

## The Inscription of Sargon II at Tang-i Var\*

(TAB. I-XVIII)

Grant FRAME

### I. Introduction

One of the most important results of a series of surveys carried out by the Archaeological Service of Iran in 1968 was the discovery in Iranian

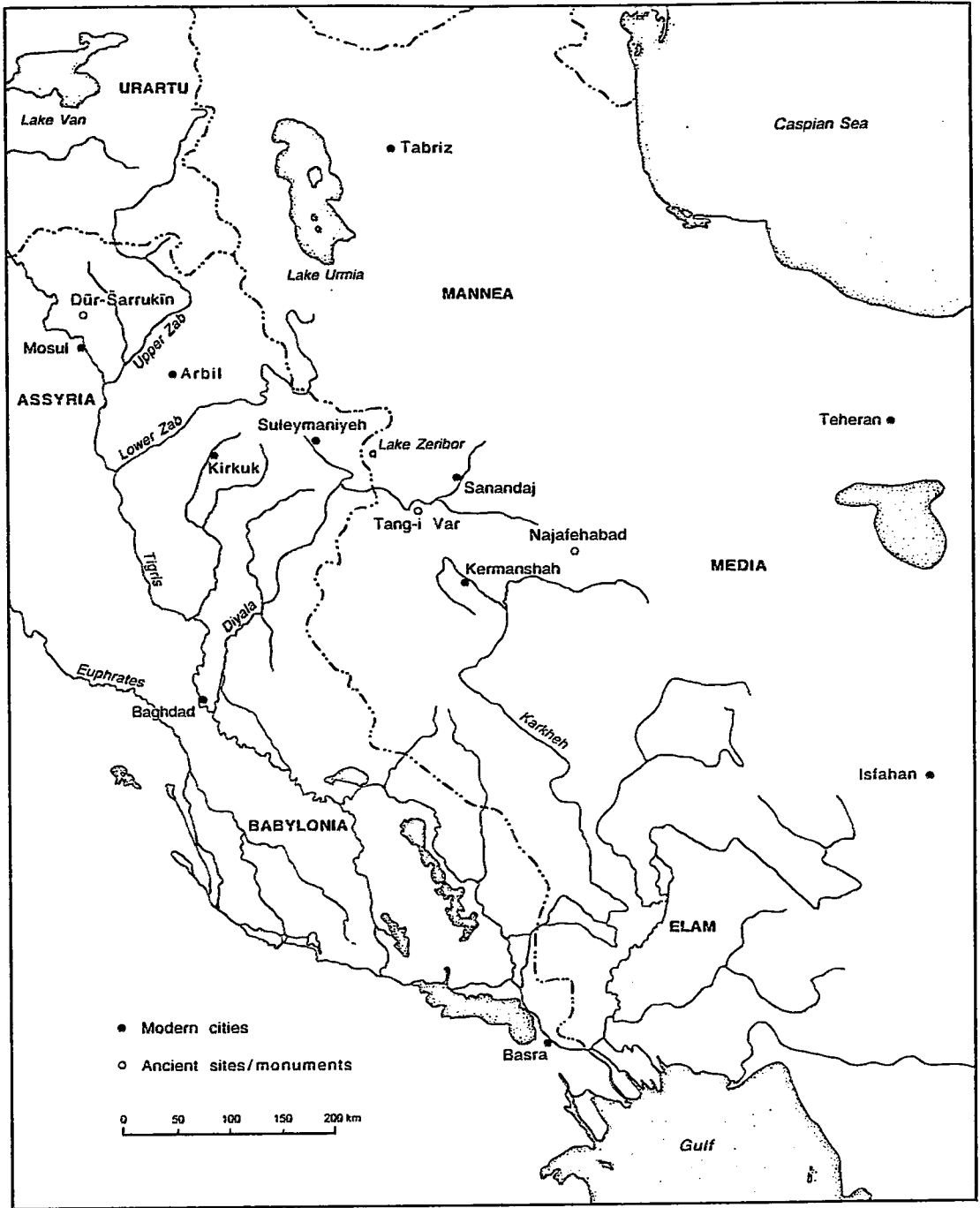
\* My sincere thanks must be expressed to Dr. F. Vallat for providing me with his photographic materials of the Tang-i Var relief and for allowing me to publish them. My appreciation must also be extended to H. Galter, A. K. Grayson, and J. N. Postgate for kindly making comments upon a draft of this manuscript, to A. Albenda for advice on describing the royal figure depicted on the relief, and to L. James for preparing the map published with this article. All errors are, however, the responsibility of the author. I wish to thank the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of Toronto for their support of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Project, the research facilities of which made this study possible.

The citations in this article follow *CAD* Š/3 with the following additions:

- |                                    |   |
|------------------------------------|---|
| Börker-Klähn, <i>Bildstelen</i>    | Jutta Börker-Klähn, <i>Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs</i> (Baghdader Forschungen 4; Mainz am Rhein 1982).                         |
| Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i>            | Andreas Fuchs, <i>Die Inschriften Sargons II. aus Khorsabad</i> (Göttingen 1994).   |
| Grayson, <i>RIMA 2</i>             | A. Kirk Grayson, <i>Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC)</i> (Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods 2; Toronto 1991). |
| Tadmor, <i>Tiglath-pileser III</i> | Hayim Tadmor, <i>The Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III, King of Assyria</i> (Jerusalem 1994).   |

With regard to the major royal inscriptions of Sargon II cited in this article and some of the most important relevant publications, note the following abbreviations:

- |                                   |  |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Annals                            | Lie. <i>Sar.</i> ; Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i> 82-188 and 313-42 no. 2.3 [line numbering follows that of Fuchs].   |
| Bull Inscription                  | Lyon, <i>Sar.</i> no. 2; Winckler, <i>Sar.</i> II pls. 41-42; Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i> 60-74 and 303-307 no. 2.1.   |
| Cyprus Stela                      | Schrader, <i>Sargonsstela</i> ; Ungnad, <i>VAS</i> I no. 71.   |
| Display Inscription               | Winckler, <i>Sar.</i> I x and 96-135, and II figs. 63-78; Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i> 189-248 and 343-55 no. 2.4.  |
| Display Inscription from Room XIV | F. H. Weissbach, "Zu den Inschriften des Säle im Palaste Sargon's II. von Assyrien", <i>ZDMG</i> 72 (1918) 175-85; Fuchs, <i>Khorsabad</i> 75-81 and 307-12 no. 2.2.   |
| Najafehabad Stela                 | Levine, <i>Stelae</i> 25-50, 60-62, 66-75 figs. 3-12, and 82-86 pls. VII-XI. Citations to this text make use of collations made by myself from unpublished photographs and squeezes in the Royal Ontario Museum. The line numbers cited for i 1-16 will not always match the line numbering on the published copy. |



Kurdistan of a Neo-Assyrian relief with a cuneiform inscription. The relief is carved into a niche on the flanks of the Kūh-i Zināneh in the Tang-i Var

Pavement Inscription no. 4

Winckler, *Sar.* I x and 146-57, and II pls. 38-40 no. IV;  
 Borger, *BAL*<sup>2</sup> 59-63, 131-32, and 322-26; Fuchs, *Khor-*  
*sabad* 259-71 and 359-62 no. 2.5.4.

Many of the passages from the Annals, the Bull Inscription, the Display Inscription, and Pavement Inscription no. 4 given in transliteration in this article have minor variants; these have not normally been indicated. The author is currently preparing a new edition of the inscriptions of Sargon II for the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia.

pass near the village of Tang-i Var (also known as Tangī Var, Tangūr and Tangvar), in the district of Sanandaj, about 50 km southwest of the city of Sanandaj, 85 km northwest of Kermanshah, and 10 km south of the village of Palangān. The village is situated at 46° 37' longitude and 35° 00' latitude and at an elevation of 1220 m<sup>1</sup>. According to a report in the journal *Iran*:

Cut into the face of a vertical cliff at a point 40 m. above ground level, the relief depicts an Assyrian monarch standing in a standard pose with one hand raised and the other grasping a staff ...<sup>2</sup>

(Figs. 1 and 2 show the general position of the relief<sup>3</sup>.) The relief has generally been called the Ūrāmānāt relief, after the name of another nearby village<sup>4</sup>, but it is more appropriately named the Tang-i Var relief since it was found in the pass of that name.

Until the present time, the only substantive study of the relief has been that of 'Alī Akbar Sarfarāz in the 1968-69 volume of the journal *Majallah-i Barrasīhā-i Tārikhī*<sup>5</sup>. In his article, Sarfarāz discussed the location of the relief, the practical difficulties involved in getting to it, and the making of casts and photographs. He also described the figure on the relief and the history of the period to which he felt the relief dated (late second millennium or early first millennium)<sup>6</sup>. At the end of the article are several photos of the relief and inscription, an impressionistic drawing of the figure on the relief, a rough sketch of the relief and inscription as a whole, and a copy of parts of lines 9-24 of the inscription. Not being a specialist in cuneiform studies, he did not attempt to edit the inscription. Regrettably, the inscription is badly worn and is basically illegible from the published photographs and copy. Since Sarfarāz's article was written in Farsī and published in a journal available in only a few Western libraries, it has gone largely unnoticed by the Assyriological community, although the existence of the relief and its inscription has been noted by a few scholars (in partic-

<sup>1</sup> The location of the village of Tang-i Var (called Tangūr) is marked on Ludwig W. Adamec, ed., *Historical Gazetteer of Iran*, vol. I: *Tehran and Northwestern Iran* (Graz 1976) map I-30-D (lower left). For the latitude, longitude, and elevation, see Mohammad Hossein Papoli-Yazdi, *Gazetteer of Villages and Religious Places of Iran* (Mashhad 1367 š./1988-89) [in Farsī] 150. My thanks must be expressed to M. Subtelny for help in finding the precise location of the relief.

<sup>2</sup> Anonymous, *Iran* 7 (1969) 186.

<sup>3</sup> Figs. 1 and 2 are published courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum and were taken by L. D. Levine in the early 1970s. A photograph also showing the general position of the relief has been published by J. Curtis in: J. Curtis, *Later Mesopotamia and Iran: Tribes and Empires 1600-539 BC* (London 1995) pl. VI.

<sup>4</sup> For example, Anonymous, *Iran* 7 (1969) 186 ("Known as the 'Ūrāmānāt relief'").

<sup>5</sup> "Sangnibištah-i mīhī-i Ūrāmānāt" [A cuneiform inscription on stone from Ūrāmānāt], *Majallah-i Barrasīhā-i Tārikhī* 3/V (1968-69) 13-20 and 14 plates.

<sup>6</sup> Information on the contents of the article was kindly provided by N. Danesh, H. Khakpour, M. Simidchieva, and M. Subtelny.

ular J. Börker-Klähn, R. Borger, J. Curtis, J. E. Reade, and L. Vanden Berghe)<sup>7</sup>. As far as I am aware, the first Assyriologist to propose a date for the relief was Julian Reade, who in an article published in 1977 tentatively suggested that it might be attributed to Tiglath-pileser III or Sargon II<sup>8</sup>. This proposal was based in part upon a tentative identification of the word [Man]nean(s) in the text<sup>9</sup>. The inscription on the relief has remained, in Reade's words, "tantalizingly unpublished" for thirty years<sup>10</sup>.

While carrying on work on the inscriptions of Sargon II for a volume of the Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia project, I noted the possibility that the inscription at Tang-i Var would need to go in that volume. Having been informed by Dr. L. D. Levine that Dr. François Vallat had taken photographs of the relief in the early 1970s, I wrote to Dr. Vallat about the matter. With great generosity, Dr. Vallat has allowed me to make use of all the photographic material that was in his possession (22 slides) and the edition presented below is based solely on this material. Dr. Vallat has informed me that he went to Tang-i Var in 1971 on behalf of the Susa mission and at the request of R. Labat. In a letter, Dr. Vallat described the current state of the inscription and the difficulty he had in photographing it while dangling from a rope:

Ce relief gravé sur une paroi rocheuse est d'accès difficile. En outre, il est en très mauvais état: la pierre de surface a éclaté en de nombreux endroits emportant avec elle autant de signes alors que d'autres sont recouverts de concrétions calcaires qu'on ne peut faire sauter sans risque de l'abîmer. Enfin, il m'a été impossible de prendre une photographie d'ensemble car j'étais forcément toujours collé à la paroi, le relief n'étant accessible qu'en rappel.

