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OF GOD(S), TREES, KINGS, AND SCHOLARS

**Neo-Assyrian and Related Studies
in Honour of Simo Parpola**

Edited by
Mikko Luukko, Saana Svärd and Raija Mattila



HELSINKI 2009

OF GOD(S), TREES, KINGS AND SCHOLARS



COURTESY TRUSTEES OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM

FRONTISPIECE. *Assyrian official and two scribes; one is writing in cuneiform on clay or on a writing board and the other probably in Aramaic on leather.*
ME 118882.

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A “NEW” CYLINDER INSCRIPTION OF SARGON II OF ASSYRIA FROM MELID

Grant Frame

ABSTRACT

A previously unpublished fragment of a clay cylinder that is currently in the Archaeological Museum in Malatya preserves part of an inscription of the Assyrian king Sargon II. In as far as it is preserved, the text refers to the creation of objects and/or temples at Nineveh and Kalḫu, the construction of the city of Dur-Šarrukin, military campaigns to the East and Northeast, the resettlement of peoples in the West and Northwest, and, after a lengthy break, the flight of Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-Baladan) to Dur-Iakin and the Assyrians’ capture and destruction of that city. The inscription should date to 707 (or later).

Three inscriptions of the Assyrian king Sargon II (721–705 BCE) have been found at Arslantepe in eastern Turkey. In 1938, his third season of excavations at the site, Louis Delaporte found two fragments of “barillets” with inscriptions of Sargon II under the pavement of an Assyrian palace (Delaporte 1939: 54, 1940: 9). The two fragments were placed in the Ankara Museum and their inscriptions were not published, although Benno Landsberger stated that they agreed exactly with the text of the king’s annals (“stimmt wörtlich mit den Annalen überein”) (Kalaç 1940–1941: 990–991 and 1011, Landsberger 1948a: 76–77 n. 213 and 1948b: 81 n. 213, Hawkins 1993: 38).¹ A third fragment of a clay cylinder with an inscription of Sargon was found in 1968 by an Italian archaeological mission and was published in 1975 by Giorgio Castellino (Castellino 1975); for more on this text, see Addendum 1. In 1996, at the request of J.D. Hawkins, the staff of the Anadolu Medeniyetleri Müzesi in Ankara made a search for the two pieces discovered by Delaporte, but was unable to find them. Two cylinder fragments,

¹ Translations of the two works in Turkish were kindly made for me by Ecer Kocaman. Hawkins refers to the two pieces as fragments of “prisms” but Delaporte described them as “barillets,” Kalaç as “silindir,” and Landsberger as “silindir” and “Zylinder.” Thus, it is likely that they were fragments of simple cylinders (like the two pieces from Melid found by Italian excavations; see below) or multifaceted, prism-like cylinders (such as Sargon’s cylinders from Khorsabad; see Addendum 2).

however, that are undoubtedly to be identified with those found by Delaporte have recently come to light, one in the Ankara Museum and one in the Archaeological Museum at Malatya. While the inscriptions on the two fragments are not duplicates of parts of Sargon's Annals as stated by Landsberger, some sections on them do bear similarities to parts of the Annals. In 2002, Dr. Marcella Frangipane of the Università di Roma "La Sapienza," the director of current Italian excavations at Arslantepe, located the fragment that is published here in the Malatya Museum. This piece had been transferred to that museum from the Ankara Museum in 1970. More recently, a small cylinder fragment that has an inscription paralleling parts of Sargon's Nimrud Prism and the Malatya cylinder fragment found in 1968 has been located in the Ankara Museum; this latter fragment will be published by A. Fuchs and R. Akdogan.² I would like to express my sincere appreciation to Dr. Frangipane for her aid in facilitating my study and publication of the piece in the Malatya Museum. (Photos of the fragment, an initial translation of its inscription and a brief introduction to the text and Sargon's involvement with Melid were published in the catalogue of an exhibition on the Italian excavations at Arslantepe; Frame 2004.) It is a pleasure to present this full edition and more extensive study of the inscription to Simo Parpola, an expert in the field of Neo-Assyrian studies. I had the privilege of attending a course on Neo-Assyrian letters and economic texts that he offered at the University of Chicago in 1977 and he later served on my doctoral dissertation committee, providing much profound and welcome advice.

Arslantepe, the site of ancient Melid, is located on the western side of the Euphrates River, not far from modern Malatya and Eski Malatya. The site has been occupied since at least the fifth millennium but the earliest mention of the city appears in texts from Boğazköy dated to around 1400, assuming that the city called Mal(i)dija in those texts is to be identified with the city in question (Hawkins 1993: 35). It became the centre of a Neo-Hittite kingdom following the destruction of the Hittite state at the end of the thirteenth century BCE. Melid offered submission and tribute to the Assyrian ruler Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE) on more than one occasion, but for most of the following century Melid was under pressure from Urartu and at times was controlled by that state or within its sphere of influence. Melid was part of a coalition of Anatolian and North Syrian states led by Urartu that was defeated by Tiglath-pileser III (744–727) in 743 and Melid's ruler Sulumal subsequently gave the Assyrians tribute. Shalmaneser III and Tiglath-pileser III normally referred to Melid as a "land" (KUR) in their inscriptions, but a change occurred in the time of Sargon II, who refers to Melid only as a "city" (URU) and calls the land in which it was situated "Kammanu" (Hawkins 1993: 36). Sargon's involvement with Melid is described in a number of his inscriptions from Dur-

² My thanks must be expressed to Andreas Fuchs for his comments on a draft of this article and to him and Mrs. R. Akdogan for providing me with information on the transfer of this fragment from Ankara to Malatya and on the piece in Ankara that is to be published by them.

Šarrukin (modern Khorsabad), Nineveh and Kalḫu (modern Nimrud) and events can be divided into five main episodes:

1) At some point prior to 711, Sargon removed Gunzinanu (var. Kunzinanu), ruler of the land of Kammanu, from his royal city of Melid and replaced him with Tarḫunazi. The reason for the removal of Gunzinanu is not given but since it is later stated that the people settled in the region had to perform the same *ilku*- (and) *tupšikku*-duty that Gunzinanu had (Fuchs 1994: 127 lines 215–216 and 217 line 83, Fuchs 1998: 49 viii.b 6–7), it is clear that Gunzinanu had for at least a time acknowledged Assyrian overlordship. Thus, it is likely that he had done something that Sargon had regarded as treasonous to Assyria, perhaps simply refusing to send tribute. (Winckler 1894: pl. 4 K 1660 lines 4’–5’; Fuchs 1994: 125–126 lines 204–206 and cf. 64 lines 26–27, 76 lines 9–10, and 261 lines 23–27; and Hawkins 2004: 154 Side A lines 19–20.)

2) According to Assyrian sources, Tarḫunazi and Tarḫulara, the ruler of Gurgum whose capital city was Marqasi (modern Mar’āš, ca. 160 km Southwest of Melid), rebelled against Assyria. Tarḫunazi broke his oath of loyalty to Assyria, stopped giving tribute, and corresponded with Mitâ of the land of Muški (better known as Midas, king of Phrygia), sending the latter “hostile messages about Assyria.” (Gadd 1954: 182–183 v 41–52; Fuchs 1994: 125–126 lines 204–208 and 216 lines 78–79.)

3) In 711 (during Sargon’s 10th *palû* according to the Khorsabad Annals), the Assyrian army marched against Tarḫunazi, captured Melid, and smashed it “as if it were a pot.” Tarḫunazi fled to the city of Til-Garimmu (possibly modern Gürün, about 110 km Northwest of Melid; see Parpola & Porter 2001: 17 and Map 2 D2); however, out of fear of Assyrian might, the people of Til-Garimmu threw Tarḫunazi into fetters, opened their city gates, and surrendered to the Assyrian army. Tarḫunazi, his family, and five thousand soldiers were taken captive to Assyria. The lands of Kammanu and Gurgum were resettled by people from the eastern side of the empire who had been conquered by Sargon, “Suteans, archers (and) fighting men.” They were turned into an Assyrian province and put under the control of one of the Sargon’s eunuchs. Ten fortresses were built in the area to protect it from incursions from Urartu and Phrygia. The city of Melid and its surrounding area was entrusted to an Assyrian client, Mutallu (var. Muttallu), the ruler of the neighbouring state of Kummuḫu (Commagene). (Gadd 1954: 183 v 53–75, Fuchs 1994: 126–128 lines 208–221 and 216–217 lines 79–83, Fuchs 1998: 48–49 vii.e 1–8 and viii.b 1–15.)

