

Two Neo-Assyrian Stelae in the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş Museums

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The two stelae published here are on display at two different museums in the south-east region of Turkey, namely Antakya and Kahramanmaraş.¹ About 1968, when Selahattin Asim was the director of the Antakya Museum, one of the stelae was found by a peasant digging a new well near the Orontes, at an approximate depth of six metres, to the left of the road about half-way between Antakya and Samandağ (3 km). The area is a flat open valley covered with trees and orchards. Very shortly after the discovery of the stela Asim was summoned to the find-spot and acquired it for the museum.²

The Kahramanmaraş³ stela was found at the village of Kizkapanlı in the Pazarcık area (near Kahramanmaraş) close to the Gözlügöl nomad settlement, while the Pazarcık barrage⁴ was being built. Soon after its discovery, the stela was acquired for the Maraş museum.

The Antakya stela is damaged on the left side, from top to bottom,⁵ and on the top and top right corner, so that the heads of the royal figures carved in light relief have been damaged. The damage may

be the result of an intentional act of religious provocation. Examination of the two stelae and their inscriptions shows that the Antakya stela has been carefully carved and is the work of an expert, whereas the Pazarcık inscriptions (both obv. and rev.) are of inferior workmanship,⁶ insofar as the style of cuneiform script is concerned. The contents of the inscriptions tell us more about the reign of Adad-nērārī III.⁷ According to the Antakya stela, a boundary was set up between Zakur of Hamath and Ataršumki and this included an agreement for equal use of the Orontes River. The Pazarcık stela reveals that Adad-nērārī settled a border dispute with Ušpilulume, the Kummuhean king,¹⁰ and Qalparuda, the Gurgumean king, but it appears that the main alliance is with Ušpilulume since the agreement is presented to him in the form of a stela (Paz. rev. 12-13). However, Adad-nērārī seems to have established his relations with five cities: Hamath, Arpad(da), Nahlasi, Kummuh, and Gurgum through Ataršumki and Ušpilulume.

Adad-nērārī also mentions a war against Ataršumki and his eight allies in Paqirahubuna (Paz. obv. 11-13). Extensive booty from the Damascene ruler Hadyani (Paz. rev. 4-10) was brought back home as a result of a campaign to Damascus by Šamši-ilu. Four linear descendants are referred to respectively: Shalmaneser III (858-824 BC), Šamši-Adad V (823-811 BC), Adad-nērārī III (810-783 BC), and Shalmaneser IV (782-773 BC); the *tartānu*-official Šamši-ilu (Ant. lines 5 and 8; Paz. rev. 4) served under the last two kings.

The word *taḥūmu* is used in these inscriptions both with the meaning 'border, territory' (cf. von Soden, *AHW* p. 1303) and with the meaning 'boundary

¹ Before I obtained official permission to study the Antakya and Kahramanmaraş stelae, David Hawkins had seen them and made a preliminary study, assisted by some remarks from Karlheinz Deller. I thank them both for their valuable suggestions. Even though I have quoted some of their viewpoints, I carefully copied and collated the inscriptions at the two museums myself and take full responsibility for the article.

² My thanks are due to the General Directorate of Museums and Antiquities for granting me permission to study the stelae; to the Director-General, Mr. Altan Akat, and the Deputy Director, Nimet Berkok, for their permission and generous assistance; and to Veli Yenisoğancı, the Director of the Antakya Museum, for allowing me to complete my work during visits in November (1989) and January (1990). Without their help this study could not have been completed.

³ The modern name has been glorified as *Kahraman* 'hero, brave' because of its heroism in the fight for freedom against the allied troops during the war of independence.

⁴ I would also like to thank Mr. Hadi Bozkurt, the Director of the museum at Kahramanmaraş, who very generously allowed me to complete my work there.

⁵ This may have been due to the re-use of the monument; the site where the original stela was erected is unknown, but

such a heavy block, in the form of an inscribed stela, could hardly be moved very far from its original location.

⁶ In particular, the *na* signs on the Pazarcık stela are very different and look like *šu*, and the *a* signs are slightly odd. There are horizontal lines between each inscribed line on the Antakya inscription, but not on the Pazarcık inscriptions.

⁷ For the reign of Adad-nērārī III see Grayson, *CAH* 3/1 pp. 271-76.

