māt Aššur ša ki-si-ir-ti ša pī nārti ša ekallāti*

O. Schroeder, *KAH* 2, 150; voir E.F. Weidner, *IAK* xx 22, et A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 1, LXXVI 30 §476

'Le palais d'Adad-narari roi de l'univers fils d'Arik-din-ili roi du pays d'Assur; appartenant au *kisirtu* de l'embouchure du fleuve des palais.'

5. *ša ki-sir-te nāri Ḥusir*

R.C. Thompson, *Archaeologia* 79: 122 No.55:3 et *CAD* K, 422

'Appartenant au *kisirtu* du fleuve Khosar.'

6. *ina ki-si-ir-ti pīli agurri u kupri nārišu ašbat*

W. Andae, *FWA* Tf LXXXIXa; voir E.F. Weidner, *IAK* xx 6 et A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 1, LXXVI 10 §423

'Avec un *kisirtu* de calcaire, brique cuite et d'asphalte j'ai bloqué les bords de son (la ville nouvelle) fleuve.'

II. *kisirtu* en relation avec des puits:

1. *ekal Aššur-nāšir-apli šar māt Aššur mār Tukulti-Ninurta šar kiššarti šar māt Aššur ki-sir-ti būri ša bīt Sibitti*

ND 3491; voir D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 15, 1953, pl.xv (voir aussi dans le même article ND 3492).

'Le palais d'Assur-nasir-apli roi du pays d'Assur, fils de Tukulti-Ninurta roi de l'univers, roi du pays d'Assur, fils d'Adad-narari roi du pays d'Assur: *kisirtu* du puits appartenant au temple des Sibitti.'

III. *kisirtu* en relation avec des bâtiments:

1. *ki-sir-tu ša tarbaš ekalli*E. Nassouhi, *MAOG* 3/1, 1925-9, p.10:5'*kisirtu* appartenant à la cour du palais.'2. *ki-sir-te ša bīt Anu u Adad*O. Schroeder, *KAH* 2, 106:5'*kisirtu* appartenant au temple d'Anu et Adad'3. *ki-sir-tu ša sippi āli ša šapla bīt Aššur ša Adad-nārārī ... ēpušu ennaḥma i'abit anḥūssu uddiš*O. Schroeder, *KAH* 2, 83 r. 10; voir A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 2 xcix 1 §406'*kisirtu* du seuil de la cité qui est au-dessous du temple d'Assur, qui a été construit par Adad-narari ... (mais) a été abîmé et détruit, j'ai restauré sa partie ruinée.'4. *ki-si-ir-ta ša asaitte rabīte ša bāb Idiglat ša Adad-nārārī šar māt Aššur ēpušu ennaḥma i'abit ištu eli mē naqbīša ina kupri u agurri 5 šēpē ulli*L.W. King, *AKA* 147: 24; voir A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 2 lxxxix 2 §251'*kisirtu* appartenant au grand tour du portail du Tigre, qu'Adad-narari le roi d'Assur avait construit, (ce *kisirtu*) est abîmé et détruit; je l'ai élevé de 5 pieds au-dessus des eaux, avec de l'asphalte et de la brique cuite.'5. *ki-si-ir-ti ša bīt Aššur**MDOG* 29, 39'*kisirtu* appartenant au temple d'Assur'6. *ki-sir-tu ša bīte šanē*A. Harrak, *ARRIM* 2 (1984) 22

Grâce aux fouilles archéologiques qui nous ont fourni des spécimens de *kisirtu*, il est possible de définir plus précisément leur nature et fonction. Ainsi, les *kisirtu* en relation avec des puits (II.1) sont des parements de terre cuite de forme trapézoïdale (fig.1). Ils étaient ainsi conçus afin de couvrir les murs arrondis des puits. Des exemples bien conservés de ces parements ont été trouvés à Nimroud, appartenant aux puits du temple des Sibitti et du temple de Kidmuri.¹ D'autres exemples montrent le *kisirtu* comme une plaque calcaire, mince et carrée, taillée de façon qu'elle puisse couvrir un sol nivelé (III.1 et fig.2). Un spécimen identifié par le même terme technique fut trouvé à Koyounjouk, daté du temps d'Assur-nasir-pal II.² Les *kisirtu* peuvent aussi être de grandes briques cuites dont certaines furent estampées de la matrice royale (III.5). Un bon nombre de ces dernières ont été trouvées à Assur;³ elles datent d'époques différentes. Enfin, il y

a ces monolithes de calcaire qui ont été taillés de telle sorte qu'ils puissent couvrir le sol là où le pivot du vantail de la porte se posait sur la crapaudine (fig.3). Ils ont été pris, mais à tort, pour les crapaudines elles-mêmes.⁴ L'un d'eux datant du temps d'Assur-nasir-pal II, fut identifié par le terme *kisirtu* gravé dessus (III.6).

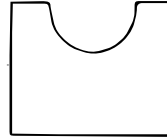


fig. 3

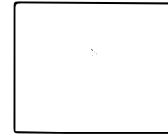


fig. 2

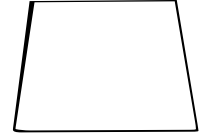


fig. 1

Cependant, quand il s'agit de *kisirtu* en relation avec les fleuves (I.1-5), on parle de quai ou de barrage! Cette interprétation erronée vient en fait de W. Baumgartner qui le premier donna le sens de 'Ufermauer' au mot akkadien.⁵ D'autres chercheurs, y compris les lexicographes⁶ de *CAD* et *AHW*, ont accepté cette traduction sans hésitation⁷ Or, il n'y a aucune indication que le *kisirtu* décrive tout l'ensemble architectural du quai ou du barrage. Rien ne prouve que les rois assyriens entreprenaient chaque fois que les textes parlent de *kisirtu*, la tâche gigantesque de telles restaurations. Mais puisque ce terme veut simplement dire un pavé ou une dalle comme on l'a vu, rien n'empêche d'y reconnaître des pavés couvrant la structure du quai ou du barrage lui-même. Placés donc contre le quai, et par le fait même contre l'eau (*ša pāni nārī*), les *kisirtu*-parements étaient bien vulnérables devant l'effet érosif des eaux. En conséquence, le roi assyrien devait changer ou fortifier ces parements afin de préserver de l'érosion la façade du barrage. Les matériaux qui composaient ces parements étaient soit des briques cuites (*agurru*), soit des pierres (*pīlu*) et de l'asphalte (*kupru*).