4) According to Assyrian sources, Mutallu also proved disloyal. He is called an “evil Hittite” and said to have made an alliance with Argišti of Urartu and withheld his taxes and tribute. (Thompson 1940: 87 line 21, Fuchs 1994: 177 lines 398–401 and 222–223 lines 112–113.)

5) In 708 (during Sargon’s 13th *palû* according to the Khorsabad Annals), Sargon sent Assyrian forces against Mutallu. Mutallu managed to escape, but members of

his family were captured; they and other people of his land were taken away as booty. His land was annexed to Assyria, put under the control an Assyrian official (the *turtānu* of the left), and resettled with Chaldeans from Bit-Iakin. It is likely that along with the land of Kummuhu the city of Melid was also retaken by the Assyrian forces. (Thompson 1940: 87–88 lines 22–26, Fuchs 1994: 177–179 lines 401–411 and see 223–224 lines 113–117.)

Regrettably, only one letter from the reign of Sargon mentions Melid and it does so in a damaged context (SAA 1 189:13). Sargon II died in 705, likely killed on a battlefield in Tabal (Cappadocia). Melid may have been lost to Assyrian control around this time and by the reign of Esarhaddon it may have formed part of the kingdom of Tabal (Hawkins 1993: 38–39). The site began to decline following the time of Sargon and by the Roman period was only a small village, the main settlement having moved to Eski Malatya (classical Melitene). For a concise summary of the history of Melid, see Hawkins 1993, and for overviews of archaeological work there, see Frangipane 1993 and 1997.

The fragment published in this article is part of the right end of a clay cylinder and measures 10.8 cm in height and 9.5 cm in diameter. It has been given the excavation number (n. scavo) AT323 (21717) and bears the inventory number 1997 in Malatya's Archaeological Museum (Frangipane 2004: 201). The fragment preserves parts of forty-seven lines, thirty-three from the beginning and fourteen from the end of the inscription; the text would originally have had over twice as many lines as are currently preserved and the inscription on each line would have been about five times as long as it is currently. A horizontal line ruling separates the end of the inscription from the beginning. (See Figs. 1–2 for a copy of the inscription on the fragment and Frame 2004: 172 and 177 and Frangipane 2004: 201 for photos of the fragment.) Although the inscription refers to Sargon's fourteenth year (708 BCE) in line 10, it must have been composed in or after his fifteenth year (707) in view of the mentions of (1) the installation of the gods of Dur-Šarrukin into their shrines (line 12) and (2) the destruction of Dur-Iakin and the carrying off of its people (lines 8'–9'), events that the Assyrian eponym chronicle tells us took place in the eponymy of Ša-Aššur-dubbu (Millard 1994: 48 and 60). In as far as it is preserved, the inscription on the new cylinder can be divided into seven sections:

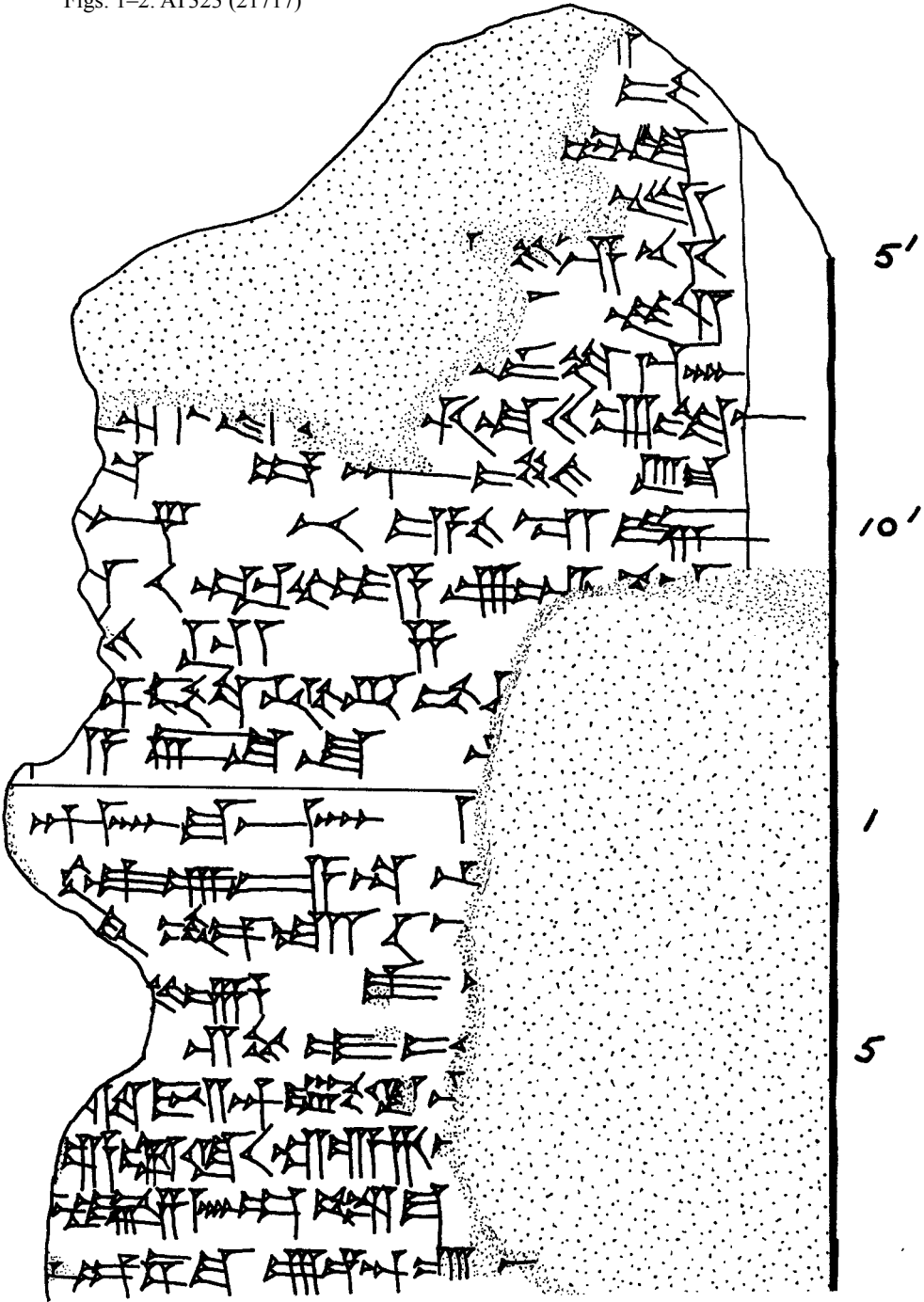
- A Introduction: Name, titles and epithets of the king (lines 1–4)
- B The creation of sacred objects and/or temples in Nineveh, Kalḫu and perhaps elsewhere up until Sargon's fourteenth regnal year (=708) (lines 5–10)
- C Description of the building of the city of Dur-Šarrukin, "Fort Sargon" (modern Khorsabad) (lines 11–14)