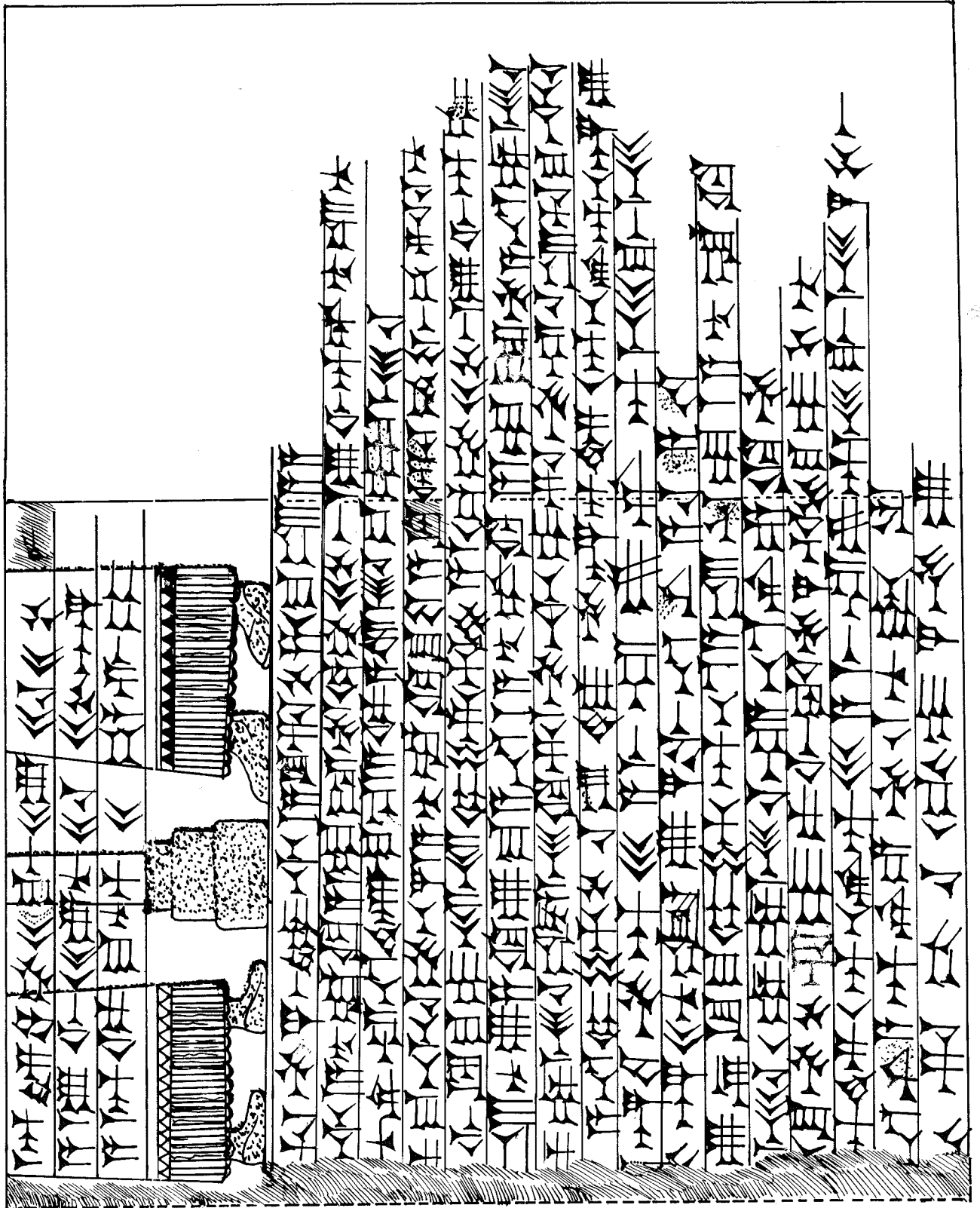


Figure 1: The Antakya Stela

stone' in reference to the stelae themselves. The word NA.RÚ.A = *narû* is also used in the Antakya stela with the same meaning.

The Antakya Stela

(Env. nr. 11832) Slightly damaged. 127 × 52 × 31 cm. Two sculptured standing human figures. The heads are mostly gone. The inscription runs over the right margin.

TRANSLITERATION

- 1) ^mdⁱŠKUR.ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN GAL MAN KAL MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR ḠAŠ¹
- 2) A ^mŠam-ši-10 MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR aš-«aš»-šur
- 3) A ^mdⁱŠul-ma-nu-MAŠ MAN kib-rat 4
- 4) [ta]-ḥu-mu šá ina bir-ti ^mza-ku-ri KUR ḥa-ma-ta-a-a
- 5) [(u ina) bir]-ti ^ma-tar-šúm-ki A ^mad-ra-mu ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR AŠ ^mŠam-ši-DINGIR LÚ tar-ta-nu
- 6) [iš-ku]-nu-ni URU na-aḥ-la-si a-di A.ŠÀ.MEŠ-ŠÚ GIŠ.KIRI₆.MEŠ-ŠÚ
- 7) [u d]i-ma-ti-šú gab-be šá ^ma-tar-šúm-ki šu-tú ID ar-am-tú ina bi-ri-šú-nu
- 8) [ú-šam]-ši-lu-ma i-zu-zu mi-šir NAM A ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR AŠ ^mŠam-ši-DINGIR ḠLÚ¹
- 9) [tar]-ta-nu ú-za-ki-ú-ma a-na ^ma-tar-šum-ki A ^mad-ra-mu a-na DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ
- 10) [DU]MU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ EGIR.MEŠ ki ri-mu-ti i-ri-mu URU-šú ta-ḥu-ma-ti-šú
- 11) [x x] a-na mi-šir KUR-šú ú-kín MU aš-šur ^diŠKUR u ^dbe-er ^dBAD aš-šur-ú
- 12) [^dNIN.LÍ]L aš-šur-tú MU ^d30 a-šib URU.KASKAL-ni DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ
- 13) [šá k]UR aš-šur man-nu EGIR-ú šá pi NA.RÚ.A šú-a-tú
- 14) [ú]-šam-sa-ku-ma mi-šir an-na-a TA qa-at ^ma-tar-šúm-ki
- 15) [DUMU].MEŠ-ŠÚ u DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-ŠÚ ina dan-na-ni e-ki-mu
- 16) [(x)] Ḡu(?)¹ šu-mu šaṭ-ri i-pa-ši-ṭa MU šá-nam-ma i-šaṭ-ṭar
- 17) [aš-šur] ^diŠKUR u ^dbe-er ^d30 a-šib URU.KASKAL DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ šá KUR AŠ
- 18) [šá ina] NA.RÚ.A an-né-e MU-šú-nu zak-ru
- 19) [i]k-ri-bi-šú ul i-šá-mu-ú

TRANSLATION

- 1) Adad-nērārī, great king, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
- 2) son of Šamši-Adad, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
- 3) son of Shalmaneser, king of the four quarters.
- 4-5) The boundary which Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-ilu, the commander in chief, established between Zakur of the land of Hamath and Ataršumki, son of Adramu:
- 6-8) the town of Nahlasi with all its fields, gardens, [and] settlements is (the property) of Ataršumki. They divided the Orontes River between them. *This is* the border.
- 9-11) Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Šamši-ilu, the commander in chief, have given it free and clear to Ataršumki, son of Adramu, to his sons, and his subsequent grandsons. His city and its territories [...] to the border of his land he made firm.
- 12-13) By the name of Aššur, Adad, and Ber, the Assyrian Illil, the Assyrian [Mulliss]u, and the name of Sin dwelling in Harran, the great gods [of] Assyria:
- 14-16) whoever afterwards speaks ill of the terms of this stela, and takes by force this frontier from the possession of Ataršumki, his sons, and his grandsons; *and* destroys the written name (and) writes another name:
- 17-19) may [Aššur], Adad, and Ber, Sin dwelling in Harran, the great gods of Assyria [whose] names are recorded on this stela, not listen to his prayers.