Dr. Vallat must be praised for photographing the inscription at great risk to himself.

Because of the damaged nature of the inscription and the fact that some sections are inevitably better represented by the photographic materials than others, some parts of the text cannot be read and the reading of others is tentative. Nevertheless, it is possible to read a large portion of the inscription and to be certain that the ruler responsible for it was the Assy-

<sup>7</sup> Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* no. 248 (Wramanat); Borger, *HKL* II 247 and III 29; Curtis, *Later Mesopotamia and Iran* 20 and pl. VI; J. E. Reade, "Shikaft-i Gulgul: Its Date and Symbolism", *IrAnt* 12 (1977) 44 and "Iran in the Neo-Assyrian Period", in: Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography* (Roma 1995) 39; and Louis Vanden Berghe, *Reliefs rupestres de l'Irân ancien* (Brussels 1984) 22 (Carte 1), 32, and 156.

<sup>8</sup> Reade, *IrAnt* 12 (1977) 44.

<sup>9</sup> See Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* 224 no. 248 n. 4. A. K. Grayson informs me that he had provided the reading [man]-na-a-a to Reade and had based it upon one of the photographs published by Sarfarāz. The word appears in line 17 of the text.

<sup>10</sup> Reade in: Liverani, *Neo-Assyrian Geography* 39.

ian king Sargon II (721-705 B.C.). In view of the importance of the inscription and the length of time which it has lain unpublished, it seems best to present this preliminary edition as it is, rather than wait until further photographs and/or casts should become available or until someone is able to collate the inscription in situ<sup>11</sup>. Since any copy of the text made by me would be based solely upon the available photographic materials, I have decided to provide here the most useful photographs of the inscription (Figs. 3-18) rather than a copy of the text.

## II. The Inscription

The inscription can be divided into five basic sections:

1. Invocation of various deities (lines 1-10)
2. Name and titles of Sargon II (lines 11-12)
3. Major accomplishments of Sargon's reign (lines 13-36)
4. Campaign to the land of Karalla (lines 37-44)
5. Creation of the commemorative inscription, and probably blessings and curses (lines 45 ff.)

The beginning and ending of the inscription (sections 1, 4 and 5) are the parts least legible on the available photographic materials.

### *Transliteration*<sup>12</sup>

- 1) [x (x)] x x (x) x MAN(?) x [x (x)] (x) *i-gi(?)*-*gi(?)* (Traces)
- 2) [x (x)] x GA(?) (Traces)
- 3) [<sup>d</sup>ME]S(?) EN TIL <sup>r</sup>*e(?)*-<sup>r</sup>*pir(?)*<sup>1</sup> [*kiš-šat(?)*] <sup>r</sup>UN(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ x (x) BAL MI/LIT(?) (Traces)
- 4) [<sup>d</sup>PA(?)] <sup>r</sup>A(?)<sup>1</sup> *gīt-ma-lu* x (x) x x x [(x)] x KUR.ME[š ...] (Traces)
- 5) [<sup>d</sup>30] *e-til* AN-*e u* <sup>r</sup>KI(?)<sup>1</sup> (Traces)
- 6) [<sup>d</sup>UTU] DI.KUD.GAL AN-<sup>r</sup>*e*<sup>1</sup> *u KI-tim* (Traces)
- 7) [<sup>d</sup>(?)][*iš(?)*]-*tar mu-šak-ši*-<sup>r</sup>*rat(?)*<sup>1</sup> *a-<sup>r</sup>nun(?)*-*ti(?)*<sup>1</sup> (Traces)
- 8) [<sup>d</sup>(?)<sup>1</sup> x x <sup>r</sup>*a(?)*-*li*<sup>1</sup>-*kut ma-ḥar* DINGIR.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> *šá a-<sup>r</sup>šar*<sup>1</sup> x [(x) x] x x x (x) <sup>r</sup>RI(?)<sup>1</sup> x [x x x x x x (x)]-*ma i-<sup>r</sup>šak-ka-nu li-i-ta*<sup>1</sup> (x) [(...)]
- 9) <sup>r</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ GAL<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ *mut-tab-bi-lu-ut* <sup>r</sup>AN-*e ù(?)*<sup>1</sup> [*KI-t*]*im(?)* *šá ti-bu-šú-nu* (x) [(x x) *tu-qu*]-<sup>r</sup>*un*<sup>1</sup>-*tu ù(?)*<sup>1</sup> [*šá(?)*]-*áš*-[(x)]-<sup>r</sup>*mu*(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) [(...)]

<sup>11</sup> The present location of the photographs and casts made by Sarfarāz are not known to the author.

<sup>12</sup> Some sections given in square brackets in the transliteration are in shadow on the photographs and may actually be fully preserved.

- 10) <sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-šú-u <sup>1</sup>e-ni<sup>1</sup> na-bu-u šu-<sup>1</sup>um(?) MAN(?)<sup>1</sup> [šá ina e-p]eš(?) pi-i-šú-nu KÙ (x) [(x x x x x) KUR] <sup>1</sup>UGU<sup>1</sup> [K]UR i-<sup>1</sup>šak<sup>1</sup>-k[a(?)]-nu-ma <sup>1</sup>ú-šar-bu<sup>1</sup>-x (x) [(...)]
- 11) <sup>m</sup>MAN<sup>1</sup>-GIN MAN GAL MAN dan-nu MAN ŠÚ MAN <sup>1</sup>KUR aš-šur.KI(?)<sup>1</sup> [(x)] <sup>1</sup>GIR<sup>1</sup>.NÍTA KÁ.DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>RA.KI<sup>1</sup> MAN <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [šú-me-ri u ak]-ka-de-<sup>1</sup>e(?) mi(?)<sup>1</sup>-gir <sup>1</sup>DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [(...)]
- 12) <sup>1</sup>ur<sup>1</sup>-šá-<sup>1</sup>a-nu gít<sup>1</sup>-ma-lu <sup>1</sup>zi<sup>1</sup>-ka-<sup>1</sup>ru<sup>1</sup> x x [(x) NUN(?)] na-a'-du e<sup>1</sup>-lu<sup>1</sup> tab-ra-<sup>1</sup>a-ti<sup>1</sup> ŠÁ <sup>1</sup>KI(?)<sup>1</sup> [x (x) x] re-<sup>1</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-um x (x) x x MEŠ x x (x) x [(...)]
- 13) <sup>a</sup>aš-šur <sup>1</sup>PA(?) <sup>a</sup>MES DINGIR.MEŠ ti-<sup>1</sup>ik(?)-li(?)<sup>1</sup>-[(ia/iá)] MAN-[(ut) la] šá-na-an ú-<sup>1</sup>šat-li-mu-in<sup>1</sup>-[ni]-ma z[i(?)]-kir MU-ia dam-<sup>1</sup>qu ú(?)<sup>1</sup>-[še]-<sup>1</sup>su-u(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) x <sup>1</sup>re(?)-še-ti<sup>1</sup> (x x) [(...)]
- 14) šá <sup>1</sup>ZIMBIR.KI<sup>1</sup> NI[BRU(?).K]I KÁ.DINGIR.RA.<sup>1</sup>KI(?)<sup>1</sup> [za-n]in-[us]-su-un e-t[ep(?)]-pu]-šá šá <sup>1</sup>ÉRIN<sup>1</sup>. [MEŠ ki-din-ni] <sup>1</sup>ma(?)<sup>1</sup>-[la] ba-<sup>1</sup>šú(?)<sup>1</sup>-u(?)<sup>1</sup> [(x)] hi-<sup>1</sup>bil-ta(?)<sup>1</sup>-[šú-nu] <sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>-r[ib]-ma (x) [(...)]
- 15) za-kut(?) [b]al-[til.KI b]a-til-ta a-na áš-r[i-šá] <sup>1</sup>ú(?)<sup>1</sup>-t[i]r URU.KASKAL a-na x x x x x x x <sup>1</sup>KÁ<sup>1</sup> x [(x) te(?)]-ne-še-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> x [(x)] x <sup>1</sup>az-qu-pa ki-din(?)<sup>1</sup>-nu(?)<sup>1</sup> [(...)]
- 16) <sup>1</sup>ú<sup>1</sup>-par-r[i(?)]-i[r(?)] i[l-lat <sup>md</sup>hum-ba-ni-<sup>1</sup>ga(?)<sup>1</sup>-áš (x) ELAM(?)<sup>1</sup>. [M]A(?)<sup>1</sup>.KI-i ú-ab-<sup>1</sup>bit KUR(?)<sup>1</sup> k[ar(?)]-al]-<sup>1</sup>lu KUR šur-da<sup>1</sup> URU <sup>1</sup>ki<sup>1</sup>-[še-si]-im URU ħar-<sup>1</sup>ħar<sup>1</sup> [KUR ma]-<sup>1</sup>da-a<sup>1</sup>-a <sup>1</sup>KUR el-li<sup>1</sup>-[pi (...)]
- 17) ú-šah-<sup>1</sup>rib KUR ur-ar<sup>1</sup>-tu áš-lul URU [(x x) mu-ša-ši]r(?) «MAN(?)» KUR man-na-a-a áš-giš <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> [an-di-a(?) KUR zi-kir-tú(?) (x x) gi]-mir <sup>1</sup>da-ád-me<sup>1</sup>-[šú]-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup> ú-<sup>1</sup>še(?)<sup>1</sup>-šib(?)<sup>1</sup> x (x) MEŠ(?) [(...)]
- 18) a-na-ar mal-<sup>1</sup>ki KUR<sup>1</sup> a-ma-at-ti URU gar-ga-[miš URU kím-mu]-<sup>1</sup>hi<sup>1</sup> KUR kam-ma-nu UGU KUR.MEŠ-šú-<sup>1</sup>nu(?)<sup>1</sup> x [x x (x) x x] <sup>1</sup>aš-tak-ka(?)<sup>1</sup>-[na] <sup>1</sup>LÚ(?) šá-ak(?)<sup>1</sup>-nu(?)<sup>1</sup>-ti(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) [(...)]
- 19) áš-lul URU <sup>1</sup>as-du(?)<sup>1</sup>-du <sup>m</sup>ia-ma-ni MAN-šú GI[Š.TUKUL.MEŠ-ia] <sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-du-ur-ma E(?) x x-uš-šú a-<sup>1</sup>na<sup>1</sup> pa-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup> KUR(?) me-luħ(?)<sup>1</sup>-[(x)]-<sup>1</sup>ħa<sup>1</sup> in-<sup>1</sup>na-bit-ma šar<sup>1</sup>-ra-qiš ú-šib (x) [(...)]
- 20) <sup>m</sup>šá-pa-ta-ku-<sup>1</sup>u<sup>1</sup> MAN<sup>1</sup> KUR me-luħ-ħa da-na-[an (<sup>a</sup>)]<sup>1</sup>aš-šur <sup>a</sup>(?)PA(?) <sup>a</sup>MES šá UGU kul-<sup>1</sup>lat KUR(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ áš<sup>1</sup>-ta[k(?)]-ka(?)<sup>1</sup>-nu(?) (x) iš-ma-a (x) [(x)] NI <sup>1</sup>SA(?) ĤA(?)<sup>1</sup> iš [(...)]
- 21) il-lu-ur-tú u <sup>1</sup>ši<sup>1</sup>-i<sup>1</sup>š-<sup>1</sup>su<sup>1</sup> ú-šat-me-ħa x [x (x) x] x [(x)] x DU x (x) x (x) [x (x) x x a]-di maħ-ri-ia ú-še-[bi]-<sup>1</sup>la(?)<sup>1</sup>-áš-šú ka-meš<sup>1</sup> (x x) [(...)]
- 22) gi-mir KUR <sup>1</sup>ta-ba-lu<sup>1</sup> KUR kas-ku <sup>1</sup>KUR<sup>1</sup> hi-<sup>1</sup>lak-ku(?)<sup>1</sup> [x (x)] x [x x] x x <sup>1</sup>šá(?) <sup>m</sup>(?)<sup>1</sup>me-<sup>1</sup>ta-a(?) MAN KUR<sup>1</sup> [mu]-us-ki <sup>1</sup>da(?)<sup>1</sup>-ád-me-šú e-x-x-(x)-<sup>1</sup>ma(?)<sup>1</sup> ú-ša-ħi-ir KUR-su(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) [(...)]
- 23) ina URU ra-pi-ħi pa-<sup>1</sup>an<sup>1</sup> um-ma-na-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup> [x] x x x (x) x-ma MAN URU ħa-zi-ti šá a-<sup>1</sup>na(?)<sup>1</sup> [ni]-<sup>1</sup>ri<sup>1</sup>-ia la ik-nu-šú šal-l[a(?)]-t[i(?)]-<sup>1</sup>iš<sup>1</sup> am-<sup>1</sup>nu<sup>1</sup>-šú [(...)]