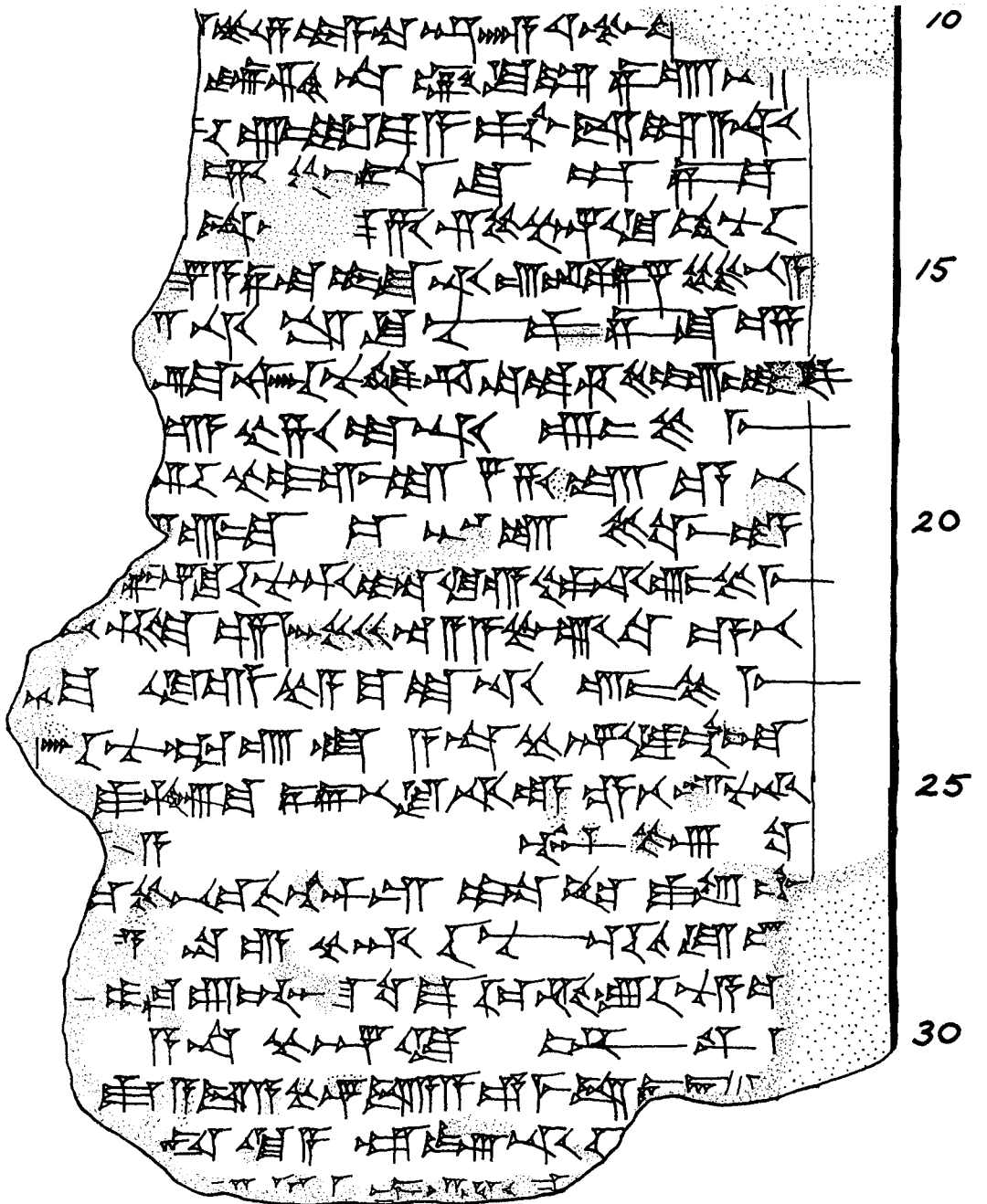
- D Military campaigns to East and Northeast and resettlement of people in the West and Northwest (lines 15–33)
- Gap
- E End of an account dealing with the defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina II (Merodach-Baladan of 2 Kings 20:12 and Isaiah 39:1), the Chaldean ruler of Babylonia (721–710)
- a. Flight of Marduk-apla-iddina to his stronghold Dur-Iakin in the marshes of southern Babylonia and his fortification of that city (lines 1’–4’)
- b. Assyrian conquest and destruction of Dur-Iakin (lines 5’–9’)
- F Possibly the annexation of some area (Melid?) to Assyria (lines 10’–12’)
- G Concluding blessing and curse (lines 13’–14’)

TRANSLITERATION

- 1 [ᵐLUGAL—GI.NA MAN GAL-ú MAN *dan-nu* MAN ŠÚ MAN KUR *aš-šur*.KI GİR.
NÍTA KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI MAN KUR EME.GI₇ U URU.KI MAN *kib-rat* LÍMMU-tì
mì-gìr] DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ ^ra²-[x x]
- 2 [^d*aš-šur* ^dAG ^dAMAR.UTU (DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-li-ia*) LUGAL-ut la *šá-na-an*
ú-šat-li-mu-ni-ma zi-kir MU-ia *dam-qu ú-še*]-šU-ú a-na r[e-še-(e)-ti]
- 3 [*ša* ZIMBIR.KI NIBRU.KI KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI (ù *bár-sipa*.KI) *za-nin-us-su-un*
e-tep-pu-šá ša ÉRIN.MEŠ *ki-din-ni mala ba-šu-ú*] *ḫi-bil-ta-šú-n*[u a-rib-
ma]
- 4 [*za-ku-ut bal-til*.KI U URU *ḫar-ra-na ša ul-tu* U₄.MEŠ *ru-qu-(ú)-ti im-ma-*
šú-ma ki-din-nu-su-un ba-ṭil-ta ú]-ter *áš-r*[u²-uš-šá]
- 5 [...]-zi-i TAB² x [x x (x)]
- 6 [...] x UD.DA ^dŠEŠ.KI-r[e-eš² x (x)]
- 7 [... *qé*]-reb NINA.KI U URU *kal-ḫa* x [x x (x)]
- 8 [...-š]i-in KÙ.MEŠ *ab-šim-ma* [x x (x)]
- 9 [...] x *ab-ni-ma ú-šá-an-biṭ* ^rd²[UTU²-niš²]
- 10 [... *ša ul-tu* SAG LUGAL-ti-ia a-d]i MU.14.KÁM a-na DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-bu-ut*
[x x]
- 11 [(...) *i-na* GİR.II KUR *mu-uš-ri* KUR-i *e-le-na* URU.NINA.KI *i-na bi-bil lib-*
bi-ia URU DÜ-uš-ma URU.BÁD—ᵐ]LUGAL—GI.NA *az-ku-ra ni-bit-^rsu*

Figs. 1-2. AT323 (21717)