REMARKS

2) *Aš-šur* has one extra horizontal; the scribe probably first intended to write AŠ (as in line 1) but repeated *aš-šur*, ignoring the first AŠ, to fill the remaining space.

7) [*u d*]i-ma-ti-šú: the reading was proposed by Deller. For *diṃtu* referring to fortified villas see, in addition to the dictionaries, Al-Khalesi, *Assur* 1 (1977) pp. 81-122.

8) [ú-šam]-ši-lu-ma i-zu-zu: cf. *ušamšilūma izūzū*, Grayson, *Chronicles* p. 160 i 22'.

8) NAM A is a problem. Deller tentatively proposed NAM = *ana* (an attested value of NAM), giving *ana-a* = *annâ*. Or should one regard this as an erroneous metathesis for *a-nam* : *annâm*?

11) ^dBAD aš-šur-ú: cf. ^dEN.LÍL aš-šu-ru-u, Ebeling, *LKA* no. 33 obv. 5 (reference from Deller).

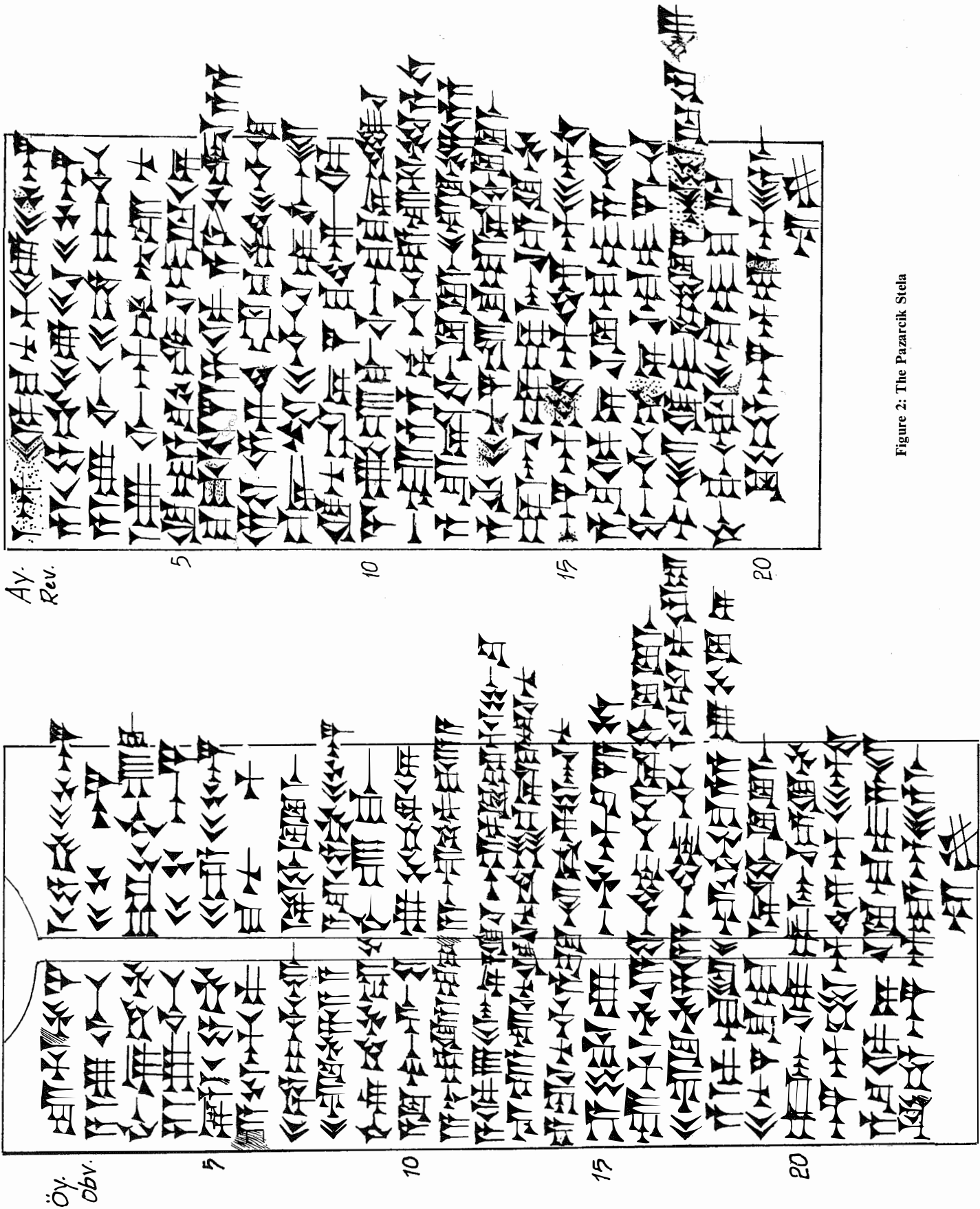


Figure 2: The Pazarcik Stela

The Pazarcik Stela

Inscribed on both obverse and reverse.
140×44×16.5 cm. No significant damage has occurred.