Par ailleurs, les textes cunéiformes se servent du mot *kibru* pour désigner non seulement un rivage, mais aussi un quai ou barrage. Il est intéressant de voir la relation du *kibru* par rapport au fleuve exprimée en akkadien par l'état construit (*kibir id*) ou par le pronom relatif (*ša kibru ša id*).⁸ Par con-

⁴D. Oates, *Iraq* 21 (1959) p.109 et pl.xxvib; R. Sobolewski, *AfO* 24 (1974-7) p.232 et fig.3.

⁵*ZA* 36 (1925) 127ss.

⁶À côté de 'dam, embankment', le *CAD* donne en fait un autre équivalent, 'facing'. Cependant, ce mot n'a pas été utilisé dans la traduction des exemples akkadiens par le même dictionnaire.

⁷Voir J. Seidmann, *MAOG* 9/3, p.38 et note 5; D.D. Luckenbill, *ARAB*, 1, 31; E.F. Weidner, *IAK* xx, 4; A.K. Grayson, *ARI* 1 lxxvi 8 §413.

⁸*CAD* K, 334; *AHW* 471

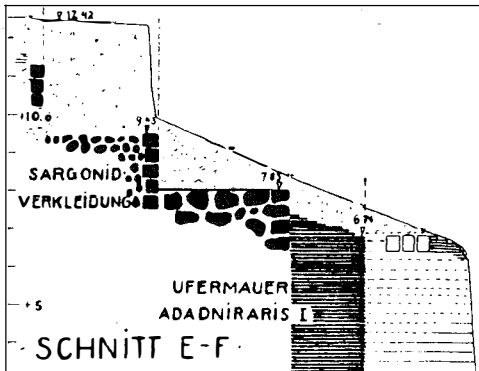
¹D.J. Wiseman, *Iraq* 15 (1953) p.149 et pl.xv.

²E. Nassouhi, *MAOG* 3/1 (1925-9) p.11.

³*MDOG* 28 (1905) 32-3.

traste, le *kisirtu* fait face au fleuve (*k. ša pāni nāri*: 1.1-3). Cel n'empêche pas les matériaux de construction d'être parfois les mêmes. Comparer ainsi avec 1.1-2, *ki-bi-ir nāri šuāti ina kupri u agurri lu ušaršid* = 'j'ai fortifié le quai de ce fleuve avec de l'asphalte et de la brique cuite'.⁹

Les fouilles archéologiques que l'expédition allemande a entreprises autrefois à Assur ont mis au jour le barrage dont parle Adad-narari I, ainsi que les reconstructions ultérieures effectuées au temps des Sargonides.¹⁰



(d'après W. Andrae, *FWA* 151)

Ce barrage se composait d'une couche large de 2 à 5 mètres de pierres calcaires et d'asphalte. La façade de ce barrage orientée contre l'eau était revêtue d'énormes briques cuites. Ce sont ces briques qui étaient les plus exposées à l'érosion et qui nécessitaient de temps en temps l'intervention du roi. Ultérieurement, au temps des Sargonides, les briques étaient remplacées semble-t-il, par des monolithes. Ces parements de briques ou de pierres sont vraisemblablement les *kisirtu* dont parlent les inscriptions royales.

La traduction du terme *kisirtu* par dalle ou parement et non par quai ou barrage, nous introduit à la question controversée du verbe *kesēru/kasāru* et de son sens exact. Baumgartner,¹¹ qui admettait le sens de 'plâtrer, couvrir une surface' au verbe en question. Toutefois, Grayson¹² a repoussé cette traduction en déclarant qu'en akkadien 'couvrir' est exprimé par le verbe *lubbušu*. Il a aussi affirmé que les verbes *kesēru* et *rašāpu* sont en fait des synonymes qui veulent dire '(re)-construire'. Grayson a voulu prouver également que ce même verbe *kesēru* est identique à la racine *kašāru/kešēru* connue par des textes provenant de l'époque assyrienne moyenne et récente aussi bien que de l'époque babylonienne classique et récente. Ce dernier argument semble être accepté par I.J. Gelb dans son article publié récemment¹³ sur

le sens de *kašārum* en akkadien ancien. En effet, les textes écrits dans ce même dialecte et qui sont énumérés par Gelb, présentent le verbe en question avec des formes phonétiques différentes. Ainsi, la forme du deuxième radical oscille non seulement entre /š/ et /ś/ mais aussi avec une troisième forme (*su*) comme dans *ik-su-ra* et *gu-su-ra-im*. Cette dernière forme suggère selon Gelb l'existence de dentales autre que /š/ et /ś/.