Copy made from a cast of the fragment

- 12 [d^é-a d³⁰ d^{UTU} d^{AG} d^{IŠKUR} d^{nin-urta} ù *hi-ra-ti-šú-nu* GAL.MEŠ *i-na qé-reb é-hur-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra ú-šá-a'-lid-ma i-na qé-re*]b-šú ú-šar-ma-a pa-rak da-ra-a-ti
- 13 [É.GAL.MEŠ ZÚ AM.SI GIŠ.ESI GIŠ.TÚG GIŠ *mu-šuk-ka-ni* GIŠ.EREN GIŠ.ŠUR. MÍN GIŠ *dup-ra-ni* ŠIM.LI ù GIŠ *bu-uṭ-ni a-na mu-šab* LUGAL-ti-ia q]er-
r^{bu}-uš-šu ab-ni-ma
- 14 [... *ba-ḥu-la-ti na-ki-ri ki-šit-ti qa-ti-ia i-na qer-bi-šu par-ga-niš ú-šar-bi-iš-ma*] it-t[i m]a-ḥa-zi KUR *aš-šur*.KI *am-nu-šú*
- 15 [*i-na tukul-ti* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ (*lu*) *at-ta-lak-ma* UN.MEŠ ÍD *mar-ra-ti* AN.TA *a-di* ÍD *mar-ra-ti* KL.TA *ki-i iš-te₉-en a-bel-ma* KUR.MEŠ *la ma-gi-ri ḥu*]r-šá-a-ni *la kan-šu-ti ú-šak-ni-šá še-pu-u-a*
- 16 [... *x-ti iš-ku-nu pa-ni-šu-un*
- 17 [... *aš-k*]un²-ma ÚS.MEŠ-šú-nu *hur-ri na-at-bak* KUR-i ú-šar-di
- 18 [... *qé*]-reb KUR *ḥa-at-ti ú-še-šib*
- 19 [...]-ri KUR-i *mar-ši šá-ḥa-ta e-mid*
- 20 [... *x-ú-ma iš-ba-ta še-pi-ia*
- 21 [... *a*]s-suḥ-šú-nu-ti *i-na qé-reb* KUR *ḥat-ti ú-še-šib*
- 22 [... *x-ik-ma* UN.MEŠ KUR *man-na-a-a pu-luḥ-tú e-mid*
- 23 [... *x-ma qé-reb* KUR *a-ma-at-ti ú-še-šib*
- 24 [...].^rMEŠ^r-šú-nu *ka-bit-tu a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *ub-la*
- 25 [... *áš-kun-ma ni-ir be-lu-ti-ia e-mid*-^rsu^r-nu-ti
- 26 [... *x-a ak-šud*^{hd}
- 27 [... *a*]p-pu-ul *aq-qur i-na* IZI *áš-ru*-^rup^r
- 28 [...-i]a² *na-dan šat-ti-šú-nu ik-lu*-^rú^r
- 29 [... *x*^r *i²-ku²-ú ak-šu^r-ud-ma di-ik-ta-šú-nu a-d*[uk]
- 30 [... *a-na* KUR *aš-šur*.KI *al-qa*-^ra^r
- 31 [...]-áš^ma-da-a KUR *šur-da-a-a e-me-da* ^rni-ir^{d2}[*aš-šur*²]
- 32 [... URU *ḥu-bu-u*]š-ki-a URU ^rLUGAL^r-ti-šú [x x (x)]
- 33 [... *x x x x x x* [x x x]
- Lacuna
- 1' [*ul-la-nu-u-a* ^{md}AMAR.UTU—IBILA—SUM.NA URU.MEŠ-šú *áš-bu-ti* ù DINGIR. MEŠ *a-šib lib-bi-šú-un ú-paḥ-ḥir-ma a-na* URU.BÀD—^mia-ki-na *ú-še-rib-ma ú-dan-ni-na kir-ḥe*]-^re^r-[šú]
- 2' [10 NINDA.TA.ÀM *la-pa-an* BÀD-šú GAL-i *ú-né-si-ma* 2 ME *ina* 1 KÙŠ DAGAL *ḥa-ri-ši iš-kun-ma* 1 1/2 NINDA *ú-šap-pil-ma ik-šu-da* A.MEŠ *nag*]-bi
- 3' [*bu-tuq-tu ul-tu qé-reb* ÍD.BURANUN.KI *ib-tuq-ma ú-šar-da-a ta-mir-tuš* A.GÀR.MEŠ-šú *a-šar mit-ḥu-ši* A.MEŠ *im-ki-ir-ma ú-šap-ši-qa né-b*]er-tu
- 4' [šú-ú *a-di* LÚ *re-ši-šú* ÉRIN.MEŠ MÈ-šú *i-na bi-rit* ÍD.MEŠ *ki-ma ku-mé-e*. MUŠEN *za-ra-tú* LUGAL-ti-šú *iš-kun-ma ú-pa-ḥi-ra ka-ras*]-su
- 5' [*i-na qí-bit* AN.ŠÀR d^{AG} d^{AMAR.UTU} UGU ÍD.MEŠ-šú *a-ram-mu ú-šak-bi-is-ma šá-a-šú ga-du* LÚ *mun-taḥ-ši-šu* GIM T₈.MUŠEN *mut-tap-ri-ši a-bar-šú i-n*]a² *še-e-ti*

- 6' [pag-re nu-bal-li-šú ù LÚ aḥ-la-me-e ša-ab EDIN a-li-kut i-de-e-šú ki-
ma pu-šu-de-e-ma i-ta-at URU-šú ú-ma]l-li
- 7' [URU.BĀD-^mia-ki-ni É ni-šir-ti-šú URU iq-bi-^dEN URU kap-ru URU.É-^mza-
bi-da-a-a URU šá-at-SUM.NA URU za-ra-a-ti URU raq-qa-tu URU e-ku-uš-
šú URU ḥur-sa]g-GAL₅.LĀ.MEŠ
- 8' [URU.BĀD-^dEN-URU-ia URU.BĀD-^dEN.LĪL URU.É-^mki-ib-la-te URU né-
med-^d30 URU li-mi-tu₄ URU mad-a-kal-šá 15 URU.MEŠ dan-nu-ti a-di URU.
MEŠ ša l]i-^rme-te^r-š[ú-un t]i-la-niš ú-še-me
- 9' [UN.MEŠ še-ḥer ra-bi a-ši-bu-ut na-ge-e ù DINGIR.MEŠ ti-ik-li-šú-un
iš-te-niš áš-lu-lam-ma la e-zi-b]a mul-taḥ-ṭu
- 10' [... B]U⁹ šá be-lut-si-in
- 11' [...] x UGU KUR-ia ú-^rrad-dē^r
- 12' [... K]UR IB ŠA [x x]
- 13' [...] ^rd^rAMAR.UTU ik-ri-bi-šú [i-še-me]
- 14' [...] ^ra^r-a ir-šú-šú r[e-e-mu]

TRANSLATION

(1–4) [Sargon (II), great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of the land of Sumer and Akkad, king of the four quarters (of the world), favourite] of the great gods, [... The gods Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk, (my helpers,) granted me a reign without equal and exal]ted [my good reputation] to the h[eights. I continually acted as provider for Sippar, Nippur, Babylon (and Borsippa), (and) I made restitution for] the wrongful damage [suffered by the people of privileged status, as many as there were (of them). I] resto[red the exemption of Baltil (=Assur) and Ḥarran that had fallen into oblivion in the distant past (and) their privileged status that had lapsed].

(5–10) [...] ... [...] *like* the light of the moon [...] i]n Nineveh and Kalḥu [...] I created [th]eir holy [...] and [...] I built and made shine [*like the sun* ... that from the beginning of my reign until] the fourteenth year for the gods who dwell [...]

(11–14) [In accordance with my own wishes, I built a city at the foot of Mount Mušri, upstream from Nineveh, and] I named it [Dur]-Šarrukin. [I had the gods Ea, Šîn, Šamaš, Nabû, Adad, Ninurta, and their great spouses fashioned inside Eḥursaggalkurkurra and] I installed (them) [the]re in an everlasting shrine. I built there [palace halls using ivory, ebony, boxwood, *musukkannu*-wood, cedar, cypress, juniper, *burašu*-juniper and terebinth to be my royal dwelling] and [...] I made the enemy soldiers whom I had taken captive dwell inside it in security and] I counted it amo[ng the cu]lt centres of Assyria.

(15–33) [With the support of the great gods, I advanced and ruled the peoples from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea as if (they were) one (people)]. I subjugated [incompliant lands (and)] unsubmitive [mou]ntain regions. [...] they set their faces

[... *I establ*]ished and I made their blood flow down the gullies (and) mountain ravine(s). [...] I settled [i]n the land of Ḫatti. [...] of an inaccessible mountain he sought refuge. (20) [...] ... and he grasped my feet. [...] I] deported them (and) settled (them) in the land of Ḫatti. [...] ... and I imposed fear upon the people of the Mannean land. [...] and I settled (them) in the land of Ḫamath. [...] I brought their substantial [*tribute*] to Assyria. (25) [...] I established and imposed on them the yoke of my lordship. [...] I conquered. [...] I tore down, demolished, (and) set on fire. [...] they ceased giving their annual [*tribute*. ...] ... I conquered and defeat[ed] them. (30) [...] I took to Assyria. [...] upon Adâ of the land of Šurda I imposed the yoke of *the god* [*Aššur*. ... *Ianzû, king of the land of Na'iri*, ... Ḫubu]škia, his royal city [...] ... [...]