TRANSLITERATION

Obverse:

- 1) *ta-ḥu-mu šá* ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 2) A ^mšam-ši-10 MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 3) ^fsa-am-mu-ra-mat MUNUS.É.GAL
- 4) *šá* ^mšam-ši-10 MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 5) AMA ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KAL MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 6) *kal-lat* ^{md}šul-ma-nu-maš
- 7) MAN *kib-⟨rat⟩ 4-ti ina u₄-me* ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 8) MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a a-na* ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 9) ^fsa-am-mu-ra-mat MUNUS.É.GAL
- 10) ÍD *pu-rat-tú ú-še-bi-ru-u-ni*
- 11) ^ma-tar-šúm-ki A ^mad-ra-a-me URU *ár-pa-da-a-a*
- 12) *a-di* 8 MAN.MEŠ-ni *šá* KI-šú *ina* URU *pa-qi-ra-ḥu-bu-na*
- 13) *si-dir-ta-šú-nu* KI-šú-nu *am-daḥ-iš* *uš-ma-na(?)*-šú-nu
- 14) *e-kim(*)*-šú-nu-ti *a-na šu-zu-ub* ZI.MEŠ-šú-nu
- 15) *e-li-ú* *ina* MU.AN.NA *šá-a-te*
- 16) *ta-ḥu-mu šú-a-tú* *ina bir-ti* ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 17) MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a* *ina bir-ti* ^mqa-al-pa-ru-da(?)
- 18) A ^mpa-la-lam MAN URU *gúr-gu-ma-a-a ú-še-lu-ni*
- 19) *man-nu šá* ⟨TA⟩ ŠU-at ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 20) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú *e-ki-mu*
- 21) *aš-šur* ^dAMAR.UTU ^dISKUR ^d30 ^dUTU
- 22) *a-na di-ni-šú lu la i-za-zu*
- 23) *ik-kib aš-šur* DINGIR-ia ^d30 *a-šib*
URU.KASKAL

Reverse:

- 1) ^{md}šul-ma-nu-maš MAN KAL MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 2) A ^m10-ÉRIN.TÁḤ MAN KAL MAN ŠU MAN KUR *aš-šur*
- 3) A ^mšam-ši-10 MAN *kib-⟨rat⟩ 4-ti*
- 4) ^mšam-ši-DINGIR LÚ *tar-ta-nu*
- 5) *ki-i a-na* KUR.ANŠE-šú *i-lik-ú-ni*
- 6) *ma-da-tú šá* ^mḥa-di-a-ni KUR.ANŠE-šú-a-a
- 7) KÙ.BABBAR KÙ.GI URUDU GIŠ.NÁ MAN-ti-šú
- 8) GIŠ *né-mat-tú* MAN-ti-šú DUMU.MUNUS-su
- 9) KI *nu-du-ni-šá ma-a-di*
- 10) NÍG.GA É.GAL-*lim la ma-ni am-ḥur-šú*
- 11) *ina ta-a-a-ár-ti-ya ta-ḥu-mu šú-a-tu*
- 12) *a-na* ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me MAN URU *ku-mu-ḥa-a-a*
- 13) *a-din man-nu šá* TA ŠU-at ^muš-pi-lu-lu-me
- 14) DUMU.MEŠ-šú DUMU.DUMU.MEŠ-šú *e-ki-mu*
- 15) *aš-šur* ^dAMAR.UTU ^dISKUR ^d30 ^dUTU
- 16) *a-na di-ni-šú lu la i-za-zu*

- 17) *pi-ti up-ni-šú la i-šá-me-u-šú*
- 18) KUR-su *ki-i* SIG₄ *lu-šá-x-x ur-ru-uḥ*
- 19) *mim-ma ina* UGU MAN *la i-ma-lik*
- 20) *ik-kib aš-šur* DINGIR-ia ^d30 *a-šib* URU.KASKAL

TRANSLATION

Obverse:

- 1) Boundary stone of Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria,
- 2) son of Šamšī-Adad, king of Assyria,
- 3) (and of) Sammu-rāmat, the palace-woman
- 4) of Šamšī-Adad, king of Assyria,
- 5) mother of Adad-nērārī, strong king, king of Assyria,
- 6) daughter-in-law of Shalmaneser,
- 7) king of the four quarters. When Ušpilulume,
- 8-10) king of the people of Kummuh, caused Adad-nērārī, king of Assyria, (and) Sammu-rāmat, the palace-woman, to cross the Euphrates;
- 11-15) I fought a pitched battle with them – with Ataršumki, son of Adramu, of the city of Arpad(da), together with eight kings who were with him at the city Paqirahubuna. I took away from them their camp. To save their lives they dispersed.
- 16-18) In this (same) year this boundary stone was set up between Ušpilulume, king of the people of Kummuh, and Qalparuda, son of Palalam, king of the people of Gurgum.
- 19-20) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the hand of Ušpilulume, his sons, his grandsons:
- 21-22) may (the gods) Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, (and) Šamas not stand (for him) at his lawsuit.
- 23) Abomination of Aššur, my god, (and) Sin who dwells in Harran.

Reverse:

- 1) Shalmaneser, strong king, king of Assyria,
- 2) son of Adad-nērārī, strong king, king of the universe, king of Assyria,
- 3) son of Šamšī-Adad, king of the four quarters:
- 4-5) when Šamšī-ilu, the commander in chief, marched to Damascus,
- 6-10) the tribute of Hadiyani, the man of Damascus – silver, gold, copper, his royal bed, his royal couch, his daughter with her extensive dowry, the property of his palace without number – I received from him.
- 11-13) On my return (from Damascus) I gave this boundary stone to Ušpilulume, king of the people of Kummuh.
- 13-15) Whoever (dares) to take (it) away from the hand of Ušpilulume, his sons, his grandsons: may Aššur, Marduk, Adad, Sin, (and) Šamas
- 16) not stand (for him) at his lawsuit;

- 17) may they not listen to his prayers;
 18) and may they quickly *smash* his country like
 a brick.
 19) May he no longer give advice to the king.
 20) Abomination of Aššur, my god, (and) Sin, who
 dwells in Harran.