Cependant, il y a moyen de distinguer à travers les textes assyriens deux sens différents dans les verbes *kasāru/kesēru* (= couvrir [le sol] ou revêtir [un mur]) et *kašāru/kešēru* (= [re]construire). Car là où il s'agit de *kisirtu* le verbe qui le décrit est toujours *kesēru* (1.1-6), et non pas *kešēru*. Cela suggère que le nom même de *kisirtu* dérive du verbe *kesēru*. Par conséquent, le sens des deux doit être très proche. D'autre part, *kesēru* suit très souvent le verbe *epēšu*,¹⁴ ce qui signifie que ces deux verbes, étant sémantiquement différents, se complètent au point de vue signification. Or, poser le verbe *kešēru* côte à côte avec *epēšu* alors qu'il a presque le même sens serait bien redondant. C'est pourquoi l'akkadien n'offre à ma connaissance aucun exemple qui lie ensemble ces deux derniers verbes.¹⁵ Quant à l'argument de Grayson selon lequel *kesēru* et *rašāpu* sont synonymes, il a des bases solides. En effet, l'argument est appuyé par ces deux phrases akkadiennes presque identiques:

bīt dIštar ša uru Ninua epušma ar-šip
*(ša) bīt dIštar ša uru Ninua epušma ak-sir*¹⁶

Mais contrairement à l'avis de Grayson, les deux verbes ne signifient pas nécessairement '(re)construire'. Car le sens de RSP en sémitique (connu en arabe, hébreu et syriaque) veut dire principalement 'ranger, paver, aplanir', tout comme le sens de 'pflastern' donné par Baumgartner au verbe *kesēru*. Par contre, le verbe *lubbušu* se distingue de *kesēru* par le fait que le premier dénote un 'revêtement', mais surtout avec des matières précieuses telles que l'or ou le bronze.¹⁷ Cette signification est d'ailleurs plus proche du sens principal de *labāšu* '(s)habiller, (se) vêtir' utilisé pour les humains, que de l'action de paver ou de plâtrer.

En guise de conclusion, j'aimerais souligner que *kisirtu* veut dire un pavé, une dalle ou un parement dans tous les cas. Il faut donc omettre la traduction de *CAD* et *AHW* par quai ou barrage. Enfin, le verbe *kesēru* peut bien dire couvrir le sol ou le mur.

¹⁴Voir dans l'article de Grayson, op.cit., les citations N^{os} 1,6,7.

¹⁵Comme Grayson l'a observé [op.cit., p.4 note 6], la lecture par *CAD* K, 285: *epēšu ik-šl-ir* n'est pas justifiée. Lire par conséquent: *ik-si-ir*.

¹⁶Grayson, op. cit. 3ss.

¹⁷Voir les exemples dans *CAD* L, 21b.

¹⁰S. Langdon, *VAB* 4 64 ii 10; *CAD* K, 335

¹¹Op. cit., p.128 note 1

¹²*Assur* 1/4 (1975) 6

¹³*JNES* 43 (1984) 274 ss.

The Inscription on the Reverse of the Šarrat-nip̄i Lion: An Ashurnasipal text from Calah

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with

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The text presented here is from the reverse of the Šarrat-nip̄i lion in the possession of the British Museum. A second lion from the Šarrat-nip̄i temple in Calah is located in Mosul, but information as to whether this second lion bears an inscription on the reverse is not available. At this point, I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Christopher Walker for passing on the inscription to Dr A.K. Grayson¹ and for his prompt collation of the text. I also wish to thank Dr Grayson and Dr Gilbert McEwan for their kind assistance in reading the manuscript, and, particularly, Miss W. de Filippi for bringing the text to my attention and assisting in its preparation.

The inscription is 21 lines in length, and bears a long, inverted T-shaped, repaired fissure, which slightly mutilates but does not obliterate several signs. The text also contains a number of errors and omissions, and, in general, the signs and the spacing exhibit the same inconsistencies in representation noted by Paley in his study of the Ashurnasirpal reliefs from Calah.²

The structure of the inscription is similar in some ways to the inscription on the reverse of the Ninurta temple slabs published by W. de Filippi in *Assur*, Volume I.³ It contains:

- i. the king's name and titles, followed by those of his father and grandfather (line 1)
- ii. an abbreviated section describing the king's valour and military might (line 2)
- iii. the king's standard titulary with the passage *ištu reš eni*^{id} *subnat adi māt nīrib ša bētāni* describing the limit of his conquests (lines 3 to 7a)

¹Dr Grayson has kindly relinquished his prior rights to the text. The text is published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

²Samuel M. Paley, *King of the World: Ashur-nasir-pal II of Assyria 883-859 B.C.*, The Brooklyn Museum, 1976, p.118.

³W. de Filippi, 'The Royal Inscriptions of Aššur-Nāšir-Apli II (883-859 B.C.): A Study of the Calah Inscriptions Together with an Edition of Two of These Texts', *Assur I/7* (1977), pp.17ff.

iv. a description of the rebuilding of Calah with some deviations in phraseology from the Ninurta temple inscription⁴ (lines 7b to 9a)

v. a description of the building of the Šarrat-nip̄i, Ninurta, Gula, and Sin temples,⁵ a description of the fashioning of an image of Ishtar, and the construction of a throne dais, and the establishment of cereal offerings.⁶ (lines 9b to 14a).

Unlike the inscription on the reverse of the slabs from the Ninurta temple, the present text contains a curse formula in terms reminiscent of the Ištar Kidmuri inscription (*ARI 2 c1 19 §691*). This is, in fact, the only other inscription of Ashurnasirpal in which the phrase *ina bīt kīli* occurs.

The similarity in phraseology between the present text, on the one hand, and the Ninurta reverse inscription, the 'annals', and the inscription of Ištar Kidmuri, on the other, may be an important consideration for establishing the chronological priority of these texts, but such a study is beyond the scope of the present article. Moreover, the difficulties inherent in such a study would be compounded by the possibility that the similarities may be functional, rather than chronological. For instance, the present inscription, the Ištar Kidmuri inscription, and

⁴The phraseology is the same as that in the Great Monolith and the Wall inscription: 'The ancient city Kalach which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had built ...' (Grayson, *ARI 2*, §619). It also adds here in the description of the rebuilding of Calah the phrase used in the Ištar Kidmuri inscription in connection with the renovation of the temple: 'in the wisdom of my heart which Ea, king of the Apsū, in his broad understanding had given to me ...'.