Lacuna

(1'–4') [In the face of my advance, Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-Baladan) gathered together the inhabitants of his cities and the gods dwelling in them and brought (them) into the city of Dur-Iakin. He strengthened its enclosure wa]ll. [Moving back a distance of ten *nindanu* (ca. 60 meters) from the front of the main wall, he made a moat 200 cubits (ca. 100 m.) wide. He made (it) one and one-half *nindanu* (ca. 9 m.) deep and reached gro]und [water. He cut a channel from the Euphrates River, (thereby) bringing (water) to its irrigated land. He put its farmland, the place where battles (are fought) under water and made cros]sing [difficult. Together with his allies (and) his combat troops, he pitched his royal tent in a bend of the river like a *crane* and assembled] his [army].

(5'–9') [At the command of the gods Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk I had a causeway packed down across his canals (by the feet of my soldiers) and I caught him, together with his warriors, like a flying eagle i]n a net. [I fil]led [the surroundings of his city with the corpses of his vanguard and of the Aḫlamu, the people of the steppe who go at his side like *mongooses*. The city of Dur-Iakin – his treasure house – (and) the cities of Iqbi-Bel, Kapru, Bit-Zabidaia, Šat-iddina, Zarati, Raqqatu, Ekuššu, Ḫursa]ggallî, [Dur-Bel-aliya, Dur-Enlil, Bit-Kiblate, Nemed-Sîn, Limitu, (and) Madakalša, (a total of) 15 strong cities, together with the towns in] th[eir nei]ghbourhood, I turned into [ru]in mounds. [I carried off as booty at the same time (both) the people – young (and) old – who lived in (that) district and the gods in whom they had trusted; I did not all]ow a (single) person to escape.

(10'–12') [...] whose lordship [...] I added to my land [...] ... [...].

(13'–14') [...] the god Marduk [will (then) listen to] his prayers. [...] may they not have p[ity] on him!

COMMENTARY

1) Restorations are based on Cyprus Stele ii 1–4 (Winckler 1889: 174). The stele has *a-x* [*x x*] after *mīgir ilāni rabūti* which Winckler restores as *a-[li-kut maḥ-ri-ia]* but it is not clear that there is sufficient room for all that on the Stele and there is certainly not room for it on this cylinder unless part went on to the next line. Cf. also such texts as the Bull Inscription lines 1–2, the Display Inscription from Room XIV line 1, the Display Inscription lines 1–3, and Pavement Stone 5 lines 1–4 that add É.GAL at the beginning (Fuchs 1994: 61, 75 190, and 272), and the Tang-i Var Inscription line 11 (Frame 1999: 36).

2) Restorations are based on Cyprus Stele ii 5–8 (Winckler 1889: 174). Cf. also such texts as the Khorsabad Cylinder line 3, Bull Inscription lines 3–5, and the Display Inscription lines 3–5 (Fuchs 1994: 32, 61, and 190–192); note also Display Inscription from Room XIV line 2 that adds DINGIR.MEŠ *ti-ik-li-ia* after ^dAMAR.UTU (Fuchs 1994: 75).

3) Restorations are based upon Cyprus Stele ii 9–12 (Winckler 1889: 174, but note that Winckler erroneously assumes there is room to restore *u Barsippa* at the end of line 9). Cf. also such texts as the Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 line 1' (Thompson 1940: 86), the Display Inscription from Room XIV line 3, the Display Inscription lines 5–7, and Pavement Stone 5 lines 4–6 (Fuchs 1994: 75, 191 and 272); the latter three add *ù bār-sipa.KI* after KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI.

4) Restorations are based upon Cyprus Stele ii 18–21 (Winckler 1889: 174–176). See also such texts as Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 line 2' (Thompson 1940: 86), Display Inscription from Room XIV line 5, the Display Inscription lines 10–12, and Pavement Stone 5 lines 9–11 (Fuchs 1994: 75, 192 and 272–273). Restore possibly *ma-'a-du-ti* (Display Inscription) or *ul-lu-ú-ti* (Display Inscription from Room XIV and Pavement Stone 5) instead of *ru-qu-(ú)-ti*.

5–10) Since lines 10b–14 match the Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 lines 7b'–11' for the most part, lines 5–10a of our text might match the other's fragmentary lines 3'–7' that mention silver for work on Eḫursaggalkurkurra, the cella of the god Aššur in the temple of Aššur at Assur (3'), the goddesses Queen-of-Nineveh and Lady-of-Arbela (4') and silver for work on Eḫulḫul, the abode of Sîn at Ḫarran (6'). Both passages mention several cities and both refer to pure/shining items (lines 3', 6' and 7', using *ebbu* to refer to silver, and line 8 of the new text from Melid, using KÙ.MEŠ to refer to some (unpreserved) objects, and cf. *ušanbiṭ* in line 9). Nevertheless there is no apparent overlap in what is preserved in the two texts and thus any assumption that the two passages might be similar or duplicates must remain supposition. The Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 has in lines 3'–7':

- 3' [...] *za-'a-lu-ú eb-bu a-na ši-pir é-ḥur-sag-gal-kur-kur-ra at-man* ^d*aš-šur x* [...]
- 4' [...] *x su ú TAR* ^r*DA*? ^d*šar-rat* NINA.KI *ù* ^d*be-let* URU LÍMMU-*il ši-pir x* [...]
- 5' [...] *x ši-'in*^r-*di bu-ru-mi* [...]
- 6' [...] *x [x] 7 1/2 MA.NA KÙ.BABBAR eb-bu a-na ši-pir é-ḥúl-ḥúl maš-tak* ^d30 *a-šib* URU *ḥar-ra-a*[*n* ...]
- 7' [... MA].NA KÙ.BABBAR *eb-bu ni-siq-ti* NA₄.MEŠ *la ni-bi ša ul-tu* SAG LUGAL-*ti-'ia*^r *a-di* MU.15.KÁM *a-na* DINGIR.MEŠ *a-ši-b*[*u-ut* ...]

(Thompson 1940: 86–87 and 112 Fig. 1 no. 1; the passage has been collated and the fragment has *ša* before *ul-tu*, not [*am*(?)]-*ḥur* as read by Thompson.) Most of line 5' is left blank on the cylinder. Cf. also the Nimrud Prism i 25–28 (see Fuchs 1998: 5); note that line 28 has [G]IM UD.DA ^r*ú*-[*nam-mir* ...] and our cylinder has UD.DA in line 6.

6) Cf. perhaps lines 28–29 of the Silver Tablet inscription (Fuchs 1994: 50): ... *né-reb-ši-na* / ^dŠEŠ.KI-*re-eš ú-šaḥ-l[i]*, “... I made their entrances as bright as the moon.”

9) Or perhaps *z[i-mu-šú]*; see CAD N/1: 23 sub *nabātu* 4.a.

10) Sargon's fourteenth year was 708. The restoration is based upon the Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 line 7' and in view of the *ša* before *ul-tu* there (see above commentary to lines 5–10), the passage “from the beginning of my reign until the fifteenth year” is not understood to open a new section. The Nineveh Cylinder fragment, like this text, goes on to describe the construction of Dur-Šarrukin and the installation of its gods in their shrines (lines 8'–11'). If restored correctly, the Assyrian eponym chronicle states that the construction of Sargon's new capital Dur-Šarrukin began in 717 and that the city was inaugurated on the sixth day of the second month of 706, with (statues of) the gods having already been installed in the new city in 707, Sargon's fifteenth year (Millard 1994: 47–48 and 60). Cf. the Display Inscription, which following a lengthy passage giving the extent of the king's realm (“from Iadnana in the middle of the Western Sea... to the border of Dilmun”) and stating that he had installed governors over those areas and imposed his royal yoke upon them, opens a new section with “From the beginning of my reign until my fifteenth *palû* (15 BALA-*ia*)” (Fuchs 1994: 196 line 23) and proceeds to list the major (military) events of the period, commencing with the battle at Der against the Elamite Humbanigaš and the conquest of Samaria.