REMARKS

The stela omits *-rat* in *kibrāti* (obv. 7; rev. 3). It is interesting that this happens in both the obv. and rev.

Obv. 8) Deller thinks that *a-na* is *nota accusativi* here (an Aramaism, based on the use of the Aramaic preposition *l* to mark the accusative).

Obv. 14) *e-kim(*)-šú-nu-ti*: the *kim* sign lacks the initial Winkelhaken.

Obv. 17) The last sign has the anomalous form shown in the copy.

Rev. 5) *illikūni*: the subject seems to be Šamši-ilu. If it were plural, the king and Šamši-ilu, one would expect *nillikūni* 'we marched'. Use of the first person in rev. 10-20 can refer only to the king, not to the *tartānu* (especially *ikkib aššur ilīa*).

Rev. 18) *ur-ru-uḥ*: presumably for *urruḥiš*. It is either a mistake or a dialectical form.

In conclusion, all three inscriptions are of great significance because of the military allusions to Assyrian hegemony over its neighbouring countries. Treaties played an important and prominent role in

late Assyrian imperial expansion. Forming alliances of 'friendship and peace' with other states was one part of Assyrian policy.⁸ Imposing oaths of loyalty on defeated nations was of great practical benefit to Assyria, and it can be taken for granted that copies of all important treaty documents were either carefully preserved in the royal archives or written on materials which were specially selected for long life, and if possible, for eternity.

Hawkins and Postgate have shown that many kings of Tabal and the surrounding region in Anatolia paid tribute to Assyria.⁹ Even though most of the treaties are recorded on clay objects, boundary stones are also known to have been inscribed in settling border conflicts. In this context, the purpose of the present stelae seems to be to resolve border conflicts between small native Anatolian administrative centers. Alliances between kings are mentioned in both the Antakya and Pazarcik stelae. The fact that on the obverse of the Pazarcik stela Sammurāmat, mother of Adad-nērārī, is mentioned is noteworthy. The defeat of Ataršumki, king of Arpadda, and his allies was a benefit to two parties, namely Ušpilulume, the Kummuhēan ruler, and Qalparuda, the Gurgumean ruler. A border line was established between them and it was confirmed by the erection of the stela. On the reverse of the Pazarcik stela Shalmaneser IV, son of Adad-nērārī III, appears and once again reference is made to the grant of a boundary stone to Ušpilulume. The former agreement with Gurgum was probably spoiled and Shalmaneser resettled it once more.

⁸ See Parpola and Watanabe, *SAA* 2.

⁹ Hawkins and Postgate, 'Tribute from Tabal', *SAAB* 2 (1988) pp. 31-40.