- 24) *ú-šak-niš* 7 MAN.MEŠ-*ni šá* KUR *ia-<sup>1</sup>a<sup>1</sup>* [*n*]*a-<sup>1</sup>gi-i šá<sup>1</sup>* K[UR(?)]  
<sup>d</sup>*ia(?)*-*ad<sup>1</sup>-na-na šá* *ma-lak* x [x (x) *ina qa*]-*bal tam-<sup>1</sup>tim<sup>1</sup>* *e-reb*  
<sup>d</sup>UTU<sup>1</sup>-[š]*i šit-ku-na-at šu-bat-sún<sup>1</sup>* [(...)]
- 25) *u* <sup>md</sup>MES-A-SUM.<sup>1</sup>NA MAN<sup>1</sup> KUR <sup>1</sup>*kal<sup>1</sup>-di a-<sup>1</sup>šib<sup>1</sup>* *ki-<sup>1</sup>šad<sup>1</sup>* i[D m]*a[r-*  
*r]a-ti šá ki-i la <sup>1</sup>lib<sup>1</sup>*-[*bi* DINGIR.MEŠ] MAN-*ut* KÁ.<sup>1</sup>DINGIR<sup>1</sup>.RA.<sup>1</sup>KI *e<sup>1</sup>-*  
*[pu(?)]*-<sup>1</sup>*šú(?)<sup>1</sup>* *ik-šú-da* GAL-<sup>1</sup>*tú<sup>1</sup>* *qa-<sup>1</sup>a(?)*-*ti(?)<sup>1</sup>* [(...)]
- 26) <sup>1</sup>*ù(?)<sup>1</sup>* *gi-mir* KUR É-<sup>m</sup>*ia-ki-ni* <sup>1</sup>NA(?)<sup>1</sup> x (x) x x <sup>1</sup>DA(?)<sup>1</sup> [(x x)] x x  
 LI(?) *a-na* x (x) [x (x) x] <sup>1</sup>AD(?) RI(?) TU/LI(?)<sup>1</sup> [P]AD(?)/<sup>1</sup>ŠÁ (x) BE  
 (x) [(x) x] <sup>1</sup>*ú-kin* AN(?) IA(?)<sup>1</sup> x x [(...)]
- 27) <sup>m</sup>*a-hu-un-da-ri* MAN *dil-<sup>1</sup>mun<sup>1</sup>*.KI *šá* *ma-lak* x x (x) <sup>1</sup>DANNA(?)<sup>1</sup>  
 [x x] x x x x [x x x x] x <sup>1</sup>*nar-ba-šu(?)<sup>1</sup>* *da-n[a-an be-lu-ti]i(?)*-<sup>1</sup>*ia<sup>1</sup>*  
<sup>1</sup>*iš-me-ma* <sup>1</sup>*iš-šá-a ta<sup>1</sup>*-[*mar-tuš*]
- 28) <sup>1</sup>*ina<sup>1</sup>* *li-i-ti u <sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>-na-ni šá* DINGIR.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> GAL.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ<sup>1</sup> [EN.MEŠ-(*ia*)]  
<sup>1</sup>*šá* [GIŠ.TUKUL.MEŠ-*ia ú-šat-bu-ma ú-ra-a*]*s(?)*-*si-bu na-[gab* (x x)  
*ga-r]i(?)*-[*ia* (...)]
- 29) <sup>1</sup>*iš-tu(?)* KUR *ia<sup>1</sup>-ad-na-na šá* *qa-bal <sup>1</sup>tam-tim(?)<sup>1</sup>* [*šá-lam* <sup>d</sup>UTU-*ši*  
*a-di pa-aṭ* KUR *mu-šu*]-*r[i* (u) KUR *m]u-us-k[i* KUR.MAR.TU.KI  
 DAGAL-*tu<sub>4</sub>*] <sup>1</sup>KUR(?)<sup>1</sup> *ḫ[at(?)*-*ti* (...)]
- 30) <sup>1</sup>*nap<sup>1</sup>-ḫa-ar* <sup>1</sup>KUR(?) *gu(?)<sup>1</sup>*-*ti-um*.KI KUR *ma-da-<sup>1</sup>a-a ru-qu<sup>1</sup>*-x x  
 (x) [x x x x x (x x) KUR *el*]-<sup>1</sup>*li(?)<sup>1</sup>*-*pi* KUR *ra-a-ši ina <sup>1</sup>i<sup>1</sup>-te-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>*  
 [KUR.ELAM.MA.KI]
- 31) <sup>1</sup>*šá<sup>1</sup>* *a-aḫ* <sup>1</sup>ID<sup>1</sup>.IDIGNA <sup>1</sup>LÚ<sup>1</sup> *i-tu-<sup>1</sup>u* LÚ *ru<sup>1</sup>*-[*bu-<sup>1</sup>u* LÚ *ḫa-tal*]-<sup>1</sup>*lu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>*  
 LÚ <sup>1</sup>*lab<sup>1</sup>-du-du* LÚ *ḫa-am-ra-nu* LÚ *ú-<sup>1</sup>bu-lu<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>* [LÚ *ru-<sup>1</sup>u*]-x-<sup>1</sup>*a* LÚ  
<sup>1</sup>*li<sup>1</sup>*-[*i<sup>1</sup>-ta-a*]
- 32) <sup>1</sup>*šá a-aḫ* ID<sup>1</sup> *su-rap-<sup>1</sup>pi* ID *uq-ni<sup>1</sup>*-*i* <sup>1</sup>LÚ *gam<sup>1</sup>*-[*bu-lu*] LÚ *ḫi-<sup>1</sup>in<sup>1</sup>-da-*  
*ru* LÚ <sup>1</sup>*pu<sup>1</sup>-qu-du* LÚ *su-te-e* <sup>1</sup>ÉRIN<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ <sup>1</sup>EDIN *šá* KUR<sup>1</sup> *i[a(?)*]-*ad-*  
*bu-<sup>1</sup>ri ma-la<sup>1</sup>* [*ba-šú-ú*]
- 33) <sup>1</sup>*ul(?)*-*tu<sup>1</sup>* URU *sa-am-ú-na a-<sup>1</sup>di<sup>1</sup>* URU *bu-bé-e* [UR]U.<sup>1</sup>DU<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>(Text:  
 TI?)*ḫum-ba* (x x x x x) (gap) (x) *šá mi-šir* (x) <sup>1</sup>ELAM<sup>1</sup>.«AN(?)».  
 MA.<sup>1</sup>KI<sup>1</sup> (x) [(...)]
- 34) <sup>1</sup>KUR *kár(?)<sup>1</sup>*-*dun-ia-áš* *e-liš <sup>1</sup>u(?)* *šap-liš* KUR<sup>1</sup>.É-<sup>m</sup>*e-<sup>1</sup>muk-ka<sup>1</sup>*-*n[i*  
 KUR].<sup>1</sup>É<sup>1</sup>-<sup>md</sup>[*a*]-*ku-ri* (x x x x x) KUR.É-<sup>m</sup>*a-šil-a-ni* KUR.É-<sup>m</sup>*sa-<sup>1</sup>a-*  
<sup>1</sup>*al-lu<sup>1</sup>* (x) [(...)]
- 35) <sup>1</sup>*si-ḫir<sup>1</sup>*-*ti* KUR *kal-di ma-<sup>1</sup>la ba<sup>1</sup>-šú-u* <sup>1</sup>KUR.É-<sup>m</sup>*ia<sup>1</sup>*-[*ki*]-<sup>1</sup>*in<sup>1</sup>* *šá ki-*  
<sup>1</sup>*šad* ID *mar-ra-<sup>1</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>* [(x x)] *a-di pa-aṭ* (x) NI.<sup>1</sup>TUK.KI<sup>1</sup> [(...)]
- 36) <sup>1</sup>*mit-ḫa<sup>1</sup>*-*riš lu a-bil-ma* LÚ *šu-ut* <sup>1</sup>SAG.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-*ia* [(x) LÚ].EN.NAM.MEŠ  
 UGU-*šú-nu* <sup>1</sup>*áš(?)<sup>1</sup>*-[*tak-ka*]*n(?)*-*ma ni-ir be-lu-ti-<sup>1</sup>ia<sup>1</sup>/ia(?)* *e<sup>1</sup>-mid-*  
<sup>1</sup>*su(?)*-*nu(?)*-*ti(?)<sup>1</sup>* (x) [(...)]
- 37) <sup>1</sup>*ina* *u<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup>*-*me-šú-ma te-ne-še-ti* KUR <sup>1</sup>*kar<sup>1</sup>*-*al-li* <sup>1</sup>LUGAL/LÚ/IN<sup>1</sup> x x  
 (x) <sup>1</sup>ÁŠ *šá(?)* *a(?)*-*na(?)* *šá(?)<sup>1</sup>*-*a-tu* <sup>1</sup>ŠAR/TU/LI/BÀD(?)<sup>1</sup> [x x] (x)  
 KAN/I(?)]-*šú-ma la i-du-u pa-laḫ be-<sup>1</sup>lu-ti<sup>1</sup>* [(...)]

- 38) ʾUGU *hur*<sup>1</sup>-šá-a-ni zaq-ru-ti it-tak-ʾlu-ma<sup>1</sup> x [x LÚ] ʾšú(?)-ut(?)<sup>1</sup> SAG(?).(x)-ia LÚ.GAR.KUR(?) x [x x (x)] x gi-mir KUR ʾNAR(?)<sup>1</sup>-bi-tu<sub>4</sub>/i(?) IT ʾBU(?) Ú(?) LAK(?)<sup>1</sup> x x [...]
- 39) ʾBU(?)<sup>1</sup> x (x) x iš-ku-nu-ma ʾik-šu-ru ta-ḥa(?)<sup>1</sup>-zu(?)<sup>1</sup> x [(x) x] x GE E x DU(?) LA AB(?) x x (x) ʾiš(?)<sup>1</sup>-še-gu-ma ú-ʾra-si-bu<sup>1</sup> (x) ʾUN(?).MEŠ(?)-šú(?)<sup>1</sup>-nu(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) [...]
- 40) ʾANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUR.RA.MEŠ ʾANŠE<sup>1</sup>.KUNGA.ʾMEŠ<sup>1</sup> ANSE x x ʾMEŠ<sup>1</sup> u x [(x)] (x) x x E(?) TI maḥ-ri-šú(?)<sup>1</sup>-nu ʾRA(?) MA(?)<sup>1</sup> x-ʾšú(?)<sup>1</sup>-un(?) ú-tir-ru-ʾma(?)<sup>1</sup> UL IM(?) (x) x x (x) [...]
- 41) ʾtu(?)<sup>1</sup>-da(?)<sup>1</sup>-at(?)<sup>1</sup> KUR-šú(?)<sup>1</sup> uš-ḥa-ri-ʾru(?)<sup>1</sup>-ma<sup>1</sup> x x x x x x (x x) [x x] ʾDA/MAḤ(?) RI(?)<sup>1</sup> KA x TI IḤ ʾTA(?)<sup>1</sup> x [x] TU ip-ru-su (x) ʾda-rag(?)<sup>1</sup>-gu(?)<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 42) ʾLÚ.UKU<sup>1</sup>.UŠ.MEŠ-ia LA(?) A x x [A]T/MA ʾTI(?) Ú(?)<sup>1</sup> MA ʾA'(?)<sup>1</sup> [(x)] x x (x) x ʾKUR(?) DAN(?)<sup>1</sup> x x x x [(x x x)] x-ʾše-ru<sup>1</sup>-ma a-na šá-ḥat KUR.MEŠ ʾmar-šu<sup>1</sup>-te a-ʾra-niš<sup>1</sup> (x) [...]
- 43) ʾIR(?)<sup>1</sup> x x (x) x-ʾšú-nu<sup>1</sup> (x) x x iš-ku-nu x x ʾTA(?)<sup>1</sup> [x (x)] (x) x muq-tab-li-šú-nu ʾÚ/KI(?)<sup>1</sup> [(x x x x x)] BU TI ʾÚ(?)<sup>1</sup> x x KI ʾE *hur*-šá<sup>1</sup>-a-ni [...]
- 44) ʾsi(?)<sup>1</sup>-ta(?)<sup>1</sup>-ti-šú-nu<sup>1</sup> x x x x QI(?) x x x x [x (x) x] x x KUR(?) (x) x x [x x x x x] x-ma im-nu-u šal-la-ti-ʾiš<sup>1</sup> [...]
- 45) ʾNA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.A ú<sup>1</sup>-še-piš-ma ša-lam DINGIR.MEŠ ʾGAL(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ(?)<sup>1</sup> [x x (x)] (x) x x x x x x (x) [x mu]-ʾsa(?)<sup>1</sup>-pu(?)<sup>1</sup>-u DINGIR-ti-šú-un GAL-ti ma-ʾḥar<sup>1</sup>-šú-un(?) ul-ʾziz(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) [...]
- 46) ʾli(?)<sup>1</sup>-ta(?)<sup>1</sup>-at(?)<sup>1</sup> ʾaš-šur ʾa(?)<sup>1</sup>-bu (x) DINGIR.ʾMEŠ<sup>1</sup> EN x [(x)] ʾEN(?)<sup>1</sup> (x) [x (x)] x kul-ʾlat<sup>1</sup> x [x x x x (x x) ú-šá]-áš-ti-ra (x) ʾše(?)<sup>1</sup>-ru-uš-x (x x) [...].