11–14) Restorations are based upon the Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 (Thompson 1940: 87 lines 8'–11') and cf. such other texts as the Display

Inscription lines 154–156 and 158–159 and Pavement Stone 5 lines 94–101 (Fuchs 1994: 235–237 and 267–268).

15–33) These lines appear to describe the subjugation of peoples in the mountainous regions to the East and Northeast of Assyria and their resettlement in the West and Northwest. In particular, mention is made of the settlement some persons or group in the land of Ḫatti (lines 18 and 21), the imposition of fear upon the Mannean people (line 22), the settlement of someone or some group in the land of Ḫamath (line 23), the imposition of the [Assyrian] yoke upon Adâ, ruler of the land of Šurda (line 31), and likely Ḫubuškia (line 32), which was the royal city of Ianzû, ruler of the land of Na’iri.

15) Cf. for example Nineveh Cylinder fragment BM 122614 + 122615 line 12’ (Thompson 1940: 87, collated), Display Inscription from Room XIV line 6 (Fuchs 1994: 75), Pavement Stone 5 lines 12–14 (Fuchs 1994: 273) and Cyprus Stele ii 22–27 (Winckler 1889: 176).

18 and 21) Display Inscription line 57 says Sargon settled in the city of Damascus and in the land of Ḫatti people from the cities of Sukkia, Bala, Abitikna, Pappa and Lalluknu (Fuchs 1994: 208–209; cf. the Khorsabad cylinder line 28 [Fuchs 1994: 36]). According to the Khorsabad Annals, in Sargon’s third *palû* (719) people from the Mannean cities of Sukkia, Bala and Abitikna were deported from their homes and resettled in the land of Ḫatti and the land of Amurrû (or literally in the land of Ḫatti of the land of Amurrû) and in his fifth *palû* (717) people from the Mannean cities of Pappa and Lalluknu were deported and settled in the city of Damascus of the land of Amurrû (Fuchs 1994: 91–92 and 94–95 lines 66–68 and 76–78). Thus it is possible the Melid cylinder is referring to the settlement of Mannians from Sukkia, Bala and Abitikna deported in 719.

19–20) Could this refer to the submission of the Mannean Ullusunû in Sargon’s sixth regnal year (716)? The Display Inscription states that Ullusunû took refuge in an inaccessible mountain region (*šadî marši*, literally: difficult mountain) and later came from there to grasp the feet of Sargon (Fuchs 1994: 203 lines 40–41 and 206 line 50; cf. 99–100 lines 87–89). The idiom *šaḫātu + emēdu* is also used by Sargon’s scribes in connection with the flight of the Uraṭian ruler Ursâ from his royal city of Ṭurušpâ and that of various other Uraṭians in Sargon’s eighth *palû* (714) (Thureau-Dangin 1912: 26 line 150 and 40 line 252; Weidner 1937–1939: 146 and pl. 11 no. 2 line 252) and the flight of the Elamite ruler Šutur-Naḫundi in Sargon’s twelfth *palû* (710) (Fuchs 1994: 152 line 304).

22) We should possibly read at the beginning of the line [... *e-t*]ⁱ-*iq-ma*, “[... I cr]ossed and,” or restore some other form of the verb *eṭēqu*. Assyrian forces conducted several major campaigns into/through/near Mannea during the reign of Sargon, in particular in 719, 716, 715, 714, 713, and 706, but people were also deported from that land in 717.

23) Sargon's inscriptions refer to the settlement of three groups of people in Hamath: (1) Assyrian criminals (LÚ.aš-šur-a-a EN *hi-it-ti*) in his second *palû* (720) (Winckler 1889: 178 ii 61–62; Thompson 1940: 87 lines 18–20; and Hawkins 2004: 160 Side B lines 5–8); (2) people from the land of Karalla and Ittî (ruler of the land of Allabria), together with his family, in Sargon's sixth *palû* (716) (Fuchs 1994: 37 lines 32–33, 98–100 lines 84–90, and 208 line 56); and (3) Daiukku (a Mannean governor) and his family in Sargon's seventh *palû* (715) (Fuchs 1994: 106 lines 102–103 and 206 line 49).

31) According to the Nineveh Prism, in Sargon's eighth *palû* (= ninth *palû* of the Khorsabad Annals = 713) Amitašši of Karalla had attempted to incite Adâ of Šurda to hostilities against Assyria, but Adâ was overwhelmed by Sargon's splendour, killed Amitašši, and submitted to the Assyrian king, sending Sargon tribute as well as the severed head of Amitašši and two of the latter's sons (Fuchs 1998: 37 v.b–d 8–27). The Khorsabad Cylinder states that Sargon imposed the yoke of Aššur upon Adâ of the land of Šurda (Fuchs 1994: 37 line 33). The land of Šurda is only attested in inscriptions of Sargon and its location is not known, although it is likely to have been situated in the Zagros Mountains near Karalla, which lay in the vicinity of Tang-i Var (see Frame 1999 for the location of Karalla).

32) The location of Ĥubuškia is not certain; Parpola and Porter tentatively suggest that it might be Iranian Ĥâne on the Lower Zab close to the Iraqi-Iranian border (Parpola & Porter 2001: 10 and map 4 E4). Ianzû, the king of the land of Na'iri, whose capital was the city of Ĥubuškia, gave tribute to Sargon in the latter's seventh and eighth *palûs* (715 and 714) according to the Khorsabad Annals (Fuchs 1994: 106 line 104 and 113 lines 147–148); see also Display Inscription line 54 (Fuchs 1994: 207).

Lacuna. Since Sargon's inscriptions often describe military actions in a geographical order (see Fuchs 1994: 388–398), rather than a chronological one, it is possible that following the description of military campaigns to the East and Northeast there was a section (now missing) that recorded campaigns in the West before the text turned to Babylonia.

1'–9') These lines describe the conquest of Dur-Iakin, the stronghold of Merodach-Baladan, and the destruction of that city, events that took place in 709 and 707 respectively. For restorations, see in particular the Nimrud Prism vi 27–62 (Gadd 1954: 186). The cylinder fragment of Sargon II found at Arslantepe in 1968 also preserves part of this account (Castellino 1975: 71 lines 9'–17'), but the two pieces cannot come from the same cylinder since they diverge following this passage (see below). The exact location of Dur-Iakin in the marshes of southern Babylonia is not known, but see Parpola & Porter 2001: 8 and Map 16 C2 for a possible location. With regard to the capture and destruction of Dur-Iakin, see Tadmor 1958: 96–97, Powell 1982: 59–61, and Millard 1994: 48 and 60.

10'–12') What is preserved here does not appear to match what follows the preceding passage in either the Nimrud Prism (Gadd 1954: 186 vi 63ff.) or the cylinder fragment of Sargon found at Arslantepe in 1968 (Castellino 1975: 72 lines 18'ff.) that go on to describe Sargon's freeing citizens of Sippar, Nippur, Babylon and Borsippa who had been held captive in Dur-Iakin, the restoration of the fields of those individuals that the Sutiens had taken away, the re-establishment of privileges for various cities in southern Babylonia, the return of (statues of) gods that had been removed from their sanctuaries and the re-establishment of their regular offerings. It is possible that this passage described the campaign against Mutallu of Kummuhu in 708 and possibly the capture of Melid (suggestion A. Fuchs). So little is preserved of line 12' that is not clear whether it goes with the preceding section (lines 10'–11') or the following one (lines 13'–14'). It is arbitrarily put with the former here.

11') NE does not normally stand for *dè* in syllabic Akkadian texts after the Old Babylonian period (see Borger 2004: 313 no. 313), but no other likely reading for the traces comes to mind.