Figure 3: Antakya Stela



Figure 4: Antakya Stela



Figure 5: Antakya Stela

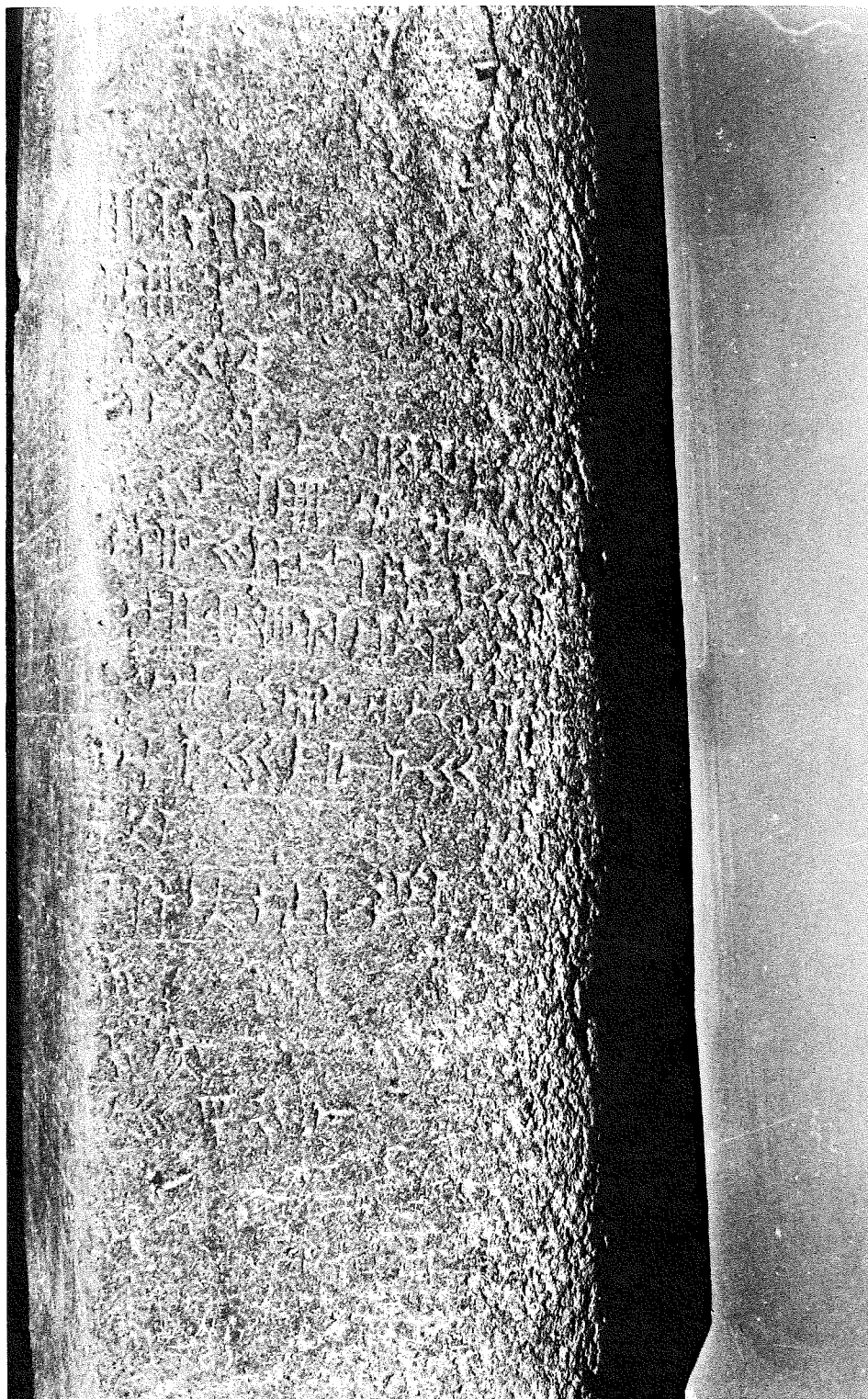


Figure 6: Antakya Stela

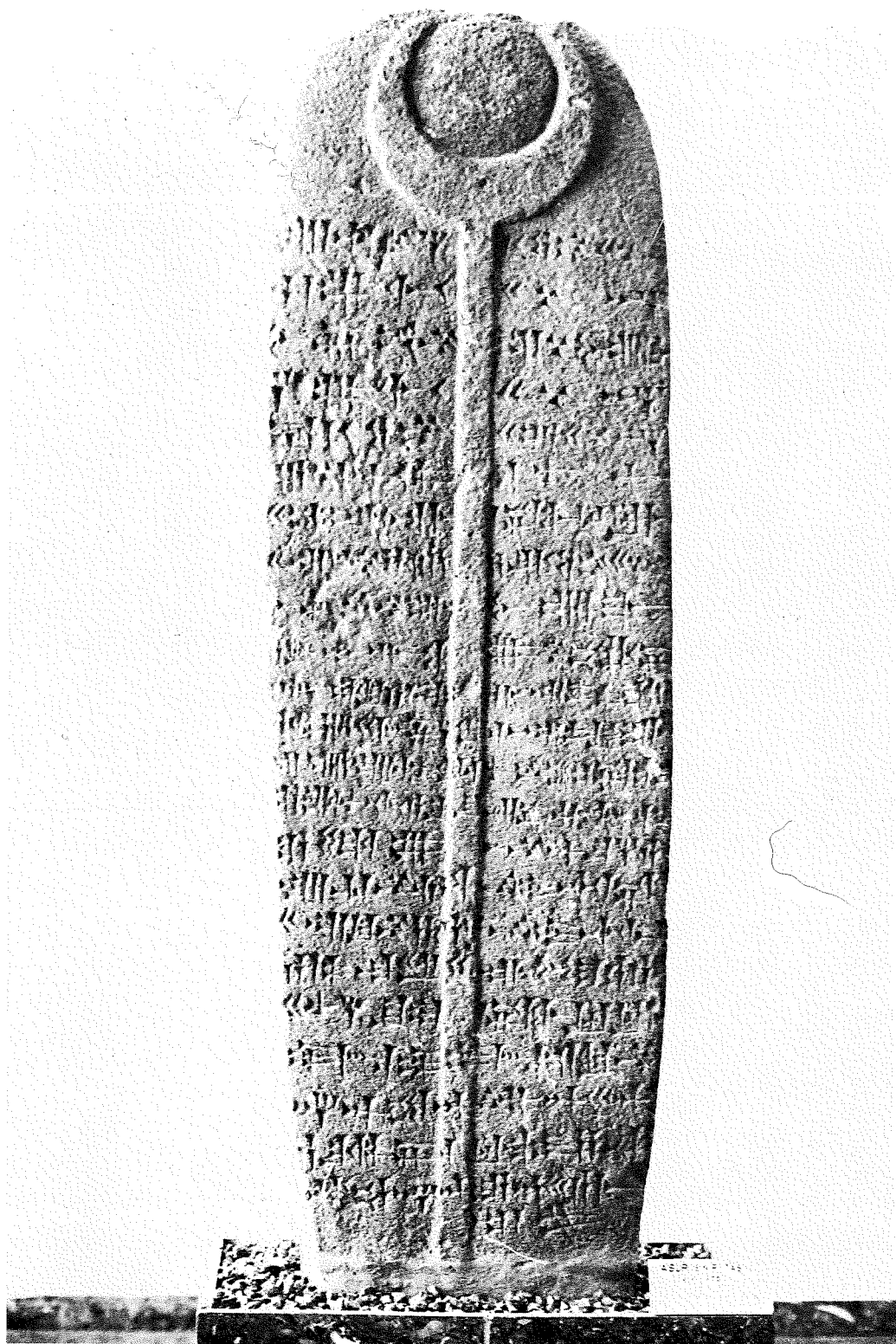


Figure 7: Pazarcik Stela, Obverse

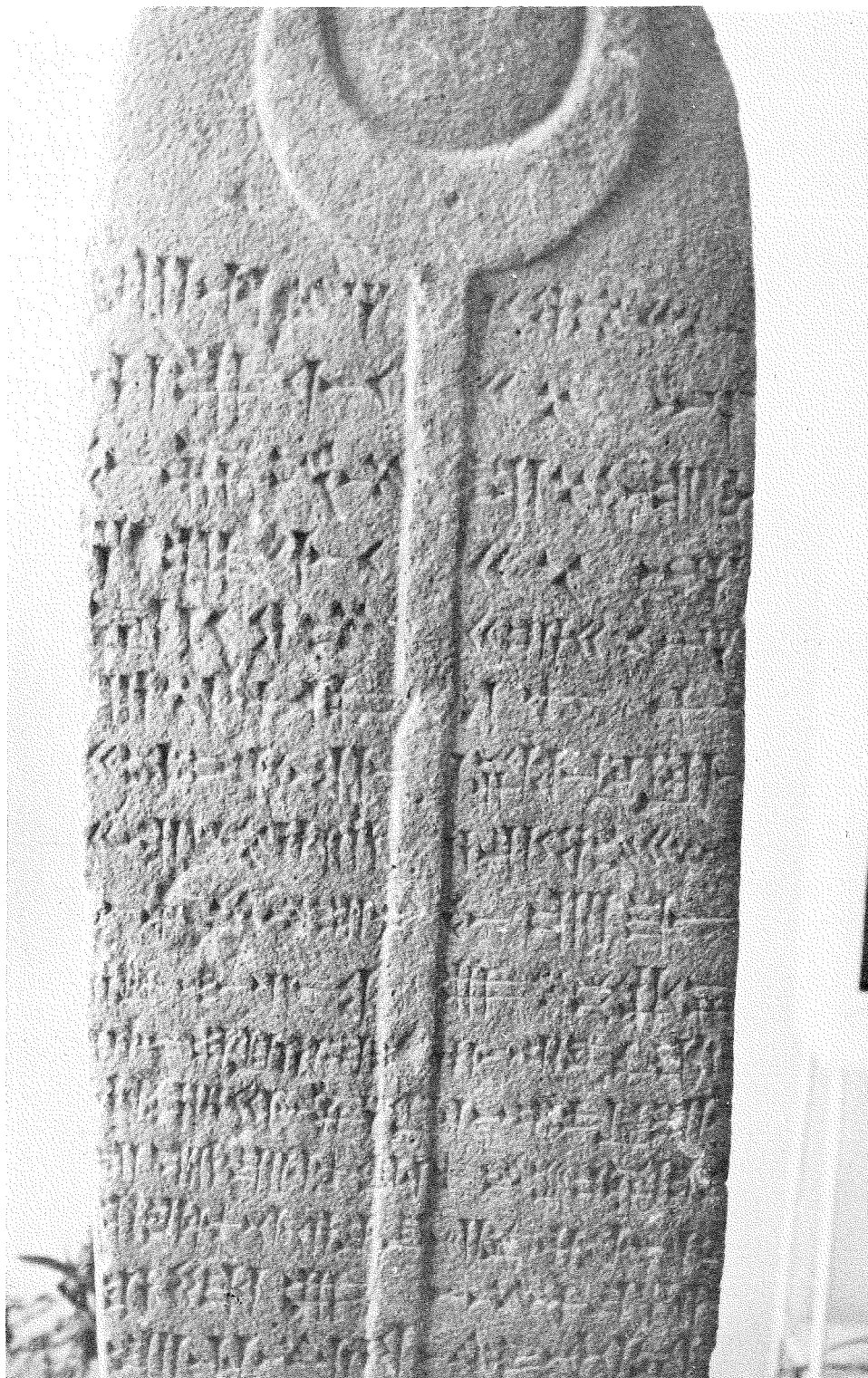


Figure 8: Pazarcik Stela, Obverse, Upper Portion