(Possible traces of 1-3 lines)

- 1') [...] x (x) x x [a-na] ʾMAN(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ<sup>1</sup>-ni DUMU.MEŠ-ia(?)<sup>1</sup> ša-ti-iš (...) [e-zib (...)] \*
- 2') [...] x x [x] x (x) x [x (x)] x x x x A (x) Ú(?) x (x) x LA A x x x x [...]
- 3') [...] x x SA(?) [...]
- 4') [...] x [...]

(Possible traces of several more lines)



## Translation

- 1) [The god *Aššur*] ... king of al[l the] *Igīgū* [gods and *Anunnakū* gods ...]
- 2) .....
- 3) [the god *Mardu*]k, lord of all, who provides [all] people with food ...;
- 4) [the god *Nabū*], perfect heir ...;
- 5) [the god *Sîn*], lord of heaven and netherworld ...;
- 6) [the god *Šamaš*], chief justice of heaven and netherworld ...;
- 7) the goddess [*Iš*]tar, who makes (men) ready for battle ...;
- 8) the divine Seven, who lead the gods (and) who [stand at the side of] the king, [their] favourite, in the place [of battle] and bring about (his) victory;
- 9) great gods, managers of heaven and [netherwo]rld, whose attack means [con]flict and [st]rife,
- 10) (the gods) who look for (and) appoint the king, [at who]se holy [com]mand they a[dd land] to land [and] make (him) greater [(than other rulers)]:
- 11) Sargon (II), great king, mighty king, king of the world, king of Assyria, viceroy of Babylon, king of the land of [Sumer and Ak]kad, favourite of the great gods,
- 12) perfect hero, ... man, pious [*prince*], marvellous man, ... shepherd ...
- 13) The gods *Aššur*, *Nabū*, (and) *Marduk*, the gods, [(my)] helpers, granted [me] a reign [without] equal and [have made] my good [fa]me reach the heights.
- 14) I co[n]tinually ac[ted] [as pro]vi[der] for Sippar, Ni[ppur], (and) Babylon (and) I ma[de restitution] for the wrongful damage suffered by the people [of privileged status], as many as there were of them.
- 15) I re[sto]red the exemption from taxation of Bal[til] (*Aššur*) which had been interrupted. (*With regard to*) the city of *Ḫarrān* ... gate of [the pe]ople ... I set up a *kidinnu*-symbol (indicating their privileged status).
- 16) I dispersed the army of the Elamite *Ḫumbanigaš* (*Humban-nikaš*). I destroyed the land of K[aral]la, the land of *Šurda*, the city of Ki[še-s]im, the city of *Ḫarḫar*, [the Me]dian [land], (and) the land of *El-li*[pi (...)].
- 17) I laid waste to the land of *Urartu*, plundered the city of [Mušaš]ir (and) the Mannean land, crushed the land[s of *Andia* (and) *Zikirtu*, (and)] allowed [(...) a]ll their settlements to live ...

- 18) I conquered the rulers of the land of Amattu (Hamath), the city of Carche[mish, the city of Kummuh]i, (and) the land of Kammanu; over *their* lands [...] I se[t] *officials*.
- 19) I plundered the city of Ashdod. Iamani, its king, feared [my weapons] and ... He fled to the region of the land of Meluhḥa and lived (there) stealthfully (literally: like a thief).
- 20) Šapataku' (Shebitku), king of the land of Meluhḥa, heard of the mig[ht] of the gods Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk which *I had* [demonstrated] over all *lands*, ...
- 21) He put (Iamani) in manacles and handcuffs ... he had him brought captive into my presence.
- 22) [*I depopulated*] all the lands of Tabālu, Kasku, (and) Ḫilakku; *I took away* settlements *belonging to* Metâ (Midas), king of the land of [Mu]sku, *and* reduced (the size of) *his* land.
- 23) At the city of Rapiḫu *I defeated the vanguard* of the army of Egypt and counted as booty the king of the city of Ḫāzutu (Gaza) who had not submitted to my [yo]ke.
- 24) I subdued seven kings of the land of Iā', a region of the l[and of] Iadnāna (Cyprus) — whose home is situated at a distance of ... [in the mid]dle of the Western Sea.
- 25) Moreover, I personally (literally: my great *hands*) defeated Marduk-apla-iddina (Merodach-Baladan), king of the land of Chaldea, who dwelled on the shore of the sea (and) who *ex[erc]ised* kingship over Babylon against the wi[ll of the gods].
- 26) Moreover, all the land of Bīt-Iakīn ... *I fixed* ...
- 27) Aḫundari, king of Dilmun, whose lair [*is situated*] at a distance of ... *leagues* [*in the middle*] of the sea like that of a fish, heard of my [royal] mig[ht] and brought me [his] gre[et]ing gift].
- 28) With the power and strength (granted me) by the great gods, [(my) lords], who [raised up my weapons, I cut] down al[l my enemies].
- 29) From the land of Iadnāna (Cyprus), which is (situated) in the middle of the [Western] Sea, [as far as the border(s) of Egypt (and) the land of M]usk[u, the wide land of Amurru], the *land* of Ḫ[atti (in its entirety)],
- 30) all of the land of Gutium, the land of the distant Medes [by Mount Bikni, the land of El]lipi, (and) the land of Rāši on the border [of the land of Elam],
- 31) those who (live) beside the Tigris river — the (tribes of) Itu'u, Ru[bu'u, Ḫatal]lu, Labdudu, Ḫamrānu, Ubulu, [Ru']ūa, (and) Li[']tāu —
- 32) those who (live) beside the Surappu river (and) the Uqnū river — the (tribes of) Gam[būlu], Ḫindaru, (and) Puqūdu — the Suteans,

people of the steppe of the land of Iadburu, as many as [there are],

- 33) *from* the city of Sam'ūna as far as the cities of Bubê (and) Til-Ḥumba(n), which are on the border of Elam,
- 34) the land of Karduniaš from end to end, the lands of Bīt-Amukāni, Bīt-Dakkūri, Bīt-Šilāni, (and) Bīt-Sa'alli,
- 35) all of the land of Chaldea, as much as there is (of it), the land of Bīt-Ia[k]īn, which is (situated) on the shore of the sea, as far as the territory of Dilmun,
- 36) I ruled (it) all. I s[et] eunuchs of mine as governors over them and I imposed my royal yoke *upon them*.
- 37) At that time the people of the land of Karalla ... *who* ... and were not used to respecting (any) rulership,
- 38) trusted in the steep mountains and ... *a eunuch of mine, the governor* ... all the land ...
- 39) ... they established and *prepared for battle* ... *became angry* and slew *their people*.
- 40) Horses, mules, ... and ... their presence ... turned *and* ...
- 41) They made *the paths through* his land *desolate* and ... blocked *the trails*.
- 42) My *rēdû*-soldiers ... to inaccessible mountain clefts like eagles.
- 43) ... they established ... their warriors ... mountains.
- 44) *The remainder* of them ... and they counted (them) as booty.
- 45) I had a commemorative monument made and *engraved upon it* image(s) of the *great gods*, [*my lords*]. I placed before them *my royal image* [(*in an attitude of*) *pr*]aying to their great divine majesties.
- 46) *The victories* of the god Aššur, *father* of the gods, lord ... [...] all [... I had] inscribed upon it.

(Possible traces of 1-3 lines)

1') [...] ... [I left for] future *kings*, *my* descendants [...]

2'-4') No translation possible.

(Possible traces of several more lines).

### Commentary

Due to shadow on the photographs, it is not always clear how much, if anything at all, is missing at the right end of the lines. While [(...)] has regularly been put at the end of lines in the transliteration, the translation has generally ignored this.

1-8) Parts of these lines listing the gods addressed may be compared to Sargon's Cyprus Stela i 1-23 and the Najafehabad Stela i 1-14; see

also the beginning of the prism inscription of Tiglath-pileser I (Grayson, *RIMA* 2, A.0.87.1 i 1-14). The tentative understanding of the lines assumes the following order of gods: Aššur, Marduk, Nabû, Sîn, Šamaš, Ištar, and the divine Seven (Sebettu). It also assumes that no new god is mentioned in line 2, but rather that Aššur was given more epithets than the other deities. This order can be compared to the Cyprus Stela which has Aššur, Sîn, Šamaš, Adad, Marduk, Nabû, Ištar, and the divine Seven (with possibly the name of another god to be restored in the damaged area between Nabû and Ištar) and to the Najafehabad Stela which appears to have Aššur, Marduk, Sîn, Šamaš, [...] (with perhaps two deities being mentioned in the damaged area following Šamaš). Note also the following ordering on the rock relief of Tiglath-pileser III from Mila Mergi: Aššur, Marduk, Nabû, Šamaš, [Sîn], Adad, Ea, [Ištar], the divine Seven, Amurru, and Sumuqan; see Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III* 112 lines 1-10. For the order of the gods mentioned in several lists in Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions and the prominent position accorded the Babylonian god Marduk, see H. Tadmor, in H. Tadmor, B. Landsberger, and S. Parpola, "The Sin of Sargon and Sennacherib's Last Will", *SAA Bulletin* 3 (1989) 25-28 and Beate Pongratz-Leisten, *Ina Šulmi Īrub: Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im I. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Baghdader Forschungen 16; Mainz am Rhein 1994) 117-22.

1) Cyprus Stela i 1 has <sup>d</sup>*aš-šur* EN GAL-ú [LUGAL(?) KIŠ(?)] <sup>d</sup>*i-gi-gi*<sup>1</sup> u <sup>d</sup>A.NUN.NA and the Najafehabad Stela i 1 (i 2 of the published copy) has ... LUGAL KIŠ <sup>d</sup>[...]. This might suggest that this text had originally ... MAN *kiš-šat*/KIŠ <sup>d</sup>*i-gi-gi* ....

3) For the tentative reading of the first part of the line, see the Cyprus Stela i 11-12 (... <sup>d</sup>AMAR<sup>1</sup>.[UTU] EN [TIL(?) x x] BI *e-pir kiš-šat* UN.MEŠ ...) and the Najafehabad Stela i 5 (<sup>d</sup>AMAR.<sup>1</sup>UTU EN TIL *e-pir*(?)<sup>1</sup> *kiš-šat*<sup>1</sup> [UN.MEŠ(?)]). Instead of EN TIL, "lord of all", possibly EN IDIM, "venerable lord"; see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 45 and 47. Possibly *m[u(?)]-bal-liṭ*(?) [*mīti*], "who revives [the dying]"? For the use of this epithet for Marduk, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 67 and *CAD* M/2 141.