13'–14') For blessings and curses at the end of Sargon's royal inscriptions, cf. for example Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 85 (mentioning Aššur not Marduk) and 87 (Fuchs 1994: 81). In view of the plural *ir-šu-šu* in 14', it might be better to assume a plural form at the end of 13' and the names of one or more other gods before Marduk, but there is not sufficient room to restore [*i-še-mu-ú*] at the end of the line.

ADDENDUM 1: THE CYLINDER FRAGMENT OF SARGON II FOUND AT ARSLANTEPE IN 1968

The cylinder fragment found north of the mound of Arslantepe in 1968 was given the inventory number 855 (registration date 14.IX.1968) and is currently preserved in the Malatya Museum. The inscription was published by Giorgio R. Castellino in 1975 with a photo, copy, edition and study (Castellino 1975); see also Frame 2004: 176–177 for a photo and translation of the text. The beginning of the inscription has part of an account recording that the Nubian ruler of Egypt Šapataku' (Šebitko) handed over to Sargon II a rebel (Iamani of the Philistine city Ashdod) who had fled to Egypt (lines 1'–5'); the start of lines 2' and 4' can be restored [...^m*ia-ma-ni* MAN-š]ú [GI]Š.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia* and [^m*šá-pa-ta-ku-u*]' based upon the inscription of Sargon from Tang-i Var lines 19–20 (see Frame 1999: 36 and Na'aman 1999: 63 no. 65). The rest of the inscription describes Sargon's campaigns against Marduk-apla-iddina II and his stronghold of Dur-Iakin (lines 6'–17'), Sargon's actions to improve conditions in the newly conquered Babylonia (lines 18'–24'), and his triumphal entry into Babylon (lines 25'–27'). The inscription can be restored from

passages in texts from Dur-Šarrukin, Kalḫu, Nineveh, and Tang-i Var (Gadd 1964: 185–187, Fuchs 1994: 226–231, Frame 1999: 36; and some of the Nineveh cylinder fragments mentioned in Addendum 2). The mention of the destruction of Dur-Iakin indicates that the inscription was composed in or after 707, when that event took place.

Castellino states that his initial work on the inscription was done from imperfect photographs and that his copy was made during a brief stay at Malatya in 1972. This is undoubtedly why his copy and edition do not match exactly what is on the fragment in a few places. I was able to collate the text from a cast of the piece kindly loaned to me through the courtesy of Dr. M. Frangipane and the most important improvements to the copy and edition published by Castellino are the following:

- 3' ... É.GAL-šú; -šú omitted on copy and in transliteration
- 9' ... -IBILA-, not -DUMU- of copy; transliteration correctly has -TUR.UŠ-
- 10' ...-^ˆes^ˆ-si-, not -KU-PA(?)- of copy; transliteration correctly has -es-si-
- 14' ... aḫ-la-mi-i ṣ[a-ab, not aḫ-la-LUM-i ṣ[a- of copy or aḫ-la-mi-^ˆía^ˆ [of transliteration
- 16' ... É-^mki-, not É-ki- of copy or É^dKi- of transliteration
- 24' [KUR ṣ]u-a-tu₄, not [x] a-na-ku of copy or [x x] x a-na-ku of transliteration; a-zu-uz-^ˆma^ˆ [, not a-su-uz-ma [of copy; transliteration correctly has a-zu-uz-ma [

ADDENDUM 2: CYLINDER INSCRIPTIONS OF SARGON II

In addition to the cylinder inscriptions found at Arslantepe, the following cylinder inscriptions of Sargon II are also attested:

a) Khorsabad Cylinder: Approximately fifty copies of this text on prism-like cylinders have been discovered at Khorsabad and one additional copy was found at Nineveh (BM 123413 + 123422 [1932-12-10,356 + 365]). The text is written in Neo-Assyrian script and records the construction of the city of Khorsabad, and in particular the building of its palace and city wall. The latest event mentioned in the inscription (deportation of the people of Bit-Purutaš) date to the Sargon's ninth regnal year (713). Complete cylinders have 8–10 ribs/faces and a complete inscription has 77 lines, although many exemplars omit lines 34–43 of the full text. (Fuchs 1994: 29–44 and 289–296.)

b) Nimrud Cylinder Fragment ND 3411: The fragmentary left end of a prism-like cylinder found at Nimrud is now preserved in the Iraq Museum. In as far as it is preserved, the text summarizes events in Sargon's reign up until the king's ninth year (713). The inscription is written in Neo-Babylonian script. (Gadd 1954: 175, 198–201 and pl. 51.)

c) Nineveh Cylinder Fragment K 1660: A fragment of a prism-like cylinder in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum preserves parts of the beginning and end of an inscription of Sargon II written in Neo-Babylonian script. It mentions events up until the king’s eleventh regnal year (711). (Winckler 1894: pl. 4.)

d) Schoyen Cylinder Fragment 2368: The fragmentary left end of a prism-like cylinder with no known provenance bears parts of nineteen lines of an inscription written in Neo-Babylonian script that must date to no earlier than 711 in view of a reference to Sargon’s campaign against Gurgum/Marqasi and Kammanu. This piece will be published by the author together with other Middle Assyrian and Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions in the Schoyen collection.

e) Moussaieff Cylinder Fragment: K. Abraham and J. Klein have recently published a fragment of a prism-like cylinder in the collection of Mr. Shlomo Moussaieff that preserves parts of fourteen lines of an inscription of Sargon. The inscription is written in Neo-Babylonian script and, as far as it is preserved, summarizes events of the king’s reign up until his eleventh *palū* (711); in large part, it duplicates or is similar to passages in a–d above. The piece has no known provenance. (Abraham & Klein 2007; I am grateful to Kathleen Abraham for allowing me to see the manuscript of the article before it was published.)

f) Nineveh Cylinder Fragment BM 98528 (Th 1905–4–9,34): This cylinder fragment preserves part of an account written in Neo-Assyrian script describing Sargon’s capture and destruction of Dur-Iakin and his triumphal entry into Babylon. The inscription partially overlaps those on BM 123416 (see h below) and the two cylinder fragments found at Arslantepe during Italian excavations. It must date from 707 or later. (See King 1914: 53.)

g) Nineveh Cylinder Fragment BM 122614 + 122615 (Th 1930–5–8,3 + 4): This fragment from Nineveh bears an inscription in Neo-Assyrian script that refers to various military actions, including victories over Urartū, Ḥamath, and Kummuhu, and records the building of the city of Dur-Šarrukin and its palace. (Thompson 1940: 86–89 and 112–13 figs. 1–2 no. 1.)

h) Nineveh Cylinder Fragment BM 123416 (1932-12-10,359): Parts of 23 lines of an inscription describing Sargon’s defeat of Marduk-apla-iddina II and triumphal entry into Babylon are found on this fragment of the right end of a cylinder discovered in Assurnasirpal II’s palace at Nineveh. The inscription is written in Neo-Assyrian script and partially overlaps what is on BM 98528 (see f above) and the two cylinder fragments found at Arslantepe during Italian excavations. (See Lambert & Millard 1968: 24.)

i) Nineveh Cylinder Fragment BM 98518 (Th 1905-4-9,24): This fragment from a cylinder of Sargon II preserves parts of 12 lines written in Neo-Assyrian script. The first part of the text is poorly preserved but lines 5’–11’ duplicate parts of BM

122614 + 122615 lines 8'–14' (g above). The inscription is mentioned in Renger 2003: 235 n. 38.³

j) Nineveh Cylinder Fragment BM 98724 (Th 1905–4–9,230): This fragment comes from the left end of a prism-like cylinder and preserves parts of 10 lines of an inscription written in Neo-Assyrian script. The text has some of the epithets of Sargon, including reference to his [destruction of Karalla], Šurda, Kišesi, Ḥar[har ...], as well as his laying waste to the land of Urartu and his making the princes of [Ḥamath, Carchemish and Kummuhu] tremble (cf. for example Pavement Slab 4 lines 15–23 [Fuchs 1994: 260]). The inscription is mentioned in Renger 2003: 235 n. 38.