Figure 9: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse



Figure 10: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse



Figure 11: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Upper Portion

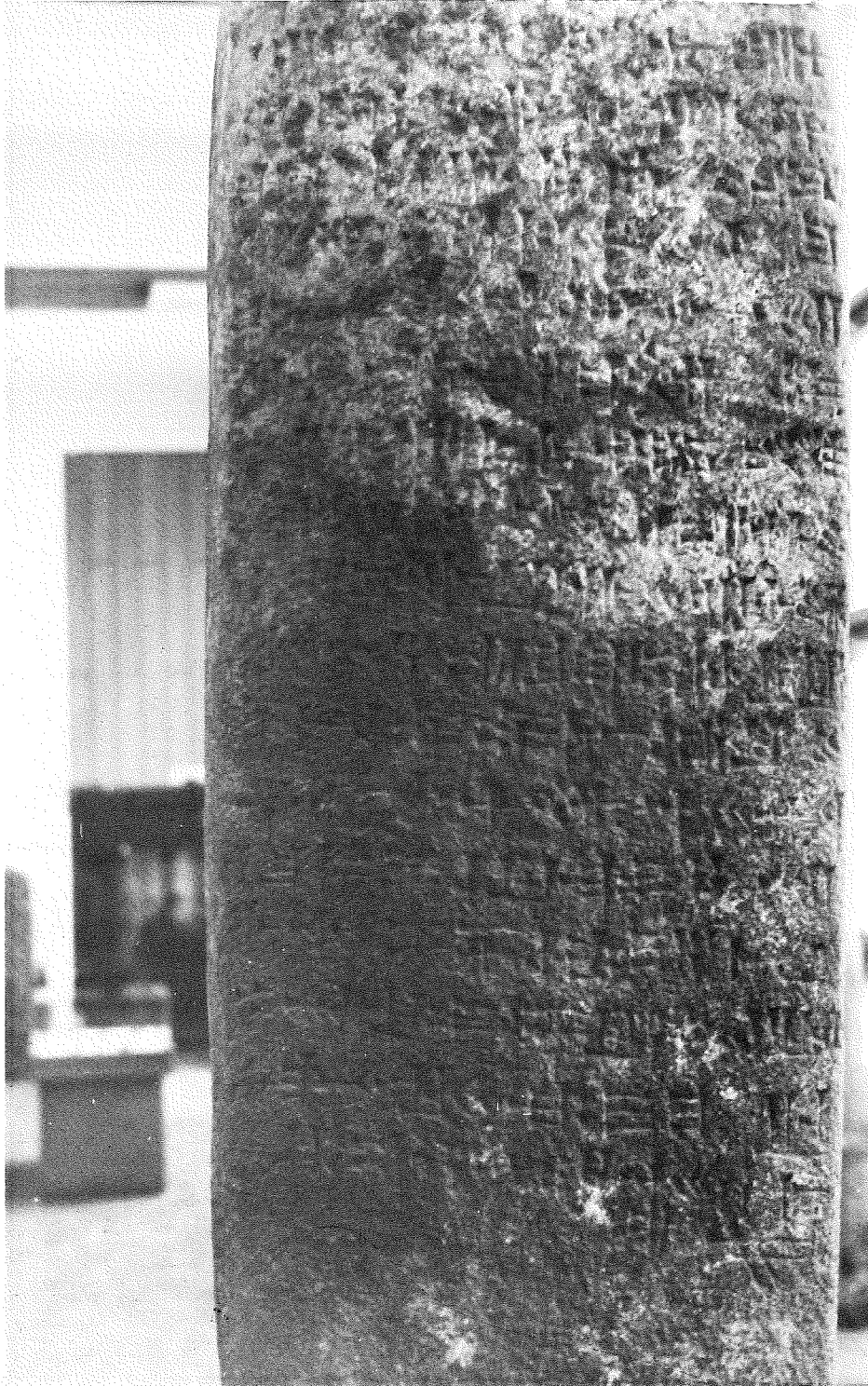


Figure 12: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Lower Portion