4) Nabû is mentioned after Marduk in the Cyprus Stela (i 15 <sup>d</sup>AG IBILA [...] ...) and *aplu gitmālu* is an epithet used for Nabû (see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 30).

5) The Najafehabad Stela i 7-8 has <sup>d</sup>30 *e*(?)<sup>1</sup>-*til*(?) AN-*e* <sup>d</sup>ú(?)<sup>1</sup> [KI-*tim* š]á(?)<sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>qu<sup>1</sup>-ú <sup>d</sup>ŠE[š(?).KI(?)] DINGIR.MEŠ(?) and note Cyprus Stela i 3 ... <sup>d</sup>*e-til*<sup>1</sup> AN-*e* ú KI-*tim* (collated by J. Marzahn).

6) For "chief justice of heaven and netherworld" as an epithet of the god Šamaš, see Tallqvist, *Götterepitheta* 84 and *CAD* D 140-41.

7) The tentatively-proposed epithet *mušakširat anunti* would be otherwise unattested. Ištar is elsewhere called [mut]takkipat anunti (Ebeling, *KAR* 57 ii 16) and *ēpišat anunti* (Ebeling, *KAR* 92 rev. 10'); cf. Cyprus Stela i 20 ([šar(?)]-<sup>r</sup>ra-ar<sup>1</sup> a-nun-ti, collated by J. Marzahn) and Ebeling, *KAR* 343 line 6 ([...]-ša-at a-nun-tú). For a use of the verb *kašāru* (D-stem) with *anuntu* in connection with the god Irra, see Streck, *Asb.* 78 ix 82.

8) Cyprus Stela i 22-23 has [x (x)] <sup>d</sup>IMIN<sup>1</sup>.BI <sup>r</sup>a-li-kut ma-har DINGIR(?)<sup>1</sup>.MEŠ ša a-šar šá-áš-mi i-di LUGAL mi-<sup>r</sup>IG/GI<sup>1</sup>-ri-šú-nu i-za-zu-ma i-[šak]-ka-nu [(x)] NIG.UD.D[U] (partially collated by J. Marzahn). With regard to the divine Seven (Sebetu), see most recently A. R. George, *Babylonian Topographical Texts* (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 40; Leuven 1992) 365-66.

9-10) Cf. Cyprus Stela i 24-28, the Najafehabad Stela i 15-18, and Grayson, *RIMA* 2, A.0.87.1 i 15-16.

10) Cyprus Stela i 26-28 has <sup>r</sup>na<sup>1</sup>-šú-ú <sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup>-ni na-bu-ú šu-um LUGAL ša ina e-peš <sup>r</sup>KA-šú-nu el(?)<sup>1</sup>-li<sup>1</sup> KUR UGU KUR i-šak-ka-nu-ma ú-šar-bu-ú [UGU] mal-ki.

12) The traces do not seem to favour reading either *dan-nu* or *qar-du* after *zikaru* or *ke-(e)-nu/num* after *rē'ûm*; for these phrases, see Seux, *Epithètes* 378 and 245 respectively. The epithet *eṭlu tabrâti* is otherwise unattested, but note *rē'û tabrâte* (Ashurnasirpal II, Adad-nārārī III, and Sardur I) and *ušumgal tabrâti* (Shalmaneser I); see Seux, *Epithètes* 250 and 355 respectively.

13-15) For similar passages, see in particular the Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 2-3 and 5 and the Cyprus Stela ii 5-12 and 18-21.

13) One expects *a-na* before *rēšēti*, but the traces before RE do not seem to fit such a reading.

15) Possibly <sup>r</sup>KÁ<sup>1</sup>.G[AL(?) te(?)]-ne-še-<sup>r</sup>ti<sup>1</sup>? For the second half of the line, compare *a-na u<sub>4</sub>-me ša-a-te ina KÁ-šu* (var. *šú*)-*nu az-qu-up ki-din-nu* which appears in a passage dealing with the restoration of the privileges of the people of the city of Aššur (Baltil) by Esarhaddon. See Borger, *Esarh.* 3 §2 iii 13-15.

16-18) For a passage similar to these lines, see in particular Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 7-10 and note such texts as Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 14-27.

16) Possibly <sup>r</sup>KUR(?)<sup>1</sup>.ELAM(?)<sup>1</sup>.[M]A(?)<sup>1</sup>.KI-i. For the end of this line, the Display Inscription from Room XIV has KUR ma-da-a-a ⟨a⟩-di pa-at [KUR bi-ik-ni] KUR(!) el-li-pi e-mi-du ni-ir <sup>d</sup>aš-šur (lines 7-8).

17) Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 8-9 have at this point [ú-šah-ri]b KUR ur-ar-<sup>r</sup>tu<sup>1</sup> áš(!)-lul(!) URU mu-ša-šir(!) áš(!)-giš KUR an-

*di-a* KUR *zi-kir-tú* UN.MEŠ KUR *man-na-a-a dal-ḥu(!)-[ú-te]* šu-bat *ne-eḥ-tu ú-še(!)-šib*, “[I laid was]te to the land of Urartu, plundered the city of Mušasir, crushed the lands of Andia (and) Zikirtu, (and) allowed the people of the Mannean land who had been in (a state of) confusion to live in security”. Based on Fig. 9, could it be <sup>1</sup>šul(?)<sup>1</sup>-meš(?) at the end of the line?

18) Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 9-10 have at this point *a-na-ar(!) mal(!)-ki* KUR [*a-ma*]-*at-te* URU [*gar*]-*ga-miš* URU *kum-mu-ḥi* <sup>1</sup>gu(!)-*un-zi-na-nu* KUR *kam-ma-nu-u-a iš-tu qé-reb(!)* URU *me-lid-[di]* URU LUGAL-*ti-[šu]* *as-su[ḥ-ma* UGU *gi-mir]* KUR.MEŠ *ša-[ti-na]* *ás-tak-ka-na* LÚ *ša-ak-nu-ti*, “I conquered the rulers of the land of [Am]attu (Hamath), the city of [Car]chemish, (and) the city of Kummuḥi. I remov[ed] Gunzinanu of the land of Kammanu from the city of Melid, [his] royal city, [and] set officials [over all] th[ese] lands”.

The traces at the end of the line are not clear and <sup>1</sup>LÚ.GAR-*nu(?)*-*ti(?)*<sup>1</sup> (x x) might also be possible. Figs. 9 and 14, however, seem to indicate that there are more traces for the sign immediately following ŠA than one would expect for a NU and that these are not incompatible with AK.

19-21) For Sargon's dealings with Ashdod, see section IV.

19) The first DU of <sup>1</sup>as-*du(?)*<sup>1</sup>-*du* appears to be more like UŠ than DU. Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 11-12 inform us that Iamani became afraid (*e-dúr-ma*) of Sargon's weapons, abandoned (*e-zib-ma*) his wife, sons, and daughters, and fled to the land of Egypt near the border with Nubia — *a-na i-te-e* KUR *mu(!)-[uṣ-ri]* *ša pa-aṭ* KUR [*me-luḥ-ḥa in*]-*na-bit-ma(!)*; see n. 24 below. Possibly *e-<sup>1</sup>zib* URU<sup>1</sup>-*uṣ-šú* “he abandoned his city”), but we would not expect a locative form. One might also think of *e-<sup>1</sup>den*<sup>1</sup>-*uṣ-šú*; the traces between E and UŠ-ŠÚ, however, look more like U-URU.

20) Display Inscription line 111 has *da-na-an* [<sup>d</sup>*aš-š*]*ur* <sup>d</sup>[AG] <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU *a-na ru-[qi(?)]* *iš-me-[ma pul]-ḥi me-lam-me* LUGAL-*ti-ia ik-tu-mu-šu-ma it-ta-bi-ik-šú ḥa-at-tú*. Assuming the reading *a-na ru-[qi(?)]* is correct, we might look for a word meaning “from afar” at the end of line 20. Possibly a form based on *nesû* (cf. *nesîš*)? Possibly ŠIM(!) instead of <sup>1</sup>ḤA(?)<sup>1</sup> *iš*?

21) Display Inscription line 112 has *i-na ši-iṣ-ši ú iṣ qa-[ti bi]-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-di-šum-ma a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur.KI ḥar-ra-ni ru-u[q(?)]-t]* *a-di maḥ-ri-ia ub-[lu-ni ...* and Display Inscription from Room XIV line 14 has ŠU *u GİR(!).II bi-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-du-šu a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur.KI a-di maḥ-ri-ia ú-še-bi-la-ás(!)-šú(!)*.

22-24) See in particular Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 16-18; note similar passages in such texts as Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 35-45.

22) Display Inscription from Room XIV line 16 has at this point [as-]uḥ KUR ka-as-ku KUR ta-ba-lu<sub>4</sub> KUR ḥi-lak-ku aṭ-ru-ud <sup>m</sup>mi-ta-a LUGAL KUR mu-us-ki, “[I dep]opulated the lands of Kasku, Tabālu, (and) Ḥilakku. I drove out Mitā (Midas), king of the land of Musku”. Possibly a form of the verb *ekēmu* before *uṣaḥḥir* (cf. the Display Inscription lines 44 and 52)?

23) Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 16-17 have at this point *ina* URU ra-pi-ḥi BAD<sub>5</sub>.BAD<sub>5</sub> KUR mu-ṣu-ri áš-kun-ma <sup>m</sup>ḥa-nu-nu [LUGAL URU ḥ]a(!)-zi-ti šal-la-ti-iš a[m]-nu; compare the Display Inscription lines 25-26. There is not sufficient room to read *pān ummānāti māt muṣri dabdēšunu aškunma* (or similar). For another possible instance of *pānu* with the meaning “vanguard”, see A. al-Zeebari, *Altbabylonische Briefe des Iraq-Museums* (Doctoral dissertation, Münster, 1964) 23 commentary to no. 7 line 14 (al-Zeebari, *TIM* I no. 7 line 14) and *AHW* 820 sub *pānu(m)* I C 11.

24) Based on Display Inscription line 146 and Display Inscription from Room XIV line 17 (as well as various other texts of Sargon) we expect *ma-lak* 7 u<sub>4</sub>-me/mi inali-na qa-bal .... Possibly *ma-lak* 3[0 DANNA i-na qa]-bal ... since the trace following *ma-lak* resembles MAN. This measurement, however, is generally used in Sargon’s inscriptions in connection with Dilmun’s position in the sea (see for example Display Inscription line 144 and Display Inscription from Room XIV line 20), not that of Iadnāna (Cyprus). With regard to the “land Iā”, a region of the land of Iadnāna”, see most recently E. Lipiński, “The Cypriot Vassals of Esarhaddon”, in M. Cogan and I. Eph’al, eds., *Ah, Assyria ... Studies in Assyrian History and Ancient Near Eastern Historiography Presented to Hayim Tadmor* (Jerusalem 1991) 64. Lipiński argues that the “word *Ia*’ renders the Phoenician ’y, “island”, and *Iadnāna* should probably be interpreted in the sense of “Island of the Danunians”.

25-27) See in particular Display Inscription lines 121-22 and 144-45, Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 18-21, and Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 45-58; note also Bull Inscription lines 30-36.

26) Possibly ‘at(?)–tal(?)–ka(?)’ instead of ‘AD(?) RI(?) TU/LI(?)’?