⁵The present inscription differs from the Ninurta reverse inscription published by de Filippi in that it mentions four temples. The same four temples are again mentioned in the description of the building of the Ninurta temple in the 'annals' (Grayson, *ARI 2* §576).

⁶Ninurta temple slabs reverse refers to the establishment of feast days.

Ninurta temple slab reverse were probably never intended to be seen. The 'annals', on the other hand, since they were engraved on the wall and pavement slabs which decorated the Ninurta temple were doubtless intended for public viewing. One is tempted to view the fluidity of phraseology⁷ in this and the Istar Kidmuri inscription as representing an early phase in the development of the Ashurnasirpal inscriptions, but as Dr Gilbert McEwan has suggested it may be equally viewed as less fixed phraseology characteristic of reverse inscriptions.⁸ At present, it can be placed broadly into the category of inscriptions edited contemporaneous with or subsequent to the Western Campaign(s).⁹

BM 118895 reverse

Transliteration

1. ^mAŠ-ŠUR-ΓPAB-IBILA MAN GAL-ú MAN dan-nu šar₄ ŠÚ šar₄ KUR aš-šur A TUKUL.MAŠ MAN GAL-ú MAN dan-nu šar₄ ŠÚ šar₄ KUR.aš-šur A 10-ÉRIN-TAḤ MAN GAL-ú MAN dan-nu šar₄ ŠÚ šar₄ KUR.aš-šur-ma
2. et-lu qar-du šá ina GIŠ.TUKUL-ti aš-šur EN-šú i-tal-la-ku-ma ina mal-ki.MEŠ šá kib-rat 4-ta šá-nin-šú la Γ-šú-ú MAN šá TA e-bir-ta-an
3. ÍD.IDIGNA a-di KUR.lab-na-na ù A.AB.BA GAL-te KUR.la-qe-e a-na si-ḥír-ti-šá KUR.su-ḥi a-di URU.Γra-Γ-pi-qi a-na GIR.2-šú
4. ú-šik-ni-šú TA SAG e-ni ÍD.su-ub-na-at EN KUR.ni-ir-bé šá be-ta-ni ŠU-su KUR-ud TA-tu ni-ri-be šá KUR.kir-Γru-ri a-di KUR.gíl-za-ni
5. ΓTA-Γtu e-bir-ta-an ÍD.za-ba KI.TA a-di URU.DU₆-ba-a-ri šá el-la-an KUR.za-ban ΓTA-Γtu URU.DU₆-šá-ab-ta-ni a-di URU.DU₆-šá-
6. Γza-Γab-da-ni URU.ḥi-ri-mu ΓURU.ḥa-Γru-tu KUR.bi-ra-a-te ša KUR.kar-Γdu-ni-áš a-na mi-šir KUR-ia ú-Γtir ù DAGAL.MEŠ
7. KUR.KUR na-i-ri a-na paṭ Γgim-ri-šá Γa-Γpíl URU.kal-ḥu maḥ-ra-a ša ^{md}šul-ma-nu-sag šar₄ KUR.aš-šur NUN a-lik pa-ni-ia e-pu-šú URU šu-ú
8. e-na-aḥ-ma iṣ-lal a-na EGIR UD-me Γa-na DU₆ ù kar-me i-tur ina ḥi-sa-at šá-ia Γša ^dé-a šar₄ ΓAB.ZU GEŠTU DAGAL-ta NÍG.ΓBA ΓURU šu-ú ana eš-šu-te
9. DIB-bat DU₆ <la>-be-ru ú-na-kir a-di UGU A.MEŠ ú-šá-píl 1 ME 20 Γtik-Γpi a-na muš-pa-li lu ú-ṭa-bi é ^dMAŠ ^dGAŠAN.[KUR] ^dgu-la ^d30
10. ina qé-reb-šú lu ad-di É.KUR ši-i a-na na-al-ban lu ak-šur šu-bat DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ina šá ú-Γkín É.KUR ši-i a-na na-an-[mar m]al-ki.MEŠ ù NUN.MEŠ
11. šá da-ra-te e-pu-uš ina pi-it GEŠTU.2.MEŠ ḥa-si-si

⁷ In this respect, note particularly line 11 'with regard to the needs of the great gods' and the use of *šūrāhūtu* 'noble' in reference to the cedar beams in line 12.

⁸ Dr McEwan suggested that a study of all the reverse inscriptions of Ashurnasirpal might prove valuable for comparing phraseology.

⁹ W. de Filippi, op. cit., p.46.

ina ḥi-ših¹-ti DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá ΓÁG-Γni ^dLAMMA-at ^dINANNA NIN-a šá ina pa-an la-a GÁL-[ú] DINGIR-SA GAL-tum lu ú-šar-riḥ