k) Tell Haddad Cylinder Fragment: A fragment of the right end of an eight-sided prism-like cylinder was found at Tell Haddad “in the area of housing outside the temple of Nergal.” Neither the excavation number nor museum number of the piece is stated in the published literature. In as far as it is preserved, the inscription, written in Neo-Babylonian script, is almost a total duplicate of the Khorsabad Cylinder. (Al-Rawi 1994: 36 fig. 4 and 37–38 no. 3.)

l) Uruk Cylinder: This cylinder (YBC 2181) records the restoration of the Eanna temple at Uruk for the goddess Ištar and is said to come from Uruk. It is written in Neo-Babylonian script, has two columns of 40 and 41 lines respectively, and bears a colophon (ii 39–41) stating that it was a copy of the original inscription. The inscription is modeled upon one of Marduk-apla-iddina II and would have been composed sometime after Sargon's expulsion of Marduk-apla-iddina from the throne of Babylon in 710. (Frame 1995: 146–149 B.6.22.3.)

m) Tell Baradān Cylinder Fragment (IM 85067): A fragment of a prism-like cylinder preserving parts of three faces and eight lines of inscription written in Neo-Babylonian script was found at Tell Baradān in the Diyala region by Iraqi archaeologists. The fragmentary text duplicates or restores parts of the inscription(s) found on nos. b–e above. Karlheinz Kessler will publish this inscription; he kindly provided me with information on it and allowed me to mention it here.⁴

³ My gratitude must be expressed to Christopher Walker for collations of this and several other cylinder fragments in the British Museum and to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to use these texts here.

⁴ The piece was brought to my attention after this article had already been submitted for publication and I am grateful to the editors of this volume for allowing me to add this entry while the volume was in the course of preparation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- A = tablets in the collections of Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzereli; Assur; ABL = HARPER 1892–1914; ADD = JOHNS 1898–1923; AHw. = VON SODEN 1958–1981; Ann. = Annals; ANOR 8 = POHL 1933; AO = tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre; AR = KOHLER & UNGNAD 1913; Ass = field numbers of tablets excavated at Assur; ARI = Assyrian Royal Inscriptions; ARRIM = Annual Review of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project; Ass = siglum of texts excavated in the German excavations in Assur; AT = field numbers of tablets excavated at Arslantepe.
- Bab = field numbers of tablets excavated at Babylon; BAK = HUNGER 1968; BaM = Baghdader Mitteilungen; BBR = ZIMMERN 1901; BBSt = KING 1912; BIN 1 = KEISER 1918; BIN 2 = NIES & KEISER 1920; BM = tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago* 1955–; CDA = BLACK, GEORGE & POSTGATE 2000; CRRAI = Compte rendu, Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale; CT 36 = BUDGE 1921; CT 38 = GADD 1925; CT 40 = GADD 1927; CT 53 = PARPOLA 1979; CT 54 = DIETRICH 1979; CTN 1 = KINNIER WILSON 1972; CTN 2 = POSTGATE 1973a; CTN 3 = DALLEY & POSTGATE 1984; CTN 4 = WISEMAN & BLACK 1996; CTN 5 = SAGGS 2001.
- DAW = KÄMMERER & SCHWIDERSKI 1998; DB = Darius' Behistun inscription; DISO = JEAN & HOFTIIZER 1965; DJBA = SOKOLOFF 2002b; DJPA = SOKOLOFF 2002a; DNWSI = HOFTIIZER & JONGELING 1995.
- EA = KNUDTZON 1915; ePSD = The electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary; EŞ = Eski Şark Eserleri Müzesi of the Arkeoloji Müzeleri, Istanbul; ETCSL = BLACK *et al.* 1998–2006.
- FGrH = JACOBY 1926; FLP = tablets in the collections of the *Free Library of Philadelphia*.
- GCCI 1 = DOUGHERTY 1923a.
- HAL = KOEHLER & BAUMGARTNER 1994–2000; HED = PUHVEL 1984–.
- IM = tablets in the collections of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad.
- K = tablets in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum; KAI = DONNER & RÖLLIG 1962–1964; KAJ = EBELING 1927; KAR = EBELING 1919; KBo 28 = KÜMMEL 1998; Ki = tablets in the collections of the British Museum; KUB 43 = RIEMSCHEIDER 1972.
- LAS II = PARPOLA 1983; LS = BROCKELMANN 1928.
- MARV 1 = FREYDANK 1976; MARV 2 = FREYDANK 1982; MARV 4 = FREYDANK 2001; MAss = siglum of texts excavated in the German excavations at Assur in 1990; MDOG = Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft; MDP 4 = SCHEIL 1902; MSL = Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon; MZL = BORGER 2004.
- NALK = KWASMAN 1988; NAOMA = FREYDANK & SAPORETTI 1979; NAT = PARPOLA 1970a; NATAPA = DELLER, FALES & JAKOB-ROST 1995; ND = field numbers of tablets excavated at Nimrud; Ner. = EVETTS 1892; NL = H. W. F. SAGGS, *The Nimrud Letters* (Iraq 17 [1955], etc.); NWL = KINNIER WILSON 1972.
- OMA 1–2 = SAPORETTI 1970.
- PBS 10/1 = LANGDON 1915; PKTA = EBELING 1950; PNA 1/I = RADNER 1998; PNA 1/II = RADNER 1999d; PNA 2/I = BAKER 2000; PNA 2/II = BAKER 2001; PNA 3/I = BAKER 2002; PRT = KLAUBER 1913; PSD = *Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*; PVA = LANDSBERGER & GURNEY 1957/58.

- RGTC 7/I = BAGG 2007; RGTC 8 = ZADOK 1985; RGTC 11 = VALLAT 1983; RIMA 1 = GRAYSON 1987; RIMA 2 = GRAYSON 1991; RIMA 3 = GRAYSON 1996; RIMB 2 = FRAME 1995; RIME 4 = FRAYNE 1990; Rm = tablets in the collections of the British Museum.
- SAA 1 = PARPOLA 1987; SAA 2 = PARPOLA & WATANABE 1988; SAA 3 = LIVINGSTONE 1989; SAA 4 = STARR 1990; SAA 5 = LANFRANCHI & PARPOLA 1990; SAA 6 = KWASMAN & PARPOLA 1991; SAA 7 = FALES & POSTGATE 1992; SAA 8 = HUNGER 1992; SAA 9 = PARPOLA 1997; SAA 10 = PARPOLA 1993; SAA 11 = FALES & POSTGATE 1995; SAA 12 = KATAJA & WHITING 1995; SAA 13 = COLE & MACHINIST 1998; SAA 14 = MATTILA 2002; SAA 15 = FUCHS & PARPOLA 2001; SAA 16 = LUUKKO & VAN BUYLAERE 2002; SAA 17 = DIETRICH 2003; SAA 18 = REYNOLDS 2003; Sm = tablets in the collections of the British Museum; SpTU 2 = VON WEIHER 1983; SpTU 3 = VON WEIHER 1988; SpTU 4 = VON WEIHER 1993; St. = Stele; StAT 2 = DONBAZ & PARPOLA 2001; STT 1 = GURNEY & FINKELSTEIN 1957; STT 2 = GURNEY & HULIN 1964.
- TCL 3 = THUREAU-DANGIN 1912; TCL 9 = CONTENAU 1926; TCL 12 = CONTENAU 1927; TCL 13 = CONTENAU 1929; TCL 16 = DE GENOUILLAC 1930; TEBR = JOANNÈS 1982; Th = tablets in the collections of the British Museum; TUL = EBELING 1931.
- UET 6 = GADD & KRAMER 1963–1966; UT = GORDON 1965.
- VA = siglum of objects in the Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin; VAT = tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin.
- YBC = siglum of tablets in the Yale Babylonian Collection; YOS 3 = CLAY 1919; YOS 6 = DOUGHERTY 1923b; YOS 17 = WEISBERG 1980.
- ZT = field numbers of tablets excavated at Ziyaret Tepe.