Figure 13: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge

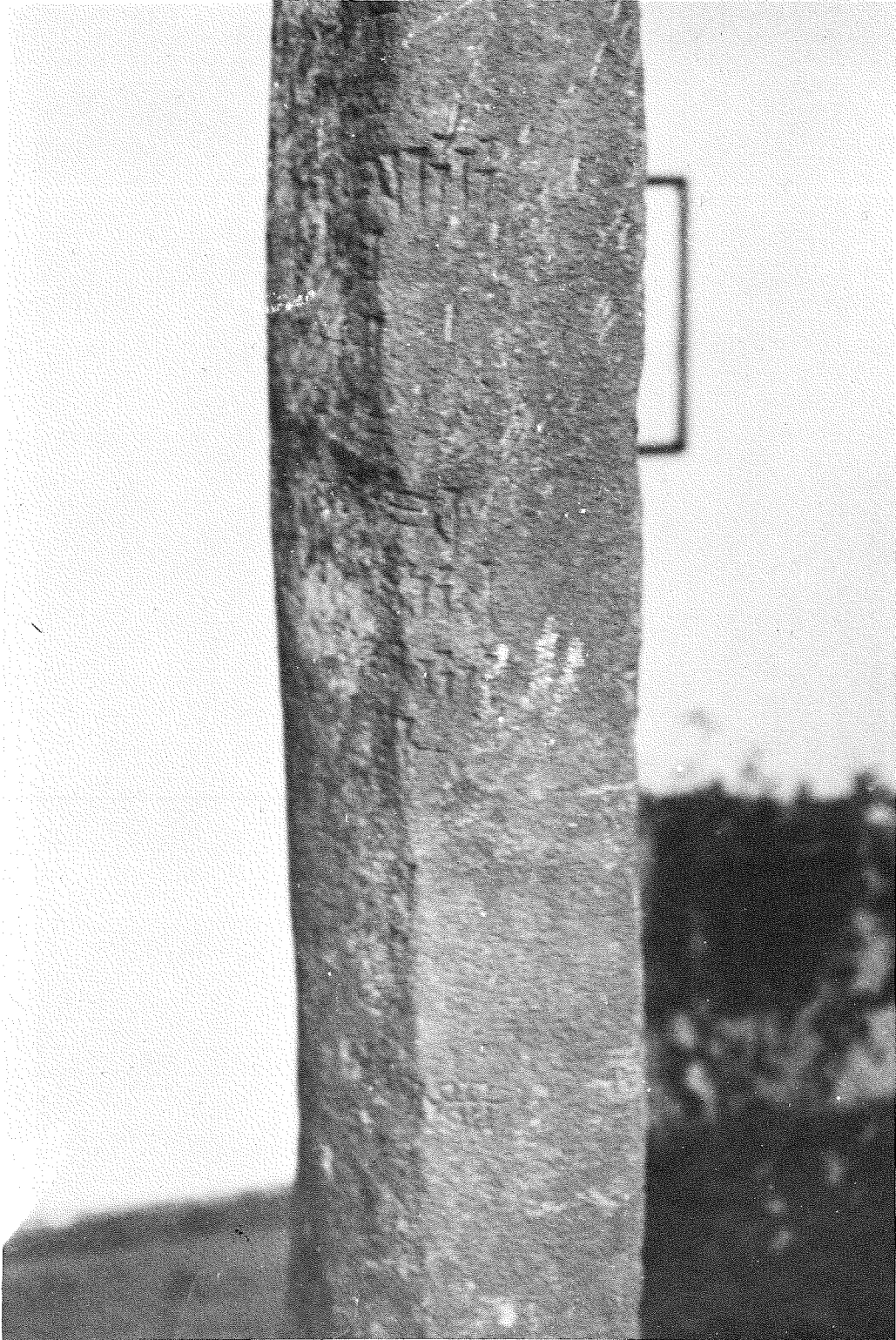


Figure 14: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge



Figure 15: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge



Figure 16: Pazarcik Stela, Reverse, Edge