12. ina du-muq NA₄.MEŠ ša-ri¹-ri ù GUŠKIN ḥuš-še-e lu ab-niš «ina» BÁRA-šá a-na da-ra-te [ina] ḥib-bi lu ad-di É.KUR Γšī-Γi ú-si-im ú-[ša]r-riḥ GIŠ.ÜR.MEŠ
13. GIŠ.e-re-ni Γšit¹-ra-ḥu-ti ina UGU-šá lu ú-kín GIŠ.IG.MEŠ GIŠ.e-re-ni ši-ra-te in KÁ.MEŠ-šá ú-ri-te UR.MAḤ.MEŠ ek-du-[te] šá NA₄.pi-li
14. BABBAR-e e-pu-uš ina KÁ-šá ú-še-ziz e-nu-ma ^dGAŠAN.KUR GAŠAN GAL-tum ina BÁRA-šá KÙ ina É at-ma-ni-šá šá ru-'a-me ú-šá-bu ki-niš lu tap-pár-da-a [GÍD] ΓUD¹.MEŠ-a lu DUG₄.GA
15. šúm-ud MU.MEŠ-a lu ta-tas-qar SANGA-ti lu ta-ram a-na na-dan zi-bi-ia lu taḥ-du e-ma MURUB₄ ù MÈ <ú-ša-ma-ru> šu-um-rat šá-a [lu] Γtu¹-šak-ši-da-ni NUN-ú
16. EGIR-ú ina MAN.MEŠ-ni DUMU.MEŠ-a šá aš-šur MU-šú ana LÚ.SIPA-ut KUR.aš-šur i-na-bu-šú UR.MAḤ.MEŠ šu-a-tu-nu TA KÁ.MEŠ-šá la tu-na-kar M[U.S]AR la-a ta-pa-šit
17. an-ḥu-su-nu ud-diš MU šaṭ-ra ana ḫi-šu GUR aš-šur EN GAL-ú ^dMAŠ u ^dINANNA a-šib É.KUR šú-a-tú ḤÉ.NUN ṭuḥ-du ḤÉ.GÁL ina KUR-šú lu-ki-nu UN.ME[š-šú] šal-tiš DU.DU-ku-ma ina gi-mir KUR.KUR.MEŠ
18. ina MÈ šá MAN.MEŠ-ni KI taq-ru-ub-te am-mar šá-šu ú-šam-šu-šu šá MU.SAR i-pa-ši-ṭu UR.MAḤ.MEŠ šu-a-tu-nu ú-na-ka-ru ina A.[MEŠ] ŠUB-ú ina IZI.MEŠ GÍBIL-ú
19. ina É ki-li¹ la a-ma-ri GAR-nu ù mim-ma INIM NÍG.GIG pa-an É.KUR šú-a-tú ú-šap-ra-ku ^dMAŠ EN me-ḥi ù šá-ga-aš-te ^dINANNA Γbe-Γlat MURUB₄ u MÈ MAN-su
20. [lis]-ki-pu GIŠ.AŠ.TI-šú KAR-šú ina IGI LÚ.KUR.MEŠ-šú ka-miš lu-še-ši-bu-šu su-un-qu bu-bu-tu ù ni-ib-ra-ṭu ina KUR-šú [lu]-ki-nu MU-šú
21. NUMUN-šú¹ ina KUR lu ZÁḤ

Translation

1. Ashurnasirpal the great king, the strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, the great king, the strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria, the son of Adad-nerari (who was) also the great king, the strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria;

2. (Ashurnasirpal), the valiant fighter, who with the support of Ashur his lord marches about and among the kings of the four quarters, has no equal. The king who, from the east

3. Tigris region to the Lebanon mountains and the Great Sea, the whole land of Laqe, the land of Suhi to the city of Rapiqu, at his feet

4. he has cause to bow down. From the source of the Subnat to the interior of the land of Nirib his hand has conquered. From the passes of the land of Kirruri to the land of Gilzani,

5. from the other side of the Lower Zab to Til-bari, which is upstream from Zaban, from Til-sha-Abtani to Til-sha-

6. Zabdani, the cities of Hirimu (and) Harutu, for-

tresses of the land of Karduniash (Babylonia) I added to the territory of my land, and over

7. the totality of the wide Nairi lands I have become master. The ancient city of Kalhu which Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, had built,

8. had fallen into decay and lay deserted (and) later had become a complete ruin. In the wisdom of my heart which Ea king of the Apsu in his broad understanding had given to me, that city

9. I took in hand anew. I cleared the old mound and dug down to water level. I excavated to a depth of 120 layers of brick, and a temple of Ninurta, Šarrat-nip̄hi, Gula, and Sin

10. I founded therein. I completed that temple and established (it) as a dwelling for the great gods. That temple for the viewing of the eternal kings and princes

11. I built. In my wisdom and understanding, (and) with regard for the needs of the great gods who loved me, a statue of Ishtar my lady as had never existed before (for) her great divinity I indeed made splendid.

12. Of the choicest stone, fine gold, and red gold I made it. Her throne dais I set up therein forever. That temple I made suitably splendid, ... beams

13. of cedar I erected therein, (and) tall doors of cedar I set in its gates. Fierce lions of white limestone

14. I made (and) I set (them) up in its gates. When Šarrat-nip̄hi the great lady sits on her pure throne in her alluring dwelling, may she be steadfastly radiant, may she command my days to be long

15. (and) my years numerous. May she love my priesthood. May she be pleased at the giving of my cereal-offerings (and) may she let me attain the desire of my heart anywhere I strive in battle or conflict.

16. O future prince among the kings my sons whom Ashur may appoint to the shepherdship of Assyria: Do not remove these lions from their gates or delete my name inscribed (on them), (but rather)

17. repair their dilapidation (and) restore my inscribed name to its place. (Then) may Ashur, the great lord, Ninurta, and Ishtar who dwells in this temple establish fullness, abundance, and plenty in his land. May his subjects walk about in a lordly manner and in all lands

18. in the war of kings upon the battlefield may they make him obtain his heart's desire; (but) whoever deletes my inscribed name, (or) moves these lions, (or) throws (them) into the water, (or) burns them with fire,

19. (or) places (them) in a prison, hidden away, or inflicts any sacrilege whatever on this temple, may Ninurta, the lord of storm and destruction, and Ishtar the lady of war and battle overthrow his kingship,

20. take away his throne, make him sit before his enemies like a captive, establish want, famine, and hunger in his land, (and) make his name and his seed disappear from the land.