Display Inscription from Room XIV has at this point *gi-mir* KUR-šú DAGAL-tim mal-ma-liš a-zu-uz-ma i-na ŠU.II LÚ šu-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia LÚ.GAR.KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ù LÚ šu-ut SAG.MEŠ-ia LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR gam-bu-li am-[nu-ma e-mid] ni-ir <sup>a</sup>š-šur, “I divided up all of his (Marduk-apla-iddina’s) wide land, assi[gned] (it) to a eunuch of mine, the governor of the land of Babylon, and to a eunuch of mine, the governor of [the land] of Gambūlu, [and I imposed] the yoke of the god Aššur (upon his land)” (lines 19-20). Pavement Inscription no. 4 has *gi-mir* KUR-šú DAGAL-tim mal-ma-liš i-zu-zu-ú-ma i-na ŠU.II LÚ šu-ut SAG-šú

LÚ.GAR.KUR KÁ.DINGIR.RA.KI ù LÚ šu-ut SAG-šú LÚ.GAR.KUR KUR gam-bu-li im-nu-ma e-mi-du ni-ru-uš-šu (line 49-54). Cf. the Bull Inscription na-si-iḥ šur-uš URU.BĀD-<sup>m</sup>ia-ki-in-ni URU tuk-la-ti-šú GAL-a ša LÚ.ŪŠ.MEŠ LÚ mun-daḥ-ši-šú i-na sa-pan tam-ti ú-gar-ri-nu gu-ru-un-niš ..., "who uprooted Bīt-Iakīn, the great city upon which he (Marduk-apla-iddina) relied; who heaped up the corpses of his warriors in piles on the flatlands (by the shore) of the sea ..." (lines 32-34).

27) Display Inscription from Room XIV has <sup>m</sup>ú-pe-e-ri LUGAL dil-mun.KI ša ma-lak 30 DANNA ina MURUB<sub>4</sub> tam-tim GIM nu-ú-ni šit-ku-nu nar-ba-[šu] da(!)-[na]-an be-lu-ti-ia [iš-me-ma iš-šá-a t]a-mar-tuš, "Upēri, king of Dilmun, whose lai[r] is situated at a distance of thirty leagues in the middle of the sea, like that of a fish, [heard] of my royal mi[g]ht [and brought me] his greeting-gift" (lines 20-21); see also the Bull Inscription lines 34-36 and Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 54-59. The name of the ruler of Dilmun who sent gifts to Sargon is given as Upēri in all of Sargon's inscriptions except the Tang-i Var inscription and the Nimrud Prism (C. J. Gadd, "Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud", *Iraq* 16 [1954] 191-92 and pl. XLIX vii 20). In the latter text, he is called Aḥundara (<sup>m</sup>a-ḥu-un-da-ra). Aḥundari/a is likely a variant of the name Ḥundaru, which is borne by a ruler of Dilmun in the reign of Ashurbanipal. On the matter of the names, see Gadd, *Iraq* 16 (1954) 194 commentary to line 20 and D. T. Potts, *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity* I (Oxford 1990) 335-36.

28-36) These lines duplicate Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 59-89 (except that Sargon is treated in the first person rather than the third person); see also Display Inscription lines 16-23 (with a variant text for line 33). Similar passages are found in various other inscriptions of Sargon (e.g., Pavement Inscription no. 1 lines 5-23 [see Winckler, *Sar.* II pl. 37 no. I and Fuchs, *Khorsabad* 249-51 and 356 no. 2.5.1]).

29) Following Display Inscription line 17 and Pavement Inscription no. 4 line 66, possibly restore a-na si-ḥir-ti-šá, "in its entirety", at the end of the line.

30) The translation assumes the text had ru-qu-(ú)-ti šál/ša pa-aṭ KUR bi-ik-ni KUR el-li-pi ...; see Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 68-69 and note Display Inscription lines 17-18 which inserts a-di before the land of Ellipi.

31) Or LÚ ḥa-ṭal-lu<sub>4</sub> (see Zadok, *Rép. géogr.* VIII 157). One expects LÚ ru-'u-u<sub>8</sub>/ú-a.

33) The Display Inscription which otherwise is a duplicate of lines 28-36 has for this line a-di URU sa-am-'u-ú-na URU.KÁ-BĀD URU.BĀD-<sup>d</sup>te-li-ti URU ḥi-li-im-mu URU pil-la-tu<sub>4</sub> URU dun-ni-<sup>d</sup>UTU URU bu-bé-e URU.DU<sub>6</sub>-<sup>d</sup>ḥum-ba ša mi-šir KUR.ELAM.MA.KI, "as far as the cities of



Sam'ūna, Bāb-dūri, Dūr-Telīti, Ḥilimmu, Pillatu, Dunni-Šamaš, Bubê (and) Til-Ḥumba(n), which are on the border of the land of Elam" (lines 20-21).

34) For the unusual writing of Bīt-Amukāni with E rather than A, see also *ABL* no. 1117 rev. 12 and 14 (é-*e-muk-a-nu*). As far as I am aware, this writing é-<sup>m</sup>*a-šil-a-ni* for Bīt-Šilāni is unique.

37) For Assyrian actions in Karalla during the reign of Sargon II, see section III. Possibly *šá a-na šá-a-tu sir-[di-(i/e) la] kan-šú-ma ...*, "who had [not] submitted to pull (any king's) chariot [pole] (i.e., had never been willing to serve any king) and ..." For passages using *kanāšu*, *sirdû*, and *šātu* together, see *CAD* S 312; all instances of this combination, however, come from the reigns of Nebuchadnezzar II and Nabonidus. For the end of the line, cf. *Annals* line 247 (= *Lie, Sar.* line 255) *pa-laḥ be-lu-tim la i-du-ú*(var. *u*), describing Iadna (Iamani in most other inscriptions of Sargon) who replaced Aḥimiti on the throne of Ashdod.

38) For the first part of the line, compare for example *Annals* line 400 (= *Lie, Sar.* p. 70 line 1), dealing with Muttallu of Kummuḫi. Possibly L[Ú] instead of x [x LÚ]?

39) Possibly <sup>1</sup>*pu(?)-uḥ(?)—ru(?)*<sup>1</sup> *iš-ku-nu-ma ... la-ab-<sup>1</sup>bi-iš(?)* *iš(?)*<sup>1</sup>-*še-gu-ma ...*, "They arranged a gathering (of their forces) and ... they became enraged like lions and ...".

40) Possibly ... ANŠE.<sup>1</sup>MEŠ(!?) GU<sub>4</sub>(!?).MEŠ<sup>1</sup> ...? Cf. lists of animals in such places as *Annals* lines 193, 272, 297, 299, and 450, *Display Inscription* lines 183-85, *Najafehabad Stela ii* 50, and *Eighth Campaign* [Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* III] line 263; none of these passages has this exact order of animals although donkeys (ANŠE.MEŠ) are frequently mentioned immediately following horses and mules. Possibly <sup>1</sup>*ra(?)—ma(?)—nu(?)—šú(?)*<sup>1</sup>-*un(?) ú-tir-ru-<sup>1</sup>ma(?)*<sup>1</sup> ..., "they appropriated for themselves and..."?

41) Compare *uš-ḥar-ri-ru me-ti-iq-šú*, "they made the route through it desolate", in the *Nimrud Prism of Sargon* (Gadd, *Iraq* 16 [1954] 192 and pl. L vii 60). *Tūdāt*, which is tentatively read at the beginning of the line, appears in the same passage in the *Nimrud Prism* (vii 52), as does the relatively rare word *daraggu* (vii 51) which may well appear at the end of our line. *Daraggu* is also found in Sargon's *Eighth Campaign* (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* III line 325).

42) The traces of the three middle signs would not seem to fit a reading *la e-du-ru-ma* (following <sup>1</sup>LÚ.UKU<sup>1</sup>.UŠ.MEŠ-*ia*); see figs. 15-16. Likely *ú-<sup>1</sup>ma(?)—še-ru<sup>1</sup>—ma*; see Sargon's *Eighth Campaign* (Thureau-Dangin, *TCL* III) line 214 which has *ú-<sup>1</sup>maš-še-ru-ma a-na šá-ḥat KUR-e pa-áš-qa-te ip-par-šid-du mu-ši-TAŠ*, "they abandoned and fled by night to narrow mountain clefts".

45) The translation assumes something along the lines of *šalam ilāni rabūti bēlīia ēsiqa šēruššu šalam šarrūtīa musappū ilūtīsun rabīti maḥaršun ulziz*. It is not clear, however, that there is sufficient room for all this or that the traces would always support such a reading. Compare *ša-lam* DINGIR.MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-*ia e-<sup>r</sup>si<sup>1</sup>-qa še-ru-uš-šú ša-lam* LUGAL-*ti-ia mu-sa-ap-pu-u* DINGIR-*ti-šú-un ma-ḥar-šú-un ul-ziz* (C. F. Lehmann, *Šamašsumukīn, König von Babylonien 668-648 v. Chr.* [Assyriologische Bibliothek 8; Leipzig 1892] pl. XXXIX iv 2-3 = Streck, *Asb.* 270) and note *ša-lam* LUGAL-*ti-ia mu-sa-ap-pu-u* DINGIR-*ti-šú-un ... ab-ta-ni še-ru-uš-šú* (Borger, *Esarh.* 87 § 57 and pl. I rev. 3-4). The Cyprus Stela has [*i-na u<sub>4</sub>-me-šú*]-*ma NA<sub>4</sub>.NA.RÚ.A ú-še-piš-ma [ša-lam DINGIR].MEŠ GAL.MEŠ EN.MEŠ-ia [e-si-qa(?)]* *qé-reb-šú ša-lam* MAN-*ti-ia [mu-te-ri(?)-i]š(?)* TIL-*LA-ia ma-ḥar-šú-un ul-ziz* (iv 43-46).

46) With regard to *lītāt aššur*, see Tadmor, *Tiglath-pileser III* 70-71 commentary to Ann. 14\* line 8. Possibly EN-*i[a(?)]*, “*m[y]* lord”. The word *kullat* may be part of a phrase indicating that the victories had been won throughout all lands. Compare for example the Najafehabad Stela ii 71: *ep-še-et NIG.È AN.ŠAR ki-šit-ti šu.ii-ia šá UGU kib-rat LIMMU-i <sup>r</sup>áš<sup>1</sup>-ku-nu (x) mim-mu-u ina URU ki-(x)-x <sup>r</sup>e-pu-uš(?)<sup>1</sup> UGU-šú á[š]-<sup>r</sup>ṭur<sup>1</sup> ...*, “the victorious deeds of Aššur, my conquests which I made over the four quarters (of the world), (and) everything I did in the city of Ki... I inscribed upon it (the stela) ...”. For the end of the line, cf. *še-ru-uš-šú ú-šá-áš-ṭir-ma* (Lehmann, *Šamašsumukīn* pl. XXXIX iv 5 = Streck, *Asb.* 270).

There is a change in the surface of the rock face after line 46 and as a result it is not clear if there are any lines missing between 46 and 1’.

1’) See Cyprus Stela iv 57, [*a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ]-*ni DUMU.MEŠ-ia ša-ti-iš e-zib*.

### III. Sargon II and the Land of Karalla

The event that was the occasion for the creation of the Tang-i Var relief and inscription was an Assyrian campaign conducted against Karalla (lines 37-44), a land located in the Zagros Mountains to the East of Assyria<sup>13</sup>. In his study of the geography of the Zagros region in the Neo-

<sup>13</sup> W. Röllig, “Karalla”, *RLA* 5/5-6 (1980) 405 (“Kleines Land am Zagrosrand im Grenzgebiet zu den Mannäern and zu Allabria”). Karalla is usually preceded by the determinative for land (KUR), but on a prism fragment from Assur it is preceded by the determinative for city (URU); see S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6; Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn 1970) 200.

Assyrian period, L. D. Levine suggested locating Karalla “in the area of [Lake] Zeribor”<sup>14</sup>. The Tang-i Var relief would seem to support this proposal since it commemorates a campaign against Karalla and is situated about 75 km southeast of Lake Zeribor.

The Assyrians are known to have conducted military actions against Karalla on at least three occasions during the reign of Sargon: in the king’s sixth, ninth, and sixteenth regnal years (716, 713, and 706). According to Sargon’s Annals, Aššur-le’i of Karalla and Ittī of Allabria were led into rebellion against Assyrian overlordship by Ullusunū, the ruler of the Manneans who was acting with support of the Urartian king Rusā. In response, in his sixth *palū* (716), Sargon conducted a campaign into the mountains and defeated the rebels. Ullusunū was pardoned and allowed to remain ruler of the Manneans, but Ittī and his family were deported<sup>15</sup>. The Annals are damaged at the point where the fate of Aššur-le’i is given (Annals lines 90-91), but according to the Display Inscription:

55) <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-le-’i KUR kar-al-la-a-a <sup>mit</sup>-ti-i KUR al-la-ab-ra-a-a ša ni-ir <sup>a</sup>aš-šur iṣ-lu-ú il-qu-ú še-tu-ti

56) ma-šak <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-ZU a-ku-uṣ-ma UN.MEŠ KUR kar-al-la mala ba-šu-ú <sup>u</sup> <sup>mit</sup>-ti-i a-di qin-ni-šú as-su-ḥa-am-ma ina qé-reb KUR a-ma-at-ti ú-še-šib

With regard to Aššur-le’i of the land of Karalla, (and) Ittī of the land of Allabria who had thrown off the yoke of the god Aššur (and) held me in contempt, I flayed Aššur-le’i; I deported the people of the land of Karalla, as many as there were, and Ittī, together with his family, and I settled (them) in the land of Amattu (Hamath)<sup>16</sup>.