Commentary

7. According to C.B.F. Walker's collation, *e-pu* (erasure)-*šú*.

11. The syntax of this line is inelegant. I have translated *ina ħi-ših-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ as 'with regard for the needs of the great gods', since some such translation as this seems to be required in the context, but *ina muħħi* or *ana* would have been preferred. The phrase 'her great divinity I indeed made splendid' disrupts the flow of the line, and deviates from the standard phraseology. Compare Grayson, *ARI 2 c1 1* §576 from the Ninurta temple inscription 'annals', 'At that time I created with my cunning that statue of the god Ninurta which had not existed previously as an icon of his great divinity out of the best stone of the mountain and red gold', and W. de Filippi, *Assur I/7*, p.20-21 Nin. rev., lines 13-14, *ibid.* The phraseology is closer, perhaps, to the description of temple building in the Banquet Stela, 'I made (the images of) their great divinity resplendent with red gold and sparkling stones' (Grayson, *ARI 2 c1 17* §679), but here the problem is resolved by not mentioning the non-pre-existence of the images, and by substituting *lu ú-šar-riħ* for *lu ab-niš* as the verb at the end of the phrase.

13. In the description of the cedar beams one expects *še/ši-ħu-te* 'long', not *šit-ra-ħu-te*, which according to von Soden, *AHW* p.1252a means 'noble, fine, proud', and is normally applied to gods and kings.

19. The sign that I have emended to *li* is unclear. C.B.F. Walker suggests *il* (?).

A Royal Inscription about Lullumu

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In his essay on Lullubum, H. Klengel quoted a Middle Assyrian inscription from the Nineveh collection of the British Museum which W.G. Lambert had communicated to him.¹ This is a royal inscription and so merits a place in the RIM project, despite uncertainty about its exact identification.

The text is the left half of a tablet of soft whitish clay now numbered BM 81-7-27,76. In his *Catalogue of the Kouyunjik Collection*, Carl Bezold described it as 'Part of an inscription of an Ass. king', adding that it mentions KUR.lu-ul-lu-ma-a.² The surviving portion of the tablet measures 7.85 × 7.3 cm., but its original width was probably almost twice as great as its height, giving it a shape that is not common for royal inscriptions which are usually written on tablets higher than they are wide. In this respect it is reminiscent of the foundation tablet of Zimri-Lim from Hana.³ Both faces of the tablet are also more convex than usual.

The faces of the tablet are damaged in such a way as to hinder interpretation, especially of the first two extant lines which contained proper names. Combining the traces of line 2' with those in line 8', W.G. Lambert proposed to read a personal name, ^mi-ri-iš-ti-e-en-ni.⁴ This is attractive, but has to remain uncertain, and, being an unknown name, does not help further identification of the text at present.

Lacuna of one (?) line.

- 1' [...] x x x [.....]
2' [^mi-ri]-iš-ti-e-en-ni [.....]
3' [ma-a]r-ma-ri ša ^mi-x [.....]
4' [le]-e-ep-le-e-pí ša [.....]
5' [^m(?)x]-ki LUGAL KUR.x [.....]
6' [ik-ki(?)]-ir BÀD ša UR[U]
7' [a]r/[r]i-mi-šū^l-ma ba-la-š[a(?)].....]
8' um-ma(?) ^mi-ri-iš-ti-š[e^l(?)]-en-ni.....]
9' i-na e-mu-qí da-an-na-t-[i.....]
10' i-na ka-ak-ki da-an-nu-t-[i.....]
(lower edge)
11' ša^l-li-ka-at pa-ni-[ia.....]
(reverse)

- 12' i-na KUR.lu-ul-lu-ma-a š[a(?)].....]
13' li-ib-bi-ia [.....]
14' ša ka-ša-di [.....]
15' ša ku-un-nu-ši [.....]
16' [x] š BÀD^l an-na-a [.....]
17' [x (x) BÀD(?) an-na-a [.....]
18' [...] x š SAG^l(?) it-t[i(?)].....]
19' [...] ú-tam-m[a(?)].....]
20' [šumī ša]-šaf^l-ra [.....]
21' [... ik-r]i-bi-šu [išemmi/ú.....]
22' [... -š]i-šu [.....]
23' missing
(upper edge)
Lacuna of two (?) lines
(left edge)
šU ^mšID.x [.....]

No connected translation can be offered with half of each line missing. The text begins with a titulary, the proper name in line 2' apparently belonging to the father of the king commemorated, who was grandson of Ir[i-X] (3'), and descendant of X (4'). A king whose name may have ended in *-ki*, but whose realm is unknown (5'), seems to have been involved in building (?) a city wall (6') and perhaps dwelling in the place for his lifetime (7'), or, it may be, dedicating a building. Line 8' introduces, on our understanding, a speech by Erišti-enni, which could continue to the end of the tablet. Its remains read, 'By mighty power', or 'With strong forces [.....], with strong weapons [.....], going ahead [of me ...]. In the land of the Lullumeans [...of] my heart [.....] for conquering [.....], for subjugating [.....]. This wall [.....] this [.....]'. Thereafter the traces are insufficient for certain restoration, but may indicate a standard formula of blessing and cursing.

On the left edge of the tablet the surviving signs are part of a scribe's signature, 'Hand of PN'.

Commentary

2' cf.8' If correctly read, this could be a Hurrian-Akkadian hybrid name, 'Desire of the gods'.

4' *līplippu* is not found elsewhere with this *plene* writing.

5' The sign following KUR does not resemble *lu* as W.G. Lambert suggested (see n.1).

12' KUR.lullumā with final *ā* is usually a gentilic, and it is possible the traces of the following sign might be read *ú* to give *lullumāyu*, the full form of the gen-

¹ MIO 11 (1965) 349-71, see p.361, n.68.

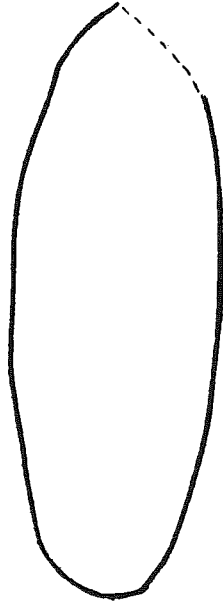
² Bezold, *Cat.4*, p.1801.

³ E. Herzfeld, *RA* 11 (1914) pp.131ff.

⁴ As cited by Klengel, loc. cit.

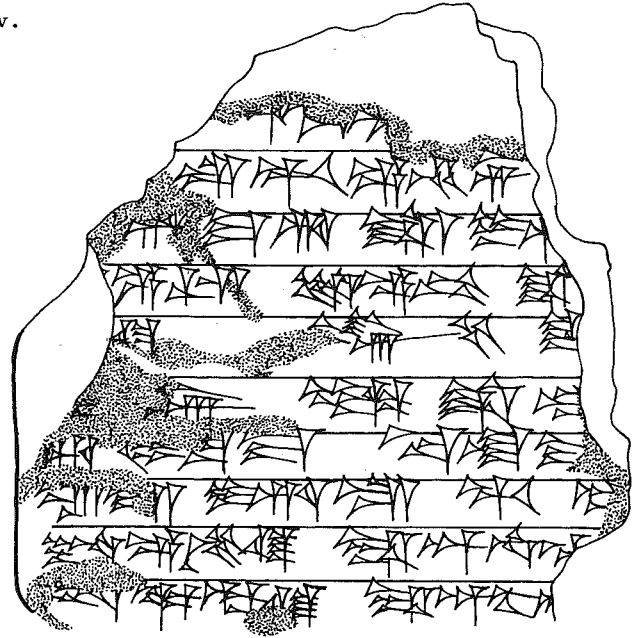
tilic.⁵

The country Lullubê or Lullumê, earlier Nullu or Lullu, occurs first in Assyrian inscriptions under Adad-narari I and Shalmaneser I, both of whom claimed to be its conquerors. The present piece could belong to that period, judging by its script. The note on the left edge indicates that it could be an archival copy of a royal foundation text, but the question of its origin remains open. Is it an inscription recording an Assyrian conquest and rebuilding, or is it a copy of a local Lullumean king's monument, brought as booty to Nineveh? The opening genealogy is unlikely to be any but the author's, and that would imply it is not Assyrian. The answers lie in the other half of the tablet, and that may be more easily recognised through the publication of this part.

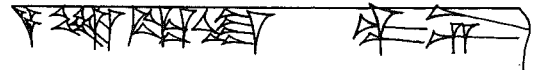


BM 81-7-27,76 profile

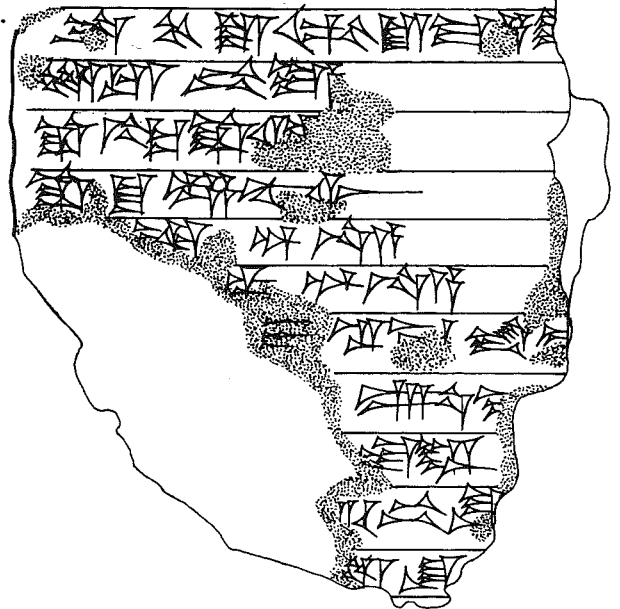
Obv.



Lower edge



Rev.



Left edge



BM 81-7-27,76

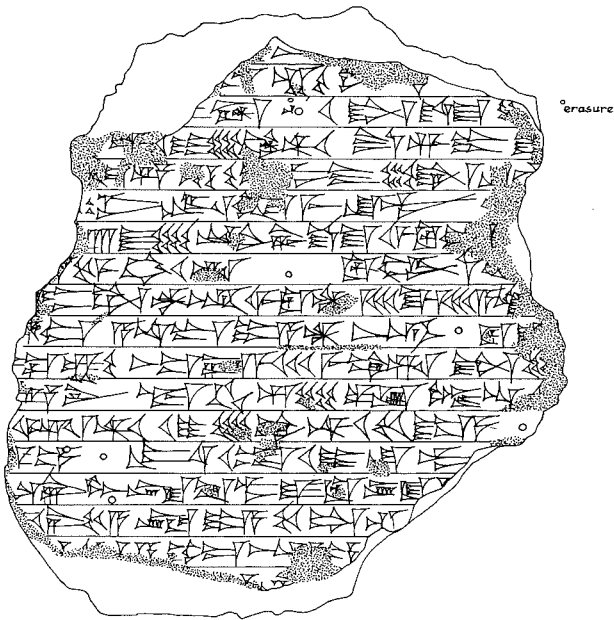
⁵ Cf. K. Nashef, *Rép.Géogr.* 5 pp.188f.