The stela of Sargon found at Najafehabad (in the Assadabad valley about 15 km to the northeast of the Kangavar valley in western Iran) states:

ii 31) x (x) x <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-ZU URU kar-al-la-a-’a e-piš lem<sup>1</sup>-né-e-ti šá-a-šú ga-dī LÜ.ÉRIN.MEŠ-šú ina qé-reb uš-ma-ni-ia ad-di-šú-nu bi-re-’e(?)<sup>1</sup>-tú [AN.BAR(?) ...]

ii 32) [as-s]u-uh-ma a-na [U]RU-ia KUR aš-šur <sup>u</sup>’-bil URU kar-al-la a-di KUR na-gi-šú UGU pi-’ḥa<sup>1</sup>-at URU lu-lu-me ú-’rad<sup>1</sup>-di A (x) [...]

I captured Aššur-le’i of the city of Karalla, an evil-doer. In the midst of my camp, I threw him, together with his soldiers, in [iron] fetters. [... I de]ported

<sup>14</sup> L. D. Levine, “Geographical Studies in the Neo-Assyrian Zagros II”, *Iran* 12 (1974) 110. See also Levine, *Stelae* 30-31 (“in the Lake Zeribor basin”).

<sup>15</sup> Annals lines 83-90.

<sup>16</sup> For the flaying of Aššur-le’i, note also the Cylinder Inscription of Sargon (Lyon, *Sar.* no. 1 line 33) which records: *mu-ab-bit* KUR kar-al-la ša pa-a-ri <sup>m</sup>aš-šur-le-’i LÜ.EN URU-šú-nu il-lu-ri-iš ú-si-mu-ma ..., “who destroyed the land of Karalla, made the skin of Aššur-le’i, their city ruler, red like the *illuru*-plant, and ...”.

and brought to my city Aššur (literally: Assyria). I added the city of Karalla, together with its district, to the province of the city of Lullumē. [...]'<sup>17</sup>

Sargon's actions in 716 did not, however, put an end to opposition to Assyria in Karalla. The people of Karalla later drove out the officials that Sargon had put over them and made Aššur-le'i's brother, Amitašši, their ruler. In his ninth *palū* (713), Sargon marched against Karalla, the land of Ellipi and the land of the Medes. Sargon won a major victory over the forces of Karalla on Mount Ana and Amitašši fled, probably going to the land of Šurda<sup>18</sup>.

The passage in the Tang-i Var inscription describing the campaign to Karalla is poorly preserved, but nothing in it clearly fits either the campaign in 716 or the one in 713. In any case, we know that this inscription was composed later in the king's reign than either of these two episodes. Lines 25–27 of the inscription record the defeat of Merodach-Baladan (Marduk-apla-iddina II), the ruler of Babylonia, and the fact that the ruler of Dilmun subsequently sent Sargon a gift. Sargon conducted military actions against Merodach-Baladan in 710 and 709. After Merodach-Baladan abandoned his capital, Sargon ascended the throne of Babylonia and took the hand of the god Marduk in the New Year's festival in Babylon in 709. He then proceeded to conquer Merodach-Baladan's tribal capital of Dūr-Yakīn in the extreme south of Babylonia. Merodach-Baladan was not, however, captured; he fled and is not heard of again until the reign of Sargon's successor, Sennacherib. Sargon's Annals record the fact that the ruler of Dilmun sent a gift to the Assyrian king in connection with the campaign in the king's thirteenth regnal year (709), but it is possible that this actually took place the previous year<sup>19</sup>. Lines 28–36 of the Tang-i Var inscription basically duplicate Display Inscription lines 16–23 (with the only major divergence being for line 33) and Pavement Inscription no. 4 lines 59–89. The former inscription records the celebrations to mark the completion of the new capital of Dūr-Šarrukīn which, according to an eponym chronicle, was inaugurated on the sixth day of the second month of 706 (see below).

<sup>17</sup> Najafehabad Stela ii 31–32. Note also a fragment of a prism of Sargon's found at Assur (Ernst Weidner, "Šilkan(he)ni, König von Mušri, ein Zeitgenosse Sargons II., nach einem neuen Bruchstück der Prisma-Inschrift des assyrischen Königs", *AfO* 14 [1941–44] 41 and 43 col. A 11'–21') which suggests that Aššur-le'i was thrown into iron fetters and taken to Assyria, and that Karalla was added to the province of Lullumē.

<sup>18</sup> Annals lines 165–69. The restoration of Šurda as the place to which Amitašši fled is based upon a passage in the Nineveh Prism of Sargon; see H. Tadmor, "The Campaigns of Sargon II of Assur", *JCS* 12 (1958) 88–89 lines 2–3 and Fuchs, *Khorsabad* 118. The Nineveh Prism fragment Sm 2021+ assigns this episode to Sargon's eighth *palū*; see Winckler, *Sar.* II pl. 46 S. 2021 ii' 7'–9' and Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 23–24.

<sup>19</sup> Annals lines 383–84. For a possible date for the episode of Upēri in the king's twelfth year (710), see Fuchs, *Khorsabad* 382.

The latter inscription refers to gods having been installed in the new city and an eponym chronicle states that that took place in 707<sup>20</sup>. Thus, the Tang-i Var inscription should commemorate a campaign from the time after 709, and likely one no earlier than 707-706. While no previously known royal inscription of Sargon describes a campaign against Karalla around that time, we do know from Assyrian eponym chronicles that one took place.

Two fragmentary Assyrian eponym chronicles from Nineveh record for the year 706 (the eponymy of Mutakkil-Aššur) the following:

Rm 2,97 rev. 21' [... M]EŠ ina KUR kar-al-li

rev. 22' [...] ṛmaḫ<sup>1</sup>-ra

K 4446 rev. 6 ina lim-me ṁmu-tak-kil-aš-šur ṛLÚ<sup>1</sup> šá-kìn URU gu-za-na MAN ina KUR GAL.M[EŠ ...]

rev. 7 ina ITI.GU<sub>4</sub> UD 6.KÁM URU.BÁD-ṁMAN-GIN šar-ru na-[...]

In the eponymy of Mutakkil-Aššur, the governor of the city of Guzana: The king (remained) in the land [= Assyria]; the nobles [(...)] in the land of Karalla; on the sixth day of the month Ayyāru (II), the city of Dūr-Šarrukīn inaugurated; [...] received<sup>21</sup>.

This would seem to indicate that although Sargon himself did not lead a military campaign in 706, a campaign was carried out against Karalla by his officials. In connection with this, it is worth noting that there is no clear first person singular verb in the description of the campaign to Karalla found in the Tang-i Var inscription (lines 37-44). In particular, we may note the phrase *imnû šallatiš*, “they counted as booty”, in line 44. If the king had been involved with the campaign, we would expect to see *am-nu*, “I counted”, not *im-nu-u*, “they counted”. Thus, it seems clear that the relief and inscription found at Tang-i Var were placed there to commemorate the Assyrian campaign of 706 and were likely carved in that year, or less likely in 705, the final year of Sargon’s reign.

The passage in the Tang-i Var inscription describing the campaign to Karalla is badly preserved and only partially legible. It is at times unclear who is the subject of the action, the rebels of Karalla or the forces of Assyria. Nevertheless, it is likely that the passage relates how the people of Karalla, being unused to foreign rule, rebelled against the official Sargon had put over them and relied on their mountainous location to protect them. Some fighting appears to have taken place and at least some of the

<sup>20</sup> A. Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire, 910-612 BC* (State Archives of Assyria Studies 2; Helsinki 1994) 48 and 60.

<sup>21</sup> See Millard, *Eponyms* pl. 16 B4 (Rm 2,97) and pl. 17 B6 (K 4446); see also *ibid.*, pp. 20, 48, and 60. The translation follows Millard (and earlier scholars) in assuming that the two eponym chronicles are duplicates and thus can be used to restore each other.

rebels eventually fled to remote mountain hideaways. Others were captured by the Assyrians and counted as booty.

#### IV. Iamani of Ashdod and Shebitku of Meluḥḥa

As well as providing new evidence for the campaign to Karalla in 706, the Tang-i Var inscription provides an important piece of new information with regard to the episode of Iamani of Ashdod<sup>22</sup>, a piece of information which will require Egyptologists to revise their current absolute chronology for Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty. In brief, we know from other inscriptions of Sargon (in particular Display Inscription lines 90-112) that the people of Ashdod overthrew Aḥimiti, the individual whom Sargon had installed on the throne of Ashdod in place of the earlier disloyal ruler Azuri, and that they put one Iamani on the throne instead. In response, the Assyrians sent a military force to deal with this rebellion in 712 or 711<sup>23</sup>. At the approach of the Assyrians, Iamani took fright and fled to Egyptian territory, near the border with Nubia<sup>24</sup>. Ashdod and two other cities were besieged and captured by the Assyrian forces. Iamani's gods, wife, children, property, and people were taken away as booty, new people were settled there, and a eunuch of Sargon's was put over them. The Display Inscription from Room XIV states that:

14) [LUGAL KUR *m*]e-luḥ(!)-ḥa pul-ḥi me-lam-me šá <sup>4</sup>aš-šur EN-ia [is]-  
ḥu-pu(!)-šu-ma ŠU u GİR(!).ii bi-re-tú AN.BAR id-du-šu a-na qé-reb KUR  
aš-šur.KI a-di maḥ-ri-ia ú-še-bi-la-áš(!)-šú(!)

The awesome splendour of the god Aššur, my lord, [ov]erwhelmed [the king of the land of M]eluḥḥa and they put iron fetters on his (Iamani's) hands

<sup>22</sup> For Sargon's dealings with Ashdod in general, see in particular the following Sargon inscriptions: Annals lines 241-54; Display Inscription lines 90-112; Display Inscription from Room XIV lines 11-14; the Broken Prism A from Nineveh (Winckler, *Sar.* I 186-89 and II pls. 44 D and 45 S. 2022; see Z. Kapera, "The Oldest Account of Sargon II's Campaign Against Ashdod", *Folia Orientalia* 24 [1987] 29-39); and Weidner, *AfO* 14 (1941-44) 49-50 81-7-27,3 ii' 1-11 (prism fragment in the Kuyunjik collection). Note also the fragmentary Ashdod Stela of Sargon (H. Tadmor, "Fragments of an Assyrian Stele of Sargon II", *Atiqot, English Series* 9-10 [Jerusalem 1971] 192-97 and pls. XCVI-XCVII). Zdzislaw Kapera's doctoral dissertation on the rebellion of Iamani was not accessible to the present author, but see the summary published in *Folia Orientalia* 20 (1979) 313-14.

<sup>23</sup> For the date of the rebellion at Ashdod, see Tadmor, *JCS* 12 (1958) 92-96. For a discussion and rejection of the idea that Iamani was an Ionian from Cyprus, see J. Elayi and A. Cavigneaux, "Sargon II. et les Ioniens", *Oriens Antiquus* 18 (1979) 59-63.

<sup>24</sup> The exact meaning of the phrase *a-na i-te-e KUR mu-šu-ri ša pa-at KUR me-luḥ-ḥa* (Display Inscription lines 102-103 and see also Display Inscription from Room XIV line 12) has been viewed differently by various scholars. Oppenheim translated the passage as "into the territory of Musru — which belongs (now) to Ethiopia" (*ANET*<sup>3</sup> 286), but Borger understood it to mean "zur Grenze von Ägypten, das im Bereiche von Meluchcha liegt" (*TUAT* I/4 [1984] 384 and 385). See also K. A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, 2nd ed. with supplement (Warminster, England 1986) 583.

and feet. He (the king of Meluḥḥa) had him (Iamani) brought to Assyria (and) into my presence.

The Display Inscription states that:

109) ... LUGAL KUR *me-luḥ(!)*-[*ḥa*]

110) *ša i-na qé-reb* LU[M] X [X] KUR *ú-[ri(?)]-IZ-ZU a-šar la a'-a-ri ú-ru-uḥ* [X X X X X X X X X X] SU [*ša ul-tu* UD.ME]Š *ru-qu-ti a-di i-<sup>d</sup>nanna* AD.MEŠ-šú *a-na* LUGAL.MEŠ-*ni* AD.MEŠ-*ia*

111) *rak-bu-šú-un l[a iš]-pu(!)-ru a-na šá-'a-al šul-me-šú-un da-na-an* [<sup>d</sup>*aš-š*]<sub>ur</sub> [<sup>d</sup>AG] [<sup>ad</sup>AMAR.UTU *a-na ru-[qi(?)] iš-me-[ma pul]-ḥi me-lam-me* LUGAL-*ti-ia ik-tu-mu-šu-ma it-ta-bi-ik-šú ḥa-at-tú*

112) *i-na ši-iš-ši ú iṣ qa-[ti bi]-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-di-šum-ma a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur.KI ḥar-ra-ni ru-u[q(?)-ti] a-di maḥ-ri-ia ub(!)-[lu-ni] ...*

109-112a) ... The king of Meluḥ[ḥa] — who in ... the land of U[r]izzu, an inaccessible place, (*whose*) *route* [... who]se forefathers [from the] distant [past] until now had nev[er s]ent their express messengers to the kings, my forefathers, in order to inquire about their well-being — heard *from af[ar]* of the might of the gods [Ašš]ur, [Nabû], (and) Marduk. [The awe]some splendour of my majesty overwhelmed him and panic overcame him. He put him (Iamani) in handcuffs and manacles, [fe]tters (made) of iron, and they brou[ght] (him) *the long* journey to Assyria (and) into my presence. ...<sup>25</sup>

Neither the Display Inscription nor the Display Inscription of Room XIV mentions the name of the ruler of Meluḥḥa who sent the fugitive Iamani to Sargon for punishment and it has generally been assumed that the ruler in question was Shabaka (or Shabako), a ruler of Egypt's twenty-fifth dynasty<sup>26</sup>. This dynasty, also known as the Kushite or Napatian dynasty, came from Nubia, which was referred to by the ancient place name "Meluḥḥa" in Neo-Assyrian texts. Shabaka's reign has been dated to 716-702 by most recent scholars, although the possibility that he reigned 714-700, with the last two years of his reign being a coregency with his successor, has also been raised<sup>27</sup>. Shabaka was succeeded by his nephew Shebitku (or Shabataka), the son of Shabaka's predecessor, Piankhy. Most scholars have

<sup>25</sup> In addition, the extradition of Iamani is almost certainly recorded on a fragmentary prism in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum (81-7-27,3); see Weidner, *AfO* 14 (1941-44) 49-51. The fragment has *p[u]-ul-ḥi me-la[m]-me ša* AN.ŠÁR <sup>d</sup>AG <sup>d</sup>AMAR.UTU EN.MEŠ-*ia is-ḥu-pu-šú-ma ŠU.II u GİR.II bi-re-tú* AN.BAR *id-di-šú-ma a-na qé-reb* KUR *aš-šur.KI a-di maḥ-ri-ia ú-še-bi-la-áš-šú ka-meš* (col. B lines 1-5), "The awesome splendour of the gods Aššur, Nabû, (and) Marduk, my lords, overwhelmed him (the king of Meluḥḥa) and he put iron fetters on his (Iamani's) hands and feet. He (the king of Meluḥḥa) had him (Iamani) brought captive to Assyria (and) into my presence".

<sup>26</sup> E.g., N. Grimal, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, translated by I. Shaw (Oxford, U. K. and Cambridge, U.S.A., 1992) 343; T. G. H. James in *CAH*<sup>2</sup> III/2 692; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period* 380 and 552; and W. Röllig in *RLA* 6/5-6 (1983) 374.

<sup>27</sup> See for example Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt* 344 and 394; Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period* 378, 555-56, 583 and 589; A. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East c. 3000-330 BC* II (London and New York 1995) 624; and *CAH*<sup>2</sup> III/2 748.

assumed that Shebitku's reign should be dated to 702-690, thus assuming that he ascended the throne during the reign of Sennacherib<sup>28</sup>. Line 20 of the Tang-i Var inscription, however, states that the ruler who extradited Iamani during the reign of Sargon was Shebitku (<sup>m</sup>šá-pa-ta-ku-<sup>r</sup>u'). This would thus raise difficulties for the current Egyptian chronology. The Tang-i Var inscription almost certainly dates to the year 706 (see above) and must have been composed before Sargon's death in 705. The other two inscriptions of Sargon referring to the forced return of Iamani also date from late in Sargon's reign. Both the Display Inscription and the Display Inscription of Room XIV record matters involved with the completion of the new capital of Dūr-Šarrukīn and, as already mentioned, that city was inaugurated on the sixth day of the second month of 706. Thus, the Tang-i Var inscription would indicate that Shebitku was already ruler by 706, at least four years earlier than has generally been thought. We still do not know exactly when Iamani was delivered up to Sargon. Sargon's capture of Ashdod is recorded in the king's annals for his eleventh regnal year, but no mention is made of either Iamani's flight or extradition<sup>29</sup>. It is not impossible that although Shebitku was ruler at the time the Tang-i Var inscription was composed, Iamani had actually been returned in the time of the previous ruler, Shabaka. The Assyrian scribe of the inscription could conceivably have credited the action to the current ruler of Egypt rather than the preceding one. Nevertheless, it seems likely that sometime between about 712 and 706 Iamani was delivered up to Sargon and that the Kushite ruler of Egypt at that time was Shebitku; certainly Shebitku seems to have been ruler by 706.

My colleague at the University of Toronto, Prof. Donald B. Redford has kindly prepared a brief study of the implications this passage in the Tang-i Var inscription has for Egyptian chronology of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty and it is presented immediately following this article.

## V. The Relief

Although this is the only Assyrian rock relief known to have been made in the time of Sargon II, the carving of rock reliefs, either with or

<sup>28</sup> See in particular Kitchen, *Third Intermediate Period* 383, 583, and 589. The date 702-690 for Shebitku seems to be the one most commonly accepted in recent literature (see, for example, Grimal, *History of Ancient Egypt* 344 and 394; *CAH*<sup>2</sup> III/2 748, and Kuhrt, *Ancient Near East II* 624). As with all matters involving Egyptian chronology at this time, other dates have been suggested by some scholars, but, as far as I am aware, none recently which would put Shebitku's accession before 702.

<sup>29</sup> At least in so far as the text is preserved; see Annals line 241-54. Sargon's eleventh *palū* would be 711, but the Nineveh Prism would suggest that Sargon's campaign to Ashdod occurred in 712 (actually referred to as the king's ninth *palū*); see the discussion by Tadmor cited in n. 23.



without an accompanying inscription, is a tradition well attested in Mesopotamia, going back to the end of the third millennium. Mesopotamian rulers have left rock reliefs throughout the Near East, and among the most important Neo-Assyrian examples are those found at Mila Mergi (Tiglathpileser III), Bavian (Sennacherib), Judi Dagh (Sennacherib), Maltai (Sennacherib) and Nahr el-Kelb (Esarhaddon)<sup>30</sup>.

The relief and inscription at Tang-i Var are placed in a niche carved in the mountain face; the niche is stated to measure 170 cm in height and 150 cm in width<sup>31</sup>. Although the relief in the niche is damaged, it clearly represents an Assyrian monarch in a standard pose, standing and facing right with his right hand raised and his left hand holding an object. The royal figure has the typical Assyrian beard, which is squared rather than pointed at the bottom. Something is hanging down his back, probably a tassel and/or ribbon(s) attached to his headdress or possibly the end of a wrap-around garment<sup>32</sup>. He wears what is probably the traditional royal headdress, cylindrical in shape and surmounted by a cone, although the latter feature is not visible on the available photographs or depicted on Sarfarāz's rendering of the figure. The early report of the discovery of the relief in the journal *Iran* quoted near the beginning of this article states that while one hand was raised, the other grasped a staff. It is not clear from the photographs what the figure on the Tang-i Var relief is holding in his left hand. While the royal figure on some Neo-Assyrian stelae and rock reliefs does grasp a staff in one hand, the figure more frequently holds a sceptre or mace<sup>33</sup> and this would seem to fit better those traces of the object which are visible<sup>34</sup>. Sarfarāz's free rendering of the scene does not depict the left hand of the figure at all. It does, however, appear to indicate that the figure is supporting something with its raised right hand. What the item, or more likely items, visible on the photographs to the right of the figure's face are and whether or not the figure's raised right hand is actually supporting one of them is not clear. (See figs. 3-4 and 8.) On most Neo-Assyrian stelae depicting the Assyrian monarch, symbols of various deities are placed at the top of the stela (in front of the figure's head and sometimes also behind it) and the figure's right hand is raised in a simple

<sup>30</sup> For a study and catalogue of rock reliefs and stelae, see Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen*. Many of the rock reliefs are poorly preserved and their exact dates are often not known.

<sup>31</sup> Sarfarāz, *Majallah-i Barrasīhā-i Tārīkhī* 3/V (1968-69) 16.

<sup>32</sup> See, for example, T. A. Madhloom, *The Chronology of Neo-Assyrian Art* (London 1970) pls. XXXII-XLI.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* figs. 130-31, 135-37, 148-49, 161, 163-64, and *passim*.

<sup>34</sup> See in particular figs. 3-5, 9, and 14. Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* 224 states that the figure holds a "Szepter".

gesture of respect or worship. In view of the probable statement in line 45 of the text that images of the gods were engraved on the monument and that the royal figure was depicted in a position of praying to them, we would expect to find divine symbols towards the top of the relief. The traces of reliefwork visible on the Tang-i Var relief to the right of the king's face are not clearly identifiable with any of the divine symbols normally found on Assyrian stelae and rock reliefs<sup>35</sup>. Nevertheless, the relief appears to be similar to that found on many other Neo-Assyrian rock reliefs and stelae and is certainly comparable to the relief of Sargon II found on his Cyprus Stela<sup>36</sup>.

## VI. Conclusion

The inscription on the Tang-i Var relief is badly preserved and our understanding of large sections of it is tentative at best. Nevertheless, it is possible to assign it to the reign of the Assyrian king Sargon II, to state that it commemorates Assyrian military actions in the land of Karalla dating to 706 BC, and to note that it provides a useful piece of information with regard to Assyrian-Egyptian relative chronology. It is to be hoped that this preliminary edition of the text will stimulate interest in and further study of the relief and its inscription<sup>37</sup>.

### Index to Photographs (Pls. I-XVIII)

Fig.	Lines
1	—
2	—
3	1-46
4	1-25
5	1-40
6	14-46
7	1-20 (left side)

<sup>35</sup> L. D. Levine, who has seen the photos taken by Dr. Vallat, has indicated to me that he may see the form of a winged sun-disk on the relief. The question of whether or not the figure might be holding a model representation of a city has also been raised. See, for example, the model cities depicted on P. Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria* (Paris 1986) pls. 27-30, but these are held by foreign dignitaries, not Assyrian monarchs.

<sup>36</sup> For a recent drawing of the Cyprus Stela, see Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* fig. 175. Note also the more damaged relief of Sargon on the Najafehabad Stela on which the figure faces left; see Börker-Klähn, *Bildstelen* fig. 173.

<sup>37</sup> When this manuscript was in the final stages of preparation, I learned that Kamyar Abdi, a graduate student at the University of Michigan, hopes to carry out a project at Tang-i Var which would include making a cast and photographs of the relief as well as copying the inscription.

8	1-24 (middle)
9	1-28 (right side)
10	2-13 (left side)
11	13-22 (left side)
12	13-30 (left side)
13	10-41 (middle)
14	16-35 (right side)
15	24-44 (left side)
16	30-46 (left side)
17	26-46 (right side)
18	38-46 and 1'-4' (right side)

The first two photographs (figs. 1-2) were taken by L. D. Levine and the remainder (figs. 3-18) by F. Vallat.

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