Copy of a Royal Inscription: Possibly Tukultī-Ninurta I*

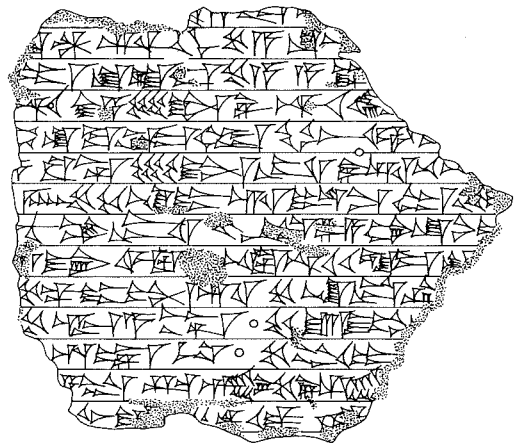
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The following is a copy of a text (A. 3514) possibly
to be ascribed to Tukultī-Ninurta I.

It will be edited in *RIMA 1* as text no. A.O.78.1001.



A. 3514 (obv.)



A.3514 (rev.)

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University of Chicago and Prof. J.A. Brinkman, curator of
the Institute's tablet collection.

List of Abbreviations

- ABC*: A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, (Locust Valley 1975)
AfK: *Archiv für Keilschriftforschung*, vol.1-2 (Berlin 1923-5)
AfO: *Archiv für Orientforschung*, vol.3- (Berlin and Graz 1926-)
AHw: W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*, 3 vols. (Wiesbaden 1959-79)
AKA: E.A.W. Budge and L.W. King, *The Annals of the Kings of Assyria*, vol.1 (London 1902)
ARAB: D.D. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, 2 vols. (Chicago 1926)
Archaeologia: *Archaeologia*, vol.1- (Oxford 1770-)
ARI: A.K. Grayson, *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden 1972/76)
ARRIM: *Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project*, vol.1- (Toronto 1983-)
Asarh.: R. Borger, *Die Inschriften Asarhaddons, Königs von Assyrien* (Graz 1956)
Assur: *Assur*, vol.1- (Malibu 1974-)
Baghdader Forschungen: (Mainz am Rhein 1979-)
 4: J. Börker-Klähn, *Alt Vorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs*, 1982
BiOr: *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, vol.1- (Leiden 1943-)
BMMA: *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, vol.1- (New York 1905-)
BPO: E. Reiner, *Babylonian Planetary Omens*, 2 vols. (Malibu 1975/81)
CAD: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* (Chicago 1956-)
CAH: *Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols. (Cambridge 1922-)
Calendrier: R. Labat, *Un calendrier babylonien des travaux, des signes et des mois (séries iqqr ipuš)*, (Paris 1965)
Cat.: C. Bezold, *Catalogue of the Cuneiform Tablets in the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum*, 5 vols. (London 1889-99)
City-State: M.T. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies* (Copenhagen 1976)
CT: *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*, vol.1- (London, 1896-)
Cult: G. van Driel, *The Cult of Aššur* (Assen 1969)
EAK: *Einleitung in die assyrischen Königsinschriften* (Leiden)
 1: R. Borger, *Das zweite Jahrtausend v.Chr.* (1961)
EHA: S. Smith, *Early History of Assyria* (London 1928)
Eponimi: C. Saporetti, *Gli eponimi medioassiri* (Malibu 1979)
FWA: W. Andrae, *Die Festungswerke von Assur* (Leipzig 1913)
Grammatik: K. Hecker, *Grammatik der Kültepe-Texte* (Rome 1968)
Handbuch: E. Weidner, *Handbuch der babylonischen Astronomie I* (Leipzig 1915)
Hettitische Inschriften: W. Andrae, *Hettitische Inschriften auf Bleistreifen aus Assur* (Leipzig 1924)
IAK: E. Weidner, et al. *Die Inschriften der altassyrischen Könige* (Leipzig 1926)
Iraq: *Iraq*, vol.1- (London 1934-)
JAOS: *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol.1- (New Haven 1893-)
JCS: *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, vol.1- (New Haven, Cambridge [Mass.] 1947-)
JIT: W. Andrae, *Die jüngeren Ishtar-Tempel in Assur* (Leipzig 1935)
JNES: *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, vol.1- (Chicago 1942-)
KAH: *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur historischen Inhalts* (Leipzig)
 1: L. Messerschmidt (1911)
 2: O. Schroeder (1922)
KAV: O. Schroeder, *Keilschrifttexte aus Assur verschiedenen Inhalts* (Leipzig 1920)
MDOG: *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, vol.1- (Berlin 1898-)
MIO: *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, vol.1- (Berlin 1953-)
Observations: K. Balkan, *Observations on the Chronological Problems of the kārūm Kaniš*, (Ankara 1955)
Or. n.s.: *Orientalia, Nova Series*, vol.1- (Rome, 1931-)
RA: *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale*, vol.1- (Paris 1886-)
Rép. Géogr.: *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes* (Wiesbaden)
 5: K. Nashef, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der mittelbabylonischen und mittelassyrischen Zeit*

- (1982)
- RIMA*: *Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods*
- RLA*: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, (Berlin 1932-)
- Senn.*: D.D. Luckenbill, *The Annals of Sennacherib*, (Chicago 1924)
- Stones*: C.J. Gadd, *The Stones of Assyria* (London, 1936)
- Stiftungen*: E. Ebeling, *Stiftungen und Vorschriften für assyrische Tempel* (Berlin 1954)
- Syllabar*: W. von Soden and W. Röllig, *Das akkadische Syllabar*, 3. Auflage (Rome 1976)
- Tn.*: E. Weidner, *Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I. und seiner Nachfolger* (Graz 1959)
- WEA*²: W. Andrae, *Das wiedererstandene Assur*, 2. Auflage (München 1977)
- ZA*: *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, vol.1- (Berlin 1886-)
- Zeichenliste*: R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste*, 2. Auflage (Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981)